Imagined Families: Anglo-American Kinship and the Formation of Southern Identity, 1830-1890

Alison Skye Montgomery

Corpus Christi College

University of Oxford

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Abstract

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Anglo-American kinship, as a set of historical continuities linking the United States to Great Britain and as a reckoning of relatedness, constituted a valuable cultural resource for Southerners as they contemplated their place within the American nation and outside in the nineteenth century. Like the more conventional calculations of consanguinity and familial belonging it referenced, the Anglo-American kinship was contingent, convoluted, and, not infrequently, contested. Articulated at various times by masters and former slaves, ministers and merchants, plantation mistresses and politicians, this sense of belonging to an imagined transatlantic family transcended the boundaries of gender, race, and class as readily as it traversed national borders. Though grounded in biogenetic factors, the language of Anglo-American kinship encompassed claims of belonging predicated on confessional faith, language, and institutions as well as blood.

This thesis considers the interaction between conceptions of Anglo-American kinship and the formation of Southern national identity, both unionist and separatist, between 1830 and 1890 by examining institutions and social rituals that both inculcated filiopietism and constructed Southerness in the Civil War era and beyond. The subjects under consideration in this study include the role of European travel in forging Southern distinctiveness before the war, ring tournaments and the ethos of medieval chivalry they promoted, the Protestant Episcopal Church and its role in managing the sectional crisis, postbellum immigration societies and their vision of the plantation South remade in the image of British manors, and the role that state historical associations played in reunion and the entrenchment of the Lost Cause mythology as the predominant historical framework for interpreting the American Civil War.

This thesis encourages reassessment of instrumentalist narratives that posit the Confederate state as the locus of Southern national identity in the Civil War era and argues for the importance of transnational processes in its development.

Extended Abstract

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While the historical literature surrounding nineteenth-century American national identity has incorporated increasingly sophisticated studies of Anglophobia, it has been less successful in considering the pervasiveness of Anglophilia, particularly in the South. Historians acknowledge the extent to which white Southerners' belief in their descent from English aristocrats served as a foundational article of faith in their social and political orders, but they frequently dismiss these formulations as spurious inventions designed to perpetuate elite privilege. In general, studies of Southern nationalism and the emergence of the Confederacy have conformed to an instrumentalist interpretation of national identity, characterizing ethnicity as a dependent variable strategically deployed by elites to mobilize the masses in pursuit of their own political agenda. Such approaches needlessly circumscribe the intersubjective world of southern nationalism since the production of identity necessarily involves acts of historical imagination, engaging equally the powers of social memory and forgetfulness. This thesis attempts to reconstruct the sense of 'imagined community' embodied in white Southerners' perceptions of enduring cultural, racial, and institutional affinities between their section and Great Britain, a phenomenon I've labelled as Anglo-American kinship following the preponderance of familial metaphors historical actors deployed to express this relationship. The sense of belonging to a

transatlantic 'imagined family' that emerged from these understandings of commonality co-existed alongside national loyalties, as Southerners contemplated their place within and outside the American national family in the Civil War era.

As a diverse region comprised of the remnants of several Old World empires, the antebellum South possessed many competing ethnic identities, of course, but few were as ubiquitous in its discourses of nationalism than that of Anglo-American kinship. Drawing both upon the historical particulars of the South's colonial founding and a sense of imagined transatlantic community, Anglo-American kinship provided a sturdy metaphorical scaffolding to support the Confederate national project, offering a category of belonging that was both suitably inclusive, in the tradition of fictive kin, and yet bounded by tangible limits. Predicated on perceptions of a common language, faith, and biogenetic components expressed in terms of blood or race, Anglo-American kinship proved a remarkably inclusive concept in the decades before the Civil War. Regardless of whether an individual could provide incontrovertible proof of belonging on the grounds of genetic inheritance, the cultural components of Anglo-American kinship offered a pathway to recognition, even for African Americans.

In addition to its permeability as a language of national self-expression, Anglo-American kinship was also a plastic one, supporting in turn separatist and unionist nationalisms. Ultimately, however, the growing prominence of race in the scientific discourses of the transatlantic world diminished the permeability and plasticity of Anglo-American kinship in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and the cultural and institutional criteria that had formerly been sufficient

to support a claim of belonging became increasingly racialised. The case studies that constitute this thesis explore the various ways in which Anglo-American kinship, in both its literal and figurative forms, provided a category of belonging that shaped the development of Southern nationalism as a separatist movement and, later, facilitated Southerners' re-integration into a larger American nationalism, albeit with elements of an attendant Lost Cause mythology intact.

For Southerners travelling in Great Britain, whether for business or leisure, Anglo-American kinship facilitated a sense of belonging within an imagined community that spanned the Atlantic. Familial analogies and metaphors of homecoming helped to mitigate the sense of dislocation that Southerners sometimes encountered after plunging headlong into transatlantic networks even as they noted substantial differences between American and British society. As they participated in the rites of travel, Southern tourists helped to forge the idea of England as a mythical homeland, a wellspring of American, and, increasingly, Southern identity. Initially, these rituals inculcated among white Southerners a stronger awareness of themselves as American citizens, particularly as they brought them into contact with aspects of British society that had no counterpart in the United States. The urban poverty, undue deference to social rank, and antislavery zeal that Southerners encountered as tourists in Britain heightened their awareness of the differences that separated their two nations. The growing sectional strife of the 1850s, however, when combined with the enduring appeal of British literature and history, encouraged Southerners to reach outside of their national orbits and enter into increasingly intimate relationships with their transatlantic kin. Moreover, as they

toured the same sites of historical interest, paid their respects at the same literary shrines, marvelled over the same monuments, and slept in the same hotels, elite white Southerners bonded over their shared experiences, not as Americans, but as Southerners. In the process of re-rooting themselves in the history and traditions of their transatlantic family, they reaffirmed their collective identity as Southerners through their writings and performed identities.

Southern nationalists espoused a simplistic version of Anglo-American kinship in the correspondences they drew between the British past, in both its historical and imagined iterations, and their own society. British history proved a malleable cultural resource, furnishing precedents both for Southern elites who envisioned themselves as part of the United States and those who sought a separate national identity. The notion of an unbroken transmission of English cultural and racial traits furnished Southern nationalists with a founding myth that supported the establishment of a distinctive Southern nation, particularly after successive waves of European immigrants settled in the free states. The middle ages, and the chivalric ethos it connoted held particular appeal to white Southerners, as indicated by the elaborately staged jousting tournaments that were held throughout the South from the 1840s through Reconstruction. These rituals tied values such as honour, masculinity, and racial order to the distant English past and historicized sectional tension, providing white Southerners with a cultural script that they carried with them into the halls of Congress and onto the battlefield alike. During the war years, the language and tropes of chivalric romance, shaped the ways in which Southern civilians understood sacrifice, encouraging them to sustain an increasingly costly

war. Following defeat, Southerners again turned to the ring tournament as a source of social cohesion and ritual commemoration of the Confederate dead. This chapter argues that the processes of historical mythmaking most commonly associated with the development of the Lost Cause mythology that depicted Confederate soldiers as latter-day cavaliers began long before Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

Alongside the public rituals, cultural productions, and habits of transatlantic travel that nurtured conceptions of Anglo-American kinship in the South, institutions played a vital role. As the American branch of the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America carried Anglo-American kinship as an inextricable aspect of its institutional identity. Its liturgies and canons were drawn almost verbatim from the Anglican Church, its episcopate drew ecclesiastical authority from an unbroken line of apostolic succession that passed through the English and Scottish bishops, and its ministers prepared for their vocation by reading the work of English divines and theologians. From its British progenitor, the American Church absorbed two ideas that would prove contradictory in their relationship to Confederate nationalism, that the Church should be co-extensive with national identity and that the historical continuity of the Church should be preserved at all hazards. Guided by the first of these, the dioceses of the Confederate States of America opted to break away from the PECUSA and establish their own ecclesiastical polity, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. Throughout the war, the Confederate Episcopal Church provided spiritual succour to Southern soldiers and civilians and helped to legitimate the idea of a separate national existence. As committed as the

Confederate Episcopal Church was to the project of Southern nationalism, however, the institutional identity it derived from its long-standing relationship with the Church of England ultimately facilitated reconciliation between the Northern and Southern dioceses following the war's end. The Episcopal Church thus functioned as both an instrument of Confederate nationalism and a broader form of Southern nationalism that operated by resituating the former Confederate States once more in the context of the Union.

Prior to the Civil War, nineteenth-century Southerners frequently deployed Anglo-American kinship as a figurative term implying diffuse solidarity, but postbellum iterations frequently invoked the concept as a more conventional relatedness, predicated in the existence of common biogenetic material. In the wake of the Civil War, many of the former Confederate states sought to offset population and economic losses by stimulating immigration into their borders. Emancipation and the subsequent mobility of African Americans had forever altered the social fabric of the region and many proponents of immigration preferred the prospect of recruiting a fresh infusion of white settlers to navigating the uncertainties attending the use of free black labour. As the presence of white Northerners or, carpetbaggers, became increasingly intolerable, Southern states largely pinned their hopes for social regeneration on Europe and especially the British Isles as these individuals could be more readily assimilated into Southern society. Some immigration boosters even envisioned remaking the plantation into a site of white labour modelled after the estates of the British gentry. Several states created immigration societies and later, government departments, to promote immigration from Great Britain,

employing a network of agents on both sides of the Atlantic to facilitate the movement of people.

Ultimately, the influx of immigrants the boosters confidently projected failed to materialize, but their efforts reveal a great deal about the ways in which Southerners responded to the changing political and racial contexts of Reconstruction. White Southerners viewed British immigrants as a means of protecting racial purity by checking the feared encroachment of African Americans on white society on one hand and as a bulwark of political integrity that would stand against the excesses of Reconstruction on the other since their supposedly innate respect for governmental institutions—a characteristic attributed to their Anglo-Saxon racial origins—would lead them to empathize with the beleaguered white Southerners. This feeling of solidarity with British immigrants led the members of these societies to contemplate new models of social organization that drew as much from their idealized understanding of British class relations as the paternalism of the plantation and suggests the extent to which negotiating national belonging continued long after the Civil War.

The historical and genealogical societies established throughout the South in the decades before the war similarly shaped Southern nationalism through their engagement with the idea of Anglo-American kinship, particularly in its biogenetic guises. The scholarship these groups promoted shaped a view of Southern identity based on difference or peculiarity resulting from the historical circumstances of colonial settlement. The family histories created by genealogists and amateur historians created the impression of a flawless English pedigree that served as the

historical basis of Southern identity, a fiction that served to differentiate Southerners from the more diverse population of the North and served their claims as a distinctive nationality. Many of the leading scholars and officers of the societies took leading roles in the secession movement, using the social capital garnered by their scholarly endeavours to legitimize the project of Confederate nationalism. Although the war inevitably interfered with the production of scholarship and threatened the very basis of historical knowledge in the South through the destruction of libraries and records, the historical and genealogical societies worked diligently to retrench in its aftermath. Their postbellum publications continued to emphasize the prestige of the Southern states' English heritage, though they no longer posited Anglo-American kinship as justification for the pursuit of a divergent national identity, instead emphasizing the contributions that Southerners had made to the formation of the United States.

Even as these societies worked to reintegrate Southerners into the fabric of their nation's history, the genealogical knowledge they produced gave rise to increasing numbers of Americans, both North and South, attempting to lay claim to British titles and estates. In the process of 're-membering' transatlantic families divided by distance, time, and conflict, historians and genealogists prefigured the ultimate reunion of the American national family. This newfound rootedness in transatlantic genealogies came with a price, however. The increasingly rigorous standards of genealogical enquiry the foreign estate craze created forever altered the metaphorical fabric of Anglo-American kinship. Biogenetic factors, expressed in terms of blood and race, increasingly took precedence over cultural institutions in

reckonings of relatedness. Moreover, as Northern and Southern scholars collaborated together on genealogical and historical projects, the Confederate apologist tenets of the Lost Cause became the predominant interpretive framework for understanding secession and the Civil War.

Using theoretical insights derived from the New Kinship Studies and the ethnosymbolist approach to nationalism, this thesis broadens our understanding of Southern national identity in the Civil War era and reveals the transatlantic dimensions to a story usually framed more narrowly around domestic political developments.

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The subtitle of Marilyn Strathern's influential work on the new formations of family and legal frameworks that have arisen in response to biotechnology has stuck with me over the last few years of this project: 'relatives are always a surprise.' The same could be said of DPhil theses. The work before you bears very little resemblance to the one I set out to write five years ago as an MSt Student in American History, but I love it none the less. As a study of kinship, it is only proper that I acknowledge the many debts and obligations that I have accrued to others over the course of this project.

Writing a history of the American South from across the Atlantic has given me a profound degree of respect for reference librarians and their willingness to go above and beyond the call of duty. I am especially grateful to Jane Rawson and Judy Warren at the Vere Harmsworth Library, who managed to secure a staggering number of interlibrary loans for me over the course of this project. Similarly, the wonderful staff at the Virginia Historical Society; the Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William and Mary; the Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections at the University of Virginia; the South Carolina Historical Society; the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; the Rubenstein Special Collections Library at Duke University; the American Antiquarian Society; the Huntington Library; and the Georgia Historical Society all deserve commendation for their sage guidance and kind patience with my eclectic research requests. Special thanks is due to Graham Duncan at the South Caroliniana Library, who graciously

made a special trip to offsite storage so that I would be able to maximize my short time there.

Anglo-American kinship represents an imagined community of sorts, but there is nothing illusory about the strong graduate presence that has flourished at the Rothermere American Institute during my time in Oxford. This is in large part due to the leadership of Nigel Bowles, whose personal interest in graduate research and student welfare have greatly enriched this thesis, even if I was more than occasionally stumped by his trademark query: 'of what is this a case?' I owe a debt of gratitude to Judith Maltby who read a draft of chapter three and graciously supplemented the deficiencies in my knowledge of Anglican history that my upbringing as the daughter of an Episcopal minister failed to rectify. I would also like to thank all the American History DPhils who have read and commented on various draft chapters: Mandy, Steve, Paddy, Louisa, Dan, Kathryn, Jane, Noni, Rivers, Sheng, and Horatio.

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Introduction

'There is no parallel in all the records of the world to the case of that prolific British mother who has sent forth her innumerable children over all the earth, to be the founders of half a dozen empires. She, with her progeny, may almost claim to constitute a kind of universal church in politics. But, among these children, there is one whose place in the world's eye and in history is superlative: it is the American Republic.'[1]

At first glance, former British Prime Minister William Gladstone's 1878 essay 'Kin Beyond Sea,' in the *North American Review* offered little to offend American readers and much that appeared calculated to please. Gladstone not only endorsed the American Constitution as 'the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,' but conveyed a sense of parental pride in the future prospects of the American nation, suggesting that, in time, the United States as Britain's eldest daughter would 'whether fairer or less fair…be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.'[2] Even as it appeared to augur a more conciliatory model of Anglo-American relations following the heightened tensions of the Civil War and its aftermath, however, Gladstone's invocation of a transatlantic Anglo-American family was not without its critics. John Julius Pringle Smith, a South Carolina planter who had represented Charleston at his state's secession convention, penned a lengthy rebuttal of the essay in the *Southern Review:*

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[1] W[illiam] E[wart] Gladstone, 'Kin Beyond Sea,' *North American Review* 127 (July 1878), p. 180.

[2] Gladstone, 'Kin Beyond Sea,' p. 185, 181; Michael G. Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture* (New Brunswick and London, 2009 [1986]), pp. 162-3.

> The people of the Southern States of North America had reason to expect justice, on the subject of the late war, from the mother country. From her they had derived, with their lineage, their ideas, moral and political. After her example, they had learned to love liberty, to resist wrong, to strive for principle, and to value independence. The barons at Runnymead [sic], the calm but resolute Hampden, the conscientious Falkland—such men, their acts, the rights and immunities they contended for—these have always been household words with the people of whom we speak…Freely, then, we confess to feelings of no little surprise and disappointment at the discovery that so eminent a scholar and statesman as Mr. Gladstone should have awarded to the United States Government, and the people of the Northern States, honors which he cannot think rightly due to them, unless, whether from prejudice or ignorance, he has grossly misjudged the people of the South and their acts; and, moreover, unless he has failed to master the political system of the country.[3]

Smith attempted to rebut Gladstone's characterisation of the United States as a bulwark of the same liberty so painstakingly preserved in British political institutions, offering an interpretation of Reconstruction as the 'story of manifold oppressions and galling tyrannies, by which a high-minded, though conquered people were ground to the dust.' In Smith's view, the lengthy list of Yankee despotisms to which the Southern states had been subject made the 'arbitrary measures in England that led to civil war and change of dynasty,' appear mere trifles.[4]

It is possible to interpret these invocations of family metaphor and allusions to the cultural touchstones of English liberty as mere rhetorical flourishes conveying the author's bitterness at Gladstone's effusive praise for the liberality of American institutions at a time when Reconstruction, and the oppressive coercion it signified,

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[3] [John Julius Pringle Smith], "Kin Beyond the Sea—Gladstone" *Southern Review* 26 (1879), p. 334.
[4] Ibid., p. 335.

loomed large in Confederate apologist memory. Gladstone's efforts to entangle the destinies of America and Britain were particularly galling for those Southerners who had looked in vain for British recognition during the Civil War, a chimerical hope that Gladstone himself had once kindled in an ill-advised speech during which he said of the fledgling Confederate states, 'they have made a nation.'[5] With disdain and resentment dripping from every stroke of the pen, in Smith's hands Anglo-American kinship became less a pretext for rapprochement than a multi-faceted weapon, alternately pricking the conscience and battering an erstwhile political ally into submission. When situated in a broader historical context, however, Smith's caustic diatribe against the mother country's hypocrisy appears less the manufactured outrage of a calculating partisan and more indicative of the lingering resentment a disinherited child might harbour towards his parent and the siblings who received larger shares of the bequest following his own lack of claim. Indeed, far from arising out of Gladstone's own allusions to imperial mothers and daughters, Smith's claims of Anglo-American kinship and its cultural lineaments reflected a metaphorical language entrenched in Southern thought long before the Civil War.

Anglo-American kinship, both as a set of historical continuities linking the United States to Great Britain and as a culturally constructed reckoning of relatedness, constituted a valuable resource for Southerners as they contemplated their place within the American nation and outside it over the course of the nineteenth century. Articulated at various times by masters and former slaves, ministers and merchants, plantation mistresses and politicians, this sense of

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[5] Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville TN, 2000), 120-1.

belonging to a transatlantic family transcended the boundaries of gender, race, and class as readily as it traversed national borders. As a result of the subject's complexity and the constraints of this thesis, this study focuses on the ways in which white Southerners engaged with Anglo-American kinship as a species of imagined community grounded in biogenetic and historical realities—if never wholly defined by them—and its resonance as a constituent part of Southern national identity. The story that follows is one of decolonization, incorporating the ambivalence with which former colonies looked back to the mother country even as they took their first faltering steps out of its imperial shadow. It is also a story of nations and nationality, tracking the transatlantic currents of thought from which proponents of Anglo-American kinship drew in order to bolster their claims to a distinct nationality and the right of self-governance that entailed within 'the family of nations.' Most of all, however, it is a story about how nineteenth-century Southerners remade their world in the image of a family and the branching ties of reciprocal privileges and obligations that constituted kinship in the nineteenth-century Anglo-American world. By reconstructing the imagined Anglo-American family, the claims Southerners made on it, and the institutions and social practices that sustained it, this thesis broadens our understanding of the formation of Southern national identity in the Civil War era and reveals transatlantic dimensions to a story more generally framed around domestic political developments.

Politics, Ethnicity, and the State in the Historiography of Southern National Identity

Since Ernest Renan's seminal 1882 essay, scholars working across a variety of disciplines have responded to his question: what is a nation?[6] Initially, the Confederacy appears ideally situated to provide an answer, delimited as it is by precise dates of beginning and end. Mirroring the processes by which the United States articulated its own political sovereignty following the Revolution, white Southerners elected a president, drafted a constitution, established a capitol, and prepared to defend their right of nationality. In generating popular patriotic sentiment as well, the nascent Confederate nation turned to the antecedents furnished by the Early Republic.[7] Southerners flew flags and pinned rosettes to their lapels, celebrated their nationality in poetry and song, and attentively heeded sermons instructing them in their duties as citizens of the new nation.

In addition to helping create a broad popular consensus at home, these outward indicators of changed nationality proved persuasive to some overseas observers. In the same speech that later earned him the ire of frustrated Confederate nationalists like Smith, Gladstone substantiated his belief that Jefferson Davis and his cabinet had successfully created a nation by 1862 by pointing to the existence of a Southern army and navy, though the latter consisted mostly of whatever vessels Confederate agents could purchase from the British. Gladstone subsequently discovered that these outward trappings were not sufficiently reliable

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[6] Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" in Raoul Girardet (ed.) *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? et autres écrits politiques* (Paris, 1997), pp. 221-43.

[7] For the definitive treatment of this subject see, David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill NC, 1997).

indicators of status when Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell rebuked him for going 'beyond the latitude which all speakers must be allowed' by claiming the South had made a nation.[8] Following from this exchange and the larger diplomatic controversies it engendered, it becomes clear that historians of Southern national identity must concern themselves as much with the question of *when* the nation was as what.

Locating the Confederate nation in time as well as space requires acknowledging the strain of exceptionalism that permeates much of the scholarship surrounding American nationalism, in both its normative and separatist aspects. Unlike the historical literature surrounding European, Asian, and African nationalisms, which contain both modernists maintaining the origins of nationalism extend no earlier than the mid-seventeenth century and perennialists, who argue that, as an organic outgrowth of human sociability and kinship, nations have existed in recognizable forms since time immemorial, scholars of American nationalism tend to identify exclusively with the modernist camp. Indeed, since modernists argue that nationalism only manifests as a mass movement once certain preconditions are met, in particular, the diffusion of vernacular print culture, concentration of populations in urban or semi-urban areas, and the proliferation of industrial capitalism, the United States frequently appears as an ideal type in this body of literature.[9] Given the periodization of US history, the influence exerted by

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[8] John Morley, *Life of William Ewart Gladstone* vol. 2 (London, 1903), p. 80.

[9] Among the most frequently cited proponents of the modernist position are Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London, 1991)*;* John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1993); Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism,* (New York, 1997)*;* Eric Hobsbawm, *Nationalism Since 1780:*

the modernist strand of nationalism is understandable, though its focus on the political sphere has greatly problematized the study of Confederate nationalism.

Within the modernist paradigm, instrumentalist interpretations that characterize nationalism as a purely political process orchestrated by social and intellectual elites have largely predominated.[10] While this cynical interpretation holds an element of truth, particularly in the case of Confederate nationalism, the primary architects of which disproportionately belonged to the ranks of social and political elites, it has, until relatively recently, marginalised the contributions made by non-elites to the Confederate national project. New scholarship has attempted to remedy this deficiency, demonstrating the various ways in which women, blacks, and non-slaveholding whites engaged the idea of an independent southern nation and became some of its most vocal proponents. Some historians, notably Stephanie McCurry, have gone so far as to suggest that the Confederacy's inability to adequately respond to the demands placed upon it by these groups contributed to its ultimate decline.[11] Yet, while historical scholarship on Southern nationalism has evolved with respect to the inclusion of politically and socially disenfranchised

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Programme, Myth, Reality, (Cambridge, 1990). The historical literature of the perennialist tradition tends to be more particularized and less given to theorization, which also helps to explain its more limited diffusion in US historiography. See for example, Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution,* (Oxford, 1985); Stephen Grosby, *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*, (Ann Arbor MI 2004); Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Methuen, 1977); esp. chaps. 1 and 2. Both positions are well summarized in Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism.* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 47-54.

[10] This assessment is taken from John Breuilly, considered one of the leading exponents of the instrumentalist perspective. See idem, *Nationalism and the State,* (Manchester, 1993).

[11] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge MA, 2010), pp. 8-10. See also Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill NC, 1996).

people, it has not yet moved beyond its myopic concern with the Confederate state as the locus of national identity.

This limited conception of where and when nationalism exists presents profound conceptual difficulties in the case of the Confederacy, where the nationalist movement and four years of war ultimately failed to secure an independent nation-state. Beginning with postbellum Lost Cause apologists, historians of Southern nationalism explained the ultimate failure of the Confederate national project in terms of the weakness of the Confederate state.[12] The circumstances surrounding the collapse of the Confederacy have contributed to a long-standing historiographical preoccupation with the perceived deficiencies of southern nationalism. Working backwards from Appomattox, historians turned to the supposedly inadequate reserves of nationalist sentiment among southerners to explain the Confederate defeat when the traditional explanations of the North's superior manpower and resources alone proved insufficient. While narratives of alienation and ultimate disintegration are inseparable from the larger story of the Confederate state project during the Civil War, they cannot be projected backwards into the antebellum period without significant distortion.

Gary Gallagher recently called for historians of Confederate nationalism to move beyond a binary approach to questions of disaffection and commitment to the

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[12] Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New History of the War of the Confederates* (Richmond VA, 1866); Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William Still, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens GA, 1986); Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861,* (Baton Rouge LA, 1953), Craven considered claims of Confederate nationalism to be so contingent on sectional political disputes that he did not list 'nationalism' in the index of his book; Daniel Croft, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill NC, 1989); Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge LA, 1978).

nascent nation, but scholars have been slow to heed the call.[13] Paul Quigley, describing historiographical trends in the study of Confederate nationalism, likened the prevailing theoretical approach to an invisible box that separates nationalists from secessionists, leaving historians with little more insight than an improved ability to quantify the number of individuals on either side.[14] Quigley's work represents one of the most recent efforts to encourage consideration of nationalism as a set of continuous processes rather than a quantifiable absolute. Much scholarship continues to analyze Southern nationalism in relation to the Confederate state, however, which only serves to heighten its concern with matters of relative strength and weakness.[15] In addition to their tendency to frame discussions of Southern nationalism as declension narratives, instrumentalist interpretations that centre the formation and performance of national identity around the state often give short shrift to the significance of external forces on these processes.

The Global Turn has brought renewed awareness both of the Civil War as an event of transnational significance and the extent to which international events

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[13] Gary W. Gallagher, "Disaffection, Persistence, and Nation: Some Directions in Recent Scholarship on the Confederacy." Civil War History 55 (Sept., 2009): 352.
[14] Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848-1865* (Oxford, 2012), p. 5.
[15] Other prominent examples in this tradition include Drew Gilpin Faust, *Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); Robert B. Bonner, *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South* (Princeton NJ, 2002) and idem, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge, 2009); Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill NC, 2005); Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South,* (Cambridge MA,, 2010); Ian Binnington, *Confederate Visions: Nationalism, Symbolism, and the Imagined South in the Civil War* (Charlottesville VA, 2013).

influenced its course.[16] Historians have been slow to apply its methodologies and insights to the genesis of Southern national identity, however. The scholarship surrounding this topic and the subsequent emergence of the Confederacy largely remain rooted in a series of domestic political events that James Huston titled 'the sequence.'[17] More recent work has been sensitive to the extent that the South was embedded in global capitalist networks and attentive to the ways in which European revolutions inflected the language of Southern separatist nationalism.[18] This reassessment of antebellum Southern cosmopolitanism has thus far had little to say about the role Great Britain played in the formation of Southern national

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[16] For overviews of the international dimensions of the Civil War, see *JAH,* 'Interchange: Nationalism and Internationalism in the Era of the Civil War,' *Journal of American History* 98 (September 2001), pp. 455-489; Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York, 2006), pp. 116-181; Douglas R. Egerton, 'Rethinking Atlantic Historiography in a Postcolonial Era: The Civil War in a Global Perspective' *Journal of the Civil War Era* 1 (March 2011), pp. 79-81; Caleb McDaniel and Bethany L. Johnson, 'New Approaches to Internationalizing the History of the Civil War Era: An Introduction,' *Journal of the Civil War Era* (June 2012), p. 145-150; David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis, (eds.), *Civil War as Global Conflict: Transnational Meaning of the American Civil War* (Columbia SC, 2014).

[17] James L. Huston, 'Interpreting the Causation Sequence: the Meaning of the Events Leading to the Civil War' *Reviews in American History* 34 (September 2006), p. 324.

[18] For the defining works on the South's entanglement in transatlantic webs of capital and commerce, see Brian Schoen, *Fragile Fabric of Union*: *Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore MD, 2009); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015). Works which situates the Civil War within the larger global context of nineteenth-century nationalist revolutions include Timothy Mason Roberts, *Distant Revolutions: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism* (Charlottesville VA, 2009); Don Doyle (ed.), *Succession as an International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements* (Athens GA, 2010); Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill NC, 2012). Although his work does not fit neatly into either of these categories, Michael O'Brien's magisterial study of Southern intellectual life also deserves recognition for it role in stimulating reconsideration of nineteenth-century Southern cosmopolitanism, see idem, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860,* 2 vols (Chapel Hill NC, 2004).

identity beyond its status as a favoured trading partner and as a convenient antislavery antagonist, however.[19]

The growing body of literature considering the relationships forged by English and American reformers heightens this absence, suggesting as it does that the Northeast served as the focal point of transatlantic cooperation. While scholars writing in this vein often interpret Northern intellectuals' invocations of Anglo-Saxon solidarity as an expression of their sincere commitment to a shared vision of transatlantic liberalism, Southern nationalists' claims to an enduring racial and cultural affinity with Great Britain continue to be analyzed only within the context of exclusionary ethno-nationalist frameworks.[20] James McPherson, in particular, has emphasized the pre-eminence of ethnic nationalism in Southern separatist

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[19] For treatments of Southern Anglophobia, see also Frederick Merk, *Slavery and the Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1972); Sam W. Haynes, "Anglophobia and the Annexation of Texas: The Quest for National Security," in Haynes and Christopher M. Morris, eds. *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansion* (College Station TX, 1997), 115-45; Joseph A. Fry, *Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 178-1973* (Baton Rouge LA, 2002), 8-74. E. B. Rugemer, 'Robert Monroe Harrison, British Abolitionism, Southern Anglophobia, and Texas Annexation,' *Slavery and Abolition* 28 (August 2007), pp. 169-191; Karp, Matthew. '"This Vast Southern Empire:" The South and the Foreign Policy of Slavery, 1833-1861' (University of Pennsylvania, PhD diss, 2011), esp. pp. 70-115.

[20] See Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorians and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill NC, 2007); Frank Prochaska, *Eminent Victorians on American Democracy: The View from Albion* (Oxford, 2012); Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York, 2014); Robert Adcock, *Liberalism and the Emergence of American Political Science: A Transatlantic Tale* (Oxford, 2014). Since Rollin Osterweis, historians have acknowledged the extent to which white Southerners' claims to a separate ethnic identity underpinned their attempts to establish a new nationality, but, with the growing sophistication of the literature surrounding ethnic nationalism, it has achieved additional scrutiny. See Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven CT, 1949); Robert B. Bonner, 'Roundheaded Cavaliers? The Context and Limits of a Confederate Racial Project' *Civil War History* 48 (March 2002), pp. 34-59; Ritchie Devon Watson, *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge LA, 2008); James M. McPherson, *Is Blood Thicker Than Water: Crises of Nationalism in the Modern World* rev. ed. (Toronto, 2011) and 'Two Irreconcilable Peoples: Ethnic Nationalism in the Confederacy' in David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis, (eds.), *Civil War as Global Conflict: Transnational Meaning of the American Civil War* (Columbia SC, 2014), pp. 85-97.

discourses in contrast to the civic nationalism he viewed as defining Northern political culture. Unlike the latter, which could be 'identified not only with citizenship, but also with ideals of liberty, republicanism, manhood suffrage, equality of opportunity, and the absence of class lines,' ethnic nationalism operated along more endogamous lines, revolving around a common identity shared by 'people united among themselves and distinguished from others by…language; religion; culture; and…belief in the common genetic or biological descent of the group.'[21] For white Southerners, McPherson argued, the notion of the South as a region populated by the descendents of seventeenth-century English cavaliers constituted the 'central myth of Southern ethnic nationalism.'[22]

As the instrumentalist undercurrents of the scholarly literature have promoted assessments of Southern nationalism grounded in the weakness and fragmentation of the Confederate state, so too have they encouraged the dismissal of these claims of ethnic divergence as the spurious inventions of elites. Such assessments lose sight of the qualities that make nations as much communities of emotion and imagination as will and cognition. An analysis of what William R. Taylor termed, the 'social imagination of the mythmakers' within the context of antebellum perceptions of cultural divergence and ethnic difference reveals as much about the intersubjective world of southern nationalism as the previous studies have demonstrated its political contours.[23] To this end, the approaches to

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[21] McPherson, *Is Blood Thicker Than Water?,* pp. 29-36.
[22] Ibid., p. 45.
[23] William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*, (New York, 1961), p. 22.

nationalism embodied by ethnosymbolism offer a corrective view of the role that ethnic identity, plays in the process of national formation.

Unlike most modernists, ethnosymbolists distinguish the concepts of nation and nationalism from those of state and patriotism, viewing ethnic nationalism not as a spurious invention calculated to consolidate allegiance around a state, but rather as a psychological bond of ancestral relatedness expressed in terms of kinship. Walker Connor defined the nation as 'the fully extended family,' or 'the largest group of people that can command a person's loyalty because of felt kinship,' contending that the psychological bond of ancestral kinship ties is 'the glue of the national bond.'[24] Numerous scholars of nationalism have theorized that the family is the most basic unit of the nation, though the centrality of kinship does not necessarily delimit social cohesion by restricting membership to those who can demonstrate a direct blood connection.[25] Instead, the power of kinship operates through the principle of the familial metaphor. As Daniele Conversi has suggested, 'no real biological relationship is needed, a mere unproven belief could turn nationalism into a *placebo*, a potion with no chemically active ingredients but miraculous effects.'[26]

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[24] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton NJ, 1994), pp. 202-3 and 'The Nation and its Myth,' in Anthony D. Smith (ed.) *Ethnicity and Nationalism,* (Leiden, 1992), p. 49.

[25] See Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict,* (Berkeley CA, 2000); Steven Grosby, 'The Verdict of History: the Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality—a Reply to Eller and Coughlan,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17 (Jan. 1994), pp. 164-71.

[26] Daniele Conversi, 'Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach' in Athena S. Leouissi and Steven Grosby (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 15-30.

Applying this understanding of the constitutive power of kinship metaphor to the study of Southern nationalism provides fresh insight into the emergence of competing unionist and separatists national identities and illuminates the processes that in turn dismembered and reunited the American national family. My title invokes Benedict Anderson's notion of nations as imagined communities, but where he emphasized the role of cross-class reading publics bound by their consumption of vernacular-language print culture in the formation of nationalism, this thesis examines the extent to which social rituals and institutions grounded in metaphorical and historical understandings of Anglo-American kinship informed the formation and performance of Southern national identity. For the nineteenth-century white Southerners forming the subject of this study, Anglo-American kinship represented a descriptive language encoding the changing balances of power between Great Britain and its former colonies, as well as structuring the reciprocal rights and responsibilities that the nations owed one another. It also served as a powerful 'founding myth,' encouraging Southern nationalists to frame their own claims of identity in relation to historical and ethnic continuities. The following section explores the descriptive aspects of the language of Anglo-American kinship, delineating the various familial metaphors Southerners deployed in the context of Anglo-American relations up to the Civil War and assessing the criteria on which they based their claims of belonging in an imagined transatlantic family.

Reckoning Anglo-American Kinship

In its most basic sense, Anglo-American kinship served as a descriptive language. Scholars have long noted the pervasiveness of familial metaphors in conceptions of the state and the public discourses of nineteenth-century America in particular.[27] These metaphors accord political organizations a degree of organic givenness and perpetuate hierarchy even as they mitigate the more disruptive effects of power inequality by yoking a paternalistic duty of care to the exercise of authority.[28] The family, as a group of individuals bound together by their mutual rights and responsibilities to one another, presented the founding generation with a model for articulating the relationship between citizens and the new government. As the nineteenth century progressed and the discourses of the family became increasingly codified, a cavalcade of kin paraded through political speeches,

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[27] Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England,* (Oxford, 1975), p. 268; Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution,* (Berkeley, 1992); George Lakoff, *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think* 2nd ed. (Chicago IL and London, 1996), pp. 154-157; George B. Forgie, *Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age,* (New York, 1979), pp. 4-8; Shirley Samuels, *Romances of the Republic: Women, the Family and Violence in the Literature of the Early American Nation,* (Oxford, 1996), p. 13.

[28] Much as scholars of nationalism and national identity have attempted to stress process over innate character, for the past three decades, scholarship concerning the family has stressed its status as a social and cultural construct rather than a natural given. See Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family,* (New York, 1975); Glen H. Elder, 'History of the Family and the Discovery of Complexity,' *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 43 (August 1981), pp. 489-519; Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York, 1989); David I. Kertzer, 'Household History and Sociological Theory,' *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (August 1991), pp. 155-179; Tamara K. Hareven, 'The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change' *American Historical Review* 96 (February 1991), pp. 95-124; Roddey Reid, *Families in Jeopardy: Regulating the Social Body in France, 1750-1910* (Stanford CA, 1993).

newspaper editorials, sermons, and popular periodicals, modelling the relationships that Americans should have with their government and their fellow citizen-siblings.

Although the exact family relations these sources invoked varied, all implied a degree of kinship predicated to some extent on blood, intimacy, and contract. Patriotic poems enjoined Americans to perform their duty as 'Columbia's Sons.'[29] The metaphorical reckoning of states as siblings received additional support as American historical memory enshrined George Washington as a father figure and the nation's laws and democratic institutions became increasingly synonymous with partible inheritance. Affinal modes of relation similarly featured in the American political lexicon. Congressional debates likened new territories to virgin brides and the process of annexation to matrimony.[30] At his inauguration, South Carolina Governor James Hamilton likened the 'cheerless alternative of secession' to divorce because 'it dissolves irreversibly the dearest of human ties.'[31] The ubiquity of these metaphors should not be surprising given what one historian has suggested of humans' tendency to 'describe even our most passionate loyalties within the language of family relationships.'[32] Indeed, the landscape of the American national

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[29] See for example, William Jay, 'Lines Written Impromptu on Seeing the Picture of Washington's Villa at Mt. Vernon,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 5 (June 1839), p. 393; G. J. Hunt, 'Columbian Independence,' in John Grigg (ed.) in *Grigg's Southern and Western Songster: Being a Choice Collection of the Most Fashionable Songs, Many of Which are Original* (Philadelphia PA, 1851), pp. 29-30.

[30] Affinal metaphors were particularly prevalent in the debates over the annexation of Texas. See *Congressional Globe,* 29th Congress, 1st Session, (31 January 1846), p. 284; 31st Congress, 1st Session, (14 February 1850), p. 367.

[31] 'Inaugural Speech of Governor Hamilton,' *Southern Times & State Gazette,* 13 December 1830.

[32] Jeffrey Weeks, *Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity* (London, 1991), p. 152.

family was not the only cognitive terrain that contemporaries mapped in kinship metaphors.

Throughout the nineteenth century, understandings of Great Britain as the mother country continued to exert a powerful hold as Americans negotiated their own national identity and articulated foreign policy. During the Revolution, the metaphor offered a mechanism by which the complexities of geopolitical conflict could be reframed as a simple domestic dispute, a great blessing to propagandists on either side of the question of independence. This metaphor proved especially productive within the context of a vernacular American print culture where the figure of America, arrayed as a disobedient daughter in competition with her overbearing mother, became the subject of numerous political cartoons and ballads.[33] The proliferation of the maternal metaphor democratized the debate, to an extent, as it brought the issue of independence within the familiar realm of domestic dispute. In addition, it offered an implicit justification for rebellion.

As Thomas Paine framed the issue, Great Britain's status as the 'parent country' brought greater shame upon her conduct and further justified the colonists' rebellion as 'even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families.'[34] Although the roles of eighteenth century mothers were not codified by manuals of domestic economy to the extent that their daughters' would be, the idea of nurture as an instinctive maternal duty was well-established and, according

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[33] Ibid., pp. 5-10; David M. Kennedy, 'Culture Wars: Sources and Uses of Enmity in American History' in Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl (eds.), *Enemy Images in American History,* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 342-5.

[34] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America,* (Philadelphia PA, 1776), p. 35.

to the calculus presented in Paine's writing and elsewhere during the Revolution, once a mother violated the trust of her children in that regard, they were no longer obligated to acknowledge her authority over them. The vehemence of colonial opposition to the perceived excesses of maternal power diminished the mother's prominence in the metaphorical fabric of political argument in the Early Republic, but, despite the growing identification of motherhood with the inculcation of American patriotism and republican virtue, the idea of Britain as a mother figure enjoyed a resurgence in the mid-nineteenth century as Americans continually reasserted their economic, cultural, and national independence in a world that bore the indelible imprint of the British Empire.[35]

If eighteenth-century Americans utilized Britannia's maternal failings to justify the Revolution, the generation that came of age in the middle decades of the nineteenth-century deployed kinship metaphors to mitigate post-colonial anxiety. As Kariann Yokota has argued, Americans confronted feelings of cultural inferiority long after they had achieved their political independence from the mother country.[36] Familial metaphors provided a measure of comfort by suggesting the inevitability of the American nation's coming of age alongside the eventual decline of the 'aging' mother country. As the United States matured, the maternal metaphor lost a measure of its primacy among reckonings of Anglo-American kinship and other familial relations appeared.

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[35] For the classic articulation of the republican motherhood ideology, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America,* (Chapel Hill NC, 1997).

[36] Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011).

After the War of 1812 consolidated American political and economic independence, kinship metaphors became increasingly egalitarian, although no less powerful in their ability to structure relations between the two nations and encode ideas about the rights and responsibilities that members of the transatlantic Anglo-American family owed one another. Popularized by transatlantic Anglican and Evangelical faith networks, 'brethren' and its attendant metaphors of siblinghood became increasingly common on both sides of the Atlantic as the nineteenth century progressed.[37] Transatlantic print culture also cast John Bull and Brother Jonathan as cousins. Marcus Cunliffe noted the complex interplay underlying the term 'cousin,' in transatlantic discourse, writing that it conveyed 'friendliness, but also the intrinsic complications of a familial relationship, with the right—one may almost say duty—to criticize.'[38] These familial associations did little to mitigate the sting of British travellers' pens, indeed, they often heightened the sense of betrayal, particularly among Southerners, who became increasingly sensitive to foreign criticisms of their peculiar institution. Nevertheless, the rights and responsibilities encoded in the familial metaphors established the rules of engagement and provided recourse for Americans who felt that the criticisms of their transatlantic cousins went too far.

Southerners' attempts to map Anglo-American relations onto the sets of behaviours they expected of family members resulted in a diverse array of

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[37] See for example, 'Glimpses at Europe: Magyar and Croat,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 15 (January 1849), p. 1. For the contours of the transatlantic Evangelical community, see Richard Carwardine. *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport CT, 1978).

[38] Marcus Cunliffe, 'America at the Great Exhibition of 1851," *American Quarterly* 3 (Summer 1951), p. 116.

relationships but the grounds on which they predicated their claims of kinship remained remarkably consistent. Southerners couched their appeals to Anglo-American kinship not only on the grounds of biogenetic inheritance, frequently expressed in terms of blood or race, but in the possession of a common language, as well as shared religious and political institutions. Later in the nineteenth century, as Reginald Horsman has argued, racial science convinced Americans that 'the secret of Saxon success lay not in the institutions but in the blood,' but for antebellum Southerners, language, as well as the literary productions that arose from it, and institutions were vital criteria in reckonings of Anglo-American kinship.[39]

The ability of shared cultural attributes to stand in for consanguinity as the basis of relationality has been well established by anthropologists working in the New Kinship school. Jeanette Edwards and Marilyn Strathern have theorized as to the importance of non-human mediators in the inter-related processes of imagining and performing kinship, suggesting that 'persons belong to one another through what belongs to them.'[40] In many respects, calculations of Anglo-American kinship predicated on cultural criteria rather than biogenetic factors, were most successful in the context of Southern national identity.

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[39] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge MA, 1981), p. 24; George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1987), p. 62. The best account of the rise of racial science in America remains William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago IL, 1982).

[40] Jeanette Edwards and Marilyn Strathern, 'Including Our Own,' in Janet Carsten (ed.) *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 153. See also Janet Carsten's thoughtful essay on 'substance' and the underpinnings of kinship in the anthropological literature. Janet Carsten, 'Substantivism, Antisubstantivism, and Anti-antisubstantivism,' in Sarah Franklin and Susan McKinnon (eds.) *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies* (Durham NC and London, 2001), pp. 29-53.

Language featured most prominently in Southerners' articulations of Anglo-American kinship. As a basis of belonging, language provided for a remarkable degree of inclusivity because it represented a sense of connection that was conferred automatically to virtually all self-identified members of the community while remaining accessible, in theory, to those outside it.[41] One Southerner rejoiced in the knowledge that no 'language known among men is so uniformly and so extensively spoken' as English and enjoined his countrymen to instruct their children 'to speak the language of their forefathers,' rather than emulate the 'Yankee school-master with his new fangled spelling-books and pronouncing dictionaries.'[42] He continued, 'if it be decreed that the…English language [is] to be swept off the face of the earth, and be no more found among men, the last specimen, in all its purity, shall be found among ourselves.'[43] As passionately as Southerners defended their diction in the pages of their newspapers and periodicals, literary production and its popular consumption often surpassed simple mastery of English grammar as indices of belonging.

Whatever offense Young Americans took at Sydney Smith's sneering query, 'Who reads an American book?' they were largely willing to claim kinship with Britain and inherit a share in the mother country's rich literary traditions.[44] This openness to adopting English literature as their own was especially true of members of the Southern literati, who were even more sensitive to their failure to forge a

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[41] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 134.
[42] 'Review of *The History of England from the Accession of James II;* by Thomas Babington Macaulay,' *Southern Quarterly Review* (July 1849), p. 409
[43] Ibid.
[44] Marcus Cunliffe, *The Literature of the United States* rev. ed. (New York, 1986), p. 44.

regional 'literature of power' than their counterparts in the North.[45] The same reviewer who castigated New England's abuse of the English language eschewed the idea that Americans needed a distinctive literature and advocated for the South a policy of literary 'free trade' that would permit readers to acquire books of the best quality at the lowest price, an arrangement that favoured the authors of Old England rather than the dime novels that amused 'shop boys and seamstresses of New York.'[46]

Such opinions reveal the extent to which English literature functioned as a touchstone in sectional debates, but Southerners did not always support their claims of ownership by denying those of their Northern brethren. One essayist argued that, 'as the greatest works of England were done…*before* our fathers came to America,' Southerners could claim the glories of English literature as their own.[47] Another suggested that 'Shakespeare is as much an American poet's ancestor, as he is the English poet's' since 'the sequence of blood, and the common reverence for the common ancestry of bright-minded and immortal men, are not things to be affected by changes in political institutions, or by geographical distances.'[48] Shakespeare dominated the canon of English authors that Southerners claimed as their own, but others also appeared in invocations of literary kinship. A notice in the Southern Literary Messenger urging readers to help fund a memorial to George Herbert, the seventeenth-century Anglican poet, argued that his work 'belongs to all who speak

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[45] Michael Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South* (Chapel Hill NC, 2010), p. 215.
[46] 'Review of *The History of England from the Accession of James II,'* p. 407.
[47] A. B. Stark, 'Southern Literature,' *Home Circle* 7 (September 1861), p. 514.
[48] P. P. C. 'Old Books and New Authors,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 12 (April 1846), p. 201.

the English language.'[49] The deference antebellum Americans showed towards British literary production suggests why the best analyses of antebellum Anglo-American affinities to date approach the subject from critical perspectives.[50]

Of course, the degree of unity conferred through the possession of a common language and literature presented a major problem for Southern separatists who predicated their claims of nationality on cultural difference. While their fluency in the mother tongue bound them to Great Britain, it simultaneously fostered an indelible connection to the North. David Potter called attention to this irony, stressing that commonalities of language, religion, and institutions undercut Southerners' claims to a separate nationality.[51] In the case of language, however, what had been a common possession ultimately became a source of division. Even before secession, some Southerners claimed that their use of English cleaved more closely to the mother tongue. One editorial remarked that 'in the Southern States the English language is spoken and written by the well educated with greater purity and correctness, than by the corresponding class of persons in the Northern States' and that the 'peculiarities of diction prevalent among our brethren of the North,' threatened the integrity of their linguistic inheritance.[52] Prefiguring George Bernard

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[49] 'Editor's Table,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 13 (July 1859), p. 78.
[50] Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago IL and London, 2007); Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750-1850* (Princeton NJ, 2007); Christopher Hanlon, *America's England*: *Antebellum Literature and Atlantic Sectionalism* (Oxford, 2013).
[51] David M. Potter, 'The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa,' in Potter, *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge LA, 1968), pp. 687-8 and *The Impending Crisis: America Before the Civil War, 1848-1861* (New York, 1976), pp. 8, 14, 293-4, 469-74.
[52] 'Provincialisms' *Southern Literary Messenger* 15 (August 1849), pp. 482-3.

Shaw's observation of Anglo-American linguistic disparities, the North and South were two halves of a nation divided by a common language.

With respect to institutions, Southerners had more difficulty asserting sectional divergence, though their claims of rightful descent from English antecedents were no less vehement.[53] Thomas Hanckel, in a speech before the South Carolina Historical Society, maintained that 'most of those institutions which, as members of the Anglo-Saxon family, we chiefly value and cherish, are an inheritance from our English forefathers, and have been developed and elaborated upon English soil.'[54] Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, Virginian legal scholar and political essayist, followed Edmund Burke in viewing American political rights and freedom as being rooted in English history and frequently quoted *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in his writings.[55] Some antebellum Southerners prefigured the conclusions of the consensus historians a century later by refashioning the Revolution as a conservative moment. 'The popular idea that the Revolution freed us from British slavery is to be indignantly repudiated,' one writer argued. 'Our fathers contended for their lawful franchises, not on abstract principles as the rights of men, but on

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[53] The notion that British folkways and institutions constituting the taproot of Southern culture has long persisted in the historiography. See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge LA, 1952); David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989). A variation on this theme that posits the importance of Celtic folkways in the development of Southern culture can be found in Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa AL, 1989). These studies contain much of interest to historians of the South, but I am not attempting to further their determinist arguments about English cultural survivals in this study. I am more interested in the processes by which Southerners constructed their own identities, an act far more likely to incorporate revivals, appropriations, or outright inventions.

[54] Thomas M. Hanckel, *Oration Delivered on the Fifth Anniversary of the South Carolina Historical Society at Hibernian Hall In Charleston on Wednesday Evening, May 23, 1860* (Charleston SC, 1860), p. 12.

[55] Adam L. Tate, *Conservatism and Southern Intellectuals, 1789-1861*: *Liberty, Tradition and the Good Society* (Columbia MO and London, 2005), p. 189.

legal principles as the rights of Englishmen, and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers.'[56]

In addition to political institutions, many Southerners perceived religion as a cultural bequest from the mother country. As will be discussed later in this thesis, some denominations, such as the Episcopalians and Methodists, understood their institutional relationship with their English predecessors in explicitly familial terms. For other confessions, an indeterminate sense of shared history and destiny as Protestant nations, buttressed by transatlantic evangelist activity, served as the basis of perceived affinity.[57] In substance, the appeals to Anglo-American kinship that Southerners made on the grounds of institutional inheritance varied little from those voiced by Northerners. Much as Southern intellectuals turned language into a wedge issue, however, political and religious institutions became a means of distinguishing the sections in the hands of separatists.

Given that virtually all of the institutional networks connecting the South and Great Britain had nodal points in the Northern states as well, Southern separatists predicated the primacy of their appeals to Anglo-American kinship on the basis that their versions were founded earlier and remained purer than their Northern counterparts. During the Prince of Wales' American tour in 1860, for instance, Southern papers proposed adding Jamestown to his itinerary, on the grounds that it

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[56] 'Christian Missions and African Colonization,' *Southern Presbyterian Review* 10 (April 1857), p. 40.

[57] Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport CT, 1978). For the roots of this transatlantic Protestant identity and its role in the creation of American nationalism, see Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1876* (Cambridge, 2007).

was 'where British civilization was planted and…first took root in the new world.'[58] Chief among the contributions that 'hallowed spot' offered according to their assessment was a small rock church constructed by the early settlers that marked the first permanent outpost of English religion in North America. As one editor was careful to specify, this occurred 'thirteen years before the landing of the Puritan Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock.'[59] In some cases, of course, Southerners ascribed English origins to their institutions without the complication of Northern parallels. One contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger* emphasized the English origins of the Peculiar Institution, arguing that the relation between master and slave resembled that of lord and vassal 'in the old Baronial days of England.' Like 'chivalrous daring,' this mode of labour represented a 'direct inheritance' from the cavaliers who originally settled the South. [60] Unsurprisingly, however, the author had little to say about the enthusiasm with which the cavaliers' British descendents took up the cause of abolition.

As with its linguistic and institutional components, the biogenetic contours of Anglo-American kinship reached their fullest expression as in the context of sectional debates. Bolstered by developing scientific racial theories, white Southerners, in the years before the Civil War, increasingly viewed themselves as the result of a distinctive ethnic founding. Southern separatists frequently supported their claims to a distinctive nationality on the basis that the English settlers that initially inhabited their section derived from different stock than those

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[58] *Norfolk Herald,* 24 September 1860.
[59] *Baltimore Patriot,* 23 September 1860; *Nashville Union and American,* 5 October 1860.
[60] W. 'Slavery in the United States,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 9 (December 1843), p. 740.

who colonised the New England states. William Falconer offered a common formulation of this thesis when he maintained that the people of the North were largely descended from the Puritans, 'the common people of England…descended of the ancient Britons and Saxons,' while Southerners were governed by the instincts of 'Norman race.'[61] Whereas the descendants of Puritans were, like their ancestors, given to religious fervour and extremism, Falconer saw Southerners as animated by passion, liberality, and a love of liberty. Robert Bonner recently cautioned against interpreting the Norman-Saxon dichotomy as representative of mainstream Southern thought, highlighting the disproportionate influence of a small but vocal group of its proponents.[62] Regardless of whether the majority of Southerners subscribed to the intricate racial theories delineated within the pages of periodicals like the *Southern Literary Messenger* and *DeBow's Review,* they largely accepted their fundamental premise: the foundation of Southern identity lay in its English heritage.

Just as racial Anglo-Saxonism cannot adequately convey the importance Southerners placed on cultural transmission as a mediator of kinship, Anglophilia fails to encompass the full emotional range that defined Southerners' relationship with the mother country. As readily as Southerners effaced the cultural differences between Britain and their own section, Anglophobia remained a powerful force in

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[61] [William Falconer] 'The Difference of Race Between the Northern and Southern People,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 30 (June 1860), pp. 404-6.

[62] Bonner, 'Roundheaded Cavaliers? The Context and Limits of a Confederate Racial Project,' p. 40-5. Bonner's assessment remains one of the most comprehensive treatments of the topic, though his assertion that the Southerners' preoccupation with Puritans and Cavaliers dates only to the Civil War overlooks evidence that Southern intellectuals were attributing sectional difference to the colonial founding as early as 1837. See for instance, 'The New England Character,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 3 (July 1837), pp. 412-6.

the region's politics.[63] For this reason, kinship provides a useful analytical framework for the study of Anglo-American relations. No matter how much they may be idealized, families are shaped by antipathy as much as affinity, and communities generate gossip as readily as they do respect.[64] The imagined Anglo-American family operated along much the same lines. Considering the divisive aspects of kinship alongside its more positive attribute enables greater appreciation of the ties that bound England and the United States at mid-century and adds another dimension to the dialogue of transatlantic understanding. However much they quarrelled with their transatlantic kin, it should be remembered that Southerners' sense of connection to England proved more enduring than their national affiliation.

Even as it illuminates complex decision-making processes and creative engagement with historical memory, kinship is not a static structure that can be read, unchanging, backwards in time. Rather, it is a conduit for the continuous exercise of reciprocal rights and responsibilities, always in flux and frequently under contestation. For Southerners casting longing glances across the Atlantic as

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[63] On nineteenth-century Anglophobia see, William C. Reuter, 'The Anatomy of Political Anglophobia in the United States, 1865-1900,' *Mid-America* 61 (April-July 1979), pp. 117-132; Edward P. Crapol, *America for Americans: Economic Natinalism and Anglophobia in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Wesport CT, 1973); Kinley J. Brauer, 'The United States and British Imperial Expansion, 1815-60,' *Diplomatic History* 12 (January 1988), pp. 19-37; Sam Walter Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville VA, 2010); Stephen Tuffnell, '"Uncle Same is to be Sacrificed:" Anglophobia in Late Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture,' *American Nineteenth Century History* 12 (March 2011), pp. 77-99; Jay Sexton, 'Anglophobia in Nineteenth-Century Elections, Politics, and Diplomacy,' in Gareth Davies and Julian E. Zelizer (eds.) *America at the Ballot box: Elections and Poltical History* (Philadelphia PA, 2015), pp. 98-117. For an examination of Southern Anglophobia from a British perspective, see Marcus Wood, 'The American South and English Print Satire, 1760-1865,' in Joseph P. Ward (ed.), *Britain and the American South: From Colonialism to Rock and Roll* (Jackson MS, 2003), pp. 107-40;

[64] Edwards and Strathern, 'Including Our Own,' p. 151.

they questioned their place within the American national family, it was no different. Like the more conventional calculations of consanguinity and familial belonging it referenced, the concept was contingent, convoluted, and, not infrequently, contested. The transatlantic family of which they imagined themselves a part extended beyond the nation, though Southerners conceptualized it in terms no less real than they described the kith and kin within their own households.

Methodology and Definitions

There are many ways in which a researcher might approach nineteenth-century Anglo-American kinship. The very ubiquity of familial metaphors across a wide variety of discourses, coupled with the growth of the digital humanities, suggests the possibility of text searches to facilitate enquiries that previously would have been prohibitively time-consuming. It is now possible, for instance, to know with a reasonable degree of certainty when particular words and phrases entered common usage, which historical actors deployed them, and in what contexts they were most likely to appear. The searchability of terms within digitized newspapers databases can be a seductive distraction, however. Simply determining the frequency with which the *Charleston Mercury* alluded to the mother country or transatlantic cousins does not yield insight into the emotional valences of kinship, or move to untangle the skeins of cultural, biological, and institutional continuities that gave it meaning. The challenges attending the use of more traditional research methods are no less daunting.

There are no archives organized around the principle of Anglo-American kinship, nor does the term appear as a subject heading in library catalogues. Some

Southerners recorded their thoughts about the mother country in diaries and letters, often in passing. Even more kept elaborate scrapbooks in which they pasted newspaper articles about the succession of British monarchs or commonplace books in which they copied lines of verse from Shakespeare or Scott, but these sources can be difficult to interpret. Moreover, studies of individuals and the papers they left behind often illuminate the ambivalence that defined many Southerners' feelings towards Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century. William Howard Russell, the war correspondent of the London *Times,* captured some of the contradictions many Southerners displayed as they claimed Anglo-American kinship when he described Confederate Secretary of War Robert Toombs as

> something of an Anglo-maniac, and an Anglo-phobist…that is, he is proud of being connected with and descended from respectable English families and admires our mixed constitution, whilst he is an enemy to what is called English policy, and is a pro-slavery champion.[65]

Toombs was not alone. No less a Democrat than Andrew Jackson wrote a tender letter to a young Princess Victoria, enclosing his autograph.[66]

Given the eccentricities and inconsistencies revealed in these cases and among other Southerners surveyed, I have chosen to frame this assessment of Anglo-American kinship around an analysis of institutions and social rituals. This is not to say that I have been inattentive to the importance of individuals however. Indeed, in the following pages, certain historical actors repeatedly appear in a

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[65] William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston MA, 1863), pp. 181-2.
[66] Stanley Weintraub, *Victorian Yankees at Queen Victoria's Court: American Encounters with Victoria and Albert* (Newark DE, 2011), p. 230; For the text of Andrew Jackson's 12 March 1834 letter see Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy,* vol. 3 (New York, 1984).

variety of contexts. Stephen Elliott, the Bishop of Georgia, fostered a sense of Anglo-American connection within the institutional confines of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and as president of the Georgia Historical Society. Matthew Fontaine Maury leveraged his connections in Great Britain during the Civil War on behalf of the Confederacy but he also used his influence after the war to encourage the emigration from the British Isles as a means of offsetting the social upheaval occasioned by Reconstruction. Augustin Louis Taveau celebrated Anglo-American kinship by participating in both the rite of travel and the medieval pageantry of the ring tournament. The fact that few of the individuals who appear in the following pages feature as central figures in more traditional studies of Confederate nationalism suggests the new insights that an approach centred around Anglo-American kinship can afford.

In the cases that comprise this study, Anglo-American kinship ranges from literal consanguinity to metaphorical reckonings of descent, and aspirational or fictive computations of relatedness. Anglo-American kinship cut across racial, gender, and class lines, although the most complete articulations of transatlantic familial belonging generally came from white elites. This is not to say, however, that appeals to Anglo-American kinship were explicitly the prerogative of whites. Many black Southerners, particularly those who found in Great Britain a refuge from slavery, expressed a degree of admiration for English society and culture that would not have been out of place among the travel journals of their former masters and mistresses. Frederick Douglass, in particular, frequently rhapsodized over Shakespeare with the same zeal as white anglophiles in his journalistic endeavours.

African Americans readily buttressed their claims to respectability and cultural fluency in the language of Anglo-American kinship, but, within the context of performing Southern national identity, the term was wielded almost exclusively by whites. Few African Americans identified with the cultural and racial conceits that sustained Southern nationalism. The project was made possible by their blood, sweat, and tears and grounded, according to the Confederacy's vice president, in the reality of their perpetual inequality with white Southerners.[67] Indeed, it would have been impossible for contemporaries to conceptualize a Southern nation without slavery in 1860, but African Americans played a marginal role in articulating Southern nationalism, no matter how they influenced the contours of the Confederate nation. Unless otherwise specified, therefore, the 'Southerners' that constitute the focus of this thesis should be understood as white.

Although somewhat narrowly conceived in terms of race, this thesis offers a more ambitious approach with respect to chronology. The scope of this work spans sixty years, from the Nullification crisis to the emergence of the New South. Admittedly this range is unusually lengthy for a dissertation. It is necessary, however, in order to fully appreciate the trajectory of Southern national identity. The fact that many histories of Southern nationalism commence only with the political crises of the 1850s and terminate in the Civil War partially explains why state-centric approaches have so dominated the field. Broadening the chronological range allows for a fuller understanding of the diversity of Southern nationalism[s]

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[67] For the text of Alexander Stephen's infamous 'Cornerstone Speech,' see Henry Cleveland (ed.) *Alexander H. Stephens in Public and Private: With Letters and Speeches, Before, During, and Since the War* (Philadelphia PA, 1866), pp. 717-29.

and offers surprising insights into the twisted roads that carried Southerners to secession. Moreover, it forges links with a vibrant body of scholarly literature on the formation of Confederate memory.

With respect to terminology, this thesis uses the phrases 'Anglo-American kinship' and 'English' in ways that reflect nineteenth-century Southerners' use of the terms. As modern readers will be quick to note, however, they lack a degree of conceptual clarity. With rare exception, Southerners' understandings of the political relationships that united the constituent parts of the British Isles lacked nuance. When Southerners invoked 'Britain,' they generally meant 'England,' though their conception of Britishness occasionally encompassed Scotland as well. Ireland rarely featured in appeals to Anglo-American kinship, in part because the Irish 'Celt' rested uneasily within popular and scientific understandings of an Anglo-Saxon race.[68] Moreover, the skill Irish nationalist orators demonstrated in tailoring their rhetoric to excite the Anglophobic prejudice of pro-slavery apologists persuaded many Southerners that Ireland should be excluded from considerations of Anglo-American kinship. In the absence of meaningful cultural contact with Ireland, either through travel or the mediated interaction that

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[68] L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport CT, 1968); Steve Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience* (London, 2004); Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton NJ, 2012), pp. 3-85. The question of whether or when the Irish 'became white' continues to fuel debate in the historical literature. See Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge MA, 1998); David Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness* rev. ed. (London, 1999); Peter Kolchin, 'Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America' *Journal of American History* 89 (June 2002), pp. 154-73.

literature afforded, Southerners generally excluded the island from their reckonings of kinship with the mother country.[69]

I have tried to be more sensitive to the regions of the South in this thesis than nineteenth-century Southerners were to those of Great Britain. In recent years, the scholarship surrounding the South has fundamentally altered the region's terrain, turning its traditional borders inside out and extruding them to the Caribbean and beyond.[70] Few scholars now assume the region to be synonymous with the states that seceded to join the Confederacy or make the mistake of imputing to the region the monolithic character of which the older historical literature had sometimes been guilty. I have kept these developments in mind, but in telling a story about the formation and persistence of Confederate nationalism, I've primarily limited my analysis to those slave states that sought belonging in an alternative American nationalism. In many respects, the locus of Anglo-American kinship is even more narrowly circumscribed. The strongest sense of enduring affinities with Great Britain tend to emerge from the Atlantic coastal states that absorbed the first waves of British settlers centuries earlier. That is not to say that claims of Anglo-American

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[69] Ireland did not feature in the canonical literature that disproportionately shaped Southerners' perceptions of Britain, a fact that may account for the relative rarity of Southern tourists who visited in comparison to other regions of the British Isles. O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order,* vol. 1, p. 106.

[70] Regionalism has long been an important facet of Southern historiography, see Michael O'Brien, 'On Observing the Quicksand,' *American Historical Review* 104 (October 1999), pp. 1202-7; John Shelton Reed and Daniel Joseph Singal (eds.) *Regionalism and the South: Selected Papers of Rupert Vance* (Chapel Hill NC, 1982). Recent examples of this literature include, Anthony E. Kaye, 'The Second Slavery: Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century South and the Atlantic World,' *Journal of Southern History* 75 (August 2009), pp. 627-50; Matthew Pratt Guterl, 'An American Mediterranean: Haiti, Cuba, and the American South,' in Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine (eds.) *Hemispheric American Studies* (New Brunswick NJ, 2008), pp. 96-115; Edward B. Rugemer *The Problem of Emancipation: the Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge LA, 2009); Janelle Collins (ed.) *Defining the Delta: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Lower Mississippi River Delta* (Little Rock AR, 2015).

kinship and the competing national identities it sustained were products of these states alone. The states of the Old Southwest readily articulated versions of Anglo-American kinship inflected by allusions to the cultural contributions of Spain and France. Nevertheless, it was in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, where memories of British colonization and the ensuing Revolution were strongest, served as the cradle of the imagined transatlantic family.

Chapter One explores the manner in which Southern tourists helped to articulate a vision of Anglo-American kinship grounded in appreciation and, frequently, appropriation, of British historical and literary sites. Participating in an increasingly codified 'rite of travel,' Southerners performed their identities on a world stage, both as Americans and as members of a section becoming aware of its own peculiarity. Although the disjuncture between the pastoral England of their imaginations and the reality of urban spaces transformed by technology and commerce sometimes disturbed Southern travellers, the enduring appeal of Anglo-American kinship afforded a welcome respite from the growing sectional tensions that coloured their interactions with Northerners. However illusory the prospect of a political union with their transatlantic cousins, Southerners found in the metaphors of family a powerful language of self-expression as they contemplated the crumbling foundations of their own divided house.

Chapter Two examines the plasticity of Anglo-American kinship as a cultural resource within the context of the ring tournament. Anglo-American kinship, in this chapter, takes the form of cultural appropriation, for, as much as Southerners attempted to ascribe a degree of authenticity to their recreations of medieval pageantry and stressed the unbroken chains which connected their society to the

historical Middle Ages, the ritual they undertook owed more to fantasy than Froissart. Legions of early antiquarians and local historians laboured to authenticate tournaments as colonial survivals despite the preponderance of evidence that linked them to the medieval revival sweeping Great Britain and the United States.

Chapter Three investigates the manner in which perceptions of Anglo-American kinship informed the identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and its effect on the ways in which this institution responded to the question of separatist nationalism. Ultimately, it suggests that the Church's transatlantic ties constituted an essential aspect of its institutional identity and compelled it to pursue contradictory paths at various times during the sectional crisis and ensuing war. What was, in the antebellum period, a latent source of unionism and stability, became a potent force for Confederate nationalism following secession, largely as a result of the ways in which its bishops, clergy, and laity interpreted their duty as members of the Anglican Communion. It affords a new explanation for the comparable unity of the Episcopal Church in contrast to other mainline Protestant denominations in the United States prior to the Civil War and urges reassessment of the Church's role in perpetuating Lost Cause memory afterwards.

Chapter Four considers the role that conceptions of Anglo-American kinship played in the postbellum efforts to revitalize the ruined Southern economy and combat the perceived threat posed by carpetbaggers and other 'strangers' with European immigration. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, some Southerners looked to the British gentry as a model and attempted to secure large numbers of British tenant farmers in order to reinvent plantations as sites of white labour. Ultimately, the efforts of Southern immigration boosters failed to substantially influence the demographic

composition of the region. Nevertheless, the immigration movement, and the perceptions of Anglo-American kinship underpinning the efforts of its early proponents, provided a forum for Southerners to debate the meanings of citizenship, loyalty, and suffrage after the defeat of the Confederate national project.

Chapter Five assesses Anglo-American kinship within the context of Southern historical societies both before and after the Civil War. It explores the manner in which these societies supported quixotic attempts to graft Southerners' family trees onto British stock and the extent to which the production of genealogical knowledge and its diffusion through an institutional network distributed throughout the re-United States leant retroactive legitimacy to the Confederate national project. In the process of re-membering transatlantic families severed by time and war, Southerners expedited the healing of their own recently dismembered national family. In predicating their claims of kinship with Great Britain on the identification of specific ancestors rather than more general metaphors of familial belonging, however, Southerners forever altered the complex alchemy of culture and blood that had constituted Anglo-American kinship throughout the antebellum period.

The social rituals and institutions that both nourished a sense of enduring connection with the mother country and, alternately, helped forge nationalist and separatist identities from its filaments, referenced a historical England but they derived their greatest power from a largely imagined one. This explains in part why such vivid invocations of Anglo-American kinship arose from a region dominated politically by parties that espoused intensely Anglophobic rhetoric and also accounts for a measure of the cognitive dissonance that Southern slaveowners

displayed when they claimed such intimacy with a nation that prided itself on its abolitionist legacy. As the following chapters will demonstrate, Southerners' perception of their relationship with the mother country survived encounters with their flesh and blood presumptive kin. In many cases, these exchanges only served to heighten the fervour with which Southerners articulated their sense of belonging in a family spanning both distance and time.

Chapter One:

Peculiar Institutions: Antebellum Transatlantic Tourism and the Performance of Southern National Identity

'A youngster, fresh from Yorkshire, has not a more absolute title upon London than one from the Banks of the Hudson or the Potomac, the national alienation giving even a keener edge to the zest wherewith the American enters upon his property. The Tower is his, and the Thames, and he walks into Westminster Abbey with filial reverence.'[71]

Stephen Elliott, the Episcopal Bishop of Georgia, enjoined a gathering of Charleston College students to recognize the ways in which technology and commerce had bound the world more closely together and made a retreat back into parochialism an impossible dream:

> In former days each nation stood apart and when it was separated by distance from another, cared but little for its opinion. But now the world is so knit together by the interests of commerce, by the annihilation of distance, by the rapid transmission of news, by the incessant circulation of thought, that…it is no longer possible to keep without the sphere of the world's influence—to build a Chinese wall around our peculiarities. We are in the world and of the world…[72]

Elliott's plea for cosmopolitanism arrived at an inauspicious moment. Only two days earlier, Virginia had executed John Brown for attempting to incite a slave insurrection, triggering fresh paroxysms of paranoia and suspicion throughout the slave states as white Southerners reflected anew on his failed raid. Following the events at Harpers Ferry and subsequent Northern press coverage lionizing Brown as a Christian martyr, white Southerners increasingly closed ranks around their own

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[71] George H. Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston MA, 1866), p. 16.

[72] Stephen Elliott, *Annual Address Before the Clariosophic and Euphradian Societies of the South Carolina College by the Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia, Delivered December 4, 1859* (Charleston, 1860), n. p.

communities. At a time when many slaveholders viewed strangers as potential harbingers of abolitionist conspiracy, the idea of erecting a 'Chinese Wall' around their peculiar institution carried no little appeal. In the decades before, however, many Southerners acknowledged the truth of Elliott's words that they were 'in the world and of the world,' availing themselves of the very technologies and circuits he described.

Antebellum Southerners undertook transatlantic travel for a number of reasons including education, business, and, increasingly, pleasure. None of these categories were mutually exclusive, of course, as overseas travel was still sufficiently arduous and expensive as to encourage Southerners making transatlantic sojourns to cram their spare moments with tourism.[73] As an itinerary incorporating visits to English historical and cultural sites became codified in the burgeoning travel literature, tourism invariably stimulated thinking about the connections and continuities that broadly defined Anglo-American kinship. Travel simultaneously reminded Southerners of the inherent limits of these ties, however, forcing them to confront the discrepancies between the England of their imaginations and its reality. Nevertheless, as a ritual undertaken by many elite white Southerners, transatlantic tourism shaped Anglo-American kinship as an expressive language in the decades before the Civil War, both by confirming

[73] One analysis of passengers' reasons for overseas travel between 1836 and 1853 found that those visiting Europe for tourism and combined business and tourism comprised approximately sixty-three percent of the traffic, as opposed to twenty-five percent for those strictly carrying out business. See Raymond Cohn, 'Transatlantic U. S. Passenger Travel at the Dawn of the Steamship Era,' *International Journal of Maritime History* 4 (June 1992), p. 59.

cherished notions of commonality and instilling newfound appreciation for the 'peculiar' institutions of both nations.

The Historiographical Currents of Transatlantic Travel

The historical literature surrounding nineteenth-century American travellers in Great Britain is immense, bolstered in large part by the sheer number of accounts the travellers themselves penned.[74] Much of this scholarship arises from literary history, however, and better reflects the preoccupations and experiences of New Englanders abroad as an unintended consequence of its preference for canonical authors. The relative weakness of the antebellum Southern publishing industry has also exacerbated the problem of regional skewing within considerations of American foreign tourism as far fewer Southern travel narratives went to press and those that did often took the form of newspaper correspondence or periodical serials.[75] Many Southerners kept detailed diaries of their travels, but these often remained in manuscript form for the author's future reference or that of close

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[74] Representative examples include: Henry Steele Commager, *Britain through American Eyes* (New York, 1974); Richard Kenin, *Return to Albion: Americans in England, 1760-1940* (New York, 1979); Allison Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveller in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (New York, 1981); Robert Balwain Mowat, *Americans in England* (London, 1935); Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge, 1990); Robert E. Spiller, *The American in England During the First Half Century of Independence* (New York, 1926); William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Print Culture* (Princeton, 1994).

[75] On the disparities between the antebellum Northern and Southern publishing industries see Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge LA, 1988), pp. 16-18; Alice Fahs, *the Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill NC, 2001), pp. 21-41. This greatly problematizes works like Allison Lockwood's *Passionate Pilgrims*, which rely almost entirely on printed travel narratives. Out of nearly five hundred such volumes in Lockwood's study, only fifteen came from publishers in the South or Border states and the majority of these came out after the Civil War.

friends and family. Through closer engagement with these unpublished materials, a growing body of scholarship surrounding Southern intellectual life, nationalism, and sectionalism has attempted to better integrate the experiences of Southern men and women abroad.[76] In addition to the infusion of new sources, the transnational turn has provided additional insights into travellers as extra-state actors who open new vistas of cooperation and competition between their home countries and those they tour, though, to date, the historical literature surrounding Southern transatlantic travel has not fully absorbed these methodological and analytical approaches.[77]

The majority of scholarship addressing the phenomenon of Southern antebellum travel continues to focus inwards, privileging Southerners' thoughts as they came into contact with customs and institutions very different from those of their own slave society. Historians have reached little consensus as to whether the crossing of borders challenged or consolidated white Southerners' commitment to American nationalism. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese argued that white Southerners approached the world with proslavery glasses that coloured their perceptions, and, in some cases, blinkered them entirely.[78] On the opposite side of the debate, Daniel Kilbride has maintained that transatlantic travel remained

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[76] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 97-151; Daniel Kilbride, 'Travel, Ritual, and National Identity: Planters on the European Tour, 1820-1860,' *Journal of Southern History* 69 (August 2003), pp. 549-84 and *Being American in Europe, 1750-1860* (Baltimore MD, 2013), pp. 125-166; William A. Link, 'Southerners Abroad: Europe and the Cultural Encounter, 1830-1895,' in Cornelis A. van Minnen and Manfred Berg, (eds.) *The U. S. South and Europe: Transatlantic Relations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Lexington KY, 2013), pp. 15-31; Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860* (Chapel Hill NC, 2004), pp. 90-211.
[77] See for instance, Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (London, 2007), pp. 94-117.
[78] Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black,* pp. 121-9.

one of the few rituals that Northerners and Southerners shared in common and, until the outbreak of the Civil War, one that could overwrite sectional tensions with nationalist triumphalism.[79] This chapter takes as its point of departure the idea of European travel as a ritual that clarified Southerners' sense of national identity but it views this process as being contingent upon perceptions both of sectional difference and transatlantic commonality. Reading antebellum travel diaries against the grain of their engagement within certain generic conventions reveals the extent to which travel jostled Southerners' sense of belonging within the American national family, reaffirmed the lineaments of Anglo-American kinship and presented opportunities for performing Southerness on the world stage.

Travel as Ritual: peculiarity, prescription, and performance

Much of the historical literature surrounding American tourism in Europe builds on William Stowe's contention that historians should interpret nineteenth-century travel as a ritual, a secular pilgrimage in which travellers consented to a separation from their home culture, participated in privileged activities from which they hoped to derive special knowledge, and, finally, achieved a homecoming which saw them reintegrated into the societies they left behind.[80] This section considers white Southerners' participation in the rite of travel as comprising three interlocking components: a perception of peculiarity, or understanding that travel required both separation from the commonplace and confrontation of the unfamiliar; prescription in the form of standardized travel itineraries and common

[79] Kilbride, 'Planters on the European Tour,' p. 561.
[80] Stowe, *Going Abroad,* pp. 21-22.

texts that transformed tourism from an idiosyncratic endeavour into a collective experience; and performance, or, the recognition that tourism involved the acting out of cultural meaning. Among the aspects of travel's rituality, peculiarity was most apparent to Southerners as the first step of their journeys quite literally involved a rite of passage.

Nearly all Southern travellers commenced their diaries with descriptions of the Atlantic crossing with its alternating periods of tedium and discomfort. John Ambler resigned himself to 'an irksome captivity of at least five weeks' in 1828 as he sailed to Liverpool.[81] Other travellers similarly likened their time aboard ship to a kind of imprisonment, using their journals to air their grievances about the quality of the food or their constant seasickness. Alicia Middleton combined these common complaints when she relayed how the rough seas sent 'every thing at dinner rolling about,' upsetting a bowl of soup into her lap. The scantiness of their rations proved a blessing for her wardrobe, however, as she noted that the parsimonious steward had not added enough meat to the stock to make it greasy.[82] Occasionally, passengers had reason to contemplate the dangers inherent in transatlantic travel, as when one young couple from New Orleans watched the first mate of their ship succumb to illness and receive a burial at sea.[83]

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[81] Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Coll. No. 38-77 (Papers of the Ambler and Barbour Families), box 1/vol. 1, Journal of John J. Ambler, p. 3.
[82] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 7335 (Alicia Hopton Middleton Russell Travel Diary), entry for May 15, [1836].
[83] Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; 1190-Z (Catherine McAlpin Wray Pritchard Papers), fol. 3, Catherine McAlpin Wray Pritchard Travel Journal, entry for July 16, 1829.

For most travellers, however, the travails of the crossing served only to enhance their sense of being under Divine Providence. The same evening she cursed the rough seas for overturning her supper, Alicia Middleton reflected 'how wonderful is that Being who holds the waters In the hollows of his hands' and how comfortable 'to know that the same blessed savior cares for us & that in his own good time he will calm the troubled waves & if he sees fit, bring us in safety to the Haven where we would be.'[84] During a particularly turbulent passage, another woman took comfort from an Episcopal minister who preached on Matthew 8:26, 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith.'[85]

Southerners' wonder at the waves of technological innovation revolutionizing oceanic travel throughout the nineteenth century was no less profound. In 1819, the establishment of a regular packet ship service between New York and Liverpool increased the number of travellers and tonnage of trade, trends that continued to rise with the advent of ever-faster vessels. The advent of transatlantic steamships in the 1840s pared crossings that, only a decade earlier, required as many as five weeks, down to ten days.[86] Robert J. Breckinridge, a Presbyterian divine from Kentucky, captured the sense of amazement many nineteenth-century Americans evinced while contemplating the ways in which these new developments annihilated distance. Nothing separated New York and Liverpool, he wrote, 'but a few days of bodily inaction and strange mental

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[84] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 7335 (Alicia Hopton Middleton Russell Travel Diary), entry for May 15, [1836].
[85] Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Coll. No. 1794 (Coleman, Twigg, McEwen, and Houston Family Papers), Mrs. Coleman Travel Diary, p. 1, n.d.
[86] Peter Stearns, *Globalization in World History* (London, 2010), p. 94.

uneasiness' as one's ship passed over the 'wide belt of waters.' He continued, 'it was as if one should sleep, and wake up in another world; and yet a world so like his own, as to fill him at once with wonder.'[87] When coupled with regularly scheduled service and decreasing passenger tariffs, the improvements in transportation technology which prompted Breckinridge to view his Atlantic crossing as an elision of distance led to a precipitous rise in the number of Americans travelling overseas.[88]

Even with these advances, however, the number of American overseas travellers in the mid-nineteenth century represented as a percentage of the population of the United States remained less than one percent.[89] Leisure travel, particularly for Southerners who continued to associate it with the traditional Grand Tour undertaken by privileged young gentlemen as the capstone of a classical education, remained largely reserved for the upper classes.[90] The expense and

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[87] Robert J. Breckinridge, *Memoranda of Foreign Travel: Containing Notices of a Pilgrimage Through Some of the Principal States of Western Europe* (Baltimore MD, 1845), p. 36.

[88] Brandon Dupont, Alka Gandhi, and Thomas J. Weiss, 'The Long-term Rise in Overseas Travel by Americans, 1820-2000,' *The Economic History Review* 65 (February 2012), pp. 144-167. Based on the number of American citizens re-entering U. S. ports, the authors estimated that the number of Americans travelling overseas grew from approximately 7,000 in the 1840s to 27,000 by 1860. Although it is difficult to ascertain what percentage of these stopped in England, the authors concluded that the vast majority of American overseas travellers, perhaps as high of ninety percent, were destined for Europe in this period (p. 148).

[89] Daniel Kilbride estimates that the percentage of Americans travelling to Europe relative to the population of the United States equalled only 0.06 percent in 1850 and 0.09 percent a decade later. See Kilbride, *Being American in Europe,* p. 2.

[90] As one Charlestonian recalled of the rice planters that dominated the city's society in the years before the Civil War, 'A year or two of foreign travel was an important feature in the education of the sons, and much of the polish which characterized the Charlestonians was due to that.' See South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 1001 (Gabriel E. Manigault Autobiography), p. 9; Robert A. Leath and Maurie D. McInnis, 'To Blend Pleasure with Knowledge: The Cultural Odyssey of Charlestonians

logistical challenges that continued to attend transatlantic travel, even in an era of continuous technological innovation, already served to delineate it from the prosaic concerns of the everyday but upon landing in Britain Southerners confronted other moments of peculiarity.

Upon landing in Liverpool after spending several weeks at sea, Charlestonian Joseph Daniel Aiken conveyed the peculiarity of Liverpool in terms of its liminality. 'Liverpool is chiefly interesting because here we first come in contact with Jn. Bull, & we stop to contemplate him at the threshold,' he wrote in his journal, 'strange and new sights occur to us, & assure us, that we are in a strange land.'[91] As Shirley Foster has argued, urban Britain especially discomfited American travellers as it lacked precedents in the canonical art and literature that shaped their preconceptions of the nation as a whole.[92] Southerners, primed to participate in the rites of reverence by their immersion in the literary texts that comprised an important pillar of Anglo-American kinship, frequently expressed revulsion upon landing in a version of England that diverged so greatly from their imagined homeland.

Of course, not all acknowledgements of British peculiarity implied disgust. Many Southerners appreciated the historical and aesthetic qualities that distinguished Britain from their own country, ascribing salutary benefits to the temporal dislocation they sometimes experienced while delving into the distant

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Abroad' in Maurie D. McInnis (ed.) *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad: 1740-1860* (Columbia SC, 1999) pp. 9-22.

[91] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 5

[92] Shirley Foster, '"A Confusion of Unwashed and Shabbily Dressed People": Nineteenth-Century Americans and Urban Britain,' in Susan Castillo and David Seed (eds.) *American Travel and Empire* (Liverpool, 2009), p. 130.

past. After spending the day exploring a medieval church, one tourist reflected that it was only by 'walking amid the aisles of some dusky minster whose walls are narrative of hoar antiquity and looking upon those carved oaken stalls in the choir where so many generations of monks sat and sung' that he could begin to appreciate the Middle Ages. Before his travels, he confessed to feeling that 'such a strange world was not a part of our world, that such a strange life was not a part of that life, which, to us who live now, is so passionless and commonplace.'[93] For some Southerners then, encountering the peculiar, whether in the form of modern industrialized cities or medieval chapels, served as a means of enhancing their understanding of England and the kinship they shared with its people, past and present.

However striking the extremes of modernity or antiquity Southerners experienced as tourists in the mother country, this understanding of kinship provided a sense of rootedness that American tourists typically felt nowhere else in Europe. In the decades before the Civil War, Southerners often travelled to Germany for learning or to France to cultivate a cosmopolitan polish, but, to a large extent, they travelled to England to reaffirm that which they already held to be true. Michael O'Brien has argued that Great Britain no longer held the attention of Southern travellers in the mid-nineteenth century, but it would be more accurate to say that many Southerners had so deeply internalised Britain's claims to their

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[93] Francis Poe Brawley, (ed.) *The Journal of William H. Brawley, 1864-5* (Charlottesville VA, 1970), pp. 34-5. Although technically a wartime visitor, Brawley's thoughts on historical structures and relics as conduits to the past are typical of antebellum attitudes. See Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, pp. 61-87.

affections and imaginations that they assumed them as given.[94] Travel to England represented a type of secular pilgrimage, affording Southerners an opportunity to root themselves anew in a culture they recognized as the closest living relation of their own. Other European nations may have permitted similar engagement with history, but none offered the sense of filiopietistic communion.

Henry Calvert, who left his native Maryland to study in Germany before the Civil War, drew on familial metaphors to describe the relationship between the mother country and the denizens of its former colonies, saying of the typical American who toured England:

> He is like a wealthy heir, sent from home a bantling, come back at twenty-one to take possession. He runs about, refreshing and verifying and rectifying his vague memories. His rights are so deep that they are inalienable; for they descended to him through the books he has read, and the plays he has seen, and the history has learnt, and the language he speaks, and the prayers he breaths, and the imaginations he has fondled.[95]

In likening American tourists in Britain to 'heirs' returning home to 'take possession,' Calvert's retrospective travelogue depicted the ritualized return of Americans to the land of their ancestors, both real and imagined, as inevitable and uncomplicated, overwriting the dislocation and disjuncture Southern tourists experienced alongside their nostalgia for a place many of them had never visited.

The works of literature that Calvert viewed as conditioning filiopietism among Americans, voraciously consumed alongside a growing body of travel narratives, created a common cultural script that largely dictated the itineraries Southerners followed on their transatlantic sojourns. William Stowe likened

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[94] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, vol. 1, p. 110.
[95] Calvert, *First Years in Europe*, p. 16.

guidebooks to 'liturgies of travel,' in recognition of the extent to which they prescribed the sights tourists should see and the feelings they should evoke.[96] The formulaic nature of many nineteenth-century travel diaries confirms the extent to which Southerners adhered to a common confession of faith in the course of performing the rite of travel. William Brawley acknowledged this degree of uniformity when he said of Westminster Abbey 'It is one of those places which cannot be described. It, of course, must be visited by every-body who goes to England.'[97] This remained true through the 1890s when one Londoner told a visiting American that if she desired to find one of her countrymen or women, she had only to set up camp at Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey and her quarry would eventually turn up as there were 'rows and rows of Americans there…all sitting, looking mournful, and thinking up questions.'[98] It was no coincidence that many of the sites Southern travellers visited during their tours of Britain reflected their sense of entitlement to kinship with its canonical authors.

As Christopher Mulvey argued in his study of Anglo-American travel literature, Shakespeare was especially important to nineteenth-century Americans because he symbolised the 'last and greatest moment' of the culture that subsequently divided into English and American strands.[99] By claiming him as a common ancestor, Southerners asserted their right to an equal share in 'Englishness,' and claim him they did. Shakespeare's grave quickly became a

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[96] Stowe, *Americans Abroad,* p. 29.
[97] Brawley, *The Journal of William H. Brawley, 1864-5*, p. 63.
[98] Sara Jeanette Duncan, *An American Girl in London* (New York, 1891), p. 153.
[99] Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners,* p. 209.

mandatory site of literary pilgrimage.[100] As Joseph Daniel Aiken queried, 'What visitor to England passes by Stratford? Who does not feel, that he has not accomplished the sacred mission of his life until he has made the pilgrimage to the birthplace & tomb of the great high priest of nature?'[101] When Aiken visited 'the church & grave of the August & Peerless,' he was so overcome with emotion that he could find no words and he 'sat in mute meditation upon the history & writings of the greatest human intellect, & upon the freak of nature in the disposition of her favours.'[102]

Southerners' knowledge of Shakespeare similarly shaped the ways in which they encountered English landscapes. One woman erroneously conflated the Merry Wives of Windsor and 'Mid Summer Dream [sic]' searching for fairy rings and the great Hernes oak on the grounds of Windsor Park. She was disappointed in the latter, but consoled herself with seeing 'an elm in which many of [Shakespeare's] gambols took place.'[103] Indeed, some Southerners exported the Bard to foreign climes, incorporating them into an imagined Anglophone empire of literary allusion. Augustin Louis Taveau thus colonized Venice, a city which 'perfectly enchanted him' as he 'pass[ed] whole days on her watery streets, wrapt in the dreams which

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[100] Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (New York, 2006), pp. 59-67.
[101] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 14.
[102] Ibid.
[103] North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; PC 1226, (Rose O'Neal Greenhow MSS), entry for '29 April 1864.'

Imagination chose to picture.'[104] The phantomly figures of Portia, Shylock, and Antonia that the city evoked so fascinated Taveau that he failed to seek the company of living Venetians. If Shakespeare dominated Southerners' encounters with the English countryside and, occasionally, more exotic locations, those who travelled to Scotland invariably worshipped at the shrine of Sir Walter Scott.

By the 1850s, 'Scott-land,' as one travel writer christened it, had acquired near obligatory status as a tourist destination among American travellers.[105] The annual swarms of Americans who descended on the Scottish Highlands to pay their respects to the Bard of Abbotsford and his literary creations spurred the development of a vibrant local tourism industry centred around Loch Katrine and the Trossachs, the setting of some of his most popular poems. Local boatmen rowed tourists over the loch in skiffs christened 'Rob Roy' and 'Lady of the Lake,' reciting relevant extracts of Scott's poems all the while.[106] Not all Southerners appreciated these heavy-handed allusions. Gabriel Manigault, who exhibited an unusual ambivalence to Scott's writings, expressed his distaste at what he viewed as the 'anxiety of the captains of the steamers, and others interested in the pecuniary

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[104] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL.10090 (Augustin Louis Taveau Papers), Box 2, Fol. 3, Augustin Louis Taveau to Catherine Waring, 11 November 1853.

[105] Bayard Taylor, *Views Afoot; or, Europe as Seen with Knapsack and Staff* (New York, 1859), p. 66.

[106] Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims,* pp. 70-1; Paul Aaron Westover maintains that American tourists played a critical role in establishing literature as 'Britain's key heritage concept.' See Westover, 'Traveling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860: A Study of Literary Tourism and Necromanticism' (Indiana University, PhD diss, 2008), p. 114.

profits of the facilities afforded to tourists, to repeat extracts from Scott's poetry, in the Scotch lingo, describing the scenes, and events as they came in sight.'[107]

For the majority of Southern tourists in Scotland, however, such commercial exploitation merely supplemented their own efforts to mediate the landscape and historical sites they witnessed through the language of Scott. Augustin Louis Taveau wrote rapturously to his sister that with '"Lady of the Lake" in hand and seated in a graceful little barge that glides over Lake Katrine like one of Sir Walter's "summer ducks"' he had 'experienced the liveliest pleasure which a practical temperament could be susceptible of.'[108] Joseph Daniel Aiken all but abandoned any claim he might have had to a 'practical temperament' when he stood before Melrose Abbey, a ruin on the Scottish borders that Scot had immortalised in 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel,' reflecting in his journal:

> There is a mingling of doubt with the emotion produced by the sound upon the ear. And are we really at that spot venerable from age, sacred from its history, hallowed by the inspired pen of the gifted Poet. It is strange with what holy reverence, the mind may contemplate a mass of Stone, who enter these sacred grounds with other than feelings of profound solemnity? Who regards these vaulted roofs, these high spanned arches, these solemn tombs, their massive ruins which with their rich ornaments still defying time flourish in sad mockery of former grandeur, without being overwhelmed with the vanity of all things earthly…This was a scene for the artist it has been the theme of the Poet, and little soul had he who did not feel at such an hour, the bubblings of the divine afflatus.[109]

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[107] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 1001 (Gabriel E. Manigault Autobiography), p. 77.
[108] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL.10090 (Augustin Louis Taveau Papers), Box 2, Fol. 2, Augustin Louis Taveau to Catherine Waring, 11 November 1853.
[109] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; MSS 34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 11.

After spending the afternoon reflecting on the impermanence of earthly grandeur and the wellsprings of poetic inspiration, Aiken and his party returned to the abbey that night to further admire it by moonlight but there were limits even to his mania for poetry and he confessed that the experience did not live up to his expectations.[110] These pilgrimages to sites associated with the literary underpinnings of Anglo-American kinship loomed large among the impressions that Southerners recorded in their letters and journals but England boasted many other sites of interest to the traveller.

Somewhat surprisingly, given the extent to which the global cotton trade bound Liverpool to the South, few Southerners spent much time in the city before the Civil War.[111] To some extent, this lack of interest reveals the inherent weakness of commercial trade as a substitute for the literary and cultural associations that formed a basis for expressions of Anglo-American kinship. As prominently as these ties of cotton featured in Confederate foreign policy during the war, antebellum travellers generally deemed them unworthy of comment. This curious detachment from the vital commercial networks that joined their section of the United States to

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[110] In the Second Canto of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* Scott described Melrose Abbey in terms that made visiting the ruins by moonlight a popular activity among American tourists: 'If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright;/Go visit it by the pale moonlight;/For the gay beams of lightsome day/Gild, but flout, the ruins gray./ When the broken arches are black in night,/And each shafted oriel glimmers white;/ When the cold light's uncertain shower/ Streams on the ruined central tower;/ When buttress and buttress, alternately,/Seem framed of ebon and ivory;/When silver edges the imagery,/And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;/When distant Tweed is heard to rave,/And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave,/Then go—but go alone the while/Then view St. David's ruined pile;/And, home returning, smoothly swear,/Was never scene so sad and fair.' See Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (2.1.1-18)

[111] Brian Schoen, *Fragile Fabric of Union*: *Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore MD, 2009); Sven Beckert *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015), pp. 98-135.

British industry, when added to their distaste at the poverty they encountered in Liverpool and its lack of a well-established American expatriate community, contributed to the rapid departures most Southerners undertook soon after alighting.[112]

If they could resist the siren song of 'Scott-land,' Southerners generally headed towards London, pausing in Chester to quench their thirst for antiquity by touring its cathedral and Roman walls, and in Birmingham and Manchester to satisfy their curiosity about modern manufacturing. London, with its endless parade of amusements, museums, churches, and theatres fascinated Southerners as much as the city's squalor appalled them. With their guidebooks and literary preconceptions providing a cultural script, Southerners embraced the third dimension of rituality in performing their roles as tourists. One of the most fundamental aspects of this role involved the recognition that travel, and the sophistication Southerners widely believed it to confer, required conscientious cultivation.

In order to derive the maximum benefit from their time overseas, Southern travellers, much like their Northern counterparts, frequently followed punishing itineraries. George Ingles Crafts paused in the middle of a particularly exhausting tour to write a letter to his cousin back in South Carolina. Crafts was not particularly concerned that he would be struck by wanderlust on his return, writing, 'I shall [not]

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[112] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order,* vol. 1, p. 108-9. As Stephen Tuffnell has demonstrated, the relatively late establishment of such an expatriate community, which he dates to the opening of Fraser Trenholm in 1856, had profound consequences for Confederate agents during the Civil War but it also likely proved a deterrent for Southern travellers in the decades before as British society was notoriously difficult to enter without the assistance of cultural intermediaries. See Tuffnell, 'Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Empire in Britain's American Expatriate Community, c.1815–1914' (Oxford Univ. DPhil thesis, 2013), p. 66.

grumble when I am at home again I shall have been so wearied out with travelling and sight-seeing that the quiet of my old home will be delightful to me. I shall go and hide my life away and sleep, sleep, sleep.'[113]

Many more travellers berated themselves for failing to derive the greatest possible benefit from their cultural exposure. One Southern woman confessed to a friend back home that, as she and her husband were sightseeing in London, they did not 'hurry it through as most travellers do,' fearing that they would quickly succumb to fatigue. They opted instead to travel at their own leisure but in consequence of London's great size, she noted that they were 'driving about all day long, though we seldom see more than one object of curiosity in a day.'[114] Even those travellers who maintained a frenetic pace sometimes bemoaned their inability to achieve their own high standards of cultural fluency. One South Carolinian, describing his day at the British museum, likened himself to 'a hungry boy in a confectioners shop pour[ing] into his stomach a mass of indigestible sweet-meats,' so did he, 'hungry for something new and strange, devour in five or six hours what would require as many years to digest.' He hoped that after the novelty wore off, he would be able to 'reap some profit' from future visits.[115]

As the South Carolinian's self-recrimination suggests, for Southerners, merely sightseeing, without forming opinions on the aesthetic, moral, and historical value of the objects in view, did not confer the benefits associated with conscious

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[113] College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss0034-018 (Letters of George Ingles Crafts, 1846-7) Crafts to Maria Campbell, June 1847.
[114] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Small Manuscripts Collection, Sec. A, Box 26, (Mary C. Clemm Letters), Unknown correspondent to Mary Clemm, 8 July 1833.
[115] Brawley, *The Journal of William H. Brawley*, p. 39.

reflection on these aspects. The lessons of foreign travel had to be properly digested to yield cultural capital. Moreover, as many of the guidebooks or 'liturgies of travel' that shaped the itineraries and expectations of nineteenth-century tourists took a didactic tone, Southerners hoped to claim cultural fluency by performing the role of authority in their own narratives.[116] The practice of journaling was so ubiquitous among American tourists that some assumed they appeared as characters in each other's accounts. Writing in his own travel diary about assisting another group of tourists secure tickets for travel, Robert Woodward Barnwell half-jokingly expressed his belief that the party would 'acknowledge this kindness in their respective journals.'[117]

No group of Southerners better understood the potential that travel held as a mode of performance and self-making than African Americans. Initially attracted to Britain for, what R. J. M. Blackett termed, the 'moral prestige,' it had accrued by pursuing abolition in the West Indies in 1833 and the legal protection it provided fugitives from slavery, black Southerners quickly realized that appeals to the same Anglo-American kinship made by whites could substantiate their own claims of self-hood.[118] Aside from the sections detailing his time as a delegate at the World Peace Congress, William Wells Brown's published travel narrative contains little to distinguish it from the reflections of white Southerners. He paid his respects at

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[116] On guidebooks as 'liturgies of travel' see Stowe, *Americans Abroad,* pp. 29-54; Chloe Chard, *Travel and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, 1999), p. 9.
[117] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia; Mss Vol. bd. 1854 (Robert Woodward Barnwell Papers, 1856-1862), 'Leaves from Italy and Tyrol,' p. 24.
[118] R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Antislavery Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge LA, 1983), p. 4.

Poet's Corner, admired the statuary in the British Museum, pondered the confluence of history and poetry at Melrose Abbey, quoting fragments of relevant poems throughout. This conventionality affirms one literary historian's assessment that Wells' goal in writing was 'to prove that a freed slave is capable of travelling wisely and writing gracefully.'[119] For Brown, travel to England not only provided an opportunity to demonstrate respectability and cultural fluency akin to that sought by whites, it also enabled him to refashion himself as a cosmopolitan citizen defined more by his freedom of movement than his past enslavement.

Few African Americans enjoyed the freedom of movement or self-making as Brown, but the sites and symbols associated with pilgrimage he undertook carried possibilities for those who remained at home. Although he had undertaken a transatlantic sojourn of his own at the time of writing, Douglass opined in his paper that England held special meaning for those, both black and white, 'who have never left [their] hearth-stones' but would still 'know St. Paul's at a glance, and could find the way at once in Westminster Abbey to the spot where the "sweet swan of Avon," and 'rare Ben Johnson" sleep their last dreamless sleep'[120] As Elise Tamarkin has argued, African American abolitionists proved particularly adept at engaging with 'Englishness' as a category for their own political purposes, deferring to the same

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[119] Alfred Bendixen, 'Travel Books about Europe before the Civil War,' in Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 120.

[120] 'Review of *What I Saw in London; or, Men and Things in the Great Metropolis* by David W. Bartlett,' *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* 3 June 1852. For a wide-ranging study of Frederick Douglass' British travels, see the essays collected in Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford (eds.) *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (Athens GA, 1999).

symbols of British history and culture that many white Americans revered.[121] While the rites of travel conferred individual advantages such as cultural capital and opportunities for self-fashioning among black and white Southerners, they also provided collective opportunities for Americans to perform their national identity. The following section examines the way in which overseas travel solidified white Southerners' commitment to the republican ideals of the American nation, even as it increasingly led them to contemplate their place within the nation itself.

Performing Identities, National and Sectional

Nineteenth-century Americans drew heavily upon negative references in the process of articulating and expressing their national identity and Europe provided many such examples. In addition to stimulating cosmopolitanism, transatlantic travel not infrequently stoked the flames of nationalist triumphalism, particularly in the era of the Early Republic. Alfred Bendixen maintained that antebellum travel writers were 'more likely to preach the gospel of nationalism than to become a convert to foreign enthusiasms of any kind,' a claim that the actions of many Southerners tended to support as they joined the vocal chorus of American travellers championing the superiority of their democratic institutions.[122] One newspaper correspondent criticized everything he encountered in England from the parsimony of its dinner portions to the speed of its trains, writing that, 'each new

[121] Elise Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago IL, 2007), pp. 178-246.
[122] Bendixen, 'American Travel Books about Europe before the Civil War,' p. 104.

country through which I pass, each new city I visit, only makes me turn with more pride and affection to the dear land of my birth.'[123]

Charles Wesley Andrews, an Episcopal clergyman, expressed similar sentiments upon catching a glimpse of Queen Victoria for the first time. He thought she possessed, a 'very good face…above mediocrity as to appearance' but the lavish display of pomp and circumstance attending her shocked his republican sensibilities. With the dresses of the servants and trappings of the horses 'stiff with gold,' and the ornate gilding of the Gold State Coach, Andrews announced that, 'the pageant surpasses in splendor everything that I had imagined even of the "gorgeous east."' His overall impression was far from positive: 'so far from being awe-stuck I was more impressed with the utter ubsurdity [sic] of such a display by rational beings, many of them looking more like harlequins than dignified officers of the state' and he concluded that his overall impression 'was favorable only as it made me love my own country.'[124] Sallie Stevenson, the wife of Andrew Jackson's Minister to the Court of St. James, formed a similar after attending several of Queen Victoria's balls. In a letter to her sisters in Virginia, she wrote they were 'the most agreeable parties given' but after reflecting on the fawning deference that the queen's ladies in waiting showed their monarch, she added, 'when I witness such things as these…I feel what a thorough republican I am..'[125]

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[123] Matt[hew] F[ournay] Ward, *Letters From Three Continents, By M., the Arkansas Correspondnet of the Louisville Journal* 2nd ed. (New York, 1851), pp. 15-16, 20.
[124] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL.00042 (Charles Wesley Andrews Papers), Charles Andrews to Sarah Andrews, 30 June 1841.
[125] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL201886 (Sarah Coles Stevenson Papers), box 2/fol. 8, Sallie Stevenson to her sisters, 24 July 1838.

Some of the criticisms that Southerners levelled at England and its people appeared to contradict the entire project of Anglo-American kinship as they implied that the more acquainted an American became with the mother country, the less likely he or she was to profess filial devotion. One South Carolinian supported this notion of familiarity breeding contempt when he opined that, 'Englishmen as individuals are the most miserably unintellectual, unrespectable ignorant race I have met. Dinner and a newspaper are all their wants…Their great men were mostly in the same style of greatness as our stump orators.'[126] Such remarks can be read as a return salvo in the Early Republic's cultural skirmishes with the British critics and authors who openly derided the young nation's provincial character and the servile state of its literature.[127] Whatever common ground Northerners and Southerners found in voicing the reflexive Anglophobia that had long functioned as a defining characteristic of American national identity, it proved an unstable foundation on which to build national consensus.

On the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to the United States in 1860, New York patrician George Templeton Strong wryly noted in his diary that 'no community worships hereditary rank and station like a democracy,' and that 'the biggest and finest specimens of flunkeyism occur in the most recently elevated.'[128] Although he had in mind the undue degree of deference that American citizens had

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[126] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss 0176 (Grimke Family Papers), box 2/fol. 2, Theodore Grimke Drayton to Mrs. Thomas S. Grimke, 7 July [18--].
[127] Sam Walter Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville VA, 2010), esp. chapters two and three.
[128] Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, (eds.), *Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York, 1952), p. 52

shown the young heir apparent, his words could as easily have referenced the lingering post-colonial anxieties that plagued Americans well into the nineteenth-century, particularly when they returned to the mother country. Demonstrating an appropriate measure of appreciation, if not deference, for foreign social customs provided Americans with a means of moving more freely in British society and substantiated their claims to gentility in their own communities.

Prior to his first trip overseas with his mother in 1831, Charlestonian Nathaniel Russell Middleton took etiquette lessons to ensure he could adequately comport himself in British society, learning to manage his cutlery in the manner practiced on the continent and to dispense with republican informalities such as shaking hands and using 'sir' and 'maam' in conversation.[129] In their concern for adopting English manners, the Middletons subscribed to the same philosophy of travel that prompted Joseph Daniel Aiken to derive such great pleasure from hearing an English bishop say that he would never have known him for an American.[130] Hetty Montgomery similarly delighted at being mistaken for an Englishwoman in Liverpool, though she supposed it was because the customs inspector thought all Americans to be black.[131] While this instrumentalist Anglophilia bore little resemblance to the outpourings of affection and admiration that Southern tourists offered at the literary and historical sites of pilgrimage, it

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[129] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Manuscripts P (Middleton Family Papers), Alicia Houton Russell Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, 1 July 1831.
[130] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 15.
[131] Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; MS No. 1794 (Coleman, Twigg, McEwen, and Houston Family Papers), Hetty Montgomery Kennedy McEwen Travel Journal.

nevertheless suggests their willingness to turn to Englishness as an alternative language of self-expression, however boisterously they championed the superiority of American political institutions.

Combined with the captivating appeal of Anglo-American kinship in both its diffuse and instrumentalist forms, the centrifugal force that escalating sectional tensions exerted upon antebellum American travellers drew large numbers of Southerners from their national orbit. As William Henry Trescot, a Charlestonian and the former secretary of the U.S. legation in London between 1852 and 1854 observed, 'If an American be asked abroad of what country [he was], his first impulse is to answer, I am a New Yorker, a Virginian, a Massachusetts Man, or a Carolinian, as the fact may be.'[132] Southern travellers frequently affirmed this tendency in their diaries. Robert Woodward Barnwell confessed to casting a few admiring glances towards a woman he observed during his travels in Italy, but justified his actions on the grounds that 'she was the only pretty lady I had seen for months except my two ~~American~~ Georgia friends.'[133] The historian may be tempted to read more into Barnwell's emendation than he likely intended, but his slip of the pen does suggest that sectional categories retained great significance for Southerners, even those removed from their native political environments. In the absence of proper names or other descriptors, state affiliation frequently served as the primary mode of identification in Southerners' journals and letters.

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[132] William Henry Trescot, *Oration Delivered Before the South Carolina Historical Society, Thursday, May 19, 1859 by W. H. Trescott* [sic], *Esq.* (Charleston, 1859), p. 9.
[133] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, Mss Vol. bd. 1854 (Robert Woodward Barnwell Papers, 1856-1862), 'Leaves from Italy and Tyrol,' p. 132.

The joint participation of Northerners and Southerners in the rites of travel did little to mitigate the sway that sectionalism held over constructions of identity. Indeed, travel often served to intensify sectionalism as it generated friction between individuals and minor grievances that tourists of both sections attributed to sectional difference. Alicia Middleton found that the ship's captain on her Atlantic voyage confirmed all her assumptions about parsimonious Northerners:

> The Capt. Is a thorough Yankee—at table he abuses the stewards for not having enough & afterwards in the stewards room, which happens to be next to my state room, I hear him scolding for having too much. He told us he had some fruits in Brandy, for which a great many hints have been given, but they are not forthcoming.[134]

For Middleton, the captain's failure to deliver on his promise of brandied fruit represented a minor annoyance, though it further corroborated her views on sectional difference. Other intrusions of sectional animosity into the rites of travel, however, proved infinitely more perturbing to Southerners as some Americans sought to transform the foreign soil of Europe into an extension of the American political sphere.

Gabriel Manigault initially expressed gratitude towards two women from Ohio who offered to convey him to Abbotsford in their coach. The conversation soon turned to slavery, however, and he bristled at the insinuations they made as to the immorality of slaveholders. As befitting a Southern gentleman, Manigault demonstrated an admirable degree of self-mastery during the long coach journey, but he took great pleasure in venting his ire in the privacy of his journal, describing the most outspoken of the ladies as having 'evidently been handsome once, but her

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[134] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 7335 (Alicia Hopton Middleton Russell Travel Diary), entry for 23 May 1835.

charms had long since departed' and hinting that 'her life may not have been free from reproach.'[135] The increasing frequency of such episodes led many Southerners to seek more like-minded travelling companions and they began relying more upon their own social networks in the years leading up to the Civil War.

Joseph Aiken carried a letter of introduction to an Englishman from Christopher Memminger, only to discover that an acquaintance from Charleston was already staying as his guest. The men travelled to Tonbridge Wells together and toured the country residence of Baron Camden, whose conciliatory approach towards the American colonists won him many admirers overseas and, as Aiken correctly recalled, prompted the citizens of Camden, South Carolina to christen their town in his honour.[136] Earlier in his travels, Aiken had been surprised to learn that the guide he hired to show him around York Minster was the brother of another Charleston friend.[137] Alicia Middleton remained in contact with various friends throughout her European tour, one of which put her in contact with Bishop Ives of North Carolina who joined her family on the Continent. When Southerners travelled beyond the boundaries of the Anglophone world, however, they appreciated the instant camaraderie that English tourists might provide.

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[135] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 1001 (Gabriel E. Manigault Autobiography), p. 77. For a discussion of the importance of self-mastery in young planters' conceptions of self see Lorri Glover, '"Let us Manufacture Men": Educating Elite Boys in the Early National South,' in Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (eds.) *Southern Manhood: Perspectives in Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens GA, 2004), pp. 22-48.
[136] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 20.
[137] Ibid., p. 7.

Robert Barnwell gravitated towards an English family he met while touring Italy, using his German to assist them in purchasing tickets for the Borromean Isles.[138] While travelling in the Middle East, George Ingles Crafts found English tourists to be a comfort and a surprising source of domesticity. Quarantined for twenty-four after crossing from Egypt to Syria, Crafts found his accommodations left much to be desired so he pitched his tent in the court yard. Shortly afterwards, two Englishmen came and pitched theirs, leading to 'a little sort of a canvas village.'[139] Later, while sailing on the Nile, Crafts had the opportunity to engage in further cooperative empire building in a diminutive scale. Crafts occupied a small boat with an Englishman and another American taking it 'by turns to "keep house"—the American Flag flying two weeks and the English one, & so turn and turn about.'[140] These moments of exchange, fostered by recognition of kinship substantiated by a common language, offered an attractive retreat from sectional strife. Once Southerners overcame their shock at the peculiarities of British society, they found much to admire.

In addition to language, religion offered the prospect of common ground. Most Southerners felt a strong degree of kinship with Great Britain as a Christian nation, however problematic some found the ritualism of High Church Anglicanism, as a subsequent chapter of this thesis will explore. The Rev. Christopher Gadsden,

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[138] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia; Mss Vol. bd. 1854 (Robert Woodward Barnwell Papers, 1856-1862), 'Leaves from Italy and Tyrol,' p. 24. Barnwell had previously studied at Heidelberg and Berlin.
[139] College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss0034-018 (Letters of George Ingles Crafts, 1846-7) Crafts to Maria Campbell, 24 February 1847.
[140] College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss0034-018 (Letters of George Ingles Crafts, 1846-7) Crafts to Maria Campbell, 24 December 1846.

son of the Bishop of South Carolina, articulated a view common among Southern travellers in Britain when he attributed the nation's ability to expand its empire 'almost from sun to sun' to its Christian virtues. 'There is more strength in her *Christianity,*' he preached, 'than in her time-honored constitution, and her walls of oak. She has honored *god* and God has honored her.'[141] Charles Wesley Andrews, for all his distaste for ostentation of the monarchy, concurred with Gadsden, suggesting that, 'The real greatness of England does not consist in the magnificence of her cities or her cathedrals; or in the strength of her navy & armies, or in her riches & power…The Christianity of Britain is her Glory.'[142]

This praise was especially heightened among those who travelled on to Europe and encountered Catholicism as the dominant confession of faith. In Austria, Joseph Daniel Aiken's anti-Catholicism expressed itself in his belief that Protestantism would benefit the labouring classes because it would demand less of their time and money after watching the 'poor priest-ridden' working classes 'labouring, kneeling and going through the outward forms of worship,' at all hours of the day. Associating Catholicism with economic exploitation and aristocracy, he believed that the 'poor papists' were 'ashamed of themselves when seen crossing or counting their beads' but lacked the ability to extricate themselves from the oppression.[143] Robert Breckinridge similarly questioned both the integrity of the Catholic Church and the sincerity of its believers, maintaining that the worshippers

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[141] Christopher Gadsden, *A Sermon Delivered Before the Palmetto Guard Upon the Occasion of its Sixth Anniversary Celebration, June 28, 1857* (Charleston, 1857), p. 13.
[142] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL.00042 (Charles Wesley Andrews Papers), typescript notes for June-July 1841.
[143] College of Charleston, Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina; Mss34/0480 (Joseph Daniel Aiken Travel Diary), p. 25.

he observed in France would have been better served by seeking real religion rather than 'beholding services of a puerile and impious superstition, which, after innumerable turnings, and bowings and gesticulations, end in an act of direct and idolatrous worship of a piece of bread.'[144] Another woman writing to her father from Rome deployed significantly more tact than the Presbyterian divine, stating simply 'travelling abroad makes one value all the more the services of our own church.'[145]

Once they overcame the shock of ritual pomp and circumstance that frequently attended them, Southerners similarly responded favourably to English political institutions. As William Brawley summarized his impressions:

> That I was profoundly impressed as to her power & Character is saying very little. I found much, very much to admire in her institutions & polity. Her government is the most wonderful and beautiful, giving to the people the largest possible amount of liberty, concentrating enormous wealth and power in the hands of the few, yet causing the lavish Expenditure of the one and the constitutional use & administration of the other, it is stable and the people happy.[146]

To some extent, reactions like those Brawley registered anticipated the growth of comparative government as a field of study on both sides of the Atlantic in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. As the Revolution receded further into memory, American jurists and political economists increasingly dispensed with the exceptionalism that had marked early assessments of the American Constitution

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[144] Breckinridge, *Memoranda of Foreign Travel,* p. 67.
[145] Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Coll. No. 00478 (John Burgwyn MacRae Papers), Katherine to Cameron MacRae, 8 February 1870.
[146] Brawley, *The Journal of William H. Brawley*, p. 95.

and acknowledged the document's antecedents in British law and history.[147] For their part, British observers had long emphasized the historical continuities between their political institutions and those of the United States, though they did not always accord the former colonies the respect to which Americans felt entitled.[148] As readily as white Southerners could smooth over the disjunctures that lay between British and American political and religious traditions, their peculiar institution remained an impassable stumbling block to a full consummation of Anglo-American kinship.

Laying Siege to the 'Antislavery Wall'

Slavery represented one of the few instances in which travel served as a source of rupture between white Southerners and their transatlantic kin, exposing as it often did the stress fractures beneath the façade of mutual respect and admiration that Anglo-American kinship provided. Not all white Southerners travelled overseas as proslavery evangelists. Charlestonian poet, Paul Hamilton Hayne, even viewed his journey to Europe in the summer of 1855 as a reprieve from 'politics, slavery, & anti-slavery ad nauseum.'[149] Nevertheless, few were able to resist the temptation to mediate their encounters with labour and poverty through their experiences with plantation slavery. Nevertheless, few were able to resist the

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[147] Michael G. Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: the Constitution in American Culture* (New Brunswick and London, 2009 [1986]), pp. 158-161;
[148] Frank Prochaska, *Eminent Victorians on American Democracy: The View from Albion* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 10-11; Colin Bonwick, 'The Regulation of Political Power,' in Robert Arthur Burchell (ed.) *The End of Anglo-America: Historical Essays in the Study of Cultural Divergence* (Manchester and New York, 1991), p. 2.
[149] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, RL.00523 (Paul Hamilton Hayne Papers, 1815-1944), box 1, Paul Hamilton Hayne to Richard Stoddard, 23 July 1855.

temptation to mediate their encounters with labour and poverty through their experiences with plantation slavery. If, as R. J. M. Blackett has argued, black abolitionists and their white allies spent the decades before the Civil War 'building an Antislavery Wall,'[150] white Southern travellers used their time abroad to prod it for weaknesses, if not lay outright siege.

George Ingles Crafts had made many British friends over the course of his travels in the Middle East, but the writings of British abolitionists to the South continued to rankle him. In a letter to his cousin in South Carolina, he revealed that his time abroad furnished a rejoinder to Harriet Martineau, the social reformer whose book, *Society in America,* continued to provoke Southern resentment even a decade after its publication:

> 'I wish some of the philanthropists who prate and preach so eloquently about slavery and the treatment of slaves in the United States, would come and study a little among the free people of Egypt. I hope Miss Martineau who wrote so much about us at the South has received some new lights by this time, from her travelling here unless she is more blind than she is deaf, she must have seen not a few things to shock her humanity…'[151]

Crafts, like many white Southerners, understood the power of firsthand testimony and believed that if sufficient numbers of British travellers in the United States witnessed slavery firsthand, the seemingly insurmountable differences between

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[150] Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall,* p. 195.

[151] College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, South Carolina, Mss0034-018 (Letters of George Ingles Crafts, 1846-7) Crafts to Maria Campbell, 17 September 1847. William Gilmore Simms rebutted Martineau's efforts to depict the abolition crusade as a second American revolution, arguing that the principles guiding the founding generation derived from English tradition rather than the radical doctrine of equality. See Simms, 'The Morals of Slavery,' in William Harper et al. *The Pro-Slavery Argument as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States* (Charleston SC, 1852), pp. 252-9.

British public opinion and the robust proslavery politics of his own section could be overcome.

Edward Heriot, a South Carolinian planter, also endeavoured to persuade his English relations of slavery's benevolence and bemoaned that Stowe had found such favour with them given the manner in which her 'morbid and heated imagination fanned into a flame' the dangerous passions of American abolitionists and jeopardized the Union itself.[152] He maintained that he desired nothing more than to have his correspondents visit his plantation and see firsthand the relations that existed between his family and his slaves, hoping he could induce one of his female relations to 'write a book' that would 'put matters in their light and conceal the errors that Miss Bremer and Mrs. Stowe have fallen into.'[153] Heriot's letters suggest that he took seriously the duty of persuading his English relatives that their knowledge of the South's Peculiar Institution derived from unreliable sources. His commitment stemmed in part from the intimacy of his relationship with his correspondents, particularly he was able to renew the bonds of kinship during a visit several years previously, but Heriot's passionate appeal to English sympathy and understanding echoed that of other Southerners whose claims to Anglo-American kinship lacked such biogenetic grounding.

Gabriel Manigault shared Edward Heriot's concern with British public opinion. He noticed that, upon learning he was American, the English people he encountered asked him almost immediately whether he was from the North or the

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[152] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Small Manuscript Collections, Sec. A Box 64 (Edward Thomas Heriot Papers), Edward Heriot to unknown correspondent, 20 April 1853.
[153] Ibid., Edward Heriot to Anne[?], April 1854.

South and, learning the answer, 'observed him very closely.' Manigault attributed their interest to the international popularity of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which produced the 'profound impression' that 'slaveowners were…generally thought to be a set of hard-hearted brutes whose greatest pleasure was to torture and ill use their slaves.' Eager to combat what he perceived as a grave misunderstanding, Manigault deployed his 'gentle manners' in society, and delightfully noted that, when he left his English acquaintances, the idea 'that there were refined and polished people who were owners of slaves seemed to dawn upon them for the first time.'[154]

Robert Barnwell similarly attributed the antislavery sentiment he encountered in Germany to an over-familiarity with Stowe's brand of sentimental fiction but suggested that some of his fellow countrymen were less assiduous in their duty as representatives of the slaveholding states than Manigault. He described one of his acquaintances who 'use[d] the method of riling up the sentiment which has sprung up so rank in Europe,' and 'told some ladies who were turning up their eyes and hands in dying horrors of the heartless treatment of the poor Carolina slaves' that they used the surplus slave population, to 'feed our hounds with and fish with a little nigger for sharks.' The pleasure that Barnwell evidently derived in narrating the 'spasmodic heavings of the heart' and 'vehement ejaculations of "Monster!"' that ensued suggest that he might have harboured the desire to 'rile up sentiment' himself. Regardless, his own exchange with two women of antislavery convictions culminated in a 'furious talk' about slavery and an abrupt departure

[154] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, MSS 1001 (Gabriel E. Manigault Autobiography), p. 180.

without any common ground being found between the 'cruel traffickers in Human souls' and the 'foolish and ignorant sentimental creatures, who would weep their eyes blue if they thought the old man in the moon had the toothache.'[155]

Even more than the caustic assaults of Brownwell's companion, Henry Maney, a young lawyer from North Carolina, demonstrated both the acme and the nadir of Anglo-American kinship in his account of a railroad journey from Liverpool to London. Maney recounted how he and his companions delighted in catching a glimpse of Harrow from the train, a 'spot sacred in the early memories of many of England's gifted sons,' flooded in 'glorious sunlight.'[156] As they rhapsodized over Byron's alma mater, an Englishman 'broached the subject of slavery,' and a member of Maney's party, 'a Virginian who in his heart believed that slavery was not only no stigma on his country's escutcheon, but was indeed a divine institution, ordained by Heaven itself' took to correcting him. As Maney described the unfortunate encounter, 'a sharp controversy ensued' until the Virginian 'wheeling off, remarked in his wrath to his opponent that he hadn't the brains to comprehend nor the candor to confess the truth, and he declined all further discussion with him.'[157] The English interlocutor eventually dropped the subject, but the mood of the carriage had darkened considerably. When the train finally pulled into Euston Station, the sunshine the party had enjoyed earlier was nowhere to be found and the Southerners instead braced themselves against a torrent of hail on their way to their

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[155] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, Mss Vol. bd. 1854 (Robert Woodward Barnwell Papers, 1856-1862), 'Leaves from Italy and Tyrol,' recorded under 'Landick' [sic], n. p.
[156] Henry Maney, *Memories over the Water; or Stray Thoughts on a Long Stroll* (Nashville, 1854), p. 37.
[157] Ibid., p. 38.

lodgings. As Maney's story illustrates, Southerners readily projected themselves into an imagined Britain predicated on an idealized past burnished with literary allusion, but, when confronted with reality, many departed cold and wet.

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Transatlantic tourism constituted a crucible in which volatile reactions of race, section, religion, class, and nationality could culminate in an enhanced sense of Anglo-American kinship among white Southerners or merely precipitate a pronounced sense of their own isolation as a slave society. Strengthened by the rites of travel, Anglo-American kinship proved a valuable resource for white Southerners insofar as it provided an alternative language of self-expression amidst growing sectional tensions that threatened a coherent American identity. Like all such languages, however, it possessed clear limitations. White Southerners attempted to ameliorate the disjuncture between their own proslavery views and the antislavery legacy of Great Britain by situating the roots of their relatedness in an idealized past so crowded with objects of filiopietistic devotion that little room remained for the controversies of the day. In this respect they differed greatly from their black counterparts who articulated a vision of Anglo-American kinship predicated equally on a common past and a future comradery as equal partners in the battle to end slavery. White Southerners' encounters with the reality of their transatlantic cousins' commitment to abolition periodically left them disenchanted, but far from abandoning the principle of Anglo-American kinship, they merely retreated deeper into its historical grounding. For white Southerners like William Brawley, whose peripatetic treading of dusty cloisters in England imparted to him the sense 'that the

middle ages is a reality,' a new ritual of Anglo-American kinship emerged to provide the sense of rootedness that travel afforded without the entanglements of contemporary politics.[158]

[158] Brawley, *The Journal of William H. Brawley,* p. 35.

Chapter Two

'Travelling Back to the Starry Glories of the Dark Ages with Commendable Speed': Ring Tournaments and Southern Identity

'Now shall you prove by your skill and valor that the days of chivalry have not been extinguished forever; but, in the strong arms and bold hearts of you, her votaries, shall be revived that spirit of valor and rivalry with which are associated the bring names of Bayard, Ivanhoe, Montgomery and De Courey. No pennants here or royal banners wave before you—the pomp and pageantry of feudal chieftains dazzle not your eyes—no minstrel's song or falcon's flight attract you—no stars of heraldry or cloth of gold overhand and encompass you—but far warmer, brighter, richer welcome's greet you—noblest of the freest land; matrons and fair daughters of America smile on you, gallant knights and cheer you on to feats of high enterprise. Your heraldry is freedom's gift; your cloth of gold, the stars on her azure flag.'[1]

At the 1854 commencement ceremony at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Irish nationalist and pro-slavery apologist John Mitchel spoke on the question of progress in the nineteenth-century.[2] He conceded the reality of material advances as wide-ranging as the harnessing of gas and steam power, the printing-press, upholstering, and magnetic telegraphs, but he maintained that these trappings of modernity were 'altogether irrelevant' when one considered the enormity of what had been lost in the process. The rise of industry and its attendant fixation on profit margins had supplanted the cultural values on which western civilization was founded: honour, virtue, and courtesy, or put more concisely, the

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[1] 'Letter from Capon—The Tournament,' *Baltimore Sun,* 6 September 1853.

[2] Mitchel was one of several Young Ireland immigrants whose brand of anti-abolitionist and pro-slavery rhetoric in the service of Irish nationalism proved particularly attractive to Southerners and Southern sympathizers. See David Sim, *A Union Forever: The Irish Question and Foreign Relations in the Victorian Age* (Ithaca NY, 2013), pp. 72-3.

ideal of chivalry. Mitchel argued that the movement of history was towards declension, rather than progress, finding infinitely more to admire in the fifteenth century than the nineteenth. Reflecting on his address, Mitchel later acknowledged that his remarks likely ran contrary to the expectations of his audience. Though he observed the great courtesy with which they treated him, he felt that the majority of his listeners did not 'in their own hearts assent' to his conclusions.[3] Far from taking umbrage at his Carlylean critique of material progress, however, Mitchel's audience proved highly receptive to his comments. Indeed, Mitchel's only error had been to assume that chivalry was a dead letter, at least insofar as his Virginian listeners were concerned. The editor of the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* argued that if Mitchel had spent more time in the South:

> he would be moved to unsay a great deal that he has said and to acknowledge, that in respect to chivalry, he has done the nineteenth century some injustice, and that it is, on the whole, in this part of the world, a progressive century, and is travelling back to the starry glories of the dark ages with commendable speed. [4]

In the editor's view, the most evident manifestation of chivalry's staying power in the Old Dominion was the tremendous popularity of the tournament. Between 1840 and the close of the nineteenth century, communities throughout the South staged hundreds of medieval re-enactments centred around a variation of the joust that came to be known as the ring tournament. As the editorial demonstrates, antebellum Southerners were already cognisant of the sport as a unique cultural form that served as a conduit between the nineteenth century and the medieval past. At first glance, the enduring popularity of these sporting events as spectacles

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[3] William Dillon, *Life of John Mitchel,* vol. 2, (London, 1888), p. 56.
[4] 'The Tournament,' (Richmond, Virginia), *Daily Dispatch*, 2 October 1854.

and the broader enthusiasm for the 'starry glories of the dark ages' among the Southerners who participated in them appear to evince the South's pathological infatuation with chivalric romance—a condition that Mark Twain memorably styled the 'Sir Walter Disease.'[5] As this chapter will demonstrate, however, nineteenth-century ring tournaments were not mindless re-enactments of a romanticized medieval past but vital social rituals that spoke to the challenges of the present albeit in syntax derived from Southerners' understanding of a historical time far distant from their own. Tournaments functioned as venues for celebrating shared values and aspirations, reinforcing the boundaries of belonging, and minimizing the disruptive effects of social conflict but, above all, in the decades before the Civil War, they signified a particular type of Southerness rooted in a mythologized British past that stimulated thinking about sectional difference that persisted long after the project of Confederate nationhood failed.

Tournaments and Southern Identity in Historical Perspective

On balance, the ring tournament has served as little more than a colourful sideshow in the historical literature surrounding Southern identity. John Hope Franklin viewed tournaments as indicative of the 'martial spirit' that pervaded the culture of the region and characterized them as appealing to the many white Southerners who 'pursued a vicarious existence through the colourful pages of *Ivanhoe.*'[6] Ted Ownby emphasized the tournament as one of several amusements for

[5] Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi,* (Boston, 1883), p. 468.
[6] John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 195, 200-2.

social elites that conformed to evangelical notions of proper behaviour.[7] Literary scholars and intellectual historians have interpreted tournaments in light of Southerners' enduring engagement with Romanticism, though these studies frequently diverge when considering how Romanticism should be defined and whether Southerners' attachment to it constituted evidence of the region's backwardness.[8] As contemporaries consistently recognized the ring tournament as a distinctively Southern cultural form attracting few imitators north of the Mason-Dixon Line, these pageants have periodically served as ammunition in the historiographical battles over whether the South should be considered as a world apart from the modern, bourgeois North. More recent skirmishers have been careful to specify that such distinctions existed primarily in the minds of Southerners themselves, however.[9]

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[7] Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill and London, 1990), pp. 70-6.

[8] Rollin Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (Baton Rouge LA, 1949), pp. 11-16. Osterweis deemed the South to be a static premodern society and characterized its Romanticism as a force for conservative stability whereas Michael O'Brien has made a compelling argument both for the region's intellectual curiosity and the dynamism of Southern Romanticism in particular. See O'Brien, 'The Lineaments of Antebellum Southern Romanticism, in *Rethinking the South: Essays In Intellectual History* (Athens GA, 1993), pp. 38-45 and *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South*, *1810-1860* (Chapel Hill NC, 2004).

[9] Ritchie Devon Watson, *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, 2008), pp. 19-46. Watson recently argued that ring tournaments demonstrated Southerners were 'addicted to medieval-inspired fantasies of chivalry, aristocracy, female purity, and masculine honor that were drastically out of sync with the prevailing commercial spirit of America's burgeoning lasses-fair capitalism,' (p. 51) but the bulk of recent historiography suggests that the slave South, far from spurning modern capitalism, became one of its driving forces. See in particular, Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge MA and London, 2013); Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York, 2014); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2014).

Even when according tournaments consideration commensurate with their prominence and cultural resonance in the South, the historical literature tends to approach them as embodiments of regional peculiarity rather than as rituals that can yield insight into the tensions and contradictions of antebellum society. This is all the more surprising given the rich historiography surrounding Southern duelling practices that has emerged in the wake of the cultural turn.[10] Where historians have engaged with the ring tournament as a social ritual, they have generally focussed on its implications for understanding the postbellum South, as recent treatments on the relationship between riding at the ring and the emergence of the KKK and the Lost Cause mythology demonstrate.[11] The greatest impetus for studying Southern ring tournaments in relation to the formation of regional and national identity in the antebellum period has come from outside the United States, perhaps in consequence of the comparative richness of the historiography surrounding popular memory of

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[10] On duelling as a social ritual in the South see, Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, 2013)pp. 21-43; Todd Hagstette, 'Dueling and Identity: Constructions of Honor Violence in Nineteenth-Century Southern Letters,' (University of South Carolina, Columbia, MA Diss., 2010), pp. 10-43; Steven M. Stowe, 'The "Touchiness" of the Gentleman Planter: The Sense of Esteem and Continuity in the Antebellum South,' *Psychohistory Review* 8 (Winter 1979), pp. 6-17; Steven M. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 5-49; Elliott J. Gorn, '"Gouge and Bite: Pull Hair and Scratch": The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry,' *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985), pp. 18-43; Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Death, Humanitarianism, Slave Rebellions, The Pro-slavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton NJ, 1996), pp. 144-53. This body of literature owes much to the concept of 'deep play' articulated in the now classic Clifford Geertz, 'Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,' in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp. 412-56.

[11] Paul Christopher Anderson, 'Rituals of Horsemanship: A Speculation on the Ring Tournament and the Origins of the Ku Klux Klan' in Stephen Berry (ed.) *Weirding the Civil War: Stories from the War's Ragged Edges* (Athens GA, 2011), pp. 215-33; Kelley N. Seay, 'Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland,' *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (Spring 2004), pp. 50-80.

the Middle Ages and the various ways in which modern European nations have marshalled it in the service of nationalist and imperialist ends.[12]

While recent scholarship departs quite drastically from the earlier historical literature in its methodological approaches and cultural orientation, the single greatest divergence revolves around the question of the ring tournament's origins and whether the sport should be considered a pre-Revolutionary survival or an antebellum revival. Early historians generally assumed the former. One late nineteenth-century chronicler argued that:

> In many respects the founders of the sport were not unlike the knights and cavaliers of the Middle Ages, in the romantic and sunny days of chivalry, who, brave and fearless, in bright armor and flowing plumes, shivered their lances in oft-times fatal combat, under the eyes of their appreciative mistresses. In many cases, they were directly descended from these same knights, who distinguished themselves on hard-fought battle-fields in France, against the flower of French chivalry. It was but natural, in view of his ancestry and characteristics that the Southerner should have gone back to a period fruitful in romances and instances of personal bravery and daring.[13]

Citing the opinion of prominent antiquarians in Virginia and Maryland, the author concluded that the origins of the tournament 'will ever remain shrouded in mystery,

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[12] Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Sir Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 106-126; Lawrence T. McDonnell, 'Elizabethan Dreams, Victorian Nightmares: Antebellum South Carolina's Future through an English Looking Glass' in Cornelis A. van Millen and Manfred Berg, (eds.), *The U.S. South and Europe: Transatlantic Relations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Louisville KY, 2013), pp. 87-104. Although based in the United States, McDonnell's essay represented part of a larger collaboration between European and American scholars. For further examination of Medieval afterlives in modern Europe see Stephanie L Barczewski, *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Legends of King Arthur and Robin Hood* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 201-46; R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal (eds.) *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins,* eds. (Basingstoke, 2011); Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2003); Pit Péporté, *Historiography, Collective Memory and Nation-Building in Luxembourg* (Leiden, 2011).

[13] Hanson Hiss, 'The Knights of the Lance in the South,' *Outing Magazine* 31 (1898), pp. 338-44

far back in the sepulchre of American colonial history.'[14] Esther J. Crooks and Ruth W. Crooks, whose study of American ring tournaments remains the most comprehensive historical treatment to date, maintained that tournaments had emerged only in the nineteenth century but nevertheless conceded the persistence of a folklore tradition that situated the sport's origins in a distant colonial past.[15] As late as the 1950s, historians still considered the theory that colonists had imported ring tournaments from England in the sixteenth century, albeit with varying degrees of credulity.[16] In claiming a colonial prehistory for ring tournaments, however grudgingly, twentieth-century historians mirrored the language of the nineteenth-century Southerners who had staged them, but the actual origins of the sport were far less shrouded in the mists of time.

Traditions Inherited and Invented

If historians had erred in ascribing an antiquity to ring tournaments they did not possess, they were at least correct in assuming that their cultural antecedents lay in Britain. A precursor of the nineteenth-century ring tournament might plausibly be located in the Mischianza, a Revolutionary War era fête that Major John André organized in Philadelphia to honour General William Howe featuring a

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[14] Ibid., p. 339.
[15] E. J. Crooks and R. W. Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States* (Richmond, 1936), p. 11.
[16] See for instance, Marjorie Craig, 'And Still They Ride,' *The High School Journal* 29 (March/April 1946): 73-5 and 'Survivals of the Chivalric Tournament in Southern Life and Literature' (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, MA Diss., 1935), *passim*; Inez Parker Cumming, 'Vestige of Chivalry: Ring Tournaments in the South,' *The Georgia Review* 9 (Winter 1955): 411-12; G. Harrison Orians, 'The Origin of the Ring Tournament in the United States,' *Maryland Historical Magazine* 36 (September 1941): 263-5.

jousting tournament as one of its entertainments. While the costumes and knightly aliases adopted by André's men anticipated practices widely associated with antebellum ring tournaments, the jousting lacked the competitive elements of its medieval form that which ultimately took hold in the Southern states.[17] A stronger case for the wellspring of Southern tournament culture can be made for the Eglinton Tournament of 1839.

Organized, at great expense, by Lord Eglinton on the grounds of his estate near Kilwinning, Scotland, the tournament featured the spectacle of 40 knights dressed in purportedly authentic plate armour and a lavishly attired retinue of courtiers. Ostensibly offered to supplement the meagre celebrations around Victoria's coronation after budget-minded Whigs had dispensed with many of the traditional formalities, the tournament was, in the words of one historian, as much a 'symbol of Tory defiance, of aristocratic virility, of hatred of the Reform Bill, of protest against the "sordid, heartless, sensual doctrines of Utilitarianism"' as a serious effort to re-enact the past.[18] Individuals from every corner of the British Isles, and some from as far away as Europe and the Americas, wrote the earl asking for tickets and, subsequently, demand for lodgings in the village was so great that one newspaper reported that the tariffs levied for a fortnight's stay would pay the

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[17] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* 2nd ed. (New Haven CT, 2005), pp. 147-8; Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution,* vol. 2, (New York, 1852), pp. 303-7; Daniel O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis in the Atlantic Imperium* (Baltimore MD, 2011), pp. 149-155; O'Quinn suggests that the medieval tournament represented the most revolutionary aspect of the entertainment, occurring as it did amidst a critical re-evaluation of Gothic as a historical category in Britain.

[18] Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven CT, 1981), p. 93.

householders' rents for a year.[19] Despite the high hopes of both the knights and assembled multitudes, torrential rains made a mockery of the first day as it transformed the streamer-bedecked lists into an impassable river of mud and stranded thousands of spectators who had come to witness the festivities.[20] Nevertheless, the pageant resumed the following morning and subsequent days saw the attendance of an estimated 70,000 visitors, including a sizeable contingent of Americans.[21]

The degree of attention the Eglinton Tournament received in the American press undoubtedly heightened its effect on the Southern imagination. While many British papers (especially those with Whig leanings) had lampooned the event as a scandalously expensive debacle, American readers absorbed only the majesty and spectacle as the lavishly detailed accounts of the event spilled over the columns in newspapers across the nation in the weeks afterwards.[22] Amidst the profusion of coverage, some criticisms did reach the United States, however. One Philadelphia paper printed a lengthy extract from *The Spectator* that purported to record the transactions of the 'Eglintoun Patent Mopstick Middle Age Recovery Society' and opined that the knights would have been better served by trading their lances for

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[19] Ian Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament* (London, 1963), pp. 167-70; *Lynchburg Virginian,* 10 June 1839.
[20] Albert D. Pionke, 'A Ritual Failure: The Eglinton Tournament, the Victorian Medieval Revival, and Victorian Ritual Culture,' *Studies in Medievalism,* vol. 16 (2008), pp. 31-3.
[21] *Daily National Intelligencer,* 21 Nov. 1839; James Aikman, *An Account of the Tournament at Eglinton…With a Biographical Notice of the Eglinton Family* (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 7.
[22] Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven CT, 2007), p. 109; Girouard, *The Return to Camelot,* p. 103; Pionke, 'A Ritual Failure: The Eglinton Tournament, the Victorian Medieval Revival, and Victorian Ritual Culture,' p. 37. Several American newspapers reprinted British press coverage in full. See for instance *Daily National Intelligencer* 19 September 1839, 26 September 1839; *New York Herald*, 10 October 1839.

umbrellas.[23] While on tour in New York, Scottish phrenologist George Combe commented that many of the Americans he encountered could not comprehend the attraction that such medieval playacting held for their British cousins, and expressed their 'gratitude to Providence that they have no titled and wealthy aristocracy to play such childish and fantastic tricks.'[24] In the South, however, such opinions were comparatively rare. The reports that trickled into Southern papers overwhelmingly emphasized the more successful aspects of the event and almost entirely elided the political posturing that had precipitated it.

While the extensive press coverage of Eglinton undoubtedly fuelled demand for imitations on the other side of the Atlantic, the first tournament held in the South and, most probably, in the United States, emerged as a result of one man's personal enthusiasm. Twenty-three-year-old William Gilmor, departed Maryland 1838 to commence his Grand Tour and had been one of the many Americans in attendance at Eglinton. The chivalric pageantry he witnessed retained a hold on his imagination long after he returned home and one year later, he hosted the Vineyard Tourney on his family's estate outside of Baltimore.[25] The practice quickly spread to the nearby health resorts and, by the following year, several Virginia springs organized their

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[23] *The North American*, 23 October 1839.
[24] George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America During a Phrenological Visit in 1838-1840,* vol. 2, (Philadelphia PA, 1841), p. 154.
[25] Hiss, 'The Knights of the Lance in the South' p. 342; Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 11. Most of the evidence linking Gilmor to the Eglinton Tournament is somewhat circumstantial, but he applied for a passport in 1838, suggesting that he was in Europe at the time. See National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; *Passport Applications, 1795-1905*; Roll #: *6*; Volume #: *Roll 006 - 02 Jan 1838-30 Dec 1838;* NARA Series: *Registers and Indexes for Passport Applications, 1810-1906*; Roll #: *1*; Volume #: *Roll 1 - Register of Passport Applications, 14 Nov 1834-08 May 1843.*

own tournaments. The events proved so popular that they swiftly became annual traditions at many resorts. Some, particularly the annual tournament at Fauquier White Sulphur, became social highlights of the season and attracted the same competitors and spectators year after year.[26] Over the next decade, the ring tournaments quickly spread into the Deep South. By the mid-1850s they were well established in the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi. In addition to invitational tournaments hosted by local plantation owners, jousting became a popular commercial enterprise, often featuring in conjunction with other major events and entertainments such as state agricultural fairs, cattle sales, and, most incongruously, Fourth of July celebrations.

Despite the rapid diffusion of tournaments throughout the South, the form remained remarkably consistent. Much like other nineteenth-century festive rites, jousting tournaments encompassed moments of structure and spontaneity that varied little regardless of geographical location.[27] They typically opened with a procession of riders to the tournament grounds. Once the competitors had taken their places, some local public figure, in many cases a newspaper editor, politician, or judge, would be invited to deliver the 'charge' to the knights. These often exhorted the young men to uphold Christian values and attain honour (and the hearts of the fairer sex) through their self-mastery. Following the competition, the winner and runners up received their prizes. These varied from silver plate to horse tack and, at one competition in Montgomery, Alabama, a hundred dollars worth of

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[26] Charlene N. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville VA, 2001), p. 204.
[27] Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst MA, 1997), p. 21.

women's jewellery.[28] The champion also earned the privilege of selecting the young woman who would be crowned the Queen of Love and Beauty following the tournament, while runners-up chose her attending maids of honour. Mirroring the 'charge' addressed to the knights, a second orator often directed remarks toward the women. The festivities then concluded with a coronation ball presided over by the newly crowned Queen and her gallant champion. In addition, the more elaborate commercial tournaments frequently incorporated banquets, costume parades or other recreational activities like gander pulling or horse racing, although in these instances, tilting at the ring still received top billing.[29] While animated by a desire to emulate the degree of authenticity supposedly displayed at Eglinton, the organizers of these events were forced to adapt their thirteenth-century re-enactments to nineteenth-century realities.

Above all else, the scarcity of medieval plate armour fundamentally altered the development of the ring tournament in the South. Unlike at Eglinton, where the knights charged directly at each other with the intention of unhorsing their opponent or at least splintering their lance on his shield, riders in American tournaments generally rode against inanimate targets. At the Vineyard Tourney, competitors drew their lances against a quintain—a weighted wooden mannequin that could be 'unseated' if struck. Samuel Hoffman acquired a 'wooden man' for a tournament in Sweet Springs Virginia in 1840 that was 'intentionally made too heavy to yield to blow.' Only his brother-in-law's 'firm and graceful seat' saved him

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[28] Jeffrey C. Benton, *Respectable and Disreputable: Leisure Time In Antebellum Montgomery, Alabama* (Montgomery AL, 2013), p. 48.
[29] Jeane Niccolls, 'Quite a Gala Day: Ring Tournaments in Fairfax County,' *Yearbook of the Historical Society of Fairfax County* 29 (2003-2004), p. 60.

from the embarrassment of an unhorsing when he lodged his 'sharply polished lance' in the 'bosom of the wooden man' at full speed.[30] Elsewhere, knights rode through a timed course over which were suspended a series of rings fancifully described as being 'in circumference as large as a ladies bracelet,' or 'no bigger than the Fairy Queen's girdle'[31] The competitor who managed to capture the greatest number of rings on the end of his lance over the course of a series of trials was crowned the champion.[32] By dispensing with the need for armour, American tournament organizers significantly democratized the sport, as even many of the English nobility had found the cost of obtaining suitable protection for the Eglinton tournament to be prohibitively expensive. Lord Glenlyon's bill totalled £346 9s 6d and even the more economical knights paid upwards of £200 for their armour and equipment. Lord Eglinton spent an estimated £40,000 on his tournament, a bill few Southern knights would have been willing to foot, even in the name of honour.[33]

Both of these non-contact forms of jousting had existed during the Middle Ages, but they had primarily served as a means of honing the precision of mounted

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[30] Earl Gregg Swem Library, William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, Mss. 39.1 H67 (Samuel Hoffman Papers), Folder 5: Samuel Hoffman to Louisa Gilmor Hoffman, 20 August 1840.

[31] 'A Letter from Warrenton Springs,' *Richmond Whig,* 18 August 1843; *Bedford Register,* 9 September 1843. The rings varied by size but most appear to have been between one and two inches in diameter. The rules for a tournament in Boydton, Virginia specified that the rings would be two inches and covered with red flannel and that the knights' lances should be no shorter than seven feet long. See Virginia Historical Society, Mss. 1 W7153a 1160 (Wimbish Family Papers), sec. 29, 'Rules and Regulations to Govern the Boydton Tournament.' n.d.

[32] The practice of riding at rings appears to have originated at the Fauquier White Sulphur Tournament in 1840, although the inspiration for this innovation remains unclear. The second day of the Eglinton Tournament featured an exhibition of horsemanship in which the knights charged at rings suspended over the lists, but Gilmor does not seem to have incorporated any such exercise in his tournament. For mention of the demonstrations that followed the joust at Eglinton, see *The Southern Patriot* (Charleston), 19 October 1839.

[33] Girouard, *The Return to Camelot,* p. 93; Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella,* p. 234.

warriors in preparation for combat rather than as a showpiece of competitive tournaments and opportunity for the display of courtly love as Southerners believed.[34] Regardless, such anachronisms did not prevent the competitors and spectators at these events from envisioning themselves participating in an unbroken tradition extending back into a distant heraldic past—indeed, the formulaic coverage these events received in the Southern press almost always emphasized the authenticity of the proceedings. One newspaper editor claimed that a tournament evoked the Middle Ages so vividly that spectators felt a 'cold chill of admiration running all the way down their spine.'[35] A young girl similarly expressed Southerners' willingness to suspend their disbelief on entering the tournament grounds when she exclaimed that a judge 'might have risen from the grave where he had "lain for centuries dead," so well did his robes correspond with the pictures of the past.'[36]

Obvious anachronisms notwithstanding, antebellum Southerners frequently assumed a strong degree of kinship between their tournament culture and that of the Middle Ages, expressed most often in terms of historical authenticity. Orators tasked with conveying the larger significance of tournaments to the would-be knights and assembled spectators, as well as the newspaper correspondents who fancied themselves latter-day Froissarts in their accounts of the chivalric proceedings, frequently expounded at length on the medieval tournament and its

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[34] Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), p. 28; R. Coltman Clephan, *The Medieval Tournament* (New York, 1995), pp. 6-7.
[35] Richmond *Daily Dispatch,* 20 October 1854. See also *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette,* 3 October 1849.
[36] Susan Eppes**,** *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon GA, 1926), p. 22.

direct bearing on their own tradition, though few seriously interrogated the manner of its transmission to the New World.[37] Indeed, their very efforts to recount the tournament's history often invited conflations of cultural continuity with consanguinity that only served to further obscure its origins. Such was the case at a Memphis tournament shortly after the Civil War in which an orator met with resounding cheers upon addressing the knights in terms that would have been familiar to anyone who had attended a Southern tournament in the preceding twenty years: 'these exercises are particularly appropriate to you, the sons of the South and the lineal descendants of brave cavaliers, in whose blood still survives…by natural inheritance the chivalrous virtue of your ancestors.'[38]

In some cases, such pronouncements proved particularly apt. Alexander McTavish, who rode in an 1849 Maryland tournament, certainly embodied Anglo-American kinship and the gentility it was so broadly assumed to convey in the context of tournament oratory. His father had formerly served as the British consul in Baltimore and his mother was the granddaughter of a signer of the Declaration of Independence. One of his mother's sisters had married the Duke of Wellington's elder brother during his tenure as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and another became the Duchess of Leeds and claimed Queen Victoria as a personal friend.[39] Few Southern knights could lay claim to such an unimpeachable pedigree, however, so

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[37] Many newspaper correspondents took the name of the fourteenth-century court historian as a nom de plume. See for instance South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890, (Jousting Tournaments Collection), "The Tournament Held at Pineville, S.C. April 28, 1851" [Typescript of an article republished in the Berkley Gazette, June 5, 1884], p. 8.
[38] Memphis *Daily Avalanche,* 23 May 1866.
[39] See Jehanne Wake, *Sisters of Fortune: America's Caton Sisters at Home and Abroad* (New York, 2012).

the tournament rhetoric surrounding Anglo-American kinship expanded to encompass alternative criteria for belonging.

References to a common character or adherence to a shared set of values joined blood as a basis for the claimed kinship between Southern knights and their medieval forebears. An observer at an 1857 tournament in Fauquier County, Virginia evoked the idea of a relationship between the knights of yore and the young Southrons readying themselves for glory in the tournament in terms that relied as much upon as commonality as consanguinity when he asserted that these 'descendents of the knights of the olden time' possessed the same 'chivalric spirit' that animated their ancestors. Although recognizing in his time that '*armes á outrance* are superseded by the rockets,' he expressed his belief that the latter-day knights he observed trying their luck in the lists would prove themselves worthy of their ancestors' names, if given sufficient opportunity.[40] Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, paraphrasing Edmund Burke, similarly enjoined the knights at an 1844 tournament to remember that they were 'descended from a race of gallant men, of honour and of cavaliers'[41] In addition to martial prowess, merely taking part in tournaments sometimes served as a signifier of kinship such as when a judge concluded his charge to one victorious knight by suggesting that the 'the noble sport, the glory of our ancestors of a former generation' would 'become the pride of this.'[42]

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[40] Norfolk *Herald,* 5 September 1857 in Harnett T. Kane, (ed.) *The Romantic South* (New York, 1961), p. 182.
[41] *Daily National Intelligencer,* 13 September 1844. See Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* vol. 1 (London, 1821), p. 105. Many tournament orators would have taken umbrage at a subsequent passage in which he declaimed that 'the age of chivalry is gone' (106).
[42] *Alexandria Gazette,* 6 September 1842.

By advancing such alternative bases of belonging, tournaments theoretically supported an understanding of kinship that was sufficiently inclusive to extend to those outside a strictly genetic Anglo-American inheritance. In practice, however, the logic advanced by orators and newspaper correspondents constituted a seamless feedback loop in which the chivalric spirit of Southern men signified their descent from the knightly classes and established participation in tournaments as a birthright even as their participation in said tournaments embodied a spirit of gallantry that revealed the superiority of their ancestry. Few Northerners found their way into Southern lists before the Civil War and even fewer attempted to foster a tournament culture in their own region.[43] Indeed, their seeming indifference occasionally morphed into open hostility such as when one newspaper editor expressed disbelief that 'men, grown men, in this practical age and country, should make such "Jack Puddings" of themselves as some of the Southern "Chivalry" have done at Warrenton Springs.'[44] The unnamed correspondent who covered the grand tournament held in Pineville, South Carolina in 1859 may have had such jibes in mind when he prefaced his letter to the Charleston *Courier* with an extended quotation from Ben Jonson's play, *The New Inn:*

> "Call you that desperate, which by a line,
> of institution, from our ancestors,
> Hath been derived down to us, and received,
> In a succession for the noblest way
> Of breeding up our youth in letters, arms,
> Fair mien, discourses, civil exercise,

[43] A record of a small tournament held in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania survives but the high proportion of participants from slave states, as well as the resort's proximity to the Maryland border, help account for this seeming anomaly. See *Baltimore Sun,* 23 August 1854.

[44] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 6 November 1844.

> And all the blazon of a gentleman?
> Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
> To move his body gracefully, to speak
> His language purer, or to tune his mind
> Or manners more to the harmony of nature,
> Than in these nurseries of nobility?[45]

Correspondents often embellished their accounts of tournaments with literary allusions to the works of Scott, Shakespeare, and other populizers of medieval history and romance, but few marshalled their sources so effectively when evoking the idea of an unbroken line of chivalric tradition spanning from England to the nineteenth-century South. In substance as well as form, the literary allusion advanced the notion of Anglo-American kinship as it effectively collapsed the distance separating past and present (to say nothing of the physical distance between South Carolina and England). Simultaneously, however, Lord Lovel's defence of chivalry as a 'nurser[y] of nobility' offered a rejoinder to critics who dismissed tournaments as frivolous and characterized them as a pastime unbecoming of republican citizens. In the guise of a long-dead English dramatist, the correspondent questioned how the characteristics he associated with gentility could be inculcated amongst Northern men in the absence of tournaments and their attendant ethos of chivalry. Appearing as it did nearly three years to the day after

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[45] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890, (Jousting Tournaments Collection), clipping from the Charleston *Courier,* 29 May 1859. It is possible that the writer possessed an appreciation for obscure Caroline era comedy, but more likely the quotation came to his attention through Scott's poem 'Rokeby' in which the entirety of the character's exchange appears in the notes to the fourth canto. Scott later revisited the passage in his essay on chivalry, originally published in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* but widely reprinted after his death. See Walter Scott, *Rokeby: A Poem in Six Cantos* (London, 1813), pp. 372-4; 'Essay on Chivalry,' in *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, *Bart*. vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1850), p. 54.

one of the state's representatives had brutally beaten Charles Sumner on the Senate Floor in retaliation for ungallant remarks towards his cousin and South Carolina Senator Andrew Butler, the observation reveals the extent to which tournaments clarified the sharpening divide between North and South.[46] Before examining the manner in which tournaments and the species of Anglo-American kinship they promoted fostered thinking along sectionalist lines, it is necessary to consider the diverse ways in which Southerners engaged with chivalry, both as a historical artefact and a vital ideology.

Chivalry and Sectionalism

Much as their appreciation of the tournament as a cultural inheritance from Great Britain rested upon a flawed perception of its antiquity, Southerners largely predicated their understanding of chivalry upon ahistorical readings of the medieval past. The species of Medievalism they espoused was something of a broad church,

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[46] Rep. Preston Brooks had initially intended to challenge Sumner to a duel but fellow South Carolina Representative Laurence Keitt persuaded him that physical chastisement would be the more appropriate response as a formal challenge would have meant recognizing Sumner as a social equal. In his 'Crime Against Kansas' speech, Sumner mingled sexual titillation with a critique of Southern hypocrisy, likening Butler to a quixotic figure who 'has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot, slavery.' Sumner justified his admittedly personal attack on the elderly senator on the grounds that Butler had 'run a tilt with such activity of animosity' against 'free-soilers' who wanted Kansas to enter the Union without slavery that 'the opportunity of exposing him should not be lost.' *Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, 19th and 20th May, 1856* (Boston, 1856), p. 11. For analysis of the role that honour and chivalry played in the assault see McDonnell, 'Elizabethan Dreams, Victorian Nightmares: Antebellum South Carolina's Future through an English Looking Glass' pp. 97-8; Stephen Puleo, *The Caning: The Assault that Drove America to Civil War* (Yardley PA, 2013); and William James Hoffer, *The Caning of Charles Sumner: Honor, Idealism, and the Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore MD, 2010), esp. pp. 7-35 and 66-97; Watson, *Normans and Saxons*, pp. 1-18.

encompassing large swaths of British and European history. To populate the ranks of an illustrious chivalric heritage, tournament orators and newspaper correspondents borrowed equally from history and fiction. The idealised courtiers of fifteenth-century chivalric romances, and their knight errant successors in nineteenth-century historical fiction, the knights who advanced the Christian faith on the edge of a sword during the Crusades, and the cavaliers who defended the prerogatives of the crown during the English Civil War all found their way into a unified theory of chivalry.[47] As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese have argued, the Southern conception of chivalry similarly owed a great deal to the iteration advanced by the commercial *grands bourgeois* during the Renaissance. Concern with honour, derived both from individual action and communal approbation, remained its central tenet, but Southerners additionally incorporated various characteristics such as refined manners, classical education, Christian virtue, and scorn for financial acquisitiveness, (though not for wealth) into their understanding of the concept.[48] In many respects, Southerners were far from exceptional in their acts of chivalric bricolage. Maurice Keen has demonstrated the extent to which, even during the Middle Ages, chivalry lacked conceptual clarity as a result of the diverse range of historical actors who deployed it and the different uses to which it was put. By interpreting chivalry more broadly as a code of conduct for

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[47] Tison Pugh, *Southern Literary Studies: Queer Chivalry: Medievalism and the Myth of White Masculinity in Southern Literature* (Baton Rouge LA, 2013), p. 11.
[48] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 332; Eugene Genovese, 'The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South,' *The Sewanee Review* 108 (Spring 2000), p. 191; Genovese, 'Southern Slaveholders' View of the Middle Ages,' in Rosenthal, Bernard and Paul E. Szarmach, (eds.) *Medievalism in American Culture.* (Binghamton NY, 1989), p. 34.

gentlemen, antebellum Southerners were contributing to a process that had been underway in Britain since the sixteenth century[49]

If their definitions of chivalry deviated somewhat from that of the historical Middle Ages, Southerners were largely united in viewing it as a positive remedy for societal ills, both past and present. Col. H. W. Walter, fresh from Confederate service, viewed chivalry as the sole redeeming characteristic of the Dark Ages and suggested to an assembled crowd in Holly Springs, Mississippi that knights had arisen to 'empty the cup of human agony.'[50] In Virginia, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker similarly credited chivalry with bestowing 'all the blessing of civilization' upon his native state and giving it a 'distinctive character.'[51] At the White Sulphur Springs resort, one tournament judge, defining chivalry as 'love of arms, attention to the point of honor, courtesy, liberality, generosity, clemency, loyalty, devotion to women, and devotion to religion,' claimed that the institution had 'spr[ung] into existence to remedy the frightful disorders' and 'arrest the downward progress of civilization' in the Dark Ages. The way he described the period, in which 'the whole frame work [sic] of society had well nigh been dissolved by the dissensions of the times, when governments were too weak to repress disorders,' and when 'the feeble were every where oppressed by the strong,' bears much resemblance to the dystopic futures

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[49] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven CT, 2005), p. 2. Keen maintained that the chivalry of the Middle Ages was best defined as an 'ethos in which martial, aristocratic, and Christian elements were fused together' but he subsequently suggested that it could also be understood as a 'secular ethic' (p. 16, 253). Nineteenth-century Southerners were similarly divided as to whether chivalry was best understood in moral or material terms. See also Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*: *Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300-c.1500* (Stroud, 2002); Girouard, *The Return to Camelot,* pp. 14-17.
[49] *Bedford Register,* 9 September 1843.
[50] Oxford *Falcon,* 2 August 1866 quoted in Anderson, p. 221.
[51] *Daily National Intelligencer,* 13 September 1844.

Southern proslavery apologists envisioned should abolition gain traction in the federal government.[52]

In drawing so sharp a contrast between the brutality of the Dark Ages and the 'blessings of civilization' that chivalry conferred, tournament orators escalated a battle being waged by proslavery partisans to identify chivalry exclusively with their section. James Johnston bemoaned in 1838 that 'the age of chivalry is taking its departure from So. Carolina and age of mobility is rising up in its place,' even as he found consolation in the fact that his was the 'last state in the union to give up her respect for gentlemen.'[53] George Fitzhugh, too, ascribed a sectional character to chivalry, arguing its contingency upon institutions and attitudes found only in slave societies. In the free states, he argued, 'hospitality is considered criminal waste, chivalry a stumbling-block, and the code of honor foolishness…what makes money, and what costs money, are alone desired.'[54] In the South, however, traits like 'chivalric piety, gallantry to women, truth, honor, and romance' prevailed and the Southern gentleman, 'as the outgrowth of Chivalry and Christianity' could claim kinship with the 'gentlemen whom Richard Coeur de Leon led to the walls of Jerusalem and who tilted at Ashmont and Montalban.'[55] Pockets of proslavery Democrats, from the South Carolina Lowcountry to Sacramento, California, carried

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[52] *Bedford Register,* 9 September 1843.
[53] Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Collection No. 592 (Pettigrew Family Papers), Ser. 1, Fol. 73, James Johnston to James Petigru(?), 2 December 1838.
[54] George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society* (Richmond VA, 1854), p. 235.
[55] George Fitzhugh, 'Johnson, Boswell, Goldsmith, etc.' *DeBow's Review* 27 (Apr. 1860), p. 412.

these sectional distinctions into the realm of politics, identifying themselves as 'the Chivalry' in opposition to their political rivals.[56]

Of course, the vehemence of Southerners' self-identification with the code of chivalry was a double-edged sword that Northern propagandists wielded with great skill. Petroleum V. Nasby, humourist David Ross Locke's crass and violently prejudiced caricature of the 'shivalry,' drew attention to the myriad ways in which Southerners' behaviour fell short of their lofty proclamations of gentility during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In a postwar letter, Nasby announced that he was forming 'The Southern Classikel, Theologicle and Military Institoot' where 'stoodents' would be taught to 'draw poker, pitchin dollars…spittin at a mark, revolver and bowie knife practice, tournament ridin at rings…and cat o'-nine tails' all the accomplishments associated with the 'troo Southern gentleman.'[57] If, as one literary scholar has claimed, the Nasby letters represented 'the Civil War etched in sulphuric acid,' then antebellum attacks on the hypocrisy of 'Southern chivalry' provided the model for the artist.[58]

Throughout the 1850s, the tone of a politician's engagement with the idea of chivalry served as a fairly accurate measure of their partisan leanings. Southern Democrats, particularly those who supported the Lecompton Compromise, tended to invoke it earnestly while free-soilers' allusions to the same dripped with

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[56] Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, p. 332; Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill NC, 2013), pp. 8, 47-8.
[57] "Mr Nasby and the Circle of Friends…feeling the need of an Institution of Learning for the Youth of Kentucky, project a College,' *Wheeling Intelligencer,* 21 December 1866.
[58] Joseph Jones, 'Introduction' in Joseph Jones (ed.) *The Struggles of Petroleum V Nasby by David Ross Locke* (Boston, 1963), pp. xi-xiv.

disdain.[59] The Senate debates surrounding the Compromise Bill in 1850 encapsulated this tendency. As Senators Henry Foote of Mississippi and David Rice Atchison of Missouri debated whether a proposed amendment went far enough to secure the principles of territorial self-government and, by extension, the rights of slaveholders, Senator John Parker Hale of New Hampshire stood up and facetiously asked whether the question could be taken, if the 'Southern chivalry' was satisfied with 'the issues and tournaments.'[60] Both Foote and Atchison immediately rose to call Hale to order, exclaiming that Hale had 'no right to speak of the Southern chivalry' nor 'to interfere in quarrels between Southern gentlemen.' Hale mulishly pretended not to understand the point of order and supposed that 'he should not say anything of the southern chivalry on the grounds that it was not respectful to speak of the dead.'[61] Such flippancy crystallized into bitterness as the sectional divide deepened. John Magee's iconic lithograph depicting Sumner's brutal assault at the hands of a frenzied Preston Brooks took as its title: 'Southern Chivalry: Arguments Versus Club's [sic].' Though prostrate from the repeated blows, Sumner's resolute grip on his quill left little doubt that, in claiming the moral high ground, the Northern pen was mightier than the Southern sword. Early in his career as a political cartoonist, Winslow Homer similarly evoked the discrepancy between

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[59] In some cases, Douglas Democrats adopted a middle way between these two extremes, affording 'the Chivalry' due courtesy whilst styling themselves in opposition, hence the rise of 'the shovelry' faction in California politics. See Smith, *Freedom's Frontier,* p. 8; David Alan Johnson, *Founding the Far West: California, Oregon, and Nevada, 1840-1890* (Berkeley CA, 1994), pp. 208-9.
[60] *Appendix to the Congressional Globe,* 31st Congress, pp. 1419-20.
[61] Ibid., p. 4120.

Brooks' claim of gentility and the barbarity of his actions in 'Argument of the Chivalry.'[62]

It was in antislavery literature, however, that ironic invocations of Southern chivalry scored their most palpable hits. Edmund Quincy, member of the American Anti-Slavery Society and sometime editor of the *Liberator,* facetiously declared slaveholders the equals of Sir Lancelot and Sir Gawain for putting otherwise defenceless black women and children under their immediate protection, concluding that 'the scourge, the chain, and the branding iron are as indispensable to the due discharge of the beneficent office of the modern knight, as were the sword, the shield and lance of his prototype of the [M]iddle ages.'[63] Abolitionist and women's rights advocate Jane Swisshelm proved even more direct in exposing the corruption evident beneath the elegant veneer of Southern chivalry when she said of a would-be knight, 'O his armour is bright, his steed is strong/ and his housings are rich and rare/ He *sold a baby* to buy him his horse/ And another his trappings fair.'[64]

Despite such pointed criticisms, few Southerners seriously questioned the compatibility of their two peculiar institutions. Nevertheless, their fealty to chivalry,

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[62] See David Tatham, 'Winslow Homer's "Arguments of the Chivalry," *American Art Journal* 5 (May 1973), pp. 86-9. Both Homer and Magee drew inspiration from a Henry Ward Beecher speech in support of Sumner during which he proclaimed, 'the symbol of the North is the pen, the symbol of the South is the bludgeon.' See Elias Nason, *The Life and Times of Charles Sumner: His Boyhood, Education and Public Career* (Boston MA, 1874), p. 227; Hoffer, *The Caning of Charles Sumner,* p. 91.
[63] Edmund Quincy, 'American Chivalry,' *The Liberty Bell* (Boston MA, 1842), p. 86, 91.
[64] Jane G. Swisshelm, 'Chivalry,' *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle,* 26 February 1845.

and to the Middle Ages as a historical epoch, occasionally appeared to waver.[65] T. L. Jackson Lears has argued that any expression of anti-modernism, competing as it must with visions of material progress, will be attended by a degree of ambivalence.[66] In the context of ring tournaments, this manifested in the manner in which participants frequently incorporated burlesque send-ups of the very ideals that they were enjoined to cherish. Recognizing the potential danger that chivalry posed, both as a too-rigorously upheld standard of behaviour and a retreat from reality, some orators used their 'charges' to temper the youthful enthusiasm of the riders even as they exhorted them to ever-higher standards of behaviour. Concerned that the aspiring knights at one tournament might become too swept up in the romance of the Middle Ages, George William Bagby sought to puncture their delusions:

> Mr. Sir Knights the age of tchivalry is over, and you may thank your stars that it is over. Zounds! Where would you be this day, if it were not over? Gadzooks! How would you feel with a small iron pot clapt close to your skull…What would be the state of your sudatory apparatus, if you had 200 lbs of skillet lids distributed over your precious persons? How your nerves would flatten if you knew that in ten minutes from this time the chances were that you would be knocked out of your saddle and landed flat on your black, twenty feet off in the road? And ten to one, the scoundrel who played you this tchivalric little trick, would crown your sweetheart, and she would smile upon him, and not even pay you the compliment of going to your funeral tomorrow…[67]

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[65] Genovese and Fox-Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, pp. 306-8; Adam L. Tate, *Conservatism and Southern Intellectuals, 1789-1861*: *Liberty, Tradition and the Good Society* (Columbia and London, 2005), pp. 85-6.

[66] T. L. Jackson Lears, Preface, *No Place of Grace: AntiModernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York NY, 1981), p. xiii.

[67] Virginia Historical Society, mss 1B1463a 638-639 (George William Bagby Papers), 'The Pythian Tournament.' Bagby's playful riff on the pronunciation of 'chivalry' recalls Francis Lieber's complaint that few South Carolinians placed the accent on the proper syllable: 'Chivāl'ry (do not pronounce it chiv'alry; no one here says so, and surely we must know;

At times, the burlesque was not limited to the speakers' remarks but entered into the lists as well. Some riders selected knightly alter egos that mocked chivalric pretences. At one Charleston tournament, Sir Galahad and Sir Wilfrid d'Ivanhoe rubbed shoulders with Sir Gum Pole.[68] The Knight Who Robbed Billy Patterson's Hen Roost and Knight of the Ugly Mug graced a tournament in Petersburg, Virginia.[69] Some knights carried their act even further. In a tournament held in Weldon, North Carolina, the 'Knight of Don Quixote' made an appearance. While accounts of the tournament reported that he was magnificently attired in costume and skilfully handled his magnificent mount, this Knight of the Woeful Countenance made a comically dismal attempt to spear the rings on the edge of his lance. His companion, representing the faithful Sancho, stole the show, however. Riding slowly up to the rings his master had left behind, Sancho methodically poked at them until they tumbled to the ground, eliciting much laughter from the crowd of spectators.[70] These moments of comic misrule should not be viewed as efforts to challenge the cultural authority of tournaments or the legitimacy of the social order they reflected. Rather, like the subversion of hierarchy during Carnival, they functioned as a 'safety valve,' offering a means of relieving building tensions within the highly stratified

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who else should?).' See Thomas S. Perry, *the Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston, 1882), p. 254.

[68] South Caroliniana Library , University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890 (Jousting Tournaments Collection), newspaper clipping dated 17 April 1859.

[69] Richmond *Daily Dispatch,* 20 October 1854.

[70] Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 44.

society of the antebellum South before they could rise to dangerous levels.[71] That tournaments sometimes incorporated humour and self-mockery suggests just how seriously antebellum Southerners took them.

If some tournament participants used humour to highlight the gulf between chivalry as an ideal and its reality, others approached this discrepancy with greater circumspection. In a sociological survey of the eight classes that supposedly comprised the society of the antebellum South, Daniel Hundley expressed great admiration for the 'war-worn heroes, clad in steel from head to foot, armed with a genuine lance of truest temper, and mounted on spirited steeds' and bemoaned the poor substitute that the 'cotton snobs' of his own generation provided at their ring tournaments:

> Placed *vis à vis* to such a Knight of the Past, behold the dwarfish dimensions of our modern Cotton Knight, who ambles daintily forward on the back of a docile gelding, holding a sharpened stick under his arm, and gallantly and gloriously endeavoring to thrust the same through an iron ring, which is suspended by a rope of twine from an horizontal beam! Note well with what a cavalier-like grace the thing is done. How stiffly stands his shirt-collar, how spotless are his patent-leathers, how mildly flaps his lengthened coat tail in the wind, how charmingly glistens his carroty-colored hair underneath his shining beaver!'[72]

In Hundley's view, the ersatz knights-errant of Southern society were incapable of meeting the demand for robust and manly leadership that his section faced. For all his misgivings about the inability of Southern youth to live up to the lofty example set by the 'Knight of the Past,' however, Hundley was unwilling to cede the principle of chivalry entirely. Instead, he sought to wrest control of it from the 'Cotton Snobs,'

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[71] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2005), p. 98; Terry Eagleton, *Walter Benjamin, or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (New York, 1981), p. 148.
[72] Daniel R. Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (New York, 1860), pp, 174-5.

a class he largely identified with transplanted Northerners, and open it to the more 'useful' middle classes. Hundley's ambitious socio-economic prescriptions aside, observations about the inadequacy of the South's current generation of cavaliers generally flowed in more prosaic currents.

During a tournament at her family's home, Susan Burwell admired the 'very gaily dressed' knights who honoured her grandmother by riding up to her window, but admitted that they had behaved less than gallantly when the pilfered melons from her garden.[73] Burwell may have resigned herself to theft and what it suggested about the limitations of chivalry as a binding ethos, but she resented above all the manner in which the tournament encroached on her home: 'I do not like these public days any-where but at public places…everything here is public today.'[74] As the preceding sections have demonstrated, Southerners frequently conceived of the tournament as a ritual operated by compressing both space and time, but Burwell's remarks suggest the means by which they could simultaneously accentuate locality.

Tournaments and the Significance of Place

As a result of their association with Southern sectionalism, tournaments often assumed a monolithic character in the increasingly rancorous political discourse of the 1850. Regardless of the support they leant to the idea of an overarching Southern character at variance with the North, however, tournaments remained grounded in specific localities. Region inflected tournaments in various

[73] Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, Mss1P2775a 126 (Louise Anderson Patten Papers), Susan Gwyn Burwell to Maria Burwell Carter, n.d. c. 1856-1869.
[74] Ibid.

ways. In the states carved out of the Old Southwest, tournaments reflected greater degree of commercialization. Frequently appearing as part of state fairs and livestock shows, tournaments were generally ticketed and attracted large numbers of spectators.[75] It was not only tournament organizers who stood to benefit financially from the proceedings but the riders themselves. Knights who found victory on the field often received cash prizes, a practice that discomfited some tournament organizers on the grounds that it left them open to charges of acquisitiveness and other modern vices frequently cited in contrast to the selfless virtue of the Age of Chivalry.[76]

If tournaments in the Old Southwest reflected the boisterous commercial orientation of the region, those in the Carolinas tended to reinforce the power of Lowcountry elites. Tournaments in South Carolina were also more likely to possess martial flair than elsewhere as they quickly became associated with local militia units.[77] The Charleston Light Dragoons, which drew from the city's most prosperous planters, merchants, and politicians, periodically staged competitive tilts with rival cavalry companies. On the twenty-first anniversary of its organization, the company invited the Georgia Hussars from Savannah to an elaborate tournament that featured a sumptuous dinner and a grand review. The following year, thirty-four of

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[75] Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 100, 106.
[76] Benton, *Respectable and Disreputable,* pp. 48-9.
[77] Franklin, *The Militant South,* pp. 201-2. Franklin's assertion that Southern military organizations were the primary sponsors of tournaments in the region does not withstand close scrutiny on the whole, but it does hold true in the case of South Carolina.

the Charleston Dragoons reciprocated by travelling to Savannah for a rematch, though they failed to reclaim the silver cup that the Hussars had won previously.[78]

Even without the fanfare and trappings associated with the cavalry events, civilian tournaments in South Carolina possessed a degree of exclusivity that sometimes manifested itself in hefty entry fees. The organizers of one tournament in Sumpterville, South Carolina instructed aspiring knights to send a five-dollar registration fee along with their names and the character they would assume.[79] These costs, when set alongside the expenses of period costume, necessary equipment and the upkeep of the horses, proved a substantial barrier to popular participation. Nevertheless, the social capital that these medieval pageants could garner for participants and organizers, to say nothing of the valuable prizes they might win, undoubtedly convinced many to attempt the investment. Unlike the cash prizes so typical of Southwestern tournaments, successful knights in South Carolina could expect rewards that reinforced their status as gentlemen, often taking the form of blooded horses or luxury riding tack.[80] While few matched the level of opulence on display in South Carolina, Virginia tournaments most exemplified the significance of locality.

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[78] Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, pp. 76-7.
[79] *Sumpterville Banner,* 24 August 1852.
[80] South Caroliniana Library , University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890, (Jousting Tournaments Collection), undated newspaper clipping, 'The Tournament-Williamsburg Wins the First Prize-The Contest at Wagener Park Yesterday.' The value of the pair of Bay horses constituting first prize at the tournament was $500. The second and third place riders received a saddle horse worth $250 and 'handsome bridle and saddle' valued at $50 respectively. Silver spurs were also commonly awarded. See 'The Tournament at Pineville,' Charleston *Courier,* 21 May 1859.

Every state that ultimately seceded from the Union had held at least one tournament before the war, but Virginia boasted more than any other. This preponderance of pageantry can be explained, in part, by the popularity of the state's health resorts and the large numbers of elites they attracted each summer who possessed the time, money, and inclination to stage tournaments. These events slotted seamlessly into social calendars already bursting with more conventional social activities like hunts and balls.[81] The most salient feature of these resorts in terms of their influence on Southern identity, however, was their relative cosmopolitanism. One newspaper correspondent said of Capon Springs in 1853 that 'almost every Southern state and some of the North seemed to be represented' and, unlike popular resorts north of the Mason-Dixon, 'no passports are required to the best society except good character and gentle demeanor…no cod-fish aristocracy, no mongrel parvenus, and no cold ceremonies here impede 'the genial current of the soul.'[82] In the context of Southern resorts, tournaments thus played an important role in defining opposition to the perceived social exclusivity of Northern society, conferring, as they did, a measure of gentility on all who participated in them. Even more than clarifying sectional difference, however, tournaments served to underscore regional unity, albeit in a fashion that emphasized specific localities.

The knightly aliases that riders selected for themselves underscore the importance of place in the context of Southern tournament culture. Despite the ubiquity of perennial favourites drawn from the *Waverley* Novels or other works of

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[81] Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display,* pp. 101-7, 200-6; Marshall Fishwick, *Springlore in Virginia* (Bowling Green KY, 1978), p. 27; Stan Cohen, *Historic Springs of the Virginias* (Charleston, 1981), p. viii.
[82] 'Letter from Capon—The Tournament,' *Baltimore Sun,* 6 September 1853.

chivalric romance—few tournaments were without a Knight of Kennilworth or an Ivanhoe—the overwhelming majority of competitors in the Virginia tournaments selected titles that identified them with particular places. This marked preference for titles reflecting local geographies contrasted with those of the Eglinton knights who had largely derived their chivalric alter egos from their own family crests.[83]

Of twenty-four knights at a tournament in Fairfax Court House, Virginia, thirteen assumed aliases that related to specific localities and another three selected names related to generic geographic features that carried local recognition.[84] This trend was not unique to Virginia. Of twenty-six knights who rode in a South Carolina tournament before the war, for instance, twelve selected names associated with towns, waterways or nearby plantations; two took their names from local fauna; and two based their identities on the state or wider region. The remainder drew either from history and romantic fiction, such as the 'Knight Templar' or 'Knight of the Chase' or selected a title that denoted an ethnic identity like Christopher FitzSimons who rode under the name, 'Hibernian Knight.'[85]

Knights rarely explained the rationale behind their assumed identities, though in the case of those who rode under the name of family estates, their selection was likely evident to their friends and neighbours. Regardless, the prominence of geographically derived identifiers suggests that place names signified attributes similar to those conveyed by allusions to historical and literary figures;

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[83] Girouard, *The Return to Camelot,* p. 95.
[84] Alexandria *Gazette*, 1 October 1859.
[85] South Caroliniana Library , University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890 (Jousting Tournaments Collection), The Tournament Held at Pineville, S. C. 28 April 1851, p. 4.

namely, a sense of nobility in keeping with the perceived significance of the occasion. The onomastic practices of the tournament elevated local belonging into a badge of nobility, sometimes in spite of the knight's actual social standing. In addition, these place names helped stimulate thinking along fusionist lines, particularly in the case of resort tournaments, which drew competitors from across the South. When a Knight of the Lone Star State or a Knight of Alabama acquitted himself honourably in the lists, for instance, he implicitly demonstrated his adherence to a set of shared cultural values that transcended state boundaries.

Tournaments could profoundly affect the way in which Southern elites conceptualized their region and their understanding of those with whom they shared it. It is possible to chart the rise of Southern separatism in the increasing frequency with which the 'Knight of the South' appeared on tournament rosters. Of course, it must be remembered that, even on the eve of secession, riders continued to identify themselves with broader nationalist sentiments by taking such names as 'Knight of the Star-Spangled Banner,' 'Knight of the Union,' or 'Knight of 1776.'[86] Ultimately, the architects of disunion proved more capable of co-opting the language of Anglo-American kinship associated with the ring tournament but their success was by no means a foregone conclusion. Indeed, the ring tournament, integral as it was to the creation of a separate Southern identity, enjoyed its greatest popularity in a region so tenuously linked to the slave-holding economy and politics of the

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[86] See, for instance, 'A Virginia Tournament,' *Baltimore Sun,* 3 September 1856; 'Tournament of the Fairfax Rifle Rangers,' 28 September 1859 and 'Tournament at Pineville,' Charleston *Courier*, 21 May 1859; South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890 (Jousting Tournaments Collection), J. R. Jerry to Gates, 23 August [18--].

Piedmont and Tidewater that it ultimately pursued its own policy of secession from the Confederacy during the Civil War.

When examining the ways in which the mingling of social, political, and cultural elites at Virginia resorts propelled thinking about Southern identity, both within and outside of the American national family, it is easy to forget that these places were, in many respects, liminal spaces. Virginians were painfully aware that the proximity of their state to free soil made slavery vulnerable to antislavery incursion from without and subversion within. Maryland proved an insufficient buffer as its panhandle narrowed to an area less than fifteen miles wide in places and the state's marine borders were even more permeable.[87] Tournaments, in addition to consolidating impressions of collective identity among elites, served to bind Southern yeomen more tightly into a society in which they were otherwise marginalized. Like the claims of herrenvolk democracy that appeared to extend political equality to white yeoman farmers on the basis of race regardless of their socio-economic status, the levelling potential of tournaments was largely illusory.[88] Nevertheless, marginalized whites eagerly participated in tournament culture as a means of claiming equal social standing with the planter elite, while the class they

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[87] Philip J. Schwarz, *Slave Laws in Virginia* (Athens GA, 2010), pp. 137-9; Eva Sheppard Wolf, *Race and Liberty in the New Nation: Emancipation in Virginia from the Revolution to Nat Turner's Rebellion* (Baton Rouge LA, 2006), pp. 196-8. For a persuasive argument that fears over the security of slavery in Virginia ultimately drove the state to embrace secession see William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2004) esp. pp. 177-244.

[88] George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind,* (Middletown CT, 1987), pp. 61-70; James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*: *An Interpretation of the Old South*, (New York, 1990), pp. 125-34. For a more recent criticism of the idea of the South as a herrenvolk democracy, see Stephanie McCurrie, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Lowcountry* (Oxford, 1997).

sought to emulate tacitly approved their appropriation as a means of creating the united racial front on which the preservation of the peculiar institution depended. While tournaments helped incorporate liminal spaces into an imagined community predicated on slave ownership by obscuring economic inequality, they simultaneously reinforced existing racial and gender hierarchies.

Tournaments and Hierarchies of Race and Gender

As one pair of historians has argued, Southerners mined medieval history for 'reassurances about the ubiquity of slavery, dependency, and hierarchy.'[89] Orators conveyed these reassurances, communicating the cultural relevance of tournaments for those beyond the relatively small number who took up lances in the lists. Beyond serving as a vehicle for the transmission of historical knowledge, however, the tournament functioned as a participatory ritual in which communities told stories about themselves.[90] Whether staged in fashionable resorts, crowded fairgrounds, or private estates, these stories invariably dramatised what Susan Donaldson and Anne Goodwyn Jones have characterised as the 'interlocking logics of dichotomy,' the binary categories of masculine and feminine, black and white, free and enslaved that featured so prominently in the discourses of the South.[91]

As a public ritual, much of the tournament's power derived from the large crowds that participated in the spectacle. Particularly in the case of those held at

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[89] Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class,* p. 328.
[90] McDonnell, 'Elizabethan Dreams, Victorian Nightmares,' p. 95.
[91] Susan Donaldson and Anne Goodwyn Jones, 'Haunting Bodies: Rethinking the South through Gender,' in Donaldson and Jones (eds) *Haunted Bodies: Gender and Southern Texts* (Charlottesville, 1997), p. 2.

Virginia resorts, tournaments could attract hundreds of observers.[92] As one knight recalled, 'We had nearly all the ladies and gentleman and servants to see it and all were highly gratified.'[93] The heterogeneity of these crowds, comprising as they did men, women, and children drawn from a range of social and racial backgrounds, created an opportunity for white Southern men to reaffirm their elite status.[94] Much as was true of the tournament in its medieval incarnation, simply being seen mounted and attended by a retinue of servants was an eloquent demonstration of a man's social standing and his right to move freely through society.[95] The potential for glory was high, but so too was the prospect of shame for those competitors who failed to attain the knightly ideal. Gertrude Thomas, the daughter and wife of Georgian planters, made note in her diary of a competitor who dropped out of a local tournament after failing to capture the ring in his first attempt. He 'alleged as an excuse the lameness of his horse' but she suspected that his courage failed him at the prospect of running 'the gauntlet of so many eyes.'[96]

Regardless of such failures of courage among individual knights, taken collectively, tournaments reinforced the notion that the complexion of honour was

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[92] The capacity of the resorts varied widely but most of them held several hundred people during the peak season. One reporter estimated that 700 people were lodged at Warrenton Springs during his visit. See 'Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun,' *Baltimore Sun,* 31 August 1854.

[93] Earl Gregg Swem Library, William and Mary College, Mss. 39.1 H67 (Samuel Hoffman Papers), Folder 5, Samuel Hoffman to Louisa Gilmor Hoffman, 20 August 1840.

[94] Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display,* p. 203.

[95] Keen, *Chivalry,* p. 90.

[96] David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Box 3 Folder 1, (Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas Papers), Typescript Diary, 3 December 1868.

white.[97] The vast majority of the personas crafted for the tournament course drew inspiration from Anglo-Norman sources. A very small number of knights adopted blackface and rode as Moorish warriors or as Saladin, but African American men, whether free or enslaved, found the ritual closed to them.[98] In the eyes of white Southerners, black men simply lacked the requisite honour to enter the lists.[99] The ring tournament as a social rite, and the honour it conferred upon participants, was a white prerogative. This overt exclusion notwithstanding, the tournament possessed material barriers to black participation. Male slaves lacked access to the horses necessary to compete, to say nothing of the costumes and trappings that played a disproportionately prominent role in Southern tournament culture. As one tournament-goer observed, 'while a man may be brave, patriotic, and even virtuous on foot, it is impossible for him to be gallant, romantic, proud, magnanimous, and, in short, chivalric, without the inspiration of a noble horse.'[100]

Indeed, far from participating as equals in their own right, African Americans frequently suffered the indignity of becoming props in the unfolding pageantry. At a tournament at Pineville, South Carolina, for instance, a slave described in the

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[97] Kenneth Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: the Political Culture of American Slavery* (Baltimore MD, 1988), p. 65.
[98] For tournaments featuring the character of Saladin see *Alexandria Gazette,* 6 September 1842; *The Shepherdstown Register,* 8 August, 1857. Augustin Louis Taveau rode as 'The Sultan' in an 1851 tournament at Pineville, South Carolina.
[99] Bertram Wyatt-Brown has argued that the conditions of slavery compelled African American men to develop their own conceptions of honour, though these differed significantly from those of whites. See especially 'Dignity, Deception and Identity in the Male Slave Experience,' Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s to 1880s* (Chapel Hill, 2001), pp. 3-30.
[100] Porte Crayon [David Hunter Stother], "The Mountains—X" *Harper's New Monthly* 5 (September 1875), p. 478; On the significance of riding as a signifier of power in the antebellum South, see Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby and the Civil War in the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge LA, 2006), pp. 20-25.

newspaper account as 'a fine specimen of Ethiopia's sons' dressed in the 'complete costume' of a Moor, 'adjusted the glittering ring' in preparation for the first rider.[101] Unlike the knights, whose full names were printed alongside their chivalric alter egos, the identity of the black man was subsumed entirely by the part he was conscripted to play. If their racial politics relegated the enslaved to supporting roles, tournaments simultaneously cast white Southerners as the leading actors in scripted pageants of normative masculinity.

Orators frequently framed tournaments as contests in which the knights competed for honour and self-mastery, invoking the power of the approving feminine gaze to spur men to gallant deeds and legitimize the proceedings. 'Faint heart never won fair lady,' or some variation thereof, became the byword of tournaments throughout the South. Only those knights who exercised the requisite skill under the watchful eyes of their community could exercise the right to elevate a young woman of their choice to the position of Queen of Love and Beauty. The ubiquitous allusions to the youth and beauty of the aspiring royals who cheered their champions from the stands imparted a tinge of romance to the event and many contemporaries viewed the tournament as an opportunity for courtship.[102] Underpinning the beguiling charm of courtship, however, lay conceptions of virile

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[101] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890 (The Tournament Held at Pineville, S. C. 28 April 1851), p. 4.

[102] Anderson, *'Rituals of horsemanship,'* p. 218. Married men generally did not ride as knights and on the rare occasions they did, convention generally prohibited them from crowning a consort. As a consolation prize of sorts, one tournament allowed married men to ride for the prize of a basket of champagne while the bachelors vied for the right to choose the queen. See 'Life and Scenes at Bedford Springs—Racing, amusements, Tournaments, &c.' *Baltimore Sun,* 7 August 1849; Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 6.

manhood that, as one historian has argued, mortised the edifice of the Southern national project to its foundation of slavery.[103]

In their allusions to the historical foundations of chivalry, tournament orators referenced bleeding champions and fainting maidens in equal measures, enjoining latter-day knights to emulate the positive example set by the past and become defenders of Southern womanhood. After all, the central tenet of chivalry, as white Southerners understood it, was protection. In this sense chivalry dovetailed neatly into the paternalism that Eugene Genovese has argued structured relations between masters and the enslaved.[104] With respect to their relations with white women as well, the chivalric instruction they received in the lists prepared them to assume the mantle of patriarchy. The obvious limits to paternalism that recent scholarship has brought to light, however, demonstrate the central irony underpinning Southern engagement with the chivalric ideal. In looking to the past for inspiration, they tended to draw on medieval romances, which imparted a glossy sheen to chivalry that it rarely possessed in reality.

As a code of conduct that structured the relations between members of the nobility, chivalry did little to mitigate the brutal treatment of peasants, much as the obsequious courtesy that the knights of Southern tournaments displayed to the

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[103] Craig Thompson Friend, 'The Crushing of Southern Manhood': War, Masculinity, and the Confederate Nation-State, 1861-1865,' in Pablo Dominguez Andersen and Simon Wendt (eds.) *Masculinities and the Nation in the Modern World: Between Hegemony and Marginalization* (London, 2015), p. 19. For an overview of the role normative masculinity played in Southern society, see Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, 'Rethinking Southern Masculinity: An Introduction,' in Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (eds), *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South,* (Athens, 2005), pp. vii-xvii.
[104] See Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholers Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1971), pp. 195-234; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974).

Queen of Love and Beauty and her maids of honour did not carry into their interactions with enslaved women. Concerned as they were with questions of the tournament's lineage and authenticity, Southerners' interpretation of chivalry most closely resembled the medieval reality in its shortcomings. In addition to the limitations of their subscription to chivalry, antebellum Southerners similarly shared with their medieval forebears an understanding of the tournament as a proxy for battle. They attempted to elide the violence that lurked just beneath the surface of the ring tournament, but like a palimpsest, it could still be read between the lines of the heralds' flowery pronouncements about chivalry and honour.

The tournament entailed a degree of danger, even in its neutered nineteenth-century form. As one competitor proudly wrote to his wife, 'It is a manly and active sport—no child's play.'[105] Such bravado did little to allay the fears of Gertrude Thomas who, upon hearing that a knight had broken his neck after being thrown from his horse, worried that her son would be similarly injured at an upcoming tournament.[106] Disaster was barely averted at a tournament held at Pineville, South Carolina when a knight, weakened by a recent illness, lost control of his horse and was carried off. The knight's sisters looked on in horror from the stands certain that they were about to witness their brother's death, but several of the other riders came to his assistance and were able to gain control of the frightened animal.[107] E. H.

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[105] Earl Gregg Swem Library, William and Mary College, Mss. 39.1 H67 (Samuel Hoffman Papers), Folder 5: Samuel Hoffman to Louisa Gilmor Hoffman, 20 August 1840.
[106] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, RL.10043 (Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas Papers), Box 3 Folder 2, Typescript Diary, entry for 13 November 1870.
[107] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Tournaments: MP Vol. Bd. 1851-1890 (Jousting Tournaments Collection), L[ewis] S[imons] Jervey to Yates Snowden, 23 August 1900[?] .

Gadsden Jr., riding as 'Knight of the Gum Pole' in a Charleston tournament, similarly skirted the edge of tragedy when his mount became unmanageable and he was thrown over the neck of his faithful steed. Gadsden 'pluckily picked himself up,' according to newspaper coverage of the event, but he decided he'd had his fill of knightly valour and withdrew from the contest.[108]

More than the occasional mishap on the tournament ground, however, the form of these contests invoked the possibility of violence even though the face of battle had changed significantly since the days when riding at the ring constituted a useful training exercise for combat. For one antebellum tournament-goer the pageantry evinced the readiness of Southern men, not to 'do battle as in the more barbarous times, but to prove their ability to bear the sword and lance' on behalf of their women and children, 'if such necessity should ever arise.'[109] These words proved remarkably prescient as, only a few years later, the same men who rode at the ring took up arms to protect their homes and loved ones from a perceived abolitionist incursion. One such man was Turner Ashby, who, before his untimely death in a skirmish at Harrisonburg in 1862, was hailed throughout the Confederacy as the epitome of the Southern cavalier.[110] Ashby's transition from competitor to combatant was especially dramatic as, according to folk tradition, he had been

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[108] Undated newspaper clipping in ibid.
[109] *Norfolk Herald,* 5 September 1857, reprinted in Harnett T. Kane, ed. *The Romantic South* (New York, 1961), p. 182.
[110] One admirer eulogized him thus: 'True knight—doughty leader—high-hearted gentleman—he had fallen when the fighting was well-nigh over—his *devoir* nobly done and his name as stainless as the bright blade he ever flashed foremost in the fight !. Chivalric—lion-hearted—strong armed.' See T[homas] C[ooper] De Leon, *Four years in Rebel Capitals : an Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy, from Birth to Death, from Original Notes, Collated in the Years 1861 to 1865*, (Mobile, 1890), p. 202.

riding in a ring tournament at Pantherskin Run in Fauquier County in October 1860 when he heard that John Brown had seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry and he immediately left to offer his services to the local militia.[111] For Ashby, as well as the Confederate rank and file, the same attributes of chivalry that Southern men celebrated in ritual combat compelled them to embrace secession and the possibility of actual bloodshed.

With the bombardment of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's subsequent call for 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion, knights across the South exchanged their lances for rifles and their dreams of glory in the lists for the grim realities of the battlefield. Few communities better illustrate the transformation of chivalric cavalcades into cavalry than Fairfax Court House, Virginia. The town, which was home to approximately 300 people at the outbreak of hostilities, held six tournaments between 1859 and 1861, of which full lists of participants exist for two. Of twenty-four knights who rode in the tournament on August 30, 1859, twenty-two entered Confederate service as well as four of the tournament officials, including the orator who delivered the charge to the knights. A second tournament held a year later contained eleven future Confederate soldiers out of thirteen competitors.[112] The vast majority of the men initially entered units recruited from the surrounding area, either the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry Regiment or the Fourth and Sixth Virginia Cavalry Regiments, though many gravitated towards John Singleton Moseby and his partisan rangers as the war progressed.

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[111] Anderson, *Blood Image,* p. 56.
[112] The tournament rosters appear in *Alexandria Gazette,* 1 October 1859 and 28 September 1860.

Tournaments in War

Lawrence McDonnell underscored the intersection of the cult of chivalry embodied in ring tournaments and the outbreak of sectional violence when he provocatively suggested that, 'when the tilting stopped, the shooting started.'[113] Yet, rather than curtailing ring tournaments, the outbreak of the Civil War only served to enhance their allure even if wartime scarcities necessitated scaling back the pageantry. Soldiers carried the pastime with them into the field and many commanders encouraged the organization of tournaments as they promoted good horsemanship and raised morale, especially when local young women attended to cheer on their champions. In a letter home to his sister in 1862, Robert E. Lee's son, Rooney, noted that several of the cavalry regiments under his command were holding tournaments to pass the time while the armies camped in winter quarters. The Thirteenth Virginia had even scrounged together enough provisions for a coronation party afterwards.[114]

The officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia were no less inclined to hold tournaments two years later when fifty knights paid $30 each for the privilege of riding in one on April 11, 1864. Between the registration fees and ticket sales for the coronation ball that followed, they raised $3000 for the war effort.[115] The riders in these tournaments likely cut more dashing figures than those

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[113] McDonnell, 'Elizabethan Dreams, Victorian Nightmares,' p. 89

[114] Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, Mss1 L51c 338, (Lee Family Papers), W. H. F. Lee to Agnes Lee, 15 January 1862.

[115] Joseph C. Robert, 'A Ring Tournament in 1864' *Journal of Mississippi History* 3 (October 1941), p. 293. In 1864, a Confederate dollar was worth approximately five cents.

members of an Alabama cavalry regiment who staged a similar event that winter. That tournament was particularly noteworthy for the large number of participants who lacked basic necessities like shoes.[116]

It was not just the lack of suitable footwear that impeded the full flowering of a wartime tournament tradition. Southern knights, on finding themselves attired in the butternut uniform of the Confederate Army discovered that actual battle bore little resemblance to the tournaments of their youth. For the Fairfax County knights, this knowledge came at a hefty price. Sholto Turberville Stuart, who had delivered the charge at the first tournament, learned that federal troops had put his family home to the torch early in the war, likely as a misplaced act of retaliation against Lee's cavalry commander, with whom he shared a surname.[117] Tragedy similarly befell the proprietor of the Union Hotel where the Queen of Truth and Beauty had been crowned and the knights had wined and dined following their exertions in the lists. William Jackson, who also owned property in Alexandria, paid a heavy price for the Confederate national flag he chose to fly in the face of a Union advance. When Colonel Elmer Ellsworth attempted to forcibly remove the flag, Jackson shot him and was in turn mortally wounded by a detachment of Ellsworth's men. The Northern public mourned Ellsworth, a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, as the first Union casualty of note while Jackson became an early martyr of the Southern cause.[118]

In contrast, there was little heroic about the last days of Major Alfred Moss, the Fairfax County Clerk and an erstwhile tournament judge, who contracted

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[116] Hiss, 'The Knights of the Lance in the South,' p. 343.
[117] *New York Times,* 16 October 1862.
[118] See Anonymous, *Life of James W. Jackson, the Alexandria Hero, the Slayer of Ellsworth…* (Richmond VA, 1862).

jaundice during his imprisonment in the Old Capitol Prison and died shortly after his release in 1862, or Solyman Coon, the Knight of the Ranch, who died of dysentery in a Winchester, Virginia hospital.[119] The death of John Thomas Arundel, the Knight of Sandy Run, stayed furthest from the conventions of medieval romance. Detached from the Fourth Virginia Cavalry to apprehend fugitive slaves, Arundel and his comrade Samuel Davis captured four black men who had been working for the Union army. The soldiers managed to subdue the labourers and imprisoned them in a woodshed not far from the tavern that Arundel's parents operated. Underestimating their prisoners' resourcefulness and desire for freedom, Arundel and Davis fell asleep at their post. During the night, one of the prisoners managed to break his bonds and cleft his guards' skulls with an axe before escaping with the others. The two cavalrymen were found the next morning 'weltering in their blood' and in the words of a lurid report, 'lived only long enough to relate the circumstances of the terrible tragedy which had befallen them.'[120] Arundel's fate may have been particularly gruesome, but he was by no means the only Fairfax County knight to be touched by death. Out of the thirty-seven tournament competitors and officials who initially enlisted, seven died of wounds or disease, eight suffered combat injuries, and six became prisoners over the course of the war.

Despite the heavy toll the war exacted on the South's 'chivalry' and the ultimate collapse of the Confederate national project, enthusiasm for tournaments persisted. Fairfax Court House advertised a Grand Tournament with a coronation

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[119] Richmond *Whig,* 7 October 1862; William Page Johnson, *Brothers and Cousins: Confederate Soldiers and Sailors of Fairfax County, Virginia* (Athens GA, 1995), n.p.
[120] *Alexandria Gazette,* 10 February 1864.

ball to follow, promising that a fine band of music would be in attendance. This would have been quite a tall order for September 5, 1865.[121]

Tournaments in Reconstruction

Southerners had carried tournament culture into battle with them and though it had survived the ordeal, the conflict had left its mark on the ritual. One distinguishing feature of postbellum tournaments was onomastic. Although many riders still opted for names that demonstrated their local loyalties, significant numbers selected titles that reflected the famous battles of the war: the Knight of Bull Run, the Knight of Chickamauga, or the Knight of Ball's Bluff.[122] This practice was common both among veterans who longed to reconnect with the honour and travails of their past military service and, as the century progressed and the Civil War receded further into memory, among young men who had not seen Confederate service but were nonetheless eager to assert their budding masculinity by basking in the reflected glory of their elders.[123] Other knightly aliases invoked a profound sense of national bereavement like Knight of the Fallen Banner, Knight of No Country, or the Knight of the Lost Cause.

In addition to giving former Confederates an opportunity to express their grief and providing a means by which the mantle of chivalric manhood could be passed to future generations, ring tournaments materially contributed to

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[121] Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia 1865:49 (Oversize Broadside Collection).
[122] Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 5.
[123] For an analysis of the continuing significance of the Civil War in defining American manhood and citizenship, see Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, 1998), esp. chapter one.

postbellum Confederate memorialization.[124] The 1866 Ladies Memorial Fair in Leonardtown, Maryland included a tournament to raise funds for beautifying the Confederate cemetery at Point Lookout. The same week, in Tuscumbia, Alabama, a tournament was held to raise funds for the erection of a monument to honour the county's casualties. The living were the focus of the Ladies of the Forest's benefit tournament in Prince George's County, Maryland the same year, which raised $3,000 for the relief of Confederate widows and orphans. 1866 was apparently a banner year for tournaments as a joust in Clarksville, Tennessee raised $30,000 for Confederate widows and orphans and was reported to have attracted over 10,000 spectators.[125] The pageantry of the tournament leant itself so well to the burgeoning Lost Cause narrative that at least one historian has speculated that it may have predisposed some Southerners to participate in the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.[126] Regardless, ring tournaments afforded a return to normalcy after the Civil War even if they promoted a status quo bedecked somewhat anachronistically in the trappings of an archaic era.

Much as they had before the war, tournament orators invoked an unbroken line of descent from the knights of the Middle Ages to their own time, though they drew liberally from the ranks of Confederate high command to illustrate the chivalric traits they viewed as part of the South's cultural inheritance. As one veteran prefaced his remarks to knights at a Wilmington, North Carolina

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[124] Crooks and Crooks, *The Ring Tournament in the United States*, p. 29.
[125] Ibid., p. 15, 102, 148, 131; Anderson, 'Rituals of Horsemanship,' p. 216.
[126] Ibid., pp. 216-32.

tournament in 1873, 'We call to mind the gallantry, the courage, the chivalry of a Lee, a Stuart…and their devoted followers,' before continuing:

> Not even the old Crusaders when enthused by the fiery eloquence of the church, and marshalled under the powerful influence of Godfrey and the lion-hearted Richard even moved into rank and file with more impetuous zeal than the devoted sons of the lost cause. Sons of an illustrious ancestry, either in this contest or in the great struggle of life which you may be called upon to encounter, fail not to remember the honor, the gallantry, the chivalry of those noble ones, who being dead, yet speak in the achievement of those glorious acts which will follow them through all time.[127]

The war similarly furnished orators examples of unsavoury behaviour they could contrast with the sterling moral example set by knights, both past and present. Much as had been the case in its antebellum iteration, tournament oratory after the war frequently incorporated Northern acquisitiveness as a negative referent in its definition of Southern character. In one such speech, Philip Oglestifer playfully mythologized the period before the war as B. B. W. B. U A. S. S., (Before Ben Butler Was Bottled Up After Stealing Spoons), alluding to the widespread corruption that occurred during General Butler's administration of wartime New Orleans. Beyond Oglestifer's patently juvenile humour, however, were significant anxieties. He sadly admitted to his audience:

> the times are sadly out of joint, and history is getting very much twisted, so that we scarcely know where we stand or whom we can trust…hence we are here today to remedy these evils, and draw the kinks out of the chain of history, leading the minds of the youths back

[127] Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Collection #00532, Series 2, Fol. 58 (Wright and Murdock Papers), 'Address of Julius Walker Wright to the "Knights of a Tournament" November 11, 1873.'

> to the glorious days of chivalry, to the good old days when men could be trusted and women courted.[128]

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For some Southerners then, the postbellum tournament was less a venerable relic than an exercise in building a usable version of the past in an era of unprecedented social upheaval—a means of drawing the 'kinks out of the chain of history,' as Oglestifer had phrased it. The ring tournament re-rooted Southerners in an illustrious English heritage that owed as much to fictive kinship and fantasy as historical reality. Despite the questionable genealogical reckonings that underpinned the events, or, more precisely, because of them, tournaments offered a mechanism by which white Southerners could assert claims of gentility and belonging to an ancient order of chivalric manhood that stretched unbroken to the Middle Ages. In the process, they reinforced racial and gender hierarchies, historicizing relatively recent political discord and essentializing sectional difference so that secession and the subsequent war became inevitable and even desirable outcomes.

While championing an elite pedigree based in the distant English past, tournaments simultaneously reaffirmed the importance of more immediate communal ties and the values like honour, masculinity, and order that flowed from them. This commitment to locality ultimately enabled the tournament to survive the collapse of the Confederate national project and ensured its continuing popularity as

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[128] Virginia Historical Society, Broadside 18--: 26, n.d. 'Address to the Knights by Philip Oglestifer.' This name was likely adopted as a comic pseudonym as the one 'Gen. Offenbackhovengrafenstiner' delivered the coronation address,

a vehicle of Southern identity. The seductive allure of the chivalric masculinity the tournament offered participants helped to expand its appeal after the war, allowing it to serve as an initiation into the mythology of the Lost Cause for some who had never fully embraced the Confederate cause in the first place. Julia Louisa Keyes noted the popularity of ring tournaments among Brazilians after Southern expatriates like her husband introduced the sport.[129] Closer to home, Marylanders enthusiastically participated in tournaments to raise money for Confederate widows and orphans, though their state never formally seceded, and knights sometimes took their names from the ranks of Confederate heroes.[130] Ring tournaments became so popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that, in 1962, amidst the nation-wide celebrations commemorating the Civil War Centennial and an ongoing battle over Civil Rights, the Maryland legislature named jousting as the state's official sport.

This chapter has explored how tournaments, as a largely invented tradition, nevertheless cultivated among Southerners a sense of kinship with Great Britain. The following section examines Anglo-American kinship within the institutional context of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States and how denominational ties with the Mother Church shaped its response to the vicissitudes of Southern national identity.

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[129] Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Collection #01672-z, (Julia Louisa Hentz Keyes Reminiscences).
[130] Kelley N. Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (Spring 2004), p. 60.

Chapter Three

Brothers in Christ: Southern Nationalists in the Anglican Communion

'Patriotism can feel for the rights and welfare of our own country, therefore it is a noble virtue; but it is limited by geographical lines. But Christianity enlarges the heart to embrace the whole human brotherhood, and "to do good unto all men" as far as we can, especially them of Christ's household and of our own Christian family. It overlooks the imaginary lines which divides our earth into hostile nations, and seeks, like its divine Lord, to save the souls of all men.'[1]

On October 16, 1861, after celebrating the Eucharist together, the bishops, clergy, and laymen who had gathered in Columbia, South Carolina for the Adjourned Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States turned to business matters. To some extent, the most difficult question facing them had already been settled by their very attendance; whether, in light of the political separation their states had pursued, they could maintain their ties to the Episcopal Church of the United States. Bishop Leonidas Polk of Louisiana led the call for a separate church in the newly established Confederacy, arguing that, since secession had taken his state out of the Union, the people of his diocese had no choice but to follow their 'Nationality' and cease obligations to the ecclesiastical constitution that united them with the Northern dioceses.[2] Many of those gathered, including the Rt. Rev. William Meade of Virginia, the Convention's presiding bishop, had embraced

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[1] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Jubilee Sermon on the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Protestant Episcopal Society, for the Advancement of Christianity in South-Carolina. Preached in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, by the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Jr., Rector of Grace Church, Charleston* (Charleston SC, 1860), p. 1.

[2] *Extracts from the Journal of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana,* (New Orleans LA, 1861), p. 6.

the cause of secession less enthusiastically, but the reality of a protracted civil war had galvanized even the most reluctant Confederates to action. Meade, one of the eldest in attendance at seventy-five years of age, braved torrential rains to attend the Convention simultaneously battling a severe respiratory illness that robbed him of his voice and fuelled rumours of his impending death in the press.[3] Whatever their initial hesitance to break the constitutional and ecclesiastical ties that bound them to the Northern states, Meade and his brethren understood the need to ensure the Church's survival in its new political circumstances. Their understanding of their faith as a 'special bequest' from the Church of England informed their efforts in Columbia and throughout the war.

The Protestant Episcopal Church's conception of itself as the child of the Church of England proved a source of institutional stability that enabled it to exert a powerful force on the development of Southern nationalism, both within the Union and without. In the decades before the Civil War, this kinship entailed an understanding of a shared legacy that united the Northern and Southern dioceses in common cause. While generally promoting unity, this ecclesiastical consanguinity occasionally pulled the Protestant Episcopal Church into transatlantic family quarrels as it introduced divisive ideas about liturgical and ecclesiastical reform into the American Church. Yet, far from flinging the Church into disarray, these differences of opinion paradoxically served to defend it from the schisms that plagued other mainline Protestant denominations in the antebellum period. The cross-sectional alliances that formed in response to these controversies helped

[3] Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg VA (William Meade Papers), William Meade to Unknown Correspondent, 29 October 1861.

preserve the unity of the Episcopal Church until secession gained inexorable momentum following the bombardment of Fort Sumter. If its contemporary interactions with the Mother Church enabled the Episcopal Church to stand as a rare exception to the tendency of national institutions to splinter into sectional factions on the eve of the Civil War, the historical circumstances of its founding left the Church in a unique position to bolster the legitimacy of secession. The Episcopal Church had inherited from its parent institution a liturgical tradition that reflected a positive relationship between itself and the state, which its Southern members used to justify the creation of their own church in harmony with the objects of Confederate independence. While the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate State of America never enjoyed the position of establishment under the new government, its bishops and clergy operated under a sense of mission that legitimated the new nation. The Southern Church's ties to an ecclesiastical body far removed from its own borders profoundly influenced its wartime operation and ultimately provided the means by which it could rebuild following the defeat of the Confederate nation.

In his 1857 history of the Anglican Church in Virginia, Bishop Meade emphasized the transatlantic dimensions of the faith, suggesting that any assessment of Episcopal theology should take into account that of the Mother-Church.[4] The historiography surrounding the Anglican Church in the Southern colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries acknowledges the links

[4] William K. Meade, *Old Ministers, Churches and Families of Virginia,* vol. 2, (Philadelphia PA, 1857), p. 353.

that Meade found to be self-evident.[5] Historians of the nineteenth-century Church, however, have been less attentive to the historical continuities underpinning the relationship between the Episcopal Church and its parent institution.[6] This may be explained, in part, by the dominance of what Allen Guelzo characterizes as the 'mythology of painless synthesis' in Episcopal Church historiography, a tendency to downplay theological and institutional conflict.[7] Compelled to explain the exceptional unity of the Episcopal Church throughout the antebellum period in comparison to other mainline Protestant denominations, the historical literature frequently gives short shrift to the internal divisions the Oxford Movement illuminated and loses sight of the American Church's place within the larger

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[5] See, for instance, Edward L. Bond, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Colonial Virginia* (Macon GA, 2000); Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America,* rev. ed. (New York, 2003); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge MA, 1992); Joan R. Gundersen, 'The Search for Good Men: Recruiting Ministers in Colonial Virginia,' Historical *Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 48 (December 1979): 453-464; Joan R. Gunderson, *The Anglican Ministry in Virginia: A Study in Social Class* (New York, 1989); John K. Nelson, *A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons, and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690-1776* (Chapel Hill NC, 2001); Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692-1776* (New York, 1989); Lauren F. Winner, *A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious Practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New Haven CT, 2010). One strain of this historical literature in particular emphasizes the instrumentality of Anglican churches as sites of social control where ecclesiastical practices, church architecture and hegemonic displays of power reinforced parishioners' loyalty to the metropole. See Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* rev. ed. (Chapel Hill NC, 1999); Louis P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill NC, 2008); Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven CT, 1987).

[6] T. Felder Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road: Episcopal Bishops Confront Slavery, Civil War, and Emancipation* (Columbia SC, 2013); H. G. G. Herklots, *The Church of England and the American Episcopal Church* (London, 1966); Mark A. Knoll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill NC, 2006); Richard Rankin, *Ambivalent Churchmen and Evangelical Churchwomen*: *the Religion of the Episcopal Elite in North Carolina, 1800-1860* (Columbia SC, 1993). Though slightly dated, Herklots' book represents one of the few transnational accounts of the Episcopal Church in its first century of independence.

[7] Allen C. Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians* (University Park PA, 1994), p. 4.

Anglican Communion. The burgeoning scholarship on the Civil War's international dimensions suggests the importance of reclaiming this aspect of nineteenth-century Episcopal identity. In his survey of British public opinion during the Civil War, Richard Blackett identifies religious affiliation as the most accurate predictor of sympathy with respect to the Union or the Confederacy and finds a strong correlation between membership in the Church of England and support for the South.[8] By entering into conversation with those who are busily sifting through the tangled bonds of sympathy that connected British subjects to the two warring governments a continent away, historians of the Church would enrich both fields of enquiry.

The Origins of the Anglican Communion

While the Episcopal Church's associations with the Mother Church in England would prove a source of stability during the tumultuous antebellum period, they had nearly proved its undoing in the aftermath of the Revolution. The Anglican Church, which benefited from its symbiotic relationship with the English state even after its planting on American shores and continued to recognize the British sovereign as its head, appeared highly suspect in a colony that had so vocally asserted its political independence from the Mother Country. Upon ordination, the clergy took an oath of loyalty to the Sovereign in which they swore to defend him against domestic and foreign threats. They also pledged to adhere to the Book of Common Prayer and were thus required to lead prayers for the king and royal

[8] R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge LA, 2001), pp. 104-5.

family as part of liturgies for the Eucharist and Morning Prayer at the risk of nonconformity and possible excommunication. As a clergyman in subsequent years recalled, these provisions ensured that American clergy were effectively 'mortised into the ecclesiastical establishment of Great Britain.'[9] Under these conditions and given the fact that the majority of the clergy were British-born, it is little wonder that many colonists viewed Anglican ministers as Tory lackeys and frequently treated them with contempt bordering on outright hostility.[10]

In addition to the matter of its suspect loyalty, the Church faced daunting financial challenges following American independence. Prior to the Revolution, the Church enjoyed the status of establishment in much of the South where laws fixed the salaries of its ministers. Constitutional debates as to the propriety of separation between church and state accompanied by growing pressure from Methodists, Presbyterians, and other Nonconformist sects led many state legislatures to question the patronage on which the Church depended. In 1784, the failure of a general assessment bill in the Virginia Legislature that would have reinstated pay for clergy following its disruption during the war proved emblematic of the nation's growing distaste of established religion. Arising from his opposition to the measure, James Madison's *Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments* anticipated the guarantee afforded religious liberty by the First Amendment and articulated an understanding of the relationship between the government and rights

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[9] Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (London, 1999), p.107; William Bacon Stevens, *A Discourse Delivered Before the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia,* (Philadelphia PA, 1873), p. 62.
[10] John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit MI, 1984), p. 25. Herklots, *The Church of England and the American Episcopal Church,* p. 89.

that made the former relationship between church and state untenable.[11] Empowered by such conceptions of religion as a matter of personal conscience rather than a public duty, coalitions of Nonconformist dissenters and Jeffersonian Republicans revoked the protected status of the Anglican Church during state constitutional conventions throughout the South, beginning with Maryland and North Carolina.[12]

Even for those clergy who did not depend on state legislatures for their salaries, the situation was dire. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had sponsored missionary outreach to Anglican churches in the British Empire and, by the time of the Revolution, had established a strong presence in the Southern colonies. Following independence and the resulting ambiguity that characterized relations between the Church of England and its American offshoot, however, this source of patronage dissolved resulting in a mass exodus of clergy to other mission fields. Deprived of trained ministers or the funds to acquire replacements, many parishes simply ceased to function.[13] Adding to the financial burdens facing individual parishes and the American Church as a whole, much of the Church property in the Southern colonies had been abandoned or desecrated during the war and required costly repairs.[14] Intimidating as these financial and logistical problems were, however, the greatest challenge facing the Church was that of

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[11] David Sehat, 'The American Moral Establishment: Religion and Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century' (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, PhD diss., 2007), pp. 49-51.
[12] Mark D. McGarvie, 'Disestablishing Religion and Protecting Religious Liberty in State Laws and Constitutions, 1776-1833,' in T. Jeremy Gunn and John Witte (eds.) *No Establishment of Religion: America's Original Contribution to Religious Liberty*, (Oxford, 2012), p. 80.
[13] Robert Pritchard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg PA, 1999), p. 80.
[14] Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism*, p. 20.

sustaining belief in episcopal polity in the absence of a single American bishop to perform important ecclesiastical duties such as the confirmation of communicants and the ordination of ministers.

Despite these disadvantages, the Church demonstrated remarkable resilience in the years following the Revolution. If the loyalty of its clergy remained suspect, that of its laity was bolstered by the fact that over half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were members of the Church, to say nothing of prominent patriots like George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Alexander Hamilton.[15] The 1785 and 1786 General Conventions proposed alterations that enabled the Church to adapt to changing political circumstances while upholding the majority of its Mother Church's defining ecclesiastical convictions. To better align the Protestant Episcopal Church with the prevailing republican ideology of the new nation, arrangements were made for bishops to be elected by the clergy and laity of their diocese. The resulting constitutional episcopate could therefore operate completely independently of the English monarchy and Parliament. After prolonged debate, the Convention authorized revisions to the prayer book that further emphasized the loyalty of the Church to the federal government, dispensing with the traditional prayers for the monarch.[16] Any lingering doubts as to whether an American episcopate could survive independently of the Mother Church were resolved with the consecration of

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[15] Robert G. Ferris, (ed.) *Signers of the Constitution: Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Constitution,* (Washington DC, 1976), p. 138; Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, (Oxford, 2002), p. 120.

[16] Albert and Shirley Smalls Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Collection No. 2257 (Baylor Family Papers, 1653-1915) Box 4/Fol. 3, 'A History of the Early Church in Virginia,' n.d.

Samuel Seabury in 1784, followed by William White and Samuel Provoost in 1787.[17] With three bishops, the minimum number traditionally required for consecration, the American Church reached the point of ecclesiastical self-sufficiency and the preservation of apostolic succession was thus assured. The Revolution dealt a major blow to the pre-eminence of the Church from which it never entirely recovered, but, as an institution, it had survived intact.

Even as the Episcopal Church struggled to eke out an autonomous existence, its members continued to celebrate their ties to the Church of England. Given the emotional valances of the Episcopal Church's attachment to its parent institution, as well as the historical circumstances of its founding, it is unsurprising that the American Church turned to metaphors of kinship to articulate its relationship. To some extent, these invocations of relatedness had their basis in scripture. Invocations of Christian brotherhood in the nineteenth century turned to Acts 17:26, which proclaimed that God 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the Earth.' Several of the gospels further developed the idea of Christians' spiritual kinship through their common relationship with a transcendent father as illustrated in Jesus' pronouncement that 'whoever does the will of my

[17] As an American citizen, Seabury could not take the oath of allegiance to the king required of all bishops and clergy within the Church of England so the Scottish Episcopal Church oversaw his consecration. The Scottish Episcopal Church had been disestablished and was subject to state repression after its bishops refused to forswear their oath of loyalty to James II following the Glorious Revolution, leaving its clergy free to support an independent American Church. The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States thus derived a great deal of its historical and theological continuity from the Scottish Episcopal Church but nineteenth-century Southerners effectively elided the nonjuring schism and the institutional ruptures it caused when recounting the historical foundation of their Church.

Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother.'[18] As one Southern churchman phrased it, Christianity 'overlooks the imaginary lines which divides our earth into hostile nations' and 'enlarges the heart to embrace the whole human brotherhood.'[19] Apostolic succession undergirded such diffuse understandings of Episcopalians as brethren united in the service of Christ and authority in the form of a seemingly unbroken link between the Early Christian Church and the present. As powerfully as this transcendence of time and place resonated, the metaphor that carried the greatest significance for nineteenth-century Episcopalians was that of the Church of England as a mother.

As a purely descriptive term, the analogy had much to recommend it. The Protestant Episcopal Church had been raised on foundations laid by the Church of England and owed to it the liturgy and ecclesiastical practices that comprised its very identity. American Episcopalians acknowledged the Anglican Church with a degree of deference in this respect as an institutional predecessor.[20] With the passage of time, however, the relationship encapsulated in the term Mother Church attained an emotional valence beyond its original descriptive power. This was particularly true in the Southern states of the eastern seaboard, where the influence of the Anglican Church as a social institution had been strongest and recollections of

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[18] Mt 12:46-50; Mk 3:35; Lk 8:19-20 KJV.

[19] Pinckney, *Jubilee Sermon on the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity…,* p. 1.

[20] The degree of filiopiety towards the Church of England, both liturgical and political, observed within the United States represented something of an anomaly within the Anglican Communion. Far from celebrating their connection to the Church of England, Anglicans in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, pushed for greater autonomy throughout this period. For a cogent summary of the divided loyalties the Church of England inspired in these regions see Keith Robbins, *History, Religion, and Identity in Modern Britain* (London, 1993), pp. 87-102.

its planting were most romanticized. In emphasizing the importance of historical continuity and tradition, ministers frequently discussed the institutional and liturgical practices established by the Church of England as a sort of bequest to be preserved for future generations. Meade described the Book of Common Prayer as 'the most perfect of all liturgies' and urged that it be 'maintained in its purity and integrity.'[21] At times the evocations of inheritance were even more explicit. Speaking before the General Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, William Bacon Stevens called the liturgy an 'ecclesiastical birthright' that belonged to Episcopalians by 'right of primogeniture.' [22] Reverend Henry Mandeville Denison mirrored this language in Charleston when he referenced the 'undefiled Christianity' that descendents of the original colonists received as their 'best birthright.'[23] The duty of care implied by the familial metaphor prompted conservatism on the part of the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church and helped to insulate the church from divisive issues that had splintered other Protestant denominations, particularly with respect to slavery. In looking outwards, the American Church averted its gaze from the schisms within, albeit temporarily.[24]

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[21] *Sermon Preached at the Opening of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia*, *September 5, 1838 by the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D., Assistant Bishop of Virginia* (Philadelphia PA, 1838), pp. 17-18.
[22] Stevens, *A Discourse Delivered Before the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* p. 65.
[23] Henry Mandeville Denison, *Lectures to Business Men; Delivered in St. Peter's Church, Charleston So. Ca.* (Charleston SC, 1858), p. 26.
[24] Although the Catholic Church similarly avoided schism in the decades prior to the Civil War, its leadership had taken a decisive position on the immorality of slavery with Gregory XVI's 1839 apostolic letter condemning the slave trade. In stopping short of appealing for immediate emancipation, however, the language of the Bull remained open to interpretation by Catholic slaveholders and Irish immigrants who remained hostile to the antislavery movement. See John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York, 2003), pp. 49-51, 68-90; Madeleine Hooke Rice, 'American Catholic Opinion in

In addition to creating a sense of diffuse solidarity between the churches through the unimpeded transmission of a liturgical legacy, the maternal metaphor informed the ways in which Episcopalians perceived their duty towards the Church of England, mobilizing a sentiment akin to filial piety for the benefit of the Anglican Communion.[25] This was especially apparent in the impetus the historical relationship between the English and American churches gave missionary efforts throughout the antebellum period. As western expansion brought new territories under the remit of the American government, the Church slowly grew alongside the state. Constrained by financial difficulties and finding itself falling behind other Protestant denominations in the mission field, the bishops and clergy were both guided and galvanized by the historical precedent furnished by the Church of England in its colonial missionary endeavours.[26] Recalling the role of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the planting of the American church prior to the Revolution, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney reflected that, through its ongoing missionary efforts in the western territories, the Episcopal Church had 'preserved the likeness of that honored parent,' and prayed that their missionary zeal would

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the Slavery Controversy' (Columbia University, New York, PhD diss., 1944); John F. Quinn, '"Three Cheers for the Abolitionist Pope!": American Reaction to Gregory XVI's Condemnation of the Slave Trade, 1840-1860,' *Catholic Historical Review* 90 (January 2004), pp. 74-80.

[25] Prior to its formal establishment in 1867, the phrase "Anglican Communion" was infrequently used to describe the relationship between the Church of England and its affiliates throughout the world. It was in use at least as early as 1735, however, and subsequent appearances throughout the nineteenth century, however sporadic, justify its inclusion in this discussion. See John Chrysostom Gregory Sharp, *Two Conferences Held, May the 31st and June the 7th, Ann. 1734 Between Mr. John Sharp an Eminent Romish Priest; and Mr. W------ G------, a Layman of the Church of England* (London, 1735): ESTC T11587.

[26] Robert Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg PA, 2009), p. 123.

ever prove them 'the genuine descendants of an honored ancestry.'[27] If familial metaphors conveyed the enduring admiration and affection American churchmen had for the Church of England, they could also be deployed in criticism of its past mistakes. Reflecting on the history of the Episcopal Church in Georgia, one clergyman anthropomorphized the English and American Churches and imagined the conflict that divided them as a family quarrel, contending that 'the refusal of our Mother Church to give this dower of Episcopacy to her Transatlantic Daughter,' created discord that ultimately destroyed their union.[28] The institutional memory of the colonial Church's dependence on the Bishop of London an ocean away likely influenced the deputies of the General Convention of 1835 to make formal arrangements for the appointment of missionary bishops in territories even before they had been organized into proper dioceses. Far from fostering bitterness, the metaphor of kinship thus helped to channel recollections of the Church of England's mismanagement of its North American branches into productive action. Like many a family quarrel, the connective tissues of reciprocity and mutual regard proved stronger than the initial animosity and ultimately promised an amiable reconciliation.

Sustaining a Transatlantic Faith

Many of the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church could be numbered among the transatlantic tourists discussed in the first chapter, but their travels

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[27] Pinckney, *Jubilee Sermon on the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Protestant Episcopal Society, for the Advancement of Christianity...,*p. 2.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

differed from those of laypeople in crucial ways. They tended to observe the state of the Church of England more attentively and, recognizing the potential their travel had to reaffirm the bonds of ecumenical affection, self-consciously fashioned themselves into emissaries of the Episcopal Church, though, in most cases, they travelled as ministers without portfolio. Episcopal churchmen from both sections made sojourns to the continent during this period, but the Southern bishops were especially well travelled, becoming nodal points in an increasingly complex transatlantic network.[29]

Leonidas Polk sailed for Europe in 1831 in the hopes of recovering his health and spent over a year travelling extensively throughout the British Isles during which time he made a point of visiting as many churches as he could. His firsthand encounters with Anglican worship sometimes left him disillusioned. He judged the service he attended in New College, Oxford to be too reminiscent of Catholic practices as the surplice-wearing choir seemed to be 'designed wholly for effect,' and bemoaned the fact that even though he had attended church several times that Sunday, he still had 'not realized the solemnity and sanctity of this holy day.'[30] Nevertheless, even when confronted with a model of worship that diverged from his

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[29] Episcopalians hardly monopolized transatlantic modality. Other Protestant denominations, particularly those stamped as dissenters in Britain, maintained lively discourses with their co-religionists across the Atlantic that culminated in transnational evangelical revivals. See Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport CT, 1978). For further discussion of the motivations and experiences of travelling American clergy of all denominations, see Michael Stausberg, *Religion and Tourism: Crossroads, Destinations and Encounters* (London, 2012); Paul Aaron Westover, *Traveling to Meet the Dead 1750-1860: A Study of Literary Tourism and Necromanticism* (Indiana University, PhD diss., 2008).

[30] William Mecklenberg Polk, *Leonidas Polk Bishop and General.* vol. 1 (New York, 1893), p. 142.

liturgical convictions he reflected how blessed it was 'to hold sweet communion with kindred spirits around the board of one common Lord.'[31]

James Otey, Bishop of Tennessee, travelled to England in 1851 to seek hydropathic treatment at the Great Malvern spa, but, like Polk, he spent the majority of his time touring the country and indulging his passion for history.[32] His visit coincided with the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and, though he had not been delegated by his fellow bishops to represent the Episcopal Church or even invited to speak during the festivities, he rose to his feet to deliver an address in which he expressed his hope that the occasion would 'strengthen the ties of amity between the two powerful nations and knit the members of [the] Communion together in closer bonds of fellowship.'[33] Bishop Meade passed four months in England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1841. He attended meetings of the London Missionary Society and formed acquaintances with several leading clergymen. However, one of his travelling companions chastised the bishop for the amount of time he devoted to leisurely pursuits in their travels, writing to his wife that 'he is for seeing sights, but I am more desirous of becoming acquainted with men.'[34] Such visits, unsanctioned

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[31]Quoted in Joseph H. Parks, *General Leonidas Polk, CSA: The Fighting Bishop* (Baton Rouge LA, 1990), p. 58.
[32] Donald Smith Armentrout, *James Hervey Otey: First Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee,* (Nashville TN, 1984), p. 121.
[33] James Hervey Otey, *Otey's Journal, Being the Account by James Hervey Otey, A.B., M.A. D.D., L.L.D of His Travels in the Summer of 1851 in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales,* (ed.) Edwin Thomas Greninger (Johnson City TN, 1994), p. 89.
[34] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham NC, P1210937 (Charles Wesley Andrews Papers, 1808-1901), Box 1, Charles Wesley Andrews to Sarah Andrews, 2 July 1841; Philip Slaughter, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Virginia* (Cambridge MA, 1885), pp. 24-5.

though they often were, nevertheless cemented the impression of the immutable bonds that connected the Mother Church to her transatlantic daughter. In Britain, newspapers carried reports of developments within the 'American Church' alongside news from other colonial dependencies, creating the impression that the Protestant Episcopal Church was co-extensive with the Church of England and American visitors, for their part, returned home having reaffirmed their place in a glorious lineage that stretched back to antiquity.[35]

The narratives of kinship that these bishops and clergy wove around themselves tended to elide family quarrels between the Mother Church and her transatlantic offspring, but no topic was more studiously avoided than the slavery controversy. Like many Northern Episcopalians in the United States, the majority of the Church of England clergy opposed slavery in principle but were willing to forgo advancing any moral critique in the interest of preserving unity in the Anglican Communion.[36] With few exceptions, relations between Southern clergy and their antislavery British brethren were marked with cordiality. The Peculiar Institution rarely featured in the missionary meetings or official proceedings of the Church of England that Southern bishops attended, effectively effacing conflict from celebrations of unity between the constituent churches of the Anglican Communion.

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[35] *The Leeds Mercury,* 8 April 1826; London *Daily News,* 31 March 1859.

[36] Although nominally antislavery, by the mid-nineteenth century the Church of England had lost much of the zeal that characterized the Clapham Sect. This corresponds to what Catherine Hall characterized as a 'loss of confidence' in the language of universal brotherhood and sisterhood following West Indian emancipation. See Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 338.

Even without these tableaus of harmonious accord, however, Episcopal clergymen were predisposed to look on the Mother Church with fondness.

Much of the natural affinity that Southern churchmen felt with the Church of England in the course of their travels was due in part to the training they had received as candidates for taking holy orders. As the nineteenth century progressed, the church grew increasingly self-sufficient in terms of its ability to train candidates for ministry in domestic seminaries rather than sending them abroad, yet the curriculum offered in American institutions continued to reflect the pervasive influence of British theologians and historians. In 1804, the House of Bishops established a list of required texts for those pursuing a course of theological studies. Of fifty-four titles in the fields of Christian apologetics, systematic theology, biblical commentary, church history, and the pastoral office, forty-seven were penned by British authors. In addition to the proscribed reading list, the bishops recommended that students should acquaint themselves with the sermons 'of some of the most distinguished preachers; who have so abounded in the Church of England for some ages past.'[37] While the preference for English authors in these early recommendations is understandable given the fledgling state of American biblical scholarship so soon after the Revolution, these titles remained in effect as the sanctioned curriculum without major revision until 1868.[38] Even after the discipline matured in the United States, British scholarship figured prominently in seminary curricula. In 1886, the minimum reading list assigned to seminary students at the

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[37] *Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America: from the Year 1784 to the Year 1814* (Philadelphia PA, 1814), pp. 346-8.
[38] *Journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* (Hartford CT, 1868), p. 232.

University of the South contained 217 texts, sixty percent of which were written by British churchmen.[39] The reading lists they studied in common gave Northern and Southern clergy a shared reference point in the form of an Anglican theological and liturgical tradition, but British texts could also generate controversy and sow dissension.

The potential disruptive effects of the transatlantic dialogue between the English and American churches was made apparent as the debate surrounding the Oxford Movement reached the United States. Inaugurated in 1833 by Anglican High Churchmen dissatisfied with the Whig administration's perceived attacks on the established church following the Reform Act, the movement grew to encompass reassessments of the nature of the church and her ministry, Justification and the role of the Sacraments.[40] In its initial objects, the Oxford movement found many supporters in the United States who embraced the reformers' emphasis on apostolic succession and their efforts to extricate the church from the lethargy imposed by its Erastian subservience to the state. When the movement's apologia, *Tracts for the Times,* was released in its first American edition in 1839, the Bishop of Quebec marvelled that he had heard more about the *Tracts* in New York over the course of a few days than he had heard in London in a year.[41] The Tractarians' early writings largely aligned with beliefs already prevalent in the Episcopal Church, at least among members of its High Church party. Indeed, John Hobart, the third Bishop of

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[39] *University of the South Papers,* Ser. B No. 24, Calendar for 1886-87, pp. 23-6.
[40] Steward J. Brown, *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World, 1830-1930* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 37.
[41] George Demille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia PA, 1950), p. 41.

New York, whose own views of the sacrificial priesthood anticipated those later advanced by the Tractarians, met with John Henry Newman during a visit to Great Britain in 1824, nearly a decade before the latter inaugurated the Oxford Movement.[42]

If the two-way flow of ideas between the centre and the periphery of the Anglican Communion initially ensured a positive reception for the Oxford *Tracts*, it did not entirely shield the Episcopal Church from the controversial implications of the movement's culmination in Anglo-Catholicism. Evangelicals within the Episcopal Church depicted the Oxford Movement as a Romish attack on the Church of England and cautioned their brethren to remain vigilant against efforts to corrupt their own church with Catholic teachings.[43] High churchmen conversely maintained that evangelicals failed to cultivate a proper appreciation of the distinguishing characteristics of the Church and its sacraments, seeing in the ritualistic reforms suggested by the Oxford Movement an opportunity to reaffirm their distinctive faith and save the church from schism.[44] The differences between the two positions were primarily of degree rather than substance in matters of polity or doctrine. Both stressed the notion of human weakness and the necessity of atonement and justification but while high churchmen believed these graces could be found in the Church, the sacraments, and an apostolic ministry, evangelicals stressed the

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[42] C. K. L. Clarke, *Bishop Hobart and the Oxford Movement* (Milwaukee WI, 1933), p. 6; Raymond Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York, 1964), p. 230; Kenneth Parker and Daniel Handschy, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice, American Polemics, the Oxford Movement and *Apostolicae Curae,*' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62 (July 2011), pp. 515-542.

[43] Charles McIllvaine, *Oxford Divinity, Compared With That of the Romish and Anglican Churches* (London, 1841), p. 54.

[44] Demille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 34-7.

importance of a personal acceptance of Christ by faith.[45] The Tractarian controversy crystallized the essential differences between the various factions of the Episcopal Church but unlike the majority of schisms in American Protestant churches, the divisions emerged more along doctrinal lines than sectional.

Southern Episcopalians were well represented on both sides of the debate. On one end of the spectrum lay Levi Silliman Ives, the Bishop of North Carolina, who became the highest-ranking American churchman to defect to Rome where he was received by Pope Pius IX into the Catholic Church in 1852.[46] In contrast, his counterpart in Tennessee, Bishop Otey, once refused to consecrate a church because it contained an excess of crosses and an ostentatious altar that he thought unsuitable for an Episcopal house of worship.[47] The range of opinion within the Southern churches encouraged bishops and clergy to look outside their section for potential allies. Bishop Meade emerged as a leader of the evangelical wing and inspired many admirers in the North and South following his attack on the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union for appearing to favour the high church view of baptismal regeneration and his subsequent tenure as president of the rival Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge.[48] He found a staunch ally and friend in Bishop Charles McIlvaine of Ohio, who placed their shared doctrinal views above his own antislavery convictions. McIlvaine shared Meade's preoccupation

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[45] Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 186.
[46] Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley CA, 1994), pp. 284-5; Levi Silliman Ives, *The Trials of A Mind on Its Progress to Catholicism*: *A Letter to His Old Friends* (Boston, 1854).
[47] Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 247.
[48] Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, MSS74M46 (William K. Meade Papers), Box I Fol. 5, Meade to the Directors of the Sunday School Union, 17 September[?] 1851.

with preventing the Tractarians from making further inroads in the Episcopal Church and voiced his relief upon discovering the movement's dwindling influence during a visit to England in 1853 in a letter that he closed with the words, 'your most affectionate brother in Christ.'[49] McIlvaine was similarly intimate with Leonidas Polk whom he had met while serving as the chaplain at West Point. Polk credited his conversion to the Episcopal faith as a young cadet to McIlvaine, who also delivered the sermon at his consecration as the first Missionary Bishop to the Southwest.[50]

Far from rending the Church asunder as its bishops and clergy perpetually feared, the rupture between high churchmen and evangelicals actually served to bolster it against the sectional divisions that felled other mainline Protestant denominations. The alliances its members formed in response to questions of doctrine and liturgical practices prevented the church from fracturing wholly along sectional lines when differences of opinion regarding slavery as a divinely ordained institution emerged. The bishops and clergy were not eager to sacrifice the friendships they had formed with those they perceived as comrades in the doctrinal battles of the 1840s and accordingly made concessions for the sake of preserving unity when sectional disputes did arise. The high cost of these sectional disputes, as

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[49] Ibid., Charles P. McIlvaine to William Meade, 28 May 1853.
[50] Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road,* pp. 63-70; William Wilson Manross, 'Leonidas Polk—Early Life and Presbyterate,' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 7 (December 1938): pp. 330-1; Glenn Robins, *The Bishop of the Old South: The Ministry and Civil War Legacy of Leonidas Polk* (Macon GA, 2006), pp. 27, 50-51; Polk's conversion had a transatlantic dimension as McIlvaine leant him a copy of Olinthus Gregory's *Letters on the Evidences of Christianity,* written while the author was a mathematical master at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, England. See 'Our Bishop General,' *The Church Intelligencer,* 10 April 1863.

well as the tendency of slavery to catalyze them, was all too apparent to the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church following the split into Northern and Southern branches of the Methodists in 1844 and the Baptists in 1845.[51] Subordinating their views on the Peculiar Institution to the continued survival of the Episcopal Church, high churchmen, regardless of their section, discouraged discussion of slavery as a political issue. Their evangelical brethren were more forthright in voicing their opinions, whether they maintained, as did the Southern wing of the party, that it represented a positive good or denounced it as an evil incompatible with the church's mission but few clerical leaders took a public stance on the slavery question and the General Convention never adopted any resolution condemning it on the grounds of Christian morality.[52] The bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church thus weathered the sectional storms that had burst upon the other mainline Protestant denominations but the very understandings of historical continuity and kinship with the Church of England would nearly prove the Church's undoing as the nation tumbled towards war.

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[51] John Patrick Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery and the Causes of the Civil War* (Lexington KY, 2002), pp. 75-7; C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches Broken Nations: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the Civil War* (Macon GA, 1988), pp. 66-107. Mark Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, p. 27. The Presbyterian Church also fractured into New School and Old School factions in 1837, but while slavery featured prominently in the debates surrounding its division, this split owed more to theological differences than later schisms.

[52] Diana H. Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind*: *Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford, 1995), p. 157; Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (New Haven CT, 1986), p. 205.

Sectionalism and Schism

Despite the pride its members evinced at the Church's institutional stability, sectional stress fractures were already beginning to form by the 1850s. The earliest intimations of Southern nationalism expressed by the bishops and clergy afforded little indication of the separatism that would threaten the dismemberment of the church or the national union. On the contrary, the type of nationalism most prominent within the Southern wing of the Church in the decades preceding the Civil War eschewed disunion, seeking instead to harness regional distinctiveness in the service of a broader American nationalism. Nowhere was this intent more apparent than in the efforts to establish an Episcopal institution of higher education that would serve the needs of both the South and, by extension, the larger nation. The Episcopal Church had fallen far behind other denominations in establishing its own centres of learning in the Southwestern states where the intellectual impoverishment of educational institutions in general was already a common complaint among elites.[53] The University of the South, as initially proposed by Bishop Otey in the 1830s, thus carried a great deal of cross-sectional appeal within the Episcopal Church which its proponents took great pains to sustain. An early meeting of the trustees near the proposed site of the university in Sewanee, Tennessee in 1857 incorporated potent symbolism to allay any doubts as to the

[53] Dan R. Frost, *Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South* (Knoxville TN, 2000), pp. 18-19; Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pp. 214-5. The Methodists founded Emory and Randolph Macon; Baptists had Rector, Richmond, and Wake Forest Colleges; Presbyterians operated a school in Lebanon, Tennessee; and Roman Catholics had embarked on an ambitious programme of building schools.

University's loyalties. The group gathered on the Fourth of July, opening their meeting with a dignified procession up the steep slope of Lookout Mountain behind Rezin Rawlins, a veteran of the Revolutionary War. Rawlins carried a flag from the conflict that held an unimpeachably patriotic pedigree. It had allegedly been sewn by ladies in the birthplace of independence and the wood forming its staff hewn by Millard Fillmore from trees surrounding George Washington's final resting place. [54] Indeed, the stars and stripes took centre stage during Otey's address, literally concealing him at one point and giving one spectator the impression that the bishop's assurances of loyalty to the American nation came from the midst of its folds.[55]

Even as the trustees participated in this choreographed pageant of American nationalism, an opposing sentiment was already creeping into the discourses surrounding the University of the South. The anxiety concerning the inferiority of Southern educational institutions that had undergirded efforts to establish the University of the South was compounded by growing fears that Northern colleges and universities were tainted with abolitionism. This situation was particularly unpalatable for Episcopalians, who feared that a Northern-trained ministry would attack the very foundations of their society. Leonidas Polk, who with Stephen Elliott, had taken Otey's place as the chief promoter of the university given the older man's increasing infirmities, confided that he was 'perfectly and increasing satisfied' that

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[54] *Proceedings of a Convention of the Trustees of a Proposed University for the Southern States, under the Auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Together with a Narrative, and the Address of the Rt. Rev. James H. Otey, Bishop of Tennessee* (Atlanta GA, 1857), pp. 4-5.
[55] Ibid., p. 7.

nothing short of a Southern university to rival the likes of Yale or Harvard would 'save us as a church and as a Southern Church in particular.'[56]

In creating such an institution, the Southern bishops' familiarity with British universities proved to be a distinct advantage. Both Otey and Polk had visited Oxford and Cambridge during their travels in Great Britain and invoked them frequently. Polk envisioned the University as 'an Oxford, or a Gottingen, or a Bonn or all three combined' but in the centrality of the Episcopal faith to his imagined institution, he was clearly emulating the two English universities.[57] In recreating the fabled 'seats of learning' that had been so inextricably entwined with the history of the Church of England, and indeed, his own, Polk hoped to create an educational institution that would challenge the supremacy of the Northern universities and help to shape the next generation of Southern leaders for the political battle ahead.[58] With hindsight, assessments of the sectional character of the University of the South largely confirmed Polk's sectional vision rather than the nationalist rhetoric espoused during the Fourth of July ceremony. As Bishop Elliott's eulogist recalled, 'the object of this Institution was distinct and widely known—to educate in

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[56] Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, MSS2965 (Leonidas Polk Papers), Leonidas Polk to Stephen Elliott, 23 July 1856.
[57] Ibid., Leonidas Polk to Kenneth Rayner, 30 July 1857. At this time, subscription to the 39 Articles was still required of all Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates before they could take their degree and Oxford only abolished it as a mandatory prerequisite for matriculation in 1854. Cambridge continued to bar dissenters from earning degrees until 1871, when the Universities Tests Act formally abolished religious texts and allowed non-Anglicans to take teaching posts. Both universities prohibited non-Anglicans from taking up fellowships or professorships in Divinity until 1913, however. See 'Introduction,' in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (eds.) *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. vi (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-3.
[58] Robins, *The Bishop of the Old South,* p. 126.

harmony with Southern ideas.'[59] In recognizing the necessity of collective action among the Southern dioceses to fund the University of the South, Polk rather ominously observed that 'separately we are powerless, and we can gain efficiency only by combination.'[60] These words took on newfound prescience as the Church drifted ever closer to schism and the nation to war.

Given its stability as a national institution rather than a sectional one and its size relative to other denominations the Episcopal Church at first glance appeared an unlikely vehicle for states rights. In 1860, the Church claimed only 416 clergy and 26,232 communicants in the seceding states making it the third largest denomination after Methodists and Baptists.[61] It played a disproportionately large role in the events leading up to secession, however, as it counted among its numbers a large share of the elite planters who were most likely to support Southern independence.[62] In some cases, Episcopal ministers literally inaugurated the proceedings of disunion when they delivered opening prayers at secession conventions, as was the case in Florida, where the assembly invited Bishop Francis

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[59] Richard H. Wilmer, 'In Memoriam. A Sermon in Commemoration of the Life and Labors of the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliot D. D. [Late Bishop of Georgia] Delivered in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., on Sunday, January 27, 1867' (Mobile AL, 1867), p. 14.
[60] Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, MSS2965 (Leonidas Polk Papers), Leonidas Polk to Stephen Elliot, 23 July 1856.
[61] These numbers only include adults who had been confirmed in the church and were members of good standing, so it affords, at best, an imprecise reflection of the Church's total membership. *Journal of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church Assembled in a General Convention…1859,* vol. 6, (Philadelphia PA, 1860), p. 317, 335; Orville W. Taylor, 'Arkansas,' in Samuel S. Hill (ed.) *Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study* (Macon GA, 1983), p. 31.
[62] William Kauffman Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South* (Baton Rouge LA, 2006), p. 53. Scarborough found that 58.8 percent of his cohort of elite slaveowners belonged to the Episcopal Church. Concentrations were particularly high along the Atlantic seaboard.

H. Rutlege to preside.[63] Following the secession of the eleven Southern states between December 1860 and May 1861, the Church was well represented in the Confederate government and armies as Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee rounded out the list of prominent Episcopalians. No one better represented the intertwined worlds of Southern nationalism and the Episcopal Church than Leonidas Polk, however. Polk had come into the secessionist fold somewhat reluctantly, but following Lincoln's election he preached the gospel of disunion with the evangelical fervour of the newly converted. As a West Point graduate, he dutifully offered his services to the Confederate government and was commissioned a major general charged with the defence of the Mississippi River. Deeply conflicted by his dual status soldier and bishop, Polk intended to retain command only so long as it took to find a more suitable candidate and retained his position as Bishop of Louisiana in absentia.[64]

As the 'Fighting Bishop,' Polk furnished the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy with a potent symbol of Southern sectionalism turned Christian duty but it fell equally to clergy and laypeople to formulate the ecclesiastical framework in which that new national belonging would be experienced. Following Polk's pastoral letter announcing the independence of the Diocese of Louisiana from the Protestant Episcopal Church, he met with Stephen Elliott at Sewanee to compose a letter to their brethren in the newly established Confederate States. The two men

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[63] Dorothy Dodd, (ed.) 'Edmund Ruffin's Account of the Florida Secession Convention, 1861: A Diary." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (October 1933), pp. 69-70; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida* (Tallahassee FL, 1861), p. 39; *Journal of the State Convention and Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted in January 1861* (Jackson MS, 1861), passim.

[64] Robins, *The Bishop of the Old South,* p. 149.

stressed the fact that 'political changes forced upon us by stern necessity' required the Southern dioceses to reconsider their relationship with the Northern churches and invited the bishops, clerical deputies, and lay deputies to a convention in Montgomery, Alabama on July 3, 1860.[65] Despite meeting in the city that had briefly served as the Confederate capital months before, the assembly was more given to sober contemplation of the task before them than celebrating Southern state formation. Virtually all of the bishops acknowledged the necessity of such a convention, though few had been willing or able to make the long journey to Montgomery. Indeed, only four of the dioceses that constituted the church in the new Confederate States of America had sent bishops to represent them at a council that promised to dramatically reshape the ecclesiastical polity of their faith.[66]

The reluctance of bishops to subscribe to the notion of a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction even after the secession of their states from the Union is understandable given the centrality of historical continuity to the Church's identity and the amount of time and energy the bishops and clergy had spent defending the Protestant Episcopal Church from internal divisions in the preceding decades. Theologically, schism was justifiable only if it removed the Church from the corrupting influence of erroneous teachings, as most nineteenth-century Episcopalians believed separation of the Anglican Church from Rome during the reformation had done. Otherwise, schism contradicted Paul's exhortation to 'all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be

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[65] *Proceedings of a Meeting of Bishops, Clergymen, and Laymen, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, at Montgomery, Alabama on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of July 1861* (Montgomery AL, 1861), p. 3.
[66] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.'[67] The legacy left by the Church of England greatly complicated the work facing the Montgomery convention. On one hand, the principles of apostolic succession and the reverence they shared for the canons and liturgy transmitted through the Mother Church gave the Southern Episcopalians pause when contemplating ecclesiastical independence.[68] However, another of the Church of England's bequests to her North American daughter, the understanding of the Church as co-terminous with the State, compelled them to move forward with their plans for an Episcopal Church contiguous with the political borders secession had imposed. As Bishop Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina argued before his diocese, it was the duty of the Church to uphold the State through its prayers and if necessary, to commit ecclesiastical secession in order to follow it.[69]

Desirous of keeping his Southern brethren in the fold, John Henry Hopkins, the Bishop of Vermont, argued that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of their fathers did not map neatly onto geographical divisions and political separation did not necessarily require ecclesiastical dismemberment.[70] There were vivid illustrations of this in the form of the missionary bishops the Episcopal Church had

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[67] I Cor: 1-10, KJV.

[68] Bishop Elliott was particularly anxious to stress this during the war, when he argued in a pastoral letter that the Church in the Confederate States had made every effort to 'preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of canons, but above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer.' See *Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America* (Augusta GA, 1862), p. 3.

[69] *Extract from the Annual Address of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Atkinson, D.D. to the Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina* (Raleigh NC, 1861), p. 6.

[70] John Henry Hopkins, *A Letter to the Bishops and Delegates Now Assembled at Montgomery* (New York, 1861), p. 12.

dispatched to Turkey, Liberia, Shanghai, and Mexico during the 1840s and 1850s but they proved largely unpersuasive perhaps because of the counterexample their own separation from the Church of England provided. As Leonidas Polk emphasized in both his pastoral letters and his private correspondence, the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy could have no further affiliation with the General Council but he hoped that their relations to each other would be the same as they held to the Mother Church following the Revolution.[71] Hopkins even proposed an alteration to their constitution that would change the official name of the church from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to a more neutral title that encompassed both the Union and the Confederacy but he could not sway the Southern bishops from their course.[72] After several days of deliberation and debate, the assembly voted to effect their separation from the Protestant Episcopal Church and scheduled a second meeting in Columbia later that year to settle the matter of the church's canons and bylaws.

Episcopal Brethren in a Brothers' War, 1861-5

Despite its initial reluctance to sanction the project of Confederate nationalism with secession from its own polity, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America played an active role in the war that followed. The role of religion in sustaining Northern and Southern morale during the Civil War has

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[71] Leonidas Polk to Horatio Porter in William Mecklenberg Polk (ed.) *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, vol. 1 (New York, 1893), p. 312; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana* (New Orleans LA, 1861), p. 33.
[72] Hopkins, *A Letter to the Bishops and Delegates Now Assembled at Montgomery,* p. 13.

been well established, as has its influence on Confederate nationalism.[73] Contemporaries likewise recognized the symbolic and practical significance of churches during the war. As Bishop Elliott maintained, the Church:

> guides the sentiments of the people in the channels of duty and of devotion—it works upon conscience, upon heart, upon spirit—it sends the soldier to the battle inspired with more than animal courage, and it ministers comfort to those who remain behind to endure the terrible anxiety of suspense, and to bear the misery of the heart's desolation.[74]

Like those of other denominations, Episcopal ministers helped to provide a moral pretext for waging war, exhorted young men to enlist as soldiers, provided spiritual succour to the sick and dying as well as the families they left behind, and sometimes even marched into battle themselves. Sixty-nine Episcopal ministers attached themselves to various Confederate regiments as chaplains, though many more likely served with state regiments or in unofficial capacities during the conflict.[75] The Southern bishops continually encouraged others to follow their example but the General Council began to consider practical alternatives to this ministry as the prospects of a brief war diminished. Among the more successful ventures involved the printing of special prayer books for use by Confederate soldiers and sailors.

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[73] Randall Miller, Harry Stout, Charles Regan Wilson, (eds). *Religion and the American Civil War* (Oxford, 1998); Drew Gilpin Faust *Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge LA, 1989), pp. 22-40; Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848-1865* (Oxford: University Press, 2011), pp. 19, 38-40; George Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill NC, 2010).

[74] Stephen Elliott, *God's Presence with our Army at Manassas! A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Sunday July 28th, Being the Day Recommended by the Congress of the Confederate States, to be Observed as a Day of Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of the Victory at Manassas Junction, on Sunday the 21st of July, 1861, by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Rector of Christ Church* (Savannah GA, 1861), p. 22.

[75] Joseph Blount Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States* (New York, 1912), p. 159.

While the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church in the South undertook their ministry to the armed forces of the Confederate nation as a sacred duty, the very ecclesiastical and institutional structures that had defined the Church's antebellum identity stymied their efforts. Under its Canons, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America could not release its own Book of Common Prayer before a process of review and ratification. This effectively prevented the introduction of an authorized prayer book before 1865, when the General Council was later scheduled to meet in Mobile, Alabama. Some laypeople entertained the possibility of sidestepping this prohibition by importing copies of the Church of England's Prayer Book, though the Church's bishops and clergy largely understood the canonical challenge this would present and deemed the measure unworkable.[76] At least two enterprising Virginian chaplains believed England might play a role in the production of a dedicated Confederate prayer book.

Despite lacking any official authorization from the General Council, the Reverend Kensey Johns Stewart, formerly of St. Paul's Church in Alexandria, and the Reverend Robert Gatewood, of St. Paul's Church in Norfolk, travelled to London in March of 1863 to oversee the printing of a *Book of Common Prayer* for use in the Confederate States of America.[77] The lack of official oversight and hurried nature of production were apparent in several revealing errors in the text. The Office of the

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[76] Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Coll. 241-Z (Stephen Elliott Letter Book, 1862-1864), Stephen Elliott to K[ensey] J[ohns] Stewart, 20 January 1863.

[77] Both men later became more immediately involved with the war effort; Gatewood served as an intelligence officer in Richmond, and Stewart, as a Confederate secret agent in Canada who may have been tied to John Wilkes Booth's original plot to kidnap President Lincoln for ransom. See Edward Steers, *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington KY, 2001), p. 52.

Consecration of a Bishop still contained a promise on the part of the bishop-elect for conformity to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Even more ironic, given the threat that Confederate privateers posed to Northern shipping, was the prayer suitable for use by sailors on ships of war, which directed worshippers to pray for preservation 'from the dangers of the sea, and from the 'violence of the enemy; that we may be a safeguard unto the United States of America, and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions.'[78] The London firm of Eyre & Spottiswoode printed three editions but relatively few copies arrived safely through the blockade and there is little evidence to suggest that this version of the Book of Common Prayer was ever widely adopted by Confederate Episcopalians.[79] Indeed, it was a point of pride to Bishop Elliott in 1862 that he was able to reassure members of his own branch of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion as a whole:

> the Prayer Book we have left untouched in every particular save where a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. Three words comprise all the amendment which has been deemed necessary in the present emergency, for we have felt unwilling, in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a Book, consecrated by the use of ages, and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us[80]

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[78] 'Forms of Prayer to Be Used at Sea,' *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David* (London, 1863), n.p.; G. MacLaren Brydon, 'The Confederate Prayer Book' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 17 (December 1948), pp. 343-4; Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States,* p. 100.

[79] Ironically, more copies of the second edition may have made their way into Northern hands than their intended recipients, as four hundred copies sent aboard the blockade runner, *Robert E. Lee* were captured off of Wilmington, N.C., and those that were not destroyed appear to have been sold at auction in Boston in December 1863. See ibid.

[80] *Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America,* p. 5.

Rather than looking to the Church of England or London printers for succour, the Confederate Episcopal Church found a solution in the publication of abridged versions of the 1789 Book of Common Prayer with minor modifications to reflect the changing balance of power. Drawing on the historical precedent set by the Church following the American Revolution, these texts adapted existing liturgical forms to convey legitimacy to the Confederate government. Following a motion passed at the 1862 General Council, Bishop Elliott oversaw the publication of a version of the prayer book adapted for Confederate use. Elliott was not entirely pleased with the finished product, as wartime exigencies had required the use of a cheap paper that he likened to 'the commonest newspaper trash' but he recognized the importance of producing a Confederate devotional literature in agreement with new ecclesiastical and political loyalties.[81]

Bishop Meade's diocese far surpassed any other in buttressing the Confederate national project with liturgical support. The earliest extant abridgement of the prayer book in the Confederate States appeared in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1861. Other versions, specially designed for use by Confederate soldiers, appeared throughout the war. St. Paul's Church, in Petersburg, Virginia, oversaw the publication of *The Confederate Soldier's Prayer Book: a Manual of Devotions Compiled Mainly from the Book of Common Prayer and Arranged for*

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[81] *The Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America* (Atlanta GA, 1863); Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Coll. 241-Z (Stephen Elliott Letter Book, 1862-1864), Stephen Elliott to R. J. Maynard, n.d.

Public and Private Use in Camps and Hospitals in 1863.[82] That same year, the Diocesan Missionary Society of Virginia similarly ministered to the needs of soldiers with the production of 10,000 copies of *Prayer Book for the Camp* in 1863 and 24,000 copies of the *Army and Navy Prayer Book* two years later.[83] All of these pamphlets were small enough to fit into a soldiers' knapsack. Indeed, Bishop Johns envisioned Confederate soldiers carrying these texts in their side pockets and suggested that they would constitute a 'valuable *vade mecum* on every march.'[84] Both versions printed by the Diocesan Missionary Society contained convenient arrangements of the offices of morning and evening prayer—liturgies that could be led by a layperson—the ante-communion, various psalms, the burial service, hymns, and a selection of prayers suited for wartime, including a 'Prayer for the President of the Confederate States, and all in Civil Authority.'[85]

Charles Todd Quintard, who would occupy Otey's seat as the Bishop of Tennessee following the war, engaged in a similar ministry, publishing a series of pamphlets presenting basic tenets of the Episcopal faith to soldiers and adapting portions of the *Book of Common Prayer* for use in the camp. On the day that he was killed by Union artillery fire outside Marietta, Georgia, General Polk was found to be carrying in his pocket three copies of Quintard's *Balm for the Weary and Wounded* inscribed with the names of his subordinates. The bloodstained books were dutifully

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[82] Joseph W. Murphy, *The Confederate Soldier's Prayer Book: a Manual of Devotions Compiled Mainly from the Book of Common Prayer and Arranged for Public and Private Use in Camps and Hospitals* (Petersburg VA, 1863).
[83] Lawrence F. London, 'The Literature of the Church in the Confederate States,' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 17 (December 1948), p. 348.
[84] *Journal of the Sixty-Sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia,* (Richmond, 1864), p. 23.
[85] See for instance, *The Army and Navy Prayer Book* (Richmond VA, 1865), p. 13.

passed on to their intended recipients and held up as a symbol of the Fighting Bishop's undiminished devotion at the last.[86] More powerful than the symbolism of Polk's particular copies, however, was the extent to which publications of this sort amplified the influence of the Episcopal Church far beyond the thresholds of its constituent parish churches. In a new nation wracked by partisan politics and interstate competition—a natural consequence of its founders' suspicion of centralized state control—the uniform liturgy reproduced in each copy of the Confederate Book of Common Prayer afforded a rare opportunity for consensus. Some, like Bishop Elliott, believed that the harmony of feeling the Church's liturgy created could even transcend denominational bounds in wartime since chaplains of other faiths might turn to the prayer books in the field.[87] Even when utilized only by its intended confessional audience, however, the liturgy possessed significance that extended far beyond the chapel and battlefield. In reciting the same prayers the Confederate States of America and its leaders, worshippers affirmed their commitment to the cause of Southern independence in a common language that connected them not only as citizens of a nation but also as members of a larger communion. The Episcopal liturgy thus helped to legitimate the Confederate State,

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[86] *Funeral Services at the Burial of the Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, D.D., Together with the Sermon Delivered, in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, GA, on June 29, 1864; Being the Feast of St. Peter the Apostle,* (Columbia SC, 1864), p. 6; Sam Davis Elliott, (ed.) *Doctor Quintard, Chaplain C.S.A. and Second Bishop of Tennessee: The Memoir and Civil War Diary of Charles Todd Quintard* (Baton Rouge LA, 2003), pp. 85-6.

[87] Elliott said of an early iteration of a wartime prayer book, 'As to the use of our book by chaplains of the denominations around us, if they would not use this, they would not use any.' He conceded that the Methodists had published their own service book but remarked 'how seldom do you find them using even that.' See Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Coll. 241-Z (Stephen Elliott Letter Book, 1862-1864) Stephen Elliott to Rev. W. Hickney, n.d.

situating it alongside more established governments whose legality was unquestioned.

Ironically, given the force of such symbolism, the war greatly impinged on the literal connections between the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy and the Church of England. The Union blockade prevented regular correspondence between Southerners and their British brethren. Combined with the impediments that war and Federal occupation placed on their travel, no Southern bishop undertook anything equivalent to Bishop McIlvaine's voyage to Great Britain as a semi-official emissary of President Lincoln and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.[88] The loss of these ties was keenly felt. In their pastoral letter, the bishops bemoaned the circumstances which compelled them to act 'without any interchange of opinion even with our Mother Church.'[89] Lambeth Palace took no official position on the American Question and the manner in which it had fractured the Episcopal Church but, like much of the secular London press throughout the war, the newspapers and periodicals of the Church of England frequently took a sympathetic view of the South and the legitimacy of secession.[90] While Confederate diplomats and propagandists typically found slavery to be an insurmountable impediment to winning British hearts and minds, the demonstrable commitment of the clergy and

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[88] Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road,* pp. 126-33; Richard W. Smith, *Bishop McIlvaine*, *Slavery, Britain & the Civil War* (Bloomington IN, 2014), pp. 109-192

[89] *Pastoral Letter from The Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of the Confederate States of America. Delivered Before the General Council in S. Paul's Church, Augusta, Saturday, Nov. 22, 1862,* (Augusta GA, 1863), p. 4.

[90] W. Harrison Daniel, 'The Response of the Church of England to the Civil War and Reconstruction,' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (March 1978), p. 56; Blackett, *Divided Hearts* 122-4, 149-50; Duncan Andrew Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 40-2; 210.

bishops of the Southern Church to the religious instruction of African Americans offered a rare opportunity to positively shape opinion.

The Confederate Church Family in Black and White

Throughout the antebellum period, Episcopal bishops in the slave states had frequently expended large portions of their limited diocesan resources to provide religious education and worship opportunities for African Americans.[91] Of course, the Protestant Episcopal Church was far from the only denomination that viewed slavery as providing both an opening and an obligation for missionary efforts. Beginning in the 1830s, proslavery apologists had maintained that this type of paternalistic moral succour comprised one of the Peculiar Institution's chief blessings as it supposedly elevated slaves above the primitive paganism of their African ancestors and offered them the prospect of eternal salvation.[92] In the antebellum period, the Church's ministry to African Americans took a variety of forms ranging from pastoral care to specialized printed catechisms and even the organization of all-black congregations. Bishop Otey travelled extensively throughout his diocese, baptizing and confirming African Americans at special

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[91] Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road,* p. 71.

[92] John C. Calhoun provided an archetype for proslavery arguments on the basis of religion in his claim that never before 'has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually.' See *John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, Delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 1837* (Washington DC, 1837), p. 5; Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 147; Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 75-79; Larry R. Morrison, "The Religious Defense of Slavery Before 1830," *Journal of Religious Thought* 37 (September 1980), p. 29; Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Macon GA, 1990), pp. 293-8.

services. At times, the demands of his ministry to the enslaved exceeded that to white parishioners. In a single day in April 1842, Otey held two services for the white and black members of a parish church in his diocese. At the first, he preached and administered communion to twelve whites while at the latter service he presided before a full church and baptized 110 children. He had to consecrate the water in the baptismal font three times before the service concluded.[93]

Bishop Polk similarly led by example in advocating for a dedicated ministry to African Americans. In 1839, he began constructing an ornate gothic chapel on his plantation. Polk evidently delved into his recollections of British ecclesiastical architecture for inspiration, as St. John's was modelled after a parish church in Devon, England. The facsimile was nearly perfect, down to the ivy that festooned its walls—reportedly obtained from Kennilworth Castle during the bishop's travels—but the manner of its construction distinguished St. John's from the English chapels it so clearly emulated.[94] The enslaved craftsmen who built its walls brick by brick quite literally lay the foundation for whatever aesthetic and historical ties the chapel could claim to its twin in England. The enslaved filled the majority of the church's 500 seats, far outnumbering the white congregants in numbers baptized, confirmed, and buried in the churchyard.[95] By 1845, the church was running a Sunday School where slaves memorized by rote the order of service for evening and morning

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[93] Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill NC, MS 00568 (James Hervey Otey Papers) vol. 2 fol. 39, Diary entry for 17 April 1842.
[94] Jill K. Garrett, "St. John's Church, Ashwood," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29 (Spring-Winter, 1970), p. 18.
[95] Ibid. p. 8, Trezevant P. Yeatman, "St. John's: A Plantation Church of the Old South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 10 (December 1951), pp. 33, 336-8.

prayer.[96] Given the ease with which Polk navigated between his duties as prelate and planter, it is little wonder that he became an effective ambassador for the Episcopal Church's ministry to African Americans in the slave states. So well known was Polk that an English visitor to the General Convention in 1843 identified him simply as 'the instructor of the negroes and friend of the slave' in his description of the bishops present.[97]

In one instance, the humanity with which Polk purportedly treated his slaves and the concern he evinced for their spiritual welfare even served as a counterpoint to the popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Great Britain, as his sugar plantation was located near the fictional home of Simon Legree in Louisiana.[98] Some secular British journalists were less willing to forgive the apparent hypocrisy of a man of the cloth owning slaves, however. One article concluded a mostly complementary account of Polk's habit of keeping the Sabbath and giving his slaves a day of rest with a wry aside that despite their kind treatment by 'pious worthies' like Polk, 'negroes--the ungrateful wretches--are continually making their escape from the pleasures of servitude!' and seamlessly transitioned into a discussion on the breeding of dogs to hunt runaway slaves in the South.[99] This example of narrative tension aside, Polk and his fellow Southern bishops met no condemnation from the Church of England for their efforts among the enslaved, and more frequently earned praise for their diligence.

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[96] *Journal of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee* (Nashville TN, 1845), p. 16.
[97] 'The American Church,' *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England) 24 October 1853.
[98] See 'A Transatlantic Trip,' *The Morning Post,* (London, England) 18 October 1853.
[99] W, C. 'American Jottings,' *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts,* 69 (April 1855), p. 267.

Like Polk, Stephen Elliott served as a particularly effective proslavery evangelist in England, though he never travelled outside of the United States during his tenure as the Bishop of Georgia. He had entertained Amelia Matilda Murray, the sister of the Bishop of Rochester, during her travels in the South and later maintained a correspondence with her following her return to England. Once home, Murray published an account of her journey that proved surprisingly sympathetic to slavery. She did not convert wholeheartedly to the proslavery gospel, maintaining that Christian feeling would eventually induce Southerners to embrace a policy of gradual emancipation, but she admired the physical and spiritual care slaveholders appeared to lavish on their slaves and gently criticized the 'well-intentioned but ill-judged interferences' of the antislavery movement in her native country.[100] Bishop Elliott played a central role in both her change of heart and her travel narrative, which characterized him as an exemplar of selfless Christian charity. Introduced to readers as a clergyman who 'remained among his flock during the yellow fever, or rather plague,' that struck Savannah in 1854, Elliott's unimpeachable morality lends his opinions on slavery a corresponding gravitas within the text:

> Elliott, the nurse, the consoler, the comforter—walking calmly about among the pestilential corpses of thousands of his fellow-citizens—can such a man as this be blinded by interest or prejudice to say that apparent slavery is in most cases real freedom to the black man, and a severe trial of responsibility only to the white?[101]

As persuasive as Murray found Elliott's defence of slavery when substantiated by the record of his acts of ecclesiastical devotion, her narrative failed

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[100] Amelia M. Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba, and Canada* (New York, 1856), p. 160.
[101] Ibid., p. 212, 282.

to sway British public opinion. Indeed, Murray faced intense public scrutiny following the publication of her narrative, which ultimately forced her to resign her role as a Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria. In a letter to Elliott, however, she announced that she had 'never hesitated or lost five minutes sleep' over her decision and that she 'would be happier living upon a crust after following the dictates of my conscience, than I ever could have been with Californian riches and a wounded self-respect.'[102] Such endorsements were rare but they held out the hope of an alternative source of belonging to Southerners whose perceptions of intensifying Northern animosity towards slavery increasingly led them to question their position in the American family. The personal qualities of Polk and Elliott, when interpreted through ecclesiastical structures predicated on brotherhood in Christ, made the notion of Church-sponsored slavery slightly more palatable to British observers. It must be said, however, that the ambivalence with which the Anglican Communion regarded slavery owed as much to ignorance as to acquaintance with individual slaveholders.

Outwardly, the coming of war did not diminish the fervour with which the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States pursued their ministry to African Americans. In a pastoral letter during the war, the Southern bishops recognized this ministry as the 'Church's greatest work in these Confederate States' and urged Southern Episcopalians to remember that 'not only our spiritual

[102] Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, MSS 233 (Stephen Elliott Papers—Correspondence and Speeches), Georgia Amelia Matilda Murray to Stephen Elliott, 23 September 1855.

but our national life is wrapped up in their welfare.'[103] For their part, the clergy and laity gathered at the November 1863 meeting of the General Council in Augusta, Georgia agreed resolving that: 'That this church desires specially to recognize its obligation to provide for the spiritual wants of that class of our brethren, who in the providence of God have been committed to our sympathy and care by the national institution of slavery.'[104]Elliott went even further in suggesting that Divine Providence had guided the development of American slavery as a means of cultivating biblical knowledge among the enslaved and creating a legion of missionaries to carry the gospel back to Africa. The Civil War was merely the latest development in a series of unfolding events that would ultimately culminate with the spiritual regeneration of a continent and any temporal suffering endured by members of the Church paled in comparison to achieving the completion of this work. Elliott effectively transformed the privations occasioned by the war into acts of devotion, attributing a moral dimension to the Confederate war effort entirely independent of its political aims.[105] Such rhetoric overlooked the limitations of Anglican kinship to unite white and black Southerners in a single catholic family, even when, in the case of St. John's, the labour of the enslaved literally created the spaces where this community of the faithful was invoked.

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[103] *Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America,* p. 10.
[104] *Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, GA From Nov. 12 to Nov. 22d, Inclusive* (Augusta GA, 1863), p. 102.
[105] Stephen Elliott, *Our Cause in Harmony with the Purposes of God in Christ Jesus. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, September 18, 1862, Being the Day Set Forth by the President of the Confederate States, As a Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving, for our Manifold Victories, and Especially for the Fields of Manassas and Richmond, KY. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D.* (Savannah GA, 1862), pp. 15-16.

Conflict arose from the inherent tension between the demands of Christian charity as formulated by an established body of proslavery apologetics and a persistent anxiety that exposure to religion, unless carefully mediated, might embolden resistance among the enslaved and erode slaveholders' control.[106] Crucially, Southern Episcopalians did not equate religious instruction with literacy in the case of African Americans, giving rise to a genre of catechisms that could easily be memorized by rote. Some, like *The Church Catechism Made Plain for the Use of Those Who Cannot Read,* which had been published under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union before the war, displayed a sensibility that differed little from devotional literature written for children, but others more explicitly replicated plantation hierarchies.[107] One such work enjoined its auditors to remember the duty of servants to their minister, to which they were expected to reply that they would 'not…become preachers themselves but go to him to be taught God's Holy Word' and that 'it is wrong for the ignorant to attempt to teach the ignorant.' It also provided as a response to the question, 'How should you order yourself to all your betters?,' 'Lowly and reverently.'[108]

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[106] These fears were not entirely unjustified, as the vibrant literature surrounding slave culture argues that African Americans found space in white religious instruction for affirmations of their own selfhood and autonomy. See Noel Leo Erskine, *Plantation Church: How African American Religion Was Born in Caribbean Slavery* (Oxford, 2014); Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: the 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (Oxford, 2004), Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (Oxford, 1987), esp. chap. 1.

[107] Paul Trapier, *The Church Catechism Made Plain For the Use of Those Who Cannot Read* (New York: General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, 1855); Tammy K. Byron, 'A Catechism for Their Special Use: Slave Catechisms in the Antebellum South,' (University of Arkansas, PhD diss., 2008), p. 71.

[108] A Clergyman, *Instruction from the Book of Common Prayer, for Plantations by a Clergyman.* (Charleston SC, 1854), p. 22.

White Southerners policed physical access to the Word of the Lord no less rigorously. At its Convention in 1847, the Diocese of South Carolina passed a measure establishing a church specifically for the enslaved population of Charleston and its suburbs on the grounds that the city's existing parishes could not meet the demand, particularly as several of the congregations were 'loath to receive so large [an] accession of a class of people, whose proximity [wa]s not universally acceptable.'[109] This proved a controversial measure among the laity, however and Rev. Paul Trapier, the elected minister of Calvary Church, was at pains to placate those who feared that an all-black parish church would constitute a 'juxtaposition of combustibles' that risked kindling a conflagration. Trapier offered assurances that the only instruction slaves would receive would be oral, 'from the lips of [none] other than white persons' and that he would take no one under his pastoral care without the written consent of their master. Moreover, Trapier reminded gainsayers that his efforts would be under the direction of a Church that had always been 'one of the main stays of the social edifice, a chief preserver and promoter of the well-being of the community.'[110] The extent to which British observers perceived the ambivalence at the heart of Southern Episcopalians' efforts to minister to the spiritual needs of African Americans is debatable, but it did not necessarily dissuade members of the Church of England from sympathizing with the Southern cause. At times throughout the war, some ministers even assisted Confederate partisans in

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[109] *A Plan for Giving the Gospel to our Servants: A Sermon Preached in Several of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in Charleston on Sundays, in February 1848 by the Rev. Paul Trapier, Minister of Calvary Church* (Charleston SC, 1848), p. 6.
[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

their battle for British public opinion, but perhaps none more so than the Rev. Francis Tremlett.

Reckoning and Reconciliation

Tremlett was no stranger to the Southern cause in England. Although he had once been the minister of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church in Boston, an acrimonious departure left him with a poor opinion of Yankees and, unlike many of his brethren in the Church of England, he did not find slavery an insurmountable barrier against sympathizing with the South. This tolerance may have been influenced by his marriage to the daughter of a Jamaican planter but, regardless of his familiarity with the practices of the plantation, his personal wealth had been greatly increased by the compensation they received following the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean.[111] From the pulpit of his parish church in Belsize Park, London, he advocated Confederate independence in sermons and, with Confederate purchasing agent, Matthew Fontaine Maury, co-founded the Society to Promote the Cessation of Hostilities in America.[112] While deploring the loss of life on both sides, the organization's frequent appeals for British mediation had a distinctly pro-Southern tinge, as, in light of the growing burden of waging a protracted war of attrition, the Confederate government had a great deal more to gain from foreign mediation. The society's humanitarian tone earned it great popularity among Church of England clergymen and they constituted a large percentage of its

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[111] 'Samuel Dare,' *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13400> accessed March 3, 2015.
[112] Michael Hammerson, 'The American Civil War Comes to Belsize Park,' in *Belsize 2000: A Living Suburb* (London: Belsize Conservation Area Advisory Committee, 2000), pp. 61-2.

subscribers and undoubtedly comprised a sizeable percentage of the signatures on a petition to Lincoln's government requesting a ceasefire.[113] Tremlett hosted visiting Confederates so frequently during the war that his vicarage in Belsize Park earned the sobriquet "Rebels' Roost" and counted Maury and other leading members of the overseas Confederate community as his personal friends.[114] More than any other individual, Tremlett embodied the institutional and personal ties that existed between the Church of England and the nascent Episcopal Church in the Confederacy. His contributions to the cause of Southern nationalism, both professional and pecuniary, were considerable but ultimately, even with such friends abroad, the Confederate Church could not sustain their separate institutional identity or the government to which it was linked.

The competing impulses present at the moment of the founding of the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, a desire for historical continuity within a transatlantic communion and the need of its members to 'follow their nationality,' both energized the Church and threatened its very stability. The arguments that Polk and others had utilized to justify its creation quickly worked against the Church as the Confederacy lost ground to Federal troops throughout the war. Episcopal ministers using the form of the prayer book proscribed by the General Council in Columbia quickly attracted the ire of the occupying forces. When Reverend A. A. Wilson, rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Wilmington, North Carolina, insisted

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[113] Blackett, *Divided Hearts,* p. 74, 54.

[114] Hammerson, 'The American Civil War Comes to Belsize Park,' p. 60; John Grady, *Matthew Fontaine Maury, Father of Oceanography: A Biography, 1801-1873* (Jefferson NC, 2015), p. 241; John D. Bennett, *The London Confederates: The Officials, Clergy, Businessmen, and Journalists Who Backed the American South During the Civil War* (London, 2007), p. 144.

on leading his congregation in the customary prayers for the Confederate president, General John M. Schofield ordered that his church be seized and had the pulpit and all the pews removed. For the rest of the war, the church served as a hospital for the wounded.[115] The Union commanders frequently refused to tolerate even quiet acts of rebellion. When the minister of an Episcopal Church in Memphis chose to omit the prayer for the president entirely rather than read Lincoln's name, General Sherman stood up in his pew and recited it aloud in its entirety himself.[116]

Faced with such challenges, Episcopal ministers attempted to reconcile the conflicting demands placed on them to both conform to the proscribed liturgy and to show sufficient residual loyalty to the United States to keep the doors of their churches open during Federal occupation.[117] Elijah Guion, while maintaining that it was the absolute right of the people of a nation to overthrow oppressive governments, conceded that prayers for such governments were their just tribute from the Church and should be given freely as the Jesus of the synoptic gospels had instructed to 'render unto Caesar.'[118] Ultimately, however, such measures of accommodation and resistance proved moot in the face of Confederate military

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[115] Clayton Charles Marlow, *Matt W. Ransom: Confederate General from North Carolina* (Jefferson NC, 2006), p. 120.

[116] John F. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (Edwardsville Il, 1993), p. 191.

[117] The challenge faced by Episcopal clergy in the Border States was particularly profound, as they often found themselves ministering to congregations of divided loyalties. Admonishing one clergyman who was reluctant to observe the days of fasting and thanksgiving proclaimed in celebration of Union military victories, the Bishop of Maryland reminded him that, as the rector of a parish, he was 'head of a civil corporation from which the Government has a right to expect and exact some corporate symbol and expression of its loyalty.' See Nelson Waite Rightmyer, 'The Church in a Border State—Maryland' *Historical Journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 17 (December 1948), p. 416.

[118] Elijah Guion, *Sermon on the Scriptural, Ecclesiastical and Political Obligations in Regard to the Use of Certain Prayers in the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Preached in St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, LA, on Sunday Morning, April 10 1864.* (New Orleans LA, 1864), p. 8.

defeat. When Robert E. Lee surrendered his sword to Ulysses S. Grant in the village of Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, it ended definitively the question of Southern independence but the uncertainty the newly reunited nation faced regarding the long road of reconciliation was paralleled in the situation faced by the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The reunion of the Northern and Southern dioceses following the war was by no means a forgone conclusion, although in retrospect it appears as one, so seamlessly was the Confederate Church absorbed back into the main body.[119] The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had never officially acknowledged the legitimacy of the Confederate Church and merely marked the Southern bishops absent during its wartime meetings, suggesting the Northern bishops were amenable to a peaceable reconciliation.[120] At the 1865 General Convention in Philadelphia, occurring only a few months after peace had been declared, several sticking points emerged that could have derailed the prospects of ecclesiastical reunion, but these were deftly handled. A faction of Northern bishops and laity wanted to give the abolition of slavery a more prominent role in a service of thanksgiving for the war's end and the return of peace, but they were swiftly overruled out of concern that such an action would offend the Southern delegates. Similar dissent erupted over the contents of a proposed pastoral letter, but this too was smoothed over as expeditiously as possible.[121] Rather ominously,

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[119] James M. McDonald, "Bishop Hopkins and the Reunification of the Church," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (March 1978), p. 73; Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road*, pp. 342-57.
[120] Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church*, p. 145.
[121] Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmaus Road,* pp. 354-6.

the Episcopal Church again chose to prioritize the unity of its ecclesiastical polity above the struggle for African American freedom, a decision it would later have cause to regret.

The largest barrier to the reintegration of the Southern dioceses was not political so much as canonical. During the war, the Confederate church had consecrated the aptly named Richard Hooker Wilmer as the second bishop of Alabama. The act had been highly controversial, even among the bishops of the Confederate Church as they had not yet ratified their new canons and, thus, were still subject to those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, a body that had not approved Wilmer's consecration. Bishop Atkinson, citing the irregularity of the circumstances, refused to participate in the service on these grounds, which left Wilmer one consecrator short.[122] In recognition of the perceived urgency of supplying the people of Alabama with a bishop, Meade was called upon to intercede. The service was relocated to St. Paul's Church in Richmond for his convenience, but Meade was still required to travel a substantial distance from his home in the Blue Ridge Mountains in inclement weather. He presided at Wilmer's consecration, but the arduous journey had clearly sapped his already fragile health as he had to be supported by the other bishops during the service.[123] Ultimately, Meade's dedication to his vocation and to the legitimacy of the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States cost him his life as he died one week after Wilmer's consecration. The divide between Meade and Atkinson illustrated the tension at the

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[122] Marcus Benjamin, *The Consecration of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama in 1862* (Philadelphia, 1927).
[123] Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War* (Richmond VA, 1889), p. 97.

heart of Confederate Episcopal identity, but Wilmer's consecration as Bishop of Alabama, occurring as it had without consent of the Northern dioceses that remained loyal to the United States, represented a flagrant violation of canon law that potentially jeopardized efforts to reunite the two churches. Ultimately, however, Wilmer's nomination as the Bishop of Alabama was retroactively accepted and the last hurdle to reunion cleared.

The institutional identity derived from the Church of England facilitated Southerners' return to the Episcopal Church, and it was, ironically enough, British sterling that enabled Southern Episcopalians to complete an endeavour that had begun swaddled in the trappings of American nationalism. The University of the South had not emerged from the tumult of war in a particularly healthy state. Although only a few buildings had been constructed prior to the commencement of hostilities, a 1-ton cornerstone had been dedicated in anticipation of future expansion. Very little trace of this remained by the time the newly consecrated bishop of Tennessee made his way to the site, however, as Union soldiers, delighting in finding a tangible expression of Southern nationalism on which they could vent their frustrations, had blown it up and carted the fragments away as souvenirs leaving the buildings to collapse in the ensuing conflagration.[124] With the $500,000 endowment that the Southern dioceses had raised before the war gone and the deadline for establishing the university or forfeiting the land rapidly approaching, Bishop Charles Todd Quintard made a heroic effort to salvage the project. Bringing together a handful of boys in a log cabin on the ravaged grounds so that the terms of

[124] David Green Haskins, *A Brief Account of the University of the South* (Sewanee TN, 1877), p. 39.

the land agreement would be met, Quintard inaugurated a whirlwind fundraising campaign. Rather than approaching the Northern bishops, he focused his efforts on Great Britain where he preached 155 sermons and made numerous short addresses in the course of 121 days, making, in the words of one newspaper, 'such a tour in our parent island as perhaps no other American ever did.'[125] Quintard self-deprecatingly requested that his efforts be remembered in his epitaph, selecting an appropriate passage from Luke 16:22: 'And it came to pass that the beggar died.'[126] Fortunately for Quintard, Francis Tremlett once again came to the aid of a former Confederate in need, leveraging his contacts among Anglican clergy and Southern sympathizers alike to raise the necessary capital for the university. In recognition of his efforts as the University's commissary in England, he was granted the institution's first honorary degree in 1869 and a residence hall named in his honour.[127]

Whether it was the British capital that enabled the University of the South to rise from its ashes like a phoenix or the lingering influence of Polk's desire to create a Southern Oxford, the institution bore the unmistakable stamp of Englishness. This was immediately evident in its gothic architecture. One visitor to the university's chapel commented that 'the entire effect…in and around the chancel, from the body of the audience, was much as if the interior of St. John's Chapel, at Cambridge University, England, had been suddenly transferred, on a similar occasion, to these mountains of Tennessee' though the man betrayed his evangelical leanings when he

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[125] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, LSCB1.c1 (Charles Todd Quintard Papers, 1857-1899), Quintard Diary, vol. 8, undated clipping from the Nashville *American.*
[126] Arthur Ben Chitty, *Sewanee Sampler* (Sewanee TN, 1978), p. 113.
[127] *University of the South Papers,* Series B, No. 24, p. 56.

added the effect was somewhat spoiled by the 'absence of the peculiar and rather monotonous intoning of the entire service which prevails in the English cathedrals and churches.'[128] From the Cambridge gowns and hoods worn by students to the presence of books gifted by the University of Oxford in the library, English affinities persisted.

The University of the South' commitment to upholding the pedagogic and aesthetic traditions of the Church of England did not prevent it from venerating the Lost Cause. Ostensibly, the University of the South appeared an unlikely partisan in the postbellum skirmishes over the meaning of the war, projecting a degree of impartial neutrality in matters of politics that sometimes bordered on apathy. The undergraduate curriculum was firmly grounded in the classical literature associated with an Oxford education and had, at least on the surface, little relevance to the agenda of re-establishing Southern political and socio-economic dominance.[129] In a larger sense, however, its collective memory of the Civil War comprised an essential aspect of the university's institutional identity. One of its founders had given his life in the service of the Confederacy. The young men who studied there listened to lectures on the exemplary Christian character of Robert E. Lee and took their lessons in mathematics and classical Greek from former Confederate officers.[130] Per university regulations, they participated in mandatory military exercises under the

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[128] J. W. A. W. *The University of the South—a Sketch by a Prominent Presbyterian* (Knoxville TN, 1883), p. 35.
[129] Robins, *The Bishop of the Old South,* p. 198.
[130] The faculty held many former Confederate officers, but perhaps most prominently General Edmund Kirby Smith, who taught botany and mathematics at Sewanee for over twenty years. General Josiah Gorgas, the Confederate Army's Chief of Ordinance accepted the university's Vice-Chancellorship in 1872, a position that had once been tendered to Robert E. Lee.

watchful eyes of former Confederate officers.[131] At every turn, the students walked among the same ghosts that continued to haunt Southerners of their generation long after the guns had fallen silent at Appomattox. Even the institutional integrity of the Episcopal Church could not entirely overwrite such memories. One July 4th, over a decade after the war, a member of the faculty was horrified to hear the boy's choir singing hymns in celebration of the anniversary of American independence. The man yanked his young son out of the group and forcibly disrobed him, complaining that the University had no right to implicate the Church in a political celebration. Reflecting on the incident in his diary, the Vice-Chancellor regretted that the professor 'did not seem to recognize that the war is over.'[132]

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The relationship between Confederate national identity and the Episcopal Church fluctuated greatly between the antebellum and postbellum years, but its rootedness in an understanding of a shared ecclesiastical tradition inherited from the Church of England remained constant. Southern Episcopalians understood the intersections between their institutional identity and that of the Church of England in various ways but the degree of connection they felt inspired metaphors of kinship, whether based in the language of familial relations or scripture. The constituent churches of the Anglican Communion differed on the question of slavery's morality, but the limited knowledge that British Churchmen had of the

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[131] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* rev. ed. (Athens GA, 2009), p. 147; J. Barry Vaughn, *Bishops, Bourbons, and Big Mules: A History of the Episcopal Church in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa AL, 2013), p. 69.
[132] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, LSCB1.c1 (Charles Todd Quintard Papers, 1857-1899), Quintard Diary, vol. 6, 30 July 1879.

Peculiar Institution, particularly that which came from sources other than the Southern bishops themselves, coupled with the imperative of preserving the Anglican Church's integrity, minimized antebellum conflict and prevented transatlantic fragmentation. This abiding sense of connection with the Church of England complicated Southerners' efforts to yoke the Episcopal Church to the Confederate nation as it created conflicting imperatives of historical continuity and ecclesiastical polity but the burden of such a bequest from the Mother Church quickly became a blessing as Southern Episcopalians began to rebuild and resume their places in their own national family.

While the bishops and clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church predicated their claims of kinship with the mother country on the basis of institutional continuity and a common liturgical inheritance, many postbellum organizations foregrounded their claims of Anglo-American kinship in race. The next section assesses the efforts of white Southerners to attract a greater proportion of British immigration to their section after the war and their impracticable dream of reinventing the plantation South in the image of the English estate

Chapter Four

'Efforts to Induce British Settlers Hither Should Be Unremitting': Immigration Societies, Social Planning, and the Changing Face of Anglo-American Kinship in the Postbellum South[1]

'There is good reason to hope for the steady introduction of English gentlemen with capital and the establishment of English colonies in the state.'[2]

On May 25, 1877 the American press noted the various festivities held throughout the world in celebration of Queen Victoria's 58th birthday.[3] Alongside mentions of the naval salutes and grand balls held in the far-flung reaches of the British Empire was a commemoration much closer to home—a grand banquet sponsored by the British Association of Virginia in Petersburg. There a diverse group of Canadians, Southern agriculturalists and businessmen, delegates from fraternal organizations, and British subjects toasted Queen Victoria, 'the Brilliant in ring of Empire that encompasseth the world' as the strains of 'Yankee Doodle' blended seamlessly into 'Rule Britannia' and the 'Bonnie Blue Flag.'[4] The latter of these, as an anthem second only to 'Dixie' in popularity, became a signifier of

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[1] Huntington Library, San Marino, California, BrBox 243.6 (Robert Alonzo Brock Collection), John H. Pein to the Virginia State Board of Immigration, 7 April 1875.
[2] Ibid., mssBR Box 243.61. (Robert Alonzo Brock Collection), Correspondence of Virginia State Board of Immigration, 1875-1879, J. M. Holmes to Governor Kemper, 24 March 1875.
[3] See for instance, *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer,* 25 May 1877; *Memphis Daily Appeal,* 25 May 1877; [Seattle] *Daily Intelligencer,* 25 May 1877.
[4] Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia, Broadside 1877.B7487, 'Toasts and Sentiments, British Association of Virginia International Celebration, Queen Victoria's Birthday.'

Confederate patriotism during the war and continued to feature prominently at veterans' gatherings throughout the South.[5] Participants encountered still more tangible reminders of the conflict, however, as following a military parade and salute fired in honour of the Queen, the visitors toured the city's historical points of interest among which the battlefield featured prominently.[6] There they gawked at the Crater, a massive scar on the landscape resulting from the ill-fated Union effort to break the Confederate lines outside the city with the aid of 8,000 pounds of explosives.[7]

These vestiges of the Civil War complicated the triumphant assertion of the association's president that the celebration represented the 'greatest gathering of Anglo-Americans since the Revolution,' signifying as they did the concerted effort that Virginia and the other seceding states had made to establish an alternative national existence.[8] Even more incongruous than the fact that the event's organizers saw fit to put these emblems of militant Southern separatism in the service of American nationalism, however, was the fact that this heady mixture of competing identities coalesced around the British monarch at a time when Anglo-American relations were only beginning to stabilize following the heightened tensions of the Civil War and the resolution of the Alabama claims. That Virginia should become the

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[5] Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill NC, 2012), pp. 66-75. The songwriter, Harry Macarthy, was British-born but unlike Daniel Emmett, whose status as a Northerner initially generated doubts of the suitability of 'Dixie' as a Confederate anthem, his allegiance to the South went largely unquestioned prior to his defection to Philadelphia late in the war.
[6] *Staunton Spectator,* 29 May 1877.
[7] Kevin M. Levin, *Remembering the Battle of the Crater: War as Murder* (Lexington KY, 2012).
[8] Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Broadsides 1877:22, 'International British Association: Speeches of the Hon. D. B. Tennant, President of the British Association of Virginia…'

site of such an overt display of Anglophilia was especially ironic given the state's sole previous encounter with a member of the British Royal Family.

During the visit of Victoria's eldest son to Richmond in 1860, a jeering mob cornered the Prince of Wales and his retinue intent on reminding them of America's military supremacy in the Revolutionary War. The city's mayor hurried the prince and his guards away before the verbal confrontation could escalate but the damage had already been done. Southern newspapers rushed to attribute the incident to a small number of Irish ruffians and vociferously denounced the Northern press for suggesting that Richmond's more respectable citizenry had shown the royal party anything less than hospitality and the appropriate degree of filial piety.[9] Despite their efforts to contain the damage, the episode represented one of the few moments of outright hostility the Prince of Wales encountered on his American tour and achieved a curious afterlife in the Union and Confederate propaganda skirmishes in Great Britain during the Civil War as an indicator of Southern anglophobia.[10] By 1877, however, the assembled Virginians seemingly recalled none of this previous conflict as they toasted Albert Edward and offered their hopes that his future 'would be no less resplendent than the reign of his illustrious mother.'[11]

Closer examination of the social and political contexts of the celebration at Petersburg explains this dramatic reversal and reveals the extent to which, far from

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[9] Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto, 2005), 321-3.

[10] Skye Montgomery, 'Reannealing the Heart Ties: the Rhetoric of Anglo-American Kinship and the Politics of Reconciliation in the Prince of Wales' 1860 Tour,' *Journal of the Civil War Era* 6 (June 2016), pp. 193-219.

[11] Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia, Broadside 1877.B7487 'Toasts and Sentiments, British Association of Virginia International Celebration, Queen Victoria's Birthday.'

being an idiosyncratic one-off, the event constituted part of a systematic effort to link the fortunes of the postbellum South with those of Britain through immigration. The president of the British Association of Virginia, which sponsored the festivities, hoped that the gathering would 'demonstrate to the world that the day of jealousies between Great Britain and the United States has passed forever' and that the city of Petersburg would be 'denominated the headquarters of British colonization in the Old Dominion."[12] For him and many members of his audience, the entanglement of British, American, and Southern separatist nationalisms presented no paradox but instead reflected the larger process of identity formation then occurring in the postbellum South amidst ongoing negotiations of citizenship, race, and nationality.

As white Southerners re-imagined their place in the American national family following the Civil War, a diverse coalition of planters, agricultural reformers, businessmen, politicians, clergy, and scientists proposed British immigration as a cure for a number of their region's social and economic ills. The same understanding of Anglo-American kinship that had long animated Southern identity and undergirded the Confederate national project directed the postbellum Southern immigration movement into certain channels. These habits of thought regarding racial, cultural, and political affinities that Southerners understood themselves as sharing with Britons facilitated a reappraisal of immigration and afforded Southerners an opportunity to engage critically with ideas of 'Americanness,' even as their reintegration into the American national family was ongoing. Efforts to

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[12] Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Broadsides 1877:22, 'International British Association: Speeches of the Hon. D. B. Tennant, President of the British Association of Virginia…'

secure immigration ostensibly signalled a definitive departure from the separatist nationalism and the secessionism that had defined Southern identity for much of the mid-nineteenth century since it gave the South a greater share in the transformative national processes that had disproportionately affected the free states before the war. Below this veneer of integration and cooperation, however, Confederate sympathies often teemed, particularly with respect to the emerging narrative of the Lost Cause.

Historiographical Challenges and the State of the Fields

Despite the optimism embodied in the rhetoric of the Petersburg festivities, any account of the individual and collective efforts of Southern states to promote immigration must be prefaced with the acknowledgment that they utterly failed. The sanguine hopes of immigration proponents were not unreasonable given what historians now know about the rising tide of British immigration following the Civil War. After 1870, more British immigrants arrived in North America than in the preceding 250 years. Between 1871 and 1880 alone, 984,918 individuals from the United Kingdom migrated to the United States.[13] Immigration boosters frequently conceptualized these demographic trends in terms of an inexorable flood that needed only to be channelled to the Southern states.[14] Little of this tide trickled into

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[13] Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca NY and London, 1994), p. 10; U.S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, *Report* (Washington DC, 1930), pp. 202-3; Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America* (Cambridge MA, 1953), p. 182.

[14] See, for instance, *The Farmer* [Richmond VA] 1 (July 1866), 282; *Atlanta Constitution* 15 February 1876; *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics, to the General Assembly of the State of Missouri for the Year 1866* (Jefferson City MS, 1867), p. 127. As early as 1848

Southern soil however. Census data suggests that during Reconstruction, the former slave states contained no more than six percent of the nation's British-born population, in comparison to the mid-Atlantic states and Old Northwest, which together accounted for over 60 percent.[15] Indeed, far from attracting immigrants, the Southern states saw their existing foreign populations dwindle in significance, declining from 4 percent of the population in 1870 to only 2.8 percent by 1900.[16]

Given these hard demographic facts, it is difficult to refute one early historian's assessment of Southern immigration as chiefly 'a study of negatives.'[17] Subsequent practitioners have grappled with the challenge of writing a history defined by absence and failure in various ways, often focusing on small-scale regional case studies, but, given the conceptual and methodological challenges attending their labours, it is little wonder that the immigrant population of the South has attracted only a fraction of the historiographical attention lavished on the Middle Atlantic and Midwest, particularly in the postbellum period.[18] Where the

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one promoter of English immigration to the South was already referring to the 'multitudinous tide' of migrants. See David Hoffman, *Views on the Formation of a British & American Land and Emigration Company* (London, 1848), p. 6.

[15] Stephan Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (London and Cambridge MA, 1980), p. 326.

[16] Henry Booker, 'Efforts of the South to Attract Immigrants, 1860-1900' (University of Virginia, PhD diss., 1965), pp. 19-20.

[17] Caroline E. MacGill, 'Immigration into the Southern States,' in W. L. Fleming, ed., *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. 6 (Richmond, 1909), p. 584.

[18] See for instance, George E. Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion, 1865-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 53 (October 1974), pp. 164-180; Robert H. Woody, 'The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina during Reconstruction,' *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 18 (September 1931), pp. 195-212; Roland Berthoff, 'Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914,' *Journal of Southern History* 17 (August 1951), pp. 328-60; C. G. Belissary, 'Tennessee and Immigration, 1865-1880,' *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 7 (1948), pp. 229-48; and Robert F. Futrell, 'Efforts of Mississippians to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1880,' *Journal of Mississippi History* 20 (April 1958), pp. 59-76. The special prominence Eastern and Mid-Western cities

Southern immigration movement has attracted sustained scholarly attention, it often appears as part of the program of industrialization, urbanisation, and agricultural diversification that Paul Gaston termed the "New South Creed."[19] This literature, taking its cues from the large commercial conventions held throughout the South in the late 1880s and 1890s, often represents boosters as being preoccupied with European immigration as a precondition of industrial development. If immigrant labour and capital could only be diverted from the Old Northwest, these promoters argued, they would surely catalyze the sort of take-off that adherents of New South economic policies viewed as vital to the region's future.

While this assessment has much to recommend it with respect to the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it fails to reflect the full scope of the immigration movement, particularly in its embryonic stage immediately following the Civil War. For historians immersed in the rhetoric of the South's late nineteenth-century industrialists and their Northern financial backers, the failure of the expected tide of

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such as New York and Chicago enjoy in the scholarly literature has likely contributed to the marginalisation of the South as an immigrant destination as well. See David A. Gerber, 'What's Wrong with Immigration History,' *Review in American History,* 36 no. 4 (Dec. 2008), pp. 543-556.

[19] Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking*, rev. ed. (Montgomery AL, 2002), pp. 92-4; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913,* (Baton Rouge LA, 1971), 297-9; William Warren Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Tuscaloosa AL, 2001), pp. 160-172. For extended treatments of Southern immigration falling within this modernisation paradigm see Katharine M. Pruett and John D. Fair, 'Promoting a New South: Immigration, Racism, and "Alabama on Wheels,"' *Agricultural History* 66 (Winter 1992), pp. 19-41; Matthew Carl Paoni, *Dixie's Arms Are Open: The Promotion of Settlement in the Postbellum-Era South, 1870-1920* (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, PhD Diss., 2010); Morton Rothstein, 'The New South and the International Economy,' *Agricultural History* 57 (Oct. 1983), pp. 385-402; and Jason H. Silverman and Susan R. Silverman, (eds.) *Immigration in the American South, 1864-1895: A Documentary History of the Southern Immigration Conventions* (Lewiston NY, 2006).

immigrants to reach Southern shores simultaneously explains the region's inability to keep pace with the North's rapidly expanding manufacturing sector and exposes the hollowness of the New South's promise. Yet, far from modernizing the Southern economy and harmonizing it with that of the industrialized North, as many later proponents envisioned, the earliest efforts to encourage immigration commonly conceptualized it as a firewall that would insulate the social fabric of the South from further upheaval under Radical Reconstruction. The immigration movement that emerged in the war's immediate aftermath focused on recruiting an agrarian labour force that would preserve as much as possible the antebellum racial status quo and looked expectantly, if not exclusively, to the British Isles to furnish it. The loudest calls for immigration came not from the South's dormant factories, but from its fields.

Northern visitors to the South painted a uniformly bleak picture of a region wracked by war in the months and years following Appomattox, ascribing to the region characteristics more readily found in the travel literature surrounding Cuba, Mexico, and other realms that appeared ripe for imperialist enterprise.[20] One account of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, conveyed the author's shock that nothing remained of the federal armoury made famous by John Brown's raid but 'burnt-out, empty shells,' and described the once prosperous community of over 3,000 inhabitants in terms of squalor and desolation. In place of terraced hill-sides, the writer found 'ragged growths of weeds' and freshets coursing down the formerly

[20] Jamie Winders, 'Imperfectly Imperial: Northern Travel Writers in the Postbellum US South, 1865-1880,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 95 (Jun. 2005), p. 395.

well graded streets carried 'rubbish, filth, and stench' in their wake.[21] Whitelaw Reid, another Northern tourist who travelled widely throughout the South following the war, painted a similarly grim picture. Between wandering the 'desolate' streets of Charleston at night when moonlight concealed the worst of the city's scars, and seeing the 'once bustling town' of Bolivar, Tennessee, reduced to a single standing chimney in which could be read 'the tale of ruin rebellion had brought to that community,' Reid represented the South as being comprised wholly of melancholy landscapes seemingly devoid of human life.[22]

These observations were hardly limited to Northerners partaking of disaster tourism in the war's immediate aftermath, nor did they pertain solely to the South's urban spaces. Robert Gates, the Vice-President of the Southern Immigration Association, characterized the farms of his native Tennessee as being beset "by a general air of discomfort, dissatisfaction and despondency" with their exhausted lands, "rheumatic fences" and farm-houses, "rustling for paint.'"[23] While travel writers frequently described landscapes devoid of people, Southern agriculturalists more frequently bemoaned the absence of livestock. According to one estimate, South Carolina would have required a 70 percent increase in horses, 76 percent increase in cattle and 145 percent increase of swine in 1870 to restore the number of livestock in the state to antebellum levels. The state was not alone. Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi all counted fewer livestock in

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[21] J[ohn] T[ownsend] Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities, A Journey through the Desolated States, and Talks with the People…* (Hartford CT, 1866), p. 66.
[22] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865 to May 1, 1866* (New York, 1866), p. 86, 292.
[23] *Proceedings of the First Annual Session of the Southern Immigration Association of America. Held at Nashville, Tenn., March 11, 12, & 13, 1884* (Nashville TN, 1884), p. 191.

1880 than they had possessed in 1860.[24] Even if Southern farmers had been able to replenish their livestock, there were few pastures capable of holding them. One Virginian farmer voiced a common complaint when he estimated that the two armies roving across his property had, over the course of four years, burned approximately ten thousand panels of fence or over eighty thousand individual rails.[25] As one Virginian refugee wryly noted on being asked whether the livestock would destroy the wheat in the absence of fences, 'Certainly, if General Sheridan had not taken the precaution of removing all the stock.'[26]

In reality, however, grazing livestock was the least of farmers' concerns, as agricultural production fared poorly, especially in the lower Mississippi River Valley where the sugar harvest of 1865 was a paltry three per cent of that from the first year of the war.[27] There were scattered success stories around the South. The Shenandoah Valley, for instance, preserved its reputation as 'the breadbasket of the Confederacy' long after Appomattox, enjoying a prodigious rise in grain production in the decade following the war. As Kenneth Koons has demonstrated, by 1880, the region's crop outputs had even exceeded antebellum levels.[28] For the most part,

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[24] James L. Sellers, 'The Economic Incidence of the Civil War in the South,' *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 14 (September 1927), p. 184.
[25] Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities,* p. 139.
[26] Quoted in Nancy T. Sorrells, '"Little in it for Man or Beast": The Effects of the Civil War on Shenandoah Valley Agriculture" in Jonathan A. Noyalas and Nancy T. Sorrells, (eds.) '*We Learned that We are Indivisible,': Sesquicentennial Reflections on the Civil War Era in the Shenandoah Valley* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 168-81. Quote on p. 177.
[27] James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1977), p. 119.
[28] Kenneth E. Koons, '"The Staple of Our Country,": Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia,' in Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra (eds.) *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (Knoxville TN, 2000), pp. 8-9. Using the US Agricultural Census, Koons determined that wheat production had shot up nearly ten percent from its 1860 levels by 1870, part of a longer

however, returns like those Henry Watson Jr. noted among his neighbours in Greensboro, Alabama were typical. Of fourteen plantations, only one reported a profit of a paltry $294 while the remainder lost over $100,000 between them.[29]

At its annual meeting on January 10, 1872, the Virginia State Agricultural Society arrived at a conclusion that similar institutions throughout the South were beginning to reach: the lack of capital flowing into the state and the inadequacy of its labour pool, both in quality and quantity, compounded the destruction of property and livestock occasioned by the war.[30] Foremost among the concerns of agricultural reformers in Virginia and, more generally, throughout the South was the question of black labour. Even more than these pronounced doubts about African Americans' productivity following their transition from slavery to freedom, the spectre of imminent racial extinction haunted Southern agriculturalists.[31] One group maintained that emancipation was the greatest tragedy to ever befall African Americans and bemoaned the 'mournful destiny awaits that unfortunate race;

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trend that saw production rise by sixty-three percent by the turn of the century. In contrast, the productions levels in the rest of Virginia saw modest gains of only three percent over the same period. Koons concluded that the Shenandoah Valley's limited commitment to plantation agriculture had much to do with these prodigious gains as the region transitioned to free contract labour relatively early and embraced a level of mechanization that minimized its labour needs. The close financial ties with Baltimore's milling industry also ensured a steady flow of investment capital that most regions sorely lacked. See also Sorrells, '"Little in it for Man or Beast": The Effects of the Civil War on Shenandoah Valley Agriculture,' pp. 178-9.

[29] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, RL.01351 (Henry Watson Papers), Bound Vol. 5, n.p.

[30] Virginia Agricultural Society, *Memorial of the VA State Agricultural Society on Immigration, Presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, January 10, 1872* (Richmond[?],1872[?])

[31] In reality, the scarcity of labour that white Southerners observed was the result of a reduction in hours worked per capita following emancipation. See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* rev. ed. (New York, 2014), pp. 139-40.

tenfold more terrible, rapid and certain than the disappearance of the native sons of America from the soil of their fathers.'[32]

Population statistics initially seemed to correlate this pessimistic view of a declining African American population. Governor Isaac Murphy of Arkansas estimated that his state had lost 50 percent of its antebellum black population by 1865, or some 50,000 individuals.[33] So seriously did Oliver O. Howard take these claims in his capacity as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau that he dispatched his general superintendent of education on a fact-finding mission to assess the validity of statements like 'the whole population is diseased and degraded' and 'they are all dying off.'[34] In actual fact, these figures reflected temporary fluctuations occasioned by the war and owed far more to the lingering racist assumptions of proslavery apologists and the poor state of vital statistics in the postbellum South than a burgeoning demographic crisis.[35] Indeed, Kentucky and Missouri were the only former slave states that experienced a net decline in their black populations between 1860 and 1870.[36] But in the eyes of many of agricultural reformers and

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[32] Virginia Office of the European Agent of Immigration. *Virginia: A Brief Memoir for the Information of Europeans Desirous of Emigrating to the New World* (Richmond VA, 1868), p. 13.
[33] Carl H. Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas: Persistence in the Midst of Ruin*, (Fayetteville AR, 2002), p. 178.
[34] J. W. Alvord, *Letters from the South Relating to the Condition of Freedmen Addressed to Major General O. O. Howard* (Washington DC, 1870), p. i; John S. Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* rev. ed. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1995), p. 41.
[35] Robert Higgs, *Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 15. The 1870 Census grossly undercounted African Americans in the Southern states, but even it registered a ten percent increase in their population. Census officials later doubled their initial estimate.
[36] Aaron Astor, '"I Wanted a Gun": Black Soldiers and White Violence in Civil War and Postwar Kentucky and Missouri,' in *The Great Task Remaining Before Us: Reconstruction as*

early proponents of immigration, this perceived decline in the availability of labour presented an existential threat, not only to the region's agricultural production, but also its very identity.

Without dependable labour and with the region's farmers struggling under the burden of high taxes while their property sold at between one-half to one-twentieth of its assessed pre-war value, one group feared the South would spiral into 'bankruptcy, general pauperism, idleness, squalor, discontent, vice, crime, vagrancy, exile, decay.' [37] The Virginia State Agricultural Society found the greatest threat not in empty landscapes, but rather the opposite. Northern immigration and the capital it brought into the former states of the Confederacy could have helped remedy the dismal state of the region's agriculture, but by allowing banks to 'parcel out to strangers' their surplus lands, Virginians and their fellow Southerners risked further rending the bonds of community already strained by the ravages of war, and being absorbed into an 'alien and mongrel nationality.'[38]

The visceral dread that carpetbaggers eventually evoked among white Southerners did not manifest all at once. After their initial uncertainty in the weeks following Robert E. Lee's surrender and Lincoln's assassination, many white Southerners tolerated carpetbaggers, or more precisely, the access to Northern capital they represented, as a necessary evil. As long as Andrew Johnson dictated the

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America's Continuing Civil War, (eds.) Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, (New York, 2010), pp. 50-1.

[37] Sellers, 'The Economic Incidence of the Civil War in the South,' p. 183; Virginia Agricultural Society, *Memorial of the VA State Agricultural Society on Immigration,* p. 9.

[38] *Ibid.; Virginia Immigration Society Chartered by the General Assembly of Virginia for the Purpose of Procuring and Assisting Emigrants From Foreign Countries to Settle In Virginia.* (Lynchburg VA, [n.d.]), p. 11.

terms of Reconstruction and held the Radical elements of Congress in check, white Southerners largely tolerated the presence of Northerners as a minor nuisance.[39] With the advent of Radical Reconstruction, however, the stakes suddenly changed. Finding themselves disenfranchised as discussions of black male suffrage took centre stage, former Confederates quickly realized that the electoral future of their region was up for grabs. In this shifting political landscape, Northerners in the South immediately became targets of suspicion and resentment.[40]

Rhetoric like that espoused by Boston newspaperman Sidney Andrews who suggested that the federal government could deal with South Carolina however it pleased, whether that meant holding it as 'a conquered province or restor[ing] it at once to full communion in the sisterhood of States,' did little to convince Southerners that the influx of Northern immigrants would have the best interests of their section at heart.[41] Fearing the political ramifications of large numbers of Northerners colonizing their region and joining politically with newly enfranchised African Americans, tens of thousands of white Southerners left their homes for every corner of the globe, settling in Canada, Europe, Latin America, or in the Western United States, where they perceived there to be less federal oversight. For every Southerner who left, many more remained home and bemoaned the

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[39] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution,* pp. 137-8.
[40] G. Ward Hubbs, *Searching for Freedom After the Civil War: Klansman, Carpetbagger, Scalawag, and Freedman* (Tuscaloosa AL, 2015), p. 79. Animosity, and coincidentally, white emigration spiked between the end of the war in 1865 and the early weeks of 1866 and then from the spring of 1867 to the beginning of 1869. See Daniel Sutherland, *The Confederate Carpetbaggers* (Baton Rouge LA, 1988), p. 25.
[41] Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas* (Boston MA, 1866), p. 37.

despotism of the Yankee tyrants.[42] While the Union might have been preserved on the field of battle, the sense of a unified American nation seemed to number among the war's casualties.

The Promise of British Immigration

Somewhat paradoxically, the xenophobia targeted at Northern strangers became a rallying cry for pro-immigration policy, albeit one of strictly limited aims. Given the persistence of Southern attacks on the North as a region that had become 'mongrelized' as a result of successive waves of European immigration in the decades before the Civil War, the shift towards a policy that threatened to similarly 'dilute' the South's ethnic purity required significant feats of mental agility.[43] To this end, British immigration offered the perfect compromise between attracting the labour and capital necessary to revitalize and reinvent the South on one hand and preserve its regional distinctiveness on the other as Southerners already acknowledged Great Britain as a vital part of their cultural make-up.

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[42] Sutherland, *The Confederate Carpetbaggers*, p. 10. For further examples of the historical literature surrounding expatriate Southerners see Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, *The Confederados* (Tuscaloosa AL, 1995); Eugene C. Harter *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy* (College Station TX, 1985); Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Confederate Exiles in Venezuela* (Tuscaloosa AL, 1960); Lawrence F. Hill, 'The Confederate Exodus to Latin America Pt. 1' *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 39 (Oct. 1935), pp. 100-134 and Pts 2 & 3 in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 40, (January 1936), pp. 161-99 and (April 1936), pp. 309-326 respectively; Frank J. Merli (ed.) 'Alternative to Appomattox: A Virginian's Vision of an Anglo-Confederate Colony on the Amazon,' Virginia Magazine of History 94 (April 1986), pp. 210-19; Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman OK, 1965); Donald Simmons, *Confederate Settlements in British Honduras* (Jefferson NC, 2001); and Stephen Tuffnell, 'Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Empire in Britain's American Expatriate Community, c.1815–1914' (Oxford Univ. DPhil thesis, 2013), esp. chapter 4.

[43] James McPherson, *Is Blood Thicker Than Water: Crises of Nationalism in the Modern World* (Toronto, 2011), pp. 57-61.

During the war, Southern propagandists and their British allies attempted to manoeuvre Palmerston's Government towards recognition of the Confederacy by leveraging the primacy of their kinship with the mother country, arguing that their cause had a greater claim to British sympathies than that of their Northern brethren.[44] In the view of Henry Hotze, Confederate agent in London and creator of the pro-Confederate weekly journal, *The Index*, the South was 'prouder of its closer affinity of blood to the British parent stock' and should be recognized as the 'lawful offspring of the common Mother.' In contrast, the North, as a 'mongrel compound of the surplus population of all the world,' he was disposed to treat 'if not as a bastard, at least as a relative of doubtful legitimacy.'[45] The transatlantic familial belonging that propagandists like Hotze constructed as an alternative to membership in the American national family proved largely unpersuasive to British audiences, but the tripartite bond of blood, language, and confession of faith on which it was predicated survived the Confederacy. Southern boosters argued that British immigrants and their transatlantic cousins were so similar that the former's assimilation into Southern society would be seamless. As one group suggested, an influx of British settlers would, 'by intermarriage with our own population, give us a

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[44] Hugh Dubrulle, 'We Are Threatened with…Anarchy and Ruin': Fear of Americanization and the Emergence of an Anglo-Saxon Confederacy in England during the American Civil War,' *Albion* 33 (Winter 2001), pp. 589, 594-7. For an overview of Confederate propaganda in Great Britain, see Richard Blackett, *Divided Hearts,* pp. 142-7; Thomas E Sebrell, *Persuading John Bull: Union and Confederate Propaganda in Great Britain, 1861-1865* (Lanham MD, 2014), pp. 57-121.

[45] "Southern Feeling Toward England," *The Index* (London), 15 May 1862.

healthy infusion of new blood without a change of race' and 'convert into hope the gloom which now hangs over the Commonwealth.'[46]

Britons' racial characteristics, in addition to ensuring their ready integration into Southern society, also provided a powerful inducement for their migration to the South, at least in the minds of white Southerners. There, unlike New York or the Midwest, English immigrants would be able to enjoy the levelling effects of a society that tenaciously clung to the principles of *herrenvolk* democracy, even following emancipation. As one South Carolinian suggested of the particular attraction that the former slave states should hold for the European immigrant:

> the mere fact that he is a white man is a distinction of no ordinary value and meaning and places him at once on a plane of superiority he can find nowhere else. If he goes to Nebraska, Minnesota or Dakota, he is still at the bottom and confounded with the great mass of European immigrants who represent the lowest stratum of society. It is our interest to elevate him because he is a white man. He can mingle with us. His sons and daughters readily intermarry with our people, while the best negro cannot do so with the meanest white.[47]

As powerful as these inducements of a shared blood were, however, the ties that bound Southerners and Britons in the minds of immigration boosters were as much institutional as racial, insofar as these categories could still be considered separately in the mid-nineteenth century. As one pamphlet maintained, 'the government of Virginia has ever been an embodiment of the cardinal principles of the English Constitution, and her people have always, and under all circumstances,

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[46] Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Virginia State Agricultural Society, *Memorial of the VA State Agricultural Society on Immigration, Presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, January 10, 1872*.

[47] *Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia SC, 1882), p. 88.

entertained a devoted attachment to the rights of civil and religious liberty.'[48] Another writer was so convinced of a shared Anglo-American political culture that he predicted British immigrants would readily assist white Southerners in throwing off the yoke of Republican rule, writing in 1866 that being 'democratic in feeling,' British men would 'in all probability cast their votes with the solid men of the South than with the carpet-baggers and political adventurers.'[49] Whatever prospects of political cooperation British immigration offered, its greatest attraction to Southerners was the opportunity it afforded, however chimerical, to re-envision the plantation as a site of white labour.

While the majority of immigration promoters in the Atlantic South dreamed of attracting white settlers that could pull their weight at the ballot box as well as in the fields, some Louisiana agriculturalists entertained the possibility of importing coolies to fulfil their labour needs. Exposed to coolie labour through the region's longstanding economic and cultural ties with the Caribbean, many planters envisioned it complementing black codes and extra-legal measures designed to coerce African Americans back to the cane fields. As one periodical crudely predicted, threaten to replace recalcitrant freedmen with imported Chinese and their tune will change from 'forty acres and a mule' to 'work nigger or starve.'[50]

Among immigration proponents in other areas, however, the disadvantages of coolie labour outweighed its potential to undercut black freedom. Discussing the

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[48] Virginia Board of Immigration. *The State of Virginia to the People of Great Britain.* (Richmond: s.n., 1866), p. 4.
[49] *Virginia: A Brief Memoir*, p. 140.
[50] *Lexington* (KY) *Observer and Reporter* quoted in *Southern Field and Factory* (Jackson MS) 1 (February 1871), n. p.

importance of attracting white labour to the South, one agriculturalist writing in 1867 opined that coolie labour should only be considered as a last result as the 'introduction into our midst of an Asiatic population,' represented 'the worst probably that we could have among us.'[51] The South Carolina Commissioner of Immigration agreed, elaborating:

> The coolies are a demoralizing blight to any community in which they are domiciled. They are active and ingenious, it is true, good copyists, quick of comprehension, and useful drudges, but they are filthy, thievish, and infamously vile. They are brought to this State as merchandize, to be parcelled out on the labor market, with no other condition than the supply of their animal wants and their return home, living or dead, at the end of the term contracted for. They can never be said to be an addition to our population.[52]

Incorporating descriptive language reminiscent of that previously used to depict African Americans as racial others, the South Carolina report better reflects the attitudes that the majority of white Southerners held than the language of the Louisiana boosters. As Moon-Ho Jung has demonstrated, coolies stood as ambiguous figures in the Reconstruction Era, simultaneously evoking the memory of slavery and the prospect of industrial capitalism and free trade. Neither black nor white, immigrant nor chattel slave, coolies challenged white Southerners' tendency to think in clear racial binaries.[53]

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[51] 'The Labor Question—Immigration—How to Procure Labor,' *The Farmer* 2 (February 1867), pp. 35-6.
[52] *Report of the Special Committee of the General Assembly of South Carolina on the Subject of Encouraging European Immigration, and to Correspond with Government, Societies and Persons* (Charleston SC, 1866), p. 13.
[53] Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the age of Emancipation* (Baltimore MD, 2009), 76. See also pp. 73-107 for an extended discussion of the functions Coolies played in Reconstruction era politics.

Coolies appealed most to those proponents of immigration for whom securing a dependable supply of labour trumped building stable, racially homogeneous communities. For planters committed to cane cultivation and other types of agriculture that had traditionally held little appeal to white labourers, coolies afforded temporary stability until African American workers could be controlled in freedom as they had in slavery.[54] Coolie labour similarly offered advantages to railroad companies as it was cheap and mobile. The Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad, for instance, employed between six and seven hundred Chinese to 1869 and 1870, virtually all of which left the state upon the completion of the new track.[55] In locations where immigration proponents were hoping to attract settlers who could be readily assimilated into existing communities, however, coolies held little appeal. The matter became largely moot in the 1870s as opposition to Coolies continued to grow on both ends of the political spectrum and few Mississippi Valley planters possessed either the interest or the means of contracting Chinese labourers on their own initiative.[56] The brief flirtation with coolie labour was ultimately unable to sway immigration societies from their commitment to white settlement, even if they differed somewhat in their ideas of what form this might eventually take.

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[54] For a somewhat dated, though fascinating, case study of a small group of Chinese-Americans descended from workers who settled in the Mississippi Delta during the 1880s, see James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Long Grove IL, 1988).
[55] Booker, 'Efforts of the South to Attract Immigrants, 1860-1900,' p. 109.
[56] Najia Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-82* (Urbana and Chicago IL, 2003), pp. 121-5.

The Institutional Basis for Promoting British Immigration

Pro-slavery apologetics had often likened plantations to manorial estates, but several immigration societies hoped to make the link between the Southern planter class and the English gentry even more explicit through the importation of white tenant farmers.[57] Upon dividing their holdings into small plots, planters could, through various agents employed by the immigration societies, contract both domestic and agricultural labourers from Great Britain. The terms varied widely from agency to agency. In South Carolina, the landowner paid the passage of the immigrants whose labour he contracted, but elsewhere they were expected to make their own way.[58] At the expiration of a given time, some agencies gave immigrants the opportunity to purchase the land they had worked.[59]

When the efforts of immigration societies failed to attract English tenants in sufficient numbers, they shifted their focus to landlords. Agencies advertised improved lands, hoping to tempt young gentlemen for whom there were few opportunities for land ownership and the challenges of staking a claim out west

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[57] Eugene D. Genovese, 'Southern Slaveholders' View of the Middle Ages," in Rosenthal, Bernard and Paul E. Szarmach, eds. *Medievalism in American Culture.* (Binghamton NY, 1989), p. 41; See also James L. Huston, *The British Gentry, the Southern Planter, and the Northern Family Farmer: Agriculture and Sectional Antagonism in North America* (Baton Rouge LA, 2015). Huston has recently stressed the continuities between Southern plantations and the estates of the English gentry, such as their basis in inequality, production of hierarchical social orders, and the significance they placed in demonstrating mastery over others. Unfortunately for promoters of English immigration, these commonalities were unlikely to attract many agricultural labourers to their region.

[58] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina (Thaddeus S. Boinest Papers, 1849-1871), Section A/Box 14, undated circular.

[59] "Immigration," *The Farmer* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 1866), 49; *The Farmer* "Conditions of the Agricultural Interests in Virginia—A Means of Relief," vol. 1 no. 10 (October 1866), p. 379. The practice of contracting English immigrants should have ended with the passage of the 1885 Foran Act, but agricultural workers were exempted if labour was in high demand. Regardless, the practice of contract labour persisted in several Southern immigration agencies into the 1890s.

with little to no practical experience seemed too arduous. One booster wrote the governor of Virginia that there was good reason to hope for 'the steady introduction of English gentlemen with capital and the establishment of English colonies in the state,' echoing the sanguine predictions of another agricultural reformer that there was no reason why they might not 'build up in Virginia a great landed interest, like that of England, of high social, if not political influence.'[60] Regardless of slight variations by region and time, boosters throughout the South consistently anticipated a pattern of settlement in which British landlords and yeomanry gradually displaced black labour and provided a demographic check on the insurgent Republican electoral power.

The work of promoting this vision of Anglo-American community typically devolved upon one of three groups—Boards of Immigration established by state legislatures, for-profit agencies, and voluntary societies. State Boards of Immigration began appearing shortly after the war. In the case of West Virginia, the establishment of such a board preceded the end of the war, while Louisiana had, by 1866, created a bureau to 'collect, compile, publish and diffuse complete data about the State's interests, resources, and advantages' sending in that same year an agent to Europe to distribute pamphlets and directly encourage immigration.[61] While tempting to view the beginnings of the immigration movement in these states as symptomatic of their pro-Union sympathies or relatively early occupation, other

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[60] Huntington Library, San Marino, California, mssBR Box 243.61. (Robert Alonzo Brock Collection), Correspondence of Virginia State Board of Immigration, 1875-1879, J. M. Holmes to Governor Kemper, 24 March 1875.

[61] State of West Virginia, Commissioner of Immigration, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration of the State of West Virginia* (Wheeling WV, 1864). Booker, 'Efforts of the South to Attract Immigrants, 1860-1900,' pp. 85-6.

states with far stronger Confederate bona fides similarly rushed to establish institutions for promoting immigration. Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Missouri, and Tennessee all had Boards of Immigration in place by 1867. Texas deemed the question of immigration to be of such great importance that it wrote a provision to establish an Immigration Bureau into its state constitution in 1869, though the agency only began operations two years later.[62] That same year, Florida and Georgia passed legislation establishing similar agencies.[63]

Although broadly similar institutionally, these boards varied widely in terms of the experience and competence of their constituent members. In Virginia, the legislature unanimously elected William H. Richardson as the state's first Commissioner of Immigration. Richardson, as President of the Virginia Agricultural Society, had at least a degree of familiarity with the issues surrounding immigration, but across the South, many governors and other state officials with no practical expertise headed immigration boards.[64] Given the nepotism and incompetence that frequently characterized the functioning of immigration boards at the state level, the roles that individual immigration agents assumed took on increased significance. Many of these agents were immigrants themselves or had at least travelled extensively in Europe. John Wagener, a German by birth, proved exceptionally capable as the South Carolina Commissioner of Immigration, though

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[62] *Constitution of Texas* (1869), Art. XI, Sec. 1; *Laws of Texas* (1871), ch. 116, p. 127. The Texas legislature appropriated $30,000 for the state's board, although the provision for its support was struck from the constitution a few years later in 1876.
[63] *Florida State Laws* (1869) ch. 1685, no. 1, p. 1; *Georgia Laws* (1869), Title VIII, p. 26.
[64] *The State of Virginia to the People of Great Britain,* p. 3.

his recruitment efforts concentrated largely on his homeland.[65] While states frequently dispatched agents to Germany, France, and the Scandinavian countries, England featured particularly prominently in their strategies. Virtually every Southern state established an office in London or liaised with British land offices that dealt in American properties.[66] Chief among the duties of these overseas agents was the dissemination of promotional literature selling the features of their respective states and the South as a whole.

In the years immediately following the war, Southern boosters unleashed a flood of propaganda on prospective immigrant populations. Virtually every state produced detailed pamphlets listing their natural resources, climates, vital statistics, and chronicling their histories in great detail. Some were translated into German, French, or Dutch, but the overwhelming majority of those distributed were printed in English. Few states allocated the resources that Virginia committed to the publication of literature that specifically addressed potential British immigrants, such as *The State of Virginia to the People of Great Britain* (1866), but textual

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[65] Archie Vernon Huff, *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia SC, 1995), p.179. Wagener had close ties to the German immigrant community in Charleston and had helped establish a German colony at Walhalla before the Civil War. Among his counterparts in other Southern states, such practical experience was unusual. See, Andrea Mehrländer, *The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans During the Civil War Period, 1850-1870* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 292-3.

[66] Although it dispatched its own agents to Liverpool, the Virginia Board of Immigration was frequently in contact with the International Agency in Birmingham, which billed itself as the first agency in Britain for the "purpose of giving trustworthy information of the United States" and "affording a reliable medium through which individuals and families in the United Kingdom might ensure to themselves a direct settlement in congenial homes in the United States." See Robert Alonzo Brock Collection, BrBox243.3 J[ames] M. Holmes to James Kemper, 24 March 1875, Birmingham, England. The surviving correspondence does not reveal much about the working relationship between these organizations, but the Virginia Board of Immigration did authorize the shipment of a large number of pamphlets advertising the advantages of the state to Holmes' office.

evidence suggests they were a target audience. Pamphlets described the lands in terms that would be familiar to British immigrants, likening the Tidewater region of Virginia to the "shore land of Lincolnshire and other eastern counties of England" and claimed that Danville, with its abundant water power, was capable of 'becoming the Manchester of Virginia, as Norfolk would be its Liverpool.'[67] If transforming American terrain into palimpsests of English landscapes did not sufficiently indicate the agents' desire to attract British settlers, several pamphlets advertised the cost of living in pounds sterling as well as dollars.[68]

Alongside these state solutions, a number of special interest groups and benevolent societies added their voices to discussion of the Immigration Question. Indeed, they had played vital roles in shaping its direction. Agricultural societies concerned by the condition of the rural economy lobbied for state action to encourage immigration. After the legislature voted to establish a Board of Immigration in Virginia, the Virginia State Agricultural Society urged state leaders to ensure that it would receive adequate annual funding and pushed for further expenditure on internal improvement projects that might further channel the stream of immigration into their state.[69] In addition to energizing the immigration movement, agricultural societies provided helpful models for shepherding its development. Immigration promoters closely imitated the organizational structure

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[67] *Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary Embracing A Description of the State, Its Geology, Soils, Minerals and Climate; Its Animal and Vegetable Productions; Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities; Religious and Educational Advantages; Internal Improvements, and Form of Government* (Richmond, 1876), 23-4;*The Farmer,* vol. 1. no. 1 (January 1866), p. 92.

[68] See for instance, Commission of Immigration, *Lynchburg, Virginia* (Lynchburg VA, 1872), pp. 1-5.

[69] 'Immigrant Labor and Capital,' *The Farmer,* vol. 2 no. 5 (May 1867), p. 164.

of agricultural societies, establishing local chapters characterized by a high level of autonomy that came together for state-wide conventions and commercial fairs. Even in their earliest guises, many of these conventions featured several states acting in cooperation, suggesting that many supporters of immigration viewed the challenge before them as a Southern, rather than a merely local issue.[70] These conventions, with their emphasis on interstate commerce, anticipated the direction the Southern immigration movement would ultimately take. As the 1880s progressed, private land agencies and, above all, railroads, had taken over many of the roles originally delegated to the states, such as publishing boosterish prospectuses and sending agents abroad to promote immigration. Indeed, the importance of the state boards began to wane in the 1890s and by the turn of the century, many states either consolidated them with boards of agriculture, or in the case of Virginia, abolished them entirely and returned all of the remaining funds to the State Treasury Department for internal improvements.[71]

Unlike the state-sponsored and market driven solutions to the problem of encouraging immigration, whose efforts can be quantified in terms of the dollars spent or the number of pamphlets distributed, the role of benevolent societies like those who participated in Queen Victoria's birthday celebration in Petersburg is more difficult to determine. In the absence of a visible, established immigrant community in the South relative to the Old Northwest and other regions of

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[70] "Louisville Commercial Convention," *New York Times,* 15 October 1869; Booker, 'Efforts of the South to Attract Immigrants, 1860-1900,' p. 98. On March 31, 1868, the Immigration Convention of Jackson, Mississippi brought together delegates from Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi.

[71] *Laws of Virginia* (1887-8), Ch. 71, p. 242.

heightened migrant activity in the United States, these groups often served as a social safety net for recent arrivals, providing shelter, food, and minor sums of money for travel expenses. They offered services for which the states, in their shortsighted efforts to attract large numbers of immigrants, generally made little provision. Historians continue to debate the importance of chain migration among English immigrant populations, but fraternal organizations like the St. Andrews Society, which offered support to newly arrived Scots, or the St. George's Union, which provided similar services to English migrants, served as important links between the old world and the new, conveying information and encouragement in place of more traditional kinship networks.[72] Despite the best efforts of these groups, however, the immigration movement faced three overwhelming challenges: the lack of an established port of entry following the Civil War, deficiencies in transportation infrastructure, and a poor reputation abroad.

Harsh Realties for Proponents of British Immigration

While Southern cities had attracted significant numbers of immigrants before the Civil War, they never developed centralized processing centres on a par with those that emerged in the North during the same period. There was no Southern equivalent to Castle Garden in New York, which between 1855 and 1890 served as an official processing centre for immigrants. though virtually every state

[72] Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca and London, 1994), pp. 25-6.

with a coastline dreamed of challenging its pre-eminence as a point of entry.[73] Quite aside from the chauvinism that led immigration boosters to envision their own states as the pre-eminent immigration hub, New York's nodality with respect to European immigration presented notable challenges. Many state immigration agents faced great difficulty retaining the contracted labourers they sponsored following their disembarkation in New York as many of these men and women found the opportunities afforded by the metropolis more appealing than the work waiting for them in the South.

As if the attractions the city afforded were not temptation enough, immigrants destined for the South frequently found their resolve tested by western land agents. South Carolinian Thaddeus Boinest, a Lutheran pastor and president of the Newberry Immigration Society, related his frustration upon discovering that two of the men whose services he had engaged ran away before he could get them to Charleston, presumably lured away by promises of cheap western lands.[74] A Virginian immigration sponsor similarly bemoaned the fact that, in the day it had taken him to arrange their travel south, all 300 of the immigrants he had sponsored from Europe had been 'seduced by agents of the Illinois and the railroads to go West.'[75] As immigration boosters were quick to emphasize, the susceptibility of newly arrived immigrants to the seductive siren call of inexpensive western land

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[73] Silverman and Silverman, *Immigration in the American South*, p. 26; *Proceedings of the First Annual Session of the Southern Immigration Association of America. Held at Nashville, Tenn., March 11, 12, & 13, 1884* (Nashville TN, 1884), 157; 'John Wagener's Report to the Governor of SC' in *DeBow's Review,* V (February 1868), p. 340.
[74] Library of South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina, Columbia. Mfm R215 (Diary of Rev. Thaddeus S. Boinest, Newberry County, 1852-1870) Microform, May 19, 1868.
[75] *Memorial of the VA State Agricultural Society on Immigration*, p. 8.

could easily be rectified by increasing the amount of direct steam communication with Europe.

In addition to safeguarding the flow of immigrants from westward diversion, a dedicated European steamship line stood to benefit native Southerners. As was discussed in Chapter One, even during the antebellum period, most transatlantic steamer traffic departing from Southern ports connected in New York City, Boston, or Philadelphia before heading across the Atlantic.[76] The war, as costly as it had been for Northern shipping, did little to redress the transportation asymmetries between the North and South with European ports. Indeed, in many respects, Southern port cities emerged from the conflict much the worse for wear, a result both of the abrupt severance of trade occasioned by the Union blockade and the destruction of commercial agricultural hinterlands that furnished the ports with commodities for trade.

In the time it took Southern port cities to re-establish its markets and commercial ties, trade dwindled. One Charleston booster argued that the lack of traffic into the port hindered its direct trade with Britain, effectively forcing the city's merchants to hire empty ships to carry their produce overseas and thus 'paying freight both ways.'[77] A steady passenger traffic would not only supplement the state's labour force, boosters argued, but would alleviate this burden by

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[76] Ironically, given the ultimate decline of shipping between Southern ports and Europe with the advent of steam, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic, the *U. S. S. Savannah*, departed from Charleston in 1819. See George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (London and New York, 2015 [1951]), pp. 112-22.

[77] *Agricultural, Mechanical and Immigration Convention. Proceedings of the Immigration Convention, held at the Academy of Music, Charleston, S. C., on 3rd, 4th, and 5th of May, 1870.* (Charleston SC, 1870), p. 10.

ensuring a regular supply of vessels eager for outbound cargo. South Carolina could thus resolve its labour shortage and generate port revenue in the process. Despite the obvious advantages it would have conferred, direct steam communication with Europe remained a largely unrealized dream throughout Reconstruction, though it remained a perennial topic of discussion at commercial conventions. In addition to steamships, railroads occupied a prominent place in efforts to bring greater numbers of immigrants into the South.

In terms of their ability to attract immigration, Southern port cities virtually died or thrived according to their degree of railroad integration following the Civil War. The Port of Baltimore enjoyed rare success. The city's location afforded access to valuable transportation connections, particularly after 1867 when the Lloyd Steamship line entered into an agreement with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad that permitted its transatlantic passengers to purchase a single ticket that would take them through to their final destination upon reaching the United States.[78] In contrast, New Orleans, which had been the second largest port of entry prior to the Civil War, drawing over half a million immigrants between 1820 and 1860, could not overcome its limited rail access and saw its significance decline precipitously.[79] Several Southern railroads, including the Richmond-Danville, offered free or reduced fares to European immigrants to help offset their travel expenses from New

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[78] Dean R. Esslinger, 'Immigration through the Port of Baltimore' in M. Mark Stolarik (ed.) *Forgotten Doors: The Other Ports of Entry to the United States* (Philadelphia PA, 1988), pp. 69-70.

[79] Joseph Logsdon, 'Immigration through the Port of New Orleans,' in ibid. pp. 105-214. See also Randall Miller's response, pp. 127-37. While it never recovered its antebellum share of European immigration, New Orleans still functioned as an important port of entry for emigrants from the Mediterranean and, increasingly, Latin America.

York but rail travel in the South remained disproportionately expensive and beset by logistical difficulties.[80] Well into the 1890s, Southern sites of immigration remained consistently underserved by their regional transportation infrastructure. While attempts to remedy the deficiencies in its transportation networks failed to pass the planning stage, boosters proved significantly more adept at attacking the third main impediment to European immigration: the imbalance of information abroad.

In its memorial to the state legislature, the Virginia State Agricultural Society bemoaned the fact that 'almost all European knowledge of Virginia is derived from Northern sources' and that, 'for political purposes…misrepresentations of every kind are industriously circulated against our society, habits, character, soil, and climate.'[81] One author sought to reassure his readers that the reports of racial violence and unrest they had heard reported were fabricated by the South's political enemies. Northern politicians 'had made "mountains" out of their *ku klux* "molehills" and other alleged disorders, that they might have a pretext for sending the army down in the South to control the elections' and he considered 'life and property as safe in the South as anywhere.'[82] The various state immigration boards disseminated thousands of books and pamphlets across Europe in an effort to rehabilitate the South's image overseas, but experienced only partial success. As late

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[80] *First Report of the Board of Immigration of the State of Missouri to the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly, For the Years 1865 and 1866* (Jefferson City MS, 1867), p. 41.
[81] *Memorial of the VA State Agricultural Society on Immigration,* p. 8.
[82] Matthew Fontaine Maury, *Physical Survey of Virginia. Her Resources, Climate and Productions. Preliminary Report No. II.* (Richmond VA , 1878), pp. 136-7.

as 1908 one North Carolinian told his audience that he had encountered immigrants who believed that cannibalism was widespread in his state.[83]

If Southerners attributed political motivation to the dissemination of misinformation about their section among prospective immigrants, many of their efforts to rectify the situation established an unbroken continuity with the recent Confederate past. Some immigration literature turned to wartime production as a means of highlighting the inducements that their states offered to British immigrants. A Virginian pamphlet highlighted the mineral resources of the state by claiming that lead mines in Wyth County supplied the Confederate armies with 150,000 pounds per month. The same writer anticipated the material explanation of Confederate defeat that became a part of Lost Cause dogma when he offered the counterfactual that, had the Confederacy been able to defend the Shenandoah Valley from Federal incursion, 'her armies could have been maintained from its produce for an infinite time.'[84] In addition to using its ability to sustain Confederate armies in the field as a benchmark of the productivity of Southern soil, some immigration prospectuses offered interpretations of the war that legitimated the act of secession.

In an early pamphlet commissioned by the South Carolina Board of Immigration, further lineaments of Lost Cause ideology converged in the following summary of the war:

> South Carolina, in the pride of her glorious past, always claimed her original sovereignty, and entered at the head of her Southern sister States in the recent armed protest against the predominance and

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[83] Hugh Macrae, *Bringing Immigrants to the South: An Address Delivered Before the North Carolina Society of New York, December 7, 1908.* (n.p.: s.n.), p. 4.
[84] *Virginia: A Brief Memoir*, p. 10, 7.

> sectional legislation of the Northeast. The fortunes of war have, however, decided against her.[85]

Virginia immigration literature similarly justified the war on the grounds of what one author characterized as the defence of 'the imperishable principles underlying the American Constitution.' This writer suggested that the state's people had 'ardently desired the peaceful and gradual abolition of African slavery,' before 'Northern agitation unhappily prevented this desirable consummation.'[86] Confederate propagandists made similar claims in their efforts to win British hearts and minds during the Civil War. In that instance, Confederate sympathizers proved remarkably effective at shaping British perceptions of their cause as a war for self-government and some, notably Henry Hotze, even managed to cast suspicion on the altruism of the Emancipation Proclamation, though these minor victories proved insufficient to secure British military intervention.[87] The relative success of postwar immigration boosters utilizing these rhetorical tactics is more difficult to gauge, but, regardless of their effect on British perceptions of the war, such invocations of the Lost Cause highlight the prominence of former Confederates in promoting Southern immigration.

Former Confederate leaders participated in virtually every level of the immigration movement. Jefferson Davis served as the president of the Mississippi Valley Association, tasked with, among other goals relevant to the immigration movement, establishing direct steam communication between New Orleans and

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[85] John A. Wagener, *South Carolina: A Home for the Industrious Immigrant* (Charleston SC, 1867), p. 6.
[86] *Virginia: A Brief Memoir*, p. 13.
[87] Sebrell, pp. 95-101; Blackett, p. 115 ; Duncan Andrew Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2003), pp. 131-3.

Liverpool.[88] Matthew Fontaine Maury, well known in Europe for his scientific discoveries and efforts on behalf of the Confederacy as an overseas purchasing agent, penned one immigration prospectus for the state of Virginia and died in the midst of completing a second. In the interim, the Commonwealth of Kentucky asked him to serve as its General Agent of Immigration in 1869.[89] Even at the local level, Confederate leadership proved pervasive. A letter recommending John Booker for the position of Agent for the Board of Immigration in Cumberland County praised him as a 'gallant officer in the late war, commanding an infantry company in the Virginian Regiment' who 'now bears upon his person the marks of an honorable wound earned on the field of battle.'[90] In a sample of forty-seven of his fellow applicants, seventy-five percent were Confederate veterans or had supported the cause of Southern independence in administrative or non-combatant capacities.[91] These statistics speak to the pervasiveness of former Confederates in local politics more generally, but they also afford additional evidence that the Confederate national project and efforts to encourage immigration to the South were inextricably linked.

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[88] *New York Times,* 11 March 1876.
[89] *Ibid.,* October 15, 1869; Matthew Fontaine Maury, *Physical Survey of Virginia. Her Resources, Climate and Productions. Preliminary Report No. II* (Richmond VA, 1878).
[90] Robert Brock Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino California, BrBox243.41, (Virginia Immigration Society Records), William Pope Dabney to S. H. Boykin, 24 October 1874.
[91] The correspondence from which these figures are drawn emerged in response to a bill passed by the Virginia State Legislature on March 29, 1873 that called for each county to appoint an agent to oversee the sale of lands to foreign immigrants. In addition to those ultimately selected, many unsuccessful applicants wrote to the governor and other administrative officials, using their former military service as evidence of their qualifications for the post.

The continuity of leadership between the Civil War and the postbellum immigration movement posed different challenges to boosters than deficient infrastructural capacity and competition for prospective immigrants. As the case of the University of the South previously demonstrated, leveraging connections with former Confederate officials could prove a viable tactic for institutions seeking investors across the Atlantic. This was particularly true when Southerners were able to revive wartime networks like the Church of England circles in which Bishop Quintard moved during his frenetic fundraising tours. Virginia and Kentucky attempted to replicate the University's success by prominently featuring Matthew Fontaine Maury in their efforts to promote immigration, trusting that his reputation in scientific circles and the personal connections he developed with British financiers as a Confederate purchasing agent would aid their cause. Unfortunately for the cause of Southern immigration, such faith was misplaced.

While the Anglican Communion continued to flourish after the cessation of hostilities, the Confederacy's political and financial networks in Britain had greatly contracted. Even before the Civil War, the Southern states occupied a marginal position within the transatlantic circuits of capital and investment that Jay Sexton has characterized as the London-Wall Street connection.[92] While the body of pro-Confederate sympathizers in Britain during the conflict had been vociferous in their support, they were not particularly well connected.[93] With the bankruptcy of the Liverpool firm of Fraser Trenholm and Company, the ability of Southerners to

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[92] Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and American Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era, 1837-1873* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 74-6.
[93] Tuffnell, 'Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Empire in Britain's American Expatriate Community,' pp. 166, 172-5.

attract investors for its immigration and transportation initiatives declined precipitously.

The disruption of antebellum networks affected the flow of information as well as funds. Southern boosters remained largely uninformed about trends in British emigration. Though state immigration boards largely targeted agricultural labourers in their promotional materials, their efforts came at a time when between one-third and one-half of British emigrants came from urban areas.[94] Compounding the problem, the agents they sent abroad largely restricted their labours to London and Liverpool and rarely cast their net into the agricultural hinterlands beyond the metropolis. They similarly failed to engage constructively with the trades unions who, at various times, advocated emigration to their members and even provided financial assistance to those willing to relocate.[95]

Ironically, given the flaws of their English counterparts, domestic immigration agencies within the South operated at a high level competence. Pro-immigration legislation, like that passed in Virginia in 1873, established organized networks of immigration agents who retained information about all the properties available for purchase in their local communities. The agents solicited detailed dossiers about available lands, including their agricultural yield, improvements, and

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[94] Ira V. Glazier (ed.), *Emigration from the United Kingdom to America,* vol. 6 (Lanham MD, 2008), p. xviii.

[95] There is a long-running debate in the historical literature as to whether this periodical enthusiasm for emigration among trades unionists represented a conscious effort to reduce the supply of surplus labour, but, regardless, Southern immigration agents missed a valuable opportunity to connect with an important demographic already favourably disposed to emigration. See for instance, R. V. Clements, 'Trade Unions and Emigration, 1840-80' *Population Studies* 9 (November 1955), pp. 167-80; and Charlotte Erickson, 'The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions, 1850-1900,' *Population Studies* 3 (December 1949), pp. 248-73.

buildings, which prospective immigrants could consult and arrange to buy. The agents held a multitude of information at their fingertips, but the lack of nodal points on the other side of the Atlantic meant that there rarely any queries to be answered. Boosters had fallen prey to their own propaganda about the inherent compatibility of Britons and Southerners to the extent that they forgot that claims of kinship required continual maintenance to thrive.

The Case of Rugby, Tennessee

Even when British immigrants did arrive in sufficient numbers to temporarily sustain the pipe dream of replenishing the South with authentic Anglo-Saxon stock, the success of their colonization efforts was by no means guaranteed. Fewer cases better illustrate the challenges that faced actual British settlements than Rugby, Tennessee. Established in 1880 on the Cumberland Plateau, approximately 130 miles from Chattanooga, the settlement was, at first glance, the very model of Anglo-American community immigration that Southern boosters envisioned.

Thomas Hughes, best known to Americans as the best-selling author of *Tom Brown's School Days,* became the face of the community, which he envisioned as a sanctuary for England's surplus population of gentlemen whose prospects of living a useful life in the land of their birth were stifled by the rigid class hierarchy and limited economic opportunities.[96] In Rugby, men from the middle and upper classes

[96] Kathleen Brock Stott, 'Rugby, Tennessee: An Attempted Utopia' (University of Missouri, Columbia, MA thesis, 1939), p. 40. In actual fact, Hughes came to the project at a relatively late stage, as the group of Anglo-American investors that eventually formed the core of

could preserve the privileges of their upbringing while gaining practical experience managing their own land in a socially engineered Christian Socialist paradise. Essentially, it was a place where the privileged and well educated could learn to 'put aside all evil habits, and to live a brave, simple and truthful life,' gaining the uplifting moral benefits of manual labour without suffering the stigma it carried in their home country.[97] Rugby was far from the first utopian community in the United States or even the first such venture back by British capital—Robert Owen had established his short-lived social experiment at New Harmony in 1825—but it was the first of its kind to be established in a former slave state.[98]

In a dedication ceremony well attended by Anglo-American elites, Hughes touted Rugby as a symbol of Anglo-American comity.[99] The town's newspaper concurred, opining that it was a 'place where Englishmen and Americans can stand shoulder to shoulder and work with one mind and one heart for the same great end.'[100] Physical manifestations of these unbroken links to the mother country could be found in every nook and cranny. The settlers christened the town's hotel the

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Rugby's financial backers had been exploring possible sites for a colony for several years prior. See Brenda Louise Alexander, 'Planting a "Community of Gentlemen and Ladies" on the Cumberland Plateau: Thomas Hughes and the East Tennessee Rugby,' Ph.D. diss (University of Tennessee, Knoxville TN, 2014), esp. pp. 53-95, 155.

[97] Thomas Hughes, *The Manliness of Christ* (Boston MA, 1880), p. 143.

[98] John Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: the Quest for the New Moral World* (London, 2009 [1969]), esp. pp. 135-9.

[99] Hughes' commitment to Anglo-American kinship ran deep as he was among the vanguard of a postbellum transatlantic liberal cohort that sought to supplement the cultural ties that had long existed between the two nations and their reformers with formal institutions. Ironically, for those Southerners who boasted of the primacy of their claim to kinship with Britain, he was a devoted abolitionist and had supported the Union during the Civil War. See Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorians and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill NC, 2007), p. 94; Thomas Hughes, 'Thomas Hughes and the American Civil War,' *Journal of Negro History* 8 (July 1933), pp. 322-329.

[100] *The Rugbeian,* 18 March 1882.

Tabard Inn in honour of the hostelry from whence Chaucer's pilgrims departed for Canterbury. Its interior featured original woodcarvings from an ancient London inn purchased at auction.[101] On Sundays, the congregation read prayers in a chapel illumed by light from chandeliers imported from England and sang hymns accompanied by an English organ. The baptismal font, ready to initiate Rugby's newest arrivals into the spiritual life of the community, was an exact replica of the one in Westminster Abbey.[102] Rugby's settlers, recruited heavily from Oxford and Cambridge, could play cricket or lawn tennis on the sporting grounds and afterwards take the latest issue of *Punch* in rooms modelled after London clubs. The colony possessed, in addition to these amenities, a library with over 7,000 volumes, a weekly newspaper, literary and dramatic societies, and its own cornet band.[103] Behind these signifiers of prosperity in a western community, however, lay a number of warning signs that the future prospects of the colony were not as bright as its boosters' optimism supposed.

Like many immigration boosters in this period, Rugby's promoters effusively praised the economic opportunities that abounded in their lands while grievously underestimating the obstacles blocking their path to success. An early promotional pamphlet for the project drew on earlier materials that the Tennessee Board of Immigration published in 1867, including an account of the Cumberland Plateau's soil, timber, mineral resources and grazing lands penned by J. W. Harper, a

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[101] Brian L. Stagg, 'Tennessee's Rugby Colony,' *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* 27 no. 3 (Fall 1968), p. 219; Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, p. 114.
[102] Stagg, 'Tennessee's Rugby Colony,' p. 214.
[103] John DeBruyn, ed. *Dissipations at Uffington House: The Letters of Emily Hughes, Rugby, Tennessee, 1881-1887* (Memphis TN, 1976), p. 13, 57.

professor of geology and agriculture at the University of Mississippi and the state's Commissioner of Agriculture. Harper emphasized the fertility of the Plateau soil and its suitability for oats and wheat, attributing the poverty of the region's local farmers to the fact that they had foolishly exhausted the soil.[104] Hughes witnessed the extent of the region's agricultural development firsthand during his trip to Rugby for the dedication ceremony, noting that, beyond Rugby, there were no cultivated spots for miles, 'except small patches here and there of carelessly sown maize and millet, and a rood or two of sweet potatoes.'[105]

Undaunted by these symptoms of soil exhaustion, Rugby's financial backers cast a wide net for future settlers in a prospectus entitled, 'Who May Well Go to the Table-land.' The boosters equally enjoined the man 'in middle life with a small competency' and sons 'whom he don't know what to do with,' those with 'pulmonary, catarrhal, or febrile difficulties,' the college graduate who possessed 'good sense and book knowledge' but found himself 'struggling in an uncongenial life because of an imagined standard of gentility,' the widow, the trader, the mechanic, and the minister to consider immigrating to Tennessee. However salutary the benefits of immigration for these individuals, they were unlikely to contribute much agricultural expertise to the project.[106]

As construction began on the town, the distance between the optimism expressed in the rose-tinted boilerplate promotional literature and reality grew

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[104] *Aid to Land Ownership, Industrial Settlement on the Cumberland Highlands of Tennessee* (London, 1880), p. 9. For the original, see Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrant's Guide* (Philadelphia PA, 1868), pp. 6-60.
[105] Thomas Hughes, *Vacation Rambles* (London, 1895), p. 49.
[106] *Organization, Objects, and Measures Description of the Estate on the Plateau of East Tennessee, Geological Section of the Plateau or Tableland* (Boston MA, 1880), pp. 19-22.

even more apparent. Prior to laying the foundations of any of the town's major structures or ploughing the fields in preparation for planting, the town planners focussed on beautifying the settlement. A visiting newspaper editor called upon one of the young English settlers one rainy afternoon only to find him in bed reading as a leaky roof exposed him to the elements. The man had resourcefully improvised a makeshift shelter from an umbrella but when asked why he had not called a carpenter to fix the problem he replied that all the workmen were engaged with digging the tennis courts.[107] Thomas Hughes and Rugby's other financial backers justified this seemingly frivolous exercise on the grounds that, as clear title to the land had not then been established, construction on the rest of the town could not possibly commence.[108] Indeed, the question of who had proper title to a large portion of the property remained unresolved two years later in 1882, despite numerous surveys being commissioned. Disputes ensued and the lawsuits began to accumulate until, at one point, there were fifty-two suits pending against people living in the town, some of which carried into the 1930s.[109] Although these episodes illustrate the endemic lack of planning and experience that ultimately doomed Rugby, they occurred at the height of the colony's success in the 1880s, when 400 people lived there.

The soil, when it could be worked, proved sandy and unproductive. Many of the lots were heavily wooded and unsuitable for planting. Settling Rugby would

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[107] Quoted in Stott, 'Rugby, Tennessee: An Attempted Utopia,' p. 105.
[108] Thomas Hughes, *Rugby, Tennessee, Being Some Account of the Settlement Founded on the Cumberland Plateau by the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Limited…*(London: Macmillan, 1881), p. 134.
[109] Stott, 'Rugby, Tennessee: An Attempted Utopia,' p. 111

have presented nearly insurmountable challenges for seasoned farmers, but for inexperienced men with little to no practical knowledge of agriculture, it proved impossible. The settlement's board of directors entertained the possibility of other enterprises when the condition of the soil became apparent—a pottery, a canning plant, animal husbandry, mineral extraction—but none proved financially viable in the long term. The baptismal font was rarely utilised, but the small graveyard adjacent to the church saw too much use when a typhoid epidemic struck in late 1881 and killed seven of the early settlers. In a final attempt to salvage its experiment in social planning, the Board of Directors contemplated bringing into the colony some 200 German families. Excluded from the initial paeans to Anglo-American kinship, the German immigrants nevertheless succeeded where the Rugbeians had failed, adapting to their new environment and assimilating far more effectively than their British predecessors. One Rugbeian described the settlers as 'a decent lot of fellows, who knew the dead languages and how to swear like gentlemen' but these young men proved entirely unsuited to the task of creating an arcadia in the wilds of Tennessee, the foundations of which were 'lawn tennis and afternoon tea.'[110]

Rugby gave the lie to the oft-repeated claim that British immigrants were indistinguishable from Southerners in every way that mattered. Lacking both proper experience and knowledge of the arduous work permanent settlement entailed, the vast majority of Rugby's youthful settlers proved utterly unsuited to life on the Cumberland Plateau. Far from revitalizing the state's economic prospects

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[110] *The Rugbeian,* January 1881; Second quote is found in *Cincinnati Commercial,* 12 January 1880.

or returning political power to the hands of conservative whites, Rugby suffocated under the weight of its own 'Old World and Conservative' atmosphere.'[111] Moreover, in many ways the young English settlers of Rugby only replicated the deficiencies of privileged white Southern society, both in their disinclination for manual labour and, increasingly, casual racism. A Scottish visitor to the town in 1882 noted the resentment of many young men who were put to work for one dollar per day 'clearing land, cutting down wood, and forming roads.' The men, whom the traveller deemed 'well-educated' and 'quite unfit for such labour,' found the work distasteful, especially as they had to labour alongside coloured men, a prospect they found 'objectionable from many points.'[112] As Rugby continued its long descent into obscurity, Southerners began to reassess the vaunted ideals of Anglo-American kinship that had thus far guided their efforts at social regeneration. They still looked to the tide of immigration with anticipation and a hint of desperation, but instead of continuing their attempts to divert a narrow rivulet from the larger flow, they began to broaden their channel.

Immigration and the Changing Face of Anglo-American Kinship

By the turn of the century, the target audience of the South's promotional literature had widened considerably. As one magazine assured its readers:

> the South needs the sturdy yeomanry of Great Britain; the cool, slow-moving, but always energetic Hollander; the sturdy, hardworking, God fearing, self-respecting people of Denmark, Norway and Sweden; the best middle class folk and peasantry of the many provinces of the German Empire, and the mercurial but industrial sons and daughters of France. The South can

[111] Ibid., 28 January 1882
[112] Archibald Sutter, *American Notes* (London 1882), pp. 69-70.

> welcome all these gladly, for most of these European stocks were represented in the early settlement of these States, and their blood, comingled in their descendents, has made our best Southern manhood and womanhood.[113]

In depicting its regional character as emerging over time from the melding of different stocks rather than its contingence on ethnocultural homogeneity, this periodical reflected the new direction of Southern immigration. Following the end of Reconstruction and the subsequent departure of many of the 'carpet-baggers' and other strangers that had so alarmed Southern whites two decades earlier, pressure to return the rural South to a political status quo ante largely evaporated. With the dire predictions about the impending extinction of the black race failing to materialize—and even more importantly, the successful development of legal codes designed to curtail African American civil rights and freedoms—white Southerners once more had leisure to contemplate questions of race and regional identity in the abstract.[114] In this changed political context, the cultural aspects of Anglo-American kinship that had assumed such significance as criteria of belonging within an imagined transatlantic community became increasingly subservient to its racial connotations, until it became increasingly indistinguishable from what Reginald Horsman described as racialized Anglo-Saxonism.[115] Ironically, as its racial dimensions expanded to accommodate a wider range of ethnic minorities, the categories of faith and language, which had always been most permeable to those

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[113]*Manufacturers' Record,* vol. 39 no. 20 (12 June 1896), pp. 323-4.
[114] Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery,* rev. ed. (New York, 2010); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* rev. ed. (Oxford and New York, 2010).
[115]Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge MA, 1993).

Southerners who fell outside the remit of kinship predicated on biogenetic criteria, shrank in comparison. The South might have extended its welcome to all those European immigrants who possessed the ability to pass as Anglo-Saxon, but it invited increasingly few to become fully-fledged members of the Anglo-American family.

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Given the benefit of hindsight it is perhaps all too simple to relegate the history of Southern immigration to an obscure footnote on the emergence of the New South and its relentless pursuit of economic and social parity for white Southerners and their northern counterparts. This view largely misses the significance of immigration as a forum for discussions about national allegiance, loyalty, citizenship, and race. The single-minded pursuit of British settlers helped recast immigration from a social evil that resulted in politically volatile admixtures, as social commentators contended throughout the antebellum period, into a means of replenishing the South's ethnic stock.[116] Although their collective efforts ultimately failed to achieve the desired demographic effect, the immigration movement nonetheless afforded a space to contemplate new social combinations in the place of chattel slavery and new ways of asserting the South's ethnic identity. Southerners perceived British immigration as a means of combating the transformative power of Reconstruction through incremental demographic change, but it was at least as important to them as a means of chastising the carpetbaggers and scalawags with the accusation that they had somehow strayed from the political

[116] Mehrländer, *The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans,* pp. 66-7.

faith of their birth. The notion that foreign immigrants recently arrived to the South's shores might be more objectively 'American' than native born Northerners is a challenging one, but perhaps unsurprising given the deep-rooted compulsion Southerners felt to reframe the Civil War as a justified defence of constitutional principles. Anglo-American kinship furnished both a pretext for encouraging white immigration and the language in which the South's appeals were made. While the rhetoric promoting immigration looked to Anglo-American kinship as a means of securing the future, the historical societies explored in the next chapter invoked a version that was inextricably entangled with the past.

Chapter Five:

Re-membering Families: Historical Societies and the Production of Genealogical Knowledge in the Postbellum South

'The virtue of the plant is in the seed. The circulation proceeds from the root to all the umbrageous and fruit-bearing branches. The historical significance of the American Union must, consequently, be referred to the Virginia colony. This conclusion is corroborated by observing how the spirit and progress of the Old Dominion, the character of the Revolution, and the genius of the United States, have all been affected by the fact that Virginia was founded by the gallant gentlemen of England, and was replenished with her best blood, instead of proceeding from religious sectaries, and perpetuating in her veins the venom of theological discord and polemical rancor.'[117]

As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, the rhetoric of Anglo-American kinship operated in a variety of institutional contexts, from the Protestant Episcopal Church whose members understood their canons and liturgy as a bequest from the mother church, to the immigration societies that sought to refashion Southern plantations into English estates. Ostensibly, like the Episcopal Church, the historical societies established throughout the South in the decades prior to the Civil War predicated Southerners' claim to Anglo-American kinship upon the lineaments of a shared colonial past. Despite this foregrounding of historical fact, however, these institutions sometimes surpassed even postbellum immigration societies in the sheer speciousness of their claims and supported endeavours far beyond the remit of traditional antiquarian enquiry. Whether grounded in tangible historical

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[117] George F. Holmes, *The Virginia Colony: or the Relation of the English Colonial Settlements in America to the General History of the Civilized World. An Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society, at Richmond, December 15, 1859* (Richmond, 1860), p. 50.

reality or the fantastical whimsy of Southerners who longed to re-root their family trees in transatlantic genealogies, the claims of Anglo-American kinship that arose from these societies and the scholarly literature they produced reconstituted families dismembered by distance, time, and war. These family reunions came at a cost, however, as the increasingly rigorous standards of genealogical scholarship that Southerners pursued in the waning years of the nineteenth century robbed Anglo-American kinship of the plasticity that had previously defined it and further circumscribed the boundaries of the American national family by race, even as it simultaneously projected its borders beyond the sea. Moreover, as Southern historical societies re-established ties with their counterparts in the North, collaborative ventures to preserve the genealogical and historical vestiges of Anglo-American kinship provided opportunities for Lost Cause scholarship to gain a foothold beyond the states of the former Confederacy.

The Roots of Family Trees: A Brief History of Southern Historical Societies

While American historiography has yielded great insight into the processes by which history became professionalized, it has heretofore shown relatively little interest in the discipline's earlier incarnations, except as a point of departure. Whether marginalized in accounts of the emergence of scientific history, or overly idealized by early twentieth-century jeremiads about the historical discipline's urgent need for increased public engagement, the antiquarians and amateur historians that constituted American history's primary practitioners between the Early Republic and the Civil War typically receive short shrift in synthetic

treatments.[118] If synthetic historiographies have been somewhat slow to acknowledge the nineteenth-century production of historical knowledge, the incorporation of genealogy into considerations of the American historical profession has progressed at a glacial place. François Weil's study remains the only full-length treatment of the topic.[119]

The South fares particularly poorly in the above studies due to the fact that it lagged far behind New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and even the Old Northwest in creating institutional support for historical enquiry.[120] 'Why is there no Antiquarian or Historical Society in Virginia?' one periodical queried, seven years before the inaugural meeting of the Virginia Historical Society and over four decades after the Massachusetts Historical Society opened its doors in Boston.[121] Although their gestation occurred over a lengthier period than that of their Northern counterparts,

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[118] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: 'The Objectivity Question' and the Americn Historian Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), esp. pt. 1; Ian Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*: The Practice of American History, 1890-1970 (Chicago IL and London, 2005), pp. 43-5. The most comprehensive overview of American historical societies in this period remains a privately printed doctoral dissertation. See Leslie Whittaker Dunlap, *American Historical Societies, 1790-1860* (Madison WS, 1944).

[119] François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge MA and London, 2013).

[120] For this reason, Southern historians fare poorly even in biographical studies of nineteenth-century scholars, which tend to focus on early nationalist historians like Jared Sparks and George Bancroft. See Clifford L. Lord (ed.) *Keepers of the Past* (Chapel Hill NC, 1965); Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, *The Writing of American History,* rev. ed. (Norman and London, 1985). The standard work on George Bancroft's life and times remains Lilian Handlin, *George Bancroft: The Intellectual as Democrat* (New York, 1984). Although primarily focussed on the literary output of New England institutions, Jennifer Kristene Sherer's recent Ph.D. thesis demonstrates the unfilled potential this subject holds. See Sherer, 'Mining America: Antiquarian Authorship and U. S. Empire, 1800-1855' (University of Iowa, [Iowa City IA], PhD Diss., 2008).

[121] [John Holt Rice] 'Proposal for a Virginia Historical Society,' *Literary and Evangelical Magazine* 7 (January 1824), pp. 40-42. Quote at p. 42.

historical societies had appeared in virtually every Southern state by the 1850s.[122] The relatively recent historiography surrounding Southern intellectual life suggests that was not a coincidence, emphasizing the extent to which these institutions shaped regional identity and articulated a distinctive form of separatist nationalism.[123] This chapter will demonstrate how the conceptions of Anglo-American kinship cultivated by the historians, genealogists, and antiquarians who comprised these institutions subsequently supported national reunion following the war.

Initially, proponents of the early historical societies in the South couched their arguments in terms of historical preservation rather than the promotion of sectional chauvinism as concern for the state of records and artefacts provided the impetus for the first historical societies in the South. The Virginia clergyman and scholar John Holt Rice despaired that 'no doubt but that there lie, mouldering in old trunks, in closets and garrets, many letters and other manuscripts of men of former times, which a society, properly organized and well conducted, might bring out of

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[122] The Southern historical societies established before the Civil War include the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society (1834), Kentucky Historical Society (1838), Georgia Historical Society (1839), Maryland Historical Society (1844), Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society (1844), Historical Society of the University of North Carolina (1844), Louisiana Historical Society (1846), Alabama Historical Society (1850), South Carolina Historical Society (1855), Florida Historical Society (1856), Mississippi Historical Society (1858).

[123] Robert Bonner, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 149-183; Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 125-201; Paul D. H. Quigley, 'That History is Truly the Life of Nations,': History and Southern Nationalism in Antebellum South Carolina,' *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 106 (January 2005), pp. 7-33; Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860,* vol. 2 (Chapel Hill NC, 2004), pp. 623-53.

obscurity and preserve from destruction.'[124] Rice's concerns were hardly limited to Virginia, or even to the South. The recording secretary of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts bemoaned the loss of a large quantity of old colonial papers that a local family was using to kindle fires. Before the Society could intervene, the secretary reported, 'the whole had been cleaned out and they have all been destroyed. Is not that a little too provoking?'[125] This sense of the past's precariousness persisted up to the Civil War, reflected in the dictum that one Virginia Historical Society president took as his personal motto, 'gather up the fragments that remain.'[126] As many Southern antiquarians subsequently discovered, however, some of the Revolution's cultural legacies interfered with efforts to preserve its physical artefacts.

The 'Americanization' of British common law in the United States following the Revolution profoundly influenced the ways in which Americans approached their family histories in the early years of the nation. As states simplified the laws surrounding inheritance and began to abolish primogeniture, they curtailed the demand for the sophisticated family pedigrees that had provided much of the impetus for genealogical enquiry in England since the seventeenth century.[127] The absence of a hereditary peerage similarly deterred systematic genealogical study as

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[124] 'John Holt Rice, Proposal for a Virginia Historical Society, 1824,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 30 (Oct. 1922), p. 320

[125] American Antiquarian Society, Worcester Massachusetts, (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1850-1859), Edward Everett Hale Fol. 2 (1857), Edward Everett Hale to Samuel Foster Haven, 18 March 1857.

[126] *The Virginia Historical Society, In Memoriam* (Richmond VA, 1875); R. A. Brock, *A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Late Thomas Hicks Wynne, with Interesting Annalist Reminiscences of His Native City, Richmond, VA.* (Richmond VA, 1875), p. 7.

[127] Michael Sharpe, *Family Matters: A History of Genealogy* (Barnsley, 2012), p. 17; Jens Beckert, *Inherited Wealth* (Princeton NJ and Oxford, 2004), pp. 83-99.

it negated the need for the institutional regulation of kinship. The United States never developed an equivalent to the College of Arms, which had authorized the use of coat armour among the British gentry and, with varying degrees of diligence and veracity, compiled genealogical registers since 1484.[128]

The lack of institutional oversight extended even to the federal government, which, lacking a centralised form of record keeping until the twentieth century, delegated archival responsibility to individual departments. These practices did little to ensure the preservation of historical records or facilitate public inquiry. Indeed, sometimes they even interfered with the normal functions of government. When the 1818 pension law came into effect and large numbers of veterans became newly eligible for pensions, the War Department had no way to verify how many of the claimants had actually served in the Revolutionary War and admitted many applicants to the rolls without any proof of their service except for their word.[129] More problematic than the failings of American archival management, however, were the cultural legacies of the Revolution itself.

In both its orientation towards the past and its traditional role in assuring the transmission of hereditary titles and honours, genealogy appeared out of step with the rhetoric of equality that helped define the political ideology of the Early Republic. Many in the young nation associated it with a conception of distinction and social status that emphasized ancestral worth rather than personal merit, and

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[128] On the emergence of the College of Heralds, see Maurice Hugh Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300-1500* (Stroud, 2002).

[129] John Resch, *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment and Political Culture in the Early Republic* (Amherst and Boston, 1999), pp. 121-4.

seemed content to relegate it to oblivion with the other trappings of European society. One Northern writer captured the essence of the American genealogist's dilemma when he asked how, 'in the land of equality, where every man is as good as every other, can it be possible that any man believes his ancestors to have been greater and better than himself and his friends?' In such a climate, 'to speak of American genealogy' seemed 'at first sight a positive misnomer.'[130] Moreover, genealogy looked to the past while the predominant orientation of American popular political culture turned towards the future.[131] Keeping one eye inclined towards the past, especially as all but the nation's most recent history was also part of Great Britain's, contradicted Americans' claims that the Revolution represented a decisive break with the mother country.

However distasteful the degree of deference to Old World aristocratic pretensions it connoted to Americans, genealogy, and the claims of Anglo-American kinship it supported, proved surprisingly tenacious in the Early Republic. George Washington, for instance, professed 'to have paid very little attention' to his genealogy when contacted about his family crest by a herald at the College of Arms in London, though his actions somewhat negate this claim as he later had the crest incorporated into his carriage and a wide variety of household goods.[132] Thomas

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[130] 'American Genealogies,' *North American Review,* 82, (April 1856), pp. 469-70.
[131] Anthony Hutchinson, *Writing the Republic: Liberalism and Morality in American Political Fiction* (New York, 2007), p. 9; Bonner, *Mastering America,* p. 180; Joyce Appleby maintained that the 'rejection of the past as a repository of wisdom…constitutes the most important element in the ideology of the victorious Jeffersonian Republicans.' See idem., *Capitalism and a New Social Order* (New York and London, 1984), p. 79.
[132] George Washington to Isaac Heard, May 2, 1792, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington DC, 1931).

Hart Benton similarly expressed ignorance of the heraldry associated with his family name until he received a gold seal with his coat of arms from John Randolph as a token of appreciation for his actions as a second in an abortive duel with Henry Clay. Randolph consulted the College of Heralds in London for the specifics, though the result likely derived as much from fictive kinship as verifiable descent, since Benton had been unable to trace his own family beyond his grandfather's settlement in North Carolina. Nevertheless, Benton adopted the heraldry and proudly carried the seal for the rest of his life.[133] Many Southerners followed the example of Washington and Benton, justifying any efforts to record the vital statistics of their lines and the symbols associated with them as an exercise in family pride rather than a slavish devotion to inherited rank and privilege. Nevertheless, as long as it remained associated with the quest for social status in the popular mind, genealogy was ideologically suspect.[134]

Despite the challenges that these institutional and cultural factors posed, a historical research infrastructure slowly emerged in the South, though, as Michael O'Brien has noted, it proceeded in a piecemeal fashion and generally lagged behind New England.[135] The Northeast boasted two historical societies by the time of the United States' second war with Great Britain, the Massachusetts Historical Society, which held its inaugural meeting in 1791, and the American Antiquarian Association, which convened for the first time in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1812. In contrast, the Tennessee Antiquarian Society in Nashville, the first Southern

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[133] Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View; or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850* vol.1 (New York, 1883), p. 77.
[134] Weil, *Family Trees,* p. 46.
[135] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order,* vol. 2, pp. 623-53.

institution ostensibly dedicated to historical enquiry, did not meet for the first time until 1820.[136] Other states slowly followed, but financial constraints severely limited their output.

A few southern historical societies received support from their respective legislatures. The state government set aside a room near the State Library for the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society in the Capitol and allocated small sums for the purchase of furniture and shelving in return for copies of the society's printed works. The South Carolina Historical Society similarly received $1,500 from its legislature to offset the cost of publishing the first three volumes of its proceedings.[137]

Other societies secured private sources of funding. While they received no financial support from their respective governments, the historical societies of Alabama and North Carolina drew membership and funds from their affiliated universities. Indeed, in the case of North Carolina, the society essentially served as a branch of the university, sharing David Lowry Swain as their president, supplying the orators who delivered the commencement addresses and publishing all of its proceedings and papers under the auspices of the *North Carolina University Magazine.*[138] Many more societies relied on subscriptions, which often imparted to them the character of private gentleman's clubs. The Virginia Historical Society

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[136] William Robertson Garrett and Albert Virgil Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee: Its People and Its Institutions from the Earliest Times to the Year 1903* (Nashville TN, 1903), p. 310.
[137] 'An Act for the Benefit of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society,' *Annals of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society* vol. 1 (Jefferson City MO, 1848), p. 8; Dunlap, *American Historical Societies,* p. 208.
[138] Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina,* vol. 2 (Raleigh NC, 1907), pp. 105-8.

charged five dollars for an annual membership, while a lifetime membership could be purchased for fifty dollars.[139] Adding to the society's exclusivity, its by-laws restricted membership to those nominated for election. The resulting body was so select that they often dined in each other's homes when they weren't relaxing in their private rooms at the Richmond Athenaeum.[140]

When historical preservation proved insufficient to rally private subscribers or attract public expenditure, antebellum historical societies attempted to justify their existence on the basis of the moral precepts that the past might furnish future generations. These efforts often involved indirect appeals to Anglo-American kinship, as the historical precedents the societies offered as evidence of the past's relevance to contemporary issues almost always drew from the era of the colonial founding, rather than the more recent period of the Revolution. Speaking of the efforts of the Virginia Historical Society to collect and publish a series of documents pertaining to the first English expeditions to the New World, William C. Rives enjoined members to view the acts of 'illustrating and commemorating the lives and actions of our glorious ancestors' and 'preserving in a durable form the Sybilline leaves of our history' as 'pious tasks.' By exploring 'the first feeble springs' of the state's history, Virginians would better understand 'the stream of [Virginia's]

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[139] *The Virginia Historical Reporter, Conducted by the Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society* 1 (Richmond VA, 1854), p. 4.
[140] Virginius Cornick Hall Jr., 'The Virginia Historical Society: an Anniversary Narrative of Its First Century and a Half,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 90 (January 1982), pp. 3-4, 10.

prosperity and power' as it flowed onward in its course and derive 'profitable lessons' for 'contemporary improvement.'[141]

Thomas Hanckel deployed a similar argument when he addressed the South Carolina Historical Society in 1860, urging members to consider the past as a legacy from their ancestors: 'Our State history [should] be the strength of our State life, and the bond of its citizenship. It is an inheritance which has come down to us, either to squander or neglect, or to cherish and preserve.'[142] For the insight that genealogy afforded into this inheritance and the corresponding influence the early ancestors exerted on the development of 'state life,' it enjoyed a degree of institutional backing for the first time in the nation's history though historical societies continued to treat individual family pedigrees with a measure of republican distaste.

Hanckel's immediate predecessor had been even less circumspect in reflecting on the illustrious origins of his ancestors:

> I trust that I approach the subject with that truthful gravity which alone becomes it. I cannot, indeed, I would not, forget that I am a son of Carolina, born to a large inheritance of honorable fame; surrounded and sustained by high and noble memories; that far behind me, guarding the spotless shield of my native State, stand the monumental effigies of great men made perfect that it is my privilege to walk in the light of glorious examples.[143]

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[141] *The Virginia Historical Reporter 1* (Richmond VA, 1854), pp. 4-5.

[142] Thomas Hanckel, *Oration Delivered on the Fifth Anniversary of the South Carolina Historical Society, at Hibernian Hall, in Charleston, on Wednesday Evening, May 23, 1860* (Charleston SC, 1860), p. 32.

[143] W. H. Trescot, *Oration Delivered Before the South Carolina Historical Society*, *Thursday, May 19, 1859 by W. H. Trescott* [sic]*, Esq.* (Charleston, SC: James and Williams, 1859), p. 12. In the printed version of his remarks, Trescot included a quotation from Julia Ward Howe's *Words for the Hour,* a choice that proved somewhat ironic given the poet's later fame as a poet of the Union cause, but appropriate for evoking the filiopiety he referenced: 'Twas the old gallant English blood/ And many a shadowy ancestor/ Guarding his sculptured arms afar,/ that day in memory stood.' See Julia Ward Howe, *Words for the Hour* (Boston MA, 1857), p. 36.

In their survey of elite Charlestonians abroad, Robert Leath and Maurie McInnis argued that the close cultural affinity that residents of the city felt with England led them to believe that 'as the younger sons of British dukes and earls, virtually all of their seventeenth century ancestors had waded ashore to America in lace-lined silks and satins.'[144] Initially, William Henry Trescot's analysis of the early settlement of his state conformed to this assessment, turning as it did to the well-worn tropes of 'Puritan and Cavalier,' to explain the cultural divergence of the American colonies.

Unlike the majority of Southerners who deployed these quasi-racial categories in contrasts of the North and South, however, Trescot utilized both terms in a comparative analysis of two Southern states.[145] He maintained that the 'cavalier' had played an undeniable role in the settlement and early colonial development of Virginia but argued that the French Huguenot refugees 'influenced to a great extent' the character of South Carolina.[146] Trescot demonstrated his reluctance to completely jettison Anglo-American kinship as a foundational element of his native state's character, however, concluding South Carolina's history only 'began with English settlement' and that its people 'were whigs---old fashioned English whigs' who left his contemporary South Carolinians as their bequest a love of

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[144] Robert A. Leath and Maurie D. McInnis, "To Blend Pleasure with Knowledge: The Cultural Odyssey of Charlestonians Abroad" in *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad: 1740-1860* (University of South Carolina Press, 1999) p. 10.
[145] See William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York. 1961); James M. McPherson, *Is Blood Thicker Than Water: Crises of Nationalism in the Modern World* (Toronto, 2011), p. 35; Ritchie Devon Watson, *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge LA, 2008).
[146] Trescot, *Oration Delivered Before the South Carolina Historical Society*, p. 19.

constitutional abstraction.[147] Regardless of whether the articulations of Anglo-American kinship they produced came alloyed with Norman admixture, antebellum Southerners predicated their resistance to the federal government on formulations of difference and distinctive identity, rather than the critiques of power the founding generation had deployed.[148]

For all that their scholarly output supported the claims of separatists to a distinctive nationality, Southern historical societies and their constituent members remained deeply embedded in national networks of knowledge gathering and exchange. Joshua Foster, the secretary of the newly established Alabama Historical Society, sent a copy of the group's constitution to his counterpart at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, expressing his hope that the two institutions would be able to initiate a periodical exchange once the first issue of the newer society's proceedings went to press.[149] Individuals similarly facilitated exchanges across sectional lines. Charles Phillips, a professor at the University of North Carolina, expressed an interest in researching the early English settlement of his state while on a visit to New England and was gratified to receive a letter of introduction to the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society from Jared Sparks, biographer of George Washington and president of Harvard. Phillips so greatly appreciated the generosity of his Northern hosts that he shipped two volumes of

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[147] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[148] Bonner, *Mastering America*, p. 158.
[149] American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1850-1859), Foreman-Fowler, Joshua H. Foster to Samuel Haven, 10 December 1850.

North Carolina history to the Society following his return home.[150] However sincere their desire to collaborate with their Northern colleagues in compiling historical and genealogical information in support of Anglo-American kinship, the Civil War drastically curtailed the activities of Southern scholars.

The Civil War as Threat to the Historical Foundation of Anglo-American Kinship

Southern historians and antiquarians quickly learned that, in addition to proving far costlier in human life than either side had initially anticipated, the war would exact a heavy toll on the repositories of historical knowledge. Few incidents better illustrate the threat that war posed to the historical records underpinning Anglo-American kinship than the fate of the country clerk's office records at Fairfax Court House, Virginia. On receiving word that troops under Union General Irvin McDowell were advancing towards the town in the days before the Battle of Bull Run, Alfred Moss, the county clerk, evacuated as many of the official records as he was able. One of the historical treasures that he elected to remove for safekeeping was an autograph copy of George Washington's will, which he entrusted to his daughter for safekeeping on her farm between New Baltimore and Warrenton. According to family legend, she buried it in the wine cellar alongside her family's

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[150] American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; (AAS Records) oversize vol. 17.1, Accessions 1865-1882, p. 36. Not wishing to burden the Society with the cost of delivery, Phillips paid the entirety of the shipping charges in advance, but when his instructions miscarried and the Society was nevertheless billed, he sent two dollars to cover the expense. The Society's librarian punctiliously returned the money, suggesting that a regular correspondence would be better recompense. See American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1850-1859), AAS Archives, Correspondence, 1850-1859, Phillips-Phillips, Sampson & Co, Charles Phillips to Samuel Foster Haven, 21 August 1854.

silver and covered the spot with coal.[151] A few months later, as it became evident that the Union occupation of Fairfax Court House would be a lengthy one, Moss retrieved the will and turned it over to the Secretary of the Commonwealth in Richmond. Ultimately, events vindicated Moss' caution. A letter from a Maine cavalryman printed in the *Portland Advertiser* described the state of the Fairfax County Courthouse records following the arrival of Union troops: 'The floor of the office [was] strewn several inches deep with papers dating from 1690 down to the present time. Nearly all the boys secured some to send home.'[152] The story might have ended there with the dispersal of three hundred years worth of Virginia history and its subsequent reconstitution in New England but detoured instead into accusations of professional misconduct and misplaced Anglophilia.

Although Moss accepted a commission as Major in the Confederate Army and temporarily served as a volunteer Aide de Camp to General Bonham, he continued to serve as the Fairfax County Clerk under Union occupation. However, when Moss refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States in the spring of 1862, Francis H. Pierpont, Governor of the restored government of Virginia, declared his seat vacant. Moss returned to active duty, serving on General Ewell's staff after Bonham's election to the Confederate House of Representatives but he was captured outside of Richmond and imprisoned in the Old Capitol prison in Washington DC.

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[151] Ross De Witt Netherton and Nan Netherton, *The Preservation of History in Fairfax County, Virginia: A Report Prepared for the Fairfax County History Commission, Fairfax County, Virginia* (Lanham MD, 2001), pp. 161-3.

[152] *Portland Advertiser,* 26 April 1862. The present locations of these records remain unknown, but a sizeable portion of those removed from the court house of Prince George's County ended up at the American Antiquarian Society. See American Antiquarian Society, Worcester Massachusetts; (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1860-1869), Caleb Davis Bradlee, Bradlee to Samuel Foster Haven, 1 August 1864.

While a prisoner of war, Moss contracted typhoid fever and died shortly after federal officials paroled him in exchange for one of their own officers. Moss' brief service to the Confederacy ended anticlimactically, but, in death, he achieved an astounding degree of notoriety.

Henry T. Brooks, Moss' Unionist successor to the Fairfax County clerkship, wrote a letter to the *Philadelphia Enquirer,* accusing him of stealing Washington's will along with other valuable county records and selling them to the British Museum. Brooks' letter quickly spread through the Northern press.[153] In a letter to the Washington *Republican,* the clerk of the circuit court attempted to defend Moss but Brooks' accusation far outpaced his efforts to reassure the public that no such transaction had taken place. The war politicized the legacy of George Washington and the era of the national founding, reenergising Revolutionary War era hostilities and making Anglophilia once again tantamount to treason in the public mind. In such an environment, claims of Anglo-American kinship served as a litmus test of loyalty to the Union and its founding fathers. The charges against Moss, however false, marked him as an enemy to the United States as readily as his service in the Confederate army.

Ultimately, events vindicated Moss as Washington's will resurfaced in Richmond following the evacuation of the city's Confederate forces in the final days of the war. The envelope in which Moss had placed it remained unopened, but the Union soldiers who found it in the desk of the Secretary of the Commonwealth's

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[153] See for instance, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 6, 1862. See for instance, *Newport Mercury*, 13 December 1862; *Evening Star* 12 December 1862; *Washington Republican,* 5 December 1862; *Boston Evening Transcript,* 8 December 1862.

office noted that the floor was littered with documents. For all of their concern over the fate of a single document, officials on both sides were helpless to avert the war's larger disruptive effects upon historical records.

The experiences of private collectors and antiquarians largely mirrored those of government records offices. Few Southern antiquarians emerged from the war with their relic collections intact. Gabriel Manigault relayed the story of a chest full of precious curiosities that he and his brother had lovingly curated for years including a copper coin dating to the period when South Carolina was under the Lords Proprietors. Upon learning of Charleston's imminent surrender in February 1865, Manigault attempted to remove the valuables to his family's plantation on the Cooper River, but it fell into the hands of Federal naval officers who detained him. Manigault speculated that these men divvied up his historical treasures after confiscating them as contraband. Even more than he mourned the loss of his collection in terms of its monetary value, however, he was pained by the thought that the thieves 'parted with those pieces of their loot of which they knew not the histories.'[154] For Manigault, the war's destructiveness could be measured not only in tangibles such as the number of Southern war dead or losses that planters accrued once the United States government no longer recognized enslaved African Americans as property and their investments in slaves became worthless. It could be calculated as well in the diminished connection Southerners felt with their own history.

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[154] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 1001 (Gabriel E. Manigault Autobiography), p. 440.

South Carolina planter, William Mazyck Porcher, narrated a similar story of loss, although his grief was more encompassing than Manigault's. Union soldiers under General Edward Potter looted his plantation on the Santee River shortly after Robert E. Lee's surrender in retaliation for pro-Confederate guerrilla activity in the area. In a letter to a Charleston newspaper, Porcher described how he was forced to open his drawers and closets for the Federal officers, who 'took family relics over 100 years old, diamond rings and brooches worn by members of my family as far back as 1720-1760.'[155] Soldiers then kindled a fire with pages torn from the books in Porcher's library and burned down the plantation house. Porcher later traced some of the mourning rings and brooches to a shopkeeper in a nearby town, but he had no way to replace the possessions destroyed in the fire, including portraits of his grandparents, 'which were valued as works of art as well as family relics.'[156]

The destruction of artefacts and records associated with their families devastated many amateur historians and genealogists, but the disproportionate representation of pro-Confederates in the leadership of Southern historical societies ensured that individual losses occasioned by the war reverberated through the historical community. J. G. M. Ramsey, a vocal proponent of secession and the driving force behind the establishment of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society, suggested the extent to which his personal misfortune affected the prospects of preserving and chronicling his state's history in a letter to a Northern colleague:

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[155] South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; MSS 5248 (Willaim Mazyck Porcher Papers), 'From the *Charleston Weekly News,* 16 August 1882,' pp. 8-9.
[156] Ibid., p. 14.

> Of (my) The East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society of which I was perpetual corresponding secretary only *three* members survive and all our collections, transactions, cabinet, etc., burned or stolen and destroyed. What a wreck!—the Sevier and Blount papers, executive journal, private correspondence—all lost.[157]

Ramsey incurred the losses when Union troops, whom he believed had been incited by his long-time political rival William Gannaway 'Parson' Brownlow, burnt his family home to the ground. In addition to the society's records and early eighteenth-century papers relating to the early history of Tennessee, Ramsey mourned the loss of a library consisting of 4,000 volumes and the completed manuscript of his history of the state.[158]

Even when not specifically targeted as in acts of partisan reprisal or appropriated as contraband, the South's historical records and its research infrastructure, greatly suffered. Thomas Hicks Wynne, superintendant of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad and the first postwar president of the Virginia Historical Society, lost his entire private library to the fires set by Richmond's retreating Confederate defenders in the closing days of the war. Hoping to spare his collection from a similar fate at 'the torch of the raider,' another Virginian had buried his valuable manuscripts in his garden only to discover that they had been 'thoroughly soaked' in their makeshift graves.[159] Rounding out the destruction of historical resources in Virginia were the losses that Charles Campbell noted shortly after the war. Among the 'destruction of books, manuscripts, records, monuments

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[157] J. G. M. Ramsey to Lyman Draper, 3 October 1872, in William B. Hesseltine (ed.) *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey Autobiography and Letters* rev. ed. (Knoxville TN, 2002), p. 268.
[158] Hesseltine, *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey Autobiography and Letters*, p. 144, 253.
[159] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BrBox133.28 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), Hugh Blair Grigsby to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 15 March 1867.

and documents' that had taken place during the hostilities, the Virginia historian mourned the destruction of an entire run of the *Richmond Enquirer* by rats and a Petersburg newspaper file that one destitute editor sold for scrap paper during the war. Writing to Wynne, he recalled how, in the years before the war he had 'urged the expediency' of photographing all of the Virginia Historical Society's paintings and portraits deemed worthy of preservation, but conceded that, in the aftermath of the costly conflict, no one had the money to photograph anything.[160]

While the war had disrupted the collaborative efforts of Southern and Northern historians to compile the historical evidence that substantiated their claims of Anglo-American kinship, and, in the case of Southern historical societies, jeopardized the very evidence upon which depended future scholarship, the destruction simultaneously provided a basis for sectional reconciliation. Charles Deane, a Bostonian historian of early American settlement, renewed his correspondence with Thomas Hicks Wynne following the war to offer condolences for the destruction of his historical collection. 'I sympathise with you deeply in the loss of your library,' Deane wrote, as 'it comes next to the loss of our children.' [161] Brantz Mayer, whose loyalty to the Union during the war far outshone that of his native Maryland, expressed his desire that Wynne and the rest of the board would be able to 'poney up the ashes of the Historical Society of Va. to the last attainable

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[160] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BRBox133.10 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), Charles Campbell to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 4 June 1867.
[161] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BrBox133.25 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), Charles Deane to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 22 February 1867.

cinder,' and donated a copy of a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society to bolster its depleted collections.[162]

For some Northern Democrats, expressions of sympathy for the misfortunes of Southern historical societies became outlets for venting their frustration with Lincoln's wartime policies. Lyman Draper, the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, expressed his hope as a Northern conservative that 'under a better administration…the South will again prosper' and its 'historical societies and other public institutions will again flourish and let their light shine.'[163] Draper later sent additional copies of the proceedings of his society to replace those that the Virginia Historical Society had lost 'during the sad confusion of our miserable war' and confided to Wynne that he had been unable 'to discover any great good as the result of the Hecatombs of human beings slain during the conflict.'[164] These expressions of sympathy and displays of material support, limited though they often were, suggested that the institutional ties connecting Northern and Southern historical societies could be repaired. Awareness of their common commitment to preserving the historical records that substantiated conceptions of Anglo-American kinship facilitated reconciliation between Northern and Southern historians in an institutional context. However, popular understandings of transatlantic belonging convinced many Southerners to undertake even more ambitious projects of reunion.

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[162] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BrBox134.73 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), Brantz Mayer to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 20 October 1869.
[163] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BrBox135.19 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), Lyman Copeland Draper to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 20 March 1868.
[164] Ibid., 11 July 1870.

American Claimants, British Estates, and Transatlantic Genealogies

Despite the damage it caused to the region's historical records and the institutions that supported genealogical enquiry in the Southern states, the Civil War did little to diminish the desire many Southerners felt to obtain more formal recognition of their enduring familial ties with Great Britain. Republican scepticism concerning the propriety of genealogy lingered, but the financial devastation the war wrought among white Southerners, combined with their growing awareness of British estate law and reports of vast fortunes waiting to be claimed, convinced many Southerners to embrace family history as a means of proving themselves the rightful heirs to ancestral estates that had reverted to trust. Secession and four years of Civil War mitigated Southerners' fears that flaunting family pedigrees would leave them open to charges of un-American sympathies and left them free to scrabble for the gold they imagined to be buried at the roots of their own family trees. Reckonings of Anglo-American kinship predicated on metaphors of familial inheritance and illustrious ancestors gave way to highly detailed renderings of relatedness, though even the most painstaking pedigrees often contained elements of wishful thinking and aspirational relationships.

The growing number of Southerners attempting to claim British estates in the decades following the Civil War inspired Mark Twain's 1892 novel *The American Claimant,* which satirized the pretensions of these heirs apparent.[165] Mulberry

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[165] Twain first parodied the idea of Americans claiming to be heirs to foreign estates in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), which featured two characters who introduce themselves to the novel's protagonist as the 'Duke of Bridgewater' and the 'Lost Dauphin.' Twain may have based these grifters and the character of Mulberry Sellers on members of his own family as two of his relations pursued claims of their own, including a cousin who

Sellers, his protagonist, fiercely defended his title as the rightful Earl of Rossmore, despite having been born and raised in the United States and living such a precarious existence that he was forced to sacrifice the family chromolithographs to fend off the debt collector. Described as a 'scheming, generous, good-hearted, moonshiny, hopeful, no-account failure' he hatched several dubious schemes throughout the novel to restore his family to its rightful honours, including the invention of a machine that could 'rematerialize' the dead on command, a fitting metaphor for the efforts of Southerners pursuing estates of their own to produce their British ancestors on demand in support of their claims.[166] Preposterous though they might have appeared to readers, Seller's claims ultimately proved to be true, as the English Earl of Rossmore grudgingly admits in the novel's opening chapter. After an ensuing comedy of manners complicated by multiple cases of mistaken identity, Twain resolved the dramatic irony with the convenient marriage of Mulberry Sellers' daughter and the Earl's eldest son and heir, formally uniting the Sellers clan with its more illustrious kin on the other side of the Atlantic. This neat romantic denouement eluded most of Mulberry Sellers' real life counterparts, however, many of whom spent far more money researching, writing, and attempting to prove their claims than they ever received as inheritance.

As unlikely as Mulberry Sellers' circumstances might have appeared, several high-profile cases in which American men and women unexpectedly came into large fortunes filtered through the nation's newspapers and bolstered Southerners' belief

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believed himself the rightful Earl of Durham. See Everett Emerson, *Mark Twain: A Literary Life,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 147, 184.

[166] Mark Twain, *The American Claimant* (London, 1892), p. 19.

in the financial potential of Anglo-American kinship. Unlike the fictional accounts of American heirs that emphasized serendipity, press coverage typically interpreted these windfalls in light of legal processes. From reading these reports, American came to understand that when an individual died in England and no next of kin stepped forward to claim their property, it would revert to the Chancery to be held in trust until the next of kin or heirs at law could be located. This process might take years; the William Jermy estate had been tied up in the courts for 130 years by 1878 when the Lord Chief Justice despaired of the case ever being satisfactorily resolved.[167] Advertisements for these lost heirs made their way across the Atlantic where they instantly became curiosities. A typical ad ran:

> An heir is wanted for the Sherburn estate, the seat of which family was Stonyhurst, England. It is valued at ten to twenty millions sterling. It is an entailed property, descended to an oldest son. The family left England during the year 1600. It was left without heir by the death of the eighth Duchess of Norfolk without issue.[168]

Unsurprisingly, as they were picked up by paper after paper, the fortunes and honours involved grew with each reprinting. Fact fuelled fiction in an endless feedback loop until Americans began to dream of finding forgotten fortunes in their own family trees.

The commodification of lineage in this manner resulted in the multiplication of claims relative to British estates. While a handful of Americans had filed suit during the colonial period, the advances in transportation and communication made in the decades before the Civil War precipitated a florescence of cases in the middle

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[167] Sharpe, *Family Matters,* p. 17.
[168] Cp. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 20 August 1859; *Cleveland Daily Herald,* 25 August 1859; *Alta California,* 19 September 1859.

decades of the nineteenth century. Despite these advances, however, the majority of antebellum cases were characterized by varying degrees of uncertainty: whether a property actually existed, who had legal claims to it, and, finally, whether those claims could be pursued on a sound genealogical basis. The increasing degree of professionalization in genealogical research in the years following the Civil War helped resolve some of these uncertainties and encouraged growing numbers of Americans to view investments in their British ancestry as financially lucrative. Nevertheless, fraudulent claims based on imaginary domestic or foreign ancestors and estates were rampant.[169] The historical uncertainties and ambiguities that attended the process of re-membering of Anglo-American families separated by time, space, and conflict, presented opportunities for less scrupulous genealogists and legal specialists to profit.

In 1894, Colonel James Jaquess and Howell Thomas, his British solicitor, found themselves on trial at London's Old Bailey for 'unlawfully conspiring, by false representations, to obtain large sums of money from persons unknown, with intent to defraud.'[170] For nearly twenty years, both had represented themselves as the representatives of the American heirs to the Townley estate, the value of which fortune-hunters on both sides of the Atlantic estimated to be between $300 and $500 million dollars, making it the largest unclaimed inheritance in British history. Jaquess and Thomas claimed that they had located the descendents of Mary Townley, who had eloped to Maryland with her fiancée over a century earlier and

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[169] Weil, *Family Trees*, p. 103

[170] 'James Frasier Jaquess, Howell Thomas, Deception. Fraud, 19th November 1894,' *Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court, 1674 to 1913* <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t18941119-56> accessed 2 April 2014.

severed ties with her family without ever learning that she had become the sole heir to the property.[171] They convinced investors that the two elderly brothers who held rightful claim to the estate and its associated fortune lacked both the health and financial resources to press their suit, but had agreed to sell shares in their inheritance as a means of acquiring legal assistance in England to secure the bulk of the legacy. Over the course of two decades, both men sold several thousand dollars worth of bonds to investors on both sides of the Atlantic.

As the trial proceedings ultimately demonstrated, however, Jaquess and Thomas knowingly misrepresented both the value of the Townley estate and the contested nature of the inheritance. Although the Court had administered a property associated with the Townley family, there was no record of any fortune attached, nor could the lawful ownership of Jaquess' and Thomas' clients be satisfactorily demonstrated. In addition to the obvious deception the two agents perpetrated, the judge hearing their case took into consideration the significant body of spurious inheritance suits they had brought before the Court over the years and decided to make an example of the two men. Thomas received a sentence of five years hard labour and Jaquess, in deference to his advanced age and the positive character reference he received from an American witness in light of his Civil War service, earned twenty-two months at Pentonville Prison.[172]

Convictions like those of Jaquess and Thomas were exceedingly rare, however much the British courts appreciated the deterrent they provided against

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[171] Joe David Bellamy, *The Bellamys of Early Virginia* (New York, 2005), p. 69.
[172] Patricia B. Burnette, *James F. Jaquess: Scholar, Soldier, and Private Agent for President Lincoln* (Jefferson NC, 2013), p. 148-50.

the tide of spurious claims cases. In the majority of the inheritance cases Southerners presented to the Court of Chancery and its successive iterations, the questionable claims owed more to the naïveté of the claimants than the deliberate misinformation of charlatan genealogists.[173] Few demonstrated any meaningful understanding of British inheritance law or possessed evidence of their claim that was capable of withstanding the rigorous scrutiny of the British courts. One lawyer was forced to explain to his clients that, even if they were the rightful heirs to 'a large, unclaimed estate' in England, their claim would be barred by the statute of limitations as their grandfather had been born in the United States.[174]

The Jennings family was similarly disillusioned. In addition to valuable real estate, their progenitor was said to have left behind an iron strongbox filled with bank notes from 1738 to the amount of £19,000 and several thousand new guineas.[175] The value of this treasure grew in each successive telling, yet none of the presumptive heirs considered the possibility that in the intervening century, the administrators of the estate might have removed the valuables, evincing instead a child-like trust in the stability of property under British law. When the agent they

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[173] The 1873 Supreme Court Ajudicature Act technically dissolved the Courts of Chancery, transferring its jurisdiction over trusts and the administration of estates to the Chancery Division within a unified superior court. Few Americans, Northern or Southern, demonstrated any understanding of this bureaucratic change, suggesting the superficiality of their knowledge surrounding British jurisprudence. See Duncan Kerly, *An Historical Sketch of the Equitable Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery* (Cambridge, 1890).
[174] Columbus Smith, *Report to the Houghton Association, USA Made by Columbus Smith,* (Burlington VT, 1869), p. 11.
[175] *Wilson's Dispatch* (New York), 5 November 1849.

had hired to oversee their affairs confronted them with the unfortunate reality, they called him a liar and attempted to have him thrown off the case.[176]

In the absence of a rigorous genealogical methodology, family legends flourished and the pedigrees that Americans produced in support of their claims frequently reflected wishful thinking rather than sound research. A small percentage of these claims were legitimate, however, leading lawyers to undertake lengthy investigations to determine the rightful heirs. Columbus Smith, who built a practice specializing in intestate estate claims, secured one of the most notable legal victories enjoyed by an American claimant when he conclusively proved the great-grandchildren of Frances Mary Rutherford to be heirs to a fortune of £45,000 as well as the interest it had accrued over ninety years. Proving the claim of the American Rutherfords involved substantiating the family legends surrounding the daughter of a tavern keeper who eloped with an Irish lord and ran away to Paris. Smith diligently combed through records on both sides of the Atlantic to secure the documentary evidence the family would require in court to pursue its claim, at one time braving a heap of documents that was up to his shoulders in the Trenton county clerk's office. His exertions on behalf of his clients were so strenuous that contemporaries claimed they turned his hair prematurely white.[177]

The expenses genealogists accrued in the process of researching an individual's claim and making suit could be considerable. During his work on behalf of the Rutherford case, for instance, Smith made six trips across the Atlantic in

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[176] Columbus Smith and C. M. Fisher, *Report to the Jennings Association, U.S.A* (Rutland ME, 1863), p. 8.
[177] Irving Bacheller, *From Stores of Memory,* (New York, 1935), p. 245.

pursuit of various leads.[178] Historical research itself proved a costly endeavour as investigators who consulted parish registers and other public records in the mother country found themselves paying for the privilege. Under English law, clerks were allowed to charge 6d (12.5 cents) for each name examined in parish registers and 2s 6d (62.5 cents) for each name copied from the record.[179] This was in marked contrast to most American counties where registers of wills and deeds, when extant, were generally made available to the public free of charge.[180] Encountering expenses at every turn, more than one intrepid fortune hunter found his or her efforts stymied by the lack of funds. One researcher drastically underestimated the amount of time and money she would need to pursue the family's claim to its ancestral lands in Britain and found herself stranded in London with no means to return home. Undoubtedly fearing that his pay checque hung in the balance, the agent she had hired to assist her wrote to her family back in the United States and pleaded with them to, 'send Mrs. Dymond plenty of money, so that she can push the thing through as soon as possible and leave this country of rogues, thieves and vagabonds.'[181] Much as the experiences of antebellum travellers had done several decades before, these incidents suggest the limitations of Anglo-American kinship, even among Southerners with a vested interest in expanding the borders of their family trees to encompass their British ancestors.

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[178] Max P. Petersen and Alice Brainerd, *In Pursuit of the Shard Fortune,* (Salisbury VT, 1990), p. 20.
[179] Columbus Smith, *Report of a Search Made in England for Property Reported to Belonging to the Gibbs's in U.S.A. in the years 1847-48* (Middlebury CT, 1848), p. 27.
[180] William Henry Whitmore, *The American Genealogist: Being a Catalogue of Family Histories and Publications* (Albany NY, 1868), p. 24.
[181] Columbus Smith, *Report of the Booth Association of the United States* (Burlington VT, 1868), p. 15.

In the case of the Rutherford family, the genealogical gamble paid off, but the pursuit of lost family fortunes frequently brought Southern claimants deeper into debt. The Rev. Samuel Clawson, a Methodist preacher in Virginia, suffered such a disappointment. Upon learning that his wife was supposedly the heir to an estate worth several million pounds, Clawson hired a succession of lawyers and genealogists to advance her claim. When the fortune failed to materialize, Clawson had little choice but to default on his debts. Dogged by his creditors, Clawson narrowly avoided being expelled from the West Virginia Conference for bad conduct, although he got a little of his own back in the fiery invective he preached against unreliable lawyers.[182]

To insulate themselves from such risks and help offset the substantial outlay of capital genealogical research overseas typically required, interested parties began forming themselves into 'family associations' frequently comprising dozens if not hundreds of descendants. Like the investors that James Jaquess and Howell Thomas had conned, these groups subsidized research and court costs by purchasing shares in the family fortunes that genealogical enquiries were expected to uncover. For the price of a piece of scrip at five dollars, for instance, each purchaser in the Houghton Family Association was entitled to two hundred dollars from the reclaimed estate, regardless of which relative was determined the legal heir. The Association placed strict limits on the amount of scrip that could be sold in its constitution, but maintained that no one member would ever be liable to pay more than the initial

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[182] James Robison, *Recollections of Rev. Samuel Clawson* (Pittsburgh PA, 1883), pp. 210-11; *North American and United States Gazette,* 13 September 1853; *Daily Alta California,* 19 December 1853.

five dollars.[183] With these relatively low barriers to investment, family associations frequently attracted large membership. In 1868, the Constitution of the Gibbs Family Association listed members in New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Iowa, Connecticut, Ohio, West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, and Ontario.[184] Networks of kin that stretched over multiple states and even regions were common, but there were obvious limits to the fraternal goodwill. During a meeting held in Walpole, New Hampshire during the Civil War, the Jennings Family Association conspicuously excluded the southern branches of the family, arguing the claims of the Virginia and Tennessee Jennings to be spurious.[185]

Regardless of their inclusivity and breadth of membership, however, only a small percentage of these family associations achieved any measure of success in their suits. Columbus Smith, however, managed to amass a sizeable fortune and lived out his days as a country squire. After acquiring seven hundred acres in Vermont, he commenced building an Italianate mansion worth over $175,000, breeding horses, and, in a particularly American twist of eccentricity, bison.[186] At his death, he left an estate worth over $430,000 and, rather ironically, a fiercely contested will. This is not to say, however, that family associations considered their labours to have been in vain when their suits proved unsuccessful. Even if the fantasy of a homecoming to the family's ancestral homeland failed to materialize, many families took solace in the knowledge their quest produced. The Gibbs family,

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[183] Smith, *Report to the Houghton Association,* p. 6.
[184] Smith, *Report of the Booth Association of the United States*, pp. 5-6.
[185] Smith and Fisher, *Report to the Jennings Association, U.S.A*, p. 7.
[186] Max P. Petersen, *Salisbury: From Birth to Bicentennial,* (Salisbury VT, 1976), p. 100; *Vermont Watchman and State Journal,* 19 June 1863.

for instance, prized so highly the genealogical information that Smith had compiled for their association that virtually all five hundred copies remained in private hands—much to the consternation of other genealogical researchers.[187] For others, the opportunity the legal proceedings presented to reconnect with family members both near and far, living and deceased, proved priceless.

Edward Thomas Heriot, who owned several plantations on the Pee Dee River near Georgetown, South Carolina, typified the sense of rootedness in transatlantic families that Southerners obtained through their genealogical enquiries. Heriot tracked down his British relations in the years before the Civil War and undertook a voyage to Scotland in order to visit his family's ancestral estate. He made no claim to the property or its associated title, but, upon his return to South Carolina, he did rename the 'headquarters' of his plantation holdings 'Dirleton' in honour of the family seat and photographs of the family estate and the tomb of his ancestors graced his mantelpiece. Heriot maintained an energetic correspondence with his kin beyond the sea, pursuing enquiries in the United States for his Scottish cousins and keeping informed of family news in Britain for the remainder of his life, noting how 'gratifying [it was] to keep pace with the changes in the family although the broad Atlantick [sic] is between us.'[188] Heriot's first visit to the mother country proved to be his last as he died shortly before the Civil War, but the degree of intimacy he

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[187] Montgomery B. Gibbs, *A Golden Legacy to the Gibbs Family* (Chicago IL, 1893), p. 12. See for instance, William Henry Whitmore, *The American Genealogist: Being a catalogue of Family Histories and Publications* (Albany NY, 1868), p. 130.

[188] Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; RL.10090 (Edward Thomas Heriot Papers), Sec. A, Box 64, Edward Thomas Heriot to Unknown Correspondent, April 1854.

sought with his British kin became increasingly common among Southerners in the aftermath of the conflict.

While the stories that Southerners told about their kin beyond the sea became increasingly specific, they shared their desire to re-root their family trees in British soil with other Americans. For both Northerners and Southerners, the act of re-membering transatlantic families profoundly influenced the ways in which the divided American national family came back together following the Civil War. Just as Northerners' acknowledgment of their Southern colleagues' wartime losses fostered the renewal of institutional ties between historical societies in the two sections, the growing national appeal of genealogical enquiry offered a basis for reunion. In their haste to reach out to their kindred below the Mason-Dixon Line, however, Northern historical and genealogical societies unintentionally embraced the ideology of the Lost Cause.

Genealogy, Archival Acquisition, and the Dissemination of Lost Cause Ideology

In recent years, the scholarship surrounding Civil War memory has determined that, while federal troops enjoyed victory in the field, the Union cause began losing ground to revisionist pro-Confederate interpretations of the conflict shortly after the guns fell silent at Appomattox.[189] Historians have surveyed, as well,

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[189] Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge LA, 1982); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865—1900* (Chapel Hill NC, 1993); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge MA, 2001); Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, (eds.) *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill NC, 2003); Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville FL, 2003); K. Michael Prince, *"Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys": South Carolina and the Confederate Flag* (Columbia SC, 2004); Edward

the prominent role that Southern veterans' organizations and institutions like the Southern Historical Society played in this process.[190] While the public rituals and institutional affiliations that cemented the Lost Cause ideology as a form of civic religion in the postbellum South have been well established in the scholarly literature, historians have paid relatively little attention to the actual processes by which this understanding of the war gained traction in the North. Emphasizing the inherent psychological appeal of pro-Confederate interpretations to war-weary Northerners, the scholarship gives short shrift to the institutional and personal ties that allowed pro-Confederate apologetics to ultimately supplant both pro-Union and pro-emancipationist narratives as the primary interpretive framework in Northern historical societies.

These lacunae in the literature are all the more surprising given the blatantly partisan character of much postbellum historical scholarship. The Southern

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Caudill and Paul Ashdown, *Sherman's March in Myth and Memory* (Lanham MA, 2008); Gary Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill NC, 2008); Wallace Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory*. Baton Rouge LA, 2011). Recent scholarship emphasizes the centrality of African Americans and white veterans as custodians of Civil War memory and challenges the contention popularized by David Blight and others that the abolitionist legacy of the war lost ground to the 'romance of reunion.' See Peter Blanck and Larry M. Logue, *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America* (New York, 2010); Robert Eno Hunt, *The Good Men Who Won the War: Army of the Cumberland Veterans and Emancipation Memory*. (Tuscaloosa AL, 2010); Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill NC, 2011); Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill NC, 2013); Brian Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War* (New York, 2015).

[190] Herman Hattaway, "Clio's Southern Soldiers: The United Confederate Veterans and History," *Louisiana History* 12 (Summer 1971): 213-242; Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden CT, 1973); Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (Oxford, 1987); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* rev. ed. (Athens GA, 2009).

Historical Society, for example, held unimpeachable Confederate bona fides. Directed largely by former Confederate military and government officials, the Society disseminated accounts of the conflict that emphasized the righteousness of the Southern cause, the nobility of its officers, and the inevitability of its defeat in the face of a numerically superior foe. Meeting for the first time at the suggestion of General Dabney H. Maury, the inaugural gathering on May 1, 1869 in New Orleans included among its ranks, General Braxton Bragg, General Simon Bolivar Buckner, and General P. G. T. Beauregard.[191] As one Southern historian noted, 'the Southern Historical Society was born Confederate and has always remained so…Confederates ran the Society no less than they had run the war.'[192] Given its leavening of embittered Confederates, the Society's proceedings at first appeared unlikely to attract an audience beyond the South. Explaining its disproportionate influence on the ways Americans remembered the Civil War requires an examination of the extent to which its mission built upon precedents established by antebellum historical societies.

Much as its antebellum predecessors dedicated themselves to 'gathering up the fragments that remain', the Southern Historical Society stated as its purpose, the collection, classification and preservation of

> all documents and facts bearing upon the eventful history of the past few years, illustrating the nature of the struggle from which the country has just emerged, defining and vindicating the principles which lay beneath it, and marking the stages through which it was conducted to its issue.[193]

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[191] *Southern Historical Society Papers* 10 (1882), p. 253.
[192] E. Merton Coulter, 'What the South Has Done About Its History,' *The Journal of Southern History* 2 (February 1936), p. 25.
[193] *Southern Historical Society Papers* 1 (1876), p. 41

As had been the case for antiquarians and historians facing the imminent destruction of historical records and artefacts, the leadership of the Society emphasized that their efforts were particularly timely as they were 'upon the outer verge of a great historical cycle, within which a completed past will shortly be enclosed.'[194] In addition to rhetorically linking their efforts to the goals of the established historical research infrastructure, former Confederates ensured a broad audience for the Society's proceedings by maintaining their dedication to objectivity in opposition to work of a 'sectional' or 'purely partisan' character.[195] They appeared to honour this promise by proceeding to publish a systematic run of important Confederate records saved from destruction after the fall of Richmond.

These assurances of objectivity proved persuasive to Northern historical societies, even though they had a vested interest in promoting interpretations of the Civil War that were diametrically opposed to those offered by the former Confederates at the helm of the Southern Historical Society. In part, acceptance of the Society's published proceedings among these institutions owed to the precedents that war had set regarding the acquisition of Confederate records and curiosities.[196] Throughout the war, the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society accepted donations ranging from pay rolls salvaged from captured Confederate camps to a tide of Southern currency liberated from Confederate pockets by theft or

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[194] Ibid., p. 42.
[195] Ibid., p. 41.
[196] Yael Sternhell has recently called attention to the role the federal government played in preserving and historicizing Confederate records in the immediate aftermath of the war. See Yael A. Sternhell, 'The Afterlives of a Confederate Archive: Civil War Documents and the Making of Sectional Reconciliation' *Journal of American History* 103 (June 2016), pp. 1025-50.

trade.[197] Lucy and Sarah Chase, who had left their home in Worcester to establish relief for freedmen and women, secured even more alluring contraband when they entered Richmond a week following its occupation by Union troops. They gained access to Jefferson Davis' office, where they appropriated a number of records and pamphlets as souvenirs, including a copy of the laws to be published following what proved to be the final session of the Confederate Congress that were specifically bound and inscribed to the president.[198]

These acquisitions conditioned Northern institutions to accept Confederate records as documents of historical value, establishing a precedent that facilitated their postbellum acquisition of more blatantly propagandistic sources. Like Mithridates, the ancient ruler who eventually developed immunity against poisons by gradually exposing himself to small amounts of deadly substances, Northern historical societies obtained a tolerance to the pernicious influence of Lost Cause ideology through their piecemeal acquisitions of Confederate relics. Ultimately, however, the penetration of the Southern Historical Society's pro-Confederate message into Northern institutions owed to its members' concerted efforts to

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[197] American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1860-1869) William Deane-Denten, J. H. Denny to Samuel Foster Haven, 25 March 1863. Captain Denny made much of the fact that the vast majority of the privates listed on the 45th North Carolina Infantry Regiment pay roll he pocketed as a trophy had been 'compelled to make his mark, instead of writing his name.' For donations of Confederate currency see AAS Records oversize vol. 17.1 (Accessions 1865-1882), pp. 71-2; (AAS Archives, Correspondence 1860-1869), Caleb Davis Bradlee, Bradlee to Samuel Foster Haven, 3 May 1865, [n.d.] July 1865. Samuel Foster Haven, the Society's librarian, painstakingly entered each donation into the register, an act made all the more poignant by the fact that he had lost his son Foster at the Battle of Fredericksburg early in the war.

[198] American Antiquarian Society, *In Pursuit of a Vision: Two Centuries of Collecting at the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester MA, 2012), p. 49.

situate their output in the existing institutional frameworks of historical and genealogical enquiry.

In addition to its avowed neutrality, the Southern Historical Society mitigated resistance to its Lost Cause apologetics by framing its endeavours in the familiar language of filial duty. As they possessed firsthand knowledge of events of unparalleled historical significance, the members of the society justified their efforts to preserve and chronicle the past as their responsibility to their fathers, whose principles they had inherited, as well as to generations yet unborn, 'who will then know whether to honor or dishonor the sires that begot them.'[199] This language of inheritance and familial obligation dovetailed neatly into the efforts of historical societies concerned with the more traditional lineaments of Anglo-American kinship as it grafted an extended history onto contemporary events. As historical societies' genealogical research facilitated the re-membering of Anglo-American families, so too did it afford opportunities for reconciling the American national family.

The interest in precisely delineated family pedigrees that emerged as a result of the foreign estates craze manifested itself in a fashion for tracing the lineage of Confederate generals. One genealogist claimed Robert E. Lee's family to be 'one of the most ancient in the records of the English Peerage' and traced the general's descent back to Launcelot Lee, 'an honored associate of William the Conqueror' who acquitted himself honourably at the Battle of Hastings.[200] A subsequent biographer filled out Lee's illustrious heritage by placing his ancestors at the highlights of

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[199] *Southern Historical Society Papers* 1 (1876), p. 41.
[200] Edward C. Mead, *Genealogical History of the Lee Family of Virginia and Maryland, From A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1866* (New York, 1868), p. 9.

British military history, claiming that in addition to those ancestors who signed the Magna Carta, Lee's line extended to 'gallant soldiers' who 'fought with William the conqueror at Hastings, with Richard Coeur de Lion at Acre, and with Malborough [sic] at Blenheim.'[201] Not to be outdone, William Winston Fontaine, a Louisville professor, claimed that Lee descended from Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland. In his paper before the Southern Historical Society, Fontaine mused that 'many of the traits of character, such as military talents, pertinacity of purpose, loyalty of soul, and unselfish devotion to native land, so fully developed in General Lee, are seen, more or less distinctively marked, in all his ancestors.'[202]These efforts, grounded more in wishful thinking than fact, nevertheless proved attractive to Northern audiences, in part because the nobility they afforded their erstwhile adversaries reflected well on the success of their own armies, but also because they permitted Northerners a means of claiming illustrious military leaders as their own by right of common descent.

The desire to enhance the standing of military leaders by offering supposedly unimpeachable accounts of the superiority of their English ancestry was by no means limited to the former Confederate states. While Southern genealogists poured over Lee's family pedigree, Northern historical societies similarly turned to the ancestry of their own military leaders. In the case of Ulysses S. Grant,

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[201] [Sara Agnes Rice] Pryor, 'General Robert Edward Lee: Soldier, Citizen and Christian Patriot—The Ancestors of General Robert E. Lee and the Times in Which They Lived' in R. A. Brock (ed) *Gen. Robert Edward Lee: Soldier, Citizen, and Christian Patriot* (Richmond VA, 1897), p. 67.

[202] William Winston Fontaine, 'Did General R. E. Lee Descend from Robert, the Bruce, King of Scotland?' *Southern Historical Society Papers,* 9 (May 1881), p. 195.

conservative genealogists traced his family to English settlers arriving on the Mayflower but more extravagant claims of his descent from Edward III or Henry II persisted into the twentieth century.[203] As with Grant, subsequent research overturned the majority of the claims that postbellum researchers made about Lee's descent from royalty and the consensus among modern genealogists holds that any effort to prove his lineage past the last English generation of the family would require much speculation.[204]

Although they proved to be spurious in the case of the Lee and Grant families, claims of descent from royalty are not particularly extraordinary in the realm of genealogical enquiry. One genealogist has calculated that, in the twentieth century, an individual of English ancestry could claim descent from approximately eighty-five percent of the Anglo-Norman population at the time of the Norman Conquest.[205] High rates of cousin marriage within this concentrated population of relations further increase the probability of descent from royalty. To some extent, then, the creation of illustrious English pedigrees for two Civil War generals was no more audacious than the claims of Twain's protagonist, Mulberry Sellers, or the countless Americans who attempted to parlay their claims of Anglo-American kinship into fortunes across the Atlantic. The specific lineages claimed for Lee and Grant,

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[203] See Arthur Hastings Grant, *The Grant Family: a Genealogical History of the Descendants of Matthew Grant, of Windsor, Conn., 1601-1898* (Poughkeepsie NY, 1898). For a thorough debunking of Grant's royal progenitors, see Donald Lines Jacobus, 'English Clues: Booth, Harvey, Beardsley, Stratford, Connecticut,' *The American Genealogist* 37 (1961), pp. 77-9; John A. Miner and Robert F. Miner, 'The Curious Pedigree of Lt. Thomas Minor,' *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (July 1984), pp. 182-5.

[204] Harrison Dwight Cavanagh, *Colonial Chesapeake Families: British Origins and Descendants*, vol. 2 (Dallas TX, 2014), pp. 118-125.

[205] Kenneth W. Wachter, 'Ancestors at the Norman Conquest,' in Bennett Dyke and Warren T. Morril (eds.) *Genealogical Demography* (London, 1980), p. 91.

however, suggest a degree of premeditation. Grant's supposed royal progenitors, Henry II and Edward III, were both ruthlessly efficient rulers who enjoyed military success over the course of their reigns; Henry, while reasserting royal control over territories that had moved outside of the crown's sphere of influence during his predecessor's rule, and Edward, who enforced his claims against the French. In the case of Robert the Bruce, and the other Scottish nobles Southern genealogists often yoked to the Lee family tree, their military victories against the English provided a tantalizing historical counterfactual. It is difficult not to read a degree of wish-fulfilment into claims that Lee descended from men who 'distinguished themselves on the glorious field of Bannockburn…driving back the invader of their beloved country.'[206] That historians on either side of the sectional divide reached into the English past to supplement the lustre of their respective military heroes speaks to the continuing allure of Anglo-American kinship as a signifier of identity.

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Ironically, given the extent to which the Civil War jeopardized historical records and curtailed the cooperation of the historical societies that constituted its main practitioners, genealogy emerged from the conflict stronger than before. The foreign estates craze provided an impetus for the production of genealogical knowledge, though, unsurprisingly, the family pedigrees that resulted from Southern fortune hunters' efforts to cash in on Anglo-American kinship reflected wishful thinking or outright fabrications, a tendency replicated in the pedigrees of Lost Cause figures that followed in their wake. In the words of one British

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[206] *Southern Historical Society Papers* 9 (April 1881), p. 190

practitioner, genealogy, put to such instrumentalist purposes, was hobbled by its association in the public mind with spurious antiques, tatty heraldic stationary and manufactured ancestors, the 'business of the shady character who ekes out a precarious existence on the reluctant half-crowns of deluded seekers after phantom fortunes.'[207] Nevertheless, lawyers and genealogists working within transatlantic legal and institutional frameworks began producing genealogical work of increasingly high standards, furthering the professionalization of American genealogy in the process. Their reliance on evidentiary proofs rather than family lore injected a degree of rigour into the study of family history that the discipline had long lacked in the United States. As the century progressed and the number of successful American claimants continued to dwindle, family associations eventually ceased their claims, but their endeavours profoundly affected the ways in which Southerners reckoned their identities in relation to Anglo-American kinship.

As Southern historical societies undertook the restoration of Anglo-American families through genealogical and historical research, they created a resilient institutional infrastructure that ultimately facilitated reunion with their Northern counterparts. The attitudes towards historical preservation and the collaborative research ventures they shared, however, presented opportunities for the infiltration of Lost Cause interpretations that glorified the Confederate national project and its architects and defenders at the expense of abolitionist memory. Institutions rooted in substantiating claims of Anglo-American kinship thus became sources of reconciliation even as they perpetuated a modified view of Southern separatism.

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[207] George Sherwood, (ed.), *The Pedigree Register,* vol. 1 (London, 1907-1910), p. 270.

Possessing historical information pertaining to the English roots of the American nation offered a means of controlling subsequent interpretations of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The extent to which genealogical knowledge served as a form of currency in the exchanges between Northern and Southern historical societies can be seen in an offer that a publisher of historical texts in Boston made to Thomas Hicks Wynne shortly after the war. In exchange for a set of Confederate bond notes, the publisher agreed to send Wynne a complete run of the Heraldic Journal through 1865 and offered to send the following years to bring the collection up to the current date.[208] Wynne agreed to the trade, essentially swapping the worthless remnants of a failed attempt to secure Southern independence for a source of information that would sustain future iterations of Southern exceptionalism predicated on the cavalier myth and its attendant understanding of Anglo-American kinship.

[208] Huntington Library, San Marino, California; BrBox134.69 (Robert Alonzo Brock Papers), J. K. Wiggin to Thomas Hicks Wynne, 1 March 1867.

Conclusion

Viewed narrowly through the prism of the Civil War, Anglo-American kinship furnished Southerners with the criteria they required to stake their claim to a separate nationality in accordance with the understandings of national legitimacy then operating in international law. Like the revolutionaries of 1848, white Southerners predicated secession and the Confederate national project on the moral imperative that arose from their possession of a distinctive history, culture, and blood. To support their claims of difference from those that remained loyal to the Union, the seceding states turned to the language and rituals associated with Anglo-American kinship. As this thesis has demonstrated, however, the qualities that made Anglo-American kinship such a valuable cultural resource for Southern separatists, ultimately undermined their claims to a separate national identity. If Anglo-American kinship exerted centrifugal force in the antebellum and immediate postbellum periods when it provided white Southerners with an alternative language of self-expression that drew them out of the orbit of the American national family, it simultaneously exerted a corresponding centripetal force that expedited their return. The common history, language, and blood that substantiated Southerners' claims of kinship with Great Britain also linked them to Northern Anglophiles and facilitated their reintegration into the Union. As the South and Great Britain belonged to each other through the things they held in common, so to did the North belong to the South.

In this study, Anglo-American kinship has afforded a means of tracking Southern national identities at various moments of crisis throughout the Civil War

era. Amidst a prevailing trend towards fragmentation and instrumentality in the historiography surrounding Southern nationalism, it serves as a reminder that historical and cultural continuities also played important roles in the formation of Southern national identity. Southerners invested in the Confederate national project confronted what Paul Quigley has characterized as the 'shifting grounds' on which their claims to a separate nationality rested, finding in professed kinship with a nation politically and cultural distinct from their own a means of navigating between conflicting national identities.

Even as it illuminates the processes by which nineteenth-century Southerners fashioned and performed new national identities from the lineaments of their history, real and imagined, it should be remembered that Anglo-American kinship operated less as a window to the past than as a conduit for future acts of reciprocity. For all that their invocations of cultural inheritance from the mother country implied a certain degree of passive reception, Southerners understood Anglo-American kinship as a dynamic force that enabled them to make claims of contemporary Britons. Whether Southern Episcopalians who looked for British subscribers to underwrite the educational institution that would place them on equal footing with their Northern brethren; immigration boosters envisioning English immigrants joining forces with former Confederates to counteract Radical Reconstruction and stem the rising tide of African American equality; or the dreamers who sought to supplement their social standing at home by laying claim to British titles and estates, virtually all who invoked Anglo-American kinship in the mid-to-late nineteenth century hoped to gain tangible assistance. The transatlantic

family they imagined extended beyond the nation but Southerners conceptualized it in no less real terms than they described the kith and kin within their own households.

Anglo-American kinship was a malleable language, the syntax of which shifted with cultural and political contexts. Its contours altered dramatically as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Whereas the iteration that prevailed in the decades before the Civil War drew equally from language, perceptions of institutional commonality with respect to religion and government, and biogenetic factors, race achieved an increasingly prominent position in calculations of Anglo-American affinity after the conflict. Appeals to Anglo-American kinship became increasingly synonymous with invocations of racialized Anglo-Saxonism, but the ideas of intimacy and contract readily associated with the familial metaphors of the earlier nineteenth century never entirely lost their appeal.

To a large extent, the increasing emphasis on biogenetic criteria, such as blood and race, owes to the professionalization of genealogy within historical societies. White Southerners had long expressed their relationship to Great Britain in metaphorical terms of descent and inheritance, but while genealogy remained ideologically suspect, the filiopietistic commemorations so typical of antebellum historical societies lacked analytical precision. Southerners harboured vague notions about the superiority of their ancestral stock relative to that of the New England states, but their appeals to Anglo-American kinship owed as much to perceptions of cultural and institutional continuity as literal descent. As postbellum Southerners began to locate Anglo-American kinship in actual flesh and blood

relations—to the extent that genealogical enquiry yielded reliable reckonings of descent—the plasticity of familial metaphors declined. Ironically, in buttressing appeals to Anglo-American kinship with genealogical detail, Southern historical societies diminished its rhetorical impact as postbellum invocations of the concept became rooted to specific people and places.

In many respects, however, the current of increasingly precise claims of Anglo-American kinship ran counter to the rising tide of racialized Anglo-Saxonism. Even as growing numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe or China, prior to the Duran Act, stimulated a reflexive Anglo-Saxonism among Americans and encouraged broad, fusionist thinking about the 'whiteness' of ethnic groups that had previously fallen outside the remit of Anglo-American kinship, hereditary societies celebrating English ancestry and requiring genealogical proof of descent for membership proliferated. Americans flocked with pedigrees in hand to societies like the National Society of Colonial Grand Dames of America (1890), the Hereditary Order of Descendants of Colonial Governors (1896), or the General Society of Mayflower Descendants (1897), particularly Southerners who often juggled membership with their commitments to Confederate descendents organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy or Sons of Confederate Veterans. Membership in these groups offered a way of preserving white Southerners' pride of place as the expanding notions of racialized Anglo-Saxonism devalued the currency of whiteness, much as their antebellum counterparts had claimed their descent from aristocratic cavaliers conferred social and racial superiority over Northern whites.

Whatever gains non-British whites made from the expanding parameters of American ethnic nationalism, they lost a path to respectability and citizenship that had formerly been open to all so long as Anglo-American kinship was reckoned on the basis of culture as well as blood. This was particularly true for African Americans, who found the language of Anglo-American kinship more difficult to adapt to their claims of racial equality and respectability than their antebellum predecessors. In many respects, the borders of the imagined community that Anglo-American kinship supported were more permeable under slavery than in the aftermath of American abolition as racial science grew increasingly influential.

The increasing fixation on biogenetic factors proved somewhat ironic in the context of Southern national identity as race, unsupported by established rituals or mature institutional ties, had demonstrated itself one of the weakest criteria of Anglo-American kinship. As immigration boosters quickly discovered, the long-cherished conceptions of Britons as racially indistinguishable from white Southerners, upon which they predicated their initial plans for reinventing plantation society, proved utterly unconvincing to their transatlantic target audience. In comparison, the bishops and clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, through their continuous exchanges with British brethren and their understanding of affinity on the basis of a common liturgical inheritance, nurtured a relationship with the Church of England that survived the trials of war and continues to inform the institutional identity of the Anglican Communion up to the present day. Claims of Anglo-American kinship were most effective when predicated on grounds of culture and made by institutions. Personal expressions of affinity with the mother

country were no less heartfelt, but, independent of institutional contexts, individuals generally lacked the will or resources to effectively parlay their affection into something that could be reciprocated.

The constraints of this study have necessitated a tight focus on Anglo-American kinship in the context of the South over the course of the Civil War era, but, as the proceeding discussion of immigration and the rise of racialized Anglo-Saxonism suggests, it was by no means limited to this time or place. To some extent, the idea of Anglo-American kinship has been hinted at in scholarship surrounding the phenomenon of Anglophilia in the Northeast and similar studies could locate the concept in the Midwest and the Far West. Events like the Prince of Wales' 1860 tour of the United States demonstrate the extent to which ideas of persistent cultural and biogenetic continuities with Great Britain pervaded every geographic section, even when they lacked the historical underpinnings that bolstered claims of Anglo-American kinship arising from the Southeast. The concept offers many possibilities with respect to better understanding the capaciousness of nineteenth-century American nationalism, and the extent to which Americans from all sections utilized the language of Anglo-American kinship as an alternative mode of self-expression.

In this work, I've used Anglo-American kinship as a means of breaking down assumptions about the origins of Southern identity in domestic political disputes and liberating the story of Southern separatism from the confines of strictly national narratives, but the concept might similarly be deployed in transnational frameworks as a means of illuminating British and American joint imperial ventures. At the very least, this study affords an important caveat to the growing body of historical

literature surrounding the South's role in the emergence of a global capitalist empire connected by cotton filaments. However much their slave society anticipated modern capitalism, Southerners still looked to the past for guidance and self-definition. Anglo-American kinship provided a means of embracing—and not infrequently—inventing traditions, even as the constellation of reciprocal rights and responsibilities it entailed remained oriented towards the future. As it encompassed both past and future, regional peculiarity and transnational belonging, the concept of Anglo-American kinship offers the potential to better understand the processes by which nineteenth-century Southerners forged a modern economy centred in slavery and their methods of coping with the contradictions that attended such a labour. Nineteenth-century Southerners stood at the precipice of a quickly changing world on the eve of the American Civil War, but the connection they felt to their own past, mediated through the branching limbs of the imagined Anglo-American family, inspired them to look to the future.

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