Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Empire in Britain's American Expatriate Community, c.1815–1914.

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Abstract

This study examines the coalescence of American expatriate communities in Britain between 1815 and 1914. Blending transnational and post-colonial approaches to US history, this dissertation explores the nuanced roles of Americans in Britain as intermediaries in the consolidation of US independence, the formation of American nationalism, and the emergence of American empire.

Transatlantic economic and cultural connections converged in American communities in Britain. The American communities of London and Liverpool evolved and dissolved around these rapidly transforming interconnections. These communities are recaptured in this study from scattered archives on both side of the Atlantic. The Antebellum American community acted as a conduit between British capital and American nation-building projects and promoted transatlantic rapprochement as the route to effective US independence. The importation of American innovation and manufactured goods into Britain and the Empire, however, followed late nineteenth-century expatriates. As US power surged, Americans in London created a self-identifying American "colony," which acted as the interface between US economic and cultural expansion and British imperialism.

Throughout the century, Britain's American communities acted as crucibles in which sectional, national, and racial identifications were contested and reconstructed. Expatriate newspapers, celebrations, and social institutions, provided the venues for Americans in Britain to articulate and reformulate American nationalism. In the context of British power, the contestations and reformulations of these identities were bled through with post- and anti-

colonial anxieties. Expatriates therefore acted as avatars for sharpening distinctions between the US and Britain in debates over the form of American national character, culture, and empire – and Britain's role in all three.

This study reframes these themes around the previously overlooked communities of Americans in Britain. From these communities, which stand at the intersection of US and British Imperial history, a new perspective emerges on the reciprocal dynamics of nationhood and empire in nineteenth century Anglo-American relations.

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Extended Abstract

The nineteenth-century United States has long been portrayed as a refuge for European migrants. European migrants migrated across the Atlantic in huge numbers, but this study explores the importance of the reverse movement of American citizens to Great Britain. Although of a different order to the westward movement of Europeans, the eastward migration of American citizens to Great Britain exerted a powerful influence on US nation-building. This dissertation focuses on the coalescence of American communities in Britain between 1815 and 1914. Blending transnational and post-colonial approaches to US history, the pages that follow explore the nuanced roles of expatriates as intermediaries in the consolidation of US independence, formation of American nationalism, and the emergence of American empire.

The British *Census* forms the backbone of this dissertation and recaptures the social character and context of previously overlooked American communities in Britain. The broad contours of American migration can be recovered through the *Census,* which provides detailed information on the gender and geographic spread of Americans in Britain. Later in the century, *Census* officials began recording increasing amounts of information about Britain's migrant population, including age and occupations. Such statistics reveal the surprising diversity of the American population in Britain, but offer only a broad sketch of the context in which American communities formed. There is no archive of expatriate institutions, associations, or communal activities, however. The American communities in this study have been painstakingly recovered from scattered archives on both sides of the

Atlantic. With the *Census* as a spine, the chapters that follow are grounded in the close analysis of the personal papers of a host of American diplomats, expatriate financiers, entrepreneurs, and artists. From the brief windows and fragments offered by these collections, the social world of Americans in Britain has been recaptured.

Americans resumed passage across the Atlantic after the close of the Revolutionary Wars, seeking to resume colonial-era patterns of trade, finance, and migration. American communities in Britain coalesced around these interconnections. Throughout the nineteenth century, these communities attempted to reconcile the dual aims of promoting a collaborative relationship with British power on the one hand, and of fashioning a distinctly national community on the other. This dynamic stands at the heart of the present study. Through the *Census*, Chapter One sketches the contours of the American population in Britain in this period. In the process it reveals Liverpool and London as the primary locales of American communities in Britain. Aspiring American merchants arrived in Liverpool and London as overseas agents and partners of American firms resuming the transatlantic trade. The coalescence of expatriate communities in this period was structured around the post-colonial dynamics of American commerce and finance, as Americans in Britain acted as conduits of the Atlantic economy. American communities were protean and contingent entities that evolved around these imperatives and the shifting dynamics of transatlantic interconnections.

An array of institutions and social events sustained these communities. The American Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool (ACC), founded in 1801, provided a mechanism for the organisation of transatlantic trade and a venue for socialisation. The ACC contributed to an emerging American world in Britain that was composed of hotels, lodging houses, private residences, and diplomatic offices. Together, these venues contributed to the emergence of self-identifying American communities in both Liverpool and London. Distinct from this emerging American world were the disparate communities of African-American sailors and

fugitive slaves that could be found on the wharves and in the slums of London's East End. These communities are notoriously difficult to track, but a broad outline of their shape is sketched in Chapter One. Some arrived as sailors in US merchant marine, while others followed the gravitational pull of the perceived ethical power of the British Empire and sought refuge in Britain.

Americans in Britain were hypersensitive to the economic and cultural power of the British Empire over the United States. Their efforts to free the republic from the orbit of British imperialism were ad hoc, contingent, and highly contested. A complex brand of cultural identity politics was the outcome of the simultaneity of attempts by American communities in Britain to construct a national enclave within British society while brokering the co-option of British imperial power. Prominent Americans in Britain proposed further Atlantic integration grounded in a common cultural and racial heritage. American nationhood was contested and reconceptualised within this cockpit. Celebrations of the Fourth of July reinforced fragile notions of expatriate nationality, but were a lightning rod for partisan and sectional tensions. Self-proclaimed Young American nationalists contested the form and content of expatriate nationalism, arguing for proscriptive codes of membership in American communities overseas. American communities in Britain therefore spotlight the protracted processes of US self-definition. Forged in the volatile context of Anglo-American relations, American communities in Britain evolved, dissolved, and were reconstructed against competing forms of identity that were local, sectional, and international. This dissertation provides a fresh perspective on the complex interactions of domestic tensions, in addition to hitherto overlooked anti- and postcolonial languages, implicated in the creation of American national identity in the antebellum era.

The outbreak of the American Civil War proved the litmus test of sectional tensions in the expatriate communities of London and Liverpool. A broad historiography examines the

response of the British cabinet and public to the US Civil War. A similarly deep literature outlines the complex diplomatic relations between the United States and Britain throughout the war's duration. The third chapter of this study reframes historians' understanding of Union and Confederate diplomacy around the social context of the American community. Sectional divisions were replicated, to an extent, in the distinctions between London and Liverpool, which acted as rival sites of Union and Confederate activity. Expatriate institutions, however, were oriented towards the Union. The experience of the American Community throughout the Civil War built on the previous decades of integration in British society. The integration of an American world into the fabric of London society allowed expatriates to exploit diplomatic and social avenues unavailable to their Confederate counterparts. Union diplomacy built upon transatlantic networks of evangelical, abolitionist, and expatriate connections in British society that Confederates could not replicate.

Parallel to the semi-cloistered networks of expatriate diplomacy was the transformation of expatriate social events into propaganda rallies. The third chapter compares the activities of George Francis Train and Henry Hotze. Train engaged in a whirlwind program on behalf of the Union cause, reported through the expatriate newspaper *The London American.* The *American* was a short-lived organ that combined the twin aims of fostering an American community in London with pro-Union advocacy. Train's Confederate counterpart, Henry Hotze, attempted to replicate the model of the *London American,* through his sheet the *Index*, which provided a mental meeting space for coordinating Confederate activity in Britain. What emerges from this comparison is a striking similarity in their shared commitment to global racial hierarchy. While expatriate diplomacy was founded on the intense network building of the antebellum decades, its output looked forward to the shared Anglo-American construction of Anglo-Saxon racial dominance in the age of Empire.

The final third of the nineteenth century was the high tide of American global travel. New patterns of travel reshaped the contours of the American community in Britain, as explored in Chapter Four. In the post-Civil War decades, the material networks creating new international interconnections broke older transatlantic ties mediated by American communities in London and Liverpool. American communities dissolved as the fragile coalition of antebellum expatriates disintegrated. A new generation of expatriates in London lacked the social capital of antebellum figures. The social capital of these figures enabled the coalescence of an overseas national culture. In the process, antebellum expatriates forged close affinities with London society, which broke down in the context of Anglo-American diplomatic tensions kindled by the Civil War. Nonetheless, the locus for renewed affinities between London's rich social tapestry and the American community emerged in this period.

American women hastened the integration of American London into British society and were a vital point of inter-elite connection in this period. This dissertation re-examines the much storied emergence of Anglo-American marriages between 1870 and 1914. Eastern seaboard elites in the antebellum period often sent their daughters overseas in the tradition of the European grand tour. After 1870, this tradition continued but was not confined to a rarefied elite. American women resided abroad for a multitude of reasons, but it was the American heiress that excited debate on both sides of the Atlantic out of all proportion with their numbers. British commentators wryly noted that the House of Lords was 'getting a good many American mothers' while the American press bemoaned the "fast" American girl as the overseas representative of the republic. The integration of American women in London society is explored in Chapter Four. This element of American migration spotlights the emergence of new transatlantic networks in the late nineteenth century. Transatlantic marriages provided the social context for Anglo-American rapprochement and new ideologies of Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism.

Renewed fears of US cultural dependence on Britain in the 1870s catalysed debate over the question of national identity in Britain's American community. As revealed in Chapter Two, these debates were rooted in the social context of the American community. Expatriate authors, artists, and intellectuals joined this debate with a vigorous defence of the importance of internationalism to American culture. Led by Henry James, these artists argued that cross-cultural connections would facilitate the creation of an independent American culture – though it would mean the temporary embrace of British culture as the best means to that end. As revealed by this dissertation, American communities in Britain attempted to mediate the influence of Britain on US culture and identity. Tracking the transformation of these debates simultaneously tracks the shifting geo-politics of Anglo-American relations and American nation-building. The present study re-examines these protracted debates from the perspective of American communities in Britain, taking account of the internal and external dynamics engaged in the creation, contestation, and reconstruction of American nationality throughout the nineteenth century.

The final chapter locates the consolidation of American state and empire building within the context of the global networks emanating from the British Empire. Chapter Five explores the consolidation of a self-identifying American "colony" in London. From the mid-1890s, expatriates forged new spaces and institutions that sustained and engaged American expansion in the processes of British imperialism. Following their antebellum predecessors, a new generation of expatriates mediated the coalescence of a distinct and self-proclaimed national community. Through expatriate institutions, newspapers, almanacs, and social events, the final chapter of this study outlines this previously overlooked community. This community continued to act as a crucible for the articulation and reformulation of American nationalism and racial Anglo-Saxonism. While historians have explored these themes from the perspective of Anglo-American rapprochement, this study broadens the focus of this

discussion to the emergence of new forms of Anglo-American empire. The American community in London acts as a lens through which to view the enlargement of the United States' global footprint, a consideration of which drives at the heart of debates over the nature and extent of Americanisation in the late nineteenth century.

American communities transformed the Anglo-American relationship. New forms of imperial synergy emerged from the interface of the American "colony" in London. The sites of expatriate associational culture were also transnational. The American community integrated itself within the information milieu of imperial London and infiltrated the social networks upon which the British Empire depended. Americans in Britain penetrated these networks and through them extended the reach of US commercial expansion into the British Empire. A case study of the American pharmaceutical firm Burroughs Wellcome & Co. provides a window onto these processes. The imperial strategy of Burroughs Wellcome offers an insight into the cumulative development of the United States' global commercial expansion. In seeking new markets in the British Empire, American businessmen fostered inter-imperial contacts that facilitated global exchange because of shared assumptions about Anglo-Saxon civilization. As the epicentre of Anglo-American contact, the American community in Britain further facilitated the cultural convergence of the two nations – a convergence that continued to provide the rationale for Anglo-American empire building.

American communities in Britain cut across traditional historical narratives relating to US migration, nationality, and empire in the nineteenth century. The Americans in this study negotiated the dual aims of constructing a distinct national community overseas, while maintaining a collaborative relationship with British power. The ongoing effort to bring cohesion to the structure of the American community therefore intersected with protracted debates over the nature of US independence, national character, and empire. The American

communities of London and Liverpool functioned as crucibles in these debates, just as they acted as the conduits of transatlantic economic and cultural connections – mediating the role of Britain in both. These connections were the gold standard by which US commentators judged their independence from Britain throughout the nineteenth Century. They were also foundational to how Americans conceived of their nation's place in global "civilization." This dissertation charts the complex interactions of this tangle of interrelationships, providing a fresh perspective on the reciprocity of Anglo-American relations in the nineteenth century.

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Abbreviations

ACC – American Chamber of Commerce

AAL – American Association in London

ASL – American Society in London

BW – Burroughs Wellcome & Co.

HLH – Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

ING – ING Barings, London, UK

LoC – Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

LPRO – Liverpool Public Record Office, Liverpool, UK

MHS – Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA

ML – Morgan Library, New York

NYHS – New York Historical Society, New York

PEI – Peabody Essex Institute, Salem, MA

PRO – Public Records Office, Kew, UK

RIHS – Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, RI

SAW – Society of American Women in London

SIA – Southern Independence Association

VHS – Vermont Historical Society, Barre, VT

WL – Wellcome Library, London

- Introduction -

American Communities in Britain

On a summer's day in May 1902, immense crowds thronged to the opening of the American Exhibition in London. Londoners witnessed, according to the *Anglo-American Press*, the weekly newspaper of the American community in London, 'the magnitude and importance of what it has become the custom to call the "American invasion".'[1] 'The Exhibition that is projected,' claimed the expatriate press in the months before the event, 'will offer an object lesson in American expansion.'[2] At the height of King Edward VII's Coronation year, the Americans delivered their lesson in the most potent symbol of Britain's technological and commercial superiority, the Crystal Palace.

Yet, if the rhetoric of the American Exhibition seemed prescient of the future global supremacy of the United States, its message was delivered at the high tide of British global power. 'It will be an exhibition of international moment,' argued the *Anglo-American*, 'that cannot fail to have an important influence in bringing the two Anglo-Saxon races into more intimate association.'[3]American expatriates were prominent in this moment of Anglo-American reciprocity. The exhibition was the brainchild of a committee of leading American expatriates in London, who hoped to present a 'specialised display' of 'the things that go to the making of America's present supremacy.'[4] Following the pattern adhered to since the inaugural Great Exhibition of 1851, the US was represented by lavish displays of its goods and machinery – products that were, ironically, manufactured by American firms on British soil and managed by the "invading" expatriates.

[1] *The Anglo-American Press*, 7 December 1901.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

By nesting the American Exhibition within the Crystal Palace, the expatriate organisers referenced their own position in British society as an integrated yet distinct enclave, or to borrow their own designation, an "American Colony". The dual, and seemingly irreconcilable, aims of promoting a collaborative relationship with British imperialism on the one hand, and of fashioning a distinctly national community on the other, characterised the American expatriate experience in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. Such continuity was not reflected in the varied forms that American expatriate communities had taken during that period. The protracted coalescence of expatriate communities was protean and contingent, at times parallel and at times counter, to the ongoing quest to consolidate American independence, to the processes of US nation-building, and to the emergence of American empire.

The intersection of American communities in Britain with these fundamental processes is the concern of this dissertation. It argues that expatriate communities provide the social context and physical geography within which the transnational interconnections governing Anglo-American interdependence were embedded. Expatriates mediated these flows, acting as the conduits of culture, capital, and commerce across the Atlantic. Tracking the transformations in the institutions, associational culture, and diplomatic function of expatriate communities in Britain simultaneously tracks the shifting geo-politics of Anglo-American relations and the interrelated processes outlined above. Nineteenth-century Americans engaged in a hotly contested debate over the nature of American independence, the character of the American nation, and the form of empire it should pursue – and the role of Great Britain in all three. This study reframes these themes around the previously overlooked communities of Americans in Britain. Most broadly conceived, from these communities, which stand at the intersection of US and British Imperial history, a new

perspective emerges on the reciprocal dynamics of nationhood and empire in nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations.

Migration, Expatriation, Nation

American expatriation should be viewed within the context of the mass movement of peoples around the globe in the nineteenth century. In the long nineteenth century, 1815-1924, nearly 25 million people migrated from the British Isles alone; they were joined by more than 30 million continental Europeans, 50 million Chinese, and 30 million Indians.[5] These emigrants travelled to destinations across the globe and provided 'the underpinnings of the new global division of labour in which Europe supplied manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, and the rest of the world produced primary commodities.'[6] The historian James Belich has highlighted the manner in which Anglophone destinations dominated European flows. Of the total 56 million European overseas emigrants, over 42 million travelled to Anglophone destinations.[7] The United States was the recipient of a large share of this global migration, receiving more than 32 million of these migrants, who peopled its vast interior at the expense of the forced migration of African slaves and Native Americans.[8]

American expatriation to Britain was of an entirely different order to this mass movement, but it exerted an influence – cultural, social, and economic – on the United States disproportionate with its numbers. Expatriates and expatriation have therefore played central roles in the history of the United States, yet they have eluded the gaze of historical scholarship. Histories of US migration have been written from the nation's position as the country of arrival for the millions of forced and free migrants. Yet, as Nancy Green has highlighted in her seminal article, "Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats," historians can

[5] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009), p. 126.
[6] Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914* (Oxford, 2004), p. 133.
[7] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 127.
[8] Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, p. 133.

'reverse the usual immigration and citizenship questions by reflecting on how the state defines itself not only through those whom it incorporates ... within its boundaries but also with regard to those who cross beyond.'[9] Historians have long been sensitive to the exclusions from American citizenship within the confines of the states' borders – slaves, Native Americans, and women – but have neglected those who have renounced citizenship or left the nation's borders. Reversing the traditional questions of immigration and citizenship sheds new light on the processes of nation building and self-definition that shaped the nineteenth-century United States.

Throughout the nineteenth century, US legislators struggled to define the limits and modes of expatriation from the United States. The complexities of the 'post-colonial' Anglo-American connection necessitated that American nationality was framed in the context of British power.[10] The uneasy relationship between national identity and the questions of allegiance and expatriation bled through transatlantic relations throughout the nineteenth century, as the United States continued to reframe the meanings of independence against the foil of British imperialism. As Nancy Green has highlighted, expatriation was 'initially a form of nation-building.' Seeking to legitimate citizens' break from Great Britain, expatriation was 'seen as a form of inclusion in America, with former British subjects in mind.'[11] Expatriation presented both theoretical and practical responsibilities for the nation, as the hard-headed actions of individuals tested the limits of state power and the exercise of supposed natural rights. Such complexities were exacerbated further by the recurrent implication of expatriation in international geopolitics – particularly with Great Britain.

[9] Nancy L. Green, 'Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept,' *American Historical Review* (April, 2009), p. 309. See also, *Idem.*, 'The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm,' *Journal of Modern History* 77 (June, 2005), pp. 263-289.
[10] Kariann Anemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary American Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011).
[11] Green, 'Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats,' pp. 310-11.

Concern that American citizens would voluntarily relinquish their citizenship was raised repeatedly in the Supreme Court and the chambers of Congress.[12] 'In order to consolidate American independence and citizenship,' writes Green, 'expatriation from Britain had to be deemed a legal, indeed natural right for both the state and the individual.'[13] Yet, despite its fundamental importance to American nation-building in the early republic, Jeffersonians and Federalists stood toe to toe over the extent of the right of expatriation.[14] The former viewed expatriation as an unlimited natural right, something Federalists could not countenance, arguing that if left unchecked expatriation would undermine the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the state – and disunion would follow. These differences were bound up in hardening perspectives over the meaning of the American Revolution itself, the lessons of which were repeatedly played out in the international geopolitics of the 1790s that gradually encouraged a crystallisation of party attitudes toward expatriation.[15] Congressional interest in the question peaked when increasing numbers of Americans renounced their citizenship in an attempt to engage in lucrative overseas trade and privateering. Expatriation was a natural but qualified right, suggested Justice James Iredell, to be restrained by patriotism and the public good.[16]

As the impressment crisis and Quasi War with France metamorphosed into the War of 1812, US statesmen and commentators were greatly excised by the question of expatriation.[17] The question had now shifted to the issue of protecting the rights of British tars newly minted

[12] The most complete treatment of the subject remains, I-mien Tsiang, *The Question of Expatriation in America Prior to 1907* (Baltimore, 1942).
[13] Green, 'Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats,' p.311.
[14] Roger M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in US History* (New Haven, CT, 1997), pp. 155-59.
[15] For an excellent discussion of the contestations between Federalists and Jeffersonians over the meanings of expatriation and nationhood see, Douglas Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union, 1774-1804* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009), pp. 101-138.
[16] Green, 'Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats,' p. 312.
[17] The courts continued to slowly express opinions as to the rights of citizen's to expatriate. *Inglis v. Trustees of Snug Harbor* and *Shanks v. Dupont*, considered whether dependents of loyalists who had left during the revolutionary war could assert the property rights of US citizens, and affirmed the existence of a right of election as to an individual's nationality, see: Smith, *Civic Ideals*, pp. 192-4, 228-230, 561 n.111.

as US citizens. The War of 1812 catalysed a heated transatlantic dispute over the question of expatriation and the British doctrine of "perpetual allegiance." No amount of kinship metaphors marshalled in defence of perpetual allegiance to the mother country could alleviate the new republic's insistence on the legitimacy of naturalised US citizens.[18] This Anglo-American dispute became, in turn, a Congressional one. In 1818, Louisianan Republican Thomas Bolling Robertson provoked fierce debate in the 15th Congress by tabling an Expatriation Bill that established the procedures by which it could be achieved. Even divorced from the context of raging international conflict the strongest objections to the bill came from those who directly linked prescribed modes of expatriation to American Independence. By legislating on the matter 'do we not invite the British Parliament to pass similar laws?' asked Richard C. Anderson. For the Kentuckian, allowing a check on a natural right was a zero-sum game, 'If we yield this, then we have yielded everything,' he warned.[19]

It would be another fifty years before expatriation was debated once again in Congress. Set against the backdrop of rising Anglo-American tensions over the *Alabama* claims and Irish Fenian agitation, the house pitched expatriation as a conflict between American independence and the 'absurd pretensions' of the British doctrine of perpetual allegiance.[20] 'Emigration and expatriation are practical declarations of independence of the individual citizen,' argued John Winthrop Chanler of New York.[21] The question of expatriation was therefore viewed as one more struggle in the protracted narrative of the American Revolution. 'The doctrine of perpetual allegiance is another of the wicked heresies

[18] James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), pp. 44-61; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, p. 79-80. A vigorous pamphlet debate ensued, see: A Gentleman of the City of New York, *An Inquiry into the Natural Rights of Man as Regards the Exercise of Expatriation, Dedicated to all the Adopted Citizens of the United States* (New York, 1813); George Hay, *A Treatise on Expatriation* (Washington D.C., 1814).
[19] *Annals of Congress,* 15th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1040.
[20] *New York Times,* 30 December 1867. David Feldman and M. Page Baldwin, 'Emigration and the British State, ca.1815-1925,' in Nancy L. Green and François Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (Urbana, IL, 2007), pp. 145-146.
[21] 'Emigration and Expatriation are the Citizen's Practical Declarations of Independence, Speech of John W. Chanler of New York, February 6, 1868,' (Washington, 1868), p. 5, New York Historical Society.

with which the American people are called upon to do battle,' argued Republican Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois, 'and which they must as surely overthrow.'[22] 'The right of expatriation should be grouped with the natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' added Jehu Baker.[23] Bi-partisan consensus was reached on the importance of an affirmation of the natural right of expatriation, enshrined in the Expatriation Act of 1868.[24]

The 1868 Act was abstract and limited. Abstract, because its preamble declared expatriation 'a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensible to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'[25] Limited because it did not speak to the question of what constituted expatriation, how it could be enacted, or who determined when it had occurred. The natural right of the preamble was the extent of its bearing on Americans leaving the United States. The remainder of its articles dealt with the question of naturalised Americans returning to their original country of birth and the state's powers of protection over Irish-, German-, and French-Americans. 'In the absence of legislative definition of what constitutes "expatriation," and of the mode whereby it is effected,' wrote Secretary of State Hamilton Fish after a State Department review of the question in 1873, it was 'to be established in each individual case.'[26] Left to Ministers and Consuls General, expatriation became entirely subjective and mirrored changing social and cultural attitudes. According to one consul in Central America, they represented a 'class of persons who have never become

[22] 'Speech of Shelby M. Cullom on Rights of Naturalized American Citizens, February 8, 1868' (Washington, D.C., 1868), p. 3, NYHS.
[23] 'Speech of Jehu Baker on The Right of Expatriation, and the Protection of Adopted Citizens, February 11, 1868' (Washington, D.C., 1868), p. 8, NYHS.
[24] Both parties enshrined the right on their platforms of that year, see: Donald B. Johnson (ed.), *National Party Platforms*, Rev. Edn. (2 Vols., Urbana, IL, 1978), i, 38, 40.
[25] "An Act concerning the Rights of American Citizens in foreign States," 27 July 1868, *Statutes at Large*, XV, p.223. Accessed via Library of Congress American Memory Online, *A Century of Law Making for a New Nation, US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*, Statutes at Large, at: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsl.html.
[26] Hamilton Fish to Ulysses S. Grant, 15 August 1873, in: *Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1873-74* (Washington, D.C., 1874), p. 1189. (Hereafter: *FRUS*)

identified in spirit and feeling with the ideas our government represents,' contributed 'little or nothing to its welfare' and lent 'nothing to its support.'[27]

While accepting the importance of the legal exclusions from national membership, this study explores the meanings of "expatriation" and "the expatriate" from the perspective of their social and cultural construction. The bearing of legislative affirmations of the abstract right of expatriation on the lives of individual expatriates was limited at best. The ever-increasing geographic mobility of nineteenth-century Americans continued to test the limits of the extension of state power and protection. Expatriation was instead established at the consular level on a case by case basis throughout the nineteenth century. Consular and diplomatic definitions of expatriation could therefore keep pace with both rapidly shifting cultural and social attitudes and the changing character of expatriates themselves. Expatriation cannot be understood if divorced from this social context. The importance of legislative debates over expatriation was their consistent reference to Great Britain, rendering Americans resident in Britain particularly pertinent in debates over the nature of American independence and national identity. The American communities recovered here were the social context in which fierce transatlantic debates over the questions of allegiance, nationality, and independence were grounded.

Lack of judicial clarity necessitates a malleable understanding of the expatriate – especially given the limitations of American expatriation law to the lives of American citizens overseas. Historical actors themselves grappled with the meanings and application of the term "expatriate." Noah Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language,* for instance, defined "expatriation" as 'banishment,' or 'more generally, the forsaking of one's own country, with a renunciation of allegiance, and with the view of becoming a permanent

[27] Charles A. Logan (US Legation, Guatemala City), to William E. Evarts, 20 August 1879, *FRUS* (1879-1880), pp. 143-145.

resident and citizen in another country.'[28] Few of the figures studied here would recognise their own residence overseas as banishment and manifested no intention of relinquishing their citizenship in favour of British subjecthood. The identity of Americans overseas was shifting and relational, and cannot be understood solely from the perspective of binary categories such as "expatriate," or its competitor, "exile." Such categories impose limits around what were dynamic communities, composed of individuals with fluid identities. Americans lived in Britain for a variety of reasons, often based on a calculus balancing expedience, opportunity, and success. But residence abroad did not always imply a rejection of the United States.

This dissertation recaptures the creation of self-identifying communities of Americans in Britain who retained and redeveloped their sense of American nationality even as they chose residence overseas. Expatriation was especially contested, precisely because Americans abroad attempted to reconcile nationality with foreign residence and even attempted to incorporate foreign influences within their conception of national identity. Through expatriation, US commentators and expatriates themselves refracted complex discussions of the nature of American nationality and the United States' place in the world. The experience of American communities in Britain, and the concern of this dissertation, was characterised by the retention and subsequent re-imagining of what constituted American national character, nationhood, and independence – and the protean roles played by Great Britain in all three.

Class was central to the composition of this community. Historians of migration speak of the mixture of "push" and "pull" factors determining the choices of migrant labourers in the nineteenth-century transatlantic economy. Atlantic migration bound Britain and the United States together, but the mass migration of Britons (and Europeans) to the United States was of a different order to American expatriation. High wages and cheap land attracted

[28] Noah Webster, *Dictionary of American English* (1828), accessed online at: http://1828.mshaffer.com/.

a "motley set" of British farmers, machinists, mechanics, engineers and ironworkers to the United States.[29] American expatriates in Britain likewise followed a diverse number of paths. Nonetheless, the most prominent among them self-consciously moved to Britain to manage specific aspects of the Atlantic economy, or to mediate transatlantic cultural and social influences. Rather than emanating from aspirations of economic self-sufficiency or a desire to be free from government authority, this movement was often regarded as expedient and its duration undefined. The Americans in this study originate from the middle to the upper classes and are typically professionals, ranging from elite financiers to cotton agents, entrepreneurs to patent lawyers, newspaper owners to authors and artists.

The diverse populations of US citizens throughout the British Isles slowly coalesced into fragile communities in the major cities of London and Liverpool. American communities were self-conscious creations, organised around a self-identifying national space overseas. Sustaining this was a variety of mechanisms such as social institutions and national celebrations that provided a venue for the articulation of American nationality.[30] Through these mechanisms, Americans negotiated the interaction between American nationality and foreign residence, in the process re-imagining and refining what it meant to be American overseas. From these nuclei emerged the associational and civic culture that characterised the American communities of Britain, the subject of what follows.

Anatomy of a Community

Studies of Americans in Britain invariably focus on the cultural pilgrimage of American travellers and authors to their "ancestral" home and the cross-cultural dialectic of these

[29] William E. Van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana, IL, 1999), p. 11.
[30] Historians have examined similar associational cultures amongst migrant populations scattered across the United States and Britain's imperial possessions, see: Rory Sweetman, *Faith and Fraternalism: A History of the Hibernian Society in New Zealand, 1869-2000* (Wellington, 2002); Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson, and Donald M. Macraild (eds.), *Locating the English Diaspora, 1500-2010* (Liverpool, 2012); Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates* (Oxford, 2010).

encounters.[31] These much storied journeys, however, were peripheral to the physical and mental geography of Americans resident in Britain. A focus on travellers and geo-politics has eclipsed the growth of an American world in Britain. Coteries of expatriate American entrepreneurs, financiers, and writers fashioned self-identifying American communities in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. The coalescence of these communities are united across time by continuities in practice, even while their purposes evolved in parallel with the shifting grounds of Anglo-American relations and US nationhood. American communities in Britain – fragile coalitions of financiers, businessmen, diplomats, artists, women, and adventurers – spotlight the protracted and fiercely contested consolidation of American independence.[32]

Although focused on the coalescence of specific communities, this study therefore engages with broader debates about the transnational character of nation building in the nineteenth-century United States. Over the past three decades, historians have conceived new ways of decentring the United States from a territorially bounded national historiography and placing it within its transnational context.[33] Transnational perspectives often lead to a networked conception of the processes governing the making and remaking of the American nation. Emphasising the nation's embeddedness in a complex web of international cross-cultural connection, transnational historians embrace comparative approaches in addition to the tracing the nation's 'entanglement' in cross-border movements and processes.[34] A rich

[31] Representative examples are: Robert Balmain Mowat, *Americans in England* (London, 1935); Richard Kenin, *Return to Albion: Americans in England, 1760-1940* (New York, 1979); Henry Steele Commanger, *Britain Through American Eyes* (New York, 1974).
[32] For the importance of question of independence in American political culture and statecraft, see: Sam W Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010); and Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2011).
[33] For the classic conception of transnationalism in US historiography see: Ian Tyrrell, 'American Exceptionalism in an age of international history,' *American Historical Review* 96 (October, 1991), pp. 1056-1067. Thomas Bender's edited volume *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA; London, 2002) is the standard introduction to the transnational approach.
[34] 'Entangled' histories (translated from the French *histoire croisée*) are often seen as a competitor to transnational history, see: Michael Werner & Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond comparison: histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45 (February, 2006), pp. 30-50. For an outline of the

seam of scholarship traces the transnational networks of exchange linking the United States with Great Britain. These interconnections ranged across a broad front and were forged by the peripatetic travels of American intellectuals, evangelicals, reformers, abolitionists, and statesmen.[35] This scholarship, some of it older than the present day interest in transnationalism, has recovered the transatlantic dialogues implicated in the transnational production of US political culture.

These themes are reframed here around the social context of American communities in Britain. Transnational influences shaped the American nation state, but they were manifest outside US borders. The present study recovers the mental and material spaces created by Americans overseas. The expatriate community in Britain did not simply transfer national institutions or political culture, but was a crucible in which individuals engaged with the nature of expatriation and American nationalism, the demands of the transatlantic economy, and the United States' international interdependency. Transnational interconnections – cultural, social, and economic – were situated within the constellation of institutions and behaviours forged by expatriates in Britain, the focus of this dissertation.

Limited attention has been paid to American communities overseas.[36] Nonetheless, this dissertation draws on the insightful contributions of several innovative works in this field. Recent monographs by Rachel Hope Cleves, Philipp Ziesche, and Timothy Roberts explore Americans experience of Europe from a transnational perspective.[37] As revealed in

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debates between transnationalism and its competitor terms see: Ian Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in the United States history: theory and practice,' *Journal of Global History* 4 (November, 2009), pp. 453-474.

[35] Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, CT, 1978); Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana, IL, 1972); Richard J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1983); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1998) and Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007).

[36] Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (New York, 2007), p. 115.

[37] Rachel Hope Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (Cambridge, 2009); P. Ziesche, *Cosmopolitan Patriots: Americans in Paris in the Age of Revolution*

these works, US political culture and exceptionalist nationalism drew great strength from the hierarchies founded in international comparison. While they may differ in their respective methodologies, the crux of these works rests upon transnational *moments* as the catalysts of national reflection. These observations are critical to expatriate politics in a British context. American communities in Britain attempted to mediate these foreign influences, entwining racial and cultural affinities within their conception of American nationality. As is revealed in the chapters that follow, this process was highly contested, and inflected with generational, party, and sectional tensions.

The present study differs from these works, however, in proposing a transnational social history of the American community in Britain rather than an intellectual history emanating from a single transnational stimulus. Brooke L. Blower's study of Americans in inter-war Paris, *Becoming Americans in Paris* (2011), provides an alternative framework to these works, which guides this dissertation. Blower situates the 'fluid sweep of international networks' in the 'rooted context' of interwar Paris, but specifically the Opera district of the French capital.[38] Throughout her work, Blower uses the integration of the American community in Paris to examine the diffusion and filtration of American political culture through international, national, and local events. In the interplay between international developments and national politics, and in the confrontations between the American "colony" and Parisian society, Blower reveals the processes by which expatriate's self-identification was honed and their conception of nationhood refined.

Blower's study captures a specific community in a single, albeit changing, context. The present study differs from this approach by tracking the creation, contestation, and reconstruction of American communities in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. The

(Charlottesville, VA, 2010); Timothy Mason Roberts, *Distant Revolutions: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009).

[38] Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming American in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford, 2011), p. 13.

evolution of the American community, tracked here, was a contingent process shaped by the changing character of American nation-building and the shifting geo-politics of Anglo-American relations in the nineteenth century. This dissertation is concerned with the mechanisms facilitating the coalescence of American communities within this context. The American community, in its own understanding, functioned as 'a complete little pocket edition of the USA.'[39] But it was not quite as simple as that. Americans in Britain did not transpose American society overseas, but developed an "offshore America" from the interaction between British society and the desire to maintain links with the United States. While fashioning a distinct national community, Americans engaged in a fierce domestic debate over the nature of American independence, nationality, and empire.

Finally, the present study recovers the extent to which American communities in Britain shaped US foreign relations. The array of social clubs, newspapers, and almanacs through which the American community was shaped also acted as the interface between American expansion and British imperialism. These institutions provided a venue for social, cultural and economic exchange between Anglo-American elites. This area of American expansion is unexplored by historians. From the perspective of the American community of the late nineteenth century, a new world of Anglo-American inter-imperial connections emerges that reveals the transnational stimuli of American informal expansion. The American "colony" of the late nineteenth century, acted as a transnational space, providing a public forum for inter-imperial connections to flourish. Put another way, expatriate social institutions were the cultural context for the synergy of American commercial expansion with the British world economy. What follows highlights the importance of the American community in Britain as a mechanism of the United States' informal overseas expansion and a mediator of reciprocal Anglo-American imperial projects.

[39] *London American*, 9 August 1895.

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The transnational interactions between sending state and host society, between the expatriate community and its dual national and transnational interconnections are at the heart of this dissertation. American expatriates mediated the dynamics of transatlantic interconnections throughout the nineteenth century. Although historians of Anglo-American relations have traced networks of religious and moral reform closely, the deep circuits forged by American communities overseas have been overlooked. Much of the conceptual framework for understanding these circuits has been established here with reference to the works of scholars studying the British World. Migrant networks hold a central place in these studies as the mechanisms by which transnational communication and contact were forged, social networks sustained, and knowledge exchanged.[40] In the context of migrant communities, cultural diffusion and economic integration were mutually reinforcing – a proposition exhibited in the activity of the expatriates under study in the chapters that follow. 'It was, above all,' write Andrew Thompson and Gary Magee, the architects of this approach, 'personal connections and social networks that embedded economic activity within cultural contexts.'[41]

The method used to recapture the transnational community created and sustained by American expatriates therefore differs from scholarship seeking to recover the interconnections that underwrote transatlantic relations. This dissertation is grounded in a social anatomy of the American community in Britain. Previously overlooked *Census* data from the British Isles are the primary source of this information. The *Census* offers a broad cross-section of the shifting size, character, and geographic distribution of the American

[40] Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2010); Donatella Della Porta, *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks* (Minneapolis; London, 2006); Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.
[41] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p. 15.

population in Britain. Recent scholarship suggests that only a small – lower than 1% of the total population – but steadily increasing proportion of American citizens travelled abroad between 1820 and 1900.[42] For much of the century, Britain was a primary destination of these travellers, although its primacy would decline from the 1870s as steamship lines were opened to new Atlantic destinations and ports in the Pacific. The *Census* reveals the complexity and surprising depth of American migration to Britain, capturing in its figures not only expatriates but a mobile minority of travellers, the wives and families of returning British and Irish migrants, seafarers, and stranded paupers.

Table 1. Total American Residents in Britain, 1861-1911

	1861	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**	**1901**	**1911**
Total	7,861	7,370	17,767	19,740	16,668	14,236
Male	5,056	4,298	9,226	9,726	9,832	7,961
Female	2,805	3,072	8,451	10,014	6,836	6,275

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales,* 1861-1911.

While the *Census* offers historians an insight into the somewhat limited scale of American engagement with the British Isles, it also presents difficulties. Its figures offer a snapshot of the American population every decade, imparting a stasis to the community at odds with the mobility of its members. Until 1901, *Census* enumerations offered limited information beyond size and distribution. Beyond that date, more information is available as to the occupations of Americans in Britain, which, as outlined in the final chapter, were surprisingly diverse. The broad composition of American expatriation reveals the limits of using the *Census,* but it nonetheless roots the expatriate community in a statistical foundation.

[42] Brandon Dupont, Alka Ghandi, and Thomas Weiss, 'The long-term rise in overseas travel by Americans, 1820-2000,' *Economic History Review* 65 (February, 2012), pp. 144-167.

In a comparative context the United States was consistently the highest non-European source of migrants in Britain, as shown in Table 2. Between 1861 and 1881, US migrants consistently ranked in the top three destinations. As patterns of European migration shifted, however, the proportion of American migrants declined relative to those from Russia, Germany, and Poland, all of which boomed thanks to the mass exodus of Eastern European Jews.[43] These were dwarfed in comparison to the size of the Irish population, which grew from 290,000 in 1841 to a peak of 600,000 in 1861 before a steady decline in the decades that followed to 426,500 in 1901.[44] The American community was of a different order to these comparative migrant populations. Yet, while it was dwarfed in size, no other migrant community asserted the same social capital as the American.

Table 2. Comparative Size of American Population in Britain, 1861-1911

1861		**1901**	
Germany	21,438	Russia	61,789
France	12,989	Germany	49,133
USA	7,861	Poland	21,055
1871		**1891**	
Germany	32,823	Germany	50,599
France	12,576	Russia	23,626
USA	7,370	Poland	21,448
1881		**1911**	
Germany	37,301	Russia	69,580
USA	17,767	Germany	62,992
France	14,596	Poland	36,199

Source:

[43] David Feldman, 'Migration' in: *The Cambridge History of Britain, Volume III: 1840-1950* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 198.
[44] *Ibid.,* p.192; David Fitzpatrick, 'A Curious Middle Place: The Irish in Britain, 1871-1921,' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Ed.), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London, 1989), p. 11.

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales,* 1861-1911.

This point is emphasised by a comparison of American communities in Europe. Limited amounts of data exist to make a thorough statistical comparison, but it is clear from both primary and secondary accounts that the British community was the preeminent outpost of offshore America. A long-standing "colony" of Americans resided in Rome, but never numbered more than a handful of expatriated sculptors and artists.[45] Similarly, Germany attracted many American students, especially to Göttingen, but did not a host a comparable permanent community.[46] Paris came closest to rivalling the community in London. Yet, while it exerted a powerful attraction to nineteenth-century travellers, its community fluctuated with the fortunes of Paris. It reached its nineteenth-century peak at the beginning of the 1870s when the Prussian Siege of the French capital triggered further decline.[47]

The importance of the British communities cannot be measured in statistics alone, however. American communities in Britain were important as crucibles for the formation and reformation of American national identity outside the borders of the United States in the nineteenth century. Through their interactions with British society, American communities constructed a sense of national identity and character and attempted to mediate the influence of British forms and behaviours upon that construction. This was contested and reconstructed in engagements with new arrivals to American communities and through interaction with the distorting lenses of party, section, and international relations. This has been approached, to an extent, from the perspective of American "extra-territoriality". In her study of extra-territorial law in treaty port china between 1844 and 1942, Eileen P. Scully illuminates the federal-

[45] William L. Vance, 'The Sidelong Glance: Victorian Americans and Baroque Rome,' *New England Quarterly* 58 (December, 1985), pp. 501-530.
[46] Ernest P. Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe* (Durham, NC, 1968), pp. 38-70.
[47] Blower, *Becoming American in Paris,* p.24. Blower suggests as many as 5,000 American residents and travellers in Paris by the 1870s, a significant rival to London.

sojourner dialectic in the production of extra-territorial citizenship regimes.[48] The focus of this study, however, is the relationship between identity formation and the array of mechanisms – social clubs, newspapers, and almanacs – created to sustain American communities overseas. The intersection of these processes provides a fresh insight into the formation of national, racial, and imperial identities in the United States.

There is no archive of expatriate institutions, associations, or communal activities. American communities might appear to be "invisible immigrants," but this is an empirical hurdle overcome through the accumulation of diffuse material. With the *Census* as a spine, the chapters that follow are grounded in the close analysis of the personal papers of a host of American diplomats, expatriate financiers, entrepreneurs, and artists. The American communities in this study have been painstakingly recovered from scattered archives on both sides of the Atlantic. Brief windows are offered in the papers of prominent expatriates that provide a fresh view of the figures that orbited them and benefited from the extension of their social capital. Added to this are layers of detail found in the correspondence of a handful of more minor figures, from the journals of American travellers, and from the fleeting glimpses offered by newspaper accounts. From these fragments, the American community's social world has been recaptured. It is a world of everyday interactions as small as chance meetings in hotel lobbies, dinner appointments, drinks receptions, and social calls. But it is through the tracing of these interactions that the contours and evolution of American communities in Britain emerge.

Diplomatic and consular papers contain a vast array of interactions with the American community in Britain. Many of these papers have been consulted by historians before, but the expatriate presence has been entirely overlooked. The Journal of Benjamin Moran, First Secretary at the American Legation in London between 1857 and 1874, is a vital but

[48] Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State From Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844-1942* (New York, 2001), p. 4. For a broader discussion of this literature, see: Green, 'Politics of Exit,' pp. 263-6.

frequently overlooked source. Moran's career spanned six ministers and four presidents, in which time he amassed a forty-one volume journal detailing the inner workings of the Legation and Anglo-American relations.[49] Some caution is needed, as Moran gained a reputation for his irascibility and the cruel judgement of his colleagues. He was also conscious of the future importance that his Journal might hold. In April 1872, the secretary wrote that:

> I sometimes think that if this journal should ever be published there would be a scream of condemnation against it. Some readers will say I am an old twaddler, others will say that I don't tell the truth, and others that I am stupid, while all will join in the chorus to the effect that I am monotonous; and yet they will read. My advice to all is, try a journal of your own and see what you will make of it. There is a pleasure in keeping such a record, and he can never know whether readers like it or not.[50]

Pretensions to literary and historical relevance aside, Moran's journal is nonetheless an indispensible source for historians seeking to capture the rich social tapestry of American London. Irritable at the best of times, Moran reserved his scorn for his pen and cultivated a broad social network amongst prominent Londoners and the capital's American residents, noting in detail the events he attended, the people he met, his impressions of them, and his assessment of the fortunes of the American community in the city. The contours of the American community in London have been sketched in the pages that follow from such minutiae. In conjunction, Moran's Journal and the papers of several long-term American residents in Britain testify to the protracted evolution, dissolution, and reconstruction of the communities under study.

[49] This can be found in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Extracts of the years between 1857 and 1865 have been published, see: Sarah Agnes Wallace and Frances Elma Gillespie (eds.), *The Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857-1865* (2 vols., Chicago, 1948).
[50] 5 April 1872, *Journal of Benjamin Moran,* Vol. 31, Benjamin Moran Papers, LoC.

This dissertation shines a spotlight on this previously overlooked phenomenon. It does so by broadening the contexts of the communities, locales, and institutions understood as the components of "offshore America" in the British Isles. The attraction of such a community to expatriates was that it sought to maintain attachments to the United States. The communities studied here offered philanthropic aid, companionship, a social calendar and institutions organised around national and racial exclusivity. Historians of the New Imperial History in Britain have termed these sites the 'imperial spaces' via which colonial and metropolitan culture were mutually constituted. The movement of goods, people, and culture was the infrastructure sustaining imperial interconnections between these sites and the mechanisms by which British power and culture was diffused globally. [51] Expatriates were not settler colonists, but the analogy is instructive of the processes of reciprocal cultural diffusion underpinning the interdependence of the United States and Great Britain in the nineteenth century.

American "spaces" or extra-national sites in Great Britain were created and sustained by expatriates. Expatriates created a civic life, social calendar, and social institutions through which they shaped the physical geography of an American world in Britain. This is recovered in the pages that follow. An expatriate print culture facilitated the "imagining" of a coherent community from otherwise disparate American locales. Expatriate newspapers *The London American* (in both its first iteration between 1861 and 1863 and its second between 1895 and 1901), its successor *The Anglo-American Press,* and rival the *American Register* were the avenues of expatriate self-imagining. The arrival of prominent Americans, lists of American residents, advertisements for American products and stores, profiles of prominent expatriates, and national celebrations were all reported in their pages. These were the buttresses of expatriate self-identification and their cumulative presentation mobilised American life in

[51] David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial, Spaces, Imperial Subjects,' in: Lambert and Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 3-16.

Britain. These were indispensible sources for this dissertation and aided the recovery of previously overlooked venues of American socialisation in London such as hotels and lodging houses, reading rooms in banks and news agencies, private dining clubs, and public celebrations.

More traditional overseas locales supplemented this grassroots expatriate culture. This dissertation reframes our understanding of the way in which American diplomatic spaces functioned. The symbolism of the Legation ought not to be overlooked in the conduct of diplomatic affairs. Scholars of the "new diplomatic history" have highlighted the importance of dress, title, and social standing in the highly charged worlds of European courts.[52] As a figurative national space and meeting point between nations, the Legation was a powerful representation of national character and wealth. But it was also an important physical location for Americans overseas. In its lobby Americans overseas met one another by chance or at Fourth of July drinks receptions. Their staffs of private secretaries were the institutional memory not only of US diplomacy but of the locales and individuals facilitating the American community in Britain. A study of American diplomatic venues overseas is sorely needed, but this study goes some way to addressing the current lacuna in scholarship and expanding our understanding of their function in the lives of Americans overseas. The American Legation in London and consular offices around the country were the interface between expatriates and the United States.

The State Department did not intend to encourage the creation of expatriate communities, but the spheres of diplomats and expatriates overlapped considerably. Diplomatic functions, such as Fourth of July drinks receptions, were incorporated into the expatriate social calendar and members of the diplomatic corps were invariably active

[52] Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riotee (eds.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 2008); Jennifer Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe, c.1750-1830* (Manchester, 2010); Robert Davis, 'Diplomatic Plumage: American Court Dress in the Early National Period,' *American Quarterly* 20 (Summer, 1968), pp. 164-179.

members of expatriate society – particularly in the case of long-term consuls and secretaries such as James Maury in Liverpool and Benjamin Moran in London. The expatriate community also took on extra-diplomatic functions. Celebrations of American Independence and Washington's Birthday, for instance, became arenas for smoothing Anglo-American tensions with fraternal socialisation and romanticised claims to cultural, linguistic, and racial union. In this sense, expatriates were a powerful extra-diplomatic auxiliary in the armoury of American diplomats in Britain and acted as the medium for cultural diplomacy between the two nations.

The creation of American communities overseas raises the contentious spectre of "Americanisation." The chronology of this study spans the extraordinary economic and political growth of the United States in the nineteenth century, but it does not trace the inexorable "rise" of US global power. Although the communities examined here attempted to craft an exclusively national space in London and Liverpool, they were not the bridgeheads of Americanisation. Rather American communities manifested the transnational dialogue through which the nation was constructed. The associational institutions and occasions developed by expatriates were crucibles in which the understanding of American nationality was continually fragmented and reconstituted. Members of the American communities in this study attempted to reconcile American nationality with foreign residence, recognising that this took place within the context of British power. The Americans in this study attempted to co-opt and collaborate with British imperial power as a means of sustaining a highly beneficial mutual interdependence between the two nations.

Historical actors would be equally reticent about applying the term "Americanisation" to the coalescence of American expatriate communities in Britain. At the turn of the twentieth century, William T. Stead, a radical English journalist and editor, dissected the United States emerging global footprint in *The Americanisation of the World* (1902). The work of Stead

and his colleagues is seen as prescient to those seeking the roots of the "American Century," but it spins in the opposite direction from these scholars' accounts.[53] Although Stead provided his audience with fanciful descriptions of the Englishman's daily dependence on American products, his concern was not the mass culture associated with mid-twentieth century opponents of Americanisation in Europe.[54] Rather, Stead observed the supposed emergence of a collaborative form of Anglo-American "civilisation." 'The creation of the Americans is the greatest achievement of our race,' Stead informed his English audience, adding that 'there is no reason to resent the part the Americans are playing in refashioning the world in their image, which, after all, is substantially the image of ourselves.'[55] This study recaptures Anglo-American interdependence. The interdependence of Britain and the United States was grounded in the social context and physical geography of American expatriate communities in Britain, which acted as the conduit for transatlantic interconnections in a world of preeminent British power – the themes of this dissertation.

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The close of the Revolutionary Wars in 1783 paved the way for the resumption of colonial-era patterns of trade, finance, and migration. Colonial Americans had travelled eastwards in large numbers since the mid-eighteenth century. Attracted by the cultural, educational, and financial opportunities of the imperial metropolis, colonial Americans flocked to London –

[53] Stead was joined by a host of scholars writing on the same theme, see: Christopher Furness, 'The Old World and the American "Invasion": A Review of the Industrial Situation', *Nash's pall Mall Magazine,* March 1902, pp. 362-3; Benjamin H. Thwaite, *The American Invasion* (London, 1902); Frank A. Vanderlip, *The American "Commercial Invasion" of Europe* (New York, 1902); and, Frederick A. McKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London, 1902). Historians usually locate Stead's work as the guiding hand of macro geo-political changes, see: Alfred E. Eckes, Jr. & Thomas W. Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century* (Cambridge 2003); Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007).

[54] See for instance, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *The American Challenge* (London, 1968); for a historical account see: David W. Ellwood, *The Shock of America: Europe and the Challenge of the Century* (Oxford, 2012).

[55] Stead, *Americanisation of the World*, p. 7.

counter to the widening political rifts between the imperial parent and its colonies.[56] As soon as the war ended, a new wave of Americans flocked to Britain, charted in Chapter One. Aspiring American merchants arrived in Liverpool and London as overseas agents and partners of American firms resuming the transatlantic trade. The coalescence of Britain's American communities in this period was structured around the post-colonial dynamics of transatlantic commerce and finance, as Americans in Britain acted as the intermediaries of the Atlantic economy. American communities formed around these imperatives.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool (ACC), founded in 1801, provided a venue for the organisation of transatlantic trade. Although an explicitly international body, with members from Britain the United States, France and Germany, the ACC was also a venue for expatriate socialisation. The ACC contributed to an emerging world in Britain that was composed of hotels, lodging houses, private residences, and diplomatic offices. Together, these venues contributed to the emergence of self-identifying American communities in both Liverpool and London. Distinct from this emerging American world were the disparate communities of African-American sailors and fugitive slaves that could be found on the wharves and in the slums of London's East End. These communities are notoriously difficult to track, but a broad outline of their shape is sketched in Chapter One. Some arrived as sailors in US merchant marine, while others followed the gravitational pull of the perceived ethical power of the British Empire and sought refuge in the beard of the British lion.[57]

Americans in Britain were keenly aware of the powerful economic and cultural power of the British Empire over the US economy, culture, and society. Their efforts to free the republic from the orbit of British imperialism were ad hoc, contingent, and highly contested.

[56] For an excellent overview of colonial American travel to London see Julie Flavell's inimitable *When London Was the Capital of America* (New Haven, CT; London, 2010).
[57] Van Gosse, '"As a nation, the English are our friends": The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772-1861,' *American Historical Review* 113 (October, 2008), pp. 1003-1028.

Although they hoped to maintain links to the United States, expatriates did not simply transport and transpose American nationality and culture onto the British Isles. The communities they formed were fragile coalitions whose membership was far from homogonous. Nonetheless, they were commonly organised around the expediencies of Anglo-American relations. The attempt to consolidate independence required the temporary collaboration with British imperialism, the co-option of British capital, and the celebration of supposed racial and cultural affinities. These were the governing imperatives of the individual expatriates who took the lead in organising the expatriate community.

Expatriation consequently produced a complex brand of cultural identity politics, explored in Chapter Two. Considerable political and psychological energy was spent in celebrating, contesting, and reconceptualising American nationhood in the crucible of Britain's American communities. The "second wave" of expatriates, exemplified by figures such as Joshua Bates and George Peabody, proposed further Atlantic integration grounded in a common cultural and racial heritage as the route away from colonial dependency. American society in Britain coalesced around this imperative, as expatriates began to improvise in the creation of an associational culture through which to maintain links with the United States and provide a recognisable national outpost in Britain. Bates and Peabody set the course for socialisation overseas, inaugurating a social calendar that would persist for much of the century. 'It gave us much pleasure to meet with a large number of our fellow-citizens, from different states in the Union, while we were in London,' reflected one recipient of expatriate fraternalism.[58] Such occasions also functioned as an extra-diplomatic venue, where the frustrations of poor communications and a demagogic press on both sides of the Atlantic could be relieved through the shared expression of metaphors of Anglo-Saxon kinship.

[58] John Overton Choules, *The Cruise of the Yacht North Star; A Narrative of Mr. Vanderbilt's Party to England, Russia, Denmark, France, Spain, Italy, Malta, Turkey, Madeira, Etc.* (Boston, 1854), p. 53.

Celebrations of the Fourth of July reinforced fragile notions of American nationality overseas, but were a lightning rod for sectional, party and generational tensions. The commitment to Anglo-American relations and the Anglophilic nationalism of transatlantic financiers chaffed against an increasingly strident "Spread Eagle" overseas nationalism. Self-proclaimed Young American nationalists passed through the American communities of Liverpool and London where they contested the form and content of expatriate nationalism. These figures instead argued for proscriptive codes of membership in the American community in Britain that reflected their Anglophobic nationalism. This impulse took institutional form with the foundation of the American Association in London (AAL) in March 1858. The AAL attempted to codify the previously ad hoc practices of expatriate Americans into a civic body. Although short-lived, the Association blended nationality with socialisation and philanthropy, anticipating the future structure of expatriate life in London. Expatriate Americans offer a new perspective from which to view the construction of antebellum national self-definition in a context where its meaning was tested and reformulated against competing forms of identity that were local, sectional, and international.

The outbreak of the American Civil War proved the litmus test of sectional tensions in the American communities of London and Liverpool. No other international event, with the exception of wars fought by Britain, had such a profound impact upon the economic and political life of Britain than the US Civil War. The shortage of cotton led to severe economic dislocations in Britain's textile regions and brought 'to stark relief the debate over political reform at home.'[59] Chapter Three examines the response of American communities to the outbreak of war. Sectional divisions were replicated, to an extent, in the distinctions between London and Liverpool as rival sites of Union and Confederate activity. Expatriate institutions, however, were oriented towards the Union. The integration of an American

[59] Richard J.M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2001), p. 7.

world into the fabric of London society allowed expatriates to work the backchannels of diplomacy where US diplomats could not tread. Union diplomacy built upon transatlantic networks of evangelical, abolitionist, and expatriate connections in British society that Confederates could not replicate.

Parallel to the semi-cloistered networks of expatriate diplomacy was the transformation of expatriate social events into propaganda rallies. The eccentric George Francis Train engaged in a whirlwind program on behalf of the Union cause 'making galloping speeches ... writing galloping books ... and galloping himself around the world.'[60] His prodigious output was reported through the expatriate organ *The London American,* a short-lived organ that combined the twin aims of fostering expatriate self-fashioning with Union diplomacy. Train's Confederate counterpart, Henry Hotze, attempted to replicate the model of the *London American,* through his sheet the *Index,* which provided a mental meeting space for coordinating Confederate activity in Britain. The activities of Train and Hotze are compared throughout Chapter Three. What emerges is a striking similarity in their shared commitment to global racial hierarchy. While expatriate diplomacy was founded on the intense network building of the antebellum decades, its output looked forward to the shared Anglo-American construction of Anglo-Saxon racial dominance in the age of Empire.

In the post-Civil War era the United States became enmeshed in transnational flows of commerce and culture that were global, and not only transatlantic, in scope. Nonetheless, the final third of the nineteenth century was the high tide of American migration to Britain. The American population in Britain grew with the revolution in transport, communications, and travel interconnecting Great Britain and the United States. Transatlantic travel was in many ways an elite phenomenon, but it had a profound (and disproportionate) effect on American culture. Americans shaped their national identity through the act of travel and the

[60] *Liverpool Mail,* 4 February 1860.

commentary on those figures designated as overseas representatives, as in the case of American women. American journals hosted a vigorous debate about international travel and the nature of the United States' international self-image. Popular periodicals depicted travel as invasion, such as in one lavish full-page *Harper's* illustration of 1873.

Figure 1. Summer Invasion of Europe by Americans

Source:

Harper's Weekly, 8 August 1873.

'Europe to-day is a great inspirer to America and a great teacher,' commented *Scribner's*, noting that the traveller 'usually comes back a better American than he goes away.'[61] Others were less confident of the beneficial effects of modern travel, arguing that Americans in Europe were recognisable for the 'abandonment of the principles of the political and social

[61] 'European Travel,' *Scribner's Monthly,* September 1879, p. 783.

creeds of his own country.'[62] 'Why cannot Americans indulge this preference for life in Europe,' wondered *Lippincott's,* 'and yet remember that they *are* Americans, and that no circumstance can absolve them from a scared obligation to show respect for their native country, and to stand as its citizens on their own dignity?'[63]

New patterns of travel reshaped the contours of the American community in Britain, as explored in Chapter Four. In the post-Civil War decades, the material networks creating new international interconnections broke older transatlantic ties mediated by American communities in London and Liverpool. American communities suffered a prolonged period of dislocation in both cities as the fragile coalition of antebellum expatriates disintegrated, eventually disappearing from Liverpool entirely. A new generation of expatriates in London lacked the social capital of antebellum figures such as Bates and Peabody around whom the rites of an overseas civic life had coalesced. Antebellum expatriates forged close affinities with London society, which broke down in the context of Anglo-American diplomatic tensions kindled by the Civil War. The predominance of American travellers in the capital complicated the emergence of a self-identifying off-shore American community. Yet, from these ranks sprang the locus for renewed affinities between American London and the rich tapestry of London's social life. American women in particular catalysed the integration of American London with its host once more.

Eastern seaboard elites in the antebellum period often sent their daughters overseas in the tradition of the European grand tour, and were joined by heiresses such as the Caton sisters and Betsie Bonaparte, and more unconventional revolutionaries such as Margaret Fuller.[64] After 1870, this tradition continued but was not confined to a rarefied elite.[65]

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[62] 'Republicans Abroad,' *Harper's Bazaar,* 13 January 1872, p. 18.
[63] 'Americans Abroad,' *Lippincott's,* October 1880, p. 473.
[64] Jehanne Wake, *Sisters of Fortune: the first American heiresses to take Europe by Storm* (London, 2011); Charleyne Boyer Lewis, 'Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: A Woman Between Two Worlds,' in Leonard J. Sadosky, Peter Nicolaisen, Peter S. Onuf, and Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy (eds.), *Old World, New World: American and Europe in the Age of Jefferson* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010), pp. 247-277.

American women resided abroad for a multitude of reasons. Young heiresses climbed the European social ladder in search of an aristocratic match, while others came to Britain in search of education, literary careers, or as missionaries and temperance reformers.[66] The rise of the "American woman" attracted considerable attention in the press on both sides of the Atlantic. British commentators wryly noted that the House of Lords was 'getting a good many American mothers' while the American press bemoaned the "fast" American girl as the overseas representative of the republic.[67] 'The true representatives of America in Europe are the American women,' argued *Lippincott's,* adding that their residence overseas stemmed 'chiefly from that tendency to ape everything European and to decry everything American.'[68] The integration of American women in London society is explored in Chapter Four, spotlighting the emergence of new transatlantic networks and providing the social context for Anglo-American rapprochement and new ideologies of Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism.

The question of national identity took on an increasingly gendered tone from the 1870s, catalysed by the association of expatriation with femininity and renewed fears of US cultural dependence on Britain.[69] These debates were rooted in the social context of expatriate society in Britain. 'Why do some Americans prefer to live abroad?' asked the *Washington Post,* 'an American "living abroad" remains always that – a person who is out of his own country and not adopted by the one in which he lives.'[70] At the American Legation in London, one diplomat pithily surmised the dilemma of foreign residence and American

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[65] Christopher Endy, 'Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917,' *Diplomatic History* 22 (Fall, 1998), pp. 565-594.
[66] Ian Tyrrell, *Women's World-Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991); Jane S. Gabin, *American Women in Gilded Age London: Expatriates Rediscovered* (Gainesville, FL, 2007).
[67] *The Times,* 19 January 1905. For a typical American reaction see: L.H. Hooper, 'American Women Abroad,' *The Galaxy,* June 1876, p. 820.
[68] 'Americans Abroad,' *Lippincott's,* October 1880, p. 470.
[69] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT, 1998).
[70] *Washington Post,* 16 December 1883.

nationality, noting in his diary that, 'this being of two nationalities at once don't do.'[71] A new generation of expatriate authors, artists, and intellectuals joined this debate with a vigorous defence of the importance of internationalism to American culture. Led by Henry James, these artists argued that cross-cultural connections would facilitate the creation of an independent American culture – though it would mean the temporary embrace of British culture as the best means to that end. In the process, James, like American heiresses, anticipated new forms of Anglo-American reciprocity.

The final chapter locates the consolidation of American state and empire building within the context of the British Empire's global networks. Chapter Five explores the consolidation of a self-identifying American "colony" in London. From the mid-1890s, expatriates forged new spaces and institutions that sustained and engaged American expansion in the processes of British imperialism. Following their antebellum predecessors, a new generation of expatriates mediated the coalescence of American locales in London into a distinct and self-proclaimed national community. The American Society in London (ASL) marshalled the social and cultural activity of the self proclaimed "American Colony," and the expatriate organ the *London American* was resurrected alongside new forms of "imagined community" such as *Bancroft's Directory of American Residents* and the Society of American Women. Expatriates continued to foster and promote Anglo-American racial and cultural interconnections, orienting the bellicose rhetoric of the "English-speaking peoples" around the processes of "civilisation" in the late nineteenth century. These expatriate institutions also act as a lens through which to view the process by which the United States enlarged its overseas footprint and clarified its global role.

Expatriates transformed the Anglo-American relationship in the late nineteenth century. The 'outward thrust' of US technology and goods, took place within the context of

[71] 15 April 1869, The Journal of Benjamin Moran, Vol.22, Benjamin Moran Papers, LoC.

British power, however.[72] As one expatriate observed at the ASL's 1895 Fourth of July celebration, expatriates 'were not keeping Independence Day in the heart of the British Empire because England was weak, but rather because England was strong.'[73] New forms of imperial synergy emerged from the interface of the American "colony" in London. The sites of expatriate associational culture were also transnational. The American community integrated itself within the information milieu of imperial London and infiltrated the social networks upon which the British Empire depended.[74] Capital, migrants, information, and business flowed through these networks. Expatriates intersected these networks and through them expanded into the British Empire, explored in Chapter Five through a case study of the pharmaceutical firm Burroughs Wellcome & Co. The Anglo-American imperial interconnections fashioned by Americans in London may have been a new departure, but it reflected the reciprocity of nations and empires in the nineteenth century.

American communities in Britain cut across traditional historical narratives relating to US migration, nationality, and empire in the nineteenth century. The Americans in this study negotiated the dual aims of constructing a distinct national community overseas, while maintaining a collaborative relationship with British power. The ongoing effort to bring cohesion to the structure of the American community therefore intersected with protracted debates over the nature of US independence, national character, and empire – and Britain's role in all three. This dissertation charts the complex interactions of these interrelationships, providing a fresh interpretation of nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations.

[72] Milton Plesur, *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to Foreign Affairs, 1865-1890* (DeKalb, IL, 1971).
[73] *The Morning Post,* 5 July 1895.
[74] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* pp. 78-89.

- Chapter One -

The Antebellum American Community

'If any man is excusable for deserting his country,' wrote James Fenimore Cooper in the widely read English volume of his serial travelogue *Gleanings From Europe*, 'it is the American artist.'[1] 'His studies require it,' Cooper continued, 'for there is little to gratify his tastes at home.' Yet Cooper conceded that residence abroad, even the most temporary sojourn of the traveller, was fraught with dilemmas. 'The American who comes to this country' and is 'forgetful of self-respect, of national pride, of the usages of society even, becomes the toad-eater of the great.'[2] The dilemma of the American abroad, to Cooper, was analogous to the nation's place in its relationship with Britain. Of all the 'burthens' of the nascent American nation 'that of the mental dependence created by colonial subserviency' is singled out as 'the most difficult to remove.'[3]

Historians of the early republic have begun to re-examine American nation-building from the perspective of the postcolonial dynamic identified by Cooper. Eschewing the anachronism of a 'new nation' born in 1776, these scholars have highlighted the interdependent economic, social, and cultural ties that bound Britain and the United States in the antebellum era and found that 'Americans could never entirely disentangle their nation from the dense thicket of connections to Great Britain.'[4] For Kariann Yokota, the antebellum era 'could be called America's postcolonial period,' when 'lingering colonial dependence ... shaped the budding

[1] James Fenimore Cooper, *Gleanings from Europe: England* (2 Vols., Philadelphia, 1837), ii, 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 46.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 134.
[4] Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010), p. 23. See also: Jack P. Greene (and responses), 'Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (April, 2007), pp. 235-286.

nation.'[5] The transnational ligaments of culture, commerce, and kinship transcended political severance, even as US statecraft was organised around the political imperative of consolidating independence from Great Britain.[6] So embedded in Britain's colonial system was the United States, that A.G. Hopkins has suggested that the young republic was Britain's 'honorary dominion.'[7]

This scholarship has elucidated the place of the early republic within the British Empire. Conversely, historians of the British Empire are still teasing out the United States place in what has been termed the 'British World.' Just as a nation-centred historiography in the United States has deflected attention from the continued importance of the British Empire, British imperial historians have concentrated on regions of the globe that were entering or solidifying their place in the Empire.[8] The British World is most commonly depicted as 'a phenomenon of mass migration from the British Isles' to '"neo-British" settler societies where the transition of migrants was eased by shared cultural values.[9] Most accounts locate the British World's origins in the 1850s, yet it is clear that with the persistence of colonial frameworks in the antebellum era the concept of the British World incorporates the United States. The free flow of capital and people between the two nations resumed almost immediately after the peace of 1783, flows that were mutually beneficial to the economic development of the two nations and essential to the United States drive for effective independence. The American community examined here bridges this historiographic divide.

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[5] Kariann Anemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary American Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011), p. 18, 11.
[6] Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2011).
[7] A.G. Hopkins, 'The United States, 1783-1861: Britain's Honorary Dominion?' *Britain and the World* 4 (September, 2011), pp. 232-246.
[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 232-3.
[9] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World,' Bridge and Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London, 2003), p. 3.

This chapter argues that the coalescence of expatriate communities in Britain is an essential context for understanding the post-colonial dynamic of American nation-building. The first section establishes the parameters of the American population in Britain through the lens of the British *Census*. Thus far, American expatriates have been the historiographic equivalent of the 'invisible' English diaspora in nineteenth-century America, but, as this chapter shows, the American presence in Britain was incredibly diverse. As the former colonial metropole and entrepôt of transatlantic trade respectively, London and Liverpool exerted gravitational influence on US citizens. Expatriate communities coalesced predominantly around the mechanisms of transatlantic trade and finance. Expatriate Americans were the conduits of capital and commerce between the two nations and vital repositories of the trust required for the effective functioning of transatlantic trade. The second section details these developments. Expatriates created distinctly national spaces in these cities, which were important social centres that maintained the contours of American community overseas, as the third section documents. Membership of these spaces was also proscriptive. African Americans carved their own niche in the cosmopolitan world of Black London. Black sailors filled the boarding houses of London's East End, taking posts as the deckhands on the stream of ships transporting goods across the Atlantic – directed by Americans in London and Liverpool. London also hosted a trickle of fugitive slaves throughout the antebellum decades, which became a flood with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 where they sustained a network of transnational anti-slavery activism. These developments are detailed in the final section.

The Antebellum Expatriate Population

By 1861, Britain was home to almost 8,000 American residents. This figure was equivalent to one third of US citizens travelling overseas at the time, but was the product of growth over time rather than a sudden influx.[10] Census enumerators captured a surprisingly diverse American presence in Britain. Tourists, missionaries, sailors, diplomats, freed and fugitive slaves, and artists feature among the *Census*' snapshot. Those born in the US were scattered throughout the British Isles and employed in various occupations, but were concentrated around London and Liverpool. American emigration followed transatlantic cultural and economic interconnections with roots that extended into the colonial era. Re-oriented around the imperatives of national independence, colonial networks continued to govern the nature of transatlantic relations.

Liverpool and London attracted migrants through their maritime and financial connections. Both cities were centres of American community in Britain, and combined were home to over one half of the total American population. As the emporium of transatlantic trade and the port of arrival for American visitors to Europe, however, Liverpool was home to the largest American community in Britain and Europe. There are no precise figures for the size of Liverpool's American community, but that of Lancashire and Cheshire numbered more than 2,800 residents in 1861 and it is clear, when used in conjunction with manuscript evidence, that the majority of these lived in Liverpool.[11] By contrast, London's American born population numbered 1,054 in 1851, approximately a quarter of the total American population of Britain. A decade later this would rise to 1,910.

Table 3. Principal Centres of the American Population in Britain, 1861

[10] Brandon Dupont, Alka Ghandi, and Thomas Weiss, 'The long-term rise in overseas travel by Americans, 1820-2000,' *Economic History Review* 65 (February, 2012), p. 148. The authors of this article calculate that 27,000 US citizens travelled overseas in 1860.

[11] For more on the migrant character of the city see: Colin G. Pooley, 'Living in Liverpool: The Modern City,' in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History* (Liverpool, 2008), pp. 174-195.

	Male	Female	Total
Total	5,056	2,805	7,861
North-Western Counties	1,986	886	2,872
London	1,126	784	1,910
South-Eastern Counties	412	215	627
West-Midland Counties	293	211	504
Yorkshire	189	176	365
Northern Counties	272	93	350
Wales	257	93	350
South-Western Counties	158	166	324
Eastern Counties	175	53	228
North-Midland Counties	112	97	209
South-Midland Counties	76	58	134
Islands of the British Sea	36	37	73

Source:

Compiled by author from: *Census of England and Wales,* 1861.

As shown in Table 3, one third of these migrants were American women. Of the almost 3,000 migrant American women, some were drawn from the ranks British and Irish migrants returning from the United States with American wives and family members. Others were drawn from a transitory class of American women in Britain on the Grand Tour, following in the footsteps of husbands and brothers.[12] Many of these women became the predecessors of the future "invasion" of American heiresses in the 1870s, as discussed in Chapter Four. The Caton sisters, for instance, preceded the likes of Consuelo Vanderbilt and Jennie Jerome Churchill into transatlantic

[12] The grand tour was still especially popular among southerners, see: Daniel Kilbride, "Travel, Ritual, and National Identity: Planters on the European Tour, 1820-1860" *The Journal of Southern History* 69 (August, 2003), pp. 549-584.

matches. Arriving in London in 1816, the four sisters moved freely in British society with letters of introduction from the Duke of Wellington. Marianne married the Duke's brother and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Richard Wellesley; Louisa married Lord Carmarthen the eldest son of the Duke of Leeds, and became the first American duchess.[13] Similarly, Elizabeth Patterson, daughter of a Baltimore merchant, made a controversial match with Jérôme Bonaparte, brother of Emperor Napoleon I. With Jérôme ordered back to France and the marriage annulled, Betsy entertained in London society from her home in Camberwell.[14] Anglo-American marriage was not infrequent in this period, though it would reach its peak towards the end of the century, and became an important point of transatlantic contact.[15]

Swelling the ranks of American migration was a class of transient evangelicals sustaining a steady stream of revival news and information of the American First and Second Great Awakenings. The lively transatlantic community of British and American evangelicals has been documented expertly by Richard Carwardine's *Transatlantic Revivalism,* which details the interrelated character of transatlantic evangelicalism. A contagious wave of revivalism in the 1820s and early 1830s spread across the Atlantic in the hands of itinerant American preachers. Steeped in temperance and revivalism, American preachers in Britain such as William Patton, Calvin Cotton, and Asahel Nettleton shared their knowledge of the "New-Measures" and "New Divinity" with interested British co-religionists. This was especially the case amongst evangelical Calvinists and the rich seam of revivalism in Wales. Occasionally evangelical

[13] Jehanne Wake, *Sisters of Fortune: the first American heiresses to take Europe by Storm* (London, 2011).
[14] Charleyne Boyer Lewis, 'Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: A Woman Between Two Worlds,' in Leonard J. Sadosky, Peter Nicolaisen, Peter S. Onuf, and Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy (eds.), *Old World, New World: American and Europe in the Age of Jefferson* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010), pp. 247-277.
[15] See: Chapter Four. The expatriation of American women has received some attention in recent years from historians of American citizenship, see: Nancy F. Cott, 'Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830-1934,' *American Historical Review* 103 (December, 1988), pp.1440-1474; Linda K. Kerber, 'The Meanings of Citizenship,' *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), pp. 833-854.

circuits overlapped with those of the American community, but preachers could insert themselves with ease into metropolitan and provincial non-conformist circles.[16]

Compounding the difficulty of locating precise American enclaves, the American community was itself one element of a much larger migrant population. Historians of emigrant communities in both Liverpool and London have focused predominantly upon noted ethnic and national enclaves. Urban life in nineteenth-century Britain was characterized by the mobility of its population, both internal and international, with 66% of the British urban population having been born elsewhere.[17] Contemporaries took particular note of the mass movement of the Irish and Eastern European Jews and the impact of these migrants on local communities.[18] The American communities of London and Liverpool differed significantly from these migrant communities. Britain's American community instead resembled much more closely the "invisible" English, Scottish, and Welsh migrants assimilated in American society.[19] Similarities in linguistic, religious, and cultural backgrounds enabled American citizens to blend with relative ease into the social and civic life of local communities around Britain.

They were also integrated in transnational communities that coalesced around global trade. Large numbers of Americans were absorbed amongst Greek, German, Jewish, and French merchants in a cosmopolitan community that interacted through commerce and finance. This community spanned social classes from itinerant sailors and artisans to senior partners in

[16] Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, CT, 1978).
[17] David Feldman, 'Migration' in: *The Cambridge History of Britain, Volume III: 1840-1950* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 185.
[18] Feldman, 'Migration,' p. 198. David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven, CT, 1941); Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979); Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1995).
[19] William E. Van Vugt, *British Buckeyes: The English, Scots, and Welsh in Ohio, 1700-1900* (Kent, OH, 2006); Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (Leicester, 1972).

merchant banking houses.[20] As illustrated in Table 4 below, the American community formed a significant element of both Liverpool and London's foreign population. Americans in Liverpool were the largest migrant population by some distance, closely followed by Germans. The global maritime connections that converged in Liverpool were the chief employers of the Liverpool-Americans. In 1820 one French traveller recorded some two hundred American vessels anchored in the city's docks, with which came a flood of American sailors to the boarding houses lining the port's wharves.[21] An estimated 100,000 American seamen manned the forecastles of the US merchant marine at mid-century, many of which undoubtedly landed and spent time in Britain.[22]

Dockland areas were well known as places for employment and refuge for African Americans in Britain. Jeffrey Bolster estimates that approximately one fifth of American sailors in the early nineteenth century were African American, a number that did, however, begin to decline when southern states passed laws discriminating against black seamen.[23] Many of these found their way to British ports. For instance, David Holmes and his friend Dan, two destitute slaves in London, were found berths by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.[24] African Americans were a feature of a much larger population of Africans resident in the capital.[25] Lucrative imperial trade between London and West Africa attracted African merchants to the metropolis, as it did a growing number brought back to London by missionaries and colonial

[20] For more on the "cosmopolitan bourgeoisie" of the international business community see: Charles A. Jones, *International business in the Nineteenth Century: The Rise and Fall of a Cosmopolitan Bourgeoisie* (New York, 1987).
[21] Louis Simond, *Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811* (Edinburgh, 1815), p. 242.
[22] Paul A. Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 25.
[23] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 2; Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, p. 26.
[24] Phillip Foner, "William P. Powell: Militant Champion of Black Seamen," in *Essays in Afro-American History* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 98-9.
[25] Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1978), p. 40.

officials seeking to confer not only an education but gentlemanly status upon individual Africans.

Table 4. Comparative Migrant Communities in London and Liverpool, 1861

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Great Britain & Wales			
Total	57,526	26,564	84,090
United States	5,056	2,805	7,861
Germany	14,505	6,933	21,438
France	7,052	5,937	12,989
Prussia	5,254	1,952	7,206
Italy	3,794	695	4,489
London			
Total	26,617	14,292	40,909
United States	1,126	784	1,910
Germany	8,485	3,963	12,448
Poland	7,306	632	7,938
France	3,494	3,884	7,378
Prussia	2,481	1,153	3,634
Northwestern Counties (Lancashire & Cheshire)			
Total	8,140	3,231	11,371
United States	1,986	886	2,872
Germany	1,564	736	2,300
Prussia	613	223	836
France	463	342	805
Italy	501	87	588

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales*, 1861.

This international class of migrant merchants, entrepreneurs, and sailors was replicated throughout cities around the globe. The port of La Havre was home to a sizeable number of American merchants, and Paris exerted a magnetic attraction to cosmopolitan citizens of the republic, but the latter did not reach its peak of approximately 5,000 until the second half of the nineteenth century.[26] The villas and piazzas of Florence and Rome housed their own expatriated American artists and Göttingen was a Mecca to American students, but neither city approached the scale of Liverpool, London, or even Paris.[27] Outside of Europe, Americans appended themselves to the communities of expatriated Britons that dotted the globe. Hong Kong, Beijing, and Yokohama all hosted small American communities, while parts of India, Ceylon, and the Middle East were less willing hosts to American missionaries.[28] Nonetheless, the American community in Britain was the largest of its kind.

In spite of the disparity in size between the expatriate community in London and Liverpool, historians can recover Americans resident in London in more detail. By 1861, the

[26] Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture Between the World Wars* (Oxford, 2011), p. 24. A social history of the nineteenth century American community is yet to be written, the most recent study is David McCulloch, *The Greater Journey: Americans in Paris* (London, 2011), a lively biographical study of a handful of Americans who briefly resided in the city but details little of the permanent expatriate community. Some limited attempts have been made to outline small groups within that community however, see: Yvon Bizardel, *The First Expatriates: Americans in Paris During the French Revolution* (New York, 1972); Guillame de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La France et les Francais Vuspar le Voyageur Americains, 1814-1848* (Paris, 1982), pp. 16-20; Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Gaze: Travellers in France Before the Era of Mass Tourism," *French Historical Studies* 25:3 (2002), p. 423-440; Russell M. Jones, 'American Doctors in Paris, 1820-1861: A Statistical Profile,' *Journal of History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 25 (1970), p. 143-57; *Idem.*, 'American Painters in Paris, 1825-1848,' *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850: Proceedings* 15 (1985), pp. 399-418.

[27] William L. Vance, 'The Sidelong Glance: Victorian Americans and Baroque Rome,' *New England Quarterly* 58 (December, 1985), pp. 501-530; Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends: From Letters Diaries, and Recollections* (2 Vols., London, 1903); for Americans in Göttingen see: Ernest P. Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe* (Durham, NC, 1968), pp. 38-70; Orie William Long, *Literary pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Cambridge, 1935).

[28] Kevin Murphy, *The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth Century Japan* (London, 2002); Susan S. Bean, *Yankee India: American Commercial and Cultural Encounters with India in the Age of Sail, 1784-1860* (Ahmedabad, 2001); G. Baghat, *Americans in India, 1784-1860* (New York, 1970); Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY, 2001).

London Americans resided predominantly in the north of the city, overwhelmingly in the suburban areas of Kensington, St Pancras, Marylebone, and Islington, which were home to over fifty percent of the expatriate community. A further third lived on the northern banks of the Thames in an area known for its large immigrant population, that encompassed Stepney, Hackney and St George's in the East.

Table 5. American Residents in London by District, 1861

	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
London	**1126**	**784**	**1910**	Shoreditch	20	23	43
Kensington	82	99	181	East London	28	13	41
Pancras	67	90	157	London City	28	10	38
St George in the East	126	16	142	Mile End Old Town	20	14	34
Marylebone	74	64	138	Westminster	20	13	33
Stepney	84	19	103	Camberwell	13	18	31
Islington	45	52	97	Holborn	20	10	30
St Giles	47	21	68	St Martin in the Fields	22	5	27
St James Westminster	41	26	67	Newington	11	11	22
Poplar	54	11	65	Bethnal Green	11	8	19
Greenwich	26	29	55	Rotherhithe	18	1	19
Clerkenwell	37	17	54	Wandsworth	9	9	18
St George Hannover Sq	25	29	54	Lewisham	7	10	17
Strand	30	20	50	West London	12	3	15
Whitechapel	34	15	49	St Saviour Southwark	5	9	14
Hackney	23	24	47	St George Southwark	5	7	12
St Luke	19	28	47	Bermondsey	5	6	11
Chelsea	20	24	44	Hampstead	1	5	6
Lambeth	34	10	44	St Olave Southwark	3	1	4

Source: *Census of England and Wales*, 1861

Population tables. England and Wales. Vol. II. Part 1, 1861,

Table 14. Birth-places of foreigners enumerated in London in superintendent registrars' districts, pp.42-4.

The geographic spread of the London Americans reflects their varied nature just as they reflect London's own diverse social topography. The suburban district of Kensington, not more than fifty years old by the time of the 1861 *Census*, epitomised the social aspirations of London and its failings.[29] In the north was an area known as "Soapsuds Island," a sobriquet bequeathed by its large population of washer-women, and nearby Notting Dale described by one contemporary as 'a perhaps unexampled concourse of the disreputable classes.' Here, large stucco and red-brick housing built at the height of London's suburban development failed to attract its desired residents and was let by the floor or room to poor working class lodgers.[30] William Chiswell and his American wife Elizabeth, a labourer and milliner respectively, rented a property here and eked out a living from their modest income.[31] Meanwhile, to the south ran the new rich districts of Holland Park, Notting Hill, and Earl's Court through to Kensington Palace and Knightsbridge. The American Mary Baillière, whose French husband Hippolyte sold medical text books from a shop on Regent's Street, resided in the upmarket Belgravia district with their children Frederick and Florence.[32]

Typical of a large portion of London's American born population, Mary's residence in London was the product of return migration after having met Hippolyte during his own sojourn in the United States, before moving to London after the birth of the first child Frederick. Less is known about Elizabeth but it is likely that she too met William while he was in the United States and returned with him to Britain. It is impossible to say with any certainty the number of Americans resident in Britain as a result of marriage and return migration, but browsing *Census* rolls suggests they make up a significant proportion of the total residents. Wilbur Shepperson

[29] Jerry White, *London in the 19th Century* (London, 2007), p. 16.
[30] White, *London*, pp. 87-8.
[31] *1861 England & Wales Census*, accessed via ancestry.com, 24 April 2010.
[32] *Ibid.*

notes that with the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, 'a significant reverse migration set in' and that by the late 1830s it had become a 'normal phenomenon.'[33] 17,798 returned in 1860 alone, as the steamship made the return journey a more viable option.[34] Those arriving on the coattails of return migrants highlight that expatriates were not drawn solely from US elites. American migrants were a part of the itinerant class of labourers, seafarers, and refugees lubricating the cogs of the Atlantic economy.

A large number of pre-revolutionary practices continued to attract Americans to the former mother country. Artists sought their training and subjects in the studios that orbited the Court of St James from where they could travel to the Louvre and the Borghese with ease, although the pair would come to eclipse London by the 1820s. Americans looked to Britain for education in the professions too. For wealthy colonists and Americans in the early republic the education of professionals in Britain was a means of overcoming provinciality.[35] Medical students such as Benjamin Rush, and later his own son John, were among many attracted to the University of Edinburgh's prestigious medical school.[36] The Inns of Court were equally attractive to the children of wealthy southern planters and merchant families. This was particularly the case after the mid-eighteenth century when Temple Bar swarmed with American students.[37] After Independence attendance fell dramatically but many followed the colonial framework of professional education.

Table 6. American Students at the Inner and Middle Temples and the University of Edinburgh, 1740-1869

[33] Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated from the United States* (Norman, OK, 1965), pp. 23-5.
[34] *Ibid.* William E. Van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth Century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana, IL, 1999), p. 13.
[35] Julie M. Flavell, *When London was the Capital of America* (New Haven, CT, 2010), p. 67.
[36] David Freeman Hawke, *Benjamin Rush: Revolutionary Gadfly* (Indianapolis, IN, 1971), pp. 43-64.
[37] Flavell, *Capital of America*, p.91-3.

Decade	Number of American Students	
	Inns of Court	University of Edinburgh
1740-49	9	1
1750-59	47	5
1760-69	35	18
1770-79	34	27
1780-89	30	22
1790-99	5	39
1800-09	8	30
1810-19	3	13
1820-29	1	10
1830-39	2	5
1840-49		3
1850-59	1	2
1860-69	3	3

Source:

Compiled by the author from: S. Lewis, "List of the American Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh," *New England Historical and Genealogical Review* 42 (1888): 159-65; C.E.A. Bodwell, 'American Middle Templars,' *The American Historical Review* 25:4 (July, 1920): 680-689; J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton, 'Southern Members of the Inns of Court,' *North Carolina Historical Review* X (October, 1933): 273-280; Inner Temple figures compiled from *The Inner Temple Admissions Database,* accessed at: www.innertemple.org.uk/archive/itad/index.asp, 21 October 2010.

Although the numbers involved here are comparatively small, it is clear that even as American's sought to secure independence they were enmeshed in formerly colonial networks and cultural practices that impelled them back to Britain. Americans in nineteenth-century Britain revived the

practices of their colonial forebears because London remained the economic, social, and cultural polestar of the new republic.

Atlantic Interdependence and the American Community

The close economic integration of Britain and the North American colonies dictated the course of American migration. Before war broke out in 1775, Britain was the largest market for most American commodities, the largest re-exporter of American goods, and the largest exporter of manufactured goods and labourers – enslaved and free – to the American continent. British credit lubricated the interlocking interdependencies that emerged in this Anglo-American framework, financing plantation economies and providing long-term credit to American merchants. British and American merchants operated on both sides of the Atlantic, benefitting from a system of Navigation Laws that discriminated against foreign competitors but waived any distinction between ships built in the colonies or Britain.[38] After the war, Americans hoped to 'lead the world into a revolution in free trade' in which Britain was one of many trading partners.[39] The political and constitutional changes of the Revolution were sweeping, but US statesmen soon found their merchants following the sedimented colonial pathway of direct trade with the British Isles.

Atlantic Interdependence: Colonial Frameworks

At the close of the Revolutionary War, American merchants rushed to restore pre-war connections and mend the disrepair of Atlantic trade. Trade boomed in the immediate post-war

[38] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995).
[39] Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), p. 76.

years. Merchants poured into Britain 'from every quarter of their late dispersions,' observed the exiled Connecticut merchant Silas Deane in April 1783, who went 'as far as their money or credit will carry them in the purchase of goods' to ship back to the former colonies.[40] Jeremiah Wadsworth, Commissary General of the Continental Army, sailed to London to secure banking interest. William Bingham, a Philadelphian merchant and privateer made rich by trade in the French West Indies, arrived in London to rebuild connections with the Barings. By so doing, Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, worried that her countrymen had 'most materially injured themselves by running here in shoals after the peace.'[41]

American merchants resumed the pre-war practice of deploying a partner or relative across the Atlantic to act as purchasing agent.[42] The occupation of many seaboard towns by British troops disrupted pre-war merchant communities in New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town, creating a transient merchant class in Atlantic trade after the war. Observers at the Bank of England noted that 'very few of the parties who represent the American houses in our market can be looked upon as permanent residents because they are constantly changing.'[43] Similarly, a rash of bankruptcies on both sides of the Atlantic delayed the coalescence of transatlantic trading communities.[44] Lacking both capital and a strong manufacturing sector in the developing United States, Americans turned back to the system of overseas commercial apprenticeship. The Virginian tobacco and wheat merchant Robert Beverley, for instance, sent his oldest son to

[40] Quoted in: Peter J. Marshall, *Remaking the British Atlantic: The United States and the British Empire after American Independence* (Oxford, 2012), p. 237.
[41] Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams, 6 September 1785, in: Lyman Henry Butterfield *et al*. (eds.), *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, MA, 1963-), vi, 344.
[42] See: Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York; & London, 1939), pp. 236-7; Alison Olson, *Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups, 1690-1790* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp. 182-; and Norman Stanley Buck, *The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade, 1800-1850* (New Haven, CT, 1925), p. 108.
[43] Quoted in: Stanley S. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War One* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 150.
[44] Olson, *Making the Empire Work,* p. 183; John Hatley Norton to John Norton, 17 December 1784, in Frances Norton Mason (ed.), *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from the Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Newton Abbot, 1968), p. 469.

London to cultivate new mercantile contacts at the close of the war. Beverley joined a number of American merchants such as Thomas Blount and John Hatley Norton trying to reconfigure colonial trade networks in the capital.[45] Despite the risk of bankruptcy and the strain on Anglo-American relations caused by the Revolution, American trade nonetheless began to coalesce around overseas commercial agents.[46]

Liverpool emerged as the hub of Britain's American trade. At the centre of this trade was a community of expatriate American merchants intimately versed with the complex and highly specialized nature of Atlantic commerce. Typically, an American partner would reside in the port as the representative of an American firm, co-ordinating sales and freights. This was the case for the American dry goods importers John Guest and Company, whose partners were split between Liverpool and Philadelphia. The firm also employed George Palmer, a native of Philadelphia, as a purchasing agent of finished wool and dyed cottons from Yorkshire textile mills.[47] Visiting the port in 1800, the Pennsylvanian paper manufacturer Joshua Gilpin recorded ten prominent American houses – a number that would continue to rise and sells short the number of American agents, brokers, and factors resident in the city.[48] These firms were primarily mercantile (Table 7), as few Americans could afford direct overseas investment. Although the extensive engineering works of Joseph Chessborough Dyer in Manchester and Sharp, Stewart & Co's textile empire were exceptions that proved the rule.[49]

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp.178-184.
[46] Quoted in: Buck, *Organisation of Anglo-American Trade*, p. 154.
[47] *Minutes of Evidence, upon taking into consideration several petitions, presented to the House of Commons, respecting the orders in council*, 1808, pp. 16-23. Accessed via Proquest *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* Online, 11 October 2011. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1808-001761
[48] Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, p. 82.
[49] W.H.G. Armytage, 'American Enterprise in Britain's Industrial Revolution: Radical Entrepreneur: J.C. Dyer,' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 14 (January, 1955), pp. 193-198; David J. Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies Between Britain and America, 1790-1830s* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1981), pp. 38, 246; Harry E. Resseguie, 'Alexander Turner Stewart and the Development of the

Residence in Britain was not simply a preference, but a necessity while American trade continued to function in a framework centred on British markets and credit. Boston-based Nathan and Eben Appleton entered into partnership in 1810 with Daniel E. Parker, explicitly writing into the deed of partnership that 'it may be for the interests of the concern that one or more parties should reside in England.'[50] Eben departed for Liverpool within the next year where he acted as both partner and agent. Following his brother's advice Eben travelled through the manufacturing districts of West Yorkshire purchasing goods direct from the manufacturer, thereby avoiding the need to employ costly commission agents. 'By going into Yorkshire I think you get the goods very low and very soon,' Nathan wrote Eben, adding that, 'low priced woollens are at present in great demand & must be higher in the winter.'[51] Familial partnerships, and the continuance of co-religious (often Quaker) networks such as the Rathbones, Bensons and Thompsons, continued the colonial framework of Atlantic trade.

For partners and agents such as Eben Appleton and George Palmer, commercial exile served as an apprenticeship in the mechanics of international commerce. Central to this was information. Networks of regular correspondence were essential relationships that sustained the diffusion of knowledge. These interconnections fostered a community of interests in which a great deal of confidence was placed. Networks of traders were therefore repositories of high levels of trust. Trust needed to be intuitive as the transfer of information across the Atlantic was slow, meaning partners had to blindly rely on the quality and veracity of the information they were sent and believe that the correct decisions were being made in markets on the other side of

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Department Store, 1823-1876,' *Business History review* (1965), pp. 301-322; Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise,* pp. 149-153.

[50] "Deed of partnership," 24 May 1810, Box 2/Folder 20, Appleton Family Papers, MHS.

[51] Nathan Appleton to Eben Appleton, 21 July 1811, B2/F22, Appleton Papers, MHS.

the Atlantic.[52] Expatriation was vital in maintaining these conduits. This was especially important in an era when communication between trading centres was slow and Anglo-American relations were inveterately strained.

The Appletons, for instance, exhausted themselves trying to elude the dislocations to Atlantic trade brought on by the combined economic warfare of Napoleon, Whitehall, and the US Embargo.[53] The brothers considered options as diverse as 'the very wild undertaking' of anchoring a vessel off the US coast into which contraband British manufactures might be loaded, or landing goods at Montreal or Halifax 'where they can be introduced at a short notice.'[54] A year after rejecting these alternatives, soaring prices on imported and stockpiled goods made for 'a good trade,' as 'it will be possible to introduce goods as prizes to advantage.'[55] The pair also began the widespread practice of smuggling goods via St Andrews, New Brunswick, of which he boasted of profits of 112½% to 125% to his brother Samuel.[56] The brothers thus circumvented the volatility of Anglo-American diplomacy through a regular correspondence that kept one another appraised of domestic political and economic conditions.

Migration reflected Anglo-American geopolitics. It was rare for an American citizen to impose political expatriation upon themselves as Samuel Appleton did in 1812 because he held 'such a contempt and abhorrence for the present government of the U[nited] States that he will never return unless we change our rulers.'[57] Expatriate merchants operated in a political context dominated by a desire to break free from British imperial mercantilism, but their residence in

[52] Haggerty, *The British Atlantic Trading Community*, pp. 110-113.
[53] Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies* (New York, 2010), pp. 115.119.
[54] Nathan Appleton to Eben Appleton, 21 July 1811, B2/F22, Appleton Papers, MHS.
[55] Nathan Appleton to Eben Appleton, 3 July 1812, B2/F24, see also NA to SA, 5 April 1812, B2/F23, Appleton Papers, MHS.
[56] Hannah Josephson, *The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates* (New York, 1949), p. 123. For more on the practice of smuggling see: John Charles Anderson Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Warfare, and Diplomacy in the Early Republic, 1783-1830* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), pp. 29-31, 42-3, 470-71.
[57] Daniel E. Parker to Nathan Appleton, 8 December 1812, B2/F24, Appleton Papers, MHS.

Britain reflected the practicalities of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century communications. It also testified to the resilience of colonial trading frameworks. American exporters travelled to a wider range of European ports than before the Revolution but continued to function as the courier of primary commodities as it had in the colonial era.[58]

Atlantic Interdependence: Trade Associations

The practice of dual residency among a number of firms helped sustain a transatlantic community of interests oriented around commerce.[59] Colonial frameworks offered structures through which continued Anglo-American interdependence could coalesce. In Liverpool, the prime site of merchant interaction was the Exchange, opened as part of the new town hall in 1754, but rebuilt on bigger premises in 1808. "The change" was a place where Liverpool-based merchants and agents met to transact business, exchange information and gossip, and cultivate the contacts necessary for maintaining trade in an environment and diplomatic context in which trust was the governing dynamic. In 1774, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was established as an informal pressure group, social venue, and talking shop where well-known merchants could cultivate contacts and co-ordinate responses to political crises.[60] These were supplemented by more informal locales such as the City Tavern, Pontack's Coffee House, and the Merchant's Coffee House, where travellers were met, post collected, gossip overheard, and good intentions demonstrated.[61]

The greater volume and specialisation of commerce necessitated the creation of new institutions for the co-ordination of Anglo-American trade, however. Expatriates innovated along

[58] Marshall, *Remaking the British Atlantic*, p. 280.
[59] Haggerty, *The British Atlantic Trading Community*, p. 250.
[60] A.H. Arkle, 'The Early Coffee Houses of Liverpool,' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 64 (1912), pp. 1-16.
[61] On the importance of trust, see: Haggerty, *British Atlantic Trading Community*, pp. 110-113, 132.

the frameworks of the colonial forebears noted above and established their own venues. Chief among these was the American Chamber of Commerce (ACC), founded in July 1801 at the instigation of the US Consul at Liverpool and Virginian tobacco merchant, James Maury. The Consul gathered together Americans and Britons engaged in Atlantic trade at the Star and Garter Hotel to put their signatures to a charter that aimed at 'the redress of existing and prevention of future grievances which may affect this Branch of Trade generally.'[62] The ACC joined not only the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, but a host of trading associations catering to particular markets such as the West Indian Association, Liverpool Corn Trade Association, and the Liverpool Cotton Association. As specialist trades multiplied, so did the informal lobbies that provided a repository of advice and information for their members and an arena where transnational connections converged and were maintained.

Of the fifty three signatories present at the first meeting very few can be positively identified as American. The ACC's early membership was drawn primarily from the local merchant elite and reflected the Quaker reformism of its most prominent members. Both Thomas Cropper and William Rathbone, for instance, were members of a prominent reform group known as the 'Roscoe Circle' (William Roscoe's firm Hammond, Roscoe & Wilson were also signatories at the first meeting in July 1801). The Roscoe Circle was famed locally for its radicalism. Support of the French Revolution earned its members the reputation of being the "Liverpool Jacobins" and its frequent clashes with the Liverpool Corporation, opposition to the

[62] July 1801, American Chamber of Commerce Minute Books, 4 Vols., Vol. I, LPRO. The Chamber existed until 1908. W.O. Henderson's 'The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool,' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 85 (1933), pp. 1-61, is the only study of the institution.

Test and Corporation Acts, and commitment to free trade cemented the Circle's Reform agenda, and was infused through the politics of the ACC.[63]

With Maury as President for the first year, the Chamber's committee met monthly to discuss customs and freight rates and began to fashion itself as a lobbying body in both local and national politics. The ACC became an important non-state actor in Anglo-American relations, lobbying Parliament and the Board of Trade on matters of maritime importance. In the run up to the War of 1812, the ACC laboured to prevent national jealousies reaching fever-pitch. A circular issued on 11 August 1807, at the height of the impressment controversy, to be published in newspapers at each port with a US consul, declared 'it must be the wish of every sincere friend to this country, whether Briton or American, that the relations should not be interrupted.' Since 'the vital interests of both the countries are concerned in a maintenance of the relations of amity and commerce' it was the duty of British merchants and manufacturers to 'to exercise that involuntary privilege, the essential bulwark of the British Constitution, of respectfully making such representations to the government as the circumstances may require.'[64]

Parliamentary lobbying likewise necessitated a constant contact with representatives in London. The ACC maintained contact with Philip Sansom of the Committee of American Merchants in London (the remnant of an associational body that existed before the Revolution) throughout the impressment crises and War of 1812.[65] Once the London Committee had proven ineffectual the ACC itself established a London office, run by John Backhouse a former merchant and future under-secretary of state, and charged with protecting Liverpool's interests in

[63] Brian Howman, 'Abolitionism in Liverpool,' in David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz & Anthony Tibbles (eds.), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool, 2007), pp. 280-1.
[64] 11 August 1807, ACC Minute Books, I., LPRO.
[65] 1 Aug. 1807 & 7 Jan 1808, ACC Minute Books, I, LPRO.

the American trade.[66] Special interest lobbying was the primary function of the ACC and continued throughout the nineteenth century as traders navigated Britain's switch to Free Trade in 1846.[67] The ACC protected the interests of all merchants in the Atlantic trade and was from the exclusive preserve of expatriates in this respect. Between its founding in 1801 and the end of the US Civil War, just seven of the ACC's presidents were American citizens with a similar portion being drawn from the ranks of German and French traders.[68] Expatriate membership of the ACC continued to grow, however, and, as will be seen, it became a focal point for expatriate socialisation. The increasing complexity and specialisation of Atlantic trade continued to shape the complexion of the ACC and the American community in the port.[69]

Atlantic Interdependence: Webs of Cotton and Finance

As Britain emerged at the centre of global trade after the Napoleonic wars it became home to an expanding migrant population. American merchants joined the increasingly cosmopolitan mercantile community of Liverpool as it overtook London, Glasgow, and Bristol as the centre of trade with the North American seaboard. Liverpool's star rose with the dramatic growth of the British textile industry that attracted émigré merchants of Jewish and Huguenot descent from Germany, and Greeks fleeing persecution from Ottoman rule.[70] Technological innovations after

[66] 22 Sept. 1815, ACC Minute Books, I, LPRO. For Backhouse's activities as a go-between for John Gladstone and George Canning during the war of 1812, see: Sydney George Checkland, *The Gladstones: a family biography, 1764-1851* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 73; R. A. Jones, 'Backhouse, John (1784–1845)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn.), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50517, accessed 13 Nov 2011.
[67] See petitions sent to Robert Peel, 23 October 1841 and 14 February 1842, ACC Minute Books, I & II., LPRO.
[68] These were: James Maury (1801), S.S. Gair (1832), William Maury (1836), Joseph Shipley (1839), William Brown (1843), Washington Jackson (1855), and S.B. Guion (1862). Alex McGregor also served as vice president in 1813, but was not president.
[69] Brian H Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Order in Council and the War of 1812,' in John Raymond Harris (ed.), *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and its Hinterland* (London, 1969), p. 101.
[70] Stanley S. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking* (London, 1984), p. 4. Jones, *International Business in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 86-93; and Sheryllynne Haggerty, Anthony Webster & Nicholas J. White (eds.), *The Empire in One City: Liverpool's Inconvenient Imperial Past* (Manchester, 2008).

the Treaty of Ghent catalyzed the major structural changes that underpinned the growth of Liverpool's international trade. The introduction of the 'Black Ball Line' – a regular schedule of packet ships between New York and Liverpool – in 1818 increased both the speed and tonnage of trade across the Atlantic, and with the invention of the clipper these times were cut still further.

With the accelerated industrialisation of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the rapid expansion of slave agriculture in the American south, Liverpool became the fastest growing emporium of the Atlantic trade. Cotton was at the heart of this spectacular growth. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars, Liverpool imported just half as much cotton as London, but had captured ninety percent of the trade –twenty times the amount landed in London – by 1833.[71] Cotton connected mill towns in Massachusetts and Lancashire over 3,000 miles and 28 days sail away; linked over 4 million slave labourers with between one fifth and one quarter of British labourers; and enmeshed ports up and down the US eastern sea board with Europe and through Europe to emerging markets in India and Egypt. It catapulted the American economy onto the world's centre stage, integrating it further with Great Britain the globe's commercial powerhouse. Liverpool's American community was thus embedded at the heart of the nineteenth century's most globally minded industry. [72]

After a brief interruption caused by the War of 1812, American merchants resumed the pre-war practice of dual residency just as their British counterparts did in US ports. By the 1830s, this was standard practice once more, as one observer reported to a parliamentary committee in 1833 that American firms 'generally have a partner upon this side' as the 'natural

[71] Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, p. 83.
[72] The literature about the transatlantic cotton industry is vast, for a global history of the commodity see Sven Beckert's excellent article 'Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War,' *American Historical Review* 109 (December, 2004), p. 1405-1439.

result of returning to a state of peace' after the Napoleonic Wars.[73] The return to peace spurred both the cotton trade and a boom in US bonds on the securities market in London. The American expatriate community began to reflect the new mechanics of the Atlantic economy. Specialist Liverpool-American merchants and London-American financiers became the dominant elements of the American community in Britain and acted as important conduits of the Atlantic economy. The Liverpool-American served as the intermediary between the manufacturer and American customer. Usually, a commission was charged for services as diverse as loading vessels, bidding for cotton on the Liverpool Cotton Exchange, co-ordinating packet schedules, and crediting bills of exchange at London-based Anglo-American houses.[74]

Table 7. American Merchant Houses in Britain established after the Revolution

A & S Henry	Manchester	American house trading in woollen goods, worsted, and silk. Represented in Britain by Alexander Henry since 1804, trading on a capital of £50,000 with branches in Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, Belfast, and Glasgow.
Alexander Brown & Co.	Liverpool	Irish-American merchant house, chief importer of cotton. Represented by William Brown from 1810. Capitalised at £500,000.
Appleton Brothers	Liverpool	Bostonian merchants, represented by Eben Appleton since 1810.
Bates and Baring	London	Commission firm founded by Thomas Baring and the Bostonian Joshua Bates in 1826. The firm was folded into the Barings empire when the pair became partners in 1830.
Bolton Ogden & Co.	Liverpool	A New York firm of English extraction.

[73] *Report from the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping,* 1833, p.61. Accessed via Proquest *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* Online, 6 October 2011. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:fulltext:1833-014149:65.

[74] D.M. Williams, 'Liverpool Merchants and the Cotton trade, 1820-1850,' in: Harris (ed.), *Liverpool and Merseyside*, pp. 182-211.

C.M Lampson & Co.	London	Fur traders run by Curtis Miranda Lampson
Fraser Trenholm & Company	Liverpool	British branch of the South Carolinian firm George Trenholm & Co. Represented by Charles Kuhn Prioleau since 1856.
George Peabody & Co.	London	Trader in American securities, founded in 1835.
Goodlive & Co.	London	New York firm.
J. & F. Dorr	Manchester	
Joseph C. Dyer patent card manufacturers	Manchester	Importer of American machinery and exporter of calico printing.
J.J. Cordes & Co.	Newport, Wales	Nail manufacturers, founded by James Jamieson Cordes of South Carolina.
Lewis Rogers & Co	London	New York firm with commercial houses in New Orleans, Richmond, London, and Le Havre.
Manufacturers and Importers of American Vulcanized Rubber and Crockett's Leather Cloth	London	Represented by Nathaniel S. Dodge, former American commissioner at the Great Exhibition.
Maury Latham & Co	Liverpool	Virginian tobacco and later cotton merchants, represented by US Consul James Maury and from 1817, his son Matthew Maury.
McAlmont Brothers	London	Cotton importers closely associated with George Peabody & Co.
Morton, Grinnell & Co.	Manchester	New York dry goods and commission firm.
Peck & Phelps	Liverpool	American firm importing iron ware and tin plate, exporting cotton.
Perkins, Bacon	London	Inventors and stamp and banknote engravers, Jacob Perkins was the American partner and his son Angiers March Perkins was an employee.

Phelps, Dodge & Co.	Liverpool	Represented by Daniel James.
Sands, Hodgson & Co.	Liverpool	Commission merchants. Sands was an American by birth, Hodgson a relative of Leicestershire based Pares & Co., hosiers, cotton spinners and bankers. Also have a house in New York (Sands, Spooner & Co.)
Sharp, Roberts and Co.	Manchester	Leading machine manufacturer using American engineer Jeptha Avery Wilkinson from Otsego in upstate New York between 1817 and 1823.
Sharp, Stewart, and Co.	Manchester	New York importers, with Manchester warehouse employing 2,000 people, a linen factory in Belfast, and a hosiery and lace factory in Nottingham.
Thomas and Clayton Case	Liverpool	Philadelphia merchants, represented by William Pollard.
Thornton, Atterbury & Co.	Leeds and Manchester	Represented in the UK by Henry Thornton.
Warren Steamship Co.	Liverpool	Represented by George Warren.
Wright, Taylor & Co.	Liverpool	Branch of an American-based firm, bankrupt by 1829.

Source:

Compiled by the author.

As Liverpool emerged as the centre for dealing in raw cotton, Manchester concentrated on the manufacturing and sale of textiles for export around the globe and especially back to the United States. The city therefore became a centre of engineering, and, because of its close links to Liverpool, the diffusion of textile machinery and patents in both directions across the Atlantic.[75] The specialised markets and institutions that grew up around these industries institutionalised

[75] Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution*, pp. 38-9, 242-3.

transatlantic exchange and catalysed the processes of cultural and economic diffusion that underwrote Atlantic interdependence.

As A.G Hopkins has argued, in this period the United States 'was developing an export economy of the kind that was to typify settler economies and most other dependencies in the nineteenth century.'[76] Agricultural commodities dominated the traffic moving from the United States to Britain. A pattern of interlocking regional specialisms emerged in the US economy that catered to British demand. The most preeminent example is the cotton economy of the south. Entrepreneurial Americans and Britons created a highly lucrative transatlantic cotton interest, but it was no mere duplication of the direct colonial trade between North American and British ports. As Table 7 suggests, the majority of American expatriates in the region were drawn from the ranks of New York, Philadelphia and New England's merchant elites who dominated the transport of cotton in American domestic markets.[77] Most cotton arrived in northern ships, navigating a triangular circuit between southern ports, Liverpool, and their bases in the US laden with finished European manufactures.[78] As Brian Schoen has identified, while cotton came to embody the 'cross-sectional coalition of interests envisioned by the founders,' it also referenced the protracted effort of the United States to consolidate economic independence since it 'deepened reliance on trade with Britain.'[79]

The cross-sectional coalition of the cotton trade is important for understanding the nature of Liverpool's American community in the antebellum era. Chiefly, it cautions against regarding the port as a Confederate sympathiser in waiting.[80] Despite the port's former links to the Atlantic

[76] Hopkins, 'Britain's Honorary Dominion?', p. 239.
[77] Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore, MA, 2009), p. 48.
[78] Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, pp. 95-121, 267.
[79] Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union*, p. 49.
[80] See Chapter Three.

slave trade and the continued importance of the American cotton trade to the city, the Liverpool-American's identification with the southern states was deeply ambivalent. Few southerners engaged in the cotton trade resided in the port until the opening of Fraser Trenholm in 1856, meaning that southern interests failed to coalesce around the trade associations of the city. This stance was also influenced by the denominational character of the networks that characterised transatlantic trade. Many of the ACC's most prominent members were Quakers intimately connected with Liverpool's abolition movement. James Cropper a Quaker and founding signatory of the ACC, was an active member of The Liverpool Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery along with William Rathbone III. Cropper's involvement in British anti-slavery until 1830 was tempered, however, by his relative tolerance of slavery on American plantations, and William Rathbone's shipping and commission business owed a great deal to its success in trading American cotton.[81]

The character of the Liverpool community was also influenced by the importance of London in many of its daily economic transactions. Interconnections between the two communities integrated the liquidity and financial services of the City of London with the specialised commodity markets of the Liverpool dockside. Proximity to the hubs of information, contacts, associations, and capital of both cities prompted the formation of American communities. Liverpool was not simply the economic satellite of London, however. The process of economic integration was multi-directional. Established banking firms such as the Kleinworts and Rothschilds, Barings and Brown Shipley grew rapidly in this period, consolidating their position as major transatlantic merchant banks. These firms were major conduits of capital

[81] Howman, "Abolitionism in Liverpool," pp. 277-8.

between the City of London and the US, channelling both credit and capital investment towards the republic's development.[82]

Brown Brothers was the only firm of American origin engaged in this transaction, although its senior partners were of Irish extraction. The Baltimore-based W. & J. Brown & Co. opened their Liverpool branch in 1810, quickly establishing a foothold in Liverpool's merchant community as the port's premier cotton traders.[83] In 1825, the Liverpool partner, William Brown, joined with the Liverpool-based Delawarean Joseph Shipley, then acting as the agent of the Philadelphian merchant John Welsh, to create Brown Shipley & Co. While the Liverpool house continued handling cotton consignments in concert with the firm's southern branches, the partners sought protection from the volatility of Atlantic markets by the mid-1830s. Brown Shipley, operating in concert with James Brown at the New York branch, began to concentrate on the provision of financial services.[84] William offered numerous small lines of credit, according to the Bank of England's agent in Liverpool, 'to different agents of American houses who travel through the manufacturing districts and order goods at Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and other places.'[85] In doing so the firm connected its branches in Baltimore Philadelphia, New York, and Liverpool with its agents in Mobile, Natchez, New Orleans, Charleston, and by 1849 San Francisco, creating an international trading framework that integrated the markets of the American continent to the mercantile and financial centres of the British Empire.

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[82] Lance E. Davis and Robert J. Cull, 'International Capital Movements, Domestic Capital Markets, and American Economic Growth, 1820-1914,' in Stanley Engerman and Robert Gallman (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 745.
[83] For an in depth study of the structures of the Brown's mercantile practice see: John Killick, "The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown and Sons in the Deep South, 1820-1860," *Journal of Southern History* 43 (May, 1977), pp. 169-194. A fuller narrative account, although less analytical is: Edwin J. Perkins, *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The House of Brown, 1800-1880* (Cambridge, 1975).
[84] Perkins, *Financing Anglo-American Trade*, pp. 34-6.
[85] Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Baring Brothers moved in the opposite direction to Brown Shipley, and extended their interest in transatlantic finance by opening a Liverpool office in 1832, appointing the American Samuel S. Gair and Briton Charles Baring Young as partners in the port.[86] Barings' Liverpool branch was one corner of a triangulated network connecting London, Liverpool, and Boston via Barings' investment capital, masterminded in part by Joshua Bates. Born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, Bates arrived in England in 1816 as the European agent of the Bostonian merchant William Gray. The New Englander's success in cultivating acquaintances with prominent merchants in London led Bates to establish his own firm with John Baring in 1826 that specialised in American accounts, such as the Bostonian China Traders Bryant & Sturgis.[87] Soon after, the firm was bought out by Barings and Bates was made a senior partner after Alexander Baring's retirement in 1830.[88] Bates brought with him a raft of American clients that cemented the firms North American connections.[89] The firm's American presence was augmented further in 1851, when the Bostonian China Trader Russell Sturgis was made senior partner alongside Bates. Convinced that 'American business will be safer than any other and should be cultivated with the greatest care,' Bates kept abreast of transatlantic political and economic conditions via his vast networks of familial and business correspondents.[90]

The chief rival to Bates' pre-eminence on the American securities market was another New England financier, George Peabody. Peabody arrived in England after a varied career in the merchant sector. The third-born of a family of eight siblings from South Danvers, Massachusetts,

[86] Gair was elected president of the ACC in 1834. The Rathbones representative in the United States was Henry Gair, Samuel's son. Samuel's daughter, Lucretia, was married to William Rathbone in 1847. Rathbone himself had served an apprenticeship with Barings in London.
[87] Ralph Hidy, *The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance: English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763-1861* (Cambridge, MA, 1949), pp. 82-3. Bates was married to Lucretia Augustus Sturgis, a cousin of William Sturgis.
[88] S. Chapman, *Rise of Merchant Banking*, p. 26.
[89] Alexander Baring was married to Anne Louisa Bingham, the daughter of Senator Bingham of Philadelphia, see above.
[90] Quoted in Chapman, *Rise of Merchant Banking*, p. 27.

Peabody cut his commercial teeth as a dry goods merchant in the firm Riggs, Peabody, & Co., operating from Baltimore. Between 1827 and 1837, Peabody made several successful trips on behalf of the firm, before establishing George Peabody & Co. in the midst of financial panic in the Atlantic world. Hoping to take advantage of the availability of funds in London, Peabody began specialising in American state bonds before moving into the financing of Anglo-American trade, stocks, and commodity trading.[91] By mid-century, Peabody financed everything from American securities, to railroad iron exports, and the silk trade in China, amassing a $20million fortune in the process.[92] With a thriving business, debilitating gout in his wrists, and still a bachelor, Peabody took on the New Yorker Junius Spencer Morgan as his partner in 1854, promising to retire in ten years time.

George Peabody & Co. stood at the heart of the City of London at 22 Old Broad Street – just a stone's throw from the Royal Exchange, which stood between Threadneedle Street and Cornhill. The Exchange's grand Hall of Commerce was the centre for trading in the American railroad securities and the scene of the "Railroad mania" of the mid-1840s. Opposite the Exchange on Threadneedle Street stood the Bank of England and near to that was the rebranded New England Coffee House. In 1825 the colonial coffee house expanded into the premises next door and rebranded itself as the North and South American Coffee House, described by one contemporary as 'the complete centre for American intelligence.'[93] Barings, and the office of Joshua Bates, stood just around the corner at 8 Bishopsgate. This was the financial capital of the world, and Peabody placed the interests of the United States at its centre, in the hope of refuting

[91] Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan* (London, 1990), p. 4.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[93] White, *London*, p. 167; *The Morning Post*, 16 September 1825.

the notion that it had 'become a byword among the English that no American House in London could long sustain their credit.'[94]

Not only elite merchant bankers were attracted to London's global financial markets. The growth of Anglo-American trade and British investment in the United States attracted entrepreneurs and inventors to the capital. New York-born Benjamin Franklin Babcock ran B.F. Babcock & Co. a branch of the Great Western Insurance Company, and naturalized as a British subject in 1857. Curtis Miranda Lampson, of New Haven, Vermont, arrived in London in 1830 as an agent of John Jacob Astor, before opening his own fur trading firm, C.M. Lampson & Co. On 14 May 1849 he was likewise naturalized a British subject. In 1856, Lampson was elected to the board of directors of the Atlantic Telegraph Co. and was later created a baronet. Similarly, after serving as the American commissioner to the Great Exhibition in 1851, Nathaniel S. Dodge likewise chose to settle in London in 1852, hoping to capitalize on the imperial market opportunities for vulcanized rubber. Jacob Perkins and his eldest son Ebenezer, engravers from Old Newburyport, Massachusetts, moved to London in 1819 in pursuit of a contract to print and engrave the banknotes of the Bank of England. Individual expatriates epitomise the migration of enterprise that underwrote the antebellum Atlantic economy, and illuminate the imperial framework in which the United States sought to consolidate independence.

Between the Treaty of Ghent and the bombardment of Fort Sumter the economic relationship between the United States and Great Britain grew into interdependence. In this period, the US shipped half of its exports to Britain and received forty per cent of its imports from her.[95] State and local governments borrowed heavily in the 1830s, and soon American

[94] Quoted in Chernow, *House of Morgan*, p. 5.
[95] Hopkins, 'Britain's Honorary Dominion?', p. 239.

railroads began raising capital in London.[96] In the estimate of Davis and Cull, by 1860 Britain accounted for nine dollars of every ten of foreign investment in the United States.[97] Residence in Britain was in many respects a necessity for American financiers, especially for those seeking proximity to London's global financial instruments. 'The barometer of the American money market,' observed one contemporary, 'hangs up at the Stock Exchange in London.'[98] These flows were mutually beneficial but did not denote an equal partnership. The British Empire continued to exert a strong, though indirect, influence on the United States through these avenues. The United States' size and resources gave it great capacity for the internal development of a robust and diverse national economy. But in the phrase of A.G. Hopkins, a phase of 'dependent development' was required for the consolidation of these elements into effective independence.[99]

American statecraft was defined by the dialogue between the political imperative of securing independence and the necessity of collaborating, and at times co-opting, the infrastructure of an ascendant British Empire.[100] The 'postcolonial predicament,' as Sam Haynes has termed it, inflected US political culture as citizens and statesmen alike applied the litmus test of independence to their culture, economy, and national identity.[101] The expatriate community in Britain provided a focal point on which to project these fears. Far from signalling continued colonial dependency, *Harper's Weekly* depicted the expatriate community as the inevitable product of 'Yankee enterprise' that 'like Nature, abhors a vacuum, and consequently pervades all

[96] Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1898), pp. 61-6.
[97] Davis and Cull, 'International Capital Movements, Domestic Capital Markets, and American Economic Growth,' pp. 746-7.
[98] Chernow, *House of Morgan*, p. 4.
[99] Hopkins, 'Britain's Honorary Dominion?', p. 245. James Belich deploys an analogy that depicts the United States as part of a virtual "British West" alongside settler dominions such as Australia and Canada attracting British investment and migrants, see: *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 221-356.
[100] Sexton, *Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 5-8.
[101] Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution*, p. 16.

space.' 'After sweeping the wide continent of America in its restless movement,' the journal opined, 'it is away in a whirl encircling the rest of the world.' American entrepreneurs were busy 'emptying foreign gold into American pockets' and 'driving such a thriving business in those centres of civilisation, Paris and London.'[102] More than a hint of hyperbole coloured *Harper's* assessment, but the journal captured the sense with which a distinctive American community, defined by its own public geography began to coalesce in Britain.

American Society in Liverpool and London

After a voyage of approximately five weeks by sail, and later 12 days by steamship, American travellers landed in Liverpool. Expecting a romanticized Britain, many Americans were shocked at Liverpool's visual similarity to the United States when they landed in the expanding industrial port. 'Liverpool in some respects appears more like an American city than any which I have previously seen,' noted the Reverend John March of Salem at the start of his English tour. 'This is owing in part to its being more modern,' he wrote in his diary, 'having commenced its existence about the same time as New York and in part to its important intercourse with America.'[103] Connecticut-born Benjamin Silliman was likewise struck by the incredible likeness of the city's residents to 'our own countrymen in our large cities.' 'Every body here talks, dresses and acts, and every thing looks, so much like America,' he continued, 'I can hardly believe I crossed the ocean.'[104] For many, the disappointment was palpable. Harriet Beecher Stowe was crestfallen when she found the city a 'real New Yorkish place.'[105]

[102] *Harper's Weekly,* 27 June 1857.
[103] 7 July 1840, Vol. 1, Box 1 Folder 5, March Family Papers, PEI.
[104] Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland, and of the two Passages over the Atlantic* (3 Vols., New York, 1810), i, 75.
[105] Harriett Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* (2 Vols., Boston, 1854), i, 17. For a broad overview of the reactions of American travellers to Britain, see: Shirley Foster, '"A Confusion of Unwashed and Shabbily

American residents did not simply find Liverpool aesthetically similar to the United States but could find distinct American spaces. Washington Street was home to the American Hotel and its 'parade of American insignia.' Above the door perched an 'American Eagle, and the national motto' to which, Silliman reported, Americans crowded 'in great numbers' excited by 'patriotic sympathy.'[106] The offices of Brown Shipley at 7 Union Court, Castle Street were the headquarters for US ship captains where they kept abreast of recent arrivals and germane market information.[107] Perhaps more famous was Mary Blodgett's guest house found at 153 Duke Street a stone's throw from the Liverpool Exchange and Customs House. Blodgett's was, in the assessment of one Liverpool-American, 'the favorite resort of American sea captains and shipping men, and … a sort of central point for all Americans in Liverpool.'[108] It was briefly home to Nathaniel Hawthorne, after the celebrated author accepted the position of consul in the city, and the two consuls that preceded him, Robert Armstrong and the Kentuckian Thomas L. Crittenden.

Hotels were model transnational venues. They shaped transatlantic travel, acting as both a reference point and social centre for American residents and travellers in Britain. Americans in London were invariably attracted to the Doric columns of Morley's Hotel. Morley's stood on the eastern side of Trafalgar Square, at the junction of the Strand and Charing Cross, and attracted a brisk business from a cosmopolitan transatlantic clientele.[109] The hotel parlour was the venue for regular dinners, the guestbook acted as a directory of current residents, whilst the bottom floor was home to a Post Office, where transient Americans could rely on a permanent postal address.

Dressed People": Nineteenth-Century Americans and Urban Britain,' in Susan Castillo and David Seed, eds., *American Travel and Empire* (Liverpool, 2009), pp. 129-148.

[106] Silliman, *Journal of Travels in England*, i, 57.

[107] Aytoun Ellis, *Heir of Adventure: The Story of Brown, Shipley & Co. Merchant Bankers, 1810-1960* (London, 1960), p. 22.

[108] George Francis Train, *My Life in Many States and Foreign Lands* (Boston, 1902), p. 121.

[109] Richard Metz Kenin, *Return to Albion: Americans in England, 1760-1940* (New York, 1979), pp. 87-8; *The Visitor's Universal New Pocket Guide to London* (London, 1861), p. 6.

London's resident Americans shared information amongst their visiting compatriots, extended invitations into the high society gatherings of the British aristocracy, and shared reflections on the differences between British and American societies. Morley's was also home to two of the city's most prominent expatriates, Henry Stevens and his brother Benjamin Franklin Stevens of Vermont, from where they coordinated their transatlantic book trade. A short cab ride along Regent's Street from Morley's brought visitors to the American Legation, at 45 Portland Place.

The diplomatic system offered a vast network of contacts and information for Americans overseas.[110] Consuls and legations were the most important elements of this network – and the most overlooked by historians. Despite modest beginnings, by 1830 there were 141 consular posts around the globe, consisting of two consulates general, 129 consulates, and 10 commercial agencies – compared to just 15 diplomatic posts in existence in the same year.[111] By 1860 this would rise to 282.[112] England hosted eight diplomatic posts (including the Legation and the Consul General in London), Ireland six, and Scotland three. Liverpool was the lynchpin of the British network. As the entrepôt of transatlantic trade it became a major patronage appointment. In 1842, consular fees in the port amounted to $8,400.02 second only to Habana with $9,231.26; London received $3,233.13.[113] By the 1850s, Liverpool fees averaged $15,000 per annum, but fell to $7,500 after the 1855 Act to "Remodel the Diplomatic and Consular Systems of the United States."[114] The same bill pegged the salary of Minister to London at $17,500, where it would remain for the next 90 years.[115]

[110] This section is indebted to Jennifer Mori's imaginative historical analysis of the British consular system in Europe, *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe, c.1750-1830* (Manchester, 2010).
[111] William Barnes and John Heath Morgan, *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development and Functions* (Washington D.C., 1961), p. 63.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Consular posts were no mere sinecures. Consuls were expected to collect accurate information on foreign markets, trade regulations, and political conditions in major ports, alongside daily duties such as certifying shipping certificates, passports, and providing legal support and poor relief for Americans in foreign ports. While the personnel changed, the consulates themselves remained a fixed point for Americans in Britain providing the services required of a wide cross-section of Americans overseas. Liverpool's Consulate stood on Paradise Street on the quayside of Steer's Old Dock – marked out from the shipping offices and warehouses by a golden bald eagle above the door. The Consulate's offices were one of the first ports of call for newly arrived Americans but especially important for American sailors and ship captains registering cargoes, seeking lodging, or perhaps a berth for the passage home. The display of national insignia and availability of US newspapers, even the symbolic presence of American state power, all added to the consulates mandate as a national venue overseas.

Consular offices and the Legation acted as enclaves of American activity that extended far beyond official duties. Travellers in particular relied on consulates and the legation to structure their social lives abroad. These activities ranged from receptions hosted by the Minister and his wife, arranging for the presentation of wealthy Americans at court, or securing tickets for entrance into the Houses of Parliament. The diaries and correspondence of US diplomats and their families detail the social functions performed by the American Minister. On 4 June 1843, Edward Everett hosted 'a considerable number of the Americans who are in town.'[116] Similarly, Elizabeth Bancroft, wife of the historian George Bancroft then serving as minister between 1846 and 1849, wrote her children in November 1846 of entertaining a 'cosy little knot of Americans'

[116] 4 June 1843, Diary, Vol. 160, Reel 37, Edward Everett Papers, MHS. See also entries for 27 May 1842, 16 June 1842, 2 July 1843, 20 Aug. 1843, 14 June 1844.

and in the following January of a New Year party of Americans resident in London.[117] The Minister's function also extended to the commemoration of moments of national significance. *The Times* reported in May 1841 a meeting of Americans at the Minister's residence to mourn the premature death of President William Henry Harrison.[118] Such activities were the unwritten duties of US diplomats, supplementing those already familiar to historians such as regular attendance at court, socialisation with the *corps diplomatique*, and the whirlwind of balls and dinner parties of the London season.

Expatriates supplemented these official events. Liverpool's consulate did not offer the same menu of social activities as the Legation in London. The ACC ran the social scene in Liverpool. The ACC came to fulfil a similar function to many of the pre-revolutionary coffee houses that existed in London and Bristol, such as the New England coffee house, the Virginia and Maryland coffeehouse, and the New York and Pennsylvania Coffee houses – among many others – that stood at the heart of London. Loyalists, and colonists before them, found a 'lifeline to America' in the coffeehouses where news could be received and transmitted across the Atlantic, new arrivals greeted, and regional affinities maintained.[119] For its American subscribers, the ACC, twinned with the consulate, acted as a space for Americans in the city to preserve national connections through the exchange of news and gossip, and the reception of visitors. The ACC took on a number of functions in the civic life of the Liverpool-Americans. Its committee acted as a delegation when new American consuls and ministers arrived in the port, extending hospitality in its role as diplomatic lobby.[120] In April 1842, the ACC also created a

[117] Elizabeth Bancroft to children, 3 November 1846, 1 January 1847, B16/F2, Bancroft-Bliss Papers, LoC.
[118] *The Times*, 4 May 1841.
[119] Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (London, 1974), pp. 67-8; Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire* (London, 2011), p. 115.
[120] 17 May 1842, 9 July 1845, 20 October 1846, 10 November 1851, ACC Minute Books, II., LPRO.

reading room where itinerant and resident Americans could find US newspapers, and Parliamentary, Congressional and statistical papers.[121]

In London, Bates and Peabody took the lead. Bates' home at 12 Portland Place was just doors away from the American Legation, at number 45. Bates' Regency house was a prominent stop for Americans on the "card-and-call" trail of London society. By the early 1830s the stream of American visitors to Europe became such that Bates complained to Barings' American representative, and long-time confidant, Thomas Wren Ward that 'we have Americans without number here and I find it next to impossible to pay attention to all.'[122] 'I always feel sorry,' he wrote Ward again a decade later, 'that I cannot devote as much time to my Country men and Country women as they deserve.'[123] Bates' diary and the papers of American diplomats and travellers in London are littered with references to the social events he organised. The Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, a Unitarian missionary from the City Mission of Boston, recorded an invitation to meet Bates and a party of Americans at Salt Hill, near Windsor, to visit the Royal Palace's chapel. 'It was no small gratification,' he wrote in the journal he posted to his wife, 'at more than 3,000 miles from you to find myself with so many of our own neighbourhood.'[124]

Even prior to independence, the West End was home to a notable American colonial presence, as the South Carolinian planter aristocracy moved into the nouveau riche districts north of the New Road (later renamed Regent's Street).[125] Bates' residence transformed the area into an American centre once more. Bates took on the role of social facilitator of the American community in London, in the process setting the tone for future projects to build an expatriate community. The banker took the lead in fostering an expatriate civic consciousness on days of

[121] 7 April 1842, ACC Minute Books, II., LPRO.
[122] Bates to Ward, 2 June 1833, B10/F8, Ward Papers, MHS.
[123] Bates to Ward, 3 November 1847, B11/F22, Ward Papers, MHS.
[124] 15 August 1833, B3/Vol.11, Joseph Tuckerman Papers, MHS.
[125] Flavell, *Capital of America*, pp. 18-20.

American commemoration. On 6 July 1834, Bates recorded in his diary that 'the day before yesterday being the Anniversary of Am. Independence we invited such as from our friends as were in town.'[126] Likewise, the engagement book for Bates' country estate at Sheen, Surrey, notes that he held a dinner for Washington's Birthday in both 1852 and 1854.[127]

By mid-century, Bates was eclipsed by George Peabody as the pre-eminent expatriate. Peabody's offices on Moorgate Street were another important social centre. Throughout its operation, Peabody explained, he had 'endeavoured in the constitution of its members, and the character of its business, to make it an American house, and to give it an American atmosphere: to fill it with American journals; to make it a centre for American news and an agreeable place for every American friend in London.'[128] Peabody set aside a large sum of money each year for the entertainment of American clients at sumptuous dinners held at the Star and Garter Hotel in Richmond, an opera box for his American clientele, and dispensed barrels of American apples, Boston crackers, and hominy grits.[129] By the late 1850s, the banker's entertainments had become so famous as to be ascribed their own verb. Writing home to his wife in May 1858, the expatriate historian John Lothrop Motley explained that he had been 'Peabodied.'[130] In one week alone Peabody dined eighty visiting Americans, and took another thirty-five to the opera.[131]

African Americans in London after American Independence

In April 1840, Charles Lennox Remond, a free black from Salem, Massachusetts, sat in a drawing room in Newport, Rhode Island, and recorded his great anticipation to cross the Atlantic

[126] 6 July 1834, Diary of Joshua Bates, B1/Vol.2, ING.
[127] "Visitors Book 1843-1863," Diary of Joshua Bates, Box 3/Vol.10, ING.
[128] Draft speech for a dinner at Danvers MA, 1856, B197/F4, Peabody Papers, PEM. Emphasis in original.
[129] "History: London Firms," undated MS, pp.5-6, B1/F25, Papers of Junius Spencer Morgan, ML.
[130] John Lothrop Motely to M. Motley, 30 May 1858, in: G.W. Curtis (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley* (2 Vols., New York, 1889), i, 243.
[131] Chernow, *House of Morgan,* p. 7.

and tread upon the soil which the poor slave has but to touch and become free.' Setting foot in England he would 'inhale the air which if the slave shall breathe his shackles fall off.'[132] African Americans travelled to Britain not merely because it meant political asylum but because it exerted ethical power across the Atlantic. Almost every major black leader of the antebellum era visited Britain as emissaries, official and unofficial, of black America. Few areas of Britain remained untouched by the lecture tours of black abolitionists, supported by slave narratives, autobiographies, and pamphlets. The footprint of African Americans in nineteenth-century Britain was deep, but was also broader than is often recognised. Britain's major cities hosted small, but significant, black communities into which African Americans inserted themselves.

The contours of the black presence in Britain have been sketched in broad outline by a number of writers, including James Walvin, Antony Barker, and Kenneth Little.[133] Britain 'served more as a crossroads for black people in the Empire and elsewhere rather than a site of permanent settlement,' writes the historian Winston James of the nineteenth century.[134] London was the centre of British imperial connections – commercial, maritime, and cultural – that were also a vital node of what has been christened the "black Atlantic."[135] In the antebellum era, African-Americans envisioned and experienced this region within the frame of the British Empire.[136] The movements of blacks within the crucible of the Empire produced dynamic intercultural exchange, new self-identifications and transnational solidarities that shaped the arc

[132] C.L. Remond to M.H. Usher, 29 April 1840, B1/F7, Remond Family Papers, PEM.
[133] Anthony Barker, *The Afircan Link: British Attitudes to the Negro in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London, 1978); Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1948); James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society, 1555-1945* (London, 1973).
[134] Winston James, 'The Black Experience in Twentieth-Century Britain,' in: Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins (eds.), *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford, 2004), p. 347.
[135] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).
[136] Van Gosse, '"As a nation, the English are our friends": The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772-1861,' *American Historical Review* 113 (October, 2008), pp. 1003-1028.

of freedom and directed the course of transatlantic anti-slavery politics.[137] These moments of interchange were given social context in London's black communities.

African Americans were integral members of black communities in London and the city's hybrid urban culture, exerting an influence out of proportion with their numbers. Serious challenges are posed to historians trying to recover the size and scope of their presence, however. Lack of *Census* statistics and inconsistencies in local parish records pose challenges when accurately recapturing the African American community in London for much of the nineteenth century – statistical limitations compounded by the mobility of African Americans in Britain. Such a task also brings to light the linguistic challenge of defining the nature and limits of this community. The racial categories deployed by mid-century Britons towards blacks were capacious and included any number of different nationalities under their rubric. To many Victorian Britons, any individual with a dark complexion was termed 'black' regardless of their country of origin, and black Americans were frequently designated 'African' or 'Ethiopian'.[138] The diverse world of black London can nonetheless be glimpsed through the Empire's dynamic commercial and maritime interconnections.

From the 1780s, the capital's black population has been estimated at 15,000.[139] Loyalist exiles of African origin supplemented this population. A large portion of London's black population in this period were recent arrivals from North American or West Indian colonies, and either settled permanently in Britain or, because they had little sense of Britain as "home," stayed for a time before moving to other locales in the Empire, such as the Sierra Leone settlement.[140]

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[137] Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins, 'Black Experience and the Empire: An Introduction,' in Morgan and Hawkins, *Black Experience*, pp. 2, 25.
[138] Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians*, p. 40.
[139] Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement* (Liverpool, 1994), p. 22.
[140] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-7.

Many arrived in the crews of Royal Navy warships, while others migrated to Britain in the train of returning regiments as domestic servants or dependents of white officers.[141] Exiles of African origin congregated in the districts of St Giles, Seven Dials, and St Pauls, where they soon attracted public attention as members of the increasingly conspicuous 'black poor' on the capital's streets. Concern for their condition prompted the founding of the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor in 1786, which estimated the number of African-American and West Indian mendicants to be 460. The Committee dispensed funds and medical care to the "St Giles Blackbirds" and their number declined somewhat.[142]

Students, entertainers, seamen, writers, businessmen, abolitionists, and colonial civil servants all sojourned in the imperial metropolis, swelling the anonymous ranks of the capital's black presence. African American migrants joined a diverse black community in the capital. As Jeffrey Bolster has highlighted, 'more blacks from distant regions congregated in London than anywhere else, making it the hub of the black Atlantic.'[143] Imperial maritime connections radiating from London attracted imperial subjects to Britain. East Indian "lascars" arrived in London as servants of the East India Company and numbered 1,336 by 1813.[144] A trickle of free African traders and sailors arrived from the Gold and Windward Coasts to supplement these colonial traders. By 1858, the *Aborigine's Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* suggested that there were enough African merchants in the city to form an association similar to the short-lived American Association in London or the ACC in Liverpool.[145] Black Jacks from the United States swelled these ranks, where they jumped ship or discharged their berths.

[141] Marshall, *Remaking the British Atlantic,* p. 239.
[142] Barker, *The African Link,* p. 36.
[143] Bolster, *Black Jacks,* p. 19.
[144] Shompa Lahiri, 'Contested Relations: the East India Company and Lascars in London,' in Huw V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby (eds.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 170.
[145] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

Those in London congregated in mixed communities in the riverside slums of Wapping, Shadwell, and Poplar. The communities in these areas were composed largely of transient seafarers who speedily sought return berths to the Gold Coast or West Indies.[146] Canning Town and Stepney in the East End of London hosted large, predominantly black communities where sailor's boarding houses, the dominant institution in mariner's lives, could be found. London's black populations 'integrated with considerable success' in the East End where racial mixing was no longer exceptional.[147] In Stepney and Limehouse London's blacks mixed freely with other immigrant groups. Cable Street, for instance, was a melting pot of immigrant nationalities since it was the site of 'common lodging houses occupied by English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Americans, Germans, Norwegians, Flemish, Chinese, West Indians, and others.'[148] Along the West India Dock Road *The Stranger's Home for Asiatics, Africans and South Sea Islanders* opened in 1857 to cater to the transient minority populations.[149] African Americans were prominent in these dockside areas, as shipping remained one of the few expanding industries open to men of colour, but are all but invisible amidst the racial diversity of London's East End.[150] Similar enclaves were replicated in the dockside areas of Liverpool, Bristol, South Shields, and Cardiff all of which attracted migrants through their own maritime and commercial networks.

The black mercantile and seafaring community was just one Atlantic network for African Americans in Britain. The abolitionist nexus of international moral reform and cooperation was another. Abolitionist networks offered a vital avenue of escape, employment, and empowerment

[146] Barker, *The African Link*, p. 29.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[148] Walvin, *Black and White*, p. 198; Michael Banton, *The Coloured Quarter: Negro Immigrants in an English City* (London, 1955), p. 27.
[149] Banton, *Coloured Quarter*, p. 26.
[150] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, p. 158.

for African Americans as organized abolitionist societies split in the 1840s. Betty Fladeland, Richard Blackett, and Robin Winks have documented in detail the networks of transatlantic activism that fugitives entered and directed.[151] By mid-century, Britain and her Empire was widely known as the haven from slavery amongst African Americans.[152] Fugitives fled there in great numbers, particularly after the passage of Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and proved highly effective as antislavery activists leading the movement into 'a new phase of international cooperation.'[153] Famous abolitionist leaders such as William Wells Brown, Henry Highland Garnett, and the Crafts joined the exodus.[154] In October 1861, John Sella Martin, a fugitive Methodist preacher, arrived in London to find 'no end to the colored here.'[155]

To cater to the flood of refugees, fugitives in the capital organised the short-lived association American Fugitive Slaves in the British Metropolis to help the destitute, which was joined by the Ladies Society for the Aid of Fugitive Slaves in England.[156] In Elephant and Castle, central London, freed slaves organised themselves into the American Jubilee Singers and sang at Spurgeon's Tabernacle, a Reformed Baptist church.[157] Life in Britain was precarious for those who raised either the capital or courage, or both, to seek asylum across the Atlantic. Reporting back to the *Liberator* in July 1851, William Wells Brown, one of the few fugitives to achieve a significant degree of financial autonomy, noted that 'already hundreds have landed on these shores; every week shows an increase in the number of fugitive slaves in London.' Wells was issuing a stark warning, however, writing: 'I would say to our fugitive brethren, if you don't

[151] Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana, IL, 1972); Richard J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1983); Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven, CT, 1971).
[152] Gosse, "As a Nation, the English are our Friends," p. 1021.
[153] Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall,* p.4.
[154] Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, pp.345-7.
[155] Quoted in: Benjamin Quarles, "Ministers Without Portfolio," *The Journal of Negro History* 39 (January, 1954), p. 39.
[156] Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, p. 347.
[157] White, *London*, p. 437.

want to become beggars, don't come to England.'[158] William G. Allen expatriated himself to Britain in the late 1850s, but failed to prosper outside of the lecture circuit. In May 1859 he wrote home to Gerrit Smith that he was 'in the midst of a desperate struggle with the wolves, who are trying to break in at the door.'[159]

Not all fugitives became destitute. Some, like Moses Roper and Alexander Crummell, successfully enrolled as students with funding from philanthropic networks. Others found employment, as did William Powell who moved his family to Liverpool and took a position as a clerk in the office of a merchant house. Others found employment as footmen, coachmen, street sweepers or army bandsmen.[160] Decline set into the London's black community after emancipation in the West Indies and it had all but disappeared by the 1830s as a result of intermarriage and emigration. James Walvin's study of blacks in Britain posits that migrants found life particularly difficult in the mid-nineteenth century because of this terminal dislocation.[161] Whilst London's black minority in the early nineteenth century was also distinguished by its poverty, the community hit particularly hard times at mid-century just as the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law lead to a new influx of African Americans to Britain.

Paradoxically, even as the Fugitive Slave Law awakened British sympathies anew, "scientific" racism, and the more widely accepted "Sambo" stereotype, basked in popular acclaim. Racial stereotyping was encoded in contemporary depictions of London society. Accounts such as Henry Mayhew's three volume *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) were part observation, part reification of Victorian Britain's racial imaginary. The image of black mendicants forced to present themselves with fawning propriety on the streets of London was a

[158] *The Liberator,* 25 July 1851.
[159] W. G. Allen to G. Smith, 14 May 1859, Black Abolitionist Papers.
[160] Edward Scobie, *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago, 1972), p. 119.
[161] Walvin, *Black and White,* p. 190.

formulation redolent of racial stereotypes in Britain. Black minstrelsy continued the tendency to exaggerate racial characteristics, and enjoyed a simultaneous vogue with phrenology as various American troupes joined the rising tide of British based performers in the theatres of Drury Lane and the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens.[162] The reinforcement of racial stereotypes on the Victorian stage and music halls was concurrent with the rise of Anglo-Saxon racial ideologies.[163]

Popular imagery connected the disparate communities of Black Jacks, itinerant abolitionists, preachers, and black mendicants. The decade before the outbreak of the American Civil War marked the high point of British interest in American slavery. Uncle Tom mania swept Britain after the release of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel in July 1852 and its anonymously penned sequel *Uncle Tom in England* two months later.[164] Viewed through the distorting lens of comic minstrelsy and scientific racism, slavery became indelibly associated with race in the minds of Britons.[165] The imagery of slavery in Britain gained traction through the increasing visibility of African Americans on the streets of London – aided by a sectional American press in Britain, as explored in Chapter Three. As representatives of their race, these individuals raised the spectre of slavery to white Londoners and were crucial mediators between the cultural imaginary of race in Britain and the ongoing struggle to end American slavery.

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[162] Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians,* p. 86.
[163] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), pp. 158-186.
[164] Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians,* p. 82; Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (Athens, GA, 2005); Audrey A. Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 33-51.
[165] Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians,* p. 70.

The symbiotic economic relationship promoted and sustained by American communities in Liverpool and London shaped the transatlantic dimensions of American political culture. Expatriates did not, and could not, drive the domestic policy agenda but they did frame the discussion of the United States' economic relationship with Britain. The American merchants, financiers, and agents who migrated to Britain at the close of the Revolutionary Wars worked within formerly colonial frameworks of commercial interconnections. The Americans studied above transformed these links, reorienting them around new resources and locations, but also reinforced the interdependence of the two transatlantic economies.[166] As interpreted by transatlantic financiers, these interconnections demanded the temporary co-option of British economic power. It was at this juncture in transatlantic economics that the function of American communities in Britain intersected with interpretations of political economy in the republic. In an era of rising nationalism, some, particularly amongst New England Whigs where expatriate links were strongest, argued that meaningful independence could only be achieved by a temporary collaboration with British capital.[167] The expatriate community was the social context in which this collaboration was rooted.

As American communities in Britain mediated commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States, they performed analogous functions in the cultural sphere. Transatlantic ties ran deep in the realm of culture but catalysed renewed fears of colonial dependency. The preoccupation of many in the United States with the question of national identity in the antebellum era found concurrent expression in the American communities of Britain. Anglophilic Americans in Britain were quick to proclaim the importance of British

[166] See: Jim Potter, 'Atlantic Economy, 1815-1860: The USA and the Industrial Revolution in Britain,' in L.S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1960), pp. 236-281.
[167] For financiers links with New England see: Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era* (Oxford, 2005), particularly 'The Baring Years.'

forms and behaviours to the establishment of US legitimacy. But the stirrings of American nationalism, and its partisan and sectional inflections, was pre-occupied with the United States' place in a British world and contested the value of such Old World influences on the definition of "Americanness." American nationalists temporarily residing or sojourning in Britain attempted to enact these principles in the crucible of an evolving expatriate civic culture. As the chapter that follows demonstrates, John Bull loomed large in debates over American national character. Yet, although opposition to Britain offered one avenue to establishing what was distinct in American national identity, it could not provide a route to resolving the centrifugal tensions that would drive them apart.

- Chapter Two -

Contesting Cosmopolitanism, Race, and Expatriation

'After all these bloody wars and vindictive animosities,' reflected Nathaniel Hawthorne after resigning his post as American Consul in Liverpool, 'we still have an unspeakable yearning towards England.' The American, he found, was, 'often conscious of the deep-rooted sympathies' that bound the two nations and consequently, 'feels a blind pathetic tendency to wander back again.' This was, he wrote, a 'peculiar insanity' that 'lies deep in the Anglo-American heart.'[1] The residence of American expatriates in England elicited fears of resocialisation, denationalisation, even recolonisation. Hawthorne, for one, confided his doubts that 'this European residence will be good ... in the long run,' since, 'all of us will come back [to the US] with altered habits.'[2] Yet, Hawthorne's attitudes toward England and expatriation were Janus Faced. 'I wish we could annex this island to the Union,' he confided.[3] But the author later wrote his friend, John Lothrop Motley, that it was 'the worst sort of treason for enjoyable people to expatriate themselves.'[4]

Fears of lingering colonial dependence shaped the United States in significant ways.[5] Expatriates intersected with the discussion of American nationhood and nationality by seeming to have reverted to the former imperial parent.[6] The expatriates discussed in Chapter One recognised and mediated the United States' deep integration in transatlantic networks of culture and commerce. This understanding deeply inflected the formation of national identity within the American communities of London and Liverpool. Considerable political and

[1] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home: A Series of English Sketches* (Boston, 1866), pp. 21-24.
[2] Quoted in: Ernest P. Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe* (Durham, NC, 1968), p. 161.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 158, 179.
[4] Nathaniel Hawthorne to John Lothrop Motley, 1 April 1860, in George William Curtis (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley*, (2 Vols., New York, 1889), i, 340.
[5] Kariann Anemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary American Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011),
[6] For an overview see: Nancy L. Green, 'Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept,' *American Historical Review* (April, 2009), pp. 307-328.

psychological energy was spent in celebrating, contesting, and reconstructing this national framework. In the following pages, four case study sections spotlight the cultural forms and processes by which Americans shaped and contested national community overseas. This chapter begins in the 1830s with the cosmopolitan civility of Joshua Bates, who envisaged Americans as members of a community of Atlantic gentility and whose expatriation was formalised in 1842. A self-cultivated paragon of Whig virtue, Bates lionized the Mother Country and placed a premium on adopting many of its characteristics as the mechanism for establishing the United States own legitimacy. Through private dinner parties and social events Bates hoped to spread the "civilising" effects of Anglophilic nationalism on select bands of travellers passing through London.[7]

By mid-century, the financier George Peabody transformed the expatriate community in London. Peabody transformed the previously private Fourth of July celebrations into the public celebration of Anglo-American friendship, which was increasingly eschewed by a new generation of nationalists overseas. Yet, partisan and generational fault lines began to divide the American community. Young American Democrats temporarily sojourning in Britain held a tireless vigil over their expatriate hosts and contested any manifestation of servile "toadying" to the British monarchy.[8] Young Americans instilled a new form of international consciousness into the American community in Britain. This consciousness was revolutionary, expansionist, and, above all, Anglophobic.[9] Its proponents contested the perceived Anglophilic inflection of expatriate identity and contested the associational culture developed by the community's moneyed elites. In Liverpool, this took a sectionalised form,

[7] Anglophilia is often overlooked in the republic, for an excellent overview see: Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago, 2008).
[8] For more on Young Americans overseas, and their activities in the 1848 Revolutions, see: Timothy Mason Roberts, *Distant Revolutions: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009).
[9] For a full discussion of the contours of this consciousness, see: Lawrence Eyal, *The Young America Movement and the Transformation of the Democratic Party, 1821-61* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 116-141.

as expatriate dinners at the port's American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) staked US independence against the tide of cotton bales crossing the Atlantic.

These contestations are explored in what follows, offering a fresh perspective on the transnational interconnections implicated in the development of US political culture between the elections of Jackson and Lincoln. The chapter ends with the creation of new, and increasingly proscriptive, expatriate institutions in London. Spurred by strident Young American nationalism, a new generation of expatriates created the American Association in London (AAL). Although short-lived, the AAL aimed to create an explicitly national space in the capital around which a self-identifying community could coalesce. Americans in the capital were attracted to its philanthropic functions, reading room, and coordination of an expatriate social calendar to challenge the Anglophilic events of Bates and Peabody. The AAL offered a cosmetic sense of solidarity at best, however. The postcolonial framework in which antebellum Americans discussed nationality and independence took multiple forms. Though Britain was a constant referent, Anglophobia alone could not resolve the partisan and sectional tensions manifested in this discussion and in the American community in Britain. These themes are the subject of this chapter.

Joshua Bates and Civic Nationalism

Expatriate society in London centred upon the home of Joshua Bates at the heart of the West End before 1850. Bates was not content merely to play the host, however. In his conception of expatriate citizenship, residence abroad entailed not merely the duty to entertain, but to educate in the *mores* of Atlantic gentility. The civic festivities, and more informal evening dinner parties, promoted not only expatriate activity but the critical introspection that constituted many Americans' experience of sojourn in Europe. For nineteenth-century Americans, travel provoked deeply ambivalent responses. Antebellum travellers felt keenly

the need to balance cultural appreciation of the Old World with democratic affirmation of the New. If properly conducted, travel, it was argued, eased nationalist anxieties. 'I know not who can travel with more advantage to himself, or to his country, than a citizen of the United States,' wrote William Austin while studying at the Inns of Court, 'for, the moment he arrives in Europe, the love of his own country becomes his predominant passion.'[10] Although international travel reinforced social and political prejudices, most writers conceded that travel could be transformative for the individual and the nation. Sojourn abroad promoted identification with the nation but it placed it within the world of Atlantic culture and sociability.[11]

The acquisition of good manners, particularly the pruning of American gregariousness, was considered the chief benefit of travel by cosmopolitan Americans in London. Edward Everett, Minister to Great Britain between 1840 and 1845 complained after meeting a party of American travellers that 'it grieves me to see how few of our young men who come abroad are sufficiently educated to derive any benefit from foreign travel.'[12] Bates, too, complained just a year later in 1843 of 'a host of Americans here – some of our wildest schemers, whom I feel very much inclined to kick out of our doors whenever they come in.'[13] The Bostonian fastidiously recorded the change in his visitors. 'Mr. Ward, the agent of Gracie, Prime & Co.', he wrote to Thomas Wren Ward, 'is a sensible man.' Nonetheless, he warned, 'his manners are objectionable in England, too voluble, but that will wear off. A residence of one year in London would make a perfect gentleman of him.'[14] 'Ropes has been

[10] William Austin, *Letters from London Written During the Years 1802 & 1803* (Boston, 1804), pp. 2-3. For more examples see: John Overton Choules, *The Cruise of the Yacht North Star; A Narrative of Mr. Vanderbilt's Party to England, Russia, Denmark, France, Spain, Italy, Malta, Turkey, Madeira, Etc.* (Boston, 1854), p. 103. Matthew Flournoy Ward, *Letters from Three Continents, By M., The Arkansas Correspondent of the Louisville Journal* (New York, 1851), pp. 17, 341.
[11] Daniel Kilbride, "Travel, Ritual, and National Identity: Planters on the European Tour, 1820-1860" *The Journal of Southern History* 69 (August, 2003), pp. 549-584; *Idem., An American Aristocracy: Southern Planters in Antebellum Philadelphia* (Columbia, SC, 2006), pp. 37-38.
[12] 29 May 1842, Diary, Reel 37/Volume 158, Everett Papers, MHS.
[13] Bates to Ward, 16 June 1843, B11/F1, Ward Papers, MHS.
[14] Bates to Ward, 21 December 1831, B10/F3, Ward Papers, MHS.

with me this evening,' he wrote Ward only the week before, 'he is really a very estimable man and I think you will find him much improved by this trip.'[15]

The educational importance of travel was multidirectional. Bates was not so Anglophilic as to believe that the impact of the United States upon Britain would be negligible. In 1832, the Bostonian passed over the prospect of a return visit to the US so that Henry Mildmay, son of Barings partner Sir Humphrey Mildmay, might 'go over, for his education is not complete until he has seen the Great Republic.'[16] Similarly, Bates and Ward arranged for an exchange of their sons so that they might complete their education in business, before the tragic death of Bates' son William ended the scheme.[17] Bates found 'great ignorance here [in Britain] about the power of the United States' and a trip to the United States would correct that.[18] Bates made a clear distinction between what it was that Britons and Americans might learn from residence in one another's country, however. 'American institutions,' he described to Ward, 'it seems to me ... are far preferable to any other form of Gov't, as giving the greatest happiness to the greatest number.' Although, he added, that is 'if they give as a natural result what I saw in New England.' However, Bates did not find them 'favourable to a high degree of refinement,' which could be found in England.[19]

In part, this was emblematic of a deeply held cosmopolitan, and Anglophilic, civility that was light on nationalist zeal. That is not to say that Bates was not patriotic, for he was. Yet, Bates expressed a brand of inverse nationalism that the banker rendered in only negative terms. Writing to his long time confidant Ward, he laid bare the ambivalence he held towards the United States, opining that:

[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Bates to Ward, 30 Jan 1832, B10/F4, Ward Papers, MHS.
[17] Bates to Ward, 3 January 1833, B10/F8, Ward Papers, MHS.
[18] Bates to Ward, 16 May 1845, B11/F10, Ward Papers, MHS.
[19] Bates to Ward, 3 November 1841, B11/F10, Ward Papers, MHS.

> I, poor me!, find to what degree I love my country in the mortification I feel at her disgrace, and that it is so all pervading that I cannot say a word in her defence. ... all efforts are useless and Americans abroad are doomed to that sort of sorrow that I can conceive a brother to feel for a loved sister who had deviated from the paths of virtue. … However, I did not mean to bore you with a subject that must be disagreeable to all *true* Americans.'[20]

Bates' concern was that the United States be properly represented. Life in Britain was difficult for Bates to the extent that American citizens were repeatedly misunderstood. 'The most vexatious part of one's position here,' he reflected, 'is that all well bred Americans pass as Englishmen and the extraordinary characters ... pass as exhibiting the true American character.'[21] This was of personal mortification to Bates largely on business grounds. Bates inflected his residence in Britain with a desire to improve Anglo-American relations. Largely this made for a brisk business at Barings, but Bates' regard was in part influenced by a genuine desire to promote Anglo-American rapprochement. In 1842, at the height of diplomatic disputes over the location of the Maine-New Brunswick border, he thought the prospect of Anglo-American war 'suicidal' and wrote four years later that it would be 'perfect madness.'[22] In 1853, his role as diplomat-financier was cemented after he was appointed umpire of the Anglo-American Joint Claims Convention.[23] Bates was also the first expatriate to seriously contemplate the creation of an expatriate newspaper because 'some means are wanted of spreading correct knowledge of the United States.'[24] The paper was never founded, but Bates was willing to solicit the interest of subscribers in Boston and New York to begin publication.

[20] Bates to Ward, 26 April 1843, B11/F2, Ward Papers, MHS. Author's emphasis.
[21] Bates to Ward, 3 October 1833, B10/F9, Ward Papers, MHS.
[22] Bates to Ward, 31 January 1842 & 1 January 1846, B10/F16 & B11/F14, Ward Papers, MHS.
[23] Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 61-9.
[24] Bates to Ward, 4 October 1841, B10/F14, see also: Bates to Ward, 18 November 1841 & Ward to Bates, 14 December 1841, B10/F15, Ward Papers, MHS.

On the surface, Bates follows the "typical" mode of expatriation experienced by many antebellum Americans. Having arrived in Britain as the representative of an American firm the unintended consequence of his rapid promotion through the ranks of global commerce was his expatriation. In this light, and in Ward's estimation, Bates was an accidental expatriate. 'I conclude that you never have made up your mind whether you will return to the United States,' he wrote Bates in 1832. 'We are driven along from day to day and from year to year by circumstances, and at last,' Ward suggested, 'find that the thread of life is spun out, or that habit has become fixed.' 'My opinion has been that you would not leave London,' he concluded.[25] While the process of Bates' expatriation was undoubtedly contingent, the banker was much more active in his expatriation than perhaps he would allow his American correspondents to believe.

In other respects it is hard to find an American more suited to the life of an expatriate. Throughout his expatriation Bates held frustrated ambitions of entering the upper echelons of society in Victorian England. He frequently spoke of his frustrated social ambitions, plaintively recording in his diary that he had spent '20 years in England,' but yet could not, 'recollect that any one ever offered me any act of civility. I do not see that I have made any friends.'[26] It is fair to say that while Bates himself did not enter the aristocracy in the way that he may have hoped his family was broadly accepted by British society. His daughter Elizabeth married Sylvain Van Der Weyer, the Belgian ambassador of King Leopold I and future Prime Minister, which brought close contact to the Court of St James. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in fact acted as God-parents to Elizabeth's second child in 1842, a source of great pride for Bates.[27]

Bates displayed an undue deference to "society" and rank throughout the duration of his expatriation. To an extent, this explains his apparent reticence to entertain publicly, and

[25] Ward to Bates, 27 June 1832, B10/F5, Ward Papers, MHS.
[26] 15 July 1838, Diary of Joshua Bates, Box I/Vol.3, ING.
[27] Bates to Ward, 4 July 1842 & 1 August 1842, B10/F19, Ward Papers, MHS.

certainly explains his choice of guests. While Portland Place was undoubtedly a centre of expatriate community, he was highly selective of his American company. Bates found there to be 'much good society at command' amongst the American residents of London, but in line with his negatively expressed nationalism found this to be a source of national deficiency. 'If I bro't them together without first seeing what sort of people they were, I should offend the higher by mixing them with the lower,' he explained to Ward, complaining that 'the Americans display none of that equality, or want of aristocratic feeling, which they are famed for.'[28]

Bates' characteristic concern for the code of civility played a large part in this respect. This code was so embedded in his Anglophilic preoccupation with "society" that it restricted the extent to which he was willing to build an expatriate community around all Americans in London. American society in Britain was a fragile coalition of sectional, partisan, class, and generational influences. Though Bates knit them together through his semi-regular dinners and social outings he leant firmly in one direction. Bates rejected the protean Jacksonian synthesis of Anglophobia and nationalism. Rather the Bostonian represented a cultivated patriotism – a mixture of Federalist and Whig elements – in which Britain was the touchstone of good taste and civility. Contrasted with fellow Whig sympathiser George Peabody, Bates resembled the New England patrician conservatives of the Federalist era. Peabody was indiscriminate, Bates claimed to Ward, and entertained Americans 'whether acquainted with them or not,' consequently, he added, Peabody 'is in no society here.'[29]

This process culminated in 1842. On 28 April Bates 'took the oath of loyalty to the Queen and also that of ... Supremacy and have been naturalized.'[30] This was the most permanent act of expatriation that could be made. Bates renounced his former US citizenship in favour of British subjecthood via a private Act of Parliament. Yet, even this radical act of

[28] Bates to Ward, 3 October 1833, B10/F9, Ward Papers, MHS.
[29] Bates to Ward, 26 July 1850, B12/F11, Ward Papers, MHS.
[30] 29 April 1842, Diary of Joshua Bates, Box I/Vol.3, ING.

expatriation was qualified. The sentence after recording his naturalisation, Bates noted in his diary that he had 'paid for the estate of ... East Cheen' before obsessing at great length of the changes he would make to the house and gardens there.[31] It is unlikely that Bates' Anglophilia was so strong as to prompt him to cast off his American citizenship. Indeed, the act was a purely legal measure.

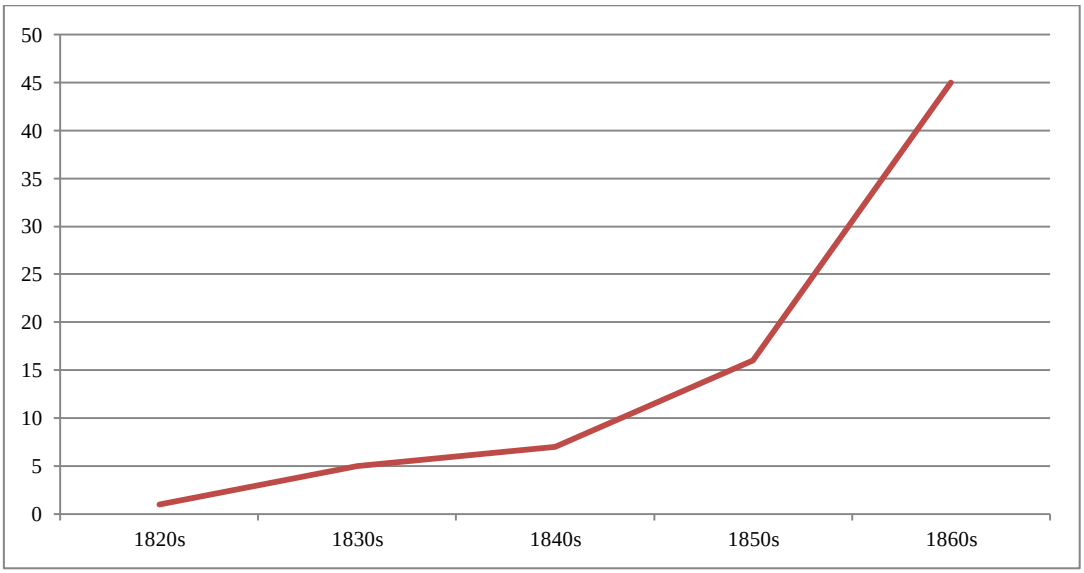
British adherence to the concept of perpetual allegiance meant that Bates could not dissolve his "natural" affinity to the country of his birth. By naturalizing through an Act of Parliament, however, he could attain the legal rights of a British subject. Foreign aliens, such as Bates, had limited rights in England before the passage of the 1844 Naturalisation Act. The majority of aliens could hold a tenancy at will and no more. However, as a merchant, Bates was exempt from this and could therefore purchase land. His descendants, however, could not inherit it.[32] Given his subsequent purchase of Cheen, Bates' naturalisation therefore seems a legal necessity rather than a deliberate act to renounce his status as an American citizen. By attaining the rights of a British subject, Bates' daughter could inherit his property. Bates' formal expatriation, then, was expedient.

Bates successfully disguised his assumption of subjecthood from his American correspondents. This was seemingly a business decision, as Anglo-American banks competed for American business on the grounds of who could lay the greatest claim to being truly American. With heightened competition between Anglo-American firms, Bates eyed Peabody carefully, noting that his rival was 'clever and pretends to be more American than we are,' ominously suggesting he 'should be watched.'[33] Thomas Wren Ward makes no mention of Bates citizenship – if he knew of it. Bates was part of a small but growing number of American residents in Britain to declare their allegiance to the Crown. In fact, Barings'

[31] 29 April 1842, Diary of Joshua Bates, Box I/Vol.3, ING.
[32] Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, *The law of aliens and naturalization: including the text of the Aliens Act, 1905* **(**London, 1906), p. 5.
[33] Bates to Ward, 14 February 1851, B12/F12, Ward Papers, MHS.

American partner in Liverpool, S.S. Gair of New York, naturalized by a private act of Parliament shortly after Bates.[34]

Figure 2. Naturalisation of American Citizens by decade, 1820-1860



Source:

Compiled by the author from:

'Indexes to Denization and Naturalisation, Years 1801 to 1901 & Years 1901-1914,' HO334, TNA, Kew.

Americans resident in Britain after the revolution could occupy a number of legal statuses. Alien residents could be granted the status of denizen by the Crown. This endowed the individual with the right to buy land, but not to inherit it. These privileges were passed on to children born after the grant of the patent letter, but not those before – which would have made the status ineffective for Bates.[35] Though the practice of granting Letters Patent conferring the status of denizen declined in the nineteenth century, seven Americans were granted this status, including the Manchester-based merchant-manufacturer Joseph Cheeseborough Dyer and James Jamieson Cordes, a nail manufacturer based in

[34] Vict. 5&6, C.60.
[35] Roger Kershaw & Mark Pearsall, *Immigrants and Aliens: A Guide to Sources on UK Immigration and Citizenship* (2nd Edn., London, 2000), pp. 55-6.

Monmouthshire, Wales.[36] The significant increase in the rate of naturalisation suggested in Figure 2 between 1840 and 1860 reflects a liberalizing of British naturalisation procedures with the passage of the 1844 Naturalisation Act. The 1844 Act extended the right to hold land to all aliens, whether merchants or not, but still restricted that ownership to properties of residence or business and for a period of twenty one years.[37] Nonetheless, the process was made far less expensive, as naturalisation could now be granted by application to the Secretary of State, and not by Act of Parliament only, making it a much more viable option.

George Peabody and Expatriate National Consciousness

The legal mechanisms of expatriation allow the historian only a fleeting glimpse of expatriate national consciousness in Britain.[38] Nationality in the nineteenth century was an unstable construction. National identity and nationalism were self constitutive acts, often reaching their fullest form on the occasion of their expression. This section, and the one that follows, examines how expatriate citizenship was organized through public civic ceremonies organised by George Peabody. Expatriate civic life was not a simple transcription of national culture, but a highly politicized and contested practice that was reframed as the American community was itself transformed.[39] Expatriates demonstrated their national consciousness in a wide range of forms that consisted of the observance of national holidays, celebratory dinners, orations, the trappings of banal nationalism (flags, portraiture, cartoons, consumer products), and the political commentary on these occasions which they circulated amongst

[36] Compiled by the author from, *Denizations: Lists of Grants by Letters Patent, 1801 to 1873,* PRO.

[37] Henriques, *The law of aliens and naturalization***,** pp. 5-6; John Cutler, *The Law of Naturalization, As Amended by the Naturalization Acts, 1870* (London, 1871), pp. 10-11.

[38] The discussion of "national consciousness" in this chapter is shaped by: Peter Mandler, "What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography," *Modern Intellectual History* 3 (August, 2006), pp. 271-297.

[39] My understanding of "national" civic life draws deeply from David Waldstreicher's *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997) and Mary P. Ryan's study *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1997).

themselves and in the United States. More than simply a process of "othering" these demonstrations engaged with the international context in which they were presented. Expatriates in Britain inflected their civic life with varying degrees of Anglo-Saxon and anticolonial discourse as they reformulated ideas about the nation and national identity.

American civic life in Britain was slow to start, as few expatriates had the social capital to catalyse the coalescence of disparate American residents into a single national space. One of the earliest known examples of American civic ceremony was an extraordinary celebration that took place on board *HMS Nassau* in 1814 after American prisoners were given permission to celebrate the Fourth of July by their British jailers.[40] The next public celebration, nearly thirty years later, occurred in 1841 to commemorate the death of President William Henry Harrison.[41] The first public Fourth of July celebration to take place in London in 1845 raised tempers on both sides of the Atlantic after the event was described as a display of 'considerable impudence' in the London press.[42] However, expatriate celebrations remained private affairs for much of the antebellum period until George Peabody placed civic celebrations at the heart of the expatriate community's citizenship. Given the chronic under-staffing and under-budgeting of the American legation in the mid-nineteenth century, the diplomatic corps came to rely upon the efforts of individual citizens to display the image of America overseas – and in the process foster amicable international relations.[43] This was a task taken up with aplomb by Peabody, who fashioned himself as the preeminent American in London.

Peabody entertained lavishly, astutely recognising the link between his reputation as a financier and his image abroad. American travellers all passed through his premises on

[40] *An Oration, Delivered by Permission, on Board the Nassau Prison-Ship, at Chatham, England; On the Fourth of July, 1814. By an American Seaman, Prisoner of War* (Boston, 1815).
[41] *The Times,* 4 May 1841.
[42] *The Standard,* 7 July 1845; *Boston Daily Atlas,* 6 August 1845; *North American and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia, PA), 4 August 1845.
[43] Beckles Wilson, *America's Ambassadors to England (1785-1928): A Narrative of Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations* (New York, 1928; 1968 repr.), pp. 263-6.

Moorgate Street, and the banker was utilised as the facilitator of meetings between the transatlantic business and political elite.[44] Like Bates, Peabody infused expatriate citizenship with diplomacy, not least because of its affinity with business. According to Benjamin Moran, secretary at the American legation, Peabody 'generally *bags* the *new* American Minister for his own purposes and shows him up around town.'[45] Moran's remarks offer a useful insight into the role filled by expatriates. As permanent residents in London, expatriates offered advice to the frequently changing roster of American diplomats appointed to the Court of St James. 'You will perhaps have seen my name in print as signing a request to Mr. McLane for a public dinner,' wrote Joshua Bates to Thomas Wren Ward, explaining that, 'the chief object I had in view in signing the request was to fix the character which the Am' Minister shall sustain in future here.'[46] Bates and Peabody were thus afforded a large degree of latitude in influencing the character of American diplomacy in Britain, possessing both the political will and, importantly, the wealth to shape the public image of America in Britain. Pliny Miles, an American author from Watertown, NY, touring Europe in the 1850s, outlined the link between the expatriate community and US diplomacy in a letter penned to Peabody in 1851. 'Your munificent hospitalities tend greatly to exalt our nation and our people in the opinion of Englishmen,' the journalist wrote, 'and by the opportunity it affords for interchange of kindly feelings between the two branches of the same family, great good must be effected, in wearing off and breaking down those national prejudices that have existed more or less on both sides of the waters.'[47]

Peabody capitalised on the 1851 Great Exhibition as the moment to bring the Fourth of July, and his own image of American nationhood, to the British public. 1851 witnessed an

[44] The volume of letters of introduction in Peabody's correspondence is vast, see: Peabody Papers, B.208/F2-4, PEI.
[45] 31 August 1857, Sarah Agnes Wallace & Frances Elma Gillespie (eds.), *The Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857-1865*, (2 Vols., Chicago, 1947), i, 123. Hereafter will take the form: 31 August 1857, *Moran Journal*, i, 123.
[46] Bates to Ward, 14 July 1831, B10/F3, Ward Papers, MHS. Emphasis in Original.
[47] Pliny Miles to GP, 29 October 1851, B193/F1, Peabody Papers, PEI.

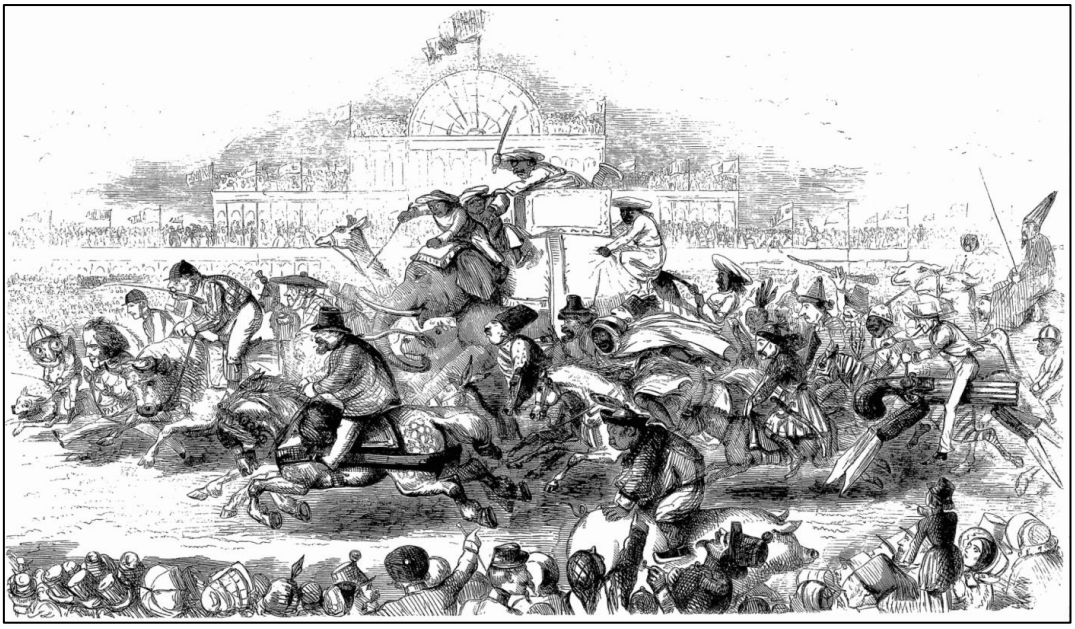
unprecedented number of Americans visiting Great Britain to visit the Exhibition. The number of passports issued to exhibition visitors at the American Legation rose dramatically: from 638 in 1845 the number almost doubled just five years later to 1,167, with a further 1,145 issued in the year of the Exhibition.[48] The Exhibition laid bare Anglo-American commercial and imperial rivalry. The British press looked particularly to the United States as one of their major rivals. American hopes too, were initially high. The *New York Herald* informed its readers that, 'it will soon be discovered that republicans in the far west are not so uncivilized as the minions of kingcraft would fain make the world believe.'[49] The prediction, it transpired, was overly-optimistic. Much to the amusement of the British press, Congress' response to the invitation was paltry.[50] In lieu of Congressional funding the frigate *St Lawrence* was authorized for use in transporting American merchandise. Edward Riddle and Nathaniel S. Dodge were belatedly appointed as Commissioner and Secretary to the Exhibition. Arriving in London they found the American section in disarray and its allotted 40,000 square feet empty. Unable to authorize any expenditure, the pair were left to contemplate the irony of the giant cardboard eagle that overhung the display.[51]

'The country and its products of art are appropriately typified,' observed *Punch* shortly after the Exhibition's opening, 'there being plenty of room, which is illustrative of one, and there being a poor supply of the other.'[52] In 'The Great Derby Race for Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One' *Punch*'s pen savaged the American exhibitors once again. In the race amongst nations a determined, and distinctly agrarian, Uncle Sam brings up the rear of the field led by a sprinting Joseph Paxton, the Crystal Palace's designer, and the rotund John Bull

[48] Wilson, *America's Ambassadors,* p. 263.
[49] *New York Herald,* 13 February 1851.
[50] This was in spite of American Minister Abbott Lawrence's efforts to convince James Buchanan that 'If specimens of the productions of our labour should be sent here I am quite certain that new markets will be opened for their introduction, and our exports increased,' see: Abbott Lawrence to James Buchanan, 23 August 1850, Abbott Lawrence Papers, HLH.
[51] Robert Van Riper, *A Life Divided: George Peabody, Pivotal Figure in Anglo-American Finance, Philanthropy and Diplomacy* (London, 2000), p. 72; Robert F. Dalzell, *American Participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Amherst, MA, 1960), p. 40.
[52] *Punch,* Jan-June 1851.

in jockey garb. In a final mockery of the American display, the Yankee Jonathon is astride a mechanical horse representing the practical items displayed by America inside the Palace. Behind this apparently light facade, however, *Punch* was striking a blow at the US. Brothers John and Jonathon were separated by a field of eastern participants – the United States had fallen not only behind Great Britain but the east also, threatening its place amongst the nations of western civilisation. In the language of racial Anglo-Saxonism, then reaching a pre-Civil War peak on both sides of the Atlantic, this was a damning critique of the American republic.[53]

Figure 3. The Great Derby Race for Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One



Source:

Punch, Jan-June 1851.

[53] For the origins and influence of British and American ideologies of Anglo-Saxonism the best work remains Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA, 1981).

Dismayed at the display, Peabody intervened on behalf of the US. The banker advanced the American legation a loan of £3,000 to improve the American exhibit.[54] Peabody had powerful motives for intervening in the debacle. Aside from astute public relations, Peabody was keenly aware of the opportunity that had been presented to transatlantic capitalists at the Exhibition. The United States was about to score a dramatic own goal should it not utilise the occasion as an opportunity to penetrate European markets and to showcase the investment potential of the American Continent – both of which operated through George Peabody & Co. More broadly it was interpreted as an opportunity to prove that the United States was in the vanguard of "civilized" nations. Peabody's timely intervention and subsequent success of "Yankee notions" such as McCormick's Reaper and the Colt revolver rescued the American display.[55] American success prompted the *Liverpool Times* to declare that 'the Yankees are no longer to be ridiculed, much less despised. The new world is bursting into greatness.'[56]

Self-fashioning his role as an extra-diplomatic functionary of the United States, Peabody inaugurated what quickly became an expatriate tradition. Capitalising on the inflated numbers of Americans in London for the seventy-fifth anniversary of American Independence, Peabody transformed his usually private Fourth of July dinners into a public fête. Peabody's 1851 dinner, and the private dinners he held before, were a vital adhesive in the formulation of expatriate consciousness among Americans in London. Independence Day was the most important public ritual to emerge in the republic. Since the early republic, the celebration served an adhesive function in creating and designating the limits of the national community.[57] The Fourth did not reproduce the nation *qua* nation, however. Celebrations

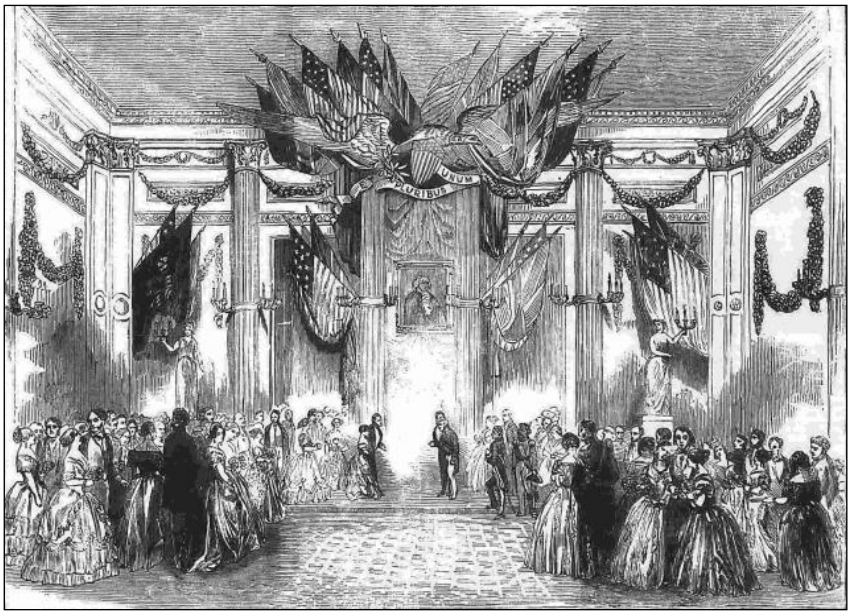
[54] Nathaniel S. Dodge to Peabody, 6 May & 9 November 1851; Edward Riddle to Peabody, 13 May 1851, B192/F6, Peabody Papers, PEI; Riper, *Life Divided*, p. 73.
[55] Dalzell, *Great Exhibition*, p. 47.
[56] Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.
[57] Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst, MA, 1997), pp. 41-68; Philip F. Detweiler, 'The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence: The First Fifty Years,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 19 (October, 1962), pp. 565-71.

were suffused with sectional, party, and personal political agendas from their inception.[58] Reflecting upon the nation's past was also an occasion for meditating upon its collective future. In Peabody's conception that future lay in a closer alliance between the financial and political elite of the two nations based on Anglo-American interdependence in the transatlantic economy and a romanticised cultural view of that connection.

Peabody's fête reflected the agenda of transatlantic financiers: Anglo-American solidarity. Eight hundred American and British guests crowded the fashionable Willis's Rooms, canopied with American and British flags for a concert, ball, and supper to usher in what one commentator described as the beginning of 'an auspicious epoch in the history of international feeling as between England and America.'[59] This was an important moment that symbolically elevated the United States to a position of equality with the former mother country. In spite of the elevation of American nationhood in this transatlantic context, American observers continued to express themselves in the language of paternalism. 'Your idea to bring together the inhabitants of two of the greatest nations upon Earth, united by the ties of blood with a common ancestry,' wrote Abbott Lawrence, would 'be productive in consummating that harmony of international feeling which should exist between *parent* and *child*.'[60]

Figure 4. Peabody's Fourth July Ball, 1851

[58] Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth,* pp. 69-107; A.V. Huff, 'The Eagle and the Vulture: Changing Attitudes Towards Nationalism in Fourth of July Orations Delivered in Charleston, 1788-1860,' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 73 (Winter, 1974), pp. 10-22.
[59] *An Account of the Proceedings of the Dinner Given by Mr. George Peabody to the Americans Connected with the Great Exhibition at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, on the 27th October 1851* (London, 1851), p. 61.
[60] Abbott Lawrence to Peabody, 5 July 1861, B193/F1, Peabody Papers, PEI. Author's emphasis.



Source:

The Lady's Newspaper, 26 July 1851.

Peabody also chose to throw a dinner for the Americans at the Great Exhibition that year too. The event was of greater importance to the financier than the Fourth of July *fête*, as the proceedings were recorded and printed. The expatriate rare book dealer Henry Stevens was charged with producing 1,758 copies for private distribution.[61] The dinner was thrown for 150 American and British businessmen and politicians at the colonial haunt of Benjamin Franklin, the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill. The theme was again that of Anglo-American solidarity albeit with a greater emphasis on commerce, but, in its particulars and owing to the comparatively more intimate setting, the symbolism of the occasion was much more highly charged. After the rigid formality of toasts to the Queen, President, and Prince Albert, Peabody resurrected the ancient custom of circulating a "Loving Cup" amongst the guests. Taking the Cup, the toast master pledged to the assembled company, took a sip, and then passed it to his neighbour, a process that continued until everyone had partaken of the ceremony. While passing the cup each man bowed to his neighbour, who removed the cap

[61] 8 on vellum, 500 on large paper and 1250 on small paper, see Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont: American Rare Book Dealer in London, 1845-1886* (Amsterdam, 1963), p. 309.

with his 'dagger hand,' and then drank with the other. However, on this occasion, no cap was placed on top of the cup 'as there is now happily no longer a "dagger-hand" between the United States and England'.[62]

The dinner stands out as an archetype of the affiliation between diplomacy and commerce; and the powerful resonance of symbolic gestures in cementing the two. Britain's Minister-Plenipotentiary in Washington, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, attested to the importance of Peabody's dinners in the wider field of international diplomacy. 'I could not help being struck,' he pointedly observed to his fellow diners, 'at the singular practical ignorance that was displayed by an honourable friend of mine who ... asked ... whether he saw any possible connection between dining and diplomacy.'[63] Describing himself as of the 'new school' of diplomacy, Bulwer professed to the group, 'I am for making as public as possible, on all occasions, those great points of union, that must connect two nations, which ... have one origin, and speak one language, but which also transact their greatest amount of business with each other.'[64] Bulwer's final remark epitomises the tenor of the evening, as alongside more commonplace expressions of 'the complete moral union of the two people'[65] in terms of sharing common blood, language, literature and religion, the unity brought about by commerce was repeatedly emphasised – often above the claims to racial and cultural union.

The adhesive nature of Anglo-American commerce was emphasised by a whole host of participants at the dinner, including former Secretary of the Treasury Robert Walker and Secretary of the Board of Trade Lord Granville. Nonetheless, Thomson Hankey, Governor of the Bank of England, went furthest in his estimation of the potential for the transatlantic trading ligament. Reflecting on the value of commerce between the two nations, Hankey felt 'convinced that we must have a mutual interest in the prosperity of each other.' Rather than

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

merely celebrate the value of trade between the two nations, Hankey also used the occasion to subtly censure the United States in his celebration of 'the greater freedom from commercial tariffs' in Britain, and therefore the 'greater will' and 'benefit' British policy conferred 'not only on ourselves but on every other country with whom we interchange.' Following from these views the Governor asked, 'is it unnatural that *I* should feel a strong desire to see a sort of "Zolverein" established between the United States and my own country?'[66]

Hankey left the question tantalisingly open-ended, and although the likelihood of such a formal union taking place was slim, his remarks highlight the importance of the Atlantic economy in Anglo-American relations. A stable diplomatic relationship promoted increased trade, the flow of British capital into the United States, and investment in US Treasury bonds on the London stock exchange. Thus, as sincere as Peabody's professed motive of promoting 'kind and brotherly feelings between Englishmen and Americans' may have been, the promotion of transatlantic commerce and finance was a powerful objective of the Great Exhibition Dinner of 1851.[67] Behind the semi-official rhetoric of the published toasts and speeches at such events lies an equally important, though unrecorded, exchange. The dinners of 1851 and thereafter promoted, in Peabody's words, a dialogue 'formed on social intercourse and personal friendship' between the business elite of the two countries, thus cementing financial, political, and diplomatic bonds.[68]

Contesting Cosmopolitanism

The language of nationalism and the performance of national identity were contingent moments for those living overseas. The previous section highlighted the way in which national consciousness could be expressed in the language of Anglo-Saxonism and equality between the two nations. This was a highly contentious language of American nationalism.

[66] *Ibid.,* p. 59.
[67] *Ibid.,* p. 62.
[68] After dinner speech, estimated 1850-54, B197/F4, Peabody Papers, PEI.

The residence of Americans in Britain elicited protean fears of resocialisation, denationalisation, even recolonisation. Indeed, the fear of denationalisation permeated the language of expatriation.[69] In spite of the rise of Anglo-Saxonism, which exalted race as the basis of a nation, ideas about nationality remained a diffuse grab bag of theories. Alongside scientific racialism existed a romantic idiom that looked to Herder and Montesquieu and the environmental acquisition of national characteristics, such as language and manners, as the foundation of a national cultural community.[70] American Naturalisation law also attested to the notion that nationality could be acquired after extended residence abroad. American nationality was thus imperilled should an American citizen likewise settle in a foreign country.

While Bates lost his nationality voluntarily, there were many others who were worried that involuntary loss of nationality might result from residence abroad. Elihu Burritt, travelling through Britain as a peace activist, recorded in his Journal after just a residence of one year in London, that one of his correspondents 'says I am ceasing to be an American, and must return to go through the country.'[71] Making use of highly provocative imagery, Oliver Wendell Holmes counselled fellow Bostonian John Lothrop Motley that he 'must not stay too long [in England],' for, 'if all the blood gets out of your veins, I am afraid you will transfer your allegiance.'[72] The discussion of expatriation frequently turned on the question of the loss and acquisition of national character.

In 1855, John T. Pitman joined Michael Nourse & Co. American & General Patent Agency at 67 Gracechurch Street, at the heart of the city. A native of Providence, Pitman

[69] See: T. Alexander Aleinikoff, 'Theories of Loss of Citizenship,' *Michigan Law Review* 84 (1985-6), pp. 1471-1503; Richard W. Flournoy Jr., 'Naturalization and Expatriation,' *Yale Law Journal* 31 (1921-2), pp. 701-719 & 848-868.
[70] Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, pp. 27-32.
[71] 21 November 1848, Vol. 12, Journal of Elihu Burritt, Elihu Burritt Collection, New Britain Public Library, New Britain, CT.
[72] Oliver Wendell Holmes to Motley, 29 April 1860, in Curtis (ed.), *Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley*, i, 342.

arrived in London in July 1855 expecting a short stay but remained for five years hoping to make good on a number of US patents. The Rhode Islander quickly adjusted to life overseas, writing his wife in October 1855 that, 'I begin to realize though slowly that it may not be all a dream and that I may strangely and mysteriously and for what end I know not, become a citizen of this Great metropolis of the business world.'[73] His wife and children soon arrived in the city on the grounds that it was 'the most economical & the most convenient' option for the family.[74]

After moving the family over in the mid-1850s, John took the not unusual decision to send his son, also named John, to school in Brunswick, Germany. John Jr.'s residence abroad, however, became a source of great concern for his father. These concerns revolved around the family's fear that John would lose his American character. The families fears were compounded by John's age and the fact that he would not be speaking in his native tongue. Early in his stay, John Talbot wrote his son to 'be a little more careful in the spelling or you may possibly forget the orthography of your native tongue.'[75] When a trip to England was suggested by John, his father inquired whether 'it will be difficult to re-acquire your mother-tongue immediately on your return?'[76] A year later when his studies were coming to an end, Pitman counselled his son further that 'while there is much to like and admire in the German character, yet for a person who is to live and obtain his livelihood in America he must not be too long absent to be *de-Americanized*.'[77] The transference of nationality was thus the natural consequence of the perceived seamlessness of national character, race, and language.

Residence in non-English speaking nations prompted a strong brand of self-identification amongst American residents. The example of Germany is again instructive.

[73] John T. Pitman (JTP) to Caroline Pitman, 3 October 1855, B3/F19, John Talbot Pitman Papers, RIHS, Providence, RI.
[74] JTP to Caroline Pitman, September 1855, B3/F19, Pitman Papers, RIHS.
[75] JTP to John Pitman Jr. (JP Jr.), 12 February 1858, B3/F1, Pitman Papers, RIHS.
[76] JTP to JP Jr., 29 January 1859, B3/F1, Pitman Papers, RIHS.
[77] JTP to JP Jr., 12 July 1860, B3/F1. See also: CP to JTP, 25 July 1860, B1/F4, Pitman Papers, RIHS. Author's emphasis.

While resident in London as the partner of George Peabody, Junius Spencer Morgan's son J. Pierpont Morgan enrolled, like many of his American contemporaries, at Göttingen University where he pursued studies in the French and German languages. Upon arrival Pierpont found a thriving American community in the town. Most of these had enrolled as technicians in the Chemistry laboratories seeking to return to the United States schooled in the new methods of German industry.[78] In correspondence to his cousin, James Goodwin, Pierpont describes in detail the life of the American students there. The Americans students were 'pretty well posted upon NY news,'[79] thanks to the circulation of American newspapers; held a regular 'blow out' at the Bettman Hotel in the town;[80] and even held their own election in 1856 at which the result was 'Buchanan 8, Fremont 5, Fillmore 4.'[81]

Pierpont thus joined a self-identifying American "colony." Perhaps because of residence amongst people of a different language and an outwardly different culture the American colony in Göttingen had a remarkably strong corporate identity. Its members recorded their history in a swatchbook and from 1848 handed down a flag to the "patriarch" inscribed with his predecessor's names.[82]

Figure 5. The American Colony at Göttingen's Flag

[78] J. Pierpont Morgan (JPM) to James Goodwin, 29 April 1856, B4/F3, J. Pierpont Morgan Papers, ML.
[79] JPM to James Goodwin, 21 May 1856, B4/F3, JP Morgan Papers, ML.
[80] JPM to James Goodwin, 17 June, 1 July, & 22 August 1856, B4/F3, JP Morgan Papers, ML.
[81] JPM to James Goodwin, 4 November 1856 & 18 November 1856, B4/F4, JP Morgan Papers, ML.
[82] Gottingen notes, 1855-1857, B1/F33, JP Morgan Papers, ML.

Source:

Box 1 / Folder 37, Papers of John Pierpont Morgan, Morgan Library, NY.

Compared to its British counterpart this application of the terminology of an American "colony" is precocious. American communities in Paris, Rome, and Florence likewise ascribed themselves colony status in the antebellum era. In spite of the greater size of the American population in Britain, before the American Civil War it very rarely described itself in collective terms.[83] This lack of self-identification testified to the mutually reinforcing slow coalescence of the expatriate community and the tendency of individual expatriates to integrate within British society. As non-native speakers on the Continent, expatriates sought the company of their co-travellers and fellow English-speakers. Moreover, a continued awareness of the United States' former status as colonies and continued dependence on British commerce and culture perhaps restrained Americans in Britain from deploying the language of Empire to describe their position. However, use of the term "colony" is also generational. Americans in Göttingen, Paris, Rome and Florence all began using the term in the 1850s at the precise moment at which a generationally conscious Young American movement came to political prominence in the Democratic Party.

[83] Individual expatriates very occasionally did so, but the instances are exceptionally rare, see: Caroline Pitman to JP Jr., 11 October 1857, B3/F3, Pitman Papers, RIHS.

Historians have most commonly discussed Young America as a self-consciously nationalist literary movement that orbited New York's literary salons and spoke through the pages of John L. O'Sullivan's *Democratic Review* and Evert Duycknick's *New York Literary World.*[84] But, as Yonatan Eyal's recent study of the movement has highlighted, Young America was a moniker adopted by political operatives, party hacks, and editors within a faction of the Democracy. The movement was driven domestically by an agenda of economic and constitutional change, but placed itself within the context of international romantic nationalism. Young Americans were deeply engaged with the new demands of an internationally connected age. In many instances American "colonies" in European capitals were the staging grounds for attempts to extend republicanism in the Old World.[85] Taking succour from the revolutionary ferment of 1848, they believed they could foster republicanism in the Old World, the global repository of despotism.[86] Members of the American colony in Paris stormed the Tuileries Palace; George Sanders, awaiting confirmation as Secretary to the American Legation in London, arranged for the shipment of forty thousand muskets from the War Department to Europe; and the despatches of Margaret Fuller, and a host of American journalists, quenched the thirst of domestic readers for news of the fate of republicanism on the Continent.

Young America could draw on much wider trends in American culture, promoted, in part, by the efforts of its own literary endeavours that extended interest in a new international age. American tourism and travel writing extended its geographic and cultural footprint in the late 1840s and 1850s. *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and *Appleton's* whetted the public appetite for international engagement. Best-sellers such as Bayard Taylor's *Views A-Foot* (1846) and Samuel Sullivan Cox's *A Buckeye Abroad* (1852), popularised information about Europe

[84] Edward L. Widmer, *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City* (Oxford, 1999)*;* W.T. Kerrigan, '"Young America!" Romantic Nationalism in Literature and Politics, 1843-1861,' (Univ. of Michigan, Ph.D. thesis, 1997).
[85] Roberts, *Distant Revolutions*, pp. 21-41.
[86] Eyal, *The Young America Movement*, p. 110.

even as it reinforced the hyperbolic, insular aggrandizement of American democracy. American travellers followed in the footsteps of their favourite authors, utilising their works as a guide to the modes of international comparison that lauded American culture through the lens of Europe. American nationalism was therefore articulated in a complex language that, whilst eschewing the political and social values of the Old World, was heavy in international engagement and promoted global integration.[87]

A reflexive Anglophobia was the signature of the Young American faction. Young Americans were interested in reviving the radical message of the American Revolution, enshrined in their most revered text the Declaration of Independence, and read historical analogies into Jacksonianism's levelling tendencies. Distrust of Britain was nursed by lingering diplomatic tensions over the annexation of Texas, the Oregon boundary dispute, and the distaste left by the Whig-brokered Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 that closed the door on Manifest Destiny in the western hemisphere. Young Americans derived their Anglophobia and anti-aristocratic invective from their ancestry. The Democratic Party drew its support from amongst the Irish, German, and Dutch immigrants in the urbanizing north who cloaked themselves in the mantle of the Democratic Party as class tensions rose in the United States. Anglophobia was not the sole preserve of Democrats. The Anglophobia of both parties drew heavily from historical precedent, but for Democrats it was an article of faith. Party hacks recast contemporary political conflict as the re-enactment of the struggle for independence whenever Washington and Whitehall were locked in disagreement.[88]

The Young America movement infused American political culture with an assertive, internationally engaged language of nationalism that found its way into the expatriate communities of Europe via travellers and the Foreign Service. Young Americans filled the ranks at Göttingen, for instance, which may account for its bellicosity. The historians George

[87] Kerrigan, '"Young America!",' pp. 110-128.
[88] Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution,* p. 118-122.

Bancroft, advocate of the democratic theory in history, and John Lothrop Motley, intoxicated by the success of the Dutch Republic's simultaneous attainment of Great Power status alongside a thriving national culture, studied theology and law respectively. George Haven Putnam, son of George Palmer Putnam the London-based publisher and European distributor of Young America's mouthpiece the *Democratic Review*, also enrolled at the University. Under the presidency of Franklin Pierce the Young American movement penetrated the diplomatic service. Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose career owed a great debt to the literary circle that orbited the *Democratic Review*, became the American consul in Liverpool; George Sanders, the Kentuckian Democratic booster, was appointed consul in London, although he was never confirmed; and Daniel Edgar Sickles was appointed secretary to James Buchanan at the American Legation in London.[89]

Sickles, a New York lawyer and aspiring politician of Tammany stripes, took up his post in London in September 1853. Although he would later become famous for the dubious patriotic honour of fatally shooting Philip Barton Key, whose father penned the words to the Star Spangled Banner, Sickles earned notoriety in July 1854 for his involvement in a diplomatic impasse at Peabody's fourth annual Independence Day banquet. A new arrival in London, and unaccustomed with the protocol surrounding the expatriate community's dinners, his querulous nationalism was affronted by the prospect of an American holiday becoming the occasion for mutual well-wishing between the United States and a country he still considered an enemy.[90] Not content to leave the event to private sponsorship, he called on Peabody at his offices in Moorgate Street to demand that the banquet be transformed into a subscription dinner under the auspices of the Legation that, crucially, was to be attended by

[89] Eyal, *Young America Movement*, p. 110.
[90] Riper, *A Life Divided*, p. 103.

Americans only. Peabody refused. He would continue as the host of the banquet but conceded that Sickles could send some invitations through the Legation.[91]

Sickles' nationalism, it quickly became apparent, was far from satiated. Outraged from the outset by the presence of British diners, Sickles' ire was fanned further when he found that a comparatively small portrait of George Washington had been sandwiched between life-sized portraits of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. What is more, President Pierce's likeness was entirely absent. In the printed programme any uncomplimentary lines to the British in the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Hail Columbia" had been removed.[92] Having endured the passing of the Loving Cup, and singing of a specially penned hymn, the climactic moment came late in the evening when Sickles discovered that the toast to Washington was to be given by a Briton, Sir James Emerson Tennent. Further enraging but, according to custom and diplomatic courtesy, it followed that to the Queen. After delivering a glowing paean to Her Majesty, Peabody proposed the customary toast. The party rose and saluted Victoria's portrait with their glasses. All except Sickles who remained defiantly seated. The banqueters attempted to ignore the affront but were forced from their indifference when, moments later, with everyone else seated, Sickles rose and ostentatiously strode from the room.

Sickles then embarked upon a campaign to burnish his anti-British credentials and injure Peabody's reputation in America. In a disingenuous anonymous letter forwarded to the *Boston Post*, Sickles sought to correct any 'reports prejudicial to the President' currently circulating in the English press. Invoking the vocabulary of allegiance, the missive charged that 'an unusual amount of "toadying" was to be done to the Queen and the English,' that one 'distinguished American' foresaw as a 'capital blunder.' The Queen, Sickles alleged was proposed 'with a most servile speech,' while the President received only 'lukewarm

[91] *Ibid.*, p.102; William A. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible* (New York, 1956), p.95.
[92] *Ibid.*

introductory remarks.'[93] Breaking with custom Peabody took the assault seriously enough to reply in kind through the *Post* and the *Boston Daily Atlas* in a letter seeking to defuse Sickles' claims. In line with a Whiggish Anglophilia and sense of polite sociability, Peabody defended his actions on the grounds of diplomatic protocol.[94] Hoping to quell rising outrage, Buchanan seized the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution as a pretext to send Sickles back to Washington ostensibly to seek directions on Cuban policy from Secretary of State William L. Marcy.[95] The controversy continued, however, in a series of pointed notes that ended in Sickles seeking satisfaction through a duel.

Democrats were no friends to financiers on either side of the Atlantic. The Peabody affair mobilised the Democratic brand of anti-British, anti-bank, and anti-aristocratic demagoguery in a transatlantic setting. Sickles and his sympathisers identified Peabody as a member of a transatlantic moneyed aristocracy tying the US to Britain's economic empire. Expatriate financiers enjoyed a strong relationship with Whigs in the United States, as has been outlined in extensive detail by Jay Sexton.[96] The Whig program of Federal funded internal improvements required the co-option of vast sums of British capital attracted both Peabody and Bates – though they baulked at the imposition of high protective tariffs. Barings and Peabody were the conduits of this capital, and benefited enormously from it. Bates and his American representative Ward enjoyed a privileged relationship with the archetypal Massachusetts Whig Daniel Webster who advised the London firm on political problems and alerted them to profitable opportunities in the US.[97] Expatriate financier's party affiliation even prompted them to intervene in state politics when several states repudiated or defaulted

[93] *Boston Post,* 21 July 1854, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA.
[94] *Boston Daily Atlas*, 7 Sept. 1854. Peabody received a flood of letters in support of his actions, see: W.B. Rose to Peabody, 7 August 1854; G.P.A. Healy to Peabody, 27 August 1854; T.A. Adams to Peabody, 21 September 1854; Fitzroy to Peabody, 4 November 1854; Unknown to Peabody, 5 November 1854; J.B. Maclinson to Peabody, 28 December 1854, B193/F2, Peabody Papers, PEI.
[95] Philip Shriver Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park, PA, 1962), p. 237. See also, Buchanan to Sickles, 22 December 1854, *The Works of James Buchanan,* ed. John Bassett Moore (12 Vols., New York, 1960), ix, 290-291.
[96] Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy,* see: 'The Baring Years.'
[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

on their foreign debt after the Panic of 1837. Peabody began his expatriation after being despatched by the Maryland General Assembly in 1838 to renegotiate the state's foreign debt. In 1845, Peabody and Bates had teamed up to supply £1000 each to fund the gubernatorial campaign of Thomas E. Pratt of Maryland, who advocated the full repayment of state debts.[98] The collaboration of foreign capital with centralised finance was the precise transatlantic cabal demonised by the Democratic Party since the election of Jackson.

Charging the banker of imperilling US independence through a subservient Anglophilia, Sickles impugned Peabody's patriotism by suggesting the expatriate was *un*-American.[99] One outraged New Orleans resident wrote the banker, branding him a 'disgrace to the whole Peabody race' and closed his invective by remarking that 'you are no longer fit to be called an American citizen.'[100] Thus, the imbroglio was transformed from one of diplomatic etiquette to one about the rights and obligations of American citizenship. This was a question not simply of Peabody's right to American citizenship but from where he claimed to derive that right. Under Democratic Party consent theory, Peabody's absence might be construed as expatriation because citizenship was the product of free, conscious action, and not simply an accident of birth. If one's place of primary residence, therefore, afforded rights then Peabody had lost what American rights he had attained whilst in residence there. Thus his 'right' to partake of the celebration of American Independence could be questioned for he had been resocialised, even denationalised or decitizenised, as a British subject.

The denationalising or resocialising affect of residence abroad was leapt upon by Peabody's opponents. American expatriates balanced a tight-rope between loyalty to the United States and "toadying" to the British crown. 'These states produce a very considerable number of the worst kind of toadies,' opined the Anglophobic American newspaper *Young America*, shortly after news of the affair broke across the Atlantic, 'most of whom flourish by

[98] *Ibid.,* p. 43.
[99] *Daily National Intelligencer,* 6 Nov. 1854.
[100] "Young America" to Peabody, 3 Aug. 1854, B193/F7, Peabody Paper, PEI.

pandering to foreign prejudices and ignoring their own nationality' for the sake of what it deemed the vain hope of 'acquiring at least the reputation of nabobs and millionaires.' 'The right of expatriation is an undeniable one,' the editorial graciously conceded, and any American should be commended 'for publicly proclaiming and exercising his desires in that regard.' *Young America'*s stance was much more nuanced than that, however, for 'it is your American with an *English heart, English ideas, and English tastes*, true republicans should despise and repudiate.' Indeed, although John Bull was 'an obnoxious specimen of humanity' even he was not guilty of 'dodging his nationality, or yielding the preference to any other race or nation.'[101]

Peabody's cosmopolitanism drew from deep national roots, but flattered to deceive. Public embracement of filial notions of common racial descent and cultural heritage was a means of cementing American independence through championing its place in international hierarchies. Publicly, Peabody's expatriate nationality was undoubtedly elusive and ambivalent. 'If I had been born in England I should love it above all other countries,' he told an audience just two years previously, before adding, 'but I happen to be a New Englander and therefore the United States holds the first place in my affections. England ranks next and I am happy to believe that such is the feeling of my countrymen.'[102] Privately, however, the banker was committed to a vision in which American finances were 'so developed as to make it independent of the world, and of this Island in particular,' as the *quid pro quo* of the Anglo-American rapprochement he so vigorously promoted.[103] Moreover, Peabody's Fourth of July dinner promoted, in his own words, a dialogue 'formed on social intercourse and personal friendship' between the business elite of the two countries and therefore served as a conduit in the flow of developmental capital from the London Stock Exchange to the United States.[104]

[101] *Young America*, 3 Aug. 1854, Vol. 160, Peabody Papers, PEI. Author's emphasis.
[102] Undated Speech, estimated 1852, B197/F4, Peabody papers, PEI.
[103] Peabody to Unknown, undated (estimated 1840-5), B197/F1, Peabody Papers, PEI.
[104] After dinner speech, undated (estimated 1850-54), B197/F4, Peabody Papers, PEI.

Thus, in Peabody's formulation there was little discontinuity in celebrating a closer Anglo-American alliance, based on an expansive cultural-racial affinity, as the means of securing greater independence from it.

Fourth of July banquets served an additional function as the adhesive in the formulation of expatriate consciousness amongst Americans in London; inculcating a sense of civic obligation and acting as a broadside against attacks impugning their residence abroad. Peabody was explicit about the project of community building he had undertaken in London. Reflecting on his return to Danvers in 1856 Peabody described his expatriate business activities as an effort to build *'an American house* and to give it an *American atmosphere*.'[105] Peabody thus configured his expatriation as giving him advantages in the promotion of the national good. 'An absence of 18 years from my native land has eradicated the party and sectional feeling which had some influence with me in early life,' he coolly replied to Sickles' claims, 'but has strengthened my interest in whatever affects the welfare or honor of the whole country.'[106] Peabody's actions bespoke his own notions of expatriate citizenship obligations and his frequently expressed desire to consolidate the United States' independence from the British Empire – even if that meant the temporary co-option of British capital to that end.

Sickles, meanwhile, tuned one ear to the reaction of voters in New York as he ratcheted up his twists of the lion's tail. 'Bent on making capital out of this rare chance,' suggested the *New York Herald*, Sickles 'anticipated with relish the enthusiastic admiration his conduct would excite.' Returning home 'an object of patriotic ovation' his path would be 'straight to the door of the next presidency.'[107] Yet, the Secretary undermined the very independence for which he claimed to be the talisman. Hot-tempered Young Americans in the diplomatic corps and covetous expansionist forays into South America and Cuba

[105] Undated speech at Danvers, (estimated 1856), B197/F4, Peabody Papers, PEI. Emphasis in original.
[106] *Boston Daily Atlas*, 7 Sept. 1854.
[107] *New York Herald*, 8 Nov. 1854.

stretched American diplomatic credibility in Europe. The British press singled out Sickles' conduct as the nadir of these American blunders, which, remarked an editorial in *The Examiner,* was 'bad enough before' but had now 'descended to worse.' His assault, *The Examiner* reflected, did 'not illustrate very favourably either the mind or manners of *Young America*.'[108] Attacking the Spread-Eagle nationalism of the Young America movement with which Sickles identified, carried an additional barb through its meaning in the semantics of transatlantic diplomacy. Young America and Old England were frequently used in conjunction with one another in the discussion of Anglo-American relations with the former containing, at least in Britain, a veiled stab at the inexperience and juvenility of the republic.

'What higher compliment can an Englishman pay to the United States ... than to join in celebrating the anniversary of their Declaration of Independence?' the editorial continued, caustically remarking, 'we were wrong in the revolutionary war, and now we rejoice in our own misfortune, and we love to acknowledge the inestimable services to liberty of the founders of the Union.' It was the worst kind of demagoguery to be 'prepared to cultivate ill will with England, at all hazards, and out of all circumstances ... to gain the most miserable party advantage in America.'[109] The fallout from Sickles' outburst further emphasises the catalyzing effects of questions of self-definition upon the delicate balance of Anglo-American geo-politics. The public performance of American nationalism had to be balanced against an account of confidence in the transatlantic connection. As Sickles debited that account, British financiers and politicians looked askance on the Manifest Destiny of Caribbean and Central American Empire. The United States' ministers to France, Britain, and Spain made a further withdrawal as the editorial went to print, meeting in Ostend for the most public of private discussions regarding the beleaguered island of Cuba. Such a frenzy of diplomatic insouciance throughout the summer of 1854 had the net consequence of severely

[108] *The Examiner,* 18 Oct. 1854.
[109] *Ibid.*

shaking confidence in the stability of transatlantic relations – a decline mirrored in the value of American bonds in London.[110]

Sickles' proscriptions on membership within an overseas national community foreshadowed a domestic hardening of attitudes towards expatriation. 'In theory every American is presumed to prefer his own country and her institutions before any other under the sun,' began an article titled "The folly of expatriation" in *The Daily National Intelligencer*, 'yet what are thousands of them doing, and other tens of thousands trying to do if they can? Abandoning that country, turning their backs upon its Government for the sake of living in Europe.' To the *Intelligencer* this was 'a libel of the worst kind' since it 'affirms by his conduct that the laws, institutions, and Government of his native land have been over-estimated, are not what they have been represented, have no advantage over others.' Expatriation was a rejection of the nation, and the expatriate 'sells his birthright' in a declaration by act 'that the American experiment therefore is a failure.'[111] The act of expatriation was therefore seen as a rejection of US institutions.

Expatriation to Britain was just one among many forms debated by Americans. The meanings of expatriation in this period were protean. The right to, and limits of, expatriation were debated in the press with great frequency, as it catalysed political debates as far-ranging as American neutrality law;[112] the Irish Question;[113] American filibustering in Central America and the arrest of William Walker off the coast of Nicaragua;[114] and the rights of

[110] Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy*, p. 59.
[111] *Daily National Intelligencer*, 12 January 1856.
[112] Debate once again turned on the rights of naturalized British sailors in the American merchant marine, *The Daily Register*, 25 March 1854.
[113] *Daily National Intelligencer*, 3 December 1855. David Sim, 'The Irish Question & US Diplomacy, 1840-1890,' (University of Oxford, D.Phil. thesis, 2011).
[114] The question of expatriation was brought up in Congress by John Quitman of Mississippi, who attacked the neutrality laws on behalf of his filibustering colleagues as a 'denial of the right of expatriation, and, under certain circumstances, of emigration even,' see, *Daily National Intelligencer*, 8 October and 14 October 1856 also 9 July 1850; *New York Herald*, 2 June 1856. Expatriation came into question once more with the capture of William Walker, *Daily National Intelligencer*, 27 January 1858. Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002).

naturalized Americans living overseas.[115] What united the discussion of this panoply of issues was the argument that expatriation entailed a repudiation of one nation – and all it symbolised – in favour of another. Even as American commentators tried to put their most positive spin on the 'locomotion' of American citizens as the 'most striking feature of the American character' they were forced to admit that 'our laws have been very inadequate to all exigencies of the situation of Americans abroad.' 'Unless our courts recognise the right of expatriation,' concluded the *National Intelligencer*, 'in time we may perchance have among us some individuals possessing ... double character.'[116]

The protean character of expatriation in the 1850s prompted both President James Buchanan and his Secretary of State Lewis Cass to request legal clarification from their Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black. 'There is no *mode* of renunciation prescribed,' Black wrote Cass in August 1857. But the Attorney general laid out the accepted practices that constituted legal expatriation, stating that, in his 'opinion, if he emigrates, carries his family and effects along with him, manifests a plain intention not to return, takes up his permanent residence abroad, and assumes the obligation of a subject to a foreign government ... I do not think we could or would afterwards claim from him any of the duties of a citizen.'[117] Writing to Buchanan on 4 July 1859, Black was even more emphatic, declaring that 'the general right ... of expatriation, is incontestable.' 'Upon that principle this country was populated,' he continued, 'we owe to it our existence as a nation.'[118] Washington would seek legal clarification of the mode of expatriation throughout the century, but, as this dissertation argues, expatriation was not simply a legal state. The meanings and purposes of expatriation

[115] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* 18 & 22 June 1859; *Daily National Intelligencer*, 25 June 1859; *New York Herald,* 15 July 1859.
[116] *Daily National intelligencer,* 28 March 1855.
[117] J.S. Black to Lewis Cass, 17 August 1857, in: *Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States* (43 Vols., Washington, D.C., 1866), ix, 62, accessed online via http://www.heinonline.org/HOL/Index?index=agopinions/oag&collection=agopinions, 12 June 2010.
[118] J.S. Black to President Buchanan, 4 July 1859, in: *Ibid.*, ix, 358-9.

were shaped beyond the reach of the state's statute books in the crucible of expatriate communities around the globe.[119]

Antebellum Expatriate Community in London and Liverpool

In spite, or perhaps because of, increasingly hardened attitudes towards expatriates and expatriation, the late 1850s witnessed the blossoming of American nationalism overseas. The years immediately preceding the Civil War witnessed a flurry of expatriate social and cultural innovation that reinvigorated the tried and tested forms of expatriate community in both London and Liverpool. The final section of this chapter examines a cohort of Democrat nationalists who had cut their teeth at the time of the 1848 revolutions, audaciously promoting American interests abroad, viewing commercial expansion as the vanguard of democratisation. The Liverpool Americans did so by linking their residence abroad to a commercial ideology seeking to extend America's material Manifest Destiny, which dispensed with the Anglo-centrism of the American Chamber of Commerce in the City. Meanwhile, the London-Americans crystallized a growing expatriate civic consciousness into institutional form as the means of positing the markers of overseas citizenship.

On 22 June 1857 the *USS Niagara* dropped anchor into the River Mersey. The sloop had been refitted with the mechanisms required for the laying of the Transatlantic Telegraph. While preparations for departure continued aboard ship, her officers were courted by city officials and residents seeking to satisfy their curiosity and extend the benefits of the cultural diplomacy of the joint Anglo-American mission. The city's American expatriate community used the occasion as the pretext for celebrating American Independence. Invitations for a banquet at the Adelphi Hotel were sent to the ships officers on behalf of the community by the shipping magnate S.B. Guion, agent of the Black Ball line and owner of the shipwright

[119] See also: Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844-1942* (New York, 2001); Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture Between the World Wars* (Oxford, 2011).

S.B. Guion & Co.[120] Fifty expatriate Americans crowded into the Adelphi's dining hall, especially decorated for the occasion with engravings depicting the Declaration of Independence and its signatories, President Washington, and the voyage of the Niagara. Significantly, this was an Americans only event to, in the words of New Yorker Daniel James, resident in Liverpool for three decades, 'let the great nation on the other side of the Atlantic know that her sons have not forgotten her.'[121]

This was the first celebration of the Fourth in Liverpool. Despite the establishment of the American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) at the turn of the nineteenth century, American national consciousness in the city developed only falteringly in comparison to its counterpart in London. The dominance of British merchants in the ACC undoubtedly precluded the Chamber from assuming the function of a vehicle for expatriate nationalism. Likewise, although the Chamber assumed a number of American civic functions, such as the greeting of American ministers to Great Britain, the language on these occasions was often formally diplomatic and the participants almost entirely British.[122] Given the structure of Atlantic commerce and the mobility of the mercantile community of Liverpool, outlined in Chapter One, the transience of the Liverpool Americans further stalled the development of expatriate civic life in the city. Expatriate life, then, was much more contingent and situationally dependent in contrast to the stability of the community in London. Nonetheless, this allowed for the more robust expression of both Young American and cosmopolitan nationalism given that no single expatriate from the community monopolised the presentation of American nationhood overseas in the manner of Peabody.

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[120] George Francis Train later laid claim to having instigated the celebration, but this seems unlikely given his penchant for grandstanding and newspaper reports to the contrary, see his autobiography *My Life in Many States and Foreign Lands* (New York, 1902), p. 249, a full transcript of his speech and a list of the American guests can be found in his *Spread-Eagleism* (New York, 1859), pp. 63-75; the *New York Herald* wrote at the time that it was arranged by Liverpool's American expatriates, and also suggested it was the first such celebration in the city, *New York Herald,* 26 July 1857.

[121] *New York Herald,* 26 July 1857.

[122] 'Address to Mr. Mc Clane, The American Minister,' 24 July 1846, *Liverpool Mercury*; 'Entertainment to the American Minister,' 17 December 1850, *Liverpool Mercury;* 'Banquet to the Hon. R.J. Walker, of the United States,' 25 November 1851, *Liverpool Mercury.*

For the event's participants, the celebration of American Independence was the opportune moment to declare their own independence from British institutions. Hoping to extend American exports, a new generation of Young Americans struck a chord strikingly like that of economic imperialists – and strikingly similar to their counterparts in the 1890s.[123] Charles Gano Baylor, the Kentuckian consul at Manchester and proprietor of the rabid pro-slavery journal the *London Cotton Plant*, examined in the next chapter, evoked the militant tone of this expatriate consciousness declaring that 'our merchants are literally taking possession of the wharves of Europe.'[124] A crescendo in the rhetoric of economic nationalism was reached with the oration of Bostonian, George Francis Train. The eccentric tram promoter and inveterate wanderer abroad, self-fashioned himself as a proponent of 'that Young America which pours its energies through all the channels of commerce in all quarters of the globe,' via a brash ideology he termed "Spread-Eagleism." Train's pre-civil war speeches in England shed light on the ambivalence of the Anglo-American relationship in the 1850s. Emphasising the rivalry that lay at the heart of the transatlantic connection, Train enunciated an aggressive Young American nationalism that posited intra-racial hierarchy within the common recourse to Anglo-Saxonism.

Twisting the lion's tail was the substance of Train's speech before the Liverpool Americans. 'Train of Boston was instantly upon his legs,' editorialised the *New York Tribune*, 'and was after that lion in an instant.'[125] Responding to the toast of "Our Country," Train set forth a celebration of the United States' commercial ascendancy. 'Our eagle stoops to no small flight,' he blustered, 'as our country is the first of nations.' 'Stand back, old mother land,' he warned, invoking threats of American hegemony over Atlantic commerce, 'think of the cotton and the corn – look at our commerce – *remember our history*.' Britain had not to 'forget that America is your truest friend, where blood and kindred, laws and religion, bind us

[123] Widmer, *Young America*, pp. 202-3. For the 1890s, see Chapter Five.
[124] *New York Herald*, 26 July 1857.
[125] George Francis Train, *Spread-Eagleism* (London, 1860), p. 74.

by annual contract of one hundred millions sterling to keep the peace.' This interpretation of Anglo-American friendship was distinctly coercive – the balance of power, as with the balance of trade, was in the hands of the United States. 'Grand as will be the union of the two great Saxon empires,' he surmised in a final broadside to the British, 'the union of our own fair country is dearer to every American than ought beside.'[126]

This brand of tub-thumping Young American nationalism found a receptive audience amongst Liverpool's American community. On the surface, the commitment to international free trade and faith in the power of expanding markets to overcome mercantile special privilege held by Young Americans also moved them closer to their Whig-expatriate counterparts in London. Transatlantic financiers hoped that freer trade between the two nations would reduce the volatility of transatlantic relations, producing a more stable economic environment for the sale of American securities in London and prosperous interdependent trade. Nonetheless, although transatlantic financiers were attracted to southern advocacy of tariff reductions, most found it hard to cross the Rubicon of slavery. Joshua Bates wished the 'the whole country was like New England,' since 'it would be the happiest country in the world.'[127] This divide was widened in the 1850s as the belligerence of southern diplomacy increased. Young American nationalism gained little traction amongst expatriate financiers, not least because of its Anglophobia, but because the majority of their connections operated on a London-Wall Street axis – an orientation that took on extreme importance in the Civil War, as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Liverpool's expatriate community, on the other hand, did have a strong sectional inflection that read into this nationalism the primacy of cotton. In the two decades preceding the civil war, cotton imports rose as a concomitant to the expansion of Lancashire's textile industry, and found amongst the Liverpool-Americans were a number of prominent

[126] *Ibid*., pp. 69-71. Author's emphasis.
[127] Bates to Ward, 17 October 1841, B10/F14, Ward Papers, MHS.

Southerners centred around the South Carolinian bank, Fraser, Trenholm & Co.[128] Indeed, the firm's senior partner in Liverpool, Charles Kuhn Prioleau was on the organising committee of the banquet. Southerners, in the United States and Britain, read with interest about the role of cotton in the industrial preeminence of Great Britain, concluding that the staple was their chief bargaining chip against British power. The nationalist rhetoric of Young Americans such as Train often dovetailed with the lexicon of King Cotton but was most often used as the latter's vehicle for an assertive southern expansionism.

In constructing "national" identity, those present at the dinner could also utilise the language of Anglo-Saxonism through which to assert a resolute "Americanness." Rising shortly after Train, the *Niagara's* captain William Hudson called upon the shared political and cultural connection between the two nations as the propellant of progress. The United States and England were, he announced, 'the only two nations in the world where liberty has now a foothold,' who, if there attempt to lay the submarine cable was successful, 'shall have done more to secure the peace of the civilized world than all the diplomatists and politicians ever effect.'[129] 'We are not only connected by ties of blood but our sympathies are the same,' Hudson asserted moving beyond mere racial commonality to cultural affinity. Hudson then suggested a positive relationship between Britain and United States' nationalism, stating that the two nations were 'always in the habit of referring to each other in all things that make a nation great and prosperous.'[130] Hudson's closing assertion emphasises the manner in which nationalism and Atlanticism often walked hand in hand.

The language of nationalism was multifaceted and, as the *Niagara* dinner highlights, did not always act as the centripetal force of a nationally-minded expatriate culture. A year after the Liverpool dinner, however, the London-Americans formed themselves into a loose

[128] Liverpool's most prominent southerners were William Trenholm, Rutson Maury, Charles Kuhn Prioleau, and his subordinate Alan Stewart Hanckel.
[129] *New York Herald,* 26 July 1857.
[130] *Ibid.*

institution known as the American Association in London (AAL) that aimed to assert control over "Americanness" in Britain via the institutionalisation of expatriate life in the city. The AAL reflected the blossoming, and increasingly proscriptive, nationalism of Americans overseas and codified previously ad hoc expatriate practices into a civic body. The initiative for the formation of an American club in London came from a Mr. Dewey and his close friend Benjamin Moran, the garrulous Secretary at the American Legation famous for his compendious and impressively detailed journal.[131] The meeting took place on 12 March 1858 at the residence of Nathaniel S. Dodge, with the aim of forming a club 'for aiding persons in distress and other purposes,'[132] and was composed of a cross-section of expatriate Americans in London. Moran joined Dodge and Dewey, with the rare book dealer Henry Stevens; Phil Dallas, son of the American Minister George Mifflin Dallas; steam engineer Jacob Perkins; and Jesse Weldon Fell, an American cancer specialist working at the Middlesex Hospital.[133] Contra the ACC in Liverpool, the AAL's membership was overwhelmingly, if not entirely, American. Similarly, unlike both the ACC and its London predecessor the Committee for American Merchants, the AAL was also the first American expatriate association in Britain that was composed of more than a body of professional interests and cut across the diplomatic, financial, entrepreneurial, and artistic social milieus of expatriate Americans.

The Association's formation was, however, faltering and exposed the class and generational cleavages that lay at the heart of the expatriate community. The older generation of Whiggish American financiers opposed the formation of the institution. 'Old Peabody goes, with Bates and others of their stamp, against it,' reported Moran on 20 March.[134] Moran reserved his greatest ire for the financial community, claiming they were a 'sneering, insolent

[131] 6 March 1858, *Moran Journal*, i. 259. Little is known about Dewey though he appears often in Moran's journal, he was apparently around sixty years old and was a preacher, see Moran's entry for 17 September 1858, i, 429. Later he was forced to resign 'on account of his abuse of the rooms &c.,' 25 November 1858, i, 464.
[132] 6 March 1858, *Ibid*,, i. 259.
[133]12 March, *Ibid*, i, 265; for a contemporary portrait of Fell see *Harper's Weekly*, 27 June 1857. It is unclear at what stage George Francis Train joined the project but he quickly steered its direction once he did.
[134] 20 March 1858, *Ibid.*, i, 270.

& proud Americans ... who always cry down such movements, and think everything wrong and vulgar but what emanates from them.'[135] To Moran, the financial community imperilled their republican citizenship through their love of rank. After Bates declined to sponsor the nascent club, Moran penned in his Journal that this was because 'he belongs to the class of my countrymen in London who look upon me as a Clerk, & in their republican simplicity, sneer at clerks.'[136]

After Peabody's refusal to be President, both Joseph Rodney Croskey and General Robert B. Cambell, the Consul general in London, refused the position. The name was assented to at a meeting on 14 April and finally, on 28 April, Jacob Perkins accepted the offer the presidency after which a constitution and bye-laws were adopted. Still, by 4 May, Moran commented that there was 'a want of harmony in the movement wh[ich] looks ugly.'[137] The constitution and bye-laws of the Association are lost, but some details can be gleaned as to its purposes and intentions. According to *The Morning Chronicle*, the AAL 'excited an unusual degree of interest among the Americans resident in London' since 'American citizens as well [as] residents in and visitors to London have long felt the necessity of some central place where they might meet in social union.' The AAL thus marked a movement away from the reliance on the efforts of individual expatriates to the institutional organisation of expatriate social life and provided a focal point, at its rooms on Cockspur Street, 'where transient visitors might gain information and ask advice, and the deserving of them receive assistance in cases where it was required.'[138]

Table 8. Members of the American Association in London

John T. Pitman	Patent Lawyer

[135] 22 March 1858, *Ibid.*, i, 272.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] 4 May 1858, *Ibid.*, i, 305.
[138] *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 July 1858.

William M. Ballard	Dentist	
Jonathan C. Wagstaff	Railway investor	
James Buchanan		Honorary Member
Frank Campbell	US Despatch Agent	
Benjamin Moran	Sec. of Legation	Managing Committee
George P. Dodge	Son of N.S. Dodge	
Nathaniel S. Dodge	Rubber merchant	Treasurer
Phil Dallas	Son of American Minister	Managing Committee
Joseph Rodney Croskey	Consul at Southampton	Managing Committee
Dewey	American Preacher	Secretary
Jacob Perkins	Steam engineer	President, 1858
Dr. William R. Ballard	American dentist	
George M. Dallas	American Minister	Vice President
Jesse Weldon Fell	Cancer Specialist	Vice President
George Francis Train	American entrepreneur	
General Campbell	Consul General	President, 1859
William Henry Hurlbert	NY Times correspondent	
Henry Stevens	Rare book dealer	Vice President
James McHenry	Railroad promoter	

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *The Journal of Benjamin Moran; The Morning Chronicle,* 6 July 1858.

The philanthropic aspect of the AAL was an important innovation. Destitute Americans called frequently upon the private charity of the consular service and the expatriate community's leading luminaries. 'Among other things, all pennyless Americans, or pretenders to Americanism, look upon me as their banker,' complained Nathaniel Hawthorne from his post in Liverpool, 'I could ruin myself, any week.'[139] Philanthropy relied on private acts of charity for the decades before the formation of the AAL. Edward Everett wrote the

[139] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks, 1853-1856,* ed. Thomas Woodson & Bill Ellis, *The Centenary Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne,* (23 Vols., Columbus, OH, 1997), xxi, 49.

Secretary of the Society of Friends of Foreigners in distress that he was unable to contribute funds to the Society since his 'private means' were already 'heavily drawn on for the relief of distressed countrymen.'[140] Two years earlier, Everett had involved himself in the case of Shobal Vail Clevenger, an expatriate Ohioan sculptor whose spendthrift ways had landed his family in financial distress – a tragedy compounded further when he contracted tuberculosis. As his condition worsened, Clevenger was ordered to return to the United States by his Italian physician.[141] Everett lobbied Hiram Powers in Florence to help raise funds by subscription for the stricken sculptor and sent a sizeable sum himself to his aid.[142] 'I should be glad to have the debts paid, for the credit of the country,' he wrote one correspondent, 'and for the benefit of unfortunate American artists, who may happen hereafter to be in like need.'[143]

Joshua Bates refused to join the Association on the grounds that 'private charity was the best' but the AAL codified the philanthropic efforts of individuals into a communal act of expatriate citizenship.[144] Foreign nationals were particularly at risk in Great Britain when they fell on hard times, since they were ineligible for relief under the Poor Law. Consequently they depended on institutions such as The Society of Friends of Foreigners in London, and the Seamen's Friend Society in Liverpool to which the ACC contributed ten pounds each year beginning in 1822.[145] The AAL attracted a great number of claimants within months of its formation. On 17 September 1858, the Association paid for the burial of Edwin J. Swett, a Bostonian author fallen on hard times, who died of consumption; a month later the association paid for the return passage of an American soldier who lost his possessions when the steamship *Hammonia* exploded in Hamburg; and on the 13 December collected money for the passage of a Mrs. Smith 'to obtain clothes so as to leave for

[140] Edward Everett to J. Labouchere, 11 April 1844, Reel 22/Volume 47, Everett Papers, MHS.
[141] R.L. Gale, "Clevenger, Shobal Vail," *American National Biography Online*, http://www.anb.org/articles/17/17-00159.html. Accessed: 2 December 2011.
[142] Everett to H. Powers, 16 December 1843, Reel 22/Volume 47, Everett Papers, MHS.
[143] Everett to T.P. Davis, 1 November 1843, Reel 22/Volume 47, Everett Papers, MHS.
[144] 12 March 1858, *Moran Journal*, i, 265.
[145] July 1801, ACC Minute Books, I, LPRO.

Australia.' To Moran, these actions were 'honourable to the Society & shews its usefulness and necessity.'[146]

The civic role of the AAL was expanded further when it wrestled London's Fourth of July banquets from Peabody, who refused to attend the rival celebration, in 1858. Approximately 140 American and British guests crowded the London Tavern – chosen because it was the venue at which London merchants refused to subscribe to a loan to carry on the American war in 1778.[147] The banquet incorporated many of the forms that Peabody had followed since the 1851 ball, but included a number of important innovations that laid claim to the occasion as a purely national space. The new generation of expatriate Americans used the Fourth to proscribe membership in London's overseas national community, which gave the Fourth in London a much greater resemblance to that in Liverpool. With the AAL as their vehicle, the London-Americans clearly marked the rites of expatriate civic nationalism, trimming the excessive Anglophilia of previous celebrations. Before the dinner began George P. Dodge, son of Nathaniel S. Dodge, read aloud the declaration of Independence in an ante-room of the Tavern to 'about fifty people' and 'none but Americans were present.' In a further reversal of past policy, toasts to Independence and the President even preceded that to the Queen.[148] In a further rebuff of Peabody's policy the language of the Fourth disavowed the United States' postcolonial reliance on Great Britain and transformed the normative mother-child metaphor used to discuss transatlantic relations. Taking the Chair, the American Consul General, Robert Blair Campbell, declared to the diners that the event signalled that 'the day had arrived when they could no longer look at England as the mother, but as the cherished older sister.'[149]

[146] 17 September 1858, *Moran Journal*, i, 429.
[147] 6 July 1858, *Ibid.*, i, 364.
[148] 6 July 1858, *Moran Journal*, i, 364.
[149] *The Standard*, 6 July 1858.

Moran's *Journal* reveals that the AAL was in part motivated by a desire to attack Peabody and, in the words of Moran, 'destroy' his 'great yearly advertising card.'[150] The committee of the Association staked Peabody's patriotism on his attendance in an exchange of terse notes between the banker and the AAL's members. 'We earnestly request, even at this late day, that you would consent to take the chair,' the AAL wrote Peabody in a letter Moran subsequently copied into his diary. 'Such a course of action on your part will be received with deep gratitude,' Peabody was informed, 'as a new proof of your attachment to your country and your countrymen.'[151] To some extent the AAL's actions reflected the petty rivalries of the community, but it also tokens an important self-construction on behalf of the AAL. Leveraging Peabody's attendance as proof of his patriotism signalled to the AAL's members the "in" and "out" groups of the American community in London and signalled acceptable modes of behaviour for an American resident overseas.

* * *

On 5 March 1860, the American Association in London met for what would be the final time. 'It was almost determined to dissolve,' Moran recorded ruefully in his journal. Lacking proper support from the Legation and financial help from the London-Americans community of transatlantic financiers, Moran asserted that 'the fact cannot be denied that we have failed.' 'I regret to say,' Moran added, 'that the casual American visitor to London won't join us ... They come abroad to see English fops, & won't associate with their own countrymen if it costs them anything.'[152] Moran's concluding remarks reveal the extent to which the AAL, like the expatriate community as a whole, was a fragile coalition that negotiated a number of American identities, even as it attempted to prescribe the correct form.

[150] 17 June 1858, *Moran Journal*, i, 348.
[151] 10 July 1858, *Ibid.*, i, 368.
[152] 6 March 1860, *Ibid.*, i, 643-644.

Americans in Britain responded with ambivalence to expatriation, which found expression in the form of a postcolonial vocabulary of American nationalism. Great Britain loomed large in American nationhood as the republic navigated the paths – cultural, social, and economic – of independence. Measured against Great Britain, this independence was found wanting. The first wave of expatriates, exemplified by Bates and Peabody, proposed further Atlantic integration grounded in a common cultural and racial heritage as the route away from colonial dependency. The Anglophilic cosmopolitan nationalism of transatlantic financiers chaffed against an increasingly strident "Spread Eagle" overseas nationalism, however. Attempts to mobilise expatriate nationalism on occasions of civic ceremony therefore became occasions fraught with generational, sectional, and partisan cleavages. Taking advantage of the declining cost of transatlantic passage, a second wave of internationally engaged Young American expatriates contested the language of expatriate nationalism in London. Increasingly proscriptive declarations of who did and did not belong to the national community, both in the United States and the expatriate community, sharpened pre-existing fault lines that continued to widen in the context of increasingly polarising sectional tension.

The AAL's rapid dissolution reflected the United States' own plunge into sectional conflict. The transformation of sectional crisis into Civil War thrust the question of allegiance to centre stage in Britain's American expatriate communities. With the outbreak of hostilities in April 1861, Americans overseas were forced to choose between Union and Confederate loyalty. Thus individuals such as the symbolic "man without a country" of Edward Everett Hale's nationalist parable would not be tolerated as the expatriate community fractured irrevocably along the sectional and partisan cleavages outlined above.[153] As representatives of the Union or Confederacy, Americans in Britain engaged in a bitter conflict to bring shape

[153] Edward Everett Hale, *The Man Without a Country* (Boston, 1893).

to the past and present meanings of the nation throughout the Civil War. The American community in Britain had helped Americans define their nationality, but it could not unite them. While the expatriate community in Britain provided a versatile prism for viewing the processes of American nation-building and the protracted consolidation of economic and cultural independence, it served, simultaneously, to reveal the fissures that divided the Union.

- Chapter Three -

Expatriate Diplomacy, Racial Mission, and the Civil War

'It may not perhaps be generally known,' suggested London's *Saturday Review,* 'that the war between the Northern and Southern states of America has broken out with great violence on Fleet Street.'[1] The pro-Union organ the *London American* printed its weekly rallying cry at 100 Fleet Street; two doors down *The Index* countered Union strategy and rallied its own supporters. Ironically, the *Review* explained, the property dividing 'the Federal army of printers from the Confederates is occupied by a tobacconist, whose shop may be taken to represent the unhappy border-land of Virginia which lies between the contending powers.'[2] Americans in Britain ruptured along the same lines, as the sectional conflict raging on the American continent was extended into the press and public sphere of Victorian Britain. The role of the American community in this process is the subject of the pages that follow.

The historiography of Anglo-American relations in the Civil War is incredibly deep.[3] Diplomatic historians have concentrated primarily on geo-political negotiations as Union and Confederate agents lobbied hard for neutrality and recognition respectively.[4] A second strand measures reception. Historians have measured the peaks and troughs in British public opinion and diplomatic negotiation against the backdrop of intervention crises, unrest in working class textile regions, and the contingencies of events on the battlefield. The attitudes of a broad based cross-section of British society have been placed under microscopic scrutiny in order to understand Whitehall's hesitancy to intervene in a war that wrought severe economic

[1] 'The American War in London,' *The Saturday Review,* 2 August 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] The standard accounts of Anglo-American relations in the Civil War Era remain Brian Jenkins, *Britain and the War for the Union* (2 Vols., London, 1974-80); Donaldson Jordan & Edwin J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (Cambridge, MA, 1931); and David Paul Crook's *The North, The South, and the Powers, 1861-1865* (New York, 1974).
[4] Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis Over British Intervention in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992)*; Idem., Blue and Grey Diplomacy: A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); Charles Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville, TN, 1998).

dislocation in major working class areas and which produced 'a kind of civil war' in Britain.[5] More recently, historians have called for these international dimensions to be enlarged.[6] The American communities of London and Liverpool are strikingly absent from this literature.

This chapter reframes this historiography within the institutional and social context of American communities in London and Liverpool. In the decades that preceded the outbreak of the war, the American community in Britain had carved distinct national enclaves in the two cities. Hastened by the evolution of an expatriate associational culture that, however contentious, provided transatlantic venues in which Britons and Americans forged new social links, the American community had integrated itself into the texture of British society. This was especially the case in London, where the social capital of George Peabody oiled the wheels of Anglo-American affinities in the lavish public celebrations explored in the previous chapter. As has been highlighted, the American community was a fragile coalition into which partisan and sectional divisions were easily injected. The emergence of a vigorous American press in Britain was a new innovation that reflected both the expatriate communities close links with British society and replicated its fissures. The establishment of the *London Cotton Plant* and the *London American* reflected the assertive sectionalised nationalism emerging in the Union.

The newspapers differed in their aims, but reflected a shared assumption that news and information on the United States would find a receptive audience in British society. The *Cotton Plant* stoked a transatlantic debate over the importance of slavery to Anglo-American relations and of racial hierarchy to the organisation of international relations. Meanwhile, the *London American* was a new mechanism by which the American community could

[5] Richard J.M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2001), p. 4; Alfred Grant, *The American Civil War and the British Press* (Jefferson, NC, 2000); Martin Crawford, *The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century:* The Times *and America, 1850-1862* (London, 1987); Duncan Andrew Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (London, 2003).
[6] See: 'Interchange: Nationalism and Internationalism in the Era of the Civil War,' *Journal of American History* 98, no.2 (September, 2011), pp. 455-489.

"imagine" itself as a coherent entity. Like the American community itself, the *American* was tilted in the direction of the Union. Its audience was the class of transatlantic financiers committed to the project of maintaining stable Atlantic relations, promoted in the arena of the American community. While the *American* aimed to build on the successful coalescence of the American community in Britain in the preceding decade, cementing its identification with British society, the *Cotton Plant* hoped to correct this "Yankee" bias. The strategies and limits of the sectionalised press are addressed in the first section of this chapter.

Southern secession unsettled the coalition of economic interests that bound the communities of London and Liverpool, but it was the firing on Fort Sumter and the slide into Civil War that precipitated the transformation of the American community into a sectional lobby. The war confirmed the integration of the American community in London. The Union could rely on several avenues of extra-diplomatic negotiation. Principal among these was the *London American,* which, under the aegis of George Francis Train, was transformed into a megaphone of Union activity in Britain, co-ordinating rallies and reporting the after-dinner exploits of its owner. Supplementing this, financial ties, denominational and reform circles, anti-slavery networks, and an emerging epistemic community of transatlantic intellectuals and artists, supplemented expatriate society and tipped the balance toward the Union.[7]

Southern agents tried in vain to replicate the favourable conditions enjoyed by Union diplomats. But the overwhelming predominance of northerners in the American community in Britain militated against this. The few southerners of this community silently withdrew and supported the Confederacy. Charles Kuhn Prioleau, senior partner in Liverpool-based bank Fraser Trenholm & Co., hoped to co-ordinate the Confederate procurement campaign. Prioleau was soon joined by a mobile cast of Confederate agents, naval officers, and

[7] Richard J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1983); Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007); Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, CT, 1978).

propagandists. These activities centred on the Confederate States Commercial Agency in London, headed by the energetic Henry Hotze. The various forms of cultural diplomacy engaged in by Americans in Britain in the Civil War are examined below. Yet, if many of these structures looked back to the links governing the integration of the American community into British society in the antebellum decades, Union and Confederate diplomacy forged unexpected new affinities. These new horizons anticipated future developments in the American community, as Train and Hotze articulated shared racial goals that would sustain the drive towards Anglo-American empire in the late nineteenth century.

The Coming Crisis

On the eve of the Civil War, Atlantic economic interdependence had reached, in the description of Jim Potter, 'a closer approximation to a North Atlantic free-trade area than has occurred at any other time.'[8] The post-colonial ties discussed in Chapter One had weakened considerably by mid-century, and soon war-time industrialisation would begin to prise the United States from the orbit of the British economic empire – a process that accelerated post-Appomattox.[9] Britain and the United States settled into a mutual interdependence in the 1850s. Cultural and racial affinities were cemented by dramatic gestures of public diplomacy, such as the Prince of Wales' 1861 American tour, and facilitated by arbitration efforts such as the 1851-3 Joint Claims Convention.[10] Nonetheless, Anglophobia remained a potent force in the United States, while in Britain expediency and tradition demanded that many politicians distanced themselves from open identification with the Republic.[11] These tensions, as the

[8] Jim Potter, 'Atlantic Economy, 1815-1860: The USA and the Industrial Revolution in Britain,' in L.S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1960), p. 279.
[9] Frank Thistlethwiate, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1959), see, in particular, Chapter One.
[10] Frank Prochaska, *The Eagle and the Crown: Americans and the British Monarchy* (New Haven, CT, 2008), pp. 62-82.
[11] For more on the impact of the United States on domestic British politics see: Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 69-

Trent Crisis would evocatively demonstrate in 1861, simmered below the surface of Anglo-American relations and pre-occupied the American community in Britain.

This commercial, cultural, and political interdependence was mirrored in the activities of the American expatriate community. London-based Anglo-American banks, discussed in Chapter One, were the architects of the structures of the Atlantic economy. Expatriate social rites, the subject of Chapter Two, promoted the capacious language of Anglo-American relations in the 1850s, hitching American cultural nationalism to the rising star of racial Anglo-Saxonism. But while the consolidation of expatriate consciousness mirrored that of American nationalism, there were also indications that it reflected the same sectional fissures of the Union. London and Liverpool's communities formed a loose coalition based on their complimentary economic functions, but began diverging over the question of political economy. A previously overlooked sectionalised American press developed in Britain that primed British public opinion for the coming crisis and anticipated the rhetoric of empire in the late nineteenth-century expatriate community.[12]

The first American newspaper to be published in Britain appeared in 1857 when the *London Cotton Plant a Journal of Tropical Civilisation* appeared to the British public.[13] The *Cotton Plant* was founded by the Kentuckian Charles Gano Baylor (1826-1907), US Consul to Manchester and was printed between 1857 and 1859.[14] The paper was a reincarnation of Baylor's previous sheet, the *American Cotton Plant* sometimes appearing as the *Cotton Plant and Southern Advertiser,* published in Washington D.C. and Baltimore between April 1852 and June 1857. At the same time, Baylor was owner-editor of the *Daily American Times,* a paper supporting direct free-trade between the southern states with Europe. The *Times* was,

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83; George D. Lillibridge, *Beacon of Freedom: The Impact of American Democracy Upon Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1955).

[12] See Chapter Five.

[13] Several attempts had been made to launch an American paper in Britain, see Chapter Two.

[14] Baylor's name never appears in print in association with the journal, but Benjamin Moran, Secretary at the Legation, identified Baylor as the proprietor.

however, forced to cease publication after a mob stormed its office in Baltimore and destroyed the press and type. Mirroring its editor, *The Cotton Plant* was unabashed in its commitment to direct free trade and brazen in its promotion of "King Cotton" as export staple and labour system.

The *Cotton Plant's* prospectus, advertised in advance in London's *Daily News*, was to investigate 'the question of negro labour, in its relation to tropical civilisation, and the necessities of European industry.' This took the form of a zealous mission 'to oppose, upon the broad ground of civilisation and humanity, the free-negro theory of Wilberforce, Brougham, and Clarkson.'[15] Baylor employed a rhetorical strategy that attempted to exploit British anti-abolitionist sentiment following what was believed to be failed emancipation in the West Indies. In its first issue the *Cotton Plant* announced in its editorial its 'utter detestation of "slavery" in any form whatever' since the paper claimed that 'negro servitude to the white man is not human slavery, but the normal condition of the inferior race, and his natural relation in life.'[16] 'We hold that the negro is an inferior and specifically different MAN,' continued the editor's exposition, 'and can only be Christianised and civilised through daily contact with the superior race ... and is utterly incapable as now constituted of self-government, self-Christianity, or self-civilisation.'[17]

Baylor was part of a trajectory of British racism rooted in the decade before the Civil War and fed directly from the growing scepticism of West Indian Emancipation. As Britons weighed the morality of emancipation against its alleged financial cost, Southern confidence in cotton soared.[18] Buoyed by the apparent global success of slave-labour staples, and despite

[15] *Daily News*, 11 June 1858.
[16] *London Cotton Plant*, 12 June 1858, quoted in: 'The Slave Trade in 1858,' *Edinburgh Review* 220 (October 1858), p. 543.
[17] *Ibid.* Alvin O. Thompson, '"Happy-Happy Slaves!": Slavery as a Superior State of Freedom,' *Journal of Caribbean History* 29 (1995), pp. 93-119.
[18] Brian Schoen, *Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore, MA, 2009), pp. 220-221; Gerald Horne, *The Deepest South: The United States, Brazil, and the African Slave Trade* (New York; London, 2007); Edward B. Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2008).

the known hostility of Britain, *The Cotton Plant* was especially bellicose about the prospects of the international slave trade. The paper demanded the 'full, open, and deliberate recognition of the rights of the Southern people,' that is, 'the abrogation of the so-called slave-trade treaty with England, allowing the South to supply herself with labour as she may see fit.'[19] The movement to reopen the international slave trade in the south gained new impetus in the late 1850s, and Baylor entered the fray in Britain at a particularly sensitive time.[20] The slave trade became a transatlantic pressure point in 1858 after British cruisers began intercepting American-owned vessels suspected of trafficking slaves in the Caribbean. Cotton ideologues were buoyed further by the Buchanan administration's strong response and Westminster's subsequent climb down.

Baylor responded to fundamental dynamics of the Atlantic economy. *The Cotton Plant* is evidence of Southerner's renewed faith in the power of cotton to shape global events after the region escaped the financial crisis that enveloped the North in 1857, in addition to its apparent diplomatic power.[21] Yet, despite the importance of cotton to British industry in the late antebellum period, British newspapers drew overwhelmingly on northern newspapers for transatlantic news. As Martin Crawford identifies in his study of *The Times*' place in Anglo-American relations, 'the South failed to generate a communicative relationship across the Atlantic comparable to that which undoubtedly flourished between Great Britain and the commercial communities of the Northeast.'[22] The *Cotton Plant* is a short-lived exception to the South's self-imposed silence, as Baylor attempted to counter abolitionist presentations of slavery in the Cotton South and its relationship to British industry. 'The actual state of negro

[19] *London Cotton Plant,* 21 August 1858, quoted in: 'A Sample of Consistency,' *The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1858, p. 760.
[20] William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 168-184.
[21] Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era, 1837-1873* (Oxford, 2005), p. 135.
[22] Crawford, *Anglo-American Crisis,* p. 13.

servitude as it exists in America has never been understood in England,' announced the second issue as Baylor promulgated the Cotton South's agenda to the British public.[23]

Southern newspapers responded favourably to the *Cotton Plant*'s transatlantic engagement. The paper could be 'conducive of much good' announced one editorial in *The Charleston Mercury,* 'in leading the English people properly to understand their interests as connected with cotton.' 'The English are too much given over to Yankee literature and influence,' the *Mercury* continued, 'they need enlightenment as regards us socially, politically, commercially and economically.' Contrary to the previous policy of intellectual embargo, the *Mercury* was enthused by the arrival of an international mouthpiece. 'We need more to be understood,' the paper concluded, 'we want to be studied, and our interests analyzed by the world.'[24] Just days later, a second editorial praised the *Cotton Plant* for its 'will and ability to battle bravely in behalf of southern institutions in the heart of England.'[25] Ambivalence greeted it elsewhere. 'It does look like a mad prank, if not a joke,' wrote London's *Daily News,* while the *New York Times* predicted that the rag 'would be about as likely to succeed as a journal devoted to the propagation of monarchical principles in this country.'[26]

If *The Cotton Plant* seemed over-ambitious, little about it was ill-conceived. As Consul in Manchester, Baylor was ideally placed to see the importance of a stable commercial south to Anglo-American relations. The Consul strategically targeted British textile districts in Lancashire and Cheshire that depended most on southern cotton – the precise districts where the cotton famine would hit hardest in 1862. Baylor spoke past the expatriate merchants, ship captains, and financiers of Liverpool, Manchester, and London; instead, he had British investors squarely in mind. Considerable investments were at stake

[23] *London Cotton Plant,* 26 June 1858, quoted in: 'The Slave Trade in 1858,' *Edinburgh Review,* p. 544.
[24] *Charleston Mercury,* 15 July 1858. *The Mississippian* of 23 July 1858, declared the *Cotton Plant* 'a paper no southern man should be without, considering the circumstances under which it was originated.'
[25] *Charleston Mercury,* 19 July 1858.
[26] *Daily News,* 11 June 1858; 'Cottoning to America,' *New York Times,* 25 June 1858.

from British financiers who looked askance at the impact of sectional crisis on their returns, especially as they struggled to find alternative sources in the Empire.[27] Forty three per cent of British merchant houses in the United States operated from the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans, not to mention the disproportionately high levels of investment in bank capital, state bonds, and railroad expansion.[28]

The *Cotton Plant*'s mission was short-lived. The paper set down no roots in the expatriate community, not even in Liverpool where southern sea captains or commercial agents might have formed a limited audience. Of course, these individuals were not in the sights of Baylor's crusading zeal. As egregious as Baylor and his paper seem, they are nonetheless important portents of the trajectory that the sectional crisis would take in Britain. In the main, Baylor's publication brought the coercive language of Southern fire-eaters directly to a British audience. 'If she [the South] is denied "equality" within the Union,' the paper warned its transatlantic readers, 'she can have "independence" out of it.'[29] Baylor joined a host of pro-Confederate writers, identified by Robert Bonner, who aided the functional transition from the international discussion of the issues of slavery to those of scientific racialism.[30] The Kentuckian's brand of informal diplomacy sustained the transnational avenues through which ideologies of race were discussed and disseminated internationally. More than an interesting sidelight on the cotton south's increasing belligerence; Baylor anticipated the importance of race in the construction of collaborative Anglo-American imperial projects in the late nineteenth century.[31]

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[27] Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy*, pp. 53-69
[28] Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 74; P.L. Cottrell, *British Overseas Investment in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 19-29; Schoen, *Fragile Fabric of Union*, pp. 204-5.
[29] *London Cotton Plant*, 21 August 1858, quoted in: *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1858, p. 760.
[30] Robert Bonner, 'Slavery, Confederate Diplomacy, and the Racialist Mission of Henry Hotze,' *Civil War History* 51 (September, 2005), p. 290.
[31] This collaboration is explored in Chapter Five.

A second American newspaper appeared in Britain just months after *The Cotton Plant* ceased. On 2 May 1860, John Adams Knight and George Haseltine, proprietor and editor respectively, launched the weekly expatriate journal *The London American.*[32] The American sprang directly from the ranks of the professional class of American expatriates in London who dominated the membership of the short-lived American Association in the city, explored in the last chapter. Knight and Haseltine were of a similar class to John C. Pitman, Benjamin Moran, and Jacob Perkins whose social circles overlapped with those of Peabody and Bates in the forum of expatriate celebrations. Knight, described by Moran as 'a quiet sort of soul but with little in him,' was a Philadelphian lawyer who ran the American Law Agency on Chancery Lane and, at one time, specialised in litigating the claims of Americans to British estates.[33] Haseltine, a native of Bradford, Massachusetts, practiced law in St Louis before joining Knight as a barrister at the American Law Agency where the pair struck up their partnership. Later, Haseltine would be replaced by A.W. Bostwick, about whom nothing is known. Although the *American* was not the first American newspaper to be established in Britain, it was the first expatriate organ.

The *American* pioneered the creation of a self-identifying American community in London. The publication of American addresses in London, announcements of American travellers at Morley's Hotel or of those leaving cards at Peabody's offices became a permanent feature of the *American.* By 30 May 1860, the Paper floated the idea of a directory of Americans resident in London.[34] In the process, the *American* detailed the components of Anglo-American trade and finance, facilitating the meeting of commercial agents, financiers, goods merchants, and promoters to the organs of capital distribution. The *American* was one

[32] 16 April 1860, *Moran Journal*, i, 657. In his autobiography, George Francis Train would claim to have founded the paper with his Secretary George Pickering Bemis however there is no evidence in support of his claim. Train did become associated with the paper nonetheless, as discussed below, see: George Francis Train, *My Life in Many States and Foreign Lands: Dictated in my Seventy-Forth Year* (Boston, 1902), p. 273.
[33] 18 January 1860, *Moran Journal*, i, 631.
[34] *London American*, 30 May 1860.

of the mechanisms by which culture, and with it the "knowledge" of self-construction, travelled. The newspaper identified the national locales explored in Chapter One, such as Morley's, the Legation, and Peabody's offices on Old Broad Street in the City. Collated in one place the contours of a national community were defined from otherwise disparate destinations. In some respects, the *American* reflected the same nationalist impulses that animated the founding of the American Association in London.[35] The construction of the American community also exemplifies the fluidity of interactions between the national and the transnational. The paper's concentration on transatlantic travel, advocacy of cheap ocean postage, advertisements for American products and American cultural events in the capital suggested a shared Anglo-American social and intellectual space at the same time as it attempted to forge a distinct national enclave in London.[36]

The *American* was anti-slavery, free trade, and radical. Its politics reflected those of the jingoist and outspokenly democratic Young American members of the expatriate community outlined in the previous chapter and, in a British context, approached the Liberal radicalism of Richard Cobden and John Bright. The manifold aims of the paper were to promote the bonds of commerce, finance, and diplomacy, through which it urged 'a closer alliance between England and America, believing that the advancement of liberal principles depends in great measure upon their united action.' The twin arms of finance and diplomacy would redress the 'partial alienation' between the two nations, and the London-American community would be the site of that rapprochement.[37] For the *American* this was a part of a democratic project, rather than an admission of the asymmetry of transatlantic relations. Since America was 'strong in her isolation' and England 'strong in the energies of her

[35] See Chapter 2.
[36] 'Americans in Europe,' *London American,* 8 August 1860; 'Emigrant Life in the United States and Canada,' 17 October 1860; 'Michigan to intending migrants,' 21 November 1860; 'Who is in fault?', 20 February 1861; 'Washington Friend's Musical,' 30 may 1860.
[37] *London American*, 2 May 1860.

people,' stable Anglo-American relations promoted the 'interests of commerce, a free press, religious liberty, civilisation, and humanity.'[38]

The paper cemented the bond between Britain's American community and US diplomacy. Bostwick and Knight promoted cultural diplomacy as the substance of 'Anglo-American Alliance.'[39] The Prince of Wales' tour of the United States, the laying of the transatlantic cable, and a decline in Anglophobia in the election of 1860 were all cited by the *American* as examples of an 'era of good feeling' between the two nations.[40] 'Commercial and social ties tend strongly to the preservation of peace,' the inaugural editorial of the *American* declared to its audience of transatlantic financiers.[41] Though cotton was the largest Atlantic commercial connection, the ties spoken of in the pages of the *American* were those governing relations between Britain and the north-eastern United States. The expatriate organ spoke directly to expatriate society in London, whose membership was drawn largely from above the Mason-Dixon Line.

The *American*'s politics therefore dictated its stance when Civil War finally broke out. The expatriate organ maintained a unionist front throughout the secessionist winter, reflecting the initial hopes of many in the expatriate community that war could be averted. After the firing on Fort Sumter, it soon became the mouthpiece of Union propaganda in Britain. The outbreak of war catalyzed expatriate activity, transforming the affinities between the expatriate community and society in London into extra-diplomatic channels of communication and knowledge exchange. A cluster of expatriates, supplemented by a rotating roster of agents, became the nucleus for American overseas engagements. As the crisis descended into war, expatriate Americans became sectional partisans.

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[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*, 7 November 1860.
[40] *Ibid.*, 17 October 1860.
[41] *Ibid.*, 2 May 1860. The editors expressed the intention of printing an American edition of the paper, though there is only one copy in the Library of Congress. Nonetheless, the paper had sales agents in Southampton, Liverpool, Paris, and even Melbourne.

Unionist Expatriate Networks

Although Americans in London hoped civil war would be averted, few were surprised when it came. 'I don't like the looks of things ahead,' wrote Junius Spencer Morgan to his partner George Peabody, 'nobody has confidence in the political future.'[42] Joshua Bates, who predicted the impending crisis in 1856, clung to the hope of compromise whilst fear that 'a long and bloody war will be destructive to commerce and will naturally reduce the profits of Baring Brothers.'[43] Before news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter reached George Peabody, a conservative Whig of Bell-Everett stamp, the banker wrote to his hometown newspaper the *Boston Courier*, that the only hope of restoring the Union was 'by concession on the part of the North and a compromise which will secure the best feelings of the border-states.'[44]

At Barings, Joshua Bates was one of the strongest advocates of the Union cause, though he conceded that 'the effect of the war within the U[nited] States will be to collapse all our American business.'[45] Bates extended his hospitality to the Adams family on their arrival, and his wife and daughter tutored Abigail Brooks Adams in court etiquette.[46] Russell Sturgis's rumoured disloyalty is unfounded. Sturgis was a lifelong Adams family friend and proved his loyalty to the Union when he loaned his mansion at 5 Upper Portland Place as the location for the American legation, In April 1862. He entertained the Adams family every Christmas at Mount Felix, their suburban villa at Walton-on-Thames.[47] Ultimately, Barings

[42] JS Morgan to Peabody, 30 March 1860, JS Morgan Papers, ML.
[43] Diary of Joshua Bates, 28 April 1861, Vol.8, ING. For his prediction in the 1856 election see his entry for 22 August 1856, Vol.6.
[44] Peabody to Sherman, 9 March 1861, Peabody Papers, PEI.
[45] Diary of Joshua Bates, 5 May 1861, Vol.8, ING.
[46] Henry Adams (HA) to Charles Francis Adams Jr. (CFA Jr.), 16 May 1861 & 14 September 1861, ed. J.C. Levenson, *The Letters of Henry Adams, Volume I: 1858-1868* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), i, 236, 252.
[47] HA to CFA Jr., 11 April 1862, in: *Ibid.*, i, 292.

would advance funds for a number of the Union's diplomatic missions, including those of Thurlow Weed, John Murray Forbes, and George Aspinwall.

George Peabody and his partner Junius Spencer Morgan, both New Englanders, were staunch Unionists but privately doubted the North's ability to conquer the South and feared the economic consequences of a long war. Peabody deplored the war, and his initial circumspection was a natural outgrowth of his conservatism in concert with his personal affection for Maryland the state in which he cut his commercial teeth. Peabody 'regarded the ultras of the north and the south as equally mischievous,' reflected Thurlow Weed. Nonetheless, Peabody's 'devotion' to the 'Union was so strong that ... whatever he could do then and there for the Union cause he would do cheerfully.'[48] In a letter penned to the *Boston Courier,* Peabody weighed secession in a balance between credit and creditability. 'The constant fear of war between the two sections would almost entirely destroy the credit of both the Northern and Southern Confederacies in Europe,' he explained, adding 'that pride of country, which has been a source of much gratification to Americans in foreign society, will attend them no more.'[49] Though some accused him of 'carrying water on both shoulders' because of his personal loyalty to Southern friends, his ultimate loyalty lay with the Union.[50] When Confederate emissaries lobbied Peabody & Co. for a loan, Peabody scolded that 'any American ought to be ashamed to have anything to do with an attempt to break up and destroy such a Government as they enjoyed.'[51] The banker felt that the war 'should have been prevented. But the Union is cheap even at this great sacrifice of blood and treasure.'[52]

The offices of George Peabody & Co. were the heart of Union activity in London. 'During our residence in London, I was everyday at the banking house of Messrs. Peabody & Morgan, where I was accustomed to meet Union friends,' remembered Thurlow Weed, in

[48] *New York Times,* 23 December 1869.
[49] *Daily National Intelligencer,* 28 March 1861.
[50] 30 December 1861, *Moran Journal,* ii, 933.
[51] Quoted in: Franklin Parker, *George Peabody: A Biography* (Nashville, TN, 1971), p. 120.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

London to coordinate the Union propaganda campaign.[53] Peabody had already installed a telegraph machine at the bank, through which he received news of the war's progress from Liverpool before diplomatic despatches could cross Charles Francis Adams' desk. Peabody's was the nucleus of American intelligence in London where, Weed observed, 'news from America is hourly expected and tremulously looked for.'[54] The pre-war affinity of finance and foreign relations was consequently solidified in the war years. Peabody continued to supply Union supporters in London with the latest American newspapers, as he did before the war, and 'voluntarily came out of his way to bring news of an important Union victory' to the legation.[55]

Peabody's greatest contribution to the Union was his benevolent gift of £150,000 to the London poor in 1862. The New Englander's announcement was perfectly timed in the ceasefire between the *Trent* affair in November 1861 and the recognition bill presented in Parliament by William Lindsay and John Roebuck in June 1862. The gift was a fillip to Union diplomacy. In line with his long-standing commitment to Anglo-American rapprochement, Peabody hoped it would 'soften' any 'asperities of feeling which had unhappily arisen between the two great nations of the Anglo-Saxon family' and would remind 'the people of both countries of their common origin and natural sympathy.'[56] The gift was widely interpreted in these terms by the British and American press, who used it as an occasion to reaffirm the familial, racial and linguistic tropes of the Anglo-American connection.

More than just a piece of opportune public diplomacy, Peabody's donation sedimented the affinity between Britons and the American community. After two decades of coalescence and integration in London society the expatriate community's roots extended

[53] *New York Times*, 23 December 1869.
[54] Thurlow Weed, *Letters from Europe and the West Indies, 1843-1862* (Albany, NY, 1866), p. 691.
[55] Parker, *Peabody*, p. 123.
[56] *Times*, 11 July 1862.

deep into the capital. American society also had a long association with facilitating US diplomacy and sustained its continuity through the revolving door of ministers at Portland Place – particularly through such figures as Benjamin Moran whose twenty year residence spanned the social and diplomatic circles of the American community in London. Expatriates thereby marshalled a significant network of correspondents and contacts behind the Union effort. The integration of the offshore community in London's rich social tapestry was a fertile interface for Union diplomacy. Britons not only attended American social occasions, such as those explored in the previous chapter, but expatriates featured prominently in the London "season." Junius Spencer Morgan's five-storey residence at 13 Prince's Gate, for instance, and his country place, at Roehampton, a nearby suburb, were prominent locales of the London social scene as was Curtis Miranda Lampson's mansion at 80 Eaton Square in the heart of aristocratic Belgravia.

Peabody and John Lothrop Motley dined frequently at the Athenaeum, where Henry Adams was introduced by Richard Monckton Milnes, a Palmerstonian Liberal who helped make Ralph Waldo Emerson known in Britain.[57] Henry also frequented the St James' Club, founded in 1859 for diplomatic secretaries and attaches, with his father and Benjamin Moran where he spoke with 'counts and barons and numberless untitled but high-placed characters.'[58] His membership at the S^{t} James was backed by Lord Frederick Cavendish, private secretary to Lord Granville a non-interventionist in the Palmerston Cabinet.[59] He also dined at the Reform Club with Thurlow Weed (who was armed with letters of introduction from Seward, an honorary member during his 1859 visit), and gathered news about Union victories from Brooks's. All three were Liberal clubs.[60] In addition to the personal slights and

[57] HA to CFA Jr., 20 February 1863, in: Levenson (ed.), *Letters of Henry Adams*, i, 331-2.
[58] HA to CFA Jr., 11 April 1862, *Ibid.*, i, 292.
[59] HA to CFA Jr., 18 June 1853, *Ibid.*, i, 363.
[60] HA to CFA Jr., 16 May 1862, *Ibid.*, i, 297-8.

acerbic social commentary, Benjamin Moran's journal is littered with regular trips to balls, galas, and the theatre – the overlooked mechanics of Anglo-American diplomacy.

This consortium of associations and individuals was the meeting point of diplomacy and public opinion, and gave the Union great organisational and institutional strength. Non-state actors such as Peabody are especially important in understanding the Union and Confederate war effort in Britain. Unionist diplomacy was effectively "sub-contracted" through the consular service to Americans overseas. Expatriates acted as ministers without portfolio supplementing an extensive, if underfunded, diplomatic system. In all, the Union boasted nine consulates in England; three in Scotland; one in Wales; and five in Ireland. While these were indispensible information gathering tools and co-ordinated vital avenues of Unionists espionage in Britain they were also tactically limited by diplomatic custom and protocol. Non-state agents, in the words of Henry Adams, 'can do everything that we cannot do, and a single blunder on our side would bring the Legation into discredit, would much more than compensate for any advantage we are likely to get from bold action.'[61]

Expatriate diplomacy carried risks. Extra-diplomatic lobbying dismayed Henry Adams, who complained to his brother that 'noisy jackasses ... have done more harm here than their weak heads were worth a thousand times over.'[62] Adams was speaking of Cassius Clay and Anson Burlingame, but the same diagnosis was given by his father. Writing to William Henry Seward after James Mason tricked Moncure D. Conway into peace discussions, Adams noted that it 'is one of the peculiar circumstances attending the present crisis that many Americans come to this country impressed with a strong conviction that ... they shall be able to produce a decided effect on public opinion favourable to the United

[61] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams Jr., 31 January 1862, *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865* (2 Vols., London, 1921), i, 108. Adams would himself fall foul of his own reflections when his "Diary of a Visit to Manchester" caused a stir in the London press. The Diary and press reaction is printed in, A.W. Silver, 'Henry Adams' "Diary of a Visit to Manchester," *The American Historical Review* 51 (October, 1845), pp. 74-89.
[62] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., 10 June 1861, in Levenson (ed.), *Letters*, i, 238.

States.' Too many 'proceed very much in the same way that they would in an election canvass at home' and consequently 'do harm rather than good to the cause they advocate.'[63]

Throughout the early years of the war, a willing cast of expatriates lobbied on the Union's behalf. Unionist expatriates organised themselves quickly before the arrival of Federal propaganda and procurement agents. Henry Stevens, an expatriate book dealer from Vermont with offices in Morley's Hotel, had arrived in 'Old England the mother of the new' in July 1845 'to be absent one or at most two years.'[64] After attracting lucrative book purchasing contracts from collectors in America such as Peter Force and John Carter Brown, Henry expatriated himself in his bibliophilic cause. Thereafter he became, in his own words, 'a self-appointed Vermont Missionary in London' and was employed by Sir Antony Panizzi, the librarian of the British Museum, to collect books, documents and journals to add to its collections.[65] With the outbreak of war, Henry was spurred to action and the contents of the numerous crates he shipped across the Atlantic changed dramatically.

'My first impression was to rush across home and lend a helping hand there,' he wrote Governor Fairbanks of Vermont, but admitted, 'second thoughts suggest the propriety of following Franklin's example and supporting the good cause in Europe, where every intelligent mind is thirsting for authentic information regarding American affairs.' Stevens assured the Governor that 'what little influence I posses' would be 'exerted here,' closing by declaring, 'I volunteer and await your orders.'[66] By chance, John C. Fremont was in London seeking investors for the Mariposas Land and Mining Company, and likewise upheld the Union's cause. Before departing to take up his military commission, Fremont turned over £15,000 to Henry that the newly arrived American Minister, Charles Francis Adams,

[63] Charles Francis Adams to William Henry Seward, 25 June 1863, *FRUS* (2 Vols., 1863), i, 278-9. Accessed online 21 March 2012 at: http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1863p1.
[64] Henry Stevens, *Henry Stevens – His Autobiography & Noviomagus Club* (Larchmont, NY, 1978), pp. 20-21.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[66] Henry Stevens to Gov. Fairbanks, 11 May 1861, Misc #1324, VHS.

procured from Joshua Bates at Barings, for the purchase of shells and cannon.[67] Fremont soon left England, but left his Secretary Frederick Billings behind with Stevens, and the pair set to work assiduously.

In New York, Fremont made contact with Henry's brother Simon Stevens and employed him as his personal arms agent in America. Henry then acted as the conduit between Adams, Sanford, and Dayton, Minister in Paris; and his brother Simon in New York where the shipments would be received. Shipments went from Liverpool, Le Havre, and Southampton to New York where Simon Stevens received them and sent them on to the Department of the Ohio. The network was incredibly successful at procuring arms – though their quality was at times dubious, as would be the case for Union and Confederate agents throughout the war period. 'I expect by steamer "Argus" from Paris sent by Henry,' wrote Simon to his parents in 1861, '500 rifles for General Fremont.'[68] Weeks later, Henry wrote to William Buckingham, Governor of Connecticut, that 'the American minister at Brussels, Mr. H.S. Sanford has instructed me to forward to your Excellency, for the *North*, a Steel rifled 24 pounder canon, and for the *South*, 50 casks 24 pound solid shot, and 50 24 pound Shells.'[69] The "City of Boston" then followed with 204 cases of artillery shells, and was itself followed by the "Arago" from Le Havre loaded with 112 cases with 2,500 French rifles, 450 French revolvers with 102,000 cartouches and 2 million percussion caps.[70]

Stevens' efforts ended with the commission of George Schuyler in July 1861 as the Union's named agent for the procurement of small arms and munitions. Nonetheless, Schuyler picked up Stevens' reins, making the book dealers office in Morley's Hotel his centre of operations and employing Henry's younger brother Benjamin Franklin Stevens as

[67] Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont,* p. 240. Billings was a cousin of Stevens.
[68] Simon Stevens to Parents, n.d. (estimated, early November 1861), F.31, Henry Stevens Family Correspondence, VHS.
[69] Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont,* p.241. Emphasis in original.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

his secretary.[71] The Union mission was facilitated further by the expatriate community as Bates convinced his partners at Barings to advance $2 million to the Union arms agent with which he purchased 150,000 pieces of small arms.[72] In the initial panic of war, many Union arms agents acted against one another in a suddenly crowded market place for European weaponry and artificially inflated the prices of munitions, often of dubious quality.[73] Though it took the Union some time to effectively co-ordinate the activity of its procurement agents into a unitary effort, an estimated 1,165,000 small arms sent from Europe in the first two years of the war.[74] Much of this was preclusive purchasing undertaken by Henry S. Sanford and Schuyler's replacement Marcellus Hartley in intense competition for surplus European stocks with Confederate agents led by Caleb Huse. The union abandoned its small arms purchasing operations in early 1863 as Northern manufacturers proved capable of meeting demand.

The support of others was more cerebral. John Lothrop Motley lobbied his contacts in British high society, such as the MP William E. Forster and took up his pen to defend the Union in a pair of articles printed in *The Times*.[75] A strong evangelical strain ran through these representations. The Baptist minister, Moncure D. Conway, expatriated himself from his southern slaveholding family in April 1863, never to return. Conway was deposited into the reform circles of the radical MP Peter Alfred Taylor, who hosted him at his home in London where the southerner breakfasted with Richard Cobden, lunched with John Bright, and dined with Robert Browning. Conway lectured vigorously on the immorality of southern slavery to evangelical audiences throughout the kingdom, and placed numerous articles in the

[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy*, p. 104.
[73] Carl L. Davis, *Arming the Union: Small Arms in the Civil War* (Port Washington, NY, 1973), pp. 53-4; James Bulloch to Stephen Mallory, 13 August 1861, *Official Records of the union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 Vols., Washington, D.C.: 1894-1922), ii, 83-7. (Hereafter: *ORN*).
[74] Davis, *Arming the Union*, p. 64.
[75] *Times,* 24 May 1861. John Lothrop Motley to the Duchess of Argyll, 16 May 1861; W.E. Forster to JLM, 30 March 1861, ed. Curtis *Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley*, i, 360, 366.

British radical press, chief among which was Bright's *Morning Star*, with whom he shared a platform in June.[76] Conway did well in dissenting networks, established in the 1820s and 30s when the New Measures revivalism of the US traversed the Atlantic.[77] He was joined on the evangelical circuit by Henry Ward Beecher, the Reverend John Sella Martin an escaped slave who received a parish in London, the Episcopalian Bishop Charles Petit McIlvaine of Ohio (who preached at St Paul's Cathedral in February 1862),[78] the Congregationalist George B. Cheever, Unitarian W.D. Haley, and Crammond Kennedy an army chaplain and agent of the National freedmen's Aid Association all of whom fit with ease into Britain's denominational reform networks.

British reform networks gave the Union campaign great organisational strength. American reformers could easily supplement pre-existing British institutions to great effect. In the estimation of Richard Blackett there were as many as forty African American lecturers touring the country agitating on behalf of the Union.[79] A number of these such as William and Ellen Craft, Zilpha Elaw, and Henry Highland Garnett had by this time been resident in Britain for some time, as outlined in Chapter One, but the Civil War years marked another peak in African-American travel to Britain. African-American speakers formed a diverse coalition preaching from soap box and podium on the moral evil of slavery.[80] These speakers worked in concert with a highly developed abolitionist network such as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigine's Protection Society. An organized Union lobby formed around this diverse array of speakers at a local and national level headed by the London Emancipation Society and the Union and Emancipation Society in Manchester.

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[76] John D'Entrement, *Southern Emancipator: Moncure Conway, The American Years, 1832-1865* (New York, 1987), p. 185; *Times*, 17 June 1863.
[77] See: Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism.*
[78] Weed, *Letters from Europe*, p. 758.
[79] Here I am deeply indebted to the inimitable work of Richard Blackett's *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2001); p. 188; *Idem.*, 'African Americans, British Public Opinion, and Civil War Diplomacy,' in Robert E. May (ed.), *The Union, The Confederacy, and the Atlantic Rim* (West Lafayette, ID, 1995), pp. 69-101; *Idem.*, 'African Americans, the British Working Class, and the American Civil War,' *Slavery and Abolition* 17 (August, 1996), pp. 51-67.
[80] 12 July 1862, *Moran Journal*, ii, 1035-6.

The fevered activity of Union activists was avidly reported in the pages of the *London American.* The *American*'s combination of radical democratic and anti-slavery politics all but dictated its stance once sectional crisis morphed into Civil War. 'War has arrived, and it is utterly useless to say we cannot find where the responsibility rests,' its editorial page announced in May 1861, 'it is directly on the head of leading southern politicians.'[81] Civil War transformed the paper into the Union's semi-official propaganda organ and through its pages pro-union activity in Britain was co-ordinated. By 1862, the paper was heavily influenced by the ebullient tram promoter George Francis Train who reinvested the profits of his numerous pamphlets into the organ. Train first arrived in Britain in the fall of 1850 to undertake his commercial apprenticeship in the Liverpool branch of his father's firm Enoch Train & Co. Train & Co operated a packet line between Liverpool and Boston, shipping Staffordshire crockery, iron and steel, and various other dry goods at great profit.[82] Train then had a varied and impulsive career touring the globe as co-partner in Caldwell, Train & Co.[83] The Bostonian returned to Britain once more in 1858 as a promoter of street railways in Liverpool, Birkenhead, and London.

Train had some experience of expatriate life in London and Liverpool, as outlined in Chapter Two, but recalibrated its institutions around the Union propaganda effort. No single American threw as much capital and energy into promoting the cause of the Union in Britain. The self-proclaimed prophet of "Spread-Eagleism" entertained tenaciously throughout London, terminating many events with a spontaneous rendition of "De Camptown Races" with improvised verses.[84] Train recalibrated the civic life of the expatriate community into a mechanism for transmitting his hyper-nationalist pro-Unionism. Train debuted in June 1861

[81] *London American,* 1 May 1861.
[82] Alan Foster, *Around the World with Citizen Train: The Sensational Adventures of the Real Phileas Fogg* (Dublin, 2002), p. 38; Train, *My Life in Many States,* p. 94.
[83] Train's ramble across the globe is recorded in his exaggerated autobiography, *My life in Many States*.
[84] Jay Monaghan, *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers: Abraham Lincoln Deals with Foreign Affairs* (Indianapolis, ID, 1945), p. 105.

with a sumptuous banquet at the Westminster Palace Hotel, hosted in commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Like Peabody's Fourth of July celebrations, Train's guest list was designed to maximize the public relations potential of the occasion. Over a dozen prominent British newspaper editors were present alongside George Augustus Sala; Thomas Colley Grattan; George Routledge, the British publisher; and, Paul Julius Reuter, founder of Reuters Telegraph Company.[85] The dinner, Train told the assembled company was convened 'in the hope of counteracting the evil effects of those *secession* journalists and statesmen who cheer so loudly whenever the "bursting of the republican bubble" is alluded to.'[86]

Train's remarks at the banquet were a wide-ranging summary of the issues involved. Britain, he claimed, 'must acknowledge that the republic is a success, or keep on as she has done, siding with the rebels.' 'We must hang some new pictures on the wall,' he quipped, 'such as abolitionist England sitting affectionately in the lap of negro slavery.' In line with the tram promoter's "Spread-eagle" nationalism, he plied the rich seam of Anglophobia. Night after night, Train linked the Civil War to America's ongoing struggle to consolidate the legacy of the American Revolution, perhaps even the culmination of that process. 'Our revolution is a war of ideas – a war of freedom – a war for oppressed mankind,' he told an audience in May 1862, contrasting it with the policy of Britain whose 'idea of liberty is freedom for England and slavery for all mankind.'[87] 'Thank God, America is emancipated from England,' he told an audience in June, 'and intends now to turn the tables and patronize England as England has formerly patronized America.'[88]

[85] Sala would go on to publish *My Diary in America in the Midst of War* (London, 1865); Gratton later published *England and the Disrupted States of America* (1862), which suggested that England prepare itself for war with the Union in support of the South, Train published a blistering attack of Gratton's *Civilised America* in a pamphlet entitled *Geo. Francis Train, Unionist, on T. Colley Grattan, Slanderer* (Boston, 1862).
[86] *London American* [Supplement], 19 June 1861. A full account of the Dinner's proceedings can also be found in George Francis Train, *Train's Union Speeches. Delivered in England During the Present American War* (Philadelphia, 1862), pp. 38-45.
[87] Train, *Union Speeches*, pp. 46-7.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

For all his twisting of the lion's tail, Train foreshadowed the Anglo-American imperial reciprocity of the late nineteenth century. Before his audience at the Bunker Hill commemoration, train challenged the assembled Britons.

> Change positions for a moment. Did America hasten to acknowledge the Irish Rebellionists as belligerents, and send a hostile fleet off the Irish shore to encourage the Irish? Suppose the United States had dispatched a squadron to the mouth of the Thames with instructions to await the issue of the rising of the Chartists? Did America assist Papineau in Canada? Do we sympathise with the New Zealanders? ... Did not America share the deepest interest in the success of the British arms in India? Did not our people put the flags at half-mast throughout the land when the death of Havelock fell like a knell upon the nations?[89]

Before the war, Train predicted that 'the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race' would cooperate 'under the flag of our own happy land and the strong arm of England.'[90] Train undoubtedly drew from popular currents of mid-century Anglo-Saxonism, but his emphasis on cooperative empire anticipated the Anglo-American racialism of the late nineteenth century. Seen in this light, Train was somewhat of an anachronism, but his hope 'to cement forever the union of England and America' appears prescient from the perspective of turn of the twentieth century.[91] Thirty five years after the US Civil War, Train's vision of a reciprocal Anglo-American empire would flourish, mediated through the mechanism of the American "colony" in London.[92]

All this prodigious activity was reported in special supplements to the *American.* Under Train's influence and the editorship of Bostwick and Knight, the *American* became Train's megaphone. Its editorial pages chided Americans in London into activity. 'If there

[89] *London American,* 19 June 1861.
[90] *Spread-Eagleism*, p. 39. See Chapter 2.
[91] Train, *Union Speeches,* p. 29.
[92] See Chapter 5.

ever was a time when Americans residing abroad should express their patriotism, that time is now,' the *American* implored.[93] Describing the moral treachery of neutrality, Train explained to his audience, 'that sojourn abroad does not destroy patriotism.'[94] Train's eccentricities frustrated most expatriates, however. Though he utilised its structures, Train did little to curry favour with expatriate society. Through the *American* he scolded its prominent bankers for 'waiting for victories before hoisting the Secession or Union Flags.'[95] He dismissed Adams as a man who 'eats roast beef and entertains, or is supposed to entertain, American sentiments.'[96] Even Moran, conceited at the best of times, found him 'a complete charlatan,' a 'mad dog,' and 'cared but little about his opinions.'[97]

Train, the "Yankee Bull in an English China Shop," as he was known in some circles, divided contemporaries with his tactics. 'Mr. Train speaks, or rather raves, once a week in some public room,' wrote the *Saturday Review*, 'and one of the functions of the *London American* is to report the violent absurdities of which he thus delivers himself.'[98] The Bostonian was parodied as George Augustus Strain 'the self-elected representative of Yankeedoodledom' in a witty pamphlet circulating London in June 1861 titled "The Bunkum Hill Festival."[99] The pamphlet attacked Train's sympathy with Irish republicanism and phrenological assessment of slavery in a mock dinner card. 'The honourable Mr. Greg-and-rye, from the wilds of Connaught,' the pamphlet advertised, 'will be on hand with his friend White (is he not a man and a brother?) – as the bould advocate of secession and negro bondage, and in an elegant speech will explain Mr. Strain's late treatise on slavery, and prove

[93] *London American,* 3 July 1861.
[94] *London American,* 10 July 1861.
[95] Train, *Union Speeches,* p.27.
[96] George Francis Train, *Six Weeks in the West* (Chicago, 1866), p. 90.
[97] 28 March 1861, *Moran Journal*, i, 793, 15 May 1862, ii, 1005.
[98] 'The American War in London,' *The Saturday Review,* 2 August 1862.
[99] Anon., *Bunkum Hill Festival* (1861), p. 1. The pamphlet is anonymously written but is in the collection of expatriate book dealer Henry Stevens in Vermont, F.29, Henry Stevens Family CorrespondenceVHS. It is not clear if Stevens published the pamphlet, authored it, or was simply in possession of it. Nor is it possible to determine if this is an attack by a Confederate sympathizer.

that production to be *Abolition in disguise!*'[100] Whatever the provenance of "Bunkum Hill," it is clear that Train's contradictions and eccentricities were an object of amused curiosity to contemporaries, neatly encapsulated in *Vanity Fair*'s cover illustration for 26 July 1862.

Figure 6. 'The G.F. Train: Going it like thunder, with bull on track'

Source:

Vanity Fair, 26 July 1862.

Train cut an eccentric figure in London. Nonetheless, the *American* was seen as a worthwhile enterprise. Secretary of State William Henry Seward contributed $100 to the publication in 1862 to help it become a 'permanent thing in England' and corresponded with its editor A.W. Bostwick.[101] Train left England in early 1863. The *American* was left in the hands of his secretary George P. Bemis but soon ended. Train and the *American*'s successes were mixed.

[100] *Ibid.*, p.2. Emphasis in original.
[101] Seward quoted in: Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy*, p. 94.

While the *American* became the focal point for Union agitation in the opening years of the war, expatriate diplomacy was more effective where the community intersected with British society. Train, mercurial and histrionic, brought persistence and urgency to the Union's informal diplomacy in Britain. Fellow expatriates tolerated Train's eccentricities for this reason, but he remained an outsider. The coterie fostered by Peabody grew from the mechanisms of Atlantic interdependence, Train's global horizons, meanwhile, anticipated the empire-minded expatriate circle of the 1890s.

Confederate Networks

The social and cultural foundations of Union diplomacy coalesced around the American community over several decades. The Confederacy could not rely on the mobilisation of analogous connections on its behalf, but instead attempted to replicate them, at least initially, from a thin tissue of sympathisers in the expatriate community. Liverpool was quickly identified as a Confederate hotbed. The close commercial alliance between the port and the southern states determined this association from the outset. As the sectional crisis unfolded, Liverpool's Cotton Exchange, the port's commercial backbone, followed events closely. The prosperity of Liverpool and her surrounding textile regions 'would pass away like a dream if there were a cessation of the continuous arrivals [of cotton] which Liverpool pours in to feed the factories,' reported the Liverpool *Courier.*[102] The Confederate community in the port was not large, but it was dynamic. Union officials had a difficult time tracking its members because of the transience of the mercantile connections between the port and the south. Liverpool was the nucleus of Confederate diplomacy in Britain and its docks were lined with ships bearing the Confederate flag.[103] Liverpool was so identified with the southern states that

[102] Quoted in John Pelzer, 'Liverpool and the American Civil War,' *History Today*, 40 (March, 1990), p. 47.
[103] *London American,* 29 May 1861; *Liverpool Mercury,* 28 November 1861.

Confederates wrote to newspapers in the port throughout the conflict, 'L'Pool,' wrote Benjamin Moran to Thomas Dudley, 'is a nest of pirates truly.'[104]

Confederate operations in Liverpool marshalled fewer resources than the Union. Thomas Dudley Mann relied on the Consular offices as his centre of activity and lodged at Blodgett's, effectively barring Confederate agents from that American site. The American Chamber of Commerce in the city was likewise no place of southern comfort. Indeed, the war all but halted its operation. The Chamber's minute books cease in January 1863 and do not resume again until 31 January 1865. For the first two years of the war the expatriate New Yorker S.B. Guion, Barings partner in Liverpool, sat as vice president and president. Guion's hand was undoubtedly behind the ACC's gift of £1,000 in November 1862 to help relieve the impoverished textile workers in Manchester.[105] Barely a ringing endorsement, this was as close as the ACC came to recognising either the Union or the Confederate States. The majority of its members were British and European merchants who threw themselves into the effort to find alternative sources of raw cotton, such as with the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, rather than lobby on behalf of the Confederacy.[106] Moreover, the ACC's American members left to become members of specific Union and Confederate associations.

Confederate operations relied on the auspices of Charles Kuhn Prioleau, the overseas partner of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., the British branch of the South Carolinian merchant banking firm John Fraser and Company. Fraser, Trenholm played the part of Barings and Peabody in Liverpool. The Liverpool branch opened in 1852 under Edward L. Trenholm. Prioleau and James T. Welsman, a fellow Charlestonian, took over the branch in 1856. With the outbreak of war Welsman left for New York, leaving Prioleau the sole partner in Britain. Before the war the firm was an intermediary in the cotton trade and far from a commercial

[104] See for instance: *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 July 1861, 21 December 1861, 28 June 1862, 30 May 1863. Moran quoted in: Brainerd Dyer, 'Thomas H. Dudley,' *Civil War History* 1 (December, 1955), p. 404.
[105] W.O. Henderson, "The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool", *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* LXXXV (1933), p. 10.
[106] Isaac Watts, *The Cotton Supply Association: Its Origin and Progress* (Manchester, 1871).

powerhouse, but became the Confederacy's financial depository. The firm also operated a monthly Liverpool-Charleston line, registering its ships in the name of British-born clerks, that immediately began sailing under the Confederate flag with the outbreak of hostilities.[107]

Prioleau was an asset to the Confederacy in Britain. The merchant banker was a man of some standing in Liverpool. The South Carolinian married into the local business elite, taking Mary Elizabeth Wright, daughter of the wealthy ship-owner Richard Wright, as his wife. The couple owned a Scottish country estate and lived in some style at a spacious townhouse at 19 Abercromby Square, decorated in its foyer with paintings of a palmetto tree and crescent moon – state symbols of South Carolina. Even before combat broke out, the firm's steamers shipped arms from New York and Liverpool to Charleston, and sent across the British-built Blakely rifle used in the bombardment of Fort Sumter.[108] Keen to free the South from the economic hegemony of the North, Prioleau offered an instant supply of credit to arriving Confederate emissaries. The firm advanced credit to Caleb Huse, the first Confederate purchasing agent, to secure his passage across the Atlantic. 'Perceiving the necessity of prompt action,' Prioleau, reported James Dunwoody Bulloch on his arrival in the port, 'authorised me to give out such orders which were of pressing importance' though 'no funds had yet reached them, and they had no advice of remittances on behalf of my mission.'[109] The operations of Huse and Bulloch would undoubtedly have failed had Fraser Trenholm not been prepared to advance funds for Confederate service.

[107] Francis Hughes, 'Liverpool and the Confederate States: Fraser Trenholm and Company Operations During the American Civil War,' (Keele University, M.Phil. thesis, 1996), pp. 59-60. This is the only detailed account of the operation of Fraser Trenholm in the war, there is also E.T.S. Nepveux, *George Alfred Trenholm: The Company that Went to War* (1994) published by a descendant of the Trenholm family.
[108] Hughes, 'Liverpool and the Confederate States,' p. 60; Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Columbia, SC, 1991), p. 47.
[109] James Dunwoody Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or, How the Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped* (2 Vols., London, 1883), i, 51.

In late 1861, Jefferson Davis authorized the Treasury Department to use the bank as its foreign depository at a standard commission of 1.5 per cent.[110] An Arrangement was then struck by which the Treasury would remit to Fraser Trenholm in Liverpool or deposit in John Fraser and Co. in Charleston, the balance of the credit spent by Confederate agents overseas. These remittances never kept pace with expenditure and drastically over-extended Fraser, Trenholm's credit. The firm was so severely overdrafted that it had no choice but to limit the letters of credit issued to southern agents. As Jay Sexton highlights, Confederate financial operations in Britain were severely handicapped by the combination of an inflexible southern leadership, obstinate in its adherence to "King Cotton," and the South's domestic economic woes. Hard currency was scarce in the South after most states and banks suspended specie payments in the winter of 1860-61. Bills of exchange were equally hard to come by, and without the cotton trade to generate new ones, those that still existed were quoted at prohibitively high prices for the Confederate Treasury Department to even consider purchasing them for remittance to Fraser, Trenholm.[111]

This severely limited the latitude of Fraser, Trenholm's actions and is a stark contrast with the Union's relationship with Bates at Barings. The Confederacy was further hampered by Fraser, Trenholm in other respects. Although the Confederate Treasury Department designated the bank its principal foreign depository, the firm charged commercial rates for using the cargo holds of its steamers. Prioleau turned colossal profits running the blockade on behalf of Confederate purchasers in Europe and returning, in defiance of the Cotton Embargo, from southern ports laden with bales of cotton for sale on the struggling Liverpool cotton market.[112] The Confederate Cabinet's trust in profit and patriotism to supply the war

[110] Douglas B. Ball, *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* (Urbana, IL, 1991), pp. 70-71; Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, p. 47.
[111] Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy*, pp. 143-147.
[112] Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, pp. 50, 63, 65. Stanley Legerbott argues that blockade running was not as profitable as was thought at the time and that most captains gave up after their first attempt while they were still

effort – in spite of advice to the contrary from its experienced agents in Europe, especially Major C.E. Anderson and James Dunwoody Bulloch – undoubtedly hampered its efforts.[113] Before the war, the firm was saved from insolvency by the skin of its teeth in 1859, and despite its branch in New York it is clear that it did not benefit from the increasing interdependency of the London Stock Exchange and Wall Street. James Bulloch noted the deficiency when he recorded that 'the United States Navy Department could furnish each cruising ship with ample credits through bankers whose financial position had long been assured the world over.'[114]

On the surface, Fraser Trenholm was the George Peabody and Co. of Liverpool, but it was far from a carbon copy. Fraser Trenholm coordinated important Confederate activity, of a sort, and was undoubtedly one of the most important Confederate locales in Britain.[115] The southern bank marshalled what resources it could on behalf of the southern states, but was not embedded in the expatriate circles linked to British financial, social and political elites. Nor did Confederates coalesce into an analogous expatriate community in Britain. Even before the war, Southerners were not a large element of expatriate society, which was drawn primarily from the Northern states. This was not even the case in Liverpool where institutions such as the American Chamber of Commerce cultivated a cosmopolitan clientele of traders from Britain, Germany, and France in addition to the US.

The necessity for secrecy in purchasing operations and the consequent transience of Confederates in Liverpool further hampered the prospects of a rival Confederate community. The Confederacy overwhelmingly relied on appointed state agents in this realm, as suggested by Table 8. Their turnover was rapid, impeding the coalescence of a permanent nucleus

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ahead, see: Stanley S. Legerbott, 'Through the Blockade: The Profitability and Extent of Cotton Smuggling, 1861-1865,' *Journal of Economic History* 41 (December, 1981), pp. 867-88.

[113] Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, pp. 54-6, 72-3.

[114] Bulloch, *Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, p. 55.

[115] *Ibid.*, i, 51-3. Prioleau hosted Confederate shipmen whenever they arrived in Liverpool, and gave letter of introduction and gifts of cash, see James Morris Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (London, 1917), p. 108-110.

around either Fraser Trenholm or the Confederate States Agency in London. Nor where these men welcome in the clubs of London society or the boarding houses and hotel dining rooms of Liverpool where Thomas Dudley kept a watchful eye. In late 1862, the Confederate midshipman James Morris Morgan found life in Liverpool 'very lonely' while awaiting the refitting of the *CSS Alexandra.*[116]

Table 9. Confederate Agents in Britain

Confederate Appointments	
William L. Yancey	Confederate Commissioner, 1861-1862.
James M. Mason	Confederate representative to Britain, 1862-5.
Henry Hotze	Commercial Agent and propagandist – London
Major Caleb Huse	Ordnance Department agent – London
Matthew F. Maury	Army and Navy agent – Manchester
Major J.B. Ferguson	Quartermaster Department procurement agent
Benjamin Ficklin	Purchasing agent, mainly stationary – London
Major Edward C. Anderson	'Secretary of War in England'[117] (June-Oct. 1861)
J.D. Bulloch	Navy Department agent – London, Liverpool
Lt. James North	Navy Department Agent
Charles Kuhn Prioleau	Fraser, Trenholm – Liverpool
James Spence†	Commercial Agent (1862-3) – Liverpool
George McHenry	Commercial Agent and propagandist – London
Colin James McRae	Negotiating foreign loan
Edwin DeLeon	Recognition agent
Rose O' Neal Greenhow	Spy, courier and diplomat (1863-4)
Albert Taylor Beldsoe	Confederate Acting Assistant Secretary of War, sent to London in 1863 to guide British public

[116] *Ibid.*, p.109.
[117] Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, p.50.

	opinion
	Non-State Agents
C.K. Prioleau	Fraser, Trenholm, Liverpool, in Britain since 1854
Robert Blair Campbell	Former American Consul in London, returned when war broke out to aid Hotze, but died in 1862
Charles S. Morehead	Former governor of Kentucky exiled in Britain
Moses D. Hodge	Presbyterian Minister from Richmond, VA
John Reuben Thompson	Editor and literary figure
J.H. Ashbridge	Confederate in Liverpool, from New Orleans
George McHenry	Expatriate Confederate sympathizer in London
Dr. George McHenry	Son of George McHenry (above) and author of several pro-Confederate pamphlets
Henry Athill	Texan arms agent, procuring weapons for the state
George Hunley	Arms purchaser
Duncan F. Kenner	Former Louisianan Congressman purchasing arms
James Williams	Consul to Turkey 1858-1860, arrived in London in 1861 and wrote articles in the British press

Source:

Compiled by the author.

† British.

Confederates nonetheless constructed networks amongst those with substantial commercial ties to the South through which they united the outcrops of support it attracted around Britain. Most important among these were the informal diplomatic and propaganda associations cultivated by the Confederacy expertly uncovered by Richard Blackett's seminal work *Divided Hearts*. Blockade runners, such as James Spence and Alexander Collie, and shipbuilders sympathetic to the Confederacy found solace in the Liverpool Southern Club and

later the Southern Independence Association (SIA).[118] Southern ranks were swelled by textile manufacturers who financed the efforts of Confederate societies and played a prominent role in public debate. Forty nine of the eighty three manufacturers and businessmen identified as members in the SIA were directly involved in cotton manufacturing.[119] Unsurprisingly these supporters were drawn largely from Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire. By 1863, all but seven of its thirty-three chapters were in Lancashire and Cheshire.[120] Greater Manchester dominated the membership of the SIA but significant numbers were also drawn from Glasgow, a port central to southern trade and blockade running.

Table 10. Confederate Organisations in Britain

Liverpool Southern Club	1862	Founded by James Spence,† headquartered at the office of J.H. Ashbridge*, an American from New Orleans; C.K. Prioleau,* Arthur B. Forword,† Edward Lawrence,† owner-operator of the Anglo-Confederate Trading Company. Possibly as many as 200 members.
Manchester Southern Club	1862	Thirteen of the MSC's vice-presidents were from London inc: Beresford Hope;† Lord Robert Cecil;† John Arthur Roebuck, MP;† William Schaw Lindsay, MP;† William H. Gregory, MP.†
Confederate States Aid Association	August 1862 London	Founded by Confederate supporter Dr. Rector Smith*, formerly of Kentucky. Funding provided by Alexander J.B. Beresford Hope.†
Society for Promoting Cessation of Hostilities in America	Autumn 1863	Financial Support came from Mathew Fontain Maury.* Folded July 1864.

[118] Wise's *Lifeline of the Confederacy* contains an exhaustive appendix that details the ships involved in blockade running, and their success, see pp.231-328; Hughes' 'Liverpool and the Confederate States,' performs a similar breakdown on the firms involved in blockade running from Liverpool, see: pp. 305-306.
[119] Blackett, *Divided Hearts,* p. 102.
[120] *Ibid*., p. 99.

Confederate States Aid Association	August 1862 London	
Central Association for Recognition of the Confederacy	1863 Manchester	
Southern Independence Association	October 1863 Manchester	Amalgam of Central Association and the Clubs. 661 members. Members included: J.B. Beresford Hope[†], Lord Robert Cecil[†], Alexander Collie.[†]

Source:

Compiled by the author.

* American expatriate, [†] British.

Confederate Clubs in some senses paralleled the consolidation of the expatriate community in London society explored in Chapters One and Two. The Clubs took on the responsibility for disseminating Confederate propaganda and reaching out to local communities. They functioned in the same manner as analogous clubs, such as working men's associations or the ACC, with committees, membership fees, and social events, such as lectures, dinners, and public meetings. These were important social spaces and meeting points for Confederate activity. The London Confederate States Aid Association opened an office in late 1862 on Devonshire Street – adjacent to Upper Portland Place, location of the American Legation – where weekly discussion groups combined propaganda with socialisation.[121] The Confederacy put the machinery in place for these clubs with remarkable speed, but they nonetheless required more intensive cultivation in comparison with, for example, the pro-Union London Emancipation Society and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, whose machinery was in place and could be reactivated with comparative ease.

Barred from overwhelmingly pro-Union expatriate circles and lacking comparative pre-war southern structures in Britain, Confederate organisation was of necessity informal, ad

[121] Adams to Seward, 18 December 1862, in *FRUS* 1862 (Washington, D.C., 1864), i, 18. An esoteric, anonymous pamphlet of the association is enclosed by Adams, i, 19-24.

hoc, and dependent on the largesse of British supporters. Confederate commissioners retreated to a number of aristocratic residences where they were feted with lavish dinners and social events. Confederate Commissioners James Mason and William Lowndes Yancey both stayed at Bedgebury Park, Alexander Beresford Hope's Kent estate. The Reverend Francis W. Tremlett's home in Belsize Park was known affectionately to Commander Mathew Maury and Captain Raphael Semmes as 'rebel's roost.'[122] Lord Wharncliffe's Mayfair mansion was the locale for the founding of the London branch of the SIA, which drew together the coalition of MPs and Lords organising on the Confederacy's behalf. The aristocracy was a fertile field of support for the Confederacy. Richard Blackett's inimitable research has shown that of the SIA's approximate 661 strong membership, 43 names can be identified as either marquises, viscounts, lords, or knights; a further 17 lived in either a "castle" or "manor park."[123]

Class was not an absolute predictor of British support in the war as a number of Liberal peers threw their weight behind the Union, but the Confederacy relied to a much greater degree materially and financially on British aristocratic support. Contemporaries also noted the apparent affinity between the Confederacy and the aristocracy. Thomas Dudley, Consul in Liverpool, was informed by correspondents that the Confederacy drew its support from 'old Tories, stick-in-the-mud Whigs, or paid partisans of Jeff Davis and Co.'[124] Goldwin Smith, the Oxford don and apostle of American democracy in Britain, noted that the SIA was 'highly aristocratic in its character.'[125] As Robert Bonner has recently illuminated, Southerners increasingly racialized the war at home in terms of a hereditary struggle between the sections, in which Southern authors and ideologues depicted Confederate citizens as

[122] Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat: During the War Between the States* (Baltimore, MA, 1869), p. 348.
[123] Blackett, *Divided Hearts,* p. 100.
[124] *Ibid.,* p. 93.
[125] Goldwin Smith, *Letter to a Whig Member of the Southern Independence Association* (London, 1864), p. 35.

historic descendants of aristocratic English Cavaliers.[126] While it is true that some Confederate supporters in Britain assumed that the southern state's political system was more aristocratic than the north, few recognised any form of aristocratic lineage between Britain and the southern planter aristocracy. To the south's further detriment, few planters sustained transatlantic networks of correspondence for Confederate agents to draw on for letters of introduction or an entrée into British political circles. Confederate propagandists reached out to the Britons as kindred spirits under assault from democratic forces, but found British audiences very knowledgeable about the United States that, while needing some persuasion that their interests lay in maintaining the union, were 'generally partial to the cause of union and emancipation.'[127]

This amounts to an important structural question governing Confederate diplomacy. The South's naive faith in "King Cotton" as a diplomatic strategy is well-established by historians, but the cultural and institutional context of diplomacy in the nineteenth century has been largely neglected. In addition to its diplomatic and consular networks, the Union's biggest diplomatic asset was that it had the ready ear of British society through men such as Bates, Peabody, and the long-time secretary at the Legation, Benjamin Moran. These individuals might be considered the institutional memory of Union diplomacy overseas given their commitment to Anglo-American relations and their links to British society. Southerners, by contrast, had fewer European contacts than their northern counterparts. The majority of southerners in Britain throughout the war years were new arrivals, unacquainted with diplomacy, and unknown to any influential Britons. The Confederacy cultivated parliamentary contacts such as James Spence, Alexander Beresford Hope and John Arthur Roebuck, but in spite of the powerful lobby created behind these men Confederate agents preached to the choir. The 'scamp Spence,' as Moran was fond of describing him, and his

[126] Robert E. Bonner, 'Roundheaded Caviliers? The Context and Limits of a Confederate Racial Project,' *Civil War History* 48 (March, 2002), pp. 34-59.
[127] Blackett, *Divided Hearts*, p. 212.

associates allegiance was assured without the need to cultivate them, and, while their support was vital, the Confederacy gained little by only targeting this parliamentary bloc.[128]

Lack of access to the expatriate community and existing Anglo-American cultural and political institutions in Britain deeply impacted the measures taken by Confederate agents. Train reconfigured expatriate social rites around the Union cause, Southern agents, unfamiliar with these rites, failed to utilise them as vehicles for conveying the Southern message. The Union could reflexively rely on already established organisations and networks of reform centred on the transatlantic anti-slavery movement, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation came into effect in January 1863. These networks could build upon a long tradition of lobbying, fund-raising, and organising that Confederate supporters had to set in motion in a short space of time. Union diplomacy was successful because it was able to mobilise pre-existing civil society in Great Britain around the cause of emancipation.

The arrival of Henry Hotze in Britain was the closest that Confederate diplomacy came to replicating the favourable conditions of the Union. Hotze was a shrewd appointment to the post of Confederate Commercial Agent. A Swiss-born migrant who naturalised and took up residence in South Carolina, Hotze had served a brief diplomatic apprenticeship as Secretary to the American legation in Brussels (1858-9), after which he served a similarly brief apprenticeship as a journalist for the Mobile *Register*. When war broke out, Hotze enlisted as a private in the Mobile Cadets and saw action at the Battle of Bull Run. As Robert Bonner was revealed, Hotze's early career was also shaped by his engagement with international scientific racism. Hotze produced the first translation of Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, which identified race as the motor of human history and stressed the degeneracy of non-white races.[129] Hotze read Gobineau's work

[128] Moran quoted in: *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[129] Bonner, 'Slavery and Confederate Diplomacy,' pp. 291-295. A by no means comprehensive but nonetheless useful selection of Hotze's writings are collected together in L.A. Bennett (ed.), *Henry Hotze, Confederate Propagandist: Selected Writings on Revolution, Recognition, and Race* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2008).

through the lens of the mid-century "American School" of racial anthropology and his experience working on a plantation in Mobile, concluding that the white racial hegemony of Southern society was a symbol of its international progressivism. This early intellectual engagement and foray into diplomacy and journalism equipped Hotze perfectly for his post in Britain.

Hotze's instructions were to 'direct the education' of Britain on Confederate affairs and to convince Europe of the ability of the Southern states 'to prosecute the war until their independence shall be no longer assailed.'[130] Upon arrival in London, Hotze followed Mason from social club to social club in London, aware that these were 'the principal foci of public opinion in the metropolis,' where he took the pulse of English public opinion.[131] The arrival of Hotze moved the centre of Confederate activity away from Liverpool to London, where he established the Confederate Commercial Agency at 17 Saville Row. Hotze's despatches to Richmond surveyed the fluctuating fortunes of the Confederate cause from a broad vantage point, detailing its course amid the contingency of wartime events. British public opinion, Hotze informed Robert Hunter at the Confederate State Department, displayed a 'gross, callous, undisguised selfishness and almost brutal indifference' to 'our great spectacle on the other hemisphere.' After a month's stay in the capital, Hotze was convinced that 'most of us have been too rapid in our conclusions and too sanguine in our expectations as regards the policy of Europe and especially England.' The English, in Hotze's estimation were star struck with a 'cowardly ... dread of war' and a 'repugnance to our institutions which ... is a part of the national conscience and therefore an honest article of the national creed.'[132]

Hotze set about justifying the Confederate cause in Britain. He entered London society disbursing gifts of American whiskey and Cuban cigars, and spoke in passing of the

[130] Robert M.T. Hunter to Henry Hotze, 11 November 1861, *ORN*, iii, 315.
[131] Hotze to Hunter, 1 February 1862, Letter Book of C.S.A. Commercial Agency London, Papers of Henry Hotze, LoC.
[132] *Ibid.*

cultural affinity between the British aristocracy and Southern society, although he, like other Confederate emissaries had no pre-war connections to draw upon. The twenty-six year old cultivated British opinion-makers and the press far more effectively than his firebrand counterparts, such as the explosive Edwin DeLeon and abrasive James Mason. Hotze reported in September 1862 that he had employed seven English journalists in the Confederate cause and was himself writing for the *Times,* London *Standard,* London *Herald,* and the *Money Market Review,* a small weekly with a big reputation amongst financiers.[133] Although Hotze had a large degree of success penetrating the British press, the Charlestonian soon became convinced of the value of establishing his own sheet 'not merely as a means of reading public opinion, but as a channel through which arguments and facts can be conveyed unofficially to the Government itself.'[134] Hotze's organ, *The Index,* came into print on 1 May 1862.

During the first year and a half, *The Index* focussed primarily on leading public attitudes towards the south. Once established, the paper secured correspondents in Dublin, Frankfort, Berlin, Versailles, Paris, and Turin, and even in Australia, in addition to New Orleans, Norfolk, New York, and Hartford, CT, eventually achieving a modest circulation that Hotze estimated at around 2,500.[135] Its editorial pages, all penned exclusively by Hotze, lobbied for the recognition of southern independence based on the Confederacy's fight for self-determination, commitment to free trade and a cultural and racial affinity between elite classes on both sides of the Atlantic. 'The South,' asserted Hotze on the *Index's* editorial pages, 'has been proud of its closer affinity of blood to the British parent stock, than the North, with its mongrel compound of all the surplus population of the world.'[136] The *Index* lobbied hard in favour of cotton, containing exaggerated weekly updates on the status of the

[133] Hotze to Judah P. Benjamin, 26 September 1862, Hotze Papers, LoC.
[134] Hotze to Benjamin, 14 November 1862, Hotze Papers, LoC.
[135] Hotze to Benjamin, 31 December 1864, Hotze Papers, LoC.
[136] *Index,* 15 May 1862.

cotton trade, but could not escape the essential fact of cotton produced in the slave south. 'The longer I remain in Europe,' Hotze reflected from Saville Row, 'the more I become impressed how extremely difficult and delicate the treatment of the subject of slavery is.'[137]

The content of the *Index* changed radically with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1 January 1863. Hotze alone addressed the matter of slavery through the pages of the Confederate weekly. In spite of some hostility to Lincoln's message in the British press, notably in the pages of *Punch* and the *Times,*[138] Hotze proceeded with caution, stoking white self-interest with appeals to the benevolence of Southern slavery. 'Who would disregard divine and human laws in the blindness of fanaticism which does evil that good may come of it,' asked Hotze shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation, 'who would set the interest of four million black above those of eight million whites, of humanity at large, and of civilization.' Hotze echoed the comments of Train, suggesting that 'the hand can not surely have been an unfriendly one which has thus raised the negro from the turpitudes of the African savage, and which ... screens him from temptations to which the wants and cares of a precarious existence expose all men, and his race particularly.'[139]

The *Index* was forthright in its defence of slavery but placed the institution within an alleged impartial scientific framework of social and political hierarchy throughout the world. Slavery was another genus of class hierarchy in England, argued Hotze, or the historical subordination of women, which in both instances proved that 'intellectual inferiority, and consequently physical, political, and social subordination, are not incompatible with happiness, which does not consist in equality, but in each one performing the part adapted to

[137] Hotze to Benjamin, 26 September 1863, Hotze Papers, LoC.
[138] See, for example: *Punch*, 18 October 1862; *The Times*, 16 January 1863.
[139] 'A Word for the Negro,' *Index*, 12 February 1863, see also, 'Abolitionism and the Negro,' *Index*, 20 October 1864, in which Hotze proclaimed 'it was inevitable that the invasion of the South should do harm to the negro, because they are a component part of the nation, and therefore enjoy the prosperity and suffer from the adversity that lights upon their home and country.'

his or her capacity.'[140] Nonetheless, as the Confederate cause drew criticism for its support of slavery, Hotze intensified his paternal rhetoric. 'The danger, if danger there is,' he wrote, 'is the negro's not the white man.' 'Vilified' and 'slandered' by 'both honest and dishonest fanaticism' slavery as an institution was undermined, and with it, the security of the enslaved. 'The white man everywhere can prosper without it; it is as yet an unsolved problem whether the black man can.' Assailed by this fit of fanaticism, the South would be excused from slavery, he argued, 'as the philanthropy of the world so wills it, the African blood already shed and to be shed in this war will not be on the heads of the southern people.'[141]

Hotze, like Baylor before him, sustained the international framework through which scientific racialism increased its global reach. As Robert Bonner has uncovered, Hotze forged Anglo-American intellectual connections that anticipated the racial consensus of late nineteenth-century empire building. Hotze cooperated in the establishment of the Anthropological Society in London, an association devoted to the discussion of empire, slavery, and missionary work in Africa and Asia. Hotze advertised the proceedings of the Society through the pages of the *Index,* lending the sanction of the Confederacy by inference. Several other well-known Confederates were members of the society. Dr. George McHenry and Albert Taylor Bledsoe sat on the Society's committee. The former, son of Confederate sympathizer George McHenry resident in London (whose brother James McHenry also resided in London, sided with the Union, and was a close friend of Benjamin Moran), promoted the utility of adopting Confederate racial hierarchy in Britain's colonies. Hotze funded him to the tune of £300 in 1864, far more than he did any other individual.[142]

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[140] 'The Negro's Place in Nature,' *Index,* 10 December 1863.
[141] 'The Negro in the Southern Armies,' *Index,* 10 November 1864.
[142] McHenry's publications are voluminous, his most representative examples are: *The African Race in America, North and South* (London, 1861); *Visits to Slave-Ships* (London, 1862); *The Cotton Trade: Its Bearing Upon the Prosperity of Great Britain and Commerce of the American Republics* (London, 1863); *A Familiar Epistle to Robert J. Walker* (London, 1863); *The Southern Confederacy and the African Slave Trade* (London, 1863). For a brief overview of his career see, C.F. Adams, 'McHenry on the Cotton Crisis, 1865,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 47 (March, 1914), pp.279-87. Beldsoe's activities are recounted in T.A. Barnhart, *Alfred Taylor Bledsoe: Defender of the Old South and Architect of the Lost Cause* (Baton Rouge, LA,

The *Index* was Hotze's masterstroke. The organ was much more than a mouthpiece for the Confederate cause and became the physical and symbolic centre of the Confederate cause in Europe. Hotze affectionately described the organ as 'a little kingdom of mine' and a 'representative of journalism in the highest ideal of that Southern civilization which is at yet only in its infancy.'[143] The *Index* was the centrepiece of a major Confederate publishing arm in Britain that commissioned and financed the publication, translation and circulation of important publications and intelligence.[144] The *Index* could not, however, link the two disparate elements of Confederate diplomacy. Confederate informal diplomacy, to a large degree, relied on British led associations. These had to be built from the ground up and could not be allied with the civic consciousness of Americans overseas that had coalesced in the expatriate community and the *London American*. Confederate agents took a background role in these events. 'Associations of this sort, to do us good,' Hotze observed, 'must derive their sap from British soil.' As such the Confederacy, while they could offer financial and logistical support, could not direct their activity and were, in Hotze's estimation, 'therefore like a cork on the waters.'[145]

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The successes of Union diplomacy owed a great deal to the consolidation of expatriate networks in the previous decades. The integration of the expatriate community with British society, promoted and mediated by a coterie of elite pro-Union expatriates, quickened in the 1850s as the density of Anglo-American connections increased. Though a contingent process,

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2011). James Williams of Kentucky also wrote in the British press on behalf of the Confederacy, his writings were collected together and reprinted in America as *Letters on Slavery from the Old World* (Nashville, 1861).

[143] Hotze to George Witt, 10 September 1864, Hotze Papers, LoC.

[144] For more detail on the pamphlets published by Hotze see: Bonner, 'Slavery and Confederate Diplomacy,' pp. 307-9.

[145] Hotze to Benjamin, 12 March 1864, Hotze Papers, LoC.

this ultimately worked against the Confederacy. Yet, surprising affinities emerged between Union and Confederate diplomacy that portended the future contours of Anglo-American imperial collaboration. The informal diplomacy of Baylor, Hotze, and George Francis Train intersected in the forum of transatlantic interchanges regarding race. In the process they aided the dissemination of the fundamental principles governing late nineteenth-century conceptions of the "Anglo-Saxon" mission to civilise inferior races. Their pseudo-scientific racial theory may have drawn heavily from popular mid-century currents of Anglo-Saxonism and anti-black invective, but looked beyond the context of slavery to the pursuit of common British and American racial goals.

In a speech redolent of these themes, Train told one British audience in March 1862 that, 'American slavery is a stepping-stone *to the negro* from African barbarism to Christian Civilization.'[146] 'In America,' he continued, 'the Caucasian race has elevated his [the negro's] intellect, as it has improved his physique.' But, Train conceded, the 'civilized man' could improve them 'only as far as he can' for to go further, '*you must first put inside his thick skull nine cubic inches more of brain!*'[147] Train arrived at his crude phrenology by way of the religious sanction of slavery in *Leviticus* 25 and *Exodus* 21 and the phrenologist Samuel Roberts Wells, editor of the broadly popular *American Phrenological Journal*, who attended his first pro-Union rally in London on 19 June 1861.[148] The second major influence on Train was James McHenry, brother of Hotze's protégé George McHenry, who introduced him to the phrenologists Frederick Bridges; Cornelius Donovan, founder of the London Phrenological Society; and Orson Squire Fowler of New York.

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[146] *Ibid.,* 19 March 1862; Train, *Union Speeches,* p. 66.

[147] *Ibid.,* p. 69. Emphasis in original. The importance Train attached to his pseudo scientific race-based gradualism can be garnered from the fact that he chose to republish this speech in the United States in a separate pamphlet titled, *Train's Speeches in England on Slavery and Emancipation* (Philadelphia, 1862). Train was also the author of two more books on slavery, *Young America on Slavery* (Liverpool, 1859) and *The facts: or, At whose door does the sin lie? Who profits by slave labor? Who initiated the slave trade? What have the philanthropist done?* (New York, 1860).

[148] Wells' *How To Read Character: A New Illustrated Hand-Book of Phrenology and Physignomy for Students and Examiners* (New York, 1869), explored the cranial differences between "Caucasians" and "negros." See, pp. vii, 31, 33, 63.

Popular phrenological circuits connected Train and Hotze, just as their pedagogical tactics paralleled one another. Train took aim at the 'negromania' of Exeter Hall and its 'negropolists,' hoping to correct its 'hot arguments' and 'severe denunciations.'[149] Hotze, the overseas apostle of "American School" racial theory, similarly hoped to correct 'the heresies that have gained currency in science and politics – of the equality of the races of man.'[150] This he pursued through the cultivation of cosmopolitan scientific and intellectual circles outside the purview of his diplomatic mission, such as the Anthropological Society of London. In the process Hotze and Train alike sustained the connection between international politics and scientific racialism. Hotze failed to link this successfully to Confederate recognition, and later complained to Judah P., Benjamin that Confederate failure was grounded in European's inability to appreciate the 'unsolved and unprecedented problems involved in the management and education of the African race.'[151] The decline of slavery, however, coincided with the expansion of empire. The international racial consensus emphasised by these ideologues was encoded over the next half a century in new forms Anglo-American imperial order.

It would take several decades for this collaborative vision to emerge full-fledged. Anglo-American relations suffered a great deal by the antagonisms kindled during the war. A new set of issues beset transatlantic relations as Irish-American Fenians launched armed raids into Canada, and the US government aggressively pursued compensation for damages caused by the *CSS Alabama*, the Confederate privateer constructed in Liverpool, to its merchant marine. A new brand of liberal collaboration emerged to alleviate these hostilities and 'become a main impetus toward progressive accord in the late Victorian period.'[152] The American expatriate community in Britain, internally fractured by the Civil War, remained

[149] Train, *At whose door does the sin lie?*, p. 6.
[150] Hotze to Benjamin, 27 August 1863, in: *ORN*, iii, 1117
[151] Hotze to Benjamin, 7 May 1864, in: *ORN*, iii, 878.
[152] Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill: NC, 2007), p. 75.

the social context in which Anglo-American rapprochement – cultural, social, and political – was manifest. In the process, expatriates retained their role in American nation building and were the conduits of new opportunities for transatlantic collaboration, as explored in the next chapter. Paradoxically, the expatriates mediating transatlantic interchange reinvigorated theories of racial superiority, developed in the context of slavery, to new relevance in an age of colour-coded empires.

- Chapter Four -

Culture and Independence in the Post-Civil War American Community

The assassination of Abraham Lincoln provided a brief unifying moment for Americans in Britain. Once the news crossed the Atlantic, Americans in London gathered at the St James Hall 'as brothers in distress.'[1] Up to one hundred Americans in the city gathered under the star spangled banner entwined with crepe mourning drapes to express sympathy for the American people and their support of Andrew Johnson. Meanwhile in Liverpool, the American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) came together publicly for the first time since the war began to express their 'deep abhorrence of the foul deed' and offer its 'heartfelt condolence' to the United States.[2] At the ACC gathering, the Liverpool Americans were largely absent.

Although the US Civil War brought a sense of unity to elements of the expatriate community it dissipated in the immediate years after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. These transformations sprang from Anglo-American antagonisms kindled by the Civil War, but were not solely indebted to them. The Alabama claims dispute poisoned Anglo-American relations between 1865 and 1872 as did the assiduous campaign of the Treasury and State Departments to recover Confederate assets in Britain.[3] Fenian raids in Canada soon added to the list of grievances. Although Whitehall and Washington seemed determined to bloody each other's noses, new avenues of transatlantic cooperation were forged. Leslie Butler has characterised the period as a 'liberal high tide' between an epistemic community of transatlantic intellectuals seeking to establish ethical foreign policy mechanisms; Ian Tyrrell and Christine Bolt highlight the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and women's rights

[1] *The Times*, 28 April 1865 & 2 May 1865.
[2] W. Maxwell to C.F. Adams, 28 April 1865, *FRUS* (1866), p. 255.
[3] For the diplomatic wrangling over the Alabama Claims see: Adrian Cook, *The Alabama Claims: American Politics and Anglo-American Relations, 1865-1872* (Ithaca, NY, 1975); Jay Sexton, *Debtor Diplomacy: Finance and Foreign Relations in the Civil War Era, 1837-1873* (Oxford, 2005), p. 191-3.

movements supplanting of the abolitionist movement as the conduit of the international politics of reform.[4] Strong currents of Anglophobia and British contempt remained, and should not be underestimated, but amidst the cacophony of hostility portents of Anglo-American rapprochement emerged that were non-state enterprises.

Expatriates in London were the conduits of new, and underemphasised, inter-cultural connections. Paradoxically, however, their new activities undermined the foundations of the antebellum American community in the capital. Viewed from Benjamin Moran's desk at the American Legation, the first section of this chapter highlights the difficulties experienced by remaining expatriates when navigating a transitional period in expatriate life in Britain. In the immediate aftermath of war, Moran witnessed the dissolution of a self-identifying American community in London. Prominent expatriate organisers turned their attention away from the American community in London to exacting revenge on Confederate supporters in Britain. Even Moran, usually a stalwart social organiser of Americans in London and well versed in its civic rites, turned instead to collecting information on Southern sympathisers and monitoring an influx of Confederate agents into the city.

Wave upon wave of American tourists limited the coalescence of expatriate institutions in the city. The newfound wanderlust of Gilded Age Americans altered the composition of American expatriation. While antebellum flows were directed by the contours of Atlantic commerce, post-Civil War expatriates gravitated to the social and cultural attractions offered by Great Britain – mirroring the shift in focus of American nationalism from its economic to its cultural foundations. American women were central to this transition, as explored in the second section. The antebellum tendency of expatriates to assimilate within London society highlighted by the US Civil War was quickened by American women.

[4] Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007); Ian Tyrrell, *Women's World-Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991); Christine Bolt, *Feminist Ferment: "the woman question" in the USA and England, 1870-1940* (London, 1995).

Britons and Americans alike viewed this through the lens of transatlantic marriage. Anglo-American marriages became a central point of transatlantic inter-elite contact in this period, lending genealogy to the ever-present metaphors of kinship. The locus of contact between Americans and Britons therefore shifted from expatriate festivities to the drawing rooms of London society.

Structural changes in American London contributed further to the unravelling of the expatriate community. Antebellum expatriates successfully demarcated an American "space" in the capital centred on the Legation and the offices of George Peabody and Co. However, since the end of the war, the Legation moved to several new locations after Adams' operations at Upper Portland Place were wound up. From his desk, Moran complained of 'a crowd of people' making 'ugly remarks about our quarters.' 'They are ashamed to see their country represented in a low lodging house in a street of doubtful reputation,' Moran concluded after one move.[5] The Fourth of July drinks receptions of the antebellum decades dried up as a result and an important arena of expatriate socialisation was lost. Such occasions were never exclusively expatriate spaces but nurtured the contacts and sense of overseas national consciousness essential for sustaining the expatriate community. Although expatriate life continued on an ad hoc basis it would take the arrival of a new generation of expatriates between the 1870s and 1890s before a fragile community formed once more.

The final two sections of this chapter turn to this community. With the boom in American travel in these decades, expatriation bisected with a vigorous cultural discourse in the United States that examined the desirability of cosmopolitan influences on the quest to secure American cultural independence. This is examined through Henry James and the circle of American authors and artists with whom he socialised. James cultivated a literary and cultural cosmopolitanism that, he argued, placed the United States at the forefront of

[5] 21 March 1866, Journal of Benjamin Moran, Vol.16, Benjamin Moran Papers, LoC. See also: 8 November 1866, Vol.17. (Hereafter: 21 March 1866, Vol.16).

"civilization." Through James, expatriation catalysed fears of colonial dependency among American statesmen as they turned to the question of how best to establish a viable national identity in the Gilded Age.

Most historians of Anglo-American relations have neglected the 1870s and 1880s as a fallow field in terms of transatlantic interchange and skip to the blossoming rapprochement of the 1890s. It is the contention of this chapter that in the quarter century between the Treaty of Washington and Venezuela Crisis new transatlantic reciprocities were routed through American expatriates in London. Ironically, these affinities unravelled the fragile coalition between financiers, diplomats, and travellers at the heart of the antebellum expatriate community. Nonetheless, the deep integration in British society of expatriates in this period contributed not only to Anglo-American rapprochement, but to the complexion that American society in Britain took in the final decade of the century.

Transformations in the American Community, 1865-1875

In the decade after the American Civil War, the American community lost the organisation of its antebellum predecessor. By the end of the 1860s the leading lights of the antebellum period had either died or shrank from public life. Joshua Bates passed away at New Lodge, his daughter's Windsor mansion, in September 1864. Peabody soon followed. With fitting Anglo-American ceremony, the financier's remains were transported across the Atlantic in the Royal Navy's flagship HMS *Monarch*, a gesture of Britain's indebtedness to Peabody's acts of generosity. Meanwhile, in London a headstone was placed in Westminster Abbey and a statue outside the London Stock Exchange. Neither Bates' successor Russell Sturgis nor Junius Spencer Morgan, who took up Peabody's firm, picked up the mantle of expatriate patriarch in the city.

The temporary ruin of the cotton trade splintered the Liverpool community. The trade would not reach pre-war levels until 1871, though by 1876 it would surpass the levels of 1860, in which time structural changes in the trade inhibited the coalescence of an American community in the port.[6] The successful laying of the transatlantic cable in 1866 led to the development of cotton futures markets in New Orleans, New York, Liverpool, and Bremen, reducing the need for resident overseas representatives. After the peace at Appomattox, Confederate agents in the city quickly relocated. Prioleau moved to London where he joined a rump Confederate community consisting of Henry Hotze, George McHenry, Hiram Fuller, Colin McRae, Louis T. Wigfall, John Slidell, John C. Breckinridge and Judah P. Benjamin. According to *The Index*, vast numbers of former Confederates arrived in London 'driven into exile' seeking 'fortune or a bare livelihood.'[7] The desirability of expatriation was in the eye of the beholder, however. 'The gallows, and not expatriation, should be their fate,' declared the *New York Times* in an editorial of May 1865. 'Expatriation would entail upon them no particular discomfort or discredit,' the *Times* continued, since they could take with them their 'booty' and 'live in a far better style in Europe than they have ever maintained at home.'[8]

London was just one outpost in a wave of Confederate settlement around the globe. Expatriation mania gripped many in the south. As rumour and restlessness circulated, many former-Confederates chose exile.[9] Southerners fled to Canada, Central and South America, and to Europe.[10] For those fearing reprisals, London offered temporary sojourn or the first step of a long exile. Behind his desk at the Legation, Benjamin Moran encountered scores of 'chastened' Confederates seeking return to the US, but forced to take the Amnesty Oath

[6] Julian Roche, *The International Cotton Trade* (Woodhead, 1994), pp. 10-11.
[7] *Index*, 22 July 1865.
[8] "The Importance of Capturing the Rebel Chiefs," *New York Times*, 1 May 1865.
[9] Daniel E. Sutherland, *Confederate Carpetbaggers* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1988).
[10] Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey (eds.), *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil* (Tuscaloosa, AL; London, 1995); Eugene C. Harter, *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy* (Jackson, MI, 1985); Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman, OK, 1965); Donald C. Simmons, *Confederate Settlements in British Honduras* (McFarland, 2001).

before their return.[11] For some, Britain offered racial freedom, a haven where freedmen could not, in the opinion of one exile, 'offend your nostrils as in the USA.'[12] Disenchantment with the South or fear of Yankee despotism kept many in London. 'A young man by the name of Jackson from the southern states,' came to Moran in April 1869, he 'now says he will never go back to the US! This feeling is not often expressed but I think it is much felt,' the Secretary surmised.[13] Distressed relatives exhorted Confederate exiles to stay away from the Yankee invaders. 'No country, no homes, exiles and wanderers upon the face of the earth,' wrote one North Carolinian of the 'self-expatriated' to his brother, an exiled blockade runner in England, 'but still how much better off they are than we.'[14]

Moran's attention remained fixed on the Confederate clique of Fuller, Wigfall, McHenry, and Hotze who established another weekly newspaper in place of the *Index* named the *Cosmopolitan*, perhaps in reference to his wartime cultivation of European intellectual circuits. Moran believed the paper was being used to slander prominent expatriates and undermine US credit in London.[15] 'These rebels are as bad here as ever,' he recorded, 'their enmity is bitter against everything American.'[16] With the arrival of Reverdy Johnson, a Marylander, as Minister, Moran came into contact with increasing numbers of former Confederates, fuelling his fears of a Confederate plot. The 'rogue' George McHenry called on Moran, 'and let out that Mr. Johnson would be made king if slavery be restored.'[17] Reaching hysteria, Moran scrawled in his journal that 'nearly all our visitors now are rebels

[11] 11 October 1865, Vol.16. See also: 6 October 1866, Vol.17; 20 July & 5 August 1870, Vol.26.
[12] Quoted in: Sutherland, *Confederate Carpetbaggers*, p. 20. One Confederate even approached the British Minister in Washington with a Quixotic plan to create a cotton colony along the Amazon using the labour of freedmen, see: Frank J. Merli (ed.), 'Alternative to Appomattox: A Virginian's Vision of an Anglo-Confederate Colony on the Amazon, May 1865,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (April, 1986), pp. 210-219; and, Alfred Jackson Hanna & Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Confederate Exiles in Venezuela* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1960).
[13] 20 April 1869, Vol.22. See also: 29 September 1866, Vol.17.
[14] Quoted in: Sutherland, *Confederate Carpetbaggers*, p. 17.
[15] 3 October & 3 December 1866, Vol.17; 10 May 1869, Vol.22. It is clear, however, that *The Cosmopolitan* was in dire financial straits by September 1867, see: 25 September 1867, Vol.19.
[16] 10 May 1869, Vol.22.
[17] 28 November 1865, Vol.16. See also: 11 & 12 December 1868, 28 September 1869, Vol.21.

or rebel sympathizers. It is a fact that we seldom have a loyal visitor.'[18] To further fuel the Secretary's imagination, a 'bullet-headed' detective arrived at the Legation, convinced he could link the exiled Confederate Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin to Lincoln's assassination.[19]

Benjamin was undertaking much less perfidious activities while in London, however. The former Confederate Secretary of State arrived in Britain in August 1865, and enrolled at Lincoln's Inn the following January. After taking the Bar in May 1866, Benjamin joined the Northern Circuit to practice maritime law.[20] Benjamin socialised with the remnants of the Confederacy in Europe, including Breckinridge, Slidell, and McRae.[21] In spite of this, the Confederate counter-revolution that bewitched Moran failed to materialise. In fact, Moran himself paints a rather sorry portrait of Confederates in London. 'Several ex-rebels are here in destitution,' he wrote, observing they were 'simply from day to day beggars' and 'almost starving.'[22] As early as 1866, with Breckinridge in Canada, Hotze on the Continent, McRae in British Honduras, and Wigfall down a mine in Clear Creek, Colorado, Benjamin was 'the last of the Romans' and soon settled into the life of a British lawyer.[23] Even Moran's ire had its limits. 'Some years ago I would have hanged him like a dog,' he recorded after seeing Benjamin in October 1868, 'but the passions of the war are now dying out.'[24]

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Transatlantic travel had dramatically transformed the American community in Britain by the 1870s, however. Improved ocean communications drove American travel around the globe.

[18] 29 October 1868, Vol.21.
[19] 11 & 18 February 1867, Vol.18.
[20] Judah P. Benjamin to James M. Mason, 25 October 1866, Judah P. Benjamin Papers, LoC.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] 29 December 1869, *Moran Journal LoC,* Vol.24.
[23] Benjamin to Mason, 25 October 1866 & Benjamin to Mason, 8 February 1871, Benjamin Papers, LoC.
[24] 13 October 1868, Vol.21.

In the 1870s, new ten-thousand ton liners were launched that halved the cost and duration of the Atlantic crossing.[25] American tourists could take advantage of the expansion of European rail services, mass-marketed travel guides and narratives, and the services of tour operators such as Thomas Cook.[26] In 1870, transatlantic travellers numbered approximately 35,000 but fifteen years later this figure surpassed 100,000 per year. By the end of the 1914 season, an estimated 250,000 had travelled through Europe.[27] Traditional transatlantic destinations may have dominated American travel, but distant locales in the North and South Pacific were connected by steam services to San Francisco in the 1880s reducing the centrality of Britain as a tourist destination.[28]

Gilded Age tourism created a boom in American residents in Britain from the 1870s onwards. Benjamin Moran, still First Secretary at the American Legation, was buffeted by a 'torrent of Americans' that had become an 'oppressive force.'[29] For the remainder of his time as First Secretary, Moran would complain of the 'great mass of American seaweed' and 'curiosity loving wafers' jamming the legation.[30] 'It is a pity for England that she has so many historic spots dear to Yankees,' he wryly noted.[31] Moran's observations are borne out by the British *Census.* The American population in Britain more than doubled in the decade between 1871 and 1881 (see Table 11). The figure continued to rise as the twentieth century approached but began a steady decline in the decades before World War One, as the centre of American attention in Europe shifted to Paris.

[25] Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbour, MI, 1964), p. 102-105; and Christopher Endy, 'Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917,' *Diplomatic History* 22 (Fall, 1998), p. 567.
[26] Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (New York, 2007), p. 96.
[27] Endy, 'Travel and World Power', p. 567.
[28] Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford, 2010), p. 16.
[29] 20 July 1870, Judah P. Benjamin to James M. Mason, 25 October 1866, Vol.26, Benjamin Papers, LoC.
[30] 19 June 1861, Vol.29; 29 August 1872, Vol.36.
[31] 29 August 1872, Vol.36.

Table 11. Total American Residents in Britain by Decade, 1861-1911

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Total	7,861	7,370	17,767	19,740	16,668	14,236
Male	5,056	4,298	9,226	9,726	9,832	7,961
Female	2,805	3,072	8,451	10,014	6,836	6,275
London	1,910	2,787	4,301	4,903	5,561	5,352
Male	1,126	1,397	2,255	2,450	3,100	2,675
Female	784	1,390	2,046	2,453	2,461	2,677

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales,* 1861-1911.

The prominence of women in British expatriate circles between 1871 and 1891, when they numbered 10,000, was striking. The number of American women in the capital kept pace with that of American men – in only two census years did the difference between the two exceed more than a handful of individuals. In the antebellum years, a number of famous American socialites graced the London social scene; alongside which were tourists on the European grand tour, delegates to British anti-slavery meetings, and intellectuals observing the European political and cultural scene.[32] The diversity of American women in London continued in the late nineteenth century.

A large segment of the American women in Britain were the wives of returning British and Irish migrants. Significant numbers of migrants returned in the late nineteenth century, as transport became more affordable and migrants responded to the volatility of the American economy. In fact, as many as 25,000 naturalised Irish-Americans were deliberately excluded from the official *Census* figures since they were only 'technically American, but with parents who were natives of the United Kingdom.' Falling through the gaps of British citizenship proscriptions, these individuals of Irish descent were dropped from official

[32] See Chapter One.

migration figures for being 'a totally different element' of the alien population.[33] Most of these individuals were single men, but many were joined by American wives and children. In 1889, for instance, 71,392 migrants returned to Britain from the US.[34] Further reinforcing the observations are the large number of American women in Britain employed in domestic service in Table 12 below. Such conclusions are tentative, as these women numbered just 604 in 1901 – a figure that halved in 1911, barely a drop in the ocean of domestic servants in the UK. Otherwise American women were scattered widely amongst professions such as the low-paid textile industry, in skilled crafts such as dressmaking and tailoring, or in the professions of nursing and teaching.[35]

Table 12. Occupations of American Women in Britain, 1901-1911

Occupation	1901	Occupation	1911
Other (inc. Students)	3,215	Other (inc. Students)	3,206
Own means	722	Own means	716
Domestic Service	604	Domestic service	326
Actors	152	Musicians/singers	147
Dressmakers	100	Actors	90
Cotton workers	81	Dressmakers	73
Teachers	76	Nurses	63
Musicians/singers	76	Cotton workers	62
Nurses	53	Tailors	47
Laundry workers	51	Authors/editors	44
Tailors	50	Business clerks	44

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales*, 1901-1911.

[33] *Memorandum on the immigration of foreigners into the United Kingdom, with appendix containing statistical tables and other information* (1887), p. 4. Accessed via Proquest *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* Online, 11 October 2011.
[34] Wilbur Shepperson, *Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated from the United States* (Norman, OK, 1965), p. 5.
[35] *Ibid.*

Middle class professions were also highly represented. Large numbers of American entertainers graced London's stages. Famous singers such as Mary Frances Carter Ronalds and musicians such as Antionette Sterling were popular with British audiences. Judged initially on their exoticism, these women were quickly accepted into the artistic and dramatic circles of London on their own merits. Genevieve Ward, Cora Brown Potter, Mary Anderson, Eleanor Calhoun, and Elizabeth Robins were mainstays of productions at the *Lyceum*, St James Theatre, and Theatre Royal.[36] Beyond these bright stars, a whole host of lesser actresses completed this constellation of American women on British stages, as shown in Table 10. Undoubtedly the largest and most visible classes amongst American women in Britain were travellers and sojourners, as evidenced in the categories of "other" and "own means" above. As travel boomed in this period London became the centre of a vibrant community of American women, explored in the next section.

In contrast to the antebellum decades, London was by far the most popular destination for Americans in Britain (Table 13). Liverpool suffered a dramatic decline in the number of its American residents, almost halving between 1881 and 1891. Other urban centres in Britain fared little better. Manchester, Britain's second city, had a fluctuating population of American residents, along with Sheffield, Birmingham, and Leeds.

Table 13. Distribution of the American Population in Britain, 1851-1911

	1851*	**1861***	**1871***	**1881**	**1891**	**1901**	**1911**
Total	N/A	7,861	7,370	17,767	19,740	16,668	14,236
London	1,054	1,910	2,787	4,301	4,906	5,561	5,500
Liverpool				1,399	801	769	526
Manchester				334	431	377	303

[36] For an outline of these individuals see: Jane S. Gabin, *American Women in Gilded Age London: Expatriates Rediscovered* (Gainesville, FL, 2007), pp. 39-46, 66-87.

Sheffield	159	196	152	105
Birmingham	321	312	226	151
Leeds	230	264	220	151
Cardiff	185	129	216	
Bristol	95	54	118	91

Source:

Census of England and Wales.

*Data is unavailable in these years for provincial British cities.

London continued to attract American financiers. Jay Cooke founded Jay Cooke & Co. in the City, which acted as one of the agents of the United States Treasury. Cooke was followed by small firms such as Morton, Rose & Co.; the Seligman Brothers; Clews, Habicht & Co.; and McCulloch & Co., headed by the former US Treasury Secretary Hugh McCulloch. These boutiques were much smaller than the likes of Barings, Brown Shipley, and J.S. Morgan & Co. (formerly George Peabody & Co.), and their owners lacked the same social capital to mobilise American residents around them as Peabody and Bates had done – although Jay Cooke made efforts to replicate Peabody's reading room.[37]

The decline of Liverpool was the result of transformations in transatlantic communications and cotton trading. The successful laying of the transatlantic cable in 1866 diminished the need for American cotton firms to have resident partners and removed merchants and brokers from the transaction Although the Cunard, Inman, National, Guion, and White Star lines continued to operate in the city these did not require resident overseas agents to act in the interests of the firms as antebellum cotton brokers had. Lack of overseas representatives shifted the focus of other firms back to the City of London. In the early 1870s Barings began financing specialist trading firms, decreasing the importance of the Liverpool

[37] Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), pp. 476-77. On Cooke's London branch see: Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War* (2 Vols., Philadelphia, 1907), ii, 206-209.

office – now reserved for the training of new English partners.[38] Brown Shipley wound up the Liverpool office entirely and moved to Founders Court in London. As a major transatlantic passenger port, Liverpool also encountered the same problems afflicting London of a rapid turnover of American residents, which impeded the coalescence of new expatriate institutions.

If the overall national picture is broken down into counties, a different image emerges. Although London remains dominant, the demise of Liverpool and Manchester is less obvious, and contra the antebellum period, the industrial districts of the midlands come into focus much more clearly as centres of American activity. The north-western counties of Lancashire and Cheshire – home to Manchester and Liverpool respectively – remained centres of American residents. The American population in these districts rose in parallel with that in London and the total population in Britain from 2,426 to 4,720 before a decline of almost one thousand by 1891 (Table 13). The Midland counties rose a great deal in these decades too. Most notable is a sharp increase in the South Midlands in 1881, when the American population rose tenfold, and the Midlands as a whole. As centres of British industry, these areas benefited from early efforts of American firms to penetrate English markets. The English and American Boot and Shoe and General Machine Company arrived in 1882 and were followed by the Gatlin Gun Works (Birmingham) and the American International Goodyear Machinery Company (Northampton) in 1889; and the American Special Machine Company (Leicester) a year later. The Midland firms were a handful of many American businesses opening branches around Britain, staffed with American managers, and quietly penetrating British markets.

Table 14. American Population in Britain by County, 1861-1901

[38] Philip Ziegler, *The Sixth Great Power: Barings, 1762-1929* (London, 1988), pp. 202-3.

Counties	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
London	1,910	2,787	4,301	4,903	5,561
South-Eastern	627	671	2,103	1,710	1,682
South Midland	134	303	3,826	881	902
Eastern	228	102	446	482	451
South-Western	324	402	1,207	1,321	827
West Midland	504	594	1,668	1,656	1,039
North Midland	209	224	539	722	520
North-Western	2,872	2,426	4,720	3,903	2,631
Yorkshire	365	296	1,491	1,649	1,151
Northern	338	219	617	1,073	675
Monmouthshire & Wales	350	235	1,060	1,440	887

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales*, 1861-1901.

In fact, this is illustrative of a wider trend. The dominant population centre of the South Midlands was Middlesex, home to 3,429 of the Americans in that category. The South Eastern counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire also hosted large numbers of Americans. The dispersion of these Americans reflects the extraordinary suburban growth of London in the late nineteenth century. These counties were the extra-metropolitan areas of the capital and accessible by the extension of rail mileage into suburban areas.

Set in comparative perspective, Americans constituted the largest non-European population in Britain. Nonetheless, they were far from being the largest migrant population (Table 15). After rising to the second highest migrant population in 1881, US residents declined in comparison with the boom in migration from Russia and Poland to Britain in the late nineteenth century. As was the case in the antebellum period, these groups, notably eastern European Jewish refugees, coalesced into ethnic communities in a way that Americans did not. Jewish migrants settled into urban pockets in the east end of London,

Leeds, Manchester, and Glasgow attracting public interest out of proportion with their impact.[39]

Table 15. Migrant Populations in Britain, 1871-1911

1871		1881		1891		1901		1911	
Germany	32,823	Germany	37,301	Germany	50,599	Russia	61,789	Russia	69,580
France	12,576	USA	17,767	Russia	23,626	Germany	49,133	Germany	62,992
USA	7,370	France	14,596	Poland	21,448	Poland	21,055	Poland	36,199

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales.*

From a global perspective, Americans in Britain were by far the largest overseas enclave of American citizens. An 1873 review of expatriation by the State Department provides an insightful comparative view. From Paris, Elihu Washburne reported that 'the number of resident Americans does not increase but ... rather diminishes.'[40] Moreover, he had 'never heard of any instance' of an American citizen renouncing his citizenship in favour of French – in Britain, six had done so in 1873 and a total of 78 individuals had done likewise since records began in 1844.[41] Nonetheless, an *American Directory* was in the process of being created by the expatriate newspaper *The American Register* – whose offices were in fact in London. Only 227 Americans were recorded in Italy, 110 resided in Rome a long-time centre for American artists.[42] Germany compared much more favourably against Britain. George Bancroft informed Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, that there were 10,672 American residents in Germany, a figure composed mostly of returned naturalised Germans rather than

[39] David Feldman, 'Migration' in: *The Cambridge History of Britain* Vol III: 1840-1950 (Cambridge, 2000), p. 198. See also: Laura Tabili, 'A homogenous society? Britain's internal 'others', 1800-present,' in: C. Hall and S.O. Rose (eds.) *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006).
[40] Elihu Washburn to Hamilton Fish, 20 October 1873, *FRUS* (1874), p. 1231.
[41] *Ibid.* British naturalisations compiled by the author from 'Names of Persons who have obtained Acts of Naturalisation from the legislature during the period 1801-1900,' PRO.

[42] George Perkins Marsh to Fish, 10 October 1873, in: *Ibid*., pp. 1228-1231.

US citizens.[43] Nonetheless, German Universities attracted large number of American students.[44] Beyond Europe, a colony of between 2-4,000 Confederados lived in Brazil from an exodus of almost 10,000 to foreign lands, and a community of approximately 1,000 were recorded in China just after the turn of the century.[45]

From the 1870s American travel was extensive and global. For businessmen, socialites, and cultural elites, the transatlantic crossing became commonplace. Britain was often the first stop on Gilded Age grand tours or the staging post for links around the globe. This had a profound effect on the development of the expatriate community in Britain after the Civil War. Given the ease and affordability of transatlantic travel, many Americans became recurrent sojourners rather than permanent residents overseas. Travellers did not need to settle for long periods of time to make the trip across the Atlantic cost-effective. In fact, the emergence of an infrastructure of hotels, reading rooms, and amusements was inimical to expatriate community organisation. Similarly, wealthy socialites often criss-crossed the channel to take advantage of different moments of the London and Parisian social seasons rather than take root in fashionable West End town houses of the antebellum period. This highlights a wider point about the changing role of Britain in transatlantic travel. For many Americans it was a staging point for the Continent, not a specific destination. 'All the Americans in Europe want to go to Paris,' observed Moran from the legation, adding he was 'sorry they don't stay when they get there.'[46] It took time, therefore, for a self-identifying expatriate community in London to coalesce in the post-war years.

American banks ceased acting as hosts to travelling Americans who could no longer register their arrival or find newspapers in their lobbies. They were replaced by organisations

[43] George Bancroft to Fish, 8 September 1873, in: *Ibid.*, pp. 1224-28.
[44] For American students at Göttingen see: Ernest P. Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe* (Durham, NC, 1968), pp. 38-71.
[45] Dawsey and Dawsey, 'Leaving: The Contexts of the Southern Emigration to Brazil,' in: Dawsey and Dawsey (eds.), *Confederados*, p. 13; Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State From Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844-1942* (New York, 2001), p. 229, n.57.
[46] 24 April 1871, Vol.28.

catering specifically to the needs of tourists segregating their activities from those of permanent residents. The favourite of these was Messrs. Gillig and Company, an American Agency located at Charing Cross, West Strand, were Americans could meet fellow countrymen and, for a small fee, "loaf" as much as they liked over US newspapers. In 1880 Gillig and Company merged with the American Exchange and moved into a six storey building. In conjunction with the American Exchange many Americans found their way to Benjamin Franklin Stevens' US Despatch Agency and the *Anglo-American Times,* founded in 1865, was a weekly sheet that served as a source of information for and about travellers until the mid-1890s. The *American Traveller,* joined the *Anglo-American* between 1875 and 1890.

Unlike the antebellum decades, few expatriates had the social capital to entertain Americans visiting London. The closest approximation to the socialisation of the 1850s came from the combined efforts of George W. Smalley, Moncure Conway, and a succession of active secretaries at the Legation. Smalley arrived in London to manage the *New York Tribune*'s London Bureau after the successful laying of the transatlantic cable in 1866. Smalley's home, Osborne House, in the select district of Hyde Park Square was one of the centres of American society in the city. He and his wife entertained a host of prominent American residents in the city including Conway, the artist George Henry Boughton, Cyrus Field, the banker Hugh McCulloch, Benjamin Moran, and later his successor at the legation William J. Hoppin.[47] These frequent dinners were Anglo-American meeting grounds and far from exclusively an expatriate affair, however.

From the Legation, Moran observed the many ill-fated attempts of Americans in London to revitalise expatriate society in London. Attempts to create American social institutions between 1865 and 1876 can only be described as faltering. In 1866, an American patent lawyer named Stead A. Smith was encouraged by Moran in his project to establish an

[47] 21 May 1869, Vol.23.

'American headquarters in London.' Smith took offices in Langham Square, possibly in the hopes of attracting the hordes of American tourists who took up residence at the Langham Hotel. After initial promise it faded into obscurity.[48] Similarly, in December of the same year, James Curley (a wholesale perfumer) established his own expatriate paper to rival the *Anglo-American*. 'I told him it would be useless,' Moran recorded laconically in his diary. By March 1868, Curley was looking for a buyer.[49] Another ill-fated American club was attempted in January 1868 despite Moran's promises of cooperation and sincere hopes of success.[50]

The prominence of tourists in the city after the Civil War conspired against the consolidation of a self-identifying American community. Expatriates struggled even to rally around traditional national celebrations – the mainstay of antebellum communal gatherings. In February 1868, Moran noted 'the Anniversary of Washington's Birth day and yet no attempt among Americans in London to recognise it.'[51] Between 1867 and 1871, Americans in the city did manage to celebrate the Fourth of July with some regularity. But the celebrations were mixed. While some followed the traditional form of banquets, others were low key. In July 1869, for instance, Moran simply drank champagne 'heartily' with only three other Americans.[52] Fourth July 1872, the Secretary recorded, had been 'a fine day but there was no general celebration of it by the Americans in London.'[53] Much larger celebrations came off the year after, however.[54] Enveloped by travellers in this period, expatriates found they could not rekindle the civic consciousness of the antebellum era or organise around a permanent nucleus within the community.

[48] 13 & 15 June 1866, Vol.17.
[49] 12 December 1866 & 14 March 1868, Vols.17 & 20.
[50] 31 January 1868, Vol.19.
[51] 22 February 1868, Vol.19.
[52] 5 July 1867, Vol.18; 6 July 1868, Vol.20; 5 July 1869, Vol.23; 4 July 1871, Vol.29.
[53] 4 July 1872, Vol.32.
[54] 4 July 1873, Vol.35.

The Legation was also relegated to a place of official duties, such as the issuing of passports, in this period. Its informal functions were dominated by the needs of travellers, rather than expatriates. 'Cheap passages across the Atlantic have an objectionable as well as a sunny side,' noted Moran, 'for they enable fools to come over here with a few pounds wh[ich] they soon get rid of and then we must send them home.' In these years the Legation became a philanthropic centre catering for what Moran termed a 'class of lunatics' taking advantage of cheap fares across the Atlantic.[55] Initially, Moran recorded individual cases in the pages of his journal,[56] but soon reported a 'flood of people in distress' and later, an endless 'procession of beggars.'[57] Moran circulated those he thought genuine around prominent American citizens in London, chiefly the bankers Junius Spencer Morgan and Russell Sturgis who continued the private philanthropy of their forerunners by covering the cost of return journeys to the US.[58]

By the time William J. Hoppin arrived to take over from Moran in 1876, philanthropy towards stranded Americans had been instituted on a formal level through the Society for the Relief of Americans in Distress. The American Minister Edwards Pierrepont, his secretaries Hoppin and Ehrman Syme Nadal, Adam Badeau the US consul-general, and the American Despatch Agent Benjamin Franklin Stevens were all part of a twenty strong board of managers. Individual cases were assessed by the board, which also included the expatriates Freeman Harlow Morse (former consul-general), John P. Bigelow (chief of the US Treasury Department's Loan Division), the bankers Hugh McCulloch and Jay Cooke, and Isaac Seligman the designated banker of the US Navy. Private citizens were expected to contribute £5 or more to the fund 'which saves the members of the legation personally for considerable

[55] 19 June 1874, Vol.39.
[56] 29 November 1865, 5 January 1866, 14 February 1866, Vol.16; 15 January 1868, Vol.19.
[57] 18 January 1870, Vol.24; 23 September 1872, Vol.33.
[58] 18 September 1872, Vol.33.

charitable expenditures.'[59] Nevertheless, the society was undermined by the rapid turnover of the American population in the city. Hoppin was unable to 'find anybody to serve as agent, so the work comes upon a few of us & chiefly on me.'[60]

The mid-1870s was a turning point for the American community in London in spite of these impediments. Hoppin began to refer to the 'American Circle' and even the 'American Colony' in the city as his sojourn lengthened.[61] A host of American arrivals in the late-1870s and 1880s, many of whom will be discussed in the coming pages, began to lay the foundation for an emerging expatriate "colony" that would come to its fullest form in the 1890s. Until that point, Americans in London continued to socialise intermittently and in *ad hoc* forms. Many penetrated the staid social circles of London, however, consolidating the successes of expatriate financiers in the antebellum era. American women were conspicuous in this process.

The "Invasion" of the American Heiress

Transatlantic travel fuelled a dramatic growth in the number of American women in London, speeding the American community's integration in London society and with it, Anglo-American rapprochement. Women's magazines and popular journals offered regular columns on the "art" of travel ranging from its cost and how to budget effectively, seasickness, European fashion and social customs, booking hotels and deciding a route, and how to interpret their encounters with the Old World.[62] A great deal of this commentary revolved around the need to be initiated in the complexities of European social codes. Failure to do so

[59] 24 July 1876, Minute Book of William J. Hoppin, MS Am.985. See also: Hoppin to Anna, 20 November 1876, Journal of Residence in London Vol.I, MS Am.986, Papers of William J. Hoppin, HLH..
[60] Hoppin to Anna, 2 January 1879, Journal Vol.IV, Papers of Hoppin, HLH.
[61] Hoppin to Anna, 22 November 1877, and Hoppin to Sallie and Hattie 24 November 1877, Journal Vol.II, Papers of Hoppin, HLH.
[62] 'Seeing Europe on $200,' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 4 (June, 1887); A.R. Ramsey, 'How to go Abroad,' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 6 and 7 (May and June 1889); 'How we went Abroad,' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 9 (August, 1889); H. Mott, 'The Art of Travelling Abroad,' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 12 (May, 1895); E.I. Stevenson, 'Tips of Travel,' *Harper's Bazaar* July, August, and September 1899.

could lead to the moral downfall of US women and by extension the United States whom they were taken to represent. 'The American girl here and there who goes abroad picks up a bundle of vices, wrapped in a tissue of nobility' opined the *Washington Post*.[63] If done properly, however, travel was considered enlightening and enabled American women to move beyond the naivety of the popular "Daisy Miller" stereotype.[64]

In their role as representatives of the United States, an image of the "American Girl" developed on both sides of the Atlantic. Depictions of the "American Girl" typically focused on her beauty and style that attracted 'the involuntary glance of every passer-by.'[65] Yet, the line between virtue and vice was incredibly fine. Even those defending American women in Europe admitted they were prone to 'sin' against the morality and public taste of fashionable society.[66] The "fast" American girl easily slipped from the vivacious to the vulgar, often depicted as little more than an ill-mannered socialite. For Lucy Hooper, writing in *The Galaxy*, it was a 'matter for serious regret to every thoughtful American residing abroad that so many of our young girls should be carried away by vanity, folly, high spirits, or love of admiration.'[67] American women in Britain had only one object in mind, according to *Lippincott's*, 'to obtain an *entrée* into the society of the country in which they are residing.' In short, they were un-American, and exhibited a 'tendency to ape everything European and decry everything American.'[68]

More vitriolic commentators found them an aberrant example for British women. 'The American woman is claimed by her admirers as being independent,' was the assessment

[63] 'American Women Abroad,' *The Washington Post*, 20 March 1903. See also: 'Is Paris Wise for the Average American Girl?' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 23 (April, 1906), pp. 16-17.
[64] M.E.W. Sherwood, 'American Girls in Europe,' *North American Review* 150 (June, 1890), pp. 686-7.
[65] L.H. Hooper, 'American Women Abroad,' *The Galaxy* 21 (June, 1876), p. 818.
[66] 'American Girls in Europe,' pp. 687-8.
[67] Hooper, 'American Women Abroad,' p. 820.
[68] A. Gore, 'Americans Abroad,' *Lippincott's*, 28 October, 1880, p. 31.

of the popular journal *The Nineteenth Century*, 'but she is more than that; she is anarchical.'[69] In this instance she was the representative of "unnatural" impulses in American society. 'It would seem that while the American man unnaturally devotes all his days to money-making,' continued the *Nineteenth Century*, 'the American woman as unnaturally devotes her days to pleasure.'[70] American women were therefore the lodestars for a host of assumptions about the United States' national character and place in the world. Chastised by some for turning their back on Republican principles, their defenders lauded them as the 'the exponent of emancipation' for their European counterparts.[71]

In this instance, commentators had in mind the steady trickle of American women active in British reform circles. The centrality of women to the diverse canvas of transatlantic reform politics has been examined by a broad literature.[72] The constituency cultivated by these groups rarely interlocked with expatriate circles, however. In 1876, for instance, Mary Coffin Johnson of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) conducted a series of innovative drawing room meetings among women of the British upper classes only to find that American tactics did not necessarily translate into a British context. Steeped in the culture of its Methodist roots, the WCTU's representatives found it difficult to reach many women in the British upper class among whom the Church of England remained strong.[73] The international horizons of these movements extended across social groups and far beyond Britain, which was often targeted for the networks of communication offered by its colossal Empire.[74] The transatlantic trade in reform blew both ways. The transnational activism of

[69] H.B. Marriott, 'The Deleterious Effect of Americanisation Upon Woman,' *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 54 (November, 1903), p. 789; 'The Secret of Profitable Travel,' *The Ladies' Home Journal* 27 (February, 1900), p. 16
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 791.
[71] Stapley, 'Is Paris Wise,' p. 16.
[72] Margaret MacFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth Century Feminism* (Lexington, KY, 1999); Patricia Ruth Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbour, MI, 1985); Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America, and Australia, 1840-1920* (London, 1977).
[73] Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*, pp. 20, 22.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-3; *Idem.*, *Reforming the World*, pp. 74, 80.

itinerant reformers and missionary women followed their own circuits of international conferences and speaking tours. While these circuits spoke past the expatriates in this study, they were nonetheless a vital point of inter-cultural connection.

American heiress stood out to British observers as the most distinctive American presence in the capital. Gravitating to the mansions and high society of the fashionable West End, these women contributed to the vibrant social life of London in significant ways, crossing paths with one another at dinners, balls, or the fashionable parties of the Prince of Wales' "Marlborough House Set." This was the age of the transatlantic marriage. Between 1870 and 1914 there were 60 marriages between British peers and Americans, and 40 between younger sons and Americans – 10 per cent of all aristocratic marriages.[75] Marriage became one of the dominant themes of commentary on Anglo-American relations in this period. British dailies noted that the marriages occurred 'so often of late years that one might sometimes be inclined to regard it as a design of Providence that England should become half American and America half English.'[76] The general tendency of the press was to lampoon the institution as an economic transaction, and blew both ways across the Atlantic, as was the theme of the November 1888 centre-page spread in *Life* magazine that depicted an English Lord taking his pick from a crowd of American debutantes.

Figure 7. "Another Noble Man Among US"

[75] Alison Montgomery, *Gilded Prostitution: Status, Money, and Transatlantic Marriages, 1870-1914* (London, 1989), pp. 249-257; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven, CT, 1990), p. 347. By extending his study to include the gentry and baronetcy Richard W. Davis notes slightly more marriages in this period, placing the number at 176, see: Richard W. Davis, '"We are all Americans now!" Anglo-American Marriages in the Later Nineteenth Century,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 135 (June 1991), p. 149.

[76] *Daily News*, 19 April 1895. They were also the subject of numerous novels – not only by Henry James – see: Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntelroy* (1886) and *The Shuttle* (1906); Burton Harrison, *The Anglomaniacs* (1890).

Source:

Life, 8 November 1888, p. 280.

Decried in equal measures as a sign of American Anglomania and the Americanisation of Britain, transatlantic marriages were an important point of inter-elite contact that reflected the shifting grounds of Anglo-American relations.[77] Socially aspirant American families arrived in London from the 1870s onwards at a time when the pathways for entry into the British aristocracy were relaxing. In spite of old prejudices against upper middle class professions, businessmen and especially financiers found their passage into the upper classes relatively easy, smoothed by the willingness of the aristocracy to align itself with new sources of power.[78] The aristocracy had little choice. In the words of David Cannadine, 'the new super-rich stormed the citadels of social exclusiveness.'[79] Western land speculators and mining entrepreneurs, robber barons, and the titans of Wall Street were a part of this new moneyed elite who bought their way in at precisely the moment that the old elite of birth was in

[77] *New York Times*, 30 July 1878.
[78] Montgomery, *Gilded Prostitution*, p. 73; Kathleen Burk, *Old World New World: The Story of Britain and America* (London, 2007), p. 545.
[79] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p. 342.

decline. 'The latch-string of English society hangs outside the door for an American,' concluded London's *Daily News*.[80]

As the exclusive social world of Britain's wealth and power elite fragmented into various "sets," socially aspirant Americans inserted themselves in the interstices that emerged. Links between the aristocracy and banking families grew with the marriage of peers to the daughters of international financial plutocrats, such as those between Lord Rosebury and Hannah Rothschild in 1876 and Consuelo Vanderbilt and Charles Spencer-Churchill, the 9th Duke of Marlborough. Nouveau riche Americans benefited from the opening of this exclusive social set. Americans bought or rented fashionable London addresses in the social sanctuaries of Grosvenor Square, Park Lane, and Piccadilly and increasingly set the social tone – society reciprocated by 'worshipping the almighty Dollar unabashed.'[81] The "dollar princesses" followed the relaxation of aristocratic membership requirements. American peeresses became a common sight as their ranks swelled from just four in 1880 to more than fifty by 1914.[82]

Perceptions of American brides were wildly exaggerated, as some members of the aristocracy fought a rearguard action against their encroachment. 'The American woman was looked upon as a strange and abnormal creature,' reflected Jennie Jerome Churchill, perhaps the most famous of these brides, 'with habits and manners something between a Red Indian and a Gaiety Girl. Anything of an outlandish nature might be expected of her.'[83] Unrefined, unscrupulous, and possibly tainted with "uncivilized blood," this American influence signified 'Mammon worship' was 'feminine, frivolous, and fleeting' and 'helped to make [society] shallower, more extravagant, and more vulgar than it ever was before,' in the

[80] *Daily News*, 19 April 1895.
[81] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p. 346.
[82] *Ibid.*, p.347.
[83] Lady Randolph Spencer Churchill, *The Reminiscences of Lady Randolph Churchill* (London, 1908), p. 47.

reflection of one commentator.[84] A great deal of British invective directed at American brides stemmed from a conflation of the changing composition of aristocratic society – a process already taking place – with the arrival of these foreign brides. As social barriers lowered, the conquered English aristocrats, it was argued, were forced 'to bend the knee ... and pass under the transatlantic yoke.'[85]

From the American side of the Atlantic, the American brides of English peers were the victims, at best, of 'sentimental sensibilities and alluring foreign scenes,' and at worst, reflected 'toadyism' and 'the common exchange of money on one side and title on the other.'[86] Simultaneously, some commentators took the "invasion" of the American woman as further proof of the United States rise to world power. 'She comes, is seen, and conquers,' declared the *London American* in October 1895.[87] Each marriage represented a 'fresh American victory, another ancestral domain seized and occupied, another prize snapped up' to "Anglo-American" in *Harper's Weekly*.[88] The same reflection accounts for British reactions to the American heiress. As US power increased, its prominence rose in elite consciousness. While the processes of "Americanisation" and "Americomania" accelerated, British society appeared to fracture with equal pace. 'Through the breaches thus made in the ramparts,' continued Stead in his anatomy of the Americanising influence of transatlantic marriages, 'a whole flood of American ideas are pouring into Europe.'[89]

At the point where the expatriate social circles and British society intersected, in the drawing rooms of the West End, a coterie of American women enlarged the interface between Britons and Americans. More than mere representatives of aristocratic hypogamy, the integration of American women speeded the process of Anglo-American rapprochement

[84] Colonial, 'Titled Colonials v. Titled Americans,' *Contemporary Review* 87 (Jan/June, 1905), p. 869.
[85] *Society in London by a Foreign Resident*, (London, 1885), p. 98.
[86] *New York Times*, 11 July 1880; Gore, 'Americans Abroad,' p. 468-9.
[87] *London American*, 11 October 1895.
[88] Anglo-American, 'The American Colony in London,' *Harper's Magazine*, 30 July 1904.
[89] William T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World, or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902), p. 123; George W. Smalley, *London Letters* (2 Vols., New York, 1891), ii, 106-110.

after the settlement of the *Alabama* Claims. Paradoxically, while the antagonisms of the Civil War lingered in the popular political imagination, Anglo-American relations were entering a period of realignment in which reflexive antagonism was receding in the face of a mutual appreciation of the cultural and racial affinities of "kin beyond the sea".[90] Expatriate civic institutions languished between 1865 and 1895, as the role of expatriates as mediators in Anglo-American relations was relinquished to a Gladstonian model of international relations emphasising arbitration and multilateralism.[91] The assimilation of American expatriates in London society, by contrast, flourished. New transatlantic interactions emerged from this point of contact, chiefly from a coterie of fashionable expatriate authors headed by Henry James. Between 1876 and 1895, James cultivated a loose social circle of cosmopolitan Americans that endeavoured to shape the contours of an independent national culture from post-war transatlantic ties.

The Expatriation of Henry James

In the winter of 1876 Henry James took up lodgings at 3 Bolton Street, Piccadilly, the first step in a forty year expatriation from the United States. James located himself at the heart of fashionable Mayfair, ensconced between Green Park and Curzon Street, and just a short walk from the literati gathered at the Savile Club, then at 15 Savile Row. To the aspiring author, London was 'the most complete compendium of the world' and 'the capital of the human race.'[92] After just six weeks in the capital, he reported back to his family in Quincy Street, 'I am getting quite into the current of London life.'[93] Between 1876 and 1898, when he moved

[90] William E. Gladstone, 'Kin Beyond the Sea,' *North American Review* 127 (September-October, 1878), pp. 181-2.
[91] Robert Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, 1969), pp. 222-227.
[92] Quoted in: Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London, 1870-1883* (London, 1962), p. 274; 'capital of the human race,' from: Henry James, 'English Hours' in *Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America* (New York1993), p. 21.
[93] Quoted in: Edel, *Conquest of London,* p. 275.

away from London to Lamb House in Rye, East Sussex, James became one of the currents of London life. This section traces the coalescence of an American artistic coterie in London, encouraged by James and his commitment to the international creation of American national culture.

This was James' second attempt at entering English society. His first, as a "passionate pilgrim," coincided with the atomisation of American society in London outlined above. 'On the Continent alone is American society to be found,' the aspiring author wrote his elder brother William from London in November 1869, adding that 'the apparent inaccessibility of the natives is so great that save this there is little other.' Continuing, James reflected on 'a strong feeling, while in England, of the degree to wh[ich] to a lonely & unassisted man society must remain obstructed and closed ... tho[ugh] it might be very pleasant for a couple of months [it] would be rather dreary for six.'[94] In the early phase of his career, James was as pre-occupied with Anglo-American difference as those who appeared in earlier chapters, referring frequently to his long visits in the Old World as his 'exile' and reported back the 'strange denationalized aspect' of the expatriates that would become the subject of his fiction.[95] Nonetheless, to read James' correspondence before his move to London in the winter of 1876 is to witness the acclimatisation of James to European society and accompanying disenchantment from the United States.

James arrived in London after sampling expatriate society on the Continent. Throughout 1873, the author was a member of the American Colony in Rome, from which would spring *Roderick Hudson* and later *The Portrait of a Lady*. However, he soon came to find American society in the eternal city the 'dark side to a brilliant picture.'[96] Leaving Europe for Quincy Street 'very much Europeanized in feeling,' James returned to France in

[94] Henry James (HJ) to William James (WJ), 30 November 1869, in: ed. Pierre A. Walker & Greg W. Zacharias, *The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1855-1872* (2 Vols., Lincoln, NB, 2006), ii, 220.
[95] HJ to Alice James, 25 January 1870, *Ibid.*, ii, 273.
[96] HJ to Grace Norton, 5 March 1873, *Ibid.*, i, 233; see also HJ to Henry James Sr., 4 March 1873, i, 228.

the fall of 1875.[97] After a year long siege of Parisian salons along the Seine and Rue du Bac that culminated in the publication of *The American* – the tale of the transparently named Christopher Newman a 'great Western Barbarian' who attempts to marry his wealth with the aristocratic Bellegarde family – James complained of 'a long-encroaching weariness and satiety with the French mind.' 'I have done with 'em forever,' he concluded in a letter to his brother, 'and am turning English all over.'[98] Practicality, as with many of the expatriates in this study, combined with the desire for a stimulating intellectual environment in effecting James' expatriation in London. 'I have hardly had my expense off my mind an hour since I have been abroad,' he complained from France, while in London he found he could work 'much more and much better, and make an easier subsistence.'[99]

Shortly after his arrival, James reignited his acquaintance with 'the divine Smalley' whom he had met in Paris the previous spring.[100] The *New York Tribune*'s correspondent launched James into London society at the frequent Anglo-American dinners he held and elected him to temporary membership at the Savile Club. Likewise, the Virginian Moncure D. Conway, expatriated since 1863, invited James regularly to his home in Brede Place. The London club became fundamental for one 'whose business is the study of human life,' as James described it.[101] In February 1877 John Lothrop Motley put him on the honorary list of the Athenaeum Club, giving him access to the country's eminent men of letters, philosophers and churchmen, and he likewise took temporary membership at the Traveller's and St James's – haunt of the diplomatic circle.[102] In May 1878 he was elected to membership at the Reform Club, where he socialised with Sir Charles Dilke, Frank Hill of the *Daily News*, the historian James Bryce, and Ivan Turgenev.

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[97] HJ to Robertson James, 13 October 1874, *Ibid.*, ii, 197.
[98] HJ to WJ, 29 July 1876, in: Leon Edel (ed.), *Henry James Letters, II. 1875-1883* (London, 1975), p. 58; 'great Western Barbarian' from Henry James, *The American* (1875, repr. Oxford, 1999), p. 45.
[99] Edel, *Conquest of London*, p. 247, 273.
[100] HJ to William James, 25 April 1876, Edel *Letters*, ii, 42.
[101] Quoted in: Edel, *Conquest of London*, p. 274.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

James did not slot simply into an expatriate "colony" in London in the same way as in Rome. James chose to work in the location that offered the best social and cultural conditions for his fiction. Society was the object of James' fascination and it was from its currents that James produced moral portraits of Anglo-American sensibility and dissected transatlantic relations. Expatriation was therefore the vehicle for the international observation James poured into his novels. Consequently, he circulated amongst a number of overlapping British and American communities in London, producing a complex form of expatriation that served his literary ambitions. James identified cultural authority with Europe (at one time deriding American literature as written by 'eunuchs and seamstresses') and took the quest to write an independent American literature to the shores of the former mother country, as had Washington Irving and Nathaniel Hawthorne before him.[103] 'It is a complex fate, being an American,' James opined in 1872, 'and one of the responsibilities it entails is fighting against a superstitious valuation of Europe.'[104] Yet, for James, expatriation was possible because as an American one 'can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short ... claim our property wherever we find it.' American writers were able to create 'a vast intellectual fusion and synthesis of the various national tendencies of the world.'[105]

Until the mid-1880s, James' sense of American identity was central to maintaining his position as the self-styled 'observant stranger,' even as he embedded himself in the dining and drawing-rooms of London society. In a letter to his confidant Grace Norton, James expounded the manner of his expatriation when he declared that 'in one sense I feel

[103] HJ to William Dean Howells, 5 December 1880, in: Edel, *Letters*, ii, 341. The "expatriate tradition" in American literature has been explored by a number of literary scholars, see: Malcolm Bradbury, *The Expatriate Tradition in American Literature* (Durham, NC, 1972); Robert Weisbuch, *Atlantic Double-Cross: American Literature and British Influence in the Age of Emerson* (Chicago, 1999); Alexander Zwerdling, *Improvised Europeans: American Literary Expatriates and the Siege of London* (New York, 1998). A similar movement is noted amongst American artists, see: Michael Quick, *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century* (Dayton, OH, 1976).
[104] HJ to T.S. Perry, 20 September 1867, in: Leon Edel (ed.), *Selected Letters of Henry James* (New York, 1961), p. 21.
[105] *Ibid.*

intimately at home here, and in another sense I feel – as an American may be on the whole very willing, at times, very glad, to feel – like a complete outsider.'[106] He was even more emphatic to his elder brother, William, in May 1878, when he observed 'I am still completely an outsider here, and my only chance of becoming a little of an insider (in that limited sense in which an American can ever do so) is to remain here for the present,' before concluding, 'I know what I am about, and I have always my eyes on my native land.'[107]

James' expatriation was consequently self-consciously national even while it aimed at a stateless cosmopolitanism. Writing to his brother in 1888, James reflected that expatriation had enabled him to 'write in such a way that it would be impossible to an outsider to say whether I am, at a given moment, an American writing about England or an Englishman writing about America.'[108] James consciously created an expansive social network amongst Anglo-American cultural elites, traced meticulously by Leon Edel, his chief biographer.[109] At the centre of these were the literary associations and societies he regularly attended. Early in 1877 Lord Houghton invited James to the Cosmopolitan Club, a literary and artistic discussion society that met at Houghton's residence in Berkeley Square. James went on to cultivate further cosmopolitan cultural associations through the Rabelais Club, a dining society founded by the expatriated American satirist Charles Godfrey Leyland and Walter Besant that would later host a number of expatriated American authors such as Bret Harte and Harold Frederic.[110]

While James actively cultivated cosmopolitan Anglo-American society, he nevertheless became one of the focal points of a reconstructed American community in the process. The Jamesian circle was less formal than both Peabody's expatriate circle and the pre-civil war American Association, but it united the spheres of diplomats, artists, and

[106] Quoted in Leon Edel, *Henry James: A Life* (London, 1985), pp. 206-207.
[107] HJ to WJ, 1 May 1878, *Ibid.* ii, 171.
[108] HJ to WJ, 29 October 1888, *Ibid.*, iii, 244.
[109] Edel, *Conquest of London*, pp. 271-383.
[110] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland* (2 Vols., Boston and New York, 1906), ii, 51-61.

travellers. 'I take an interest in seeing all the young Americans I can,' he wrote Grace Norton from Bolton Street in 1880, in a manner reminiscent of Joshua Bates.[111] James joined the diplomats of the American Legation at their annual Fourth of July parties where he met William Hoppin, secretary at the American Legation and his colleague Ehrman Syme Nadal in 1877. At their first meeting Nadal noted that James 'stood in the doorway and bowed rather stiffly, as if he were not to be confused with the rank and file of his compatriots.'[112] As discussed above, James undoubtedly used these meetings with expatriates to observe Anglo-American interactions (he wrote to his sister Alice that Nadal was 'a wonderful specimen of American innocence'), but it is also clear that James enjoyed the company of Americans in Britain.[113] The novelist frequently called on Hoppin, where the pair discussed London society together and the mutual acquaintances they had made amongst the expatriate community.[114] Similarly, Nadal often dropped in on James at his rooms in Bolton Street.

James was sought out by visiting Americans as his stature in London society grew. The rapid publication of eight works between 1877 and 1879 added to his social triumph. Like Bates, James entertained as many visiting Americans as time allowed and became a focal point in the social life of London Americans in the late-1870s and 1880s. 'All Americans are not as bad as you are,' one correspondent chided Hoppin, 'for Henry James has been an angel to me!'[115] At times James found the demands tiring, but utilised his social calls nonetheless. In mid-1877, he complained to his brother of his 'accursed friend' Katherine Hilliard. 'I do what I can,' he wrote, 'but she will certainly tell you that I neglect her horribly.' Finding her 'a very honourable specimen of her type ... the literary spinster,

[111] HJ to Grace Norton, 20 September 1880, in: Edel, *Letters*, ii, 307. For Bates, see Chapter 2.
[112] Quoted in Edel, *Conquest of London*, p. 324.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[114] William J. Hoppin, Diary Entry n.d., & HJ to William J. Hoppin, 12 October 1880, Vol. 6, Hoppin Papers, HLH.
[115] Harriet Stewart to William J. Hoppin, 12 October 1880, Diary of a Residence in London, Vol. 6, Hoppin Papers, HLH.

sailing into-your-intimacy-American-hotel piazza type,' he moulded her into the character Henrietta Stackpole in *The Portrait of a Lady*.[116]

The circle that orbited James was increasingly populated by a generation of American authors and artists who relocated to London – a circle that James did most to maintain. A nucleus of authors and artists relocated to London at a similar time to James. 'I did not know when I went to London how many inspiring writers had much the same idea at about the same moment,' reflected the author and literary critic Van Wyck Brooks. 'The American writer could neither successfully stay nor go,' he added, 'he had only two alternatives, the frying-pan and the fire; and the question was therefore how to change the whole texture of life at home so that writers and artists might develop there.'[117] Educational opportunities, financial and professional advancement, and the promise of easy access to chosen subject matter all propelled American artists across the Atlantic in the final third of the nineteenth century. Accompanying this was a sense of the United States as a cultural backwater, or to its detractors a colonial dependency, in comparison with European high culture. European aesthetic and realist movements exerted a gravitational pull on Americans retreating from the materialism of American life.

"Literary absenteeism" was linked to the quest to consolidate American cultural independence through attempts to write the "great American novel." Throughout the final third of the nineteenth century, there remained a sense that the United States had not yet broken free from Britain's intellectual empire. Rallied by John William DeForest's 1867 essay "The Great American Novel", American authors strove to write a new American fiction. In the midst of an Indian summer of post-war nationalism, American writers were stimulated to exemplify the United States in print, in DeForest's words to paint a 'picture of

[116] HJ to WJ, 28 June 1877, in: Edel, *Letters*, ii, 119.
[117] Quoted in: Stanley Weintraub, *The London Yankees: Portraits of American Artists and Writers in England, 1894-1914* (London, 1979), p. 7.

the ordinary emotions and manners of American existence.'[118] James was of the same literary generation as Mark Twain and William Dean Howells; all three strove to redefine American literature, but would approach the same task in markedly different ways. Twain focused on the regional, Howells the national, and James the international.[119]

Yet, while American authors followed DeForest's reassertion of the quest for a national literature, they rejected his criticism of American authors who 'evaded the trial of sketching American life and fled abroad for his subject.'[120] Authors judged success by their reception in Britain, acknowledging their cultural debt with extended visits to the Old World. 'Everyone was going to Europe,' wrote the advocate of American regionalism, Mark Twain, 'I, too, was going to Europe.'[121] William Dean Howells, James' closest friend and the most prominent advocate of American literary realism from a national perspective, struggled with the question of "literary absenteeism" throughout his career. 'I find myself almost expatriated,' wrote Howells to the Europhile, James Russell Lowell, 'and I have seen enough of uncountryed Americans in Europe to disgust me with voluntary exile.'[122] Howell's returned to edit the *Atlantic Monthly,* from the pages of which he waged his campaign to bring European realism to American literature. But even Howells returned to Europe frequently, acknowledging his cultural debt to the Old World.

James is the prime example of this process and he did much to facilitate the expatriate generation of American writers and artists. James' extensive dining out provided the material of his fiction, but on a much larger level he sustained, in his own words, an 'American circle.'[123] He visited the Royal Academy with the landscape painter George Henry Boughton

[118] James William DeForest, 'The Great American Novel,' *The Nation,* 9 January 1868, p. 27; Butler, *Critical Americans,* pp. 142-153.
[119] Malcolm Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages: Trans-Atlantic Mythologies and the Novel* (London, 1995), pp. 175-180; Michael Davitt Bell, *The Problem of American Realism: Studies in the Cultural History of a Literary Idea* (Chicago, 1996), pp. 11-107.
[120] DeForest, 'Great American Novel,'p. 28.
[121] Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress* (1869), p. 27.
[122] Quoted in: Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages,* p. 177.
[123] HJ to Grace Norton, 8 June 1879, in: Edel, *Letters,* ii, 241.

('an American – Londonized'); socialised with the satirist Charles Godfrey Leland who moved to London in 1869 and hosted, in Henry's words, 'grotesque literary parties'; and breakfasted with James McNeill Whistler, 'a queer little Londonized Southerner' who 'paints abominably.'[124] James counted these and a host of other American artists and authors, such as Logan Pearsall Smith, Henry Harland, Julian Sturges, and Howard O. Sturgis, in London as his intimates, facilitating society amongst them into a loose American circle.

Existing expatriates and future arrivals would all slot into these social circles at James' encouragement. Boughton, a Royal Academician and celebrated raconteur in London society, similarly introduced American artists into the world of Victorian art, such as in the case of Edwin Austin Abbey, and through his friendship with James into the broader American circle.[125] Joseph Pennell the prickly American illustrator offered his home at 6 Barton Place as a place for American artists to dine after his arrival in 1884.[126] In the same year, Harold Frederic arrived in London from Utica as head the *New York Times*' European bureau and embarked on a bohemian marital and social life in the city.[127] Though Frederic affected to despise James as 'an effeminate old donkey' and his social circle as 'a herd of other donkeys,' he was not averse to availing himself of James' literary acquaintances when he needed friendships to further his own career.[128] In the same year, James managed John Singer Sargent's move to London, encouraging the young artist's relocation to the city after the scandal of his painting *Madame-X* in Parisian salons. 'I want him to come here and live and work,' the author wrote and introduced the artist to Boughton, Whistler, and the leading lights of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.[129] Within a year, Sargent relocated to London, and

[124] HJ to Henry James Sr., 19 April 1878; HJ to WJ, 28 February 1877; HJ to Grace Norton, 8 June 1879, Edel, *Letters*, ii, 102, 241, 167.
[125] Robert Balmain Mowat, *Americans in England* (London, 1935), p. 229.
[126] Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, *Joseph Pennell* (2 Vols., New York, 1926), i, 217.
[127] Frederic wrote only in purple ink, refused to dress in anything other than shirts of Chinese silk, and lived openly with his mistress Kate Lyons while his wife lived at the other side of London, for a full account see: Robert H. Meyers, *Reluctant Expatriate: The Life of Harold Frederic* (Westport, CT, 1995).
[128] Quoted in: Earnest, *Expatriates and Patriots*, p. 220.
[129] Edel, *Middle Years*, p. 47.

settled in James McNeill Whistler's old house at 31 Tite Street, Chelsea. As it would transpire, the move was permanent.

Chelsea, but particularly Tite Street, became something of a centre for American art in the final decades of the nineteenth century. At number 42 lived James' close friend Edwin Austin Abbey, Whistler returned after a brief stint in Paris to number 13 while Romaine Brooks, from Philadelphia by way of Capri, moved across the street from Sargent to number 32 (Sargent then bought 33 and connected it to 31 by way of a small door on the ground floor). Adding to the local colour, 16 Tite Street was the home of Oscar Wilde. A stone's throw away was 23 Tedworth Square, home to Mark Twain between 1896 and 1907, across Burtons Court from Twain lived critic and essayist Logan Pearsall Smith. Nearby, Ethal Sands and Nan Hudson of the Camden Town Group of modernist painters established their studio at 15 The Vale, Chelsea. A short walk across Kensington Gardens to the outskirts of Kensington (where many aspiring American artists, like James Jebusa Shannon, attended the South Kensington Art School) at 56 Lancaster Gate lived the author Pearl Craigie and at 109 and 74 lived Bret Harte. 34 De Vere Gardens, Kensington, home of Henry James, was at the centre of this web of expatriate artistic connections.

This clutch of artists made fraternalism their hobby. In 1879, Leland founded the Rabelais Club with the British historian Sir Walter Besant.[130] James, quickly 'roped in' as a charter member, described its objects as being 'to resist the encroachments of effeminacy and the joyless element in literature,' or, as Leland termed it, to combat the 'putrid Byronism' of the younger generation of authors.[131] The Rabelais functioned as an "anti-club," it being considered bad form to discuss Rabelais or make speeches. Its chief attraction, according to Bret Harte was 'the utter irresponsibility of its members' at their bi-monthly dinners.[132] Its membership was Anglo-American, but included the majority of American authors in London

[130] Pennell, *Leland,* ii, 51-61.
[131] HJ to WJ, 4 March 1879, Edel, *Letters,* ii, 217. Pennell, *Leland*, ii, 57.
[132] Quoted in: Gary Scharnhorts, *Bret Harte: Opening the American Literary West* (Norman, OK, 200), p. 167.

in addition to John Hay and Oliver Wendell Holmes and a host of British literary luminaries. The virility of the Rabelais was in stark contrast to the little-known Kinsmen, a club founded by Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis Davis Millet (an American painter and sculptor) to foster good relations between English and American artists, writers, and actors during their frequent crossings of the Atlantic. The Kinsmen's membership was half British, half American and had bases in both New York and London where no dues were paid.[133] Sargent, Twain, James, Boughton, and Bret Harte were all members.

The Anglo-American membership of these social and artistic institutions counters any characterisation of them as a newly formed expatriate social centre along the lines of the antebellum AAL. While expatriate artists intersected with the wider American community, they were just one outpost among several expatriate coteries. As a like-minded and self-selecting school of literary and artistic expatriates they were, nonetheless, the largest and most coherent expatriate coterie until the mid-1890s. The self-conscious cosmopolitanism of these artists further questions the American character of the expatriate community in the post-Civil War decades, however. Take, for instance, the artistic colony established at Broadway in rural Worcestershire between 1885 and 1889.[134] Broadway was the inspiration of Abbey and his close friend Millet. The pair rented a Jacobean Farnham House, before moving to the larger Russell House where they established lodgings and a studio. Abbey and Millet were soon joined by Sargent, James, and the English landscape painter Alfred Parsons. The small band of artists, and their many visitors, worked and socialised together leading to many collaborations. The small village therefore played host to the nucleus of an expatriate

[133] Mark Simpson, 'Windows on the Past: Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis David Millet in England,' *American Art Journal* 22 (Autumn, 1990), pp. 87 n.10.
[134] The fullest account of the artistic colony at Broadway is: Mark Simpson, 'Reconstructing the Golden Age: American Artists in Broadway, Worcestershire, 1885 to 1889,' (Yale University, Ph.D. thesis, 1999). Shorter accounts are: *Ibid.*, and H. Barbara Weinberg, 'The Career of Francis Davis Millet,' *Archives of American Art Journal* 17 (1977), pp. 2-18.

community in addition to an American art colony that had, according to James, 'reconstructed the Golden Age' in the Cotswold Hills.[135]

Nonetheless, while in the Cotswolds, Millet devoted himself to depicting English domestic scenes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the Anglophile Abbey painted elaborate tableaus under the influence of the English Pre-Raphaelite movement; and Sargent, trained in Paris at the *École des Beaux Arts,* conducted impressionist experiments on his Broadway canvasses. This coterie, and their compatriots in London, therefore represent a new generation of American cultural cosmopolitans, a bridge between European *avant-garde* movements –Impressionism, Naturalism, bohemianism – and the question of cultural internationalism or independence in the United States. Expatriation further politicised cultural production in the late nineteenth-century United States. James was singled out as the chief emblem of US cultural dependency and he joined a vigorous national debate with a no less strident cosmopolitan nationalism of his own.

Expatriation and the Question of Cultural Independence

"Literary absenteeism" polarised debate in the final third of the late nineteenth century. The quest to define a national literature intersected with the concern of Gilded Age Americans to establish a viable national identity. Cosmopolitan Americans – no less nationalist than their opponents – advanced an internationalist outlook and vision of the United States global role to counter the insularity of American democracy and provincialism of its culture.[136] 'No great work of art has been produced in America,' opined the *North American Review,* concluding,

[135] Quoted in: Simpson, 'Reconstructing the Golden Age,' p. 1. James immortalised the colony in his article: 'Our Artists in Europe,' *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 79 (June, 1889), p. 52; see also, HJ to WJ, 10 September 1886, Edel, *Letters,* iii, 132.

[136] For an extensive treatment of cosmopolitanism in Gilded Age political culture see Frank Ninkovich's unrivalled study *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundations of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), to which this discussion is deeply indebted.

'our national evil genius is mediocrity.'[137] Many liberal intellectuals, motivated by a desire to see a self-constituted American culture elevated to the vanguard of civilisation, turned to international cultural models as an alternative to the perceived materialism of American culture. The novel was a key element of this debate.[138] The "international theme," of which James was the leading practitioner, was often turned to as the best means of accentuating American national character.

Such cosmopolitanism was quickly diagnosed as colonial dependency by a number of commentators. The expatriation of American cultural production quickened long-held fears that the United States was a mere satellite of Britain's intellectual empire. 'So long as the sources of art and science are still Transatlantic, we are still a province not a nation,' wrote Thomas Wentworth Higginson in his 'Plea for Culture.'[139] 'The highest aim of most of our literary journals has thus far been to appear English,' he wrote three years later. As a result, American 'literature must, during this epoch, be chiefly second rate. We need to become national.'[140] 'We need the English culture,' Higginson continued, 'but we do not need it more evidently than we need the German, the French, the Greek, the Oriental.'[141] For Henry Cabot Lodge, cosmopolitan literature was 'the recurrence of the old deep-seated malady of colonialism.' Lodge was taking aim at north-eastern Anglomaniacs, many of whom 'pass their lives in Europe, mourning over the inferiority of their own country, and who become thoroughly denationalized.' 'They flatter themselves with being cosmopolitans,' he charged, 'when in truth they are genuine colonists petty and provincial to the last degree.'[142]

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[137] 'The Conditions of Art in America,' *North American Review* 102 (January, 1866), p.15.
[138] Lawrence Buell, 'Theories of the American Novel in the Age of Realism,' in: Leonard Cassuto (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the American Novel* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 322-336.
[139] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 'A Plea for Culture,' *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1867), p. 36.
[140] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 'Americanism in Literature,' *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1870), p. 57. See also: M. Thompson, 'Notes and Comments: Foreign Influence on American Fiction,' *North American Review* 149 (July, 1889), pp. 118-120.
[141] Higginson, 'Americanism in Literature,' p. 58.
[142] Henry Cabot Lodge, 'Colonialism in the United States,' *Atlantic Monthly,* May 1883, p. 624. For more on Anglomania, see: Stephen Tuffnell, '"Uncle Sam is to be sacrificed": Anglophobia in Late Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture,' *American Nineteenth Century History* 12 (March, 2011), pp. 77-99.

The question of expatriation featured regularly in these debates. But why did it matter where a novel was written if the author was American? Literary independence was a question of national character. Editorials and articles tapped into latent Anglophobic sentiments when they suggested it was 'humiliating to any man who has the cause of American literature at heart to see how utterly America is overshadowed by Great Britain in literary production.'[143] To *Scribner's,* the American people were owed a literature that was 'the outgrowth of their own life, country, and institutions.'[144] 'A national character can hardly exist without a strong love of country,' opined one editorial in the *Atlantic Monthly.* Yet, the periodical observed, 'thousands of our people expatriate themselves because life is easier, pleasanter, or cheaper elsewhere.'[145] Anticipating Roosevelt's concept of the "Strenuous Life," some commentators argued that expatriation reflected a defect in individual character, and therefore, a want of Americanism. For those in whom 'the oxygen of American life is wholly wanting,' Higginson argued, the 'path across the ocean is easy, and the return how hard!'[146] Critics lamented the tendency of American authors to set novels overseas and of their characters who 'run across [the Atlantic] now as regularly every summer as any other class of fortunate beings.'[147] The authors themselves, according to Lodge, were 'disfigured and deformed Americans.'[148]

James was a galling anti-type to advocates of a home-grown national literature. James conceived of his expatriation in direct opposition to the "Americanism" of Higgins, Lodge, and other cultural commentators. As has been seen, James cultivation of an American social circle composed of expatriates, travellers, and diplomats was part of his self-styled role as the "observant stranger" and as an author of whose nationality it was difficult to determine. As a

[143] 'English and American Copyright,' *Scribner's* (October, 1876), p. 900.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] 'What is an American?' *Atlantic Monthly* (May, 1875), p. 565.
[146] Higginson, 'Americanism in Literature,' p. 57.
[147] 'Contributor's Club,' *Atlantic Monthly* (October, 1881), p. 571.
[148] Lodge, 'Colonialism in the United States,' p. 624.

practitioner of the "international theme" James maintained a sense of American identity as he picked apart the cultural and social differences of each side of the Atlantic. Yet, to read James' self-reflection throughout the first fifteen years of his expatriation is to witness the contingent transition from patriotism to cosmopolitan internationalism – though it is one shot through with ambiguities.[149] In the winter of 1869, James spoke of his 'acquaintance with the pangs of solitude & exile,' and a year later confided that should he remain 'abroad for a long residence, I shall at best be haunted and wracked ... by the fantasy of thankless ignorance and neglect of my native land.'[150] Eight years later, he reported back to Norton, 'I find myself more of a cosmopolitan (thanks to the combination of the Continent and the U.S.A. which formed my lot).'[151] By 1882, a short return trip to the US, he told one correspondent, was now 'an exile.'[152]

London was essential to Jamesian cosmopolitanism. Only in London, he wrote, could be found 'the most complete compendium of the world' and 'the capital of the human race.'[153] James would claim in his 1878 essay "Occasional Paris" that to become a 'cosmopolite' was an 'accident.'[154] Yet, James' sense of cosmopolitanism was a carefully constructed interplay between race and nation, and their relationship to "civilisation." In a letter to his brother William in 1888, James envisioned the 'English-American world' as a 'big Anglo-Saxon total.' The two English-speaking nations were 'continuous or more or less convertible, or at any rate as simply different chapters of the same general subject.'[155] In so far as James was an "Anglo-Saxonist," he valued it much more for its cultural content rather

[149] Adeline R. Tinter's, *The Cosmopolitan World of Henry James* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1991), p. 257 also details this process.
[150] 'Solitude and exile' from: HJ to Mary Walsh James, 21-23 December 1869, Walker and Zacharias, ii, 229; 'haunted' from: HJ to Grace Norton, 26 September 1870, *Ibid.*, ii, 376-77.
[151] HJ to Grace Norton, 9 August 1877, *Ibid.*, ii, 137.
[152] HJ to Sir John Clark, 8 January 1882, *Ibid.*, ii, 368.
[153] Quoted in: Edel, *Conquest of London*, p. 274; James, 'English Hours,' p. 21.
[154] Henry James, 'Occasional Paris,' in *Selected Travel Writings: The Continent* (New York, 1993), p. 721.
[155] HJ to WJ, 29 October 1888, in Edel (ed.), *Letters*, iii, 244.

than any supposed biological determinants.[156] Through Anglo-Saxonism, James laid claim to a cultural heritage on behalf of the United States that sanctioned its place in an Anglo-American community.

While to others this signalled a "colonial habit of mind," James attempted to show what set American culture apart from its debt to English letters. 'We have quite exquisite qualities as a race,' he wrote to his friend Thomas Sargeant in 1867, 'we are ahead of the European races in the fact that ... we can deal freely with forms of civilisation not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short ... claim our property wherever we find it.'[157] The assimilative nature of American culture, in James' conception, provided for a stable cosmopolitan national identity and set Anglo-Saxons apart on the scale of civilisation.[158] 'To have no national stamp has hitherto been a regret and a drawback,' he mused in the same missive to Perry, 'but I think it not unlikely that *American writers* may yet indicate that a vast intellectual fusion and synthesis of various National tendencies of the world.'[159] 'In this sense,' wrote James, 'we shall have national cachet.'[160]

In *The American Scene*, the travelogue of his return to his homeland in 1904-5, James celebrated the centrality of the United States to cultural cosmopolitanism. American civilisation had 'begun to spread itself thick and pile itself high.' Noting the transformed power dynamics of transatlantic relations in the late nineteenth century, James suggested that 'nothing could be of a simpler and straighter logic: Europe had been romantic years before, because she was different from America; wherefore America would now be romantic because

[156] Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914* (New York, 1968), p. 83. Literary critics have also explored the relationship between culture and race in James' works, see: Sara Blair, *Henry James and the Writing of Race and Nation* (Cambridge, 1996).
[157] HJ to T.S. Perry, 20 September 1867, Edel, *Selected Letters*, p. 21.
[158] Ninkovich, *Global Dawn,* pp. 54, 137-166.
[159] HJ to T.S. Perry, 20 September 1867, Edel, *Selected Letters*, p. 21.
[160] *Ibid.* See also: Weisbuch, *Atlantic Double Cross,* pp. 280-282. Christof Wegelin locates James' American identity in his morality, see "The Expatriate as American," in *The Image of Europe in Henry James* (Dallas, TX, 1958), pp. 141-152.

she was different from Europe.'[161] While this is evidently a form of American exceptionalism it is not to suggest that James was a cultural imperialist. James fetishises neither the Old World nor the futurity of the United States, but suggests a national identity grounded in an entangled and shared cultural history. In short, a cosmopolitan national culture enabled a robust American national identity, or, a globally conscious 'concentrated patriot.'[162]

Here, James and his critics diverged wildly. James' pre-eminence among American authors made him a proxy for attacking un-American characteristics in public life. The twenty-four year old Theodore Roosevelt told the Brooklyn Young Republican Club in October 1884 that he read James' works with 'sorrow' and dismissed him as a 'poodle...ornamental, but never useful.' In this instance, James was a surrogate for attacking Mugwumps fleeing from the candidacy of James G. Blaine, who, like James, 'were possessed of refinement and culture to see what was wrong, but possessed none of the robuster virtues that would enable them to come out and do what was right.'[163] The cosmopolitan internationalism of James was the perfect foil for Roosevelt's hyper-masculine nationalism. In private correspondence, Roosevelt raged against James as a 'little emasculated mass of inanity' and a 'miserable little snob' but saved his strongest charges for his 1894 essay 'What "Americanism" Means.'[164] Expatriate Americans failed the litmus test of "Americanism," in Roosevelt's depiction because they became 'over-civilized, over-sensitive, over-refined,' and, 'lost the hardihood and manly courage by which alone he can conquer in the keen struggle of

[161] Henry James, 'The American Scene' in *Travel Writings: Great Britain and America,* p. 655.
[162] John Carlos Rowe makes the same point through the lens of James' fiction in: 'Henry James and Globalization,' *The Henry James Review* 24 (Fall, 2003), pp. 205-14; similarly, Priscilla Roberts tracks James' consciousness of the United States' growing power in 'The Geopolitics of Literature: The Shifting International Theme in the Works of Henry James,' *The International History Review* 34 (March, 2012), pp. 89-114. Leon Edel suggests that James' cosmopolitanism was a habit of mind and imagination as opposed to a form of cultural nationalism, see his *Henry James and the Cosmopolitan Imagination* (New York, 1967).
[163] 'Mr. Roosevelt's Creed,' *New York Times,* 19 October 1884.
[164] Quoted in: Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 2001), p. 425; Theodore Roosevelt to Branders Matthews, 29 June 1894, in: ed. Elting Elmore Morrison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 Vols., Cambridge, MA, 1952-54), i, 390.

our national life.' That was not all, Roosevelt argued, since 'this same being does not really become a European; he only ceases being an American, and becomes nothing.'[165]

James responded in kind with a satirical take on Roosevelt's African hunting expeditions in his short story "The Jolly Corner" and privately criticised him as 'a dangerous and ominous Jingo.'[166] Nonetheless, Roosevelt's attacks stuck. As in the debate over national culture and literature, expatriation and individual expatriates were surrogates for attacking foreign influence on national character. Roosevelt opposed the feminising effect of a rarefied cultural elite on the nation's 'character of force' of which he identified James as the figurehead.[167] The press took up James in the same manner as the means of catalysing popular prejudices in defence of a virile, yet choleric, nationalism. Over the duration of his expatriation James was attacked as an aristocrat and an Anglomaniac; and his works 'founded on English or French slanders.'[168] Meanwhile, *The Academy* hatched a plot to kidnap James from 'whatsoever foul European Capua he may be haunting,' transporting him to a desert island and giving him the choice 'of death by awful tortures or of swearing on his bended knees and the bones of Washington that he will never more make fun of the American man or woman.'[169]

William Dean Howells came to the defence of James and his counterparts, arguing that literary absentees were the 'advance agents of the expansion now advertising itself to the world,' namely, the 'expression and proof of the modern sense which enlarges one's country to the bounds of civilization.'[170] Their defenders were few and far between, however.

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[165] Theodore Roosevelt, 'True Americanism,' in: *American Ideals and Other Essays, Social and Political* (New York and London, 1897), pp. 24-5, see also p. 26. Roosevelt returned to the theme of the over-civilized man in his speech 'The Strenuous Life' given in April 1899, see: ed. Hermann Hagerdorn, *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (20 Vols., New York, 1926), XIII, 319-331.
[166] HJ to J. Allen, 19 September 1901, Edel, *Letters*, iv, 202.
[167] *Ibid.*, p. 22; Tuffnell, '"Uncle Sam is to be sacrificed,"' p. 85.
[168] 'The American Scene,' San Francisco *Chronicle*, 17 March 1907, in: Kevin J. Haynes (ed.), *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 458.
[169] *Academy*, 10 November 1882, in: *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[170] William Dean Howells, 'American Literature in Exile,' in *Literature and Life: Studies* (New York, 1902), p. 205.

Expatriation itself did not always result in the cosmopolitanism of James. Contra James, Harold Frederic was an 'American, patriotically and flamboyantly so.'[171] The author, confessed in a letter to Howells that he hadn't 'borne transplanting very well,' insisting that the longer he stayed in Europe, the 'more tenaciously fond of all things American, and more intolerant of most things European.'[172] Consequently, the gregarious Frederic immersed himself in London's clubs (chiefly the Savage and the Ghouls), where he socialised with virile American egos such as Joseph Pennell and Stephen Crane. He was also recruited to James M. Barrie's cricket team the "Allahakbars" (Arabic for "heaven help us"), which played against Abbey's team of American artists. Barrie described him as the 'worst batsman in the world' and relegated him to the role of team photographer, however.[173]

Lack of financial freedom and an increasingly complex domestic situation expatriated Frederic for the remainder of his life. Ultimately, Frederic found expatriation composed of 'a tolerably level balance of losses and compensations,' but his identity politics highlight that it did not inevitably lead to a cosmopolitan internationalism.[174] Similarly, it further cautions against the notion that an American community formed about this diverse coterie of authors and artists between the end of the civil war and the mid-1890s. Scholars may speak of an "expatriate tradition" in American literature, but the Jamesian circle was a self-selecting group of like-minded individuals – and not exclusively American.

* * *

The post-civil war world of the London Americans was one of ad hoc forms and contingent moments of community. As the antebellum structures of the American community dissipated,

[171] 'Some recollections of Harold Frederic,' *Saturday Review,* 22 October 1898.
[172] Meyers, *Reluctant Expatriate*, p. 64.
[173] *Ibid.*, p.99.
[174] Frederic to J.W. Riley, 11 December 1896, in: eds. Charlyne Dodge, George E. Fortenberry, & Stanton Garner, *The Correspondence of Harold Frederic* (Fort Worth, TX, 1977), p. 427.

what emerged in their place was far from a nationalist American community. The new generation of expatriates tended to be internationalist, drawn from liberal elites in the United States. The Jamesian strand of expatriation denoted cultural cosmopolitanism but it was capacious enough to house nationalist pride and a hierarchical scale of civilisation. As some American commentators weighed the impact of international influence on American nationality, expatriates offered a scale for judging American cultural independence, masculinity, and character. While the expatriate community itself emerged from the war transformed, its function as a crucible through which to contest and reformulate American nationalism had not.

By the 1890s Americans in Britain had therefore retained their role as important prisms for Americans to grapple with the United States' place among new global interconnections. Between 1865 and 1890 domestic debates over the nature of American national character and the content of an independent national culture were refracted through this prism. As the contours of the London American community shifted in the 1890s, expatriates refracted a new dimension of American overseas engagement. A self-identifying American "colony" was taken as the expression of expanding American economic and cultural power by commentators on both sides of the Atlantic. Against the backdrop of perceived British imperial decline, these commentators measured British and American success on a number of indices brought into sharp relief by the diversity of the American "colony." Expatriate institutions facilitated American integration into British society, and provided a platform for new forms of US global expansion structured around the British World.

- Chapter Five -

Anglo-American Empire and the American Colony

By 1900, London was the largest metropolis the world had ever seen. Home to more than 6,000,000 souls, it was expanding rapidly – adding 2,500,000 to its size since 1875, the equivalent to adding two Berlins, a Paris, or a New York City.[1] London's extra-metropolitan area had therefore grown rapidly too. On a typical workday, more than 1,250,000 people travelled into and out of the city. The horse was still the backbone of the capital's transit network, but the Tube was rapidly coming into its own. Commuters plunged into London's blue clay through tunnels of American design, on rails laid by US engineers, and in carriages designed by American draftsmen. All of which was paid for with US investment.

While British investors lumbered uneasily to create a mass-transit system worthy of the capital of the British Empire, Charles Tyson Yerkes, the Chicagoan robber baron who transformed transportation in the Windy City, negotiated a buyout of the Metropolitan District Railway. With investment from the United States to the tune of $3,000,000, Yerkes had established a stranglehold on the London tube system by 1901.[2] Within five years, Yerkes had expanded and modernised the capital's transportation with the help of his American engineer James R. Chapman who brought with him an army of skilled American foremen to oversee the tunnelling process and design of an electrified mass-transit system.[3] Branded "the Moleonnaire" by British commentators who stood agog of his 'onslaught on London ... in the van of the American invaders,' Yerkes scoffed at Britons 'adherence to tradition' and enslavement in the

[1] Robert Franch, *Robber Baron: The Life of Charles Tyson Yerkes* (Urbana, IL, 2006), p. 279.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 289-300; 'American Who Built London Tubes,' *The American Register*, 17 April 1910.

'fetters of an obsolete past.' The door was therefore left wide open for American 'enterprise and broad-gauge methods.'[4]

American firms were in fact pushing at an open door. By the 1890s, Britain and the United States settled into a mutually beneficial, if competitive, interdependence. The United States surpassed Great Britain as the world's leading industrial power. At its peak, the American West provided 70 per cent of Britain's grain imports and a similar proportion of its meat.[5] While the US eclipsed Britain industrially and agriculturally, Great Britain continued to retain the upper-hand in the spheres of finance, communications, and transport. The Atlantic cable opened in 1866, but it was British businessmen that spread the technology worldwide and benefitted from ready access to the information it transmitted thanks to a close working relationship between the Foreign Office and private investors.[6] Britons continued to invest heavily in the United States. Of the estimated $7.1 billion invested long term in the United States, $4.25 billion was British capital – 60 per cent of the total foreign investment in America, although the figure had steadily declined since mid-century.[7] British investors poured money into railroads and local government bonds, Western cattle ranches, mines, and timber. US direct investment in Europe as a whole, by contrast, was just $573 million and was concentrated in sales, manufacturing, and marketing for higher income markets where US technological advantages could be pressed

[4] *The Cosmopolitan; a Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, August 1902, p. 414.
[5] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, 2009), p. 480.
[6] Daniel Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851-1945* (New York, 1991), pp. 36-9.
[7] Alfred E. Eckes and Thomas Zeiler, *Globalisation and the American Century* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 24. Mira Wilkins, *The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from the Colonial Era to 1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1970).

home.[8] Affirming Britain's continued dominance of American finance, more American stocks were listed on the London Stock Exchange than on Wall Street.[9]

The prominence of the American community in Britain rose alongside the surge in US economic power. Expatriates imported a variety of innovative American businesses into Britain that depended on proximity to the imperial infrastructure of Britain's capital. London, in the memorable phrase of the historian Asa Briggs, was a 'world city,' the global entrepôt of commerce, finance, art, communications, and people – and the beating heart of an imperial system upon which the sun never set.[10] London therefore exerted a gravitational attraction upon American businessmen and entrepreneurs seeking to expand overseas or attract further foreign investment into the United States. The trajectories of US expansion and Anglo-American rapprochement intersected within this context. This imprinted an imperial character on the American community in the capital. Empire diffused into its political culture, shaped its physical geography, and directed its economic activities, which it is the purpose of this chapter to explore.

The imperial character of the American community was self-fashioned by its members. The American "colony," as it became known, provided a matrix in which expatriates shaped their sense of the United States' place in the world and its relationship to the British Empire. Through the expatriate press, social institutions, and civic celebrations, the London Americans sculpted a distinctly American space through which US culture and commerce could be fostered. The organisation of expatriate life and the transformation of the various points of expatriate community into a "colony," are the subjects of the second section of this chapter. According to the American journalist Elizabeth Banks, these locales created 'such a volume of American

[8] Eckes and Zeiler, *Globalisation and the American Century*, p. 22.
[9] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 480.
[10] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Stamford, CA, 1995), pp. 311-361; Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven, CT, 2001).

accent, American vivacity, and American dressing as would be apt to convince a foreigner dropping suddenly into the scene that London was the chief city of America.'[11]

This seemingly national space had surprising transnational dimensions. The self-fashioning of the American "colony" twinned the international dissemination of US technology, trade, capital, and ideas. It is tempting to locate the roots of the "American Century" in this assertion of US influence, but at the turn of that century Uncle Sam depended a great deal upon the global financial and communications networks of John Bull. This was a mutually beneficial interdependence. It is the contention of this chapter that the American "colony" was the interface of Anglo-American imperial reciprocity, to which the final section of this chapter turns. Expatriate institutions acted as a transnational space that oriented the activities of a coterie of American businessmen around the imperial connections offered by London, paving the way for a rapid expansion into the markets of the British Empire. These processes are anatomised in a snapshot of Burroughs Wellcome & Co., an American pharmacist that penetrated colonies in India, Australia, and South Africa in synergy with the British imperial system.

The American Colony: Occupations and Location

As the 1890s dawned the contours of a revived American society in the capital began to emerge. While the decade after the end of the Civil War proved a low-point in the organisation of expatriate society, the final decade of the century proved to be its high tide. In conjunction with this was the transformation of the rhetoric of the "American invasion" of Britain that dominated the immediate post-Civil War decades to one of colonisation by the turn of the century that was indelibly associated with the expansive economic activity of expatriates in the 1890s. 'Almost all

[11] Elizabeth Banks, "American London," in George Robert Sims (ed.), *Living London: Its Work and its Play, its Humour and its Pathos, its Sights and its Scenes* (2 Vols., London, 1902), ii, 111.

large cities now have an "American Colony,"' wrote New York's *Independent* in 1884, which consisted of 'a permanent nucleus and a transient accretion.' The *Independent*'s author displayed the same antebellum reticence for expatriates, however, indicating that the concept of the "colony" as an American space was far from fixed in the mid-80s. 'The nucleus is thoroughly *anti-American*' it warned, and suggested it was 'not always safe for genuine Americans to affiliate with the "American Colony".'[12]

The term "colony" may have initially been an external label, but expatriates soon incorporated the term into their self-identification. The appropriation of "colony" by Americans in Britain increased as expatriate's sense of American identity in London became more robust, and, paradoxically, as they became more integrated into London society. Expatriates were identified as the agents of US economic and cultural power, shaping the commercial and cultural life of their host city. 'The American invasion has turned into an army of occupation,' opined "Anglo-American" in *Harper's Weekly*, adding that 'there never was a time when the American colony was so supreme or its supremacy so little challenged.'[13] 'The storm centre of London society is unquestionably the American Colony,' declared *Harper's Bazaar* in July 1905.[14] By 1907, one commentator surveyed expatriate colonisation and concluded that 'London is one of America's most important colonial possessions.'[15]

Expatriate Occupations

The American community that emerged by the end of the nineteenth century was incredibly diverse, as anticipated in the previous chapter, and suggested by Table 16. The affordability of

[12] 'Types of Americans Travelling in Europe', *The Independent,* 25 September 1885. Emphasis in original.
[13] 'The American Colony in London,' *Harper's Weekly,* 30 July 1904.
[14] 'American Women in English Society. 1. The Duchess of Marlborough,' *Harper's Bazaar,* July 1905, p. 602.
[15] Constance Smedley, 'The Expatriates III: The American Colony in London in Two Parts. Part I,' *The Bookman,* July 1907, p. 484.

international travel to a wider range of the American population altered the class composition of American migration to Britain.[16] As wages rose, steamship travel became more affordable and meant that migration did not have to be a permanent move. For those seeking income maximisation at a time when the American economy, for all its dynamism, was prone to periodic depressions, Britain was an affordable destination.

Table 16. Occupations of American Males in Britain, 1901 and 1911

Occupation	1901	1911	Occupation	1901	1911
Own Means	341	254	Electrical Apparatus Makers	125	101*
Merchant Service (Seamen & Engineers)	599	331	Carpenters, joiners	125	56
Actors	224	250	Erectors, fitters, turners	124	49
Coal Mine Workers	319	145	Dock labourers	123	81
General Labourers	273	143	Missionaries	111	136
Commercial or Business Clerks	250	176	Coachmen, grooms, cabmen	103	47*
Other Metal Workers	199	179	Authors, editors, journalists	95	110
Brokers, Agents	162	118	Tailors	95	96
Commercial Travellers	152	122	Boot, shoe makers	79	11
Retired	129	232	Engineers, surveyors (civil and mining)	75	98

Source:

Compiled by the author from: *Census of England and Wales*, 1901-1911.

* This category was divided into multiple professions but amalgamated for this table by the author.

As with the antebellum period, the largest proportion of working class Americans in this category were those employed by the American and British merchant marine and formed a class

[16] Brandon Dupont, Alka Ghandi, and Thomas Weiss, 'The Long-Term Rise in Overseas Travel by Americans, 1820-2000,' *The Economic History Review* 65 (February, 2012), pp. 144-152.

of transient labourers in the Atlantic economy. General labourers, metal workers, and miners all made up the broadening base of the American population in Britain. Many of these individuals captured by the Census were undoubtedly the children of earlier British return migrants now entering the labour market. This was distinct from London's other migrant populations, who resided in large ethnic enclaves around the city. In Whitechapel, Polish Jews worked in the sweatshops of the London textile industry – by 1901, 42% of all Russian and Polish males, and 54% of females, were engaged in the tailoring trades, and a further 13% of males were engaged in boot, shoe, and slipper manufacturing.[17] Italian migrants plied similarly industrial trades, such as paviours and asphalters or skilled labour such as carvers and gilders.[18] German migrant similarly plied their trade in the confectionary industry and clothing manufacturing.[19]

Americans were more like the "Birds of Passage" identified by scholars of return migration criss-crossing the Atlantic in search of the best employment opportunities.[20] The high decline in working class professions between 1901 and 1911 in Table 16 supports the existence of such an itinerant class. John McLaughlin, for instance, a skilled labourer from Providence, RI, crossed the Atlantic in November 1891 with two more local men named Charley Rogers and James. The trio took up residence in Leeds, Yorkshire's industrial heartland, and took contract work as roofers on a building project in the city. Migrant life was not for John, however. 'This is one of poorest and God forsaken places I ever was in,' John wrote his mother in December, 'they say they would go to the land of liberty if they had the money to go with, but they are as poor as

[17] Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford, 1998), p. 121.
[18] Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 56-7.
[19] Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 120-123.
[20] Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated from the United States* (Norman, OK, 1965), p. 5; Rowland T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 17; Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 82.

Job.'[21] After just six weeks of living in England, McLaughlin wrote his wife 'there never was a man more eager to get home than I am I have seen enough of England.'[22] Yet, McLaughlin was able to withstand the displeasures of life in England until October 1892 motivated by a mantra repeatedly expressed in his letters home: 'the more days the more dollars.'[23] As denoted in Table 16, skilled labourers such as McLaughlin arrived in Britain as an adjunct to the "invasion" of American industries detailed below. Electrical apparatus makers; erectors, fitters, and turners; and boot and shoe makers followed the wave of American entrepreneurs invading Britain in these industries. As American industries exported innovative products and manufacturing techniques into the British economy, managers brought their own skilled foremen and technicians with them.

American firms expanded overseas, at first, to fulfil foreign demand and in some instances to create demand with innovative products. With the movement of goods came the migration of enterprise as individual Americans with marketing and technical expertise were sent abroad to manage local branches, coordinate sales, and gather information. A great deal of this expansion brought industries producing new goods on a mass scale. A vast array of American goods that used interchangeable parts and standardised technology flooded British markets, including typewriters, firearms, sewing machines, and watches.[24] British industrial production was rationalized with the introduction of American machinery that helped co-ordinate the process of mass production. In the years 1889-1890, the American International Goodyear Machinery Company, American Special Machinery Company, Campbell American Machine

[21] John McLaughlin to Mother, 16 December 1891, Misc Manuscripts – John McLaughlin, MSS 9001-M, RIHS.
[22] JM to Alice McLaughlin, 5 January 1892, McLaughlin MSS, RIHS.
[23] JM to Mother, 13 January 1892, McLaughlin MSS, RIHS.
[24] S.B. Saul, 'The American Impact on British Industry, 1895-1914,' *Business History* 3 (1960), pp. 19-38; S.J. Nicholas, 'The American Export Invasion of Britain: The Case of the Engineering Industry, 1870-1914,' *Technology and Culture* 21, no.4 (October, 1980), pp. 570-588; Mathew Simon and David E. Novak, 'Some Dimesnions of the American Commercial Invasion of Europe, 1871-1914: An Introductory Essay,' *The Journal of Economic History* 24, no.4 (December, 1964), pp. 591-605.

Company, and Rockingham Machine Company opened depots that contributed to the standardisation and mechanisation of British industry.[25] American chemicals and pharmaceuticals similarly boomed in Britain. Burroughs Wellcome & Co., was formed by the American pharmacists William S. Burroughs and Henry S. Wellcome in September 1880 and introduced American-style gelatine coated pills into Britain from its plant and research laboratories on the banks of the Thames; in 1889 the Eastman Photographic Materials Company began manufacturing film for popular Kodak cameras in Britain.[26]

Table 17. American Firms in Britain, 1865-1914

US Firm	**Representative in Britain**
Ajax Metal Company of Philadelphia	George W. Wollaston
American Radiator Co.	Henry S. Downe
American Railway Association	H.S. Halnes
American YMCA	T.M. Waller
Atlantic Transport Line	Thomas L. Field
Baldwin Locomotives	R.P.C. Sanderson
Bell Telephone Company	Col. William H. Reynolds
Blake Bros. Bank	Francis S. Blake
Brown Brothers Bank	Howard Potter
Burroughs Wellcome & Co.	Henry S. Wellcome, Silas M. Burroughs
C.N. Creig & Co. Publisher	Carlisle S. Creig
Carnegie Steel	Col. Hunsiker
Carter's Ink Co.	J.A. Macauly

[25] R.A. Church, 'The Effect of the American Export Invasion on the British Boot and Shoe Industry, 1885-1914,' *The Journal of Economic History* 28 (June, 1968), p. 235.
[26] Stephen Tuffnell, 'Expatriation and Empire: The American Invasion of Britain and the Empire, c.1865-1914,' *Britain and the World* (forthcoming). The best account of the broader global expansion of American business is: Wilkins, *Emergence of Multinational Enterprise*, pp. 35-70.

Denver Loan and Investment Company	Humphrey Baker Chamberlin
Drexel, Morgan & Co. bank	Anthony Joseph Drexel
Edison Telephone Company	Col. George R. Gourard
English and American Shoe Machinery Company	C.F. Gardiner
English Electric Manufacturing Company	Sidney Howe
Equitable Life Assurance Company	Alexander Munkittrick, William Triggs
Fairbanks Company (engineers)	Robert Noyes Fairbanks
Fuller's Confectioners	William Bruce Fuller, Thomas Kane
Griffin & Co. Merchants	Hugh Reid
Hartford & Hollingsworth Co. Railway manufactures	Edward Mahony
Harvey Armour Steel Co.	Frank E, Bliss
Humphreys & Glasgow gas engineers	Arthur G. Glasgow
J. & W. Seligman & Co. bank	Isaac Seligman
J.S. Morgan bank	Walter H. Burns
John Morgan Richards & Son Ltd.	John Morgan Richards
Metropolitan Railway	Wendell Easton
Mutual Life Insurance	Donald Carmichael Halderman
New York Life Insurance Co.	John A. Ferguson
Pennsylvania Railroad Company	James L. Taylor
Poisson & Co.	Frederick C. Poisson
Remmington Typewriter Co.	J. Walter Earle
S.R. Van Duzer & Son (pharmaceuticals)	Frederick C. Van Duzer
Singer Sewing Machine Co.	George Baldwin Woodruff
Sturtevant Engineering Co.	George A. Mower
The American Bureau	Basil Bancroft
Underground Electric Railways Company of London	Charles Tyson Yerkes, James R. Chapman
US Electric Lighting Company	Sir Hiram S. Maxim
Walkover Shoe Co.	George H. Woodman

Western Electric	E.M. Barton
Westinghouse Brake Co.	George Westinghouse
Whitman & Barnes Manufacturing Co.	Roland R. Dennis
Williams Typewriter	George M. Moore
Wycoff, Seamans & Benedict Typewriters	H.H. Benedict

Source:

Compiled by the author.

The profits of American firms were greater when they manufactured products from behind European tariff walls. In 1905, the American Radiator Company moved production to a purpose-built factory in Hull, on the east coast of England, to match demand and save on freight from the United States.[27] The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company erected an enormous industrial complex at Trafford Park, Manchester, for the manufacturing of parts for Britain's electric railways. Westinghouse parts followed standardised American designs and the site even boasted one thousand homes for workers and artisans arranged in American style blocks.[28] The importation of specialised skills and knowledge followed the employment of American engineers and foremen in industrial works. The Anglo-American Brush Electric Light Corporation enticed American engineers to its plant in Lambeth, London, which opened in 1880; in the case of William Bruce Fuller's sweet manufacturing, it was reported that 'wherever it has been possible to employ an American in the business he has done so.'[29]

In another departure from antebellum practice, American business expanded into the provision of public utilities in Britain. Prior to the US Civil War, US statesmen and expatriates hoped to channel British investment toward the internal development of the United States'

[27] Mira Wilkins, 'An American Enterprise Abroad: American Radiator Company in Europe, 1895-1914', *The Business History Review* 43 (Autumn, 1969), pp. 337-338.
[28] *The Anglo-American Press*, 2 November 1901.
[29] *London American*, 25 August 1895.

transport and communication systems. Building on domestic innovations in the delivery of electricity and telephone systems, American businesses turned to Europe as the next field of investment, establishing English subsidiaries to market products under American patents. American firms introduced the telephone into Britain in 1879 when Colonel George R. Gourard managed the Edison Telephone Company in London and Colonel William H. Reynolds was head of the Bell Telephone Company. The two firms merged in May 1880 to form the United Telephone Company, which completed the installation of American-made telephone systems in London under license from the British Government.[30] The General Electric Company built new works in Birmingham just before 1900, where it joined Brush Electric which moved to nearby Loughborough the year before.[31] As highlighted in the previous chapter, the Midlands were one centre of American expansion in the late nineteenth century.

Middle class occupations grew alongside the expansion of these businesses. American firms required resident overseas representatives, advertising agents, and middle-managers to administer British-based branches. Commercial or business clerks, brokers and agents, and commercial travellers ranked highest amongst the middle class professions in Table 16, and are representative of the export of enterprise and innovation of American firms at the end of the nineteenth century. White collar service industries were also on the rise in this period. By the 1880s, the "Big Three" of the American insurance industry – Mutual Life, New York Life, and Equitable Life – expanded into Britain. The financial service industries likewise continued to provide a supply of American expatriates. In a late nineteenth century innovation, however, many of these came to attract British capital for investment in silver, coal, and copper mining, and the staple of British investment in the United States railroads.

[30] Wilkins, *Emergence of Multinational Enterprise,* pp. 48-51.
[31] Saul, 'American Impact Upon British Industry,' p. 31.

Late nineteenth-century Americans expatriated themselves in order to manage this "invasion." As will be discussed below, these individuals mediated the flow of information and expertise in overseas markets between Britain and the United States. Like antebellum expatriates these men were essential conduits of finance and information, but unlike their forerunners they channelled American investment into Britain rather than British into the United States. They were also instrumental in the transformation of the United States' footprint in Britain. American firms opened boutique branches in the fashionable shopping districts of London that catered to travellers and expatriates alike. In the process, they produced a distinct sense of American space in the British capital, contributing to the coalescence of the institutions and social life of the American colony.

American London

By the 1890s, the depth of American London thickened considerably. Catering to the waves of American visitors, American businesses littered the West End. Piccadilly, Pall Mall, and the Strand (connected to Oxford Street by Bond Street) were the favoured spots for an array of American establishments. London hosted numerous American banks, ranging from the well-known American Express Co. in Pall Mall; to investment houses such as Brown Shipley, and J.S. Morgan & Co. located in the city; to smaller houses such as Mellville, Fickus & Co., Seligman Bros., and Morton, Rose & Co dotted about the capital. American news was widely available with ten of the United States' leading papers establishing agencies and reading rooms in London while the Associated Press and United Press were just the largest of seven American wire services operating in the capital.

Between the banks and news bureaus burst restaurants such as The Gambrius, advertised as the 'American rendezvous' in Piccadilly Circus or the Horse Shoe Hotel's bar offering 'American drinks for American Visitors.' American goods proliferated. Petee & Co's Sweet American Chewing Gum was sold widely, American soda fountains declared themselves England's new favourite beverage in their advertising, and the day's shopping could be washed down with an ice cream soda at Fuller's confectioner in Regent Street (or any of its ten branches in the city).[32] British businesses adopted the moniker "American" to entice the waves of American tourism. Expatriates and travellers alike could refresh themselves at Henry Rosenberg's American Barbershop, clothe themselves at Westoby & Co an American merchant tailors, and alleviate homesickness with a taste of home at Robert Jackson's American Fancy Groceries via a short walk down Regent Street to Piccadilly. Sports fans might even take a trip to Brixton Hill and take in the thriving American Baseball League established by former US Consul to Manchester Robert Newton Crane.[33]

The Strand was the heart of American London. Newly fashionable thanks to the completion of the Victoria Embankment in 1870, the three-quarter miles between Trafalgar Square and Fleet Street was popular with visiting Americans because of the boat and rail service to Europe offered at Charing Cross Station and for the luxurious hotels that lined Northumberland Avenue connecting the Strand to the north bank of the Thames. A stone's throw from Charing Cross station stood Charles Alvin Gillig's United States Exchange, according to one newspaper the 'headquarters of Americans in London,' and another short walk away was Low's Exchange on the western side of Trafalgar square that offered a Post Office, banking

[32] *London American*, 26 July 1895.
[33] Robert H. Heindel, *The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898-1914: A Study of the United States in World History* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 16; *London American*, 21 June 1895; Crane was the President of the National Baseball League of Great Britain and even authored a book on the sport for British audiences, simply titled *Baseball* (London, 1891).

facilities, and reading rooms.[34] Close nearby at 2 Cockspur Street was the American Rendezvous, opened by the Great Eastern Railway Company, which provided telephones, messenger service, and a baggage drop that shuttled visitors bags between Liverpool and Trafalgar Square.[35] A short walk away, opposite the statue of George III at the east end of Pall Mall, was the office of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company decorated with views of the Alleghenies and attractions along the route of the railroad.

These rest stops offered places for American visitors to peruse US newspapers and browse social registers for their fellow travellers. American locales in London did not constitute a geographically distinct "Little America" in the same way that Finsbury was Little Italy, the East End was synonymous with Jewish immigrants, and the districts of Fitzrovia, Kentish Town and Camden Town were associated with German migration. These areas had historic roots that Americans in London did not. Disparate American locales were, however, increasingly depicted as a coherent American space by Americans in London. This was an expatriate construction that reflected an increasing sense of membership in an American "colony". In the words of one expatriate newspaper, these locations were 'American in inception, American in practical utility, American in thoroughness, American in trustworthiness, and American in comfort and convenience.'[36] An expatriate press dedicated to chronicling the activities of Americans in London contributed to the sense of an emergence of American national space in London and gave the "colony" a coherence that it otherwise lacked.

The American Colony: Social Institutions

[34] *London American*, 27 March 1896.
[35] *London American*, 10 April 1896.
[36] *London American*, 1 May 1895.

Expatriate institutions quickened the slow consolidation of this American presence into an American "colony" and began to define their niche in London social life as a distinctly American transnational space.[37] The "colony" was a self-constructed American community consisting of social clubs, journals, directories, and economic institutions. Expatriate clubs gave institutional form to the experience of travel, correspondence, evolving friendships, and convergent cultural exchanges. Supplemented by an array of public celebrations and printed matter, late nineteenth century expatriate institutions constituted a material and mental American space in the British capital. The American London that rose to prominence in the 1890s was one in which Americans could identify with as a national outpost overseas. These institutions provided a transnational frame for American nationalism, a venue for transatlantic exchange, and, in a late nineteenth century innovation, a public forum in which inter-imperial connections flourished.

The Expatriate Press

The mid-1890s proved the high tide of American society in the capital. Crippling economic depressions between 1889 and 1895 severely decreased passenger numbers for several years but with the return of relative economic prosperity to the United States they boomed once more. The mid-90s also witnessed a transformation in London as a location of permanent residence for Americans overseas. In the 1870s and 1880s, one expatriate organ opined, 'Americans did not come abroad to see London especially, but only incidentally.'[38] As of 1895, however, Americans were attracted to London because of the ease of access it allowed to Paris and the Continent

[37] Political scientists and geographers have also explored the dimensions of transnational space, see: Thomas Faist & Eyüp Özveren (eds.), *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks, and Institutions* (Burlington, VT, 2004); and, Peter Jackson, Paul Crang, Claire Dwyer (eds.), *Transnational Spaces* (London, New York, 2004). This has also been studied from the perspective of extraterritoriality, see: Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844-1942* (New York, 2001).
[38] *London American*, 13 September 1895.

while offering 'economy and comfort … on a scale infinitely greater than that afforded by the French capital.'[39] The Americans that settled permanently in these decades could take advantage of the American London outlined above. This was functionally aided by the development of expatriate institutions that provided the apparatus for imagining diverse American locales as a complete national enclave overseas.

The expatriate organ the *London American* was revived on 3 April 1895, after a hiatus of more than thirty years. Under its masthead the *American* claimed to be 'a chronicle of the American colony in Europe,' but in reality charted the social life of the American community in London and created a common pool of information about the United States and its relationship to British society. Through its pages, its audience of expatriates and travellers could familiarise themselves with American financial and business elites in London. The paper's subtitle, changed in January 1896 to 'A Review of Society, Finance, and Commerce', referenced its second audience of transatlantic financiers who found detailed weekly information about financial conditions in America and American investments overseas. The *American* echoed the lexicon of empire and expansion that pervaded depictions of expatriation in the 1890s. 'We have no politics', claimed its editor, 'except "America for Americans," "Europe for the Americans," and "everything else under the sun for the Americans".'[40]

The *London American* catalysed the coalescence of American elements in the capital into a self-identifying community. American goods and services were listed in its pages; celebrations advertised and reported; passenger arrivals announced; and leading expatriates profiled in its pages. In short, the *American* provided a compendium of American London and with it the substance that enabled American expatriates to "imagine" the contours of an American colony.

[39] *London American*, 13 September 1895.
[40] *London American*, 1 May 1895.

The *American* was self-conscious in its efforts to sustain the American community and extend American space overseas – not least because the colony constituted its target audience. In August 1895 the *American* reflected on its successes over the past six months and concluded that it was 'impossible for the casual reader to glance through … the London American and not remark what a complete little pocket edition of the USA has been dropped into the midst of the Queen's capital.'[41]

The extension of American space diffused knowledge of US culture and ideas across the Atlantic. To some extent this can be linked to a process of "Americanisation," and was certainly interpreted in that manner by some British and American commentators in this period. Such a claim is not supported by the duality of the locales, institutions, and civic celebrations created by American communities in Britain, however. As will be seen, these spaces also had an Anglo-American dimension. Americans in Britain may have perceived the tension inherent in the presence of Britons in supposedly national institutions (certainly this was directly challenged in the Peabody Sickles Affair outlined in Chapter Two), but did not consider it as an impediment to their successful functioning. Such contradictions were resolved by the deployment of a panoply of kinship metaphors that reinforced cultural and racial affinities between Britons and Americans. As is explored below, the language of Anglo-Saxonism infused the American colony and smoothed its integration into British society.

Such diffusion might better be understood, in this instance at least, as a form of global outreach or cultural diplomacy, extending knowledge of the United States overseas. The American "colony" acted as the mechanism of knowledge transfer in this instance. Although Americans ascribed a great deal of power to the ideas and culture they hoped to advertise overseas. Few of the expatriates in the American colony hoped to "Americanise" their host

[41] *London American*, 9 August 1895.

society, not least because of the perceived superiority of Anglo-Saxon institutions, but hoped to promote a collaborative relationship with Britain. With the *London American* reconstituting the American community in its pages, one editorial argued, 'John Bull has no longer an excuse to plead unfamiliarity with us; he has a sample of every case at his very door.'[42] Seemingly at odds with the imperialism of its stated prospectus, the diffusion of American culture in this manner was one constellation in the wider universe of US cultural expansion in the late nineteenth century.[43] Although not formally connected with US imperialism, it was nonetheless a powerful element of the cumulative circulation of what were perceived to be powerfully transformative American ideas.[44]

The *American* was joined in this endeavour by a host of additional publications. Chief among these were the *Anglo-American Register* and the *American Traveller*, which informed the *American* but operated very distinctly from it. The *Register* was founded in 1868 by an enterprising Parisian American dentist named Thomas W. Evans. Evans learnt his trade from William M. Ballard an American dentist who practiced in London in the late-1850s, and a founder member of the antebellum American Association.[45] Evans seemingly exported the hard won experience of Americans in London and established the *Register* for the American colony in Paris. While vital to American life in the French capital it also enjoyed wide circulation amongst American communities around Europe, including Rome and Berlin, but especially in London.[46] In the case of the *Traveller*, the emphasis was of course laid on tourism while the *American*

[42] *London American*, 9 August 1895.
[43] For more on US cultural expansion in this period, Rob Kroes & Robert Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna* (Chicago, 2005). London was home to a thriving American Baseball League, scholars have revealed the sport to be a powerful form of cultural expansion closely connected to the spread of American Empire, see: Thomas W. Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding Baseball Tour and the Birth of American Empire* (Lanham, MD, 2006).
[44] Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York, 1982).
[45] See Chapter Two.
[46] W.H. Ingram, *Who's who in the Paris Anglo-American Colony: a Biographical Dictionary of the Leading Members of the Anglo-American Colony of Paris, 1905* (Paris, 1905).

catered directly to the needs of a permanent resident community. Indeed, one of the key functions of the *American* was to locate the focus of American activity in London on permanent expatriate institutions and American businesses and to move it away from the transiency of hotel lobbies, reading rooms, and the Legation all of which suggested the fluidity of American life in London. Permanency also implied power; it legitimised claims that expatriation was a colonising activity.

Expatriate Social Institutions

The Antebellum American community revolved around the social capital of individual expatriates, but the locus of the late nineteenth-century American "colony" was located in the varied associational life of London clubs. Expatriate institutions mimicked the organisation of social life in the capital. This was a product of many individuals early involvement in clubs of Anglo-American membership in the 1880s. These initial experiences were less proscriptive in their membership and their objectives more diffuse than the expatriate associations that arose in the 1890s. The importance of these early clubs lay in their cumulative effect. Although these early clubs were short-lived, they suggested forms of social organisation to expatriates about which to organise their own community. They were therefore an integral element of the coalescence of Americansociety in London.

The formative experience for many expatriates was The Imperial and American Club, a non-political 'rendezvous and head-quarters for leading colonials, Americans, and Anglo-Indians visiting London, where they may meet gentlemen of position residing in England in social intercourse.'[47] At its inaugural dinner in Hanover Square, General Norton of the US Army hoped the Imperial and American would 'unite the English-speaking peoples of all parts of the world.'

[47] *The Morning Post* (London), 3 July 1885.

But its British members also aimed to establish a 'closer union between the United Kingdom and our [Britain's] colonies.'[48] In its initial iteration, therefore, the club privileged the imperial over the American. With a membership composed largely of ennobled Britons, British Army Officers, and the Agent Generals of several of the Empire's English-speaking colonies, including New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, and the Cape of Good Hope, the Imperial and American provided a point of convergence for the kinship networks that sustained the British Empire. That the United States was an imagined element of this English-speaking kinship signified an emerging perception that the US was an integral component of the flows of capital and commerce connecting the British imperial world.

The Imperial and American was seemingly short-lived, however. Nonetheless, the importance of sustaining global interconnections via social institutions was re-affirmed just two years later with the foundation of the American Club. The American Club found headquarters at 43 and 44 Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, the heart of London clubdom and boasted a membership of more than 1,000 Britons and Americans. Like the Imperial and American Club, the American was 'founded upon a distinctly non-political basis, with the primary object of promoting social intercourse between those who have been, or are still, connected with the Western Hemisphere.'[49] Importantly, the American offered automatic membership to the members of clubs throughout North and South America. The members of 22 US clubs were offered immediate election, including those from the Knickerbocker and the Union League of New York, Washington's Metropolitan, Boston's Union and St Botolph, and the Pacific from San Francisco; this was supplemented by eight Canadian Clubs; two from Valparaiso, Chile; and the

[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *The American Club, Rules, Bye-Laws, Regulations, and List of Members* (London, 1888), p. 11.

Club de Residentes of Buenos Aires.[50] Through the American Club, the US diplomatic community in London and expatriate entrepreneurs were connected to formal and informal British imperialism throughout the western hemisphere.

American expansion was simultaneously occurring in these areas. The American Club was therefore a vital crossroads of British and American imperial enterprise where the knowledge of economic conditions and entrepreneurial opportunities could be shared in an informal setting. The Club's American members reflected these priorities and were drawn primarily from the world of business and finance. The pharmacist Henry Solomon Wellcome and his partner Silas Maineville Burroughs (of Burroughs Wellcome & Co.) were among the membership, joined by the merchant Frederick Conkling Van Duzer, bankers John Pierpont Morgan and Anthony Joseph Drexel (of Drexel, Morgan & Co.), railroad magnate William Kissam Vanderbilt, real estate investor John Jacob Astor, and publishing giant Joseph Pulitzer. Through the Club these American entrepreneurs could meet with a host of Crown Colony Agents, MPs, cabinet members, and British entrepreneurs, and the proponent of Anglo-American imperialism Edward Dicey.

The turning point in the institutional life of American London was 1895. In the same year that the *London American* was reborn the American Society in London (ASL) was formed. Founded in March, for 'the promotion of patriotic and social life amongst Americans residing in London' the Society institutionalized the American "colony" and fostered a shared sense of American identity among its members.[51] The initial impulse for the Society came from Humphrey Baker Chamberlain, a Denver real estate magnate and recent arrival in London, in March 1895. After a brief meeting at the home of the US Consul General, Patrick A. Collins, a

[50] *Ibid*., p. 16.
[51] 'The American Society in London,' loose circular in Vol. 161, Thomas F. Bayard Papers, 1780-1899, LoC.

committee was formed and officers elected with Benjamin Franklin Stevens, a long term resident in London, as its chairman and "patriarch" of the American Colony.[52] 'The elements of such a society have been here for years,' observed the *London American* but was 'scattered' and 'dispersed silently' across the 'Babylon of the Old World.' Chamberlin was the 'magnetic individual' who consolidated 'all these scattered elements of a splendid community' and united them 'in allegiance to our common homeland.'[53]

This was the first self-identifying expatriate institution to be formed since the American Association in London (AAL), which operated between 1857 and 1861. Civic organisation in the thirty years between the ASL and AAL was eroded by the transitory nature of American residence in Britain in the post-war decades. An explosion in transatlantic travel not only reduced the primacy of London as a destination but rendered it increasingly difficult for expatriate Americans to coalesce into a self-identifying community. As with its antebellum predecessor, the AAL, the ASL's membership blended elements of the business, financial, diplomatic, and artistic communities. Businessmen dominated the membership, however.

Table 18. American Society in London General Committee, 1895

Benjamin Franklin Stevens*	US Despatch Agent
Henry Solomon Wellcome*	Burroughs Wellcome & Co. (Pharmacist)
Humphrey Baker Chamberlin	Denver Loan Investment Co. and New York Life Insurance Co.
Poultney Bigelow*	Journalist
George Henry Boughton	Painter and sculptor
Andrew Carnegie	Industrialist

[52] *London American*, 10 April 1895. Henry S. Wellcome (HSW) to H.B. Chamberlin, 4 April 1895 and 24 April 1895, WA/HSW/CO/IND/B.3, Papers of Henry S. Wellcome, WL. For Stevens, see Chapter 3.
[53] *London American*, 10 April 1895.

Robert Newton Crane	Attorney, US Consul in Manchester 1874-77
Roland R. Dennis	Agricultural implement wholesaler
John C. Meiggs	Railway investor[54]
George A Mower*	Sturtevant Engineering Co. Ltd
Howard Potter*	Brown Shipley bank.
J. Morgan Richards	Pharmaceutical wholesaler
James L. Taylor	Railway investor
Frederick Conkling Van Duzer*	Pharmaceutical wholesaler
Henry White*	Secretary at American Legation

Source:

Compiled by the author from: 'The American Society in London,' loose circular in Vol. 161, Thomas F. Bayard Papers, 1780-1899, LoC.

* Denotes membership of the American Club.

More than one half of its first general committee came from the worlds of finance and commerce, and 13 of its chairman between 1895 and 1914 were similarly employed (of 18 that can be identified). The proliferation of businessmen in the ASL's membership points to their importance in the expansion and coalescence of American activity in London in the final decade of the nineteenth century. The Society provided a venue for prominent Americans to meet, and for economic and social connections to converge, fostering the trust and confidence that sustained rapidly expanding global economic interconnections. Many of its members were active participants in other clubs throughout the city and the ASL joined this varied associational life, playing a vital role in sustaining Anglo-American commercial and financial linkages.

Table 19. The American Society in London Chairmen, 1895-1914

[54] John was the brother of Henry Meigg's who built railroads in Peru, Chile, and Costa Rico, see: Elisabeth P. Myers, *South America's Yankee Genius, Henry Meiggs* (Austin, TX, 1969).

Year	Chairman	Occupation
1895	Benjamin Franklin Stevens	US Despatch Agent
1896	Henry S. Wellcome	Pharmacist, Burroughs Wellcome & Co.
1897	Robert Newton Crane	Attorney
1898	Col. James L. Taylor	Railway investor
1899	J. Walter Earle	Manager of Remington Typewriter Co.
1900	Frederick Conkling Van Duzer	Wholesale druggist, S.R. Van Duzer & Son, New York
1901	J. Morgan Richards	Wholesale druggist
1902	Donald Carmichael Haldeman	Manager, Mutual Life Insurance Company
1903	F.B. Blake	-
1904	Frank E. Bliss	President of American Publishing Co.
1905	Edwin Marshall Fox	Chairman of Harvey Armour Steel Co., and inventor of Harvey Armour Plate process
1906	Frank W. Jones	Publisher
1907	Col. Millard Hunsiker	Chairman London Board of the United States Steel Corporation
1908	Thomas L. Field	Chairman Atlantic Transport Company
1909	George A. Mower	Sturtevant Engineering Co.
1910	Arthur G. Glasgow	Manager of Humphreys & Glasgow gas engineers
1911	Whitelaw Reid	US Ambassador
1912	Walter Blackman	Artist
1913	Robert Noyes Fairbanks	Manager of Fairbanks Company, engineers' tools and machinery
1914	Fred M. Frisk	-

Source:

Compiled by the author from:

Thanksgiving Day banquet of the American Society in London (London, Privately Printed, 1896), pp.6-7; W.B. Bancroft (ed.), *Bancroft's Americans in London: A Handbook Recording American Interests in Great Britain, Commercial and Social* (London, 1905), p. 333; "American Society in London", Whitelaw Reid Papers, 1795-1970, S3/C194, Reel 198, MSS65491, LoC. (1906-1912); *The Anglo-American Yearbook: Directory and Guide to London* (London, 1913), pp. 10-11; *The Anglo-American Yearbook: The Indispensable Directory and Reference Book* (London, 1914), pp. 12-13; 'Pen and Picture Sketches,' *Anglo-American Press*, 7 December 1901.

ASL meetings blended socialisation with an expansive vision of the United States' global role. The ASL was the social context sustaining transnational commercial and financial connections, but it also extended US space in the capital. As American business and culture expanded, associational networks and institutions such as the ASL provided a mental and material American space overseas that aided the diffusion of US culture and commerce while modulating foreign influence on national identity.[55] The American "colony" provides a powerful lens for examining the international framework of American nationalism. Just as the antebellum community was a cockpit of competing assertions of American national character, the ASL was the venue for articulating visions of American nationalism – of varying international hues. The assertions at ASL meetings established two prevailing concerns: a focus on national expansion (the exportation of American ideas, culture and commerce) and a presumed Anglo-Saxon racial alliance as the basis of cultural diplomacy.

The ASL held its inaugural dinner in April 1895 at the Café Royal. To a crowd of 150 expatriates, the American Ambassador, Thomas Bayard, set forth the importance of the ASL as a centre for American society and distributor of American cultural and political forms. 'The object of calling together their countrymen in the great centre of the world's commerce and finance,' the Ambassador announced, was 'to make the nucleus ... of patriotic association, and ... a sympathetic and fraternal one for social intercourse, and to make here, in London, a perpetual and recognised centre and rendezvous for Americans.' It would be a place where 'American traditions, American sentiments, and American expressions should have their day in court and place of hearing.' Bayard's Americanism was one that was essentially pacific, grounded in faith in the moral character of free competition between nations and ideas. Nonetheless, Bayard's

[55] Similar extensions of US space occurred in the World's Fair movements, see, for instance, Rydell and Kroes' discussion of the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna,* pp. 98-105.

toast reflected a new confidence in the United States' place at the head of global order. 'I can view in this society,' he declared, 'nothing but an organisation for the advancement of everything American.' 'The world was being brought closer together,' Bayard concluded, 'and the principles and meanings and moral force of [the US] Government must have its own measure and its own weight.'[56]

Four years later a second expatriate social institution was formed that became an additional component of the extension of offshore America. March 1899 saw the foundation of the Society of American Women in London (SAW) for 'the promotion of social intercourse' and 'to bring together women who are engaged in literary, artistic, scientific, and philanthropic pursuits, with the view of rendering them helpful to each other and useful to Society.'[57] SAW was no mere adjunct to the ASL. A meeting was held every month at which a guest speaker lectured after lunch. On 3 July 1899, for instance, SAW entertained the American delegates to the International Council of Women at the Hotel Cecil and two years later it did the same for American delegates to the International Congresses of Nurses at Buffalo.[58] SAW was thus a central element of the sphere of women's clubs that had emerged in London in the late-1870s and joined institutions such as the Alexandra Club founded in 1884 which boasted 900 members by the time of SAW's founding.

SAW also contributed to the creation of an American community in the capital. At its first luncheon Mrs. Hugh Reid Griffin announced it was the intention of the Society 'to keep up the spirit of Americanism,' but conceded 'there is no intention of being narrow.'[59] Its members referred to the meetings and luncheons of SAW as 'Little America,' continuing the tendency of

[56] *London American,* 25 April 1895.
[57] *Society of American Women in London, Constitution, By-Laws, Standing Rules* (London, 1899), p. 5.
[58] *New York Times,* 4 July 1899; *The Anglo-American Press,* 30 November 1901.
[59] *The Milwaukee Sentinel,* 26 March 1899 (repr. from the *New York World*).

late nineteenth-century expatriates to identify their institutions with the extension of US national space.[60] While, as has been argued, SAW was not simply an adjunct to the ASL, it was composed of the same middle-class professional membership. Many were successful professionals in their own right, such as the actress Elizabeth Robbins and singer Antoinette Sterling. Just as many were, according to the *London American*, 'the wife or daughter of the solid, prosperous man of learning or commerce, and in that capacity has begun to permeate what one may call English home circles.'[61] While some aristocratic women formed a part of SAW's membership, such as Jennie Jerome Churchill and Consuelo Vanderbilt, SAW was much more integrated into the fabric of expatriate society, rather than London's elite social circles like the American heiresses discussed in the previous chapter.

Expatriate Diplomacy

The Venezuela Crisis, which came like a bolt from the blue in the summer of 1895, was the formative international context for understanding the ASL's brand of cultural diplomacy. The ASL entered into the question in December 1895. Responding to President Grover Cleveland's hastily drafted war message to Congress of December 17 in which he unilaterally pronounced the Monroe Doctrine as a principle of international law, the Society called for a specially convened meeting.[62] As rumours escalated, the ASL joined a host of religious, financial, and philanthropic organisations in seeking to prevent a third Anglo-American war. 'Let our American Society find its voice,' urged the *London American* in December 1895, 'and show that while the eating of a good dinner is a worthy object, the digestion of pending Anglo-American problems is considered a worthier one.' It was 'in the hands of members of our American colony in London that all

[60] *London American*, 21 July 1899.
[61] *London American*, 21 July 1899.
[62] Grover Cleveland, 'Special Message to Congress,'17 December 1895.

American interests are reposed.'[63] A gathering of the ASL was to be held on New Year's Eve at the Cannon Street Hotel to pass resolutions in favour of peace.[64] The war scare proved brief, however, and the meeting was cancelled as English public opinion drew back from war.[65]

The ASL's failure to act caused some consternation among the expatriate press. 'That the imminence of an immediate war is averted is no excuse for silence,' blasted the *American*. 'We are the true representatives of the country in the eyes of that higher type of Briton who are at once the leaders of British valor and the restrainers of British impatience and stupidity,' the *American* opined, and added that it was time for a 'fraternal demonstration of good will to our hosts.'[66] Attacks on the ASL's timidity affirmed the importance of the institution as a venue of cultural diplomacy. Previous generations of expatriates took on self-appointed diplomatic functions because of the ineffectiveness of transatlantic communication and the strength of Anglo-American animosity in the antebellum era. In the immediate post-civil war decades, the success of a liberal model of foreign policy – particularly a Gladstonian preference for international arbitration – removed diplomatic crises from the arena of expatriate society. In the case of the Venezuela Crisis, it was the seeming breakdown of this liberal internationalism that prompted the ASL to assume a secondary role as a non-state diplomatic functionary.

Recognition of the necessity of Anglo-American lobbying altered the character of the ASL from 1896 onwards. Expatriate sociability was deemphasised and transferred into Anglo-American rapprochement through the familiar shibboleth of Anglo-Saxonism. The ASL found its voice in the promotion of Anglo-American reciprocity in the fields of culture, commerce, and civilisation. These were the themes of Fourth of July 1896. The 1896 celebration featured the

[63] *London American*, 27 December 1895.
[64] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 December 1895.
[65] A full account of the crisis can be found in: Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2011), pp. 202-211.
[66] *London American*, 3 January 1896.

anatomist of the American republic, James Bryce, as special guest speaker. After dinner, Bryce waxed lyrical about Anglo-American friendship mixing the metaphors of blood, kinship, and race but reached crescendo with his statement that 'in the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes we have got the same colors, although the pattern is different.'[67] More significantly, the pharmacist and sitting chairman of the society, Henry S. Wellcome, re-oriented the ASL around these themes by downplaying the exclusivity of the national space that it provided. 'The object of this Society was not to set up a little corner of America in England,' he claimed, rather it was to 'promote that friendly feeling amongst all who speak our common tongue.'[68] All of this, the *London American* was convinced, meant that 'national arbitrament must come.'[69]

Wellcome's remarks were prescient. Essential to the conception of Anglo-American relations that emerged in the late nineteenth century was a "friendly" competition for titular leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race. For Thanksgiving 1896, the ASL's program of reciprocity and rivalry was given full expression in a testimonial banquet to the diplomatic arts of the American Ambassador, Thomas F. Bayard.[70] The city's expatriates hosted prominent Britons in a sumptuous winter feast that placed peace at the centre of Anglo-American relations. Although absent, Bayard was presented with a silver Testimonial Cup.[71] Standing at 19 and a half inches tall, the cup featured the bust of Bayard flanked by Columbia and Britannia on the crown of a pumpkin (in recognition of the donation of a pumpkin donated for the feast by the United Service Club of New York), which was itself held aloft by four eagles standing on a map of the world.

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[67] *London American*, 10 July 1896.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Bayard's diplomatic arts were not as appreciated by the US Congress who passed a resolution censuring his conduct in January 1896 after he made speeches criticising the theory and practice of protectionism, see: Charles C. Tansil, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (New York, 1940), p. 721.
[71] See: 'Bayard Correspondence' File, WA/HSW/CO/GEN/M.1, Wellcome Papers, WL.

Figure 8. The Bayard Testimonial Trophy.

Source:

"Bayard Correspondence" File, WA/HSW/CO/GEN/M.1, Papers of Henry S. Wellcome, WL.

The cup was heavily symbolic. Encircling the cup's base reads the inscription, 'On earth Peace, good will toward men,' and within the wreaths of Indian corn the ASL's members recognised Bayard's 'exceptional services to his country' and his 'zealous work in strengthening the sentiments of mutual respect and affection which bind together the peoples of the two great English-speaking nations.'[72] Loud calls for arbitration came from pacifists on both sides of the Atlantic as the ASL dined, and peace therefore topped the agenda of the 1896 Thanksgiving

[72] *Ibid.*

Banquet.[73] With ongoing negotiations between Olney and Pauncefote to that end so as to defuse the Venezuela Crisis, the ASL's concern was pertinent.

Peace was a by-word for racial and imperial unity, however. 'The achievements of the Victorian era surpass anything in the world's history,' began the toast of Henry Wellcome, chairman of the Society, 'above all, in the arts of peace.'[74] Arbitration was a long-standing concern of the expatriate community. Americans in Britain had attempted to broker Anglo-American arbitration since the 1850s when Joshua Bates was appointed the umpire of the Anglo-American Joint Claims Convention.[75] This made for brisk Atlantic business, of course, but was also grounded in commitment to a progressive Anglo-American partnership. The moral superiority of the "English-speaking peoples" was a chord struck repeatedly by the evening's speakers. Sir Richard Webster QC, the Conservative Attorney General for England and the British representative during the Bering Sea arbitration discussions of 1893, came as the apostle of English-speaking community, rising to announce that:

> This toast means that there is a community of feeling, a community of rivalry, a community of enthusiasm, and a community of endeavour for good work on the part of the English-speaking community. We have long since ceased to think that there is any real danger of war between the two great peoples. ... I think we can feel that this year marks in many ways the progress which has been made towards a rivalry in the arts of peace, in which both nations should do their utmost to be first.'[76]

The banquet's orations continued in the same manner, lauding English-speaking racial and cultural unity (albeit a unity of rivalry) as the guarantor of peaceful international relations – and

[73] Paul Laity, *The British Peace Movement, 1870-1914* (Oxford, 2001).
[74] *London American*, 4 December 1896.
[75] See Chapter Two.
[76] *London American*, 4 December 1896.

the American community in London as its chosen medium. 'Where should Americans be more welcome than London?' posited Colonel James L. Taylor, British-based representative of the Pennsylvanian Railroad Company, 'Although we come from a distant land, yet we are among our kin.'[77] Webster and his fellow speakers echoed the sentiments of a wide (if shallow) element of the peace fraternity that lauded Anglo-Saxon brotherhood as the guarantor of peace. 'We want no foreigners to come between us, interfering in our family differences,' was the argument of William T. Stead a long-time pacifist and prouder Anglo-Saxon. Peace would be founded, he contended, in an 'Anglo-American union by way of arbitration.'[78]

The ASL's quarterly meetings on Washington's Birthday, the Fourth of July, Decoration Day, and Thanksgiving (known affectionately as the 'exile club') followed the same pattern.[79] Peace was the latest addition to a panoply of common principles thought to unite Britain and the United States. Increasing use of the term "English-speaking peoples" in the 1890s plugged into the emotive and aspirational appeal of metaphors of Anglo-American kinship.[80] The English language was understood as the vessel of customs, culture, and law – all of which were transmitted through Anglo-Saxon blood.[81] Anglo-Saxonism's apostles imagined a reunion, or at least a formal alliance, based on these dense Anglo-American connections.[82] Transatlantic

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[77] *Ibid.*
[78] William T. Stead, *Always Arbitrate Before You Fight: An Appeal to All English-Speaking Folk* (London, 1896); Laity, *British Peace Movement,* pp.131-3. Stead also directly lobbied members of the American diplomatic circle for support, see: William T. Stead to Thomas F. Bayard, 28 February 1896, Vol. 164, Bayard Papers, LoC.
[79] Frederick C. Van Duzer to Thomas F. Bayard, 23 October 1895, Vol. 161, Bayard Papers, LoC; 'Fourth of July Abroad,' *New York Times,* 6 July 1897.
[80] Peter Clarke, 'The English-Speaking Peoples before Churchill,' *Britain and the World* 4 (March, 2011), pp. 202,
[81] Paul Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910,' *Journal of American History* 88 (March, 2002), p. 1323; Clarke, 'The English-Speaking Peoples before Churchill,' p. 224.
[82] For example, see the debate that raged in the pages of the North American Review in the mid-1890s: Andrew Carnegie, 'A Look Ahead,' *North American Review* 156 (January/June, 1893), pp. 685-710; Goldwin Smith, 'Anglo-Saxon Union: A Response to Mr. Carnegie,' *NAR* 157 (July/December, 1893), pp. 170-185; Arthur Silva White, 'An Anglo-American Alliance,' *NAR* 158 (April, 1894), pp. 484-493; Alfred T. Mahan, 'Possibilities of an Anglo-American Reunion,' *NAR* 159 (July/December, 1894), pp. 551-73.

exchanges deepened with the multiplying points of contact between the British and American upper-classes, travellers, business and professional elites, and expatriates.[83] The celebrations and institutions of the American "colony" gave form to this complex set of common solidarities and a venue through which Britons and Americans could affirm cultural and racial affinities. The racial exceptionalism that materialized at points of Anglo-American contact was reinforced by the congruence of American expansion with British imperialism.

American Empire and the American Colony

Britain and the United States featured heavily in one another's imperial imagery. This mental inter-imperialism also denoted increasing material and social interconnections between the two empires. The imperial vocabulary of the American colony has already been noted, as has the prominence of expatriate business leaders in its social institutions. The behaviours and languages of the expatriate colony both drove and were a product of increasing levels of economic interdependence. As new communications technologies and global economies figuratively shrank the world, Americans and Britons pointed to the reciprocity of their polities as the architecture for future international governance. Historians have overlooked the centrality of American expatriates as the conduits of this important reconfiguration of economic and geopolitical power.

Fashioning Anglo-American Empire

The mixed metaphors of blood, kinship, and race bisected the discussion of Empire on both sides of the Atlantic. This was especially evident in the wake of the short Spanish-American war of

[83] Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' pp. 1322-27; Hugh Tulloch, 'Changing British Attitudes toward the United States in the 1880s,' *Historical Journal* 20 (December, 1977), pp. 825-40; Robert Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, 1969).

1898. As Paul Kramer has emphasised, those beating the drum of Anglo-Saxonism gave racial endorsement to the extension of American Empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific.[84] "Race patriots" viewed the world map as a stage upon which Anglo-American Settler Empire was unfolding inevitably. The English journalist Edward Dicey, was representative of many, in his jubilation that the United States shared British 'imperial instincts' and were now 'prepared to carry out that manifold destiny which is the birth right of the Anglo-Saxon race.'[85]

The London Americans basked in the imperial glow of 1898, too. As an 'advance picket of Americans,' expatriates continued to function as representatives of US institutions and ideas.[86] When news crossed the Atlantic of the sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana Harbour in March 1898, the London Americans gathered at the Hotel Cecil. Here it was decided that a subscription would be raised to contribute towards the *New York Journal*'s proposed memorial for the sailors who died on board the ship.[87] Thereafter they followed developments closely. As war broke out a month later expatriates responded with enthusiasm. Members of the ASL joined in British celebrations of the American turn to overseas Empire at a banquet hosted at the beginning of June.

The Anglo-American Banquet was the brainchild of Lord Coleridge, a British liberal politician and judge; the American Robert Newton Crane, attorney of the US Embassy and outgoing president of the ASL; Robert Chester Maxwell, an American advertising agent; and Alexander Claude Forster Boulton, a Tory party MP. The dinner was attended by a cross-section of Englishmen in the capital, and included 14 authors, 11 MPs, a handful of lawyers, businessmen, financiers, and preachers, and, significantly, 12 former or current colonial

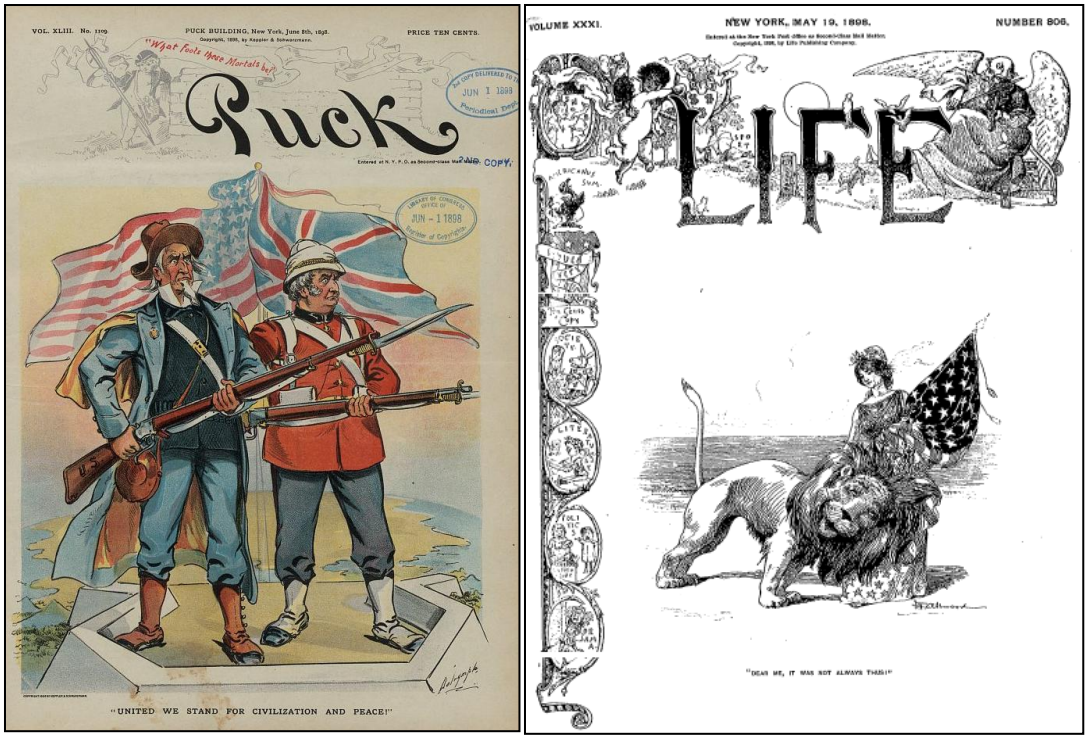
[84] Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' pp. 1315-1353.
[85] Edward Dicey, 'The New American Imperialism,' *The Nineteenth Century* 44 (September, 1898), pp. 499, 501.
[86] *London American*, 8 July 1898.
[87] *London American*, 11 March 1897.

administrators including Governors-General, members of the colonial office, and a former Secretary of State for the Colonies. Alongside Crane was the current President of the ASL, the railway investor Col. James L. Taylor, and the US Army Attaché Gen. Harris. The evening's orations followed a predictable pattern, lauding the moral character of the Anglo-Saxon race and the new unity of the Old and New World – 'joint ministers of the same mission of liberty and progress' was the formulation of James L. Taylor. The progress of civilisation and the future of peace was refracted through an alliance of the British and US polities. 'United the Anglo-Saxon race will march on towards the parliament of man and the federation of the world,' declared the Baptist Reverend Dr. John Clifford, advocate of the social gospel and future President of the Baptist World Alliance.[88]

While not an expatriate celebration *per se*, the June Anglo-American banquet built on the emphasis laid on 'friendly feeling' suggested by Wellcome in 1896. Britons were now invited to celebrate in American civic occasions *en masse*, comprising approximately one third of attendees. This gave social context to the cognitive shift taking place among Americans and Britons in which they increasingly envisaged their Empire's as a joint polity. In popular images too, the United States and Britain were depicted as sharing in the extension of civilisation world-wide through the new amicability of national symbols.

Figure 9. Anglo-American Imperial Reciprocity in Print.

[88] *London American*, 10 July 1898.



Source:

Puck, 8 June 1898 (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalogue, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.28707); *Life*, 19 May 1898.

Many Americans welcomed the Anglo-Saxon tributes flooding across the Atlantic and invoked the British Empire as a model for the emerging American sibling. For their part, British Imperial Federationists hoped to inaugurate "Greater Britain," a geopolitical union of the United Kingdom with its settler colonies – buttressed by an Anglo-American alliance built of a shared cultural and racial heritage.[89]

Anglo-American marriages were used as a compass through which commentators on both sides of the Atlantic navigated this inter-imperial world. Transatlantic marriages were an important point of inter-elite contact that enabled Britons and Americans to view one another as

[89] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford, 2007), pp. 254-5.

partners in the quest for global "civilisation". As the number of Anglo-American marriages boomed between 1895 and 1914, many of the stereotypes discussed in Chapter Four hardened in the minds of some British commentators. Observers on both sides of the Atlantic continued to worry that they represented nothing more than 'the common exchange of money on one side and title on the other,' to the British journalist and social reformer, William T. Stead, 'when there is no love in the matter, it is only gilded prostitution.'[90] Nonetheless, as has been argued in Chapter Four, Anglo-American marriage was also celebrated as evidence of Anglo-American convergence.[91]

American peeresses became a common sight in London as their ranks swelled from just four in 1880 to more than fifty by 1914.[92] Taken cumulatively the transatlantic marriage created an interconnected network of political circles and families on both sides of the Atlantic. Through these unions the metaphors of blood, language and kinship that dominated the rhetoric of Anglo-Saxonism were lent the proof of genealogy.[93] Intermarriage was just the most visible element of the imperial union between the two branches of the "Anglo-Saxon race." Turning to the marriage of Mary Leiter, a Chicagoan heiress, to George Nathaniel Curzon the future Viceroy of India, William Stead saw 'a foreshadowing of things to come, when Britain and America, happily united in the permanent ties of a race alliance, may pool their resources and devote their united energies to the work of ameliorating the lot of the impoverished myriads.' In spite of his

[90] Gore, 'Americans Abroad,' p. 468-9; William T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World, or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902), p. 123.
[91] See, pp. 207-208.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 347.
[93] A.G. Baker, 'International Marriages,' *The Independent*, (October, 1908), p. 757; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' p. 1327. The best and most comprehensive treatment of this subject can be found in Dana Calise Cooper, 'Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations,' (Texas Christian University, D.Phil. thesis, 2006).

reservations about the economic transactions of Anglo-American marriages, Stead found them 'the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.'[94]

Anglo-Saxon kinship became the toast of the American Colony. As the London American's Fourth of July celebrations began in 1898, the wires crackled with news of Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila Bay signalling the beginning of the United States' Pacific Empire. Under entwined American and British flags more than three hundred expatriates and their British guests celebrated American Independence. After the singing of national anthems, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, George Robinson the Marquis of Ripon, toasted President McKinley and told the revellers at the Hotel Cecil that it was 'to the highest interest of our two nations that we should walk together both hand in hand.' US Ambassador John Hay echoed his sentiments and embraced rivalry as the central facet of the processes of Anglo-Saxon "civilisation". 'We shall still compete with each other and the rest of the world,' Hay suggested, 'but the competition will be in the arts and the works of civilisation, and all the lovers of goodwill on the face of the earth will profit by it.'[95]

"Civilisation" functioned as a transnational analogy in this instance. For Britons, as for American proponents of Anglo-Saxon Empire, 1898 was a watershed for the United States because it was perceived to have learned British (and therefore Anglo-Saxon) standards of behaviour in the civilising process. 'America stands at the parting of the ways,' opined James Bryce. 'Shall it become a great conquering and foreign ruling people?' he asked, 'or shall it pursue its great claim to advance mankind, because it was the first to try the great experiment of popular government and to try it upon the grandest scale?' To do the latter would be to share

[94] Stead, *Americanisation of the World*, p.124.
[95] *London American*, 8 July 1898.

with Britain 'the task of spreading knowledge, liberty, and enlightenment.'[96] Late nineteenth-century proponents of Empire viewed nations along a comparative scale of stadial development. Progression along this scale was a pedagogical process. British commentators, such as William T. Stead, referenced the learned behaviours of civilised nations in his observation that the US was now 'treading the same steps which we have trod ... shouldering responsibilities which have weighed down our shoulders for many generations past.'[97]

Some in the United States looked with pride on Britain's settler colonies as a progressive force for global civilisation and it was taken for granted by statesmen and commentators that the "English-speaking race" would play the dominant role in its continued worldwide spread.[98] Nonetheless, many envisaged Anglo-Saxon civilisation as the medium for extending American republican institutions across the globe rather than a reproduction of the British imperial system.[99] Anglo-Saxonism was an avatar for modernity in this discourse, providing a shared political and cultural identity that underwrote imperial reciprocity. Historians of the British Empire have highlighted the importance of these co-ethnic networks for the development of trade and the exchange of knowledge. 'Trade can often develop more readily, and effectively,' write Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson, 'among people sharing a common identity, whether that identity is ethnic, religious or political.'[100] In Magee and Thompson's analysis this also took the form of social webs that coalesced in London and reinforced the links between Britain and the Empire. In such a nexus, both parties enjoyed privileged access to networks of expertise and

[96] *Ibid.*
[97] William T. Stead, 'Why not a British Celebration of the Fourth of July?' *Review of Reviews* (June, 1898), p. 600.
[98] Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), pp. 257-261; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' pp. 1315-1330.
[99] Ninkovich, *Global Dawn*, p. 259.
[100] Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 167.

finance that reinforced links between the periphery and the metropole. The American community in London functioned as a powerful colonial auxiliary in this respect.

Webs of Information

Expatriates resident in London were surrounded by what John Darwin has called the 'information milieu' of lobbies, special publics, and colonial agents that constituted the interface of Victorian imperialism.[101] The City of London served colossal global markets intersecting in London through commodity exporters, an inner city of high finance, and the stock Exchange.[102] Social clubs formed as informal lobbies contending for the backing of this commercial and financial emporium. Americans pressed their own claims in the arena of British imperial institutions. In fact they found a receptive audience. The "imperial piety" of British investors was notoriously flexible in the case of the United States. More than £836 million of British investment had poured into the United States by 1914 – 20.5% of its total capital exports, although this figure was in slow decline.[103] Similarly, the United States exerted a magnetic attraction on British migrants.[104] The Imperial and American Club has already been highlighted as a nascent venue of Anglo-American imperial co-operation but it was one of a cluster of similar venues in London.

Many Americans were members of the newly-formed Anglo-American League. Founded in July 1898, the League boasted as many as five hundred members drawn from the House of

[101] John Darwin, 'Imperialism and the Victorians: Dynamics of Territorial Expansion,' *English Historical Review* 112 (June, 1997), p. 642.
[102] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 114-120.
[103] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 173.
[104] See: Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland* (New York, London, 2004), p. 119.

Commons and committed Anglo-Saxonists such as Lord Brassey and James Bryce.[105] The League launched the *Anglo-American Magazine*, published in both London and New York that it was hoped would facilitate co-operation between the two nations. Prominent citizens in New York launched a companion committee to reciprocate the Anglo-Saxon platitudes of the London branch.[106] Similar in its aims was the Informal Association of Friendly Fellowship, the brainchild of William T. Stead. While the Informal Association never materialised, it displayed unanimity of sentiment amongst more than seventy public figures from both sides of the Atlantic that were important in envisioning Anglo-American interconnection.[107] 260 Americans were members of the Atlantic Union, founded in 1901 by Sir Walter Besant, a club dedicated to the promotion of a formal union between the two English-Speaking nations.[108] These were joined in 1902 by the Pilgrims of Great Britain founded 'to promote good-will, good-fellowship, abiding friendship, and everlasting peace between the United States and Great Britain.'[109]

Participation in British clubs also had explicit imperial overtones. Several Americans, for instance, were either members or speakers at the Royal Geographic Society (RGS). The RGS held considerable appeal to merchants and financiers in the late nineteenth century because of the greater interest it expressed in developing commercial geography from the 1870s.[110] The Pennsylvanian explorer May French Sheldon was among the first fifteen female members of the society admitted in November 1892 after her trip through East Africa the previous year. The American Dr. Arthur Donaldson Smith won its Gold Medal in 1901 for his exploration of Lake Rudolph (now Lake Turkana) in the rift valley of Kenya and Southern Ethiopia; previous

[105] *Times*, 14 July 1898.
[106] "Anglo-American Relations," *The Cyclopedic Review of Current History*, 1 July 1898, p. 569.
[107] Charles Campbell, Jr., *Anglo-American Understanding, 1898-1903* (Baltimore, MA, 1957), p. 44; Stead, 'Why not a British Celebration of the Fourth of July?' p. 600.
[108] Heindel, *American Impact*, p. 39.
[109] Anne P. Baker, *The Pilgrims of Great Britain: A Centennial History* (London, 2002), p. 11.
[110] John M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,' in: Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 287.

American recipients included John C. Fremont in 1850. In return for the publicity, Burroughs Wellcome & Co., firm of Henry S. Wellcome provided free medical equipment for Sheldon's 1890-1 expedition as it had for Henry Morton Stanley's 1887-9 expedition to rescue Emin Pasha.[111] As for Henry Morton Stanley, the naturalised American explorer, he was eventually knighted for his now highly contentious services to the British Empire in Africa. These Americans resemble the scientist and exploratory 'sub-imperialists' identified by Robert A. Stafford, 'who transformed the physiology of the Imperial state in the manner of symbiotic parasites that create niches for themselves in return for services to their host.'[112]

In addition to participating in British imperial institutions, the London Americans mimicked imperial clubs that sought to foster social and economic ties with colonial elites in the metropolis. Considered in this light, the ASL enabled Americans to cultivate imperial contacts with their own hospitality – and be courted in return. Doing so enabled them to draw on the 'empire-minded or imperial oriented interests in the metropolis' for their information on colonial markets, just as did British investors in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.[113] To take the 1898 Independence Day Banquet as an example, the British guests featured the former Secretary of State for the colonies and Viceroy of India George Robinson, the Marquis of Ripon; former Governor-General of Canada and India Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, the Marquis of Dufferin; Sir William Des Voeux former Governor-General of Fiji and Hong Kong; Sir Donald Stewart a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India; and Sir Charles Evans Smith the Consul-General of Zanzibar among a host of peers, MPs, bankers, and businessmen. Through

[111] Robert Rhodes James, *Henry Wellcome* (London, 1994), p. 135.
[112] Robert A. Stafford, 'Scientific Exploration and Empire,' in: Porter (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire,* p. 299.
[113] Darwin, *Empire Project*, p. 641; Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, pp. 198-209.

these institutions, informal coalitions of Anglo-American interests converged that decisively shaped Anglo-American inter-imperial connections.

Social contacts such as these provided important sources of information for American businesses. Contact with members of British imperial officialdom offered first-hand experience and germane knowledge about particular parts of the Empire, their markets, and the potential for investment there. As has been demonstrated above, both expatriate American men and women were integral elements of the integration of financial and aristocratic elites in Britain in the late nineteenth century. These 'social webs' provided useful connections for Americans seeking investment opportunities in Britain and the Empire and a transnational conduit for the flow of that information back to the United States. A similar parallel were the communities of Britons around the world who alerted investors at home of the investment potential of emerging economies – some even based in the American West who linked the American mining frontier with the mining industries of Britain then exploiting the Rand and Transvaal in South Africa.[114]

International knowledge transfer also relied on the supply of information. The expatriate press was an essential conduit of this transfer. Through their pages, readers could familiarise themselves with American financial and business elites in London. The *London American*, which merged with the *Anglo-American Times* in 1901 to form the *Anglo-American Press* featured regular biographies of leading expatriate businessmen and pointed to the "invasion" of particular American products. The information provided did not advertise direct investment opportunities, but gave indications of successful businesses and documented the networks of business associates that shaped collaborative imperial behaviour. The dissemination of this knowledge supplemented the broad coverage of American affairs in the British press and a thriving imperial press system that detailed economic markets around the Empire and pointed to the institutions

[114] Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901* (Ithaca, NY, 1958).

and individuals governing those links.[115] As if to emphasise the point, the *Register* changed its name to the *American Register and Anglo-Colonial World* in November 1909.[116]

Expatriate newspapers were joined at the turn of the century by the *Directory of Americans in London*.[117] The *Directory* was published by the San Franciscan William B. Bancroft, who arrived in London in 1896 as manager of the American Trading Company. The *Directory'*s 'main purpose' was to 'keep track' of 'the bonds of amity between the people of the United States and Great Britain ... an association which is founded on a kinship of trading interests as well as a kinship of blood.'[118] The *Directory* provided an exhaustive compendium of Americans resident in London, titled Americans, diplomats, and American businesses registered in the city. More importantly, its pages foregrounded important social centres of Anglo-American interaction. The social clubs of American London filled its pages and offered entrance to the networks that facilitated Anglo-American interaction.[119] Similarly, the *American Blue Book* was established in 1905 by Bancroft's brother Basil and his wife Genevieve. The *Blue Book* built on the 'steady growth of unity and friendly and business interests' between the American colony and its hosts and contained similar fare to the *Directory*.[120] In some respects the *Blue Book* was more informal than the *Directory* and contained essays on the "Leading Lights in the American Colony" and "Pleasant and Unpleasant Americans."[121] Cementing the link between the imperial reciprocity under discussion here and the American "colony", the latter

[115] Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System* (Oxford, 2003); Darwin, *Empire Project*, p. 100. Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 195.
[116] *Anglo-American Register and Anglo-Colonial World*, 20 November 1909.
[117] After its first edition the *Directory* became *Bancroft's Americans in London: A Handbook Regarding American Interests in Great Britain, Commercial and Social* (London, 1906).
[118] *Ibid.*, p. vii.
[119] After its first edition the *Directory* became *Bancroft's Americans in London: A Handbook Regarding American Interests in Great Britain, Commercial and Social* 6th Edn. (London, 1906). An *Anglo-American Yearbook* began in 1913 and ran until 1961. For an overview of American London see: Banks, 'American London' in: Sims ed., *Living London*, ii, 107-113.
[120] Genevieve C. Bancroft & Basil Bancroft (eds.), *The American Blue Book, Containing the List of Americans and American Firms in Great Britain* (London, 1905), p. 3.
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-243,

declared that the 'true American in London has no spirit of the invader' but rather a 'duty to become even in miniature an integral part of the Empire.'[122]

These were the buttresses of effective imperial reciprocity: the gathering of colonial knowledge; collaboration with interested merchants and financiers; membership in, and the mimicking of, colonial interest groups; and an expatriate media propagating financial information and collating the points of contact with American society in the capital. These social, political, and commercial networks drove the evolution of nineteenth-century Anglo-American imperial relations. Historians have done a great deal to illuminate the importance of racial Anglo-Saxonism as a conceptual framework that viewed the simultaneity of British and American imperialism as evidence of shared identity and an equitable distribution of the "white man's burden."[123] This shared ideology and identity of imperialism has been used to illuminate the process of Anglo-American rapprochement in this period that was catalysed by a series of imperial "moments" such as the Venezuela Crisis, Spanish-American War, and the Anglo-Boer War. This cognitive shift was symbiotic with the social and financial networks intersecting in and emanating from the American colony.

Webs of Enterprise

The "American invasion" was indebted to Britain's construction of global transportation, communication and finance, and, its role as an imperial model.[124] The expansion of American business into Britain has been discussed above, once in Britain these firms gradually turned their attention to the markets of the British Empire. The American expatriate community in London

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[123] Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' p. 1335. For contemporary reactions see: H.H. Bowen, 'American Public Opinion of the War,' *Nineteenth Century* XLVII (May, 1900) and, E.J. Hodgson, 'An American View of the Boer War,' *Nineteenth Century* XLVIII (August, 1900).
[124] Tuffnell, 'Expatriation and Empire.'

took advantage of the global commercial reach of the British Empire. Residence in London allowed proximity to the institutions and individuals who controlled access to British colonial contracts, international shipping and communications, and the world's banker. The expansion of American business was global in scale, but was routed through London, and structured around the British Empire.

Imperial reciprocity took a number of forms. Most commonly, after a successful "invasion" of British industry, American firms became imperial sub-contractors. Californian mining and irrigation engineers took advantage of British capital to exploit the mineral-rich and fertile land of Britain's imperial possessions in Rhodesia, the Cape Colony and the Transvaal.[125] Americans in the Shan Hills of Burma constructed a 2,260-foot-long railway viaduct spanning the Gokteik Gorge from Pennsylvania steel, while the American Bridge Company constructed 28 bridges and viaducts of the Ugandan railway and the Pencoyd works of Philadelphia constructed the famous Atbara Bridge in the Sudan.[126] American missionaries and reformers followed in the footsteps of the British Empire, appending themselves to the material networks of power that sustained colonial rule. To disseminate Christian endeavour, Francis Clark of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union exploited the lines of culture and communication that linked the United States to Britain and its colonies.[127]

The imperial reciprocity of Americans also took the form of co-operation in British colonial projects. In 1899, Jennie Blow, the American wife of A.A. Blow the manager of the Slieba Gold Mining syndicate in South Africa, approached Jennie Jerome Churchill with the idea of equipping a hospital ship to support British actions in the Boer War. Lady Churchill quickly

[125] Jessica Teisch, '"Home is not so very far away": Californian Engineers in South Africa, 1868-1915,' *Australian Economic History* 45 (July, 2005), pp. 139-160.
[126] Stead, *Americanisation of the World*, p. 140; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' pp. 1329-1330; Tuffnell, 'Expatriation and Empire.'
[127] Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 80, 236-7.

formed the American Ladies' Hospital Ship Society as a vehicle for raising the necessary funds. Re-purposing the slogan "Remember the Maine," the Hospital Ship Society raised £41,957 through the private subscriptions of American women in London in just two months.[128] With the funds the Hospital Ship Society purchased and refitted the *Maine* from the Atlantic Transport Company.[129] The *Maine* sailed just 59 days after the formation of the Hospital Ship Society and arrived in Cape Town in January 1900 to take on casualties from actions at Spion Kop, Colenso, and the Siege of Ladysmith.[130]

The medical equipment and drugs for the *Maine* were provided by Burroughs Wellcome & Co. (BW) in an elaborate medical chest tooled with allegorical designs representing the unity of Britain and the United States. The City of London Volunteers similarly left for South Africa equipped with BW supplies.[131] BW's owner, Henry S. Wellcome, adroitly navigated the interface of American expansion with British imperialism. Wellcome was instrumental in founding the ASL and fostered a diverse social life in London through which he assiduously courted financial and colonial elites in the city. Moreover, he never missed an opportunity to promote Anglo-American rapprochement (and the Wellcome brand) with dramatic transatlantic gestures. The Bayard Testimonial Cup, for instance, was a Wellcome creation, and the same instinct for diplomatic stage management lay behind his decision to donate a portrait of Pocahontas to the US Senate in February 1899.[132]

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[128] *London American*, 10 & 24 November 1899; 'American Women in London Act,' *New York Times*, 27 October 1899.
[129] Jonathan Kinghorn, *The Atlantic Transport Line, 1881-1931: A History with Details on all Ships* (Jefferson, NC, 2012), pp. 93-5. The *Maine*'s sister ship, the *Missouri*, was similarly refitted and lent to the US to support actions in Cuba.
[130] Jennie Jerome Churchill narrated the events in: 'Letters from a Hospital Ship,' *Anglo-Saxon Review* (June, 1900), pp. 218-237.
[131] Robert James Rhodes, *Henry Wellcome* (London, 1994), p. 219.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp.234-6. For more on the importance of transatlantic gestures in this period, see: Mike Sewell, '"All the English-Speaking Race is in Mourning:" The Assassination of President Garfield and Anglo-American Relations,' *Historical Journal* 34 (September, 1991), pp. 665-686.

Wellcome arrived in London in 1880 and entered into partnership with Silas Maineville Burroughs, a shrewd and impulsive Californian pharmacist resident in Britain. Convinced that 'big fortunes' could be made by building 'up a big business importing and exporting to the US, Australia, the Continent, India &c,' BW set about exploiting the global connections offered by residence in the capital of the British Empire.[133] BW is emblematic of a host of American firms that recognised the investment potential of the British Empire. George Eastman established the Eastman Photographic Materials Company in London, on the assumption that from there the firm would 'command the Colonial Trade completely.'[134] The firm duly established branches in Bombay, Cape Town, Cairo and Melbourne. Similarly, the Singer Sewing Machine company's representative in London, George Woodruff, embarked on an ambitious plan to extend the firm's colonial business 'to every point on the compass' including South Africa and the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Dinding, Penang and Singapore.[135]

The colonial strategy of BW revels how the American expatriates and US expansion were closely connected.[136] BW canvassed and advertised aggressively in British markets – techniques that Burroughs was keen to apply in the setting of the British Empire, though the process was ad hoc and experimental.[137] It was the imperial interface of the American Colony, outlined above, that provided the platform for entering imperial markets through the interlocking cultural and commercial networks that it spanned. Burroughs embarked upon a round-the-world trip, leaving Wellcome behind to maintain these points of contact in London.[138] Through his correspondence, Burroughs' gathered and disseminated vital knowledge of the colonial periphery for BW that

[133] William S. Burroughs (WSB) to HSW, 30 August 1879, WF/E/02/01/02/31, Papers of Silas M. Burroughs, WL.
[134] Quoted in Carl W. Ackerman, *George Eastman* (London, 1930), p. 93.
[135] Quoted in Robert Bruce Davis, *Peacefully Working to Conquer the World: Singer Sewing Machines in Foreign Markets, 1854-1920* (New York, 1976), p. 176.
[136] See also, Tuffnell, 'Expatriation and Empire.'
[137] Rhodes, *Henry Wellcome,* p. 80.
[138] SMB to HSW, 7 Feb 1880, WF/E/02/01/02/31, Burroughs Papers, WL.

highlights how commercial strategic interest interacted with the structures of British imperialism and created reciprocal imperial expansion between the US and Great Britain.[139]

Burroughs first port of call was India, where he visited more than twenty towns across Britain's largest imperial possession. While Burroughs found 'the native population so poor' that BW's 'goods are too costly,' India presented new markets for the firm as quickly as it took them away.[140] In Lahore, Burroughs found new opportunities for 'introducing [BW's] goods thoroughly' to a particular type of consumer: white settler colonists. The ebullient Burroughs estimated nine-tenths of the white population in India to be civil and military colonial administrators and missionaries, success amongst whom would ensure recognition of the Wellcome brand '*throughout the whole empire*.'[141] To consolidate Burrough's gains, Wellcome despatched the American William Shepperson a year later to organise the firm's display at the 1883 Calcutta Exhibition.

Burroughs' next move was to penetrate Australasia. Here BW found a receptive white settler population. Rapidly growing markets in Sydney and Melbourne were the ideal environment, Burroughs found, for an expanding pharmaceuticals industry spearheaded by BW. Burroughs waxed lyrical about the opportunities that Australia offered for the firm, opining that it was '*the best field* we shall find anywhere for our goods' and that 'the Australian will be worth more than the English trade.'[142] Armed with samples and an aggressive advertising campaign in the Australian press modelled on its British counterpart, BW thrived. Wholesale agreements were established with chemists in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, and Christchurch to disseminate

[139] These networks functioned in a similar manner to those of missionaries, as documented by Ian Tyrrell in *Reforming the World*.
[140] SMB to HSW, 1 December 1881, WF/E/02/01/01/03, Burroughs Papers, WL.
[141] SMB to HSW, 27 February 1882, WF/E/02/01/01/03, Burroughs Papers, WL. Emphasis in original.
[142] SMB to HSW, 19 Oct 1882, WF/E/02/01/01/11, Burroughs Papers, WL.

Wellcome products. Australia proved lucrative for BW not simply because of the sheer size of the white settler population, but because, unlike the population in India, of a culture of self-medication which was, in London's perception, 'rife.'[143] Close attention to local economies and aggressive marketing was reflected in Australia's sales figures which greatly outstripped those of any other overseas branch by ever-widening margins.[144]

The empire was much more than a receptacle for depositing manufactured goods. The partners pioneered a strategy that targeted the recognition of BW products by colonial administrators. The commercial interests of the firm thus became increasingly entwined in the burdens of empire building. Burroughs targeted the military establishment in India, since BW 'would hardly need any more business if the Indian Medical Department would take them up.'[145] Simultaneously, Wellcome solicited contacts in both the Home Office and the colonies until persistent lobbying persuaded the Army Medical Department to adopt Tabloid medicine chests. Compact and portable Tabloids were perfectly suited to imperial warfare in remote locations. By 1892 Tabloids were supplied for expeditions in Ashanti and for hospitals in India.[146] Contracts followed in 1895 for the Anconite Campaign in West Africa and the Sudan in 1896 – just as the ASL was established as an auxiliary of effective business strategy. American empire building took its share of Tabloids in the campaigns against Cuba and the Philippines in 1898. The Boer War proved so lucrative that it prompted Wellcome to comment that temporary British reverses were a 'blessing' to the firm if it meant the Army must be re-equipped.[147]

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[143] Roy Church, and Elizabeth M. Tansey, *Burroughs Wellcome & Co.: Knowledge, Trust, Profit, and the Transformation of the British Pharmaceutical Industry, 1880-1940* (Lancaster, 2007), p. 233.
[144] *Ibid.,* p. 232-8.
[145] SMB to HSW, 10 May 1882, WF/E/02/01/01, Burroughs Papers, WL. *Ibid.,* p.228-9.
[146] Colonial Secretary's Office to SMB, 12 June 1882, WF/E/02/01/01/08, Burroughs Papers, WL.
[147] Quoted in: Church and Tansey, *Burroughs Wellcome,* p. 71.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the imperial reciprocity of BW was solidified as an effective strategy of co-operation between commercial enterprise and colonial practice. The firm's complicity with the British imperial regime rises to light in post-Boer War South Africa. George Edward Pearson constructed a colonial strategy that set about penetrating the Transvaal and Orange River colonies. Pearson, a Bradford born pharmacist, joined BW in 1885 as a commercial traveller for the London West End territory and was appointed as head of a new Foreign and Colonial department in 1901.[148] Using the experience of visits to South Africa in 1899 and Australia in 1901, Pearson drafted a memorandum soon after the Boer War ended informing Wellcome that the firm's 'foothold' in South Africa 'demands the adoption of a better system' so as 'to seize the opportunity of this advantage to turn what is at present a comparatively small business into a large and influential concern'.[149] 'When affairs in South Africa are settled … an important requisite for an increased business will be supplied', Pearson informed Wellcome, 'i.e. a considerably larger *white* population than has hitherto existed in South Africa.'[150]

Pearson's memo and accompanying minutes discussing the propriety of founding a branch in Cape Town reveal the extent to which BW acted as a colonial agent. The greater availability of stock held in the country, Pearson predicted, would 'be of great assistance in developing business with the many mining and exploration companies,' and, 'be in a much better position to enter into contracts for Government and military supplies.'[151] In fact, BW was uniquely positioned in South Africa because it operated from London. BW profited from close contact with the imperial regime and the imperial patriotism which resulted from the South

[148] *Ibid.,* p. 229.
[149] 'Pros and Cons re the establishment of a Branch in South Africa', 11 April 1901, WF/e/1/3/22, Wellcome Papers, WL.
[150] *Ibid,* author's emphasis.
[151] *Ibid,* 'Conversation with Mr. Pearson', 10 April 1901, WF/e/1/3/22, Wellcome Papers, WL.

African war – no doubt helped further by Wellcome's well-timed gifts of medical supplies to British troops and explorers.[152]

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The snapshot provided by Burroughs Wellcome reveals the importance of the globalising effects of the British Empire for American expansion. Shared technologies of transport and communications facilitated the exchange of commercial knowledge and practices between Americans across British colonies and whetted their appetites for colonial expansion. Underpinning this exchange was the growth of the American "colony" and its coalescence into an American space interwoven with that of Imperial London. Joseph Hodges Choate, the American ambassador between 1899 and 1905, depicted the 'invading forces' of Americans as 'spinning fast cords of connexion between the two countries ... proving their mutual dependence.' The metaphor is apt for the American colony, whose diverse cords – institutional, social, and cultural – intersected with British politics and London society at various points. Each of these scattered points blended to form a distinct sense American nationality and national space in Britain. Hodge phrased this sense of consolidation differently, capturing the nascent power of the United States in this process, noting that 'each [cord] by itself may be of trifling strength, but are together like the strands of the Lilliputians.'[153]

BW, and a host of American firms with similar ambitions, created new forms of Anglo-American imperialism through these cords. The transnational context of the American

[152] Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p. 141. The literature on the US and the Boer War is small but illuminating, see in particular: Thomas J. Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee: The United States and South Africa, 1870-1914* (Kent, OH, 1978) and Richard W. Hull, *American Enterprise in South Africa: Historical Dimensions of Engagement and Disengagement* (New York, 1990), pp. 120-123.
[153] '4 July 1901, Independence Day Speech', B25/F12, Joseph Hodge Choate Papers, LoC.

community in Britain provided the public forum for inter-imperial connections to flourish. The synergy of US economic expansion in British imperial practice originated in a cognitive shift that emphasised shared imperial identity – an identity reified by the visibility of the American community in London life. The American "colony" acted as a framework in which metaphors of blood, kinship, and race were substantiated. For Britons, the American "colony" was a repository of knowledge about the US and a screen on which to project new images of global world order. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this took the form of the sun rising and setting on the '"Re-united States"' or '"The British-American Union."'[154] The new potentialities of Anglo-American synergy were celebrated in the visual culture of Anglo-American relations where John Bull and Brother Jonathan combined to form Colonel Jonathan J. Bull.

Figure 10. "Colonel Jonathan J. Bull: Or, what JB may come to"

[154] Andrew Carnegie, 'A Look Ahead,' *NAR* 156 (Jan./June, 1893), p. 710.

Source:

Punch, 27 November 1901.

- Conclusion -

Early in the twentieth century, the "American invasion" and "Americanisation of the World" was dissected by British journalists. 'America has invaded Europe not with armed men, but with manufactured products', was the analysis of the Scots-Canadian journalist Frederick McKenzie, 'its leaders have been captains of industry and skilled financiers'.[1] McKenzie shrewdly noted the inversion of the transatlantic connection, observing, 'our fathers went West to make their fortunes; their sons are coming East to do the same'.[2] American products and inventions flooded British markets, acquiring 'control of almost every new industry'.[3] Against the backdrop of fears of British imperial decline, these commentators measured British and American success on a number of industrial indices, particularly coal and pig iron, in addition to cultural and sporting rivalry, religion and marriage.[4]

British consumption was increasingly shaped by American products. The "invasion" had been progressing 'unceasingly and with little noise or fuss in five hundred industries at once. From shaving soap to electric motors, and from tools to telephones, the American is clearing the field.'[5] American expatriate communities in Britain, referred to as the "American invasion" by contemporaries, provided the social context for the dissemination of American commodities in Britain and the Empire. Its members mediated the diffusion of US business acumen and gathered knowledge germane to profitable investment opportunities, capital markets, and the social networks upon which American expansion depended. These communities, tracked in the pages above, coalesced around the transformation of global

[1] Frederick A. McKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London, 1902), p. 1.
[2] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 78.
[4] Christopher Furness, 'The Old World and the American "Invasion": A Review of the Industrial Situation', *Nash's pall Mall Magazine,* March 1902, pp. 362-3; McKenzie, *American Invaders*, pp. 66-78; William T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World, or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902), pp. 98-129; Benjamin H. Thwaite, *The American Invasion* (London, 1902), pp. 6-12; Frank A. Vanderlip, *The American "Commercial Invasion" of Europe* (New York, 1902), pp. 71-2.
[5] McKenzie, *American Invaders*, p. 2.

technologies of trade, communication, transportation, and finance in the nineteenth century. Were these communities the bridgehead for the Americanisation of British and European politics and culture? Are the various forms of cultural and economic diffusion mediated by expatriates indicative of a protracted process of Americanisation?

The short answer is that they were not. It is tempting to read in early-twentieth-century exposés of Americanisation a clairvoyant vision of future US pre-eminence, but it is misleading. Viewed from the perspective of the United States, American expatriation was perceived to be indicative of a degrading colonial dependency. 'The recurrence of the old deep-seated malady of colonialism,' in the characterisation of Henry Cabot Lodge.[6] In the formation of American communities in Britain, expatriates attempted to reconcile the dual aim of sustaining the highly profitable mutual interdependence of Britain and the United States while maintaining an attachment, however fragile, to the United States. British global power was the primary referent at all times. In spite of the bellicose rhetoric of an American "invasion" and the creation of an American "colony," the success of the expansionism manifested by the late nineteenth-century American community was indebted to the global transportation and communications networks of the British Empire. To William T. Stead, apostle of Americanisation, the American Invasion presented new opportunities for Anglo-American rapprochement for precisely this reason. 'If the English-speaking world were unified,' he suggested, 'our respective manufacturers would be free to compete without any risk of their trade rivalry endangering good relations between the Empire and the Republic'.[7] The American nation-state and its empire grew side-by-side with Britain's age of High Imperialism, processes that were mutually entwined by ties of commerce, capital, and culture.

If the story presented here is not one of Americanisation, what is it? Most broadly conceived, the present study argues that nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations are

[6] Henry Cabot Lodge, 'Colonialism in the United States,' *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1883, p. 624.
[7] Stead, *Americanization of the World*, p. 13.

best understood in a conceptual framework emphasising the mutual interconnections and the reciprocal processes that emerged from these connections. American communities in Britain offer a new framework of analysis from which to view the intricate interrelationships between the United States and the transnational influences with which it negotiated and upon which it depended. Expatriate communities, it has been argued, were highly contingent coalitions that evolved and dissolved around these rapidly transforming transatlantic interconnections – transnational connections that forged them, but that also fragmented them. Americans migrated to Britain to mediate these connections, forging communities around the shared imperatives of consolidating American independence, directing US nation-building, and erecting the scaffolding of US expansion.[8]

At the juncture between the dual aims of fashioning a distinct American community in Britain and the desire to promote a collaborative Anglo-American partnership emerged the complex brand of cultural identity politics discussed throughout this dissertation. In the cockpit of American communities in Britain, strands of partisan, sectional, and international influences intersected. In the context of British power, the contestations and reformulations of these identities were bled through with post- and anti-colonial anxieties. What it meant to be an American, what constituted the American nation, and what form its empire should take were articulated, contested, and reformulated in the overseas national spaces created by the Americans in this study – and in reactions to expatriation in the United States. In the antebellum decades, expatriates and their critics were pre-occupied with the question of national difference and the extent to which British racial and cultural affinities could be incorporated within American nationalism.[9] From this dialogue emerged surprising affinities. Hastened by the cockpit of Civil War in the United States, the American community in

[8] See Chapter One.
[9] See Chapter Two.

Britain became the venue through which to pursue the shared Anglo-American goal of race-based empire in the late nineteenth century.[10]

The American communities at the heart of this study therefore provide a fresh perspective on the transnational interconnections that sustained Anglo-American interdependence. These communities of offshore America provided the social context for transatlantic interconnections – cultural, political, and economic – to converge. Americans in Britain are overlooked actors in cementing this interdependence and promoting transatlantic rapprochement. The world of Anglo-American sociability was the mechanism for enacting transatlantic peace – and was consequently a lightning rod in debates over the United States global self-image.[11] The social capital of prominent expatriates such as George Peabody and Henry S. Wellcome oiled the wheels of inter-elite contact between Britain and the United States. American women were conspicuous in this process, catalysing the process of Anglo-American rapprochement after the American Civil War. Parallel to this was the integration of the American community into British society, especially in London. American communities in Britain promoted these aims, even as they aimed at creating a distinct national enclave in which to maintain links to the United States.

Recovering the history of Americans in Britain spotlights the emergence new forms of Anglo-American imperial reciprocity. The interface of British imperialism and US expansion was shaped by the American community in London. Expatriate social and cultural institutions infiltrated the information milieu of the imperial metropolis and oriented the activities of American businessmen around the imperial connections offered by London. The complexion of this world of imperial interconnections contrasts sharply with our current understanding of American overseas Empire. Historians of American imperialism rarely consider British

[10] See Chapter Three and Five.
[11] See Chapter Four.

Imperialism and US expansion as connected phenomenon.[12] Nowhere is this more apparent, however, than in London's American community where a coterie of American businessmen formed the nucleus of an assertive expansion into the markets of the British Empire. This overlooked avenue of historical inquiry reveals the non-state actors and agencies driving American expansion. This outward surge was not simply the product of domestic surplus production, nor was it solely the product an ideological drive towards empire.[13] The expansion revealed in this study was enmeshed in the processes of British colonialism, acted alongside it, and mimicked its forms – at its centre was the American "colony" in London.

What of the American community in Britain? In the summer of 1914 British imperial power began its terminal decline. By the 1890s, the United States had surpassed Britain as the globe's leading industrial power and enjoyed its own imperial moment in the Pacific, but it would take a "Wilsonian moment" of liberal internationalism to begin the slow process of dismantling European empire and hasten US global leadership.[14] As the United States prepared itself for global leadership in the inter-war years, the locus of American expatriation shifted away from Britain to Paris.[15] From the vantage point of the place de l'Opéra, an American world bustled. The inner Right Bank of the Seine was peppered with American bars, cafés, news bureaus, drug stores, beauty salons, and soda fountains. Mayfair and the West End in London had given way to Montmartre and Montparnasse, the Strand to the place de l'Opéra. In a rapidly changing world, as with the case of the nineteenth-century American

[12] A notable exception is: Paul A. Kramer, 'Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World,' *American Historical Review* 116 (December, 2011), pp. 1348-1391. Some scholars have adopted a comparative analysis of the British and American empires across time Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires from 1699 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2011); Phillip Darby, *Three Faces of Imperialism: British and American Approaches to Asia and Africa, 1870-1970* (New Haven, CT; London, 1987).

[13] William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1972, first pub. 1959), is the classic account of American Empire as a product of domestic over-production.

[14] Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York, Oxford, 2009); Alfred E. Eckes and Thomas W. Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century* (New York, Cambridge, 2003), pp. 38-58.

[15] The following characterisation draws heavily from Broke L. Blower's *Becoming American in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 17-34.

communities in Britain, American expatriates span new webs of interconnections that intersected in the French capital, the new 'hub of the European wheel.'[16]

Repositioning the United States within the complex tangle of transnational connections explored in this study opens a window onto the reciprocity of nation-building and empire in nineteenth-century Anglo-American relations. Historians of the United States are in the midst of a drive to decentre a powerful historical mythology of providential American nation-building and enlightened anticolonial imperialism. American communities in Britain were the architects of a very different model for American nation-building and global empire whose foundations were laid in interwoven parallel empires rather than radial links emanating from a metropolitan centre. Forged in the volatile context of Anglo-American geo-politics, American communities in Britain mediated this web of transnational interconnection. In their evolution, dissolution, and reconstruction American communities in Britain reveal the processes through which American national identity was formed, independence consolidated, and the US imperial footprint enlarged.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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