

AN INVESTIGATION INTO BRITISH NEUTRALITY DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL
WAR 1861-65

BY REBECCA CHRISTINE ROBERTS-GAWEN

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Abstract

This thesis sought to investigate why the British retained their policy of neutrality throughout the American Civil War, 1861-65, and whether the lack of intervention suggested British apathy towards the conflict.

It discovered that British intervention was possible in a number of instances, such as the Trent Affair of 1861, but deliberately obstructed Federal diplomacy, such as the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

This thesis suggests that the British public lacked substantial and sustained support for intervention. Some studies have suggested that the Union Blockade of Southern ports may have tempted British intervention. This thesis demonstrates how the British sought and implemented replacement cotton to support the British textile industry. This study also demonstrates that, by the outbreak of the Civil War, British society lacked substantial support for foreign abolitionists' campaigns, thus making American slavery a poorly supported reason for intervention.

This thesis proves there was not "apathy" for the American Civil War; Britain benefitted from the war by building ships and from sending munition through the blockade. Britain appeared apathetic because it refused official intervention. This refusal was rooted in the fact that Britain benefitted from the demise of its economic, political and historic rival – the United States of America.

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INTRODUCTION

A British student of History fascinated by the American Civil War may appear a rare combination. This thesis, however, fulfils a well-established fascination. Walking around the battlefields of Gettysburg at four years old captured the author's imagination; The rows of white headstones, the guns left as memorials, and the peace and tranquillity of the beautiful, flat terrain initiated an interest with the author still pertinent today. From this family holiday, the author indulged in books and documentaries, desperate to discover and understand more about this war that literally tore families apart.

Following Undergraduate study, the author became aware that she wanted to spend time studying this great and bloody war more closely. She began to consider if her own interest in the American Civil War as a 21st Century Historian could be paralleled with Victorian Britons. Aware that the War of Independence would be relatively recent History to Britons of the 1860s, the author began to consider how this may have impacted on the reporting of the outbreak of the American conflict. Furthermore, she began to question how the war itself may have been reported through various British media. These questions and reflections formed the basis for this study and thus the thesis was created.

The eventual Union Victory and Confederate loss of the American Civil War (1861-65) has been evaluated and analysed meticulously by a multitude of Historians, each forming their own conclusions as to the primary reason for the result. Pohanka (1999) argues that the lack of supplies for the Confederate army, both in terms of manpower and equipment, meant defeat was assured. Robert Krick (2003) argues that inferior Southern resources against

Northern industrial dominance is an archaic view and instead reconsiders this by including the broader, yet simpler, argument of basic mathematics. He suggests that the sheer ratio of population figures (twenty seven million in the Union to seven million in the Confederacy) meant the South was inevitably doomed to defeat. McPherson (2003) uses examples of the American War of Independence to counter both of these arguments, suggesting that limited numbers and lack of resources are not a sufficient argument, otherwise the British would have conquered the weaker native American partisans. Instead, he suggests the combination of strong diplomatic leadership of Lincoln with robust military leadership of Grant, Sherman and Sheridan is the key to Union victory. Gallagher (2012) links his conclusion to McPherson, suggesting that a lack of Southern field victories was due to a lack of depth in Southern military command. Gallagher states that it is undeniable that Lee's genius maintained the Southern campaign for a number of years, but excluding Lee, the South could not boast many more expert commanders.

Each of these theories can be individually and collectively scrutinised to reveal merits and flaws, based on interpretation, yet the aim of this thesis is not to engage in the debate of "Why did the Union win/Confederates lose". It has become axiomatic that one of the primary reasons for the defeat of the Confederacy in the American Civil War lay with the failure of its diplomacy in mobilising the European powers from their adherence to the public stance of neutrality to one either of intervention or, at least, recognition of Southern Independence. British public opinion was subject to intensive campaigning by the sympathisers of both North and South. This thesis, therefore, intends to explore why the British remained neutral and whether this indicated British apathy to the American conflict.

At the outset of this thesis, there are a number of points that should be clarified to prevent any misconception. Firstly, there is no doubt that the British did intercede in the conflict to a certain extent. Britain and America continued large scale trading throughout 1861-65, although this was disrupted by blockades of Southern Ports. Similarly, Britain's shipyards profited heavily from the construction of ships and blockade-runners (Harvie, 2008, 286-288 and Wise, 1991.). Blockade-runners themselves were often British, supplying both Union and Confederacy with necessities (Barry and Burt, 2013). Also, there is no doubt that a number of British soldiers participated in the war¹. Whilst these factors will feature heavily in the analysis of this thesis, these elements of Anglo-American relations do not equate to Britain as a nation and foreign power intervening. This thesis looks to explore why Britain did not shift from the position of neutrality and mobilise as an ally to neither North nor South.

Secondly, an accepted fact at the commencement of this thesis is that campaigning did take place in Britain for both Union and Confederate support. The Confederacy knew that British recognition of Southern Independence would authenticate their "Cause" (Thomas, 1979; p88), or states' individual rights, tariff policy and regional determination. This "Cause" developed into the protection of a "Southern identity" as cultural and societal differences became entwined with the demand for regional economic independence. This then developed further into the argument of maintaining a slave-based economy. The world's greatest foreign power accepting the legitimacy of a new country may prevent the North from fighting a war to maintain a Union with the inclusion of Southern States who had democratically voted to withdraw from the United States. After all, the Confederacy maintained they were using the Constitutional right as Americans to secede from the United States of America. By Britain recognising this, the Union's campaign would not only be

¹ Numerous examples of British participants can be found with the British American Civil War Round Table society, but also found in various archive findings at Kew and London.

rendered futile, but, more significantly, ebbed dangerously on the verge of a more destructive war – perhaps even a precipitate world war. Neither North nor South was truly prepared for the civil war that began in 1861, and even less prepared for an unexpected protracted war. The threat of a major international war with Britain was something the Union had to avoid at all cost. Conversely, the Union not only wanted to maintain good relations with the British, but also to interrupt any diplomatic talks between the Confederacy and British – particularly if these talks included any rhetoric of intervention.

Lastly, before any analysis of American influence on British society is analysed, an understanding of the recipient is required in order to contextualise the material. Thus, an understanding of the Victorian mentality is required.

How was Victorian public opinion formed in the mid Victorian period?

The British public saw Britain as the leading world power and the Empire as its greatest achievement (Steinach, 2011). Popular patriotism was a widespread phenomenon. They also saw the dominance of the Royal Navy as guarantor of sovereignty in which maritime supremacy was underpinned by both the number of fighting ships and their potency. The British viewed themselves as the military superiors of the world; the super power of the time.

Realistically, the French had been the greatest threat to world superiority at the beginning of the 19th Century through the ambitious Napoleon. There had always been a historic rivalry between the two countries; a view many still believe in today. Therefore, Napoleon was

even more of a concern for the British as he began his own Empire-building plans. However, Nelson re-established the Royal Navy's supremacy at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, meaning the British believed that they metaphorically had ownership of sea (Adkins, 2006). Then, in 1815, Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo by Wellington (Barbero and Cullen, 2004). This eliminated the French as a superpower and therefore a major rival. The competition between the two countries did not fade though and there was a great sense of maintaining the upper-hand over the French in British politics, leading to arms races throughout the 19th century.

Generally, the British public endorsed Disraeli's policy of splendid isolation (Howard, 1967 and Charmley 2009). However, before the American Civil War, there had been two mighty shocks of confidence to the British public; Firstly, the Crimean War 1853-56 (Figes, 2012; Small, 2014; Royle, 2004) and secondly, the Indian Rising of 1857 (Pati, 2011; Hibert, 1980). These two events suggested fragilities in British foreign power and so the British public would need assurances that British dominance was still firm.

The British public also gloried in its industrial supremacy. The 1851 Great Exhibition had strengthened the view that Britain was indeed the workshop of the world, dominating international markets with its manufactured goods and the reach of both its traders and its missionaries (Auerbach, 1999; Leapman 2011).

The Americans, however, did not pose much of a threat to the British at this point. The "United States" of America was a relatively new concept and country. In fact, the country was still referred to as a plural at this point (i.e. "The United States are", as opposed

to "The United States is"), demonstrating how relatively recently the colony had gained independence (Myres, 2008). International preoccupation for the British was, therefore, with affairs they felt more significant or more likely to affect their Empire.

British Foreign Policy and the Political Press

Palmerston's political career lasted thirty-five years, in which he received three Seals of the Foreign Office before serving twice as Prime Minister (Fenton, 2013). One may conclude, therefore, that foreign policy was exclusively Palmerstonian. This interpretation, however, lacks depth. Mill aptly described the British Empire in the early 19th century as "a gigantic system of outdoor relief for the upper classes," referring to the quantity of significant positions awarded to the upper classes, such as Viceroy and ambassadors (Galbraith, 1960). By the 1830s, however, British society had transformed. The industrialisation of Britain had altered the British economy from one of domestic trade and agriculture, to one of commerce and exports. Without doubt, manufactured exports were central to the British economy and thus the continuation and peace of the British Empire. British international interest became focused on continuation and assurance of free trade as well as colonial defense (Koeber & Schmidt, 1964, p80). This shift in economy and society also meant that government policy was no longer solely dictated by the Conservative upper classes.

Throughout the early-to-mid Victorian era, the value of inactivity in foreign affairs becomes increasingly popular. There are several reasons for this, as explored by Otte (2013) and Bourne (1967, p.78-89); intervention in foreign matters may cause an unnecessary drain on British resources and finances; Also, British focus may have been distracted from colonial interests; Furthermore, intervention may result in distraction from important domestic

affairs. The 19th century witnessed significant domestic reform such as the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Corn Laws of 1846. There had been three Derby administrations during the first Disraeli Government, when the Conservatives had no majority. British distraction from important domestic issues may result in further disruption of government. Additionally, a weakened Government may cause British colonies to seriously consider the advantages of self-determination over weakening British imperialism. Britain, therefore, became disinclined to interfere with foreign wars that were of no direct benefit to Britain. If Britain's security was challenged or if free trade was compromised, however, Britain would commit, as seen with the Crimean War of 1853-6.

A.J.P. Taylor (1950) suggests that Britain committed to the Crimean War because Britain's Eastern Mediterranean interests would be compromised if Turkey no longer remained independent. Taylor also argues that this was a war of prestige that Britain, like France and Russia, could not withdraw from. The war was an important breakthrough in how the media was able to report the developments. Roger Fenton's photography and telegraph reports from William Russell meant that the British public were more informed on the war than any war before this. The newly informed British public brought down the government of Lord Aberdeen and empowered Palmerston. Furthermore, the public campaigned for better medical care for the soldiers, which was satisfied by Nightingale's nursing reforms.

The Crimean War is significant in the development of public opinion and the foreign office, both of which are important factors within this thesis. It empowered the British public through the speed and depth of information suddenly available to the general public. This empowerment could then lead to campaigning and appeals to the Government which, if left

unsatisfied, could lead directly to a change in government. Therefore, approval of public opinion becomes crucial in the 19th century and is subject to significant influence.

The attempt to influence public opinion took many forms but necessitated, in whichever medium, the illustrations of moral and political argument as well as the illustrations of the events of the war as these proceeded. The sources studied for this thesis include the various forms of media that the British would have had access to which made the American Civil War their focus. These also vary in terms of which section of society they predisposed; for example, a cotton mill worker would have less concern with an article in *The Times* than a politician. This is not to say, however, that the working-class of mid-Victorian Britain had no interest in international affairs. The activities of radical reform movements, as well as early trade unions, ensured the wider distribution of information. A keen knowledge of foreign affairs would not only have been in the possession of the land owning aristocracy, but would have been available to the professional middle class, managers and merchants and even to the artisan classes of the labouring aristocracy as well as to elements of the labouring classes through the maturity of their information dissemination networks penetrating school church, chapel, mechanics institutes, library, musical hall and public house alike.

Literacy rates in Victorian Britain were commensurate with a society yet to enjoy the fruits of National Education Reform, which was to take place with the Education Act of 1870 (Holdsworth, 2012). This does not mean, however that most of the population were in the darkness of illiteracy as the beginnings of a cheap radical press in the 1830s had demonstrated in its impact of the call for Parliamentary reform of the Great Reform Act of 1832 (Protherto, 1997; Gossmann and Baylen, 1979). Newspapers were read aloud within

the domestic or leisure context, but were also central to the new institutes for the self-education of working people, which had been rapidly appearing in the first half of the 19th century. Newspapers were available through libraries and reading rooms and were often passed on for wider circulation, as were pamphlets and other printed ephemera of the time.

In an age when the editor, more than the owner, set the direction for the newspapers, famous editors such as Thomas Barnes and John Thadeus Delane, were more like celebrities of the day, attracting readers simply due to their editorials. Such editors were known to uphold the great mid-Victorian character of “virtue” (Gossmann and Baylen, 1979). *The Times* readership was over one million people. Whilst there would be little point in simply investigating *The Times* uniquely, what Brogan points out as significant with this newspaper is likewise significant to others; The British Empire stretched across the whole of the globe, and the newspapers generated in London would be transported to its colonies. Therefore, what newspapers such as *The Times* reported on and the opinions it created, would be how the rest of the world viewed the news. With this in mind, it may be deemed that the flattery Lincoln bestowed on Russell was not so misplaced.

Knowing the authority of *The Times*, it is easy to assume that journalism was a direct regurgitation of the politicians. However, Gladstone’s abolition of the, so-called “Taxes on Knowledge” revolutionised the press. This tax had meant newspapers were as expensive as 4d. a copy in 1815, making the purchase of newspapers a privilege for the more wealthy classes. John Roebuck had led the campaign against newspaper taxes in 1836, the same year in which Parliament abolished taxes on pamphlets (St. John, 2010). This abolition of pamphlets helped the popularity of the pamphlet press, and thus in the 1860s, there was still a tradition to purchase such media. However, in 1849, a group of publishers formed the

National Stamp Abolition Committee, which met its final success in 1855 with the abolition of the “Tax on Knowledge”. With the abolition of this tax, cheaper newspapers than *The Times* went into circulation such as the Liberal newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. These newspapers came into existence before the Secession crisis. In fact, *The Times* lost readership to such newspapers, known as the “penny press” (British Library Website, 2009).

What begins to emerge is a dialogue between the mainstream press and pamphleteers. This emerged due to the abolition of the “Taxes on Knowledge,” which made the production of rhetoric much cheaper. Due to the long tradition and high esteem of *The Times*, many newspapers and writers still copied its stories and opinions. These newspapers tended to be more “Palmerstonian” in their politics. However, what appeared was a divide between this traditional media and the new, liberal and radical journalism that materialised with the abolition of the tax. This in itself had a massive impact on public opinion and British Culture as, in theory, the public could now have access to different representations of current affairs.

The political press, therefore, was a significant medium. Mass media had a significant influence on the opinion of the British public, as Stephen Koss’s study demonstrates (1981). Koss analysed surveys and voting preferences based on prior exposure to communication and influence. By the American Civil War period, Koss identifies over 30,000 publications in circulation and of varying interest. The development, for example, of the Penny Press as well as weekly supplements such as sport or crime, meant newspapers appealed to a wider audience. Victorian audiences would have exposure to political events, even if their reason for purchasing the literature was not solely for current affairs.

A useful example of the political press and its influence over a political or foreign event was the Indian Mutiny. This case study of the political press in 1857 parallels with this thesis as it firstly studies journalism in the same period and secondly, the newspapers selected for this case study, *The Times*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Spectator* and *Punch* are three key publications analysed within this thesis.

Initially, the British newspapers did not report the Indian Mutiny in detail as it was considered an insignificant skirmish based on religious differences between the Sepoy's and the British. The French press, however, began reporting the rebellion to be a significant proportion of the Sepoy population revolting against British rule. This necessitated the attention of the British press (The British Empire, 2009). *The Times* was quick to attack the French press for their commentary on the events, pointing out to their readers that the French may mock Britain, but the British Empire was actually expanding whereas the French were unable to maintain their own imperial interests (4th July 1857). *The Saturday Review* praised the British actions and the military leaders stating how British authorities, "...have met the emergency with equal strength and wisdom..." and that "...history will record that by John Colvin and by Henry and John Lawrence, the resolute vigour of the Anglo Saxon race was nobly represented, and that bravely and wisely they anticipated the danger...". (27th July 1857) Both *The Times* and *The Saturday Review* communicated the views of Palmerstonian politicians, celebrating the authority of the British Empire and refuting any claim of weakness or mismanagement. *Punch* magazine shared these views and pictorially represented a similar message;

(The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger. *Punch*, 22nd August 1857).

The anthropomorphism of Britain into a lion attacking the Indian tiger that has caught his prey represents the more powerful British lion defeating the Bengal tiger. *The Spectator* communicated similar confidence in British ability to restore order, but suggested that the British should have sent more troops to deal with the rebellion and called for reform in the manner in which Britain sent administrative officers and governors to Her colonies (30th August, 1857). Whilst each newspaper reported from a different perspective and in different styles, there is a union of support for the British authority and power. This united belief in the British authority, but with various opinions of a foreign enemy and British management of international affairs is a significant consideration for this thesis.

An Overview of the American Civil War

Before establishing which aspects of the American Civil War interested Britain and how they were presented in various media, an overview of the war itself is pertinent.

On 12th April 1861, Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard opened fire on the Union-held fort, Fort Sumter, in South Carolina. This bombardment inaugurated a four-year conflict, which would involve over 3 million Americans, cost over 620,000 American lives and end in a Confederate defeat and Union victory. There were significant battles on land and sea, which involved amassed armies, technological development and huge death tolls.

According to Dyer's *Compendium of the War of Rebellion* (1908), there were 10,455 military actions during the conflict. This thesis does not intend to discuss and analyse each of these actions; After all, the aim of the thesis is to assess why Britain remained unmoved. However a synopsis of key military engagements will provide chronological understanding of the four-year conflict from an American point of view.

A synopsis of the American Civil War – Land Campaigns

Following Fort Sumter, the first major battle of the Civil War was Bull Run, which took place on July 21st 1861 (Fleischmann and Frampton, 1995). Standing on the battlefield of Bull Run, one cannot help but feel moved and inspired by this site (visits made in 2004, 2006 and 2009). There is a resounding sense of importance in the landscape, no doubt encouraged by the work of the National Battlefield Park, where tours lead you past important monuments – both natural and man-made structure. It took place in Fort Orange Country, Virginia, 25 miles South of Washington. The Union's objective was to push the Confederates further away from the Union capitol. Furthermore, the objective was to win a clear, devastating victory and force an end to the Civil War. The Confederate objective was simple; defend Southern territory.

When analysing the First Battle of Bull Run, several key factors are clear; Neither general had sufficient experience for a battle of this size and importance. McDowell was promoted in May 1861 to head of the Union Army of North-eastern Virginia. McDowell knew his troops were not ready for a major encounter. They were lacking training and lacking discipline. However, there was significant public pressure placed upon McDowell to engage the Confederates; The 90-day enlistment contracts of many new recruits were due to expire and the public wanted a quick and spectacular Union victory to end the war and secession. McDowell had only commanded eight people before Bull Run. Now he was in command of 30,000 Union troops. Beauregard was also a new commander, but his plan was different from McDowell in that he had to defend territory against McDowell's push. Also, the troops themselves showed key mistakes; The Union engineer scouts misread maps meaning the Union troops marched two days longer than planned. The new recruits were unprepared for this march so were foot-sore and exhausted. Furthermore, the Confederacy at this point had adopted the Stars and Bars as their official flag – a flag which is very similar to the Stars and Stripes. On a battlefield, under heavy fire and on a smoke covered battlefield, many recruits became lost or rallied to the incorrect flag. Similarly, many uniforms had not been issued and so men became confused at who was friend and who was foe. Therefore, there was significant friendly-fire at Bull Run. An example of this was an artillery clash on Henry Hill, where Rickett's Union guns turned to fire on men that appeared in front of them out of a line of trees. A commanding officer ran over and waved off the guns thinking they were New Yorkers. The men were Confederates. This mistake cost the Union battery their lives and the guns were captured by the Confederates (Fleischman & Frampton, 1995; Clement, 2012 ; Editors, 2013).

One significant event at Bull Run was the emergence of the Commander T. J. Jackson, who was to become a legend. His actions at Bull Run earned him the colloquial sobriquet “Stonewall” Jackson. There are a number of conflicting stories as to how he gained this name, but all stories agree that, when confusion, chaos and retreat were occurring in the Confederate line, Jackson and his Virginians stood firm. A soldier in Bee’s brigade is said to have used Jackson’s “Stonewall” exterior as inspiration to rally his men with Jackson’s Virginians (Farwell, 1993; Clark and Davis, 2009; Jackson, 2013).

Bull Run concluded with a Confederate victory. However, the most significant factor at the conclusion of Bull Run was that both Union and Confederacy were made aware that the “victory by Christmas” was a highly improbable objective. Following Bull Run, the Civil War almost split into two wars as troops fought in both the Eastern theatre and the Western theatre.

Whilst there were several military actions following Bull Run, the next most significant land battle was Shiloh in the Western theatre, Tennessee (also known as the Pittsburgh Landing), on April 6th and 7th 1862 (visited 2004).

The Union army had won significant victories in the West, leaving a possibility for invasion at Corinth, a small railroad town which connected Memphis with Charleston and Mobile with Ohio – all significant communication railroads for the Confederacy. Supreme Confederate Commander in the West, Albert Sidney Johnston concentrated his forces to protect the rail communications. Major General Henry W. Halleck, commander of the Union forces in the

West, ordered the advance of Major General Ulysses S. Grant and Don Carlos Buell with the objective of severing the railways (Foote, 1992, p120-150).

Johnston was aware of the Union objective, so planned a preemptive attack of the Union forces. On the morning of the 6th April, 40,000 Confederate troops launched a surprise attack on the Union camps. Within two hours, the Confederate assault had become just as unorganised as the Union troops (Kunkel, 2012, p160-184). The fighting was concentrated into a sunken road which colloquially became known as “The Hornet’s Nest” due to the ferocity of the fighting. Union troops were able to hold the ground until the next morning when Grant’s lines were reinforced. Exhausted Confederate troops were withdrawn to the town of Corinth by Beauregard without Union pursuit and the battle concluded as a Union victory but with neither side achieving its objective (Daniel, 1998, p395).

One Union veteran recounts, “No soldier who took part in the two day’s engagement at Shiloh ever spoiled for a fight again... We wanted a square, stand-up fight and got all we wanted of it” (taken from Shiloh Battlefield Park). The battle saw 23,746 casualties – a number that surpasses all American casualties in all previous American wars combined (Burns, 1990, The Civil War Documentary). It is due to this figure that Shiloh is known as the first large scale battle. Following the battle of Shiloh, Grant realised that the war would be long and arduous with significant casualties suffered on both sides. He also knew only “Total War” tactics would achieve overall victory (Grant and McPherson, 1999, p201-210). Finally, it was clear that the South was not prepared to lose the Civil War. Fighting continued in the Western theatre with both sides competing to control the Mississippi. In June 1862, Braxton Bragg replaced Beauregard as head of the Army of the Tennessee and took command of his 56,000 troops (Bragg and Toppert, 1998, p108).

The focus on significant actions in the American Civil War then returns to the Eastern theatre where, in August 1862, the Second Battle of Bull Run was fought (Editors, 2013; Martin, 2008.). For an Historian studying the progress and development of the American Civil War, this battle is particularly useful as it is fought at the same place, with the same armies thirteen months after the first battle. Comparing the two battles demonstrates how advanced and experienced the armies had become (Hennessy, 2012; Editors, 2013). Soldiers were no longer inexperienced, poorly trained and ill-disciplined. Instead, they were more like professional soldiers. Men would stand their ground and not run away or fall to the ground, screaming in fear as seen at the first battle. Also, the number of casualties also showed how intense the fighting had become. In the First Battle of Bull Run, there was a combined total of 4,700 casualties; One year later, the Second Battle of Bull Run saw a combined total of 22,000 casualties (14,000 Union, 8,000 Confederate). The battle also shows how far the Confederate army had progressed, with Lee's generals Jackson and Longstreet delivering a convincing defeat over Pope's Union Army of Virginia. It gave Lee more confidence to begin a campaign into Northern territory. Conversely, it showed how flawed the Union army was; Pope showed a lack of organisation, preparation and a lack of understanding of the location (Monrrio and Toppert, 2013, p259). He was held accountable for the loss and Lincoln, therefore, decided on another change of senior leadership. Pope was replaced by McClennan and took control of the Army of the Potomac, absorbing the Army of Virginia.

Following the Second Battle of Bull Run, Lee turned his attention to an attack in Northern territory and on September 16th 1862, the infamous battle of Antietam occurred. On the morning of September 17th, Union artillery commanded by Joseph Hooker opened fire on Jackson's infantry. Jackson returns with his own guns and the exchange becomes colloquially

referred to as “artillery hell” (Johnson, Anderson and Hanson, 1995). It was here, at Dunker Church and in the nearby cornfield, that some of the most revered fighting of the Civil War took place.

At the battle’s conclusion, McClellan’s army controlled the field and Lee was driven from the Northern capitol, thus it was deemed a Northern victory. However, the Union failed to deliver a decisive victory by failing to pursue the Confederate army from the field. It was this inaction that led to President Lincoln dismissing McClennan from head of the Union army.

At Antietam National Park (visited 2009), an education video for visitors poignantly states, “In one day, 3,600 Americans were killed, 19,000 Americans wounded and captured – more dead than Americans at Pearl Harbour, D-Day or 9/11... September 17th 1862 remains the single bloodiest day in American History”. And yet, the war would rumble on for another two years.

McClellan was replaced by General Ambrose Burnside, who quickly abandoned McClellan’s operational approach. Instead, he moved his army to Fredericksburg in Virginia, where the Union army could be supplied by railroad (Orange and Alexandria) and could also continue to march on Richmond (Rowland, 2008). Lee’s Confederate Generals, Jackson and Longstreet, began amassing their armies to face Burnside and on December 11th to 13th 1862, the battle of Fredericksburg took place with town inhabitants hidden away in their homes (Rable, 2012, p107-130). There were around 13,700 Union soldier under Burnside’s command and around 70,000 Confederates under Lee. The battle saw major artillery exchanges and the town was left decimated. Despite Union General Meade breaking the Confederate lines a number of times, Jackson’s Confederates were able to regroup and

recover. The Confederates won the day and the Union army was left defeated and broken. Casualty lists amounted to Union losses of 1284 killed, 9,600 wounded and 1,769 captured or missing; Confederate losses amounted to 608 killed, 4,116 wounded and 653 captured or missing (Gallagher, 2008, p239). On January 23rd 1863, the Army of the Potomac had yet another change of leadership as Burnside was removed and replaced by Major General Joseph Hooker (Foote, 1992, p340).

The new general adopted a much more swift and decisive approach. As soon as the roads were travelable, Hooker moved with such pace that he outmanoeuvred Lee and took position in Chancellorsville, Virginia in May 1863. Lee gathered his army and, together with Jackson, conceived an incredibly bold plan to face Hooker. With a total Confederate force of 40,000 men, Jackson took 30,000 and attacked the main section of the Union army and then positioned behind the enemy. Meanwhile, Lee was to take 15,000 and attack in mini-skirmishes to make the Confederate army appear larger than it was and hold off Hooker's army. The plan worked and Hooker was forced to retreat (Goolrock, 1985, p243). The battle is revered as Lee's "Greatest victory" and yet two major facts were to impede the Confederate campaign; Firstly, Jackson was mortally wounded and died on May 10th. This loss to the Confederate military staff was tremendous as Jackson provided tactical genius and adoration to the troops. Secondly, whilst Hooker suffered greater losses (17,000 casualties to Lee's 13,000), Lee could not afford such high casualty rates. Some reports suggest the Confederate loss at Chancellorsville equated to 22% of the Southern force (Korda, 2014, p347).

Following Lee's increase in confidence after successes at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, he decided, once again, to mount a campaign in the North. With his 60,000 strong army,

Lee's plan was to destroy as many military posts in Maryland and Pennsylvania, whilst the Union army remained defending Washington. He hoped Confederate success in the North would encourage more people to join the anti-war feeling that was sweeping through the Northern states (McPherson, 1990, p360). Hooker resigned his post as head of the Union army and Meade became Major General (Keegan, 2010).

Lee received intelligence that two cavalry units had clashed at Gettysburg. Rather than sending military intelligence to confirm this report, instead he mobilised the entire army. This was a significant mistake.

On July 1st 1863 the battle of Gettysburg began. This battle is probably the most well-known battle of the Civil War, and has remained notorious due to the production of films such as "Gods and Generals" (2003 direct by Ronald F. Maxwell) and "Gettysburg" (1993 film directed by Ronald F. Maxwell). It was also the bloodiest and is often referred to as the turning point in the war. On July 1st, Lee and Meade's armies seemed well-matched but on July 2nd, Meade is able to bring reinforcements (Foote, 1996, p109). By the third day, the exhausted troops continue to clash. At one point, the Confederates pierce the Union lines through an action known as "Pickett's charge" (Editors, 2012). By July 4th, Lee is forced to withdraw having suffered 28,000 casualties. The Union had received similar casualties (around 23,000) but the stark difference was that Lee had lost irreplaceable numbers, including one third of his senior officers. Lee was well aware of the significance of the defeat. This was exacerbated by the fall of Vicksburg in Mississippi following a 47 day siege by Grant meaning the Mississippi was now firmly in the hands of the Union (Groom, 2010, p223). Lee attempted to resign his position as head of the Confederate army, but Jefferson Davis refused to accept his resignation (Cooper, 2001). He remained head of the

Confederate army until the end of the war, but Gettysburg was truly one of the last major engagements in the Western theatre.

Whilst there was a significant concentration of battles in the western theatre, the battles of Chickamauga (September 19th and 20th 1863) and Chattanooga (November 23rd to 25th 1863) were amongst the largest in the eastern theatre (Arnold, 1992). Having occupied Tullahoma for several months after the successful Tullahoma Campaign, Union Major General William Rosecrans decided to continue his advance with the intention of forcing Confederate General Bragg and his troops from Chattanooga (Moore, 2013; 238). Chattanooga was a strategically important railway town. Four major railways intersected the town; the North was connected to the Middle West via Nashville, the Western States were connected via Memphis, the Southern seaboard was connected via Atlanta and, most significantly, the Confederate capitol of Richmond was connected to the North Atlantic States via Knoxville (Handbook Series No. 25 1956). Chattanooga gained the epithet "Gateway to the deep South". Rosecrans repositioned his forces and Bragg marched to meet him at Chickamauga.

The battle ended as a decisive Confederate victory as Bragg's troops drove Rosecrans from the field. However, Bragg's objectives were to destroy the Rosecrans's Union army and occupy Chattanooga. The battle saw the greatest casualties in the Eastern theatre with 16,000 Union casualties and 18,000 Confederate (Hurst and Barrett, 2012, p457).

Fighting over Chattanooga recommenced two months later (Cozzens, 1998, p349). Bragg followed Rosecrans to Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Rosecrans intended to withdraw his army completely but was replaced as head of the Army of Cumberland by

Major General George H. Thomas. After a day of varying successes by both sides, final Union victory came from General Thomas actually disobeying Grant's orders and charging at a Confederate line (Bowers, 1994, p424). The Confederates had no reserve lines to reinforce their positions and the day ended with a Union victory but costing 5,815 and 6,670 Confederate casualties (Brown, 1984, p345). The victory enabled the capture of Atlanta and Sherman's infamous march to the sea campaign the following summer.

One of the last major battles of the Civil War occurred at Cold Harbor in 1864. Cold Harbor was Grant's worst defeat of the war. It occurred between May 31st and June 12th 1864 just outside Richmond. The battle is most remembered for the brutality of the frontal assault where 7,000 Union casualties were incurred in less than twenty minutes (Editors, 2013, p102). Grant's aim was to draw Lee out of his position and destroy the Confederate army. Lee was already cut off from supplies and so Grant believed he could deliver a final attack to overrun the Confederate Lines. The Battle of Cold Harbor is often referred to as Lee's easiest victory and yet, less than a year later, Lee would surrender his army (Rhea, 2002). Grant wrote poignantly in his memoirs about Cold Harbour, "I have always regretted that the last assault at Cold Harbor was ever made ... No advantage whatever was gained to compensate for the heavy loss we sustained " (Grant's Memoir's, 1994, Chapter 5).

Following the capture of Atlanta Sherman began his "March to the Sea" or Savannah Campaign from November to December 1864 (Davis, Stone and Reidy, 1998). The aim of this march was to leave a path of destruction through the South, destroying warehouses and railroads in a path 300 miles by 60 miles wide. He famously promised Grant he would "Make Georgia howl" (Smith and Hook, 2007, p98). It would firstly destroy key supplies and supply chains for the Confederacy, but it had a greater psychological aim, proving to the South that

it could not defend itself against its stronger opponents. This was effective as the Union army scotched and pillaged plantations and winter food stores throughout Georgia, forcing many women and children into starvation and encouraging desertion in the Confederate army (Trudeau, 2009, p398). The campaign was successful and ended on 21st December 1863 and on the 22nd, Sherman wired Lincoln with the news stating, "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition and also about 25,000 bales of cotton" (National Archives Identifier: 301637).

On 6th April 1864, Lee was forced to surrender his 28,000 remaining forces to Grant telling his troops "After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources" (commemorative Lithograph, 1866 by Ernest Crehen). At Appomattox, Virginia, terms were signed ensuring all Confederate soldiers would return home to their private property with their horses, officers were to retain their side arm and any starving Confederate soldiers would receive the rations of Union troops, all in exchange for peace. Grant accepted the terms. As Lee left the place of surrender, a Union band began to play a celebratory song. Grant stopped the band, announcing "The war is over. The Rebels are our countrymen again" (Porter, 1865).

A synopsis of the American Civil War – Naval Campaigns

Probably of more interest to British and European powers was the development of naval technology during the American Civil War. Whilst the war was fought predominantly through land battles, the navies were used strategically for transporting troops quicker and also enforcing blockades. The Union knew that the Confederacy would rely on foreign

supplies due to the lack of industrial capability of the cotton growing South. Thus, preventing trade from entering the Southern ports, as well as deterring any European diplomats, which increase Northern advantage.

The Union's blockade of the South, however, caused one of the major international crises of the war. In November 1861, two Confederate officials, James Mason and John Slidell, were travelling on a British mail steamer, the *Trent*. Union intelligence discovered this and a young Union Captain, Charles Wilkes of the *USS San Jacinto* halted the *Trent* with two "warning" shots. The Confederate diplomats were then seized and the *Trent* was permitted to continue its journey (Ferris, 1977; Roscoe, 1972).

Whilst the capture of Confederate diplomats intending on gaining European alliance may seem a sensible manoeuvre, there were several aspects of James's actions that yielded international anger; The *Trent* was not a warship, only a mail steamer. By opening fire on an unarmed ship, Wilkes had breached internationally agreed etiquette; also, this action had occurred in international waters, not American. This meant the actions were regarded as illegal (Adams, 1912).

Following the event, Britain demanded the release of the diplomats, threatening war. The threat of British intervention was significant with Britain even mobilising her troops. However, after several diplomatic exchanges between Lincoln and Britain, Lincoln conceded with an apology, privately stating "One war at a time" (Mahin, 1990, p147).

Whilst there were several clashes between the Confederate and Union fleets, the most significant clash of naval power came in the form of Hampton Roads in March 1862 with the first use of ironclads. On March 8th, the *CSS Virginia* (the renovated captured *USS Merrimack*) left its berth and very easily destroyed the *USS Cumberland* (Konstam and Hook, 2002, p128). To avoid the same fate, the *USS Congress* ran aground. The following day, the *USS Monitor*, the Union ironclad, sailed out to meet her. For eight hours, the two ironclads fired upon one another and yet both withdrew from the fight that evening undamaged (Field, 1008, p229).

Whilst the battle concluded with neither side achieving a conclusive victory, the global implication of the battle was clear; every wooden navy ship in the world was rendered redundant and impotent with the new ironclad ships (Holzer and Mulligan, 2005; 156).

What is being investigated?

In order to ascertain why the British did not intervene in the American Civil War, a number of considerations must be posed.

As already stated, both Union and Confederacy were aware of the potential potency that British intervention offered. But, British concentration in the mid 19th Century lay with her Empire (Beasley, 2005). Thus, campaigning was required in order to persuade Britain to intervene. Therefore, an examination of these ambassadorial campaigns on the British is needed to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of the canvassing. Britain failed to arbitrate with complete transparency and therefore campaigning failed for some reason.

Campaign analysis could reveal that the Confederate canvassing failed to persuade the British into costly intervention. This would be a relatively unsurprising discovery as Britain's Empire was vast in the mid 19th Century and so allocating troops and ships to America would have diluted an already thinly distributed force. However, failure to convince Britain beyond this concern would still suggest weakness of the campaigns.

A further possibility could be that Britain was conscious of her advantageous position with both Southern and Northern diplomats competing for British intercession. Whilst the war continued, America, as an economic rival, weakened herself. The prospect of two trading countries was certainly beneficial to Britain, but the longer the war continued, the weaker both sides became. The best possible result for Britain economically would be an independent Confederacy whose economy depended entirely on Britain's trade, in addition to the industrial North losing the cotton production of the South. The flaw with this theory is that the Union eventually won. If a divided United States of America was the paramount conclusion, why did Britain not eventually interpose?

On the other hand, campaign analysis may reveal that the Northern canvassing was able to undermine or outplay the Southern efforts and therefore block British sympathy towards the Confederacy. The North was aware that the British audience may favour the Confederacy over the Union for various reasons, predominantly because the culture of the Southern States of America paralleled more with the hierarchical society of British culture (Levine, 2013, introduction; Ellison, 1972). Furthermore, economically it held more interest for Britain. The most compelling deterrent would be the topic of Slavery. Britain had abolished Slavery in Britain and throughout her territories in 1838. British abolitionists had focused heavily on the immorality and inhumanity of Slavery (Hochschild, 2013; Draper

2013; Reddie 2007). Britain would be unable to participate on the side of any advocates of slavery. The problem was, the Civil War was declared over more complex reasons than Slavery alone (McPherson, Gallagher, Engle and Glattaar, 2013).

A final consideration is that British attention was distracted by other foreign affairs. Britain's Imperial attention would have undoubtedly been drawn to the New Zealand Wars with the First Taranaki War in 1860 and then the invasion of Waikato in 1863 (Knight and Ruggari, 2012; Belich, 2013). Furthermore, the Unification of Italy under Emmanuel II would have been prevalent in British attention. The question is, were international events such as these key incidents, significant enough to interest Britain's attention more than war in America?

What cannot be disputed is that there were major advantages to mobilising and aiding either side of this civil war. Something must have prevented Britain's involvement.

Significant Publications on the Topic

At the commencement of this thesis, there were three significant texts on the American Civil War and British Involvement; Adams (1924), Ellison (1972) and Blackett (2000). On entering its completion phase, however, there were three further texts that needed consideration. These were the works of Foreman (2011), Fuller (2010) and Bennett (2012).

Adams's study takes a fairly assured position that Britain took the side of the North due to the paralleled objections to Slavery. Adams accepts that the economies of the Confederacy and Britain were closely entwined, but morality was far more important to the Victorian

British public. Adams's utility of quotes, especially by British politicians, is the key strength to his text. However, there are several considerations that appear to have been discounted; Whilst the North may have used anti-Slavery rhetoric, it was not until the Emancipation Proclamation that the North could claim to be fully in opposition to slavery. The Proclamation changed the nature of the war and yet this shift is not fully considered by Adams. Also, Adams does not fully evaluate the relations Britain had with the Confederacy. Whilst the key association was the economic inter-dependency, there were cultural and political ties that transcended simple economics. Therefore, there are areas of Adams's work that need greater evaluation and research. This, however, is understandable as his study was published in 1924 – only 60 years after the termination of the conflict. Since this publication, a broader range of sources has emerged.

Mary Ellison's 1972 regional study of Lancashire cotton workers' support for secession demonstrated the complexity of the decision in supporting either North or South. Ellison makes an in depth study of a section of British society directly affected by the American Civil War. Cities and towns, such as Lancashire, existed and survived through the cotton trade. Raw produce entered Britain and then was manufactured into textiles, which was then traded. Lancashire's population subsisted through the mills. If imports were interrupted, the mills would cease production thus workers would be idle. Adams's assumption was that Britain supported the North due to the abolition of slavery. Ellison argues that the average Lancashire worker would support the continuation of the cotton production. Ideally, the Southern States should use a different labour force. But this factor was beyond the control of the British mill workers. Ellison argues that secession would only improve the cotton trade with Britain and Confederate propaganda responded to this.

Blackett's 2000 study concentrates on the popular reaction to the conflict. Blackett's thesis takes a sociological, intellectual and political examination of British support for Union or Confederacy. Unlike Ellison's study of the working class and Adams's study of the more elite class, Blackett attempts to examine a spectrum of different social classes. This was insightful in demonstrating the varying view points of the mid-Victorian society.

Amanda Foreman's recent study of the American Civil War, "World on Fire", focuses on the divided loyalties of the British and the difficulty in choosing a side. Foreman suggests Britain's choice lay between the North, which had a staunch anti-Slavery policy, and the South, which had a more romantic appeal as a conglomeration of like-minded States fighting bravely for its Constitutional right of independence. Foreman's study used a range of media, such as British soldiers' accounts and British politicians' speeches and private letters, to show the complexity of the decision. Yet the study seemed to require more examination of the political manoeuvring of the American politicians, both in Washington and in Virginia. These politicians would have been aware of their counterpart's attempts to rally British support and thus there must be more evidence of this to be examined. Furthermore, there is an accepted belief by numerous Historians that Lincoln, overall, was a political genius; His oratory and his ability to shape policy is often described as "beyond his time". Indeed, one of his most famous speeches made in 1858 before his election to President, "A House Divided," is often used as an astute predication of the conflict to come (Lowell, 2012; Goodwin, 2006; McPherson, 2009; Charyn, 2014). Yet few Historians have considered Lincoln's part in obstructing British intervention.

Fuller's 2007 study "Clad in Iron" looks at the role the naval war had on the American Civil War, but not through the clashes of ships and ironclads, but through their political and

strategic transatlantic diplomacy. Britain's naval supremacy in 1860 was to be redundant by the end of the American Civil War due to the invention of the iron clad. Fuller explains how the development of the ironclads was a strategic deterrence from Britain's Royal Navy intervention. His study demonstrates how the Union managed to prevent any British intervention through tactics and strategy found in naval development. There are many merits in Fuller's study and his examination of the diplomatic power of the ships and ironclads was useful. His study, however, is focused only on the direct and indirect importance of the ironclad. Britain's neutrality was declared before the ironclad development. There were also several points throughout the Civil War where intervention could have happened. Thus, a broader study is needed in order to answer why Britain was unmoved.

Bennett's 2012 study of "The London Confederates" has a focused examination of the operations and activities of Confederates in London. The range of material used was vast, ranging from the written word to influences on art and literature. The consideration of Bennett's work was useful in demonstrating how to apply various media in a key research question. However, Bennett's study had a clear central focus of Confederate activities, therefore omitting Federal action. Furthermore, whilst economic policy was considered, the social impact of this policy on communities in Northern England was neglected. With the extension of the franchise in 1832 to include the new middle class and industrialists, the impact of any blockade interrupting trade would be mostly felt in these communities. This would possibly allow Federal diplomats an opportunity to strengthen their campaigns for British support.

Each of these studies have significant distinctions for their focus, but when looking to answer the central question of why Britain was unmoved, there seems to be a vacancy of analysis in the more sinister side of politics and advocacy i.e. policy and decisions made in order to preclude Britain's intervention. Similarly, weaknesses in campaigning require more analysis. Furthermore, whilst Blackett examines the popular reaction, analysis of wider influences in terms of music, theatre and religious sentiment should be included.

Therefore, this thesis looks to widen the variety of material as well as examine key points in the American Civil War where Anglo-American relations were at their most precarious and analyse reactions and campaigns surrounding these pivotal moments.

Sources

The work of British professional journalists and pamphleteers, therefore, was a mainstay to imagining the American Civil War for both politician and mill worker alike. Their ideas were accessible to the public through the dispatches of journalists of the state. One such journalist was W. H. Russell of *The Times* who, upon reaching Washington, had been greeted by the Secretary of State Steward and President Lincoln with the following words, "...The London 'Times' is one of the greatest powers in the world, - in fact, I don't know anything which has more power,- except maybe the Mississippi" (Brogan, 1875). Dan Gow's 1862 article, *Civil War in America*, however, directly criticised *The Times* and *The Standard* for their support of Confederacy and their cynicism of the Emancipation Proclamation. One may question just how popular the pamphlets were, especially as the circulation statistics do not necessarily support the readership, with many pamphlets distributed for free. However, there are arguments to support the idea that the readership was substantial. The tax on

pamphlet production was lifted in 1836 (Morely, 1905), much earlier than newspapers. This potentially means that more people were in the habit of buying pamphlets in the 1860s or may have been particular admirers of certain authors. Also, the fact politicians used parts of Spence's argument in their political speeches suggests that they were read by the higher classes as well as the lower classes. Finally, there was still a strong, resonant coffee house culture from the 18th century in Britain suggesting that the pamphlet may still have been distributed on tables in such establishments. Therefore, journalism has a huge impact on British culture as it gave access to more representations for the public to view.

As an Historian, images are always of high significance as they can often portray an opinion or message to a wider audience. Though Sunday schools had improved the literacy rate, the reading ages of the population would not be as equal as in society today (Mitch, 1994; 89). Furthermore, as a creative expression, they can often form opinion and not just record events or incidents retrospectively. Thus imagery played a very important role in Mid-Victorian Britain. The American artist most associated with the American Civil War, Winslow Homer, never visited Britain during the war years and, as far as can be established, did not exhibit any of his work in Britain so we must turn to illustration and cartoon as the predominant source for the image of the American Civil War available to the public. There were three major artists who were interested in the production of newsworthy images; Two artists who worked for the *Illustrated London News (ILN)* were Frank Vizetelly, (1830-1883; drawings, 1861-1865) and Thomas Nast (born in Germany 1840-1902, worked for *Harper's Weekly* 1859-1860 and 1862-1886, and for the *ILN* 1860-62). The third artist to be studied was John Tenniel, a major artistic contributor to *Punch* (1820-1914).

The *ILN* and its images completely differ to the satirical cartoons found in *Punch*. The *ILN* images were all connected to issues or incidents that were deemed newsworthy. The *ILN* created real image reconstructions rather than obvious caricatures. In essence, these images preceded the modern photographs in today's papers.

The images of Frank Vizetelly have a high importance in this theme. Vizetelly had been commissioned by the *Illustrated London News* as their chief war correspondent and "special artist" (Brogan, 1975). Prior to the American Civil War, he had reported from Italy and Austria. He began reporting with the Union troops, but quickly lost favour with Lincoln and Northern politicians due to unpopular images of the Federal disaster of Bull Run, images which were more than likely very apt. Following this, he was forbidden to report on the Union Army. He was, however, welcomed by the Confederacy. Vizetelly became a popular figure in the Confederate Army, travelling with them to Mississippi, North Virginia and Charleston. He witnessed many major battles including Vicksburg, the March on Richmond, Fredericksburg and Charleston. Vizetelly was truly reporting from the front line, and even acted as a spy for the Confederacy at times. Vizetelly's art will, therefore, have significance both as a media report, and also as a primary account of the war by a Britain (Bostick, 2009).

Nast's approach to his images differed enormously to Vizetelly's productions. Thomas Nast was highly influenced by Tenniel as well as John Leech, both of whom created images for *Punch*. This makes Nast's images much more cartoon like, albeit less satirical than his *Punch* paradigms. Also, Nast was, in fact, based in America and more famous for his images published in *Harper's Weekly*. From 1860-1862, he took leave from *Harper's Weekly*, came to England and worked more free-lance, allowing him to sell some images to *ILN*. (Halloran, 2013; Williams 2014).

Whilst Vizetelly's art is of great importance, a further consideration which is of equal, if not more, importance when considering "representations" is the possibility of mental manipulation from viewing an image. Within satirical cartoons and sketches, subliminal messages are easy to include. In the Victorian era, the new satirical cartoon was at its most popular, showing political messages whilst carrying a comical element (Newman, 2013). The representation of the conflict, the individuals involved and even Britain's position not only shows to an Historian how the Victorian audience would be receiving the news and so how their opinion was formed, it also shows how the news itself was represented. John Tenniel's images in *Punch* magazine are of particular interest as *Punch* was at the height of its popularity in the mid 19th century. John Tenniel gradually took over from John Leech as the largest and most popular producer of political cartoons in Britain. Tenniel was a supporter of the Tory party, but attempted to withhold his political loyalties from his cartoons stating, "*If I have my own little politics, I keep them to myself, and profess only those of the paper*" (Morris, 2005, p248). However, in some of his British political images, it is obvious he is attacking Liberals, such as Gladstone.

If British public opinion had been of one mind, it is unlikely that either Federal diplomacy or Southern advocacy would have been attempted on any scale throughout the war. Through looking at various parliamentary papers, private diaries and minutes from political debates, this thesis attempts to illuminate how the Civil War was represented to the British public through diplomacy and argument and with what impact on public opinion. British public opinion informed the policy of the British Government in the mid 19th century as Lord Palmerston acknowledged in a way that could have scarcely been imagined in earlier periods. Certain themes about the American Civil War were of direct interest to the British Government but of greatest concern was the state of British public opinion.

It is well known that Britain never entered the conflict, although this was not a certainty at the time. Was the flirtation by Britain to enter the war a political game? Throughout investigating the politicians, one must keep reminding oneself that Britain wanted to retain its power as the world authority. Therefore, British support or lack of it for either side was not predetermined and neither was the force of the moral argument against Slavery necessarily the main issue, which would decide the question.

Chapters

Having set out the sources and historical complexity, the next consideration is which areas provided the best platform for Federal and Confederate campaigning. To decide these, an understanding of Victorian British and European politics and society in the 1850s/60s should be considered.

Best's *Mid-Victorian Britain* (1985), 1851-75 gives a good overall appreciation of the time period and outlines the importance of Britain's perceived power and status in the world . This, almost arrogant, opinion of the British people of the time is personified by Gladstone in Bebbington's 1993 biographical study *William Ewart Gladstone: Faith and Politics in Victorian Britain*. This study of Gladstone demonstrated two core beliefs that were generic of the Victorian British society; The first is that of religion and its importance to the individual, the family and society as a whole. This was further supported by Menyk's work *Victorian Religion: Faith and Life in Britain* (2008). The second is the economic status of Britain and the power this commercial dominance gave Britain, both in terms of finance and in terms of naval power as the Royal Navy had to patrol the sea to protect the British Empire. The importance of these economic points were further strengthened by Daunton in

his study *State and Market in Victorian Britain: war, Welfare and Capitalism* (2008). Therefore, these three key features of Victorian British society, religion, economy and empire need to be considered within this study.

Immediately, one can see the main issues of the American Civil War that will be of interest and concern to the British. Firstly, the warfare itself; Britain prided itself on its army and navy. The American conflict saw technological advances that began to worry the British, especially the new ironclads that made British war ships dated. Secondly, the economic issues that would have affected Britain; Britain had the greatest textile industry in Europe and this was supplied by the cotton fields in the Southern States of America. Any war that affected the cotton production in America would have a knock on affect in Britain. This leads onto the third point of interest, slavery. Britain had outlawed Slavery throughout her Empire in 1833. The South refused to abandon her aged feudal-like system. However, Britain was torn between the obvious advantage of supporting the South and its Christian values that completely opposed Slavery. This leads onto the final point which is the possibility of British recognition of an independent Confederation.

Therefore, when considering the failure of the Confederate and Federal campaigns to persuade Britain from her stance of neutrality, the three clear areas where British interests would have existed and therefore where campaigning would have taken place were, interest in the war as an international event, the issue of Slavery and the interruption to the cotton industry. Therefore, this thesis will explore each of these three key aspects.

CHAPTER ONE

THE REPRESENTATION OF WARFARE

The American war has of necessity occupied a large share of the attention of the people of this country, as was to be expected of two nations so closely connected as the English and the Americans in many of their sympathies and their institution, as well as their language, literature, race and religion (*London Journal*, August 22nd 1863).

As the *London Journal* points out, the British public had a primary interest in the course of the war itself in America. The obvious shared history and culture meant that the British public saw, in their American cousins, themselves at an earlier stage of development.

There was interest in world affairs of the time in the context of Britain's perceived imperial dominance. This can be identified from a casual sift through contemporary newspapers where topics such as Garibaldi and the unification of Italy (Hibbert, 2008; Stiles & Pearce, 2006), the unrest in Japan (Kazuhiro, 2014; Griffis, 2013) and the activities of Napoleon III (Bresler, 1999) are featured in consecutive editions.

Another connection was the perception that America had been lost as a colony and the expanding Empire had resulted from the new opportunities Britain had seized at the time. When American politicians had created the Constitution of the United States of America, the British public had largely recoiled from the proposed Government structure identifying its flaws and seeing the American Civil War as the direct outcome of these constant failings. In fact, the press dedicated great efforts to publically ridiculing the new American system of Government, founded on "freedom". When the Civil War began, many critics were quick to state how predictable the deterioration in government was, such as John Lothrop Motley

(the contemporary American Historian) in his letter to *The Times* in 1861. This letter was then reprinted into a thirty six page pamphlet in the same year, entitled *Causes of the American Civil War* and was warmly received by Lincoln himself. In his letter, Motley explained, "Time and Events must determine whether the 'great Republic' is to disappear from the toll of nations, or whether it is destined to survive the storm which has gathered over its head" (1861, p3).

It seems that Motley attempted to explain the cause of the American Civil War, whilst demonstrating an obvious bias to the North. However, there are undertones of blame directed to Britain Herself. He stated that "there is perhaps a readiness in England to prejudice the case; a disposition not to exult in our downfall, but to accept the fact...". Motley seemed to believe that Britain was ready to accept the separation of the United States. Whilst there was no direct attack on Britain, nor any claim that Britain would celebrate the idea of a divided America, it is clear that Motley seemed to think that Britain would not be surprised at this outcome. He continued, in the letter, to question Britain's motives at her actions after the War of Independence, stating "Great Britain had made a peace treaty with us, but she scornfully declined a treaty of commerce and amity, not because we had been rebels, but because we were not a state...".

Motley was an American Historian and it is therefore quite surprising that he made this somewhat short sighted remark. Motley's letter is continually very quick to find fault in the American Constitution but fails to link this to Britain in any way. Not only had Britain's military prowess been damaged due to the War of Independence in 1777, America attempted to produce the most democratic Constitution that had ever been created. It was purposefully so alien from the laws of Britain, intending to demonstrate their complete

separation from their tyrannical, Imperial rulers. Motley himself confesses that it was the extent of this freedom that lent itself to the right of the secessionists; "Secession, as a revolutionary right," said Daniel Webster in the Senate, nearly thirty years ago, in words that now sound prophetic is intelligible". In this quote, Motley demonstrates how the wording of the Constitution is ambiguous and so phrasing could be interpreted in different ways. Yet, in spite of finding fault in the Constitution set up by his forefathers, Motley is swift in his application of blame to Britain simply for her decision to not help America with its "commerce and amity." One may question why Britain should have formed this "commercial treaty" that Motley was so in favour of. As for Britain's "scornful" reproach of any such treaty, Motley seems to avoid the fact that Britain had been defeated by a rebellious state and already had a whole Empire to have "commerce and amity" with, so why should she make such promises with an insurgent enemy.

Motley saw the original confederacy, the original thirteen colonies that took up arms against Britain, as a confederacy that then joined together and agreed to central Federal government in Washington via the mutually established Constitution. Therefore, the rise of the Secessionist movement in the South was a "return to chaos" that came with the revolutionary war. Yet, the Southern States' views use the actions of the original thirteen colonies as an example, and the freedom of individuals that was stated in the Constitution as proof of their American Constitutional right to secede. Secession by the thirteen provinces from the sovereignty of Britain is seen as a parallel by the Southern States, led by South Carolina, seceding from the sovereignty of Washington. It is, perhaps, this blindness to each other's cause that led to the war; The South felt it was their right to secede whilst the North felt it was their right to bind the United States – and by blood if needed.

Britain for her part would stand and watch, with some congratulatory feelings that a rebellious colony, born in blood, would now destroy itself based on Constitutional flaws. Blame towards Britain was only that the almost feudal system she embraced was so disgusting to the American freedom fighters that the American Constitution was written in an almost rebellious way. Potentially, one could argue that Americans were “too free” and it was the extent of this freedom that was now being fought over. In terms of Motley’s accusation regarding “commerce and amity”, this does not consider Britain’s global position and power, nor the almost punishing attitude she bore to a rebellious state. Ironically, Motley chastises Britain’s attitude to America seventy years ago and yet he cannot see that it is this same attitude that the United States bore towards the Confederate “rebels”.

Whilst John Lothrop Motley’s letter was created in order to inform British readers on the cause of the American Civil War, *The Times* sent their own correspondent to America to inform their readers of the development of the war, both in terms of military progression as well as political developments. William Howard Russell had built his career and popularity through covering the British army’s mismanagement in the Crimean War and then the horrors of British vengeance in the Indian Mutiny. It is clear that his form of journalism is what would be considered in modern journalism as sensationalising; He wrote radically and honestly, openly criticising and potentially exaggerating to generate more interest. It is this style of writing that probably caused his banishment by Lincoln only a year after his posting to cover the war, especially as the United States was not achieving the anticipated swift success. For the purposes of this study, it would be near impossible to include and compare every battle in every newspaper; therefore, a selection of the major military engagements have been analysed. When selecting, there was no prejudice to Eastern or Western Theatre. However, interestingly the British Newspapers seem to have much more coverage of the

Eastern Theatre. The most likely reason for this is purely geographical; that is, British reporters would have accessed these places far easier, as well as British readers having more knowledge of these areas as they were the original settled states.

The British public viewed the war and the breakdown of civil government as a proof that the British constitution delivered not only individual freedom, but also peace and prosperity in which disagreements no longer ended in military conflict. The glorious Revolution of 1688 following Britain's own Civil War (or Great rebellion) produced a lasting constitutional settlement, which enabled Britain to look on as an observer of the American Civil War with a self-satisfied sense of superiority. Britain's navy provided a powerful strategic weapon to extend Britain's dominion across the globe. As the American Civil War developed, so too did the public's demand to maintain superiority of Britain's Royal Navy through technological development and advanced weapons. In addition, even before the war, the Southern States depended heavily on overseas trade and, therefore trans-Atlantic shipping. If the Southern States depended so much on international commerce when part of the United States, it would inevitably rely on foreign goods more heavily when the United States Government withdrew their support and mounted a reasonably effective blockade. The United States were aware of this from the outset of the war, that maritime trade was an essential pre-requisite for Southern independence and by blockading southern ports thereby conducting a systematic naval assault against the South, British maritime interests would become embroiled all at the risk of inflaming British public opinion. Naval engagements would encourage both sides in the American conflict to build more powerful ships and the activities of these vessels would be of considerable interest to Britain. As these were unveiled to Europe, all countries would be forced to review their own navies, most of all Britain. Finally, there would simply have been an interest in who was winning, especially as America and

Britain had such a colourful History as well as the South supplying the textile industry that enhanced Britain's economy.

News of the American Civil War was printed in British newspapers in so far as it would interest the ordinary British public. So representations of the course of war held an innate fascination around questions of how would the Confederacy fight. What would be the outcome of the first clash of arms? Would the war be short? Military effectiveness of both North and South was, of itself, newsworthy. As was the conduct of military engagements and the leaders of the armies of North and South would also be scrutinized by the British public.

In the minds of the British public, it was easy to link the Confederate cause of seeking independence with other contemporary events such as Garibaldi's leadership of Italian independence, movements or the desires in Europe manifested in 1848 for national self-determination whilst at the same time overlooking the Confederacy's commitment to becoming a democratic slave republic.

On 13th May 1861 and with little dissent, Queen Victoria issued Britain's Proclamation of Neutrality;

...we do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening either the laws and statutes of the

realm in this behalf or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

Victoria

13 May, 1861

(*Parliamentary Papers (Victoria)*, session 1861-2 , vol 3, pp 963-5)

The Proclamation was designed to protect her armies from direct participation whilst keeping an open mind about recognition from the independent Confederacy for the future. The Proclamation of Neutrality was received with mixed reaction; Many newspapers, such as *The Morning Post* (August 21st 1861) comforted its readers by stating that Britain would intervene, should trade be interrupted, already pointing out that the Southern ports were Britain's point of trading contact. In terms of warfare, however, the British papers explained to their readers the synopsis of the war (in terms of South fighting for the right of secession and the North fighting to maintain the Union) and this evidenced why it was not of British interest to intervene.

Very little mention was made of the American reaction to British neutrality, although *Punch* magazine published the below image;



(Naughty Jonathan" *Punch*, Volume 41, July 6, 1861, p. 5)

The image depicts Britain, personified by a rather aged nurse-like Britannia (possibly drawing visual similarities to the aging Queen Victoria), and an infantile Brother Jonathan, representing the United States of America. Brother Jonathan is in an aggressive stance, and it throwing a childish tantrum. He is quoted as saying, "You shan't interfere, mother – and you ought to be on my side – and it's a great shame – and I don't care and you shall interfere – and I won't have it. "

There is a primer at the beginning of the Volume XLI *Punch*, which gives contemporary commentary on the image itself. It states;

The American press at this time contained some strangely contradictory articles. Whilst one writer blamed England for not assisting the North to crush the South, another repudiated all aid from the Mother Country, and declared any interference on the part of England would be an insult to the United States.

It is clear, therefore, that the American press did not quite know themselves what was in their best interest; fighting their own war without foreign assistance, or winning the war swiftly by securing a powerful, international ally such as Britain. This indecision is represented through the childish frenzy of Brother Jonathan. Both considerations have their weaknesses and strengths; Fighting the war without international assistance seemed a much more “gentlemanly” thing to do. This was certainly a firm belief of the Confederacy; The Confederacy felt the Union had “insulted” them during the months building up to the war, and felt that their Constitutional rights had been removed when they were not allowed to secede. In addition, the Confederacy still had gentleman’s “duels” in some states, such as South Carolina (Moore, 2006), to resolve matters of honour. Whilst these were not legally permitted, it was deemed a gentleman’s method of settling extreme cases of being “insulted”. This all enhanced the romantic image of the Southern States that was fantasised over by the British public; Also, the Federal Government wanted to prove that the Union was strong enough to crush any internal rebellions or civil strife, even if these rebellions were on a scale such as multiple states seceding. Using major international help would only suggest weakness. In both Union and Confederate cases, winning the war swiftly would be their ideal, as it would waste less men’s lives and cost far less.

There are further arguments to suggest why neither Union nor Confederacy used international help; Firstly, an ally would only want something in return, such as a share in

control of the defeated states, or economic payback when regenerating post-war economy; Secondly, both Union and Confederacy felt they would win the war in less than three months anyway, so why should they consider any foreign intervention; Finally, and perhaps most pertinent, intervention by Britain, or any other European power, would undoubtedly be a decisive feature in the winning side. Union and Confederacy knew this and so would barter for British help or, more importantly, prevent British support aiding their rival. Britain would be aware of this and so allow flattery and diplomacy to aid their own position and enhance their own power further. This position of power is perhaps represented by Britannia's calm pose, watching the tantrum of the young American whilst drinking her tea seemingly unmoved.

Bull Run/First Manassas

The first engagement between massed armies obviously demanded the attention of the British public and it was The First Battle of Bull Run or The First Manassas in 1861, which fulfilled any lingering doubt that the war was for real and of importance to wavering opinion on both sides in Britain. There were numerous reasons for this selection; primarily, it was the first major military engagement after Sumter; It was also the point at which both sides acknowledged that the Civil War was not going to be over by Christmas, nor would the soldiers be employed for merely a three-month enlisting, which was the initial sign up time.

Rather than heralding the dawn of modern warfare, the battle was a clash of amateurs fought in the shadow of Napoleonic doctrine and in which most of the fighting was confused, chaotic and sporadic with more than one unit suffering the effects of being fired upon by their own side. The one aspect of modern warfare that should be highlighted was the arrival late in the battle of General Johnson's Confederate reinforcement which tipped the battle decisively to the Confederate armies. It also should be noted that the area of

conclusion for the two sides centred on the rail and turnpike centres. This departure from the normal conventions of warfare such as had prevailed in the Crimean War with respect to British arms would have fascinated a British public for whom the steam train was still a relative novelty.

The battle ignited debate and fury on both sides in America. In Britain, however, the outcome of the battle failed to consolidate any British public opinion on the issue of the American Civil War. It is almost certainly stimulated mild curiosity in how the battles and wars were fought in the new world. It also alluded to how lengthy modern warfare would be.

Russell's account of Bull Run would have been the most read of the British Victorian public, mostly due to Russell's popularity rather than the newspaper's. Whilst it was published in on August 6th 1861, his report was written July 22nd from Washington. Russell begins his account with a cleverly contrived opening; "...I sit down to give an account – not of the action yesterday, but of what I saw with my own eyes...". What Russell meant was that he did not actually witness the battle itself. However, the opening statement is misleading as the reader is led to assume that what Russell saw was more important than the actual battle, not necessarily that he did not see "the action".

Throughout the entirety of his report, Russell's description of Union combat is brutal, commentating the "disgraceful conduct" of the Union troops and even describing the final retreat as "...a cowardly routine – a miserable, causeless panic. Such scandalous behaviour on the part of soldiers...". There is clear emphasis on the panic and undisciplined behaviour

of the troops. Yet Russell omits the detail that these soldiers were civilian recruits, and not professionally trained soldiers who were more accustomed to the battlefield. Also, rangers at the Bull Run National Park are certain that these allegations were unfounded by Russell (visit, February 2007). It may be that the troops were hastily rushing to reinforce a different position, such as Centreville or where Ricketts guns were. There is no doubt that there was mass confusion on both sides, but this account of the troops seems manipulated to create one of Russell's sensationalised stories.

In contrast to the Union troops, Russell seemed to have some admiration the Southern troops, stating "...Never have I seen a finer body of men – men who were more obedient to discipline, or breathed a more self-sacrificing patriotism". This admiration, however, was limited. Russell points out that the delay in the Confederate forces pursuing and capitalising on the retreating Union troops meant the war was to continue.

Most Historians agree with this view; if the Confederates had pursued the retreating Northern army back to Washington, they could have captured the capital and won the war. However, the troops were inexperienced and exhausted after the engagement. What Russell failed to add is that if McDowell had continued his advance after overrunning Evans' men at Stone Bridge earlier in the day, this may have meant Union victory (Johnson, 1997; 182). This omission by Russell reinforces supports the fact he wrote from a more pro-Confederate perspective. The delay in McDowell's actions meant that he allowed the Confederate reinforcements to be united with the flagging men on the battlefield, as well as giving Jackson the time to place guns at the base of the ridge.

Russell's 1863 diary, *My Diary; North and South*, gave an even more chaotic and critical description of the battle. After explanation of the positioning of mass forces, Russell goes on to describe the crowd that were gathered to watch the expected Union victory "...in all sorts of vehicles, with a few of the fairer if not gentler sex". Rather snidely, he also states "A few officers and some soldiers... moved about among the spectators and pretended to explain the movements of the troops below, of which they were profoundly ignorant".

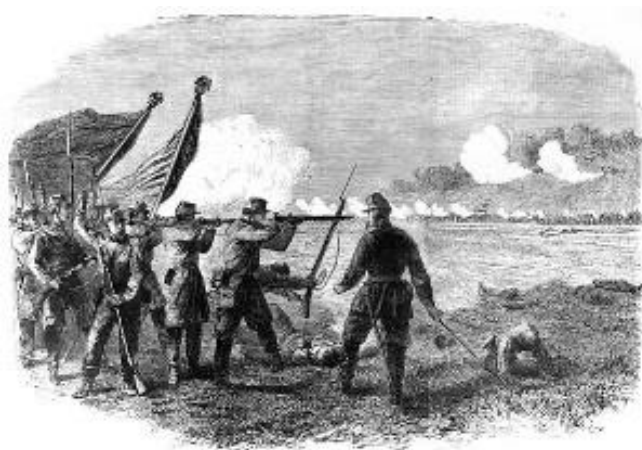
It was not until injured troops were witnessed that the picnics were gathered in and carriages began to leave. Russell even explains how the slower spectators were physically entangled with the retreating Union forces. It is very clear from the uncensored rhetoric in Russell's diary that he has nothing but complete condemnation for the Union forces for their arrogance, lack of organisation and lack of discipline and pride in their actions.

The British press also reported the Battle of Bull Run through images. *The Illustrated London News* attempted to depict warfare as it was in mid 19th century America and using the work of both European and American artists in the form of the battlefield sketch. The British Public were well informed about this medium as it had begun to appear in illustration of Britain's earlier military experiences, such as the Crimean War of 1853-6 (Mace and Grehan, 2014), the Indian Rebellion of 1857 (Harper, 2001; David, 2013) and other imperial conflicts. In fact, the popularity of the illustrated battlefield scenes were so popular that the *Illustrated London News* sent six artists to the front during the Crimean War as well as publishing numerous engravings of Roger Fenton's photographs. With the abolition of the stamp tax in 1855 and the improvement in printing quality, the use of the railway and development of the telegraph, the *Illustrated London News* saw an increase in sales by 600% to 200,000. This further increased to 310,000 by 1863. Therefore, one can assume that a

vast amount of people would have been reading about the American Civil War through the pages of the *Illustrated London News*. Although the British public were familiar with this medium, it remained a new technology often coming as a shock to a civilian population whose earlier reference points to war were essentially literary.

The *Illustrated London News* printed a plethora of reconstructive images throughout the Civil War period and the illustrations, in most cases, are true pieces of art work. Whilst images exist in earlier editions that represent the build up to the American Civil War, the “Special Artist”, Frank Vizetelly, seemed to be truly enchanted by the battle scenes that he witnessed, beginning with the Battle of Bull Run. It seemed that his ambition was to get the British Public to gain a real-life impression of what occurred at the battle scenes. Bostick goes so far as to call Vizetelly “The Confederate’s Secret Weapon” (Bostick, 2009, p246). What makes the illustrations powerful is the depiction of reality; the images were not imagined as Vizetelly was at the battlefield.

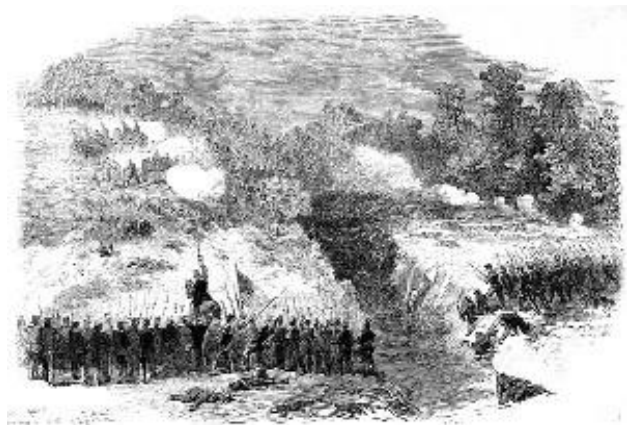
Engagement between the 71st New York and an Alabama regiment at the Battle of Bull Run.



Vizetelly was initially stationed with the Union Army until he fell out of favour with Lincoln and was then commissioned by the Confederacy. This illustration showed Union troops attacking Confederate; The 71st New York attacking “an Alabama regiment”. It is likely that the New Hampshire 2nd Regiment were also fighting with the 71st New York at this point as a number of primary accounts speak of the two battalions uniting early in the battle (English, edited by Rhodes, 1985). This engagement is quite romanticised, as there are no men falling to the ground, nor graphic injuries. There is also no sense of the panic recorded in *The Times* by Russell and by participants. This similar theme continues in the following image.

**Attack on the Confederate batteries at
Bull Run.**

1861



Accompanying Vizetelly's sketch was a caption suggesting that Vizetelly recreated the action encountered by the 27th and 14th New York regiments. Regimental records suggest that Vizetelly witnessed Porter's command. we can discover where this image was recorded.

Paralleled with Vizetelly's romantic battle recreations, another image occurs.

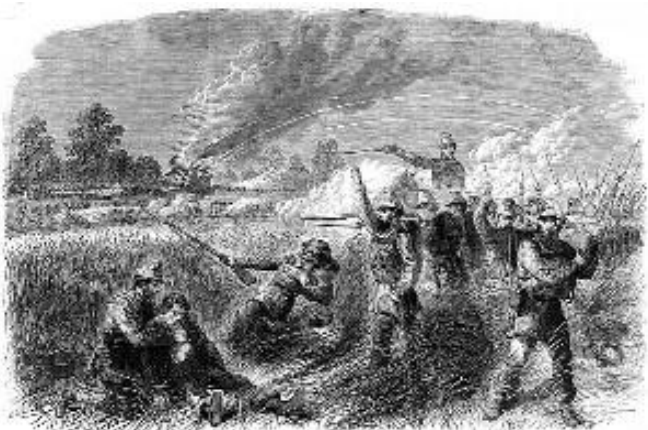
The stampede from Bull run



Knowing that Vizetelly was commissioned to record for the Union, this sketch records Unionists retreating after losing the battle. The sketch creates the sense of panic and confusion that must have incurred as the day went on. The British public would have seen this and drawn numerous conclusions regarding the lack of structure and control within both armies. This sense of panic is continued in numerous images that followed.

The Fight at Rainsville, on the upper Potomac.

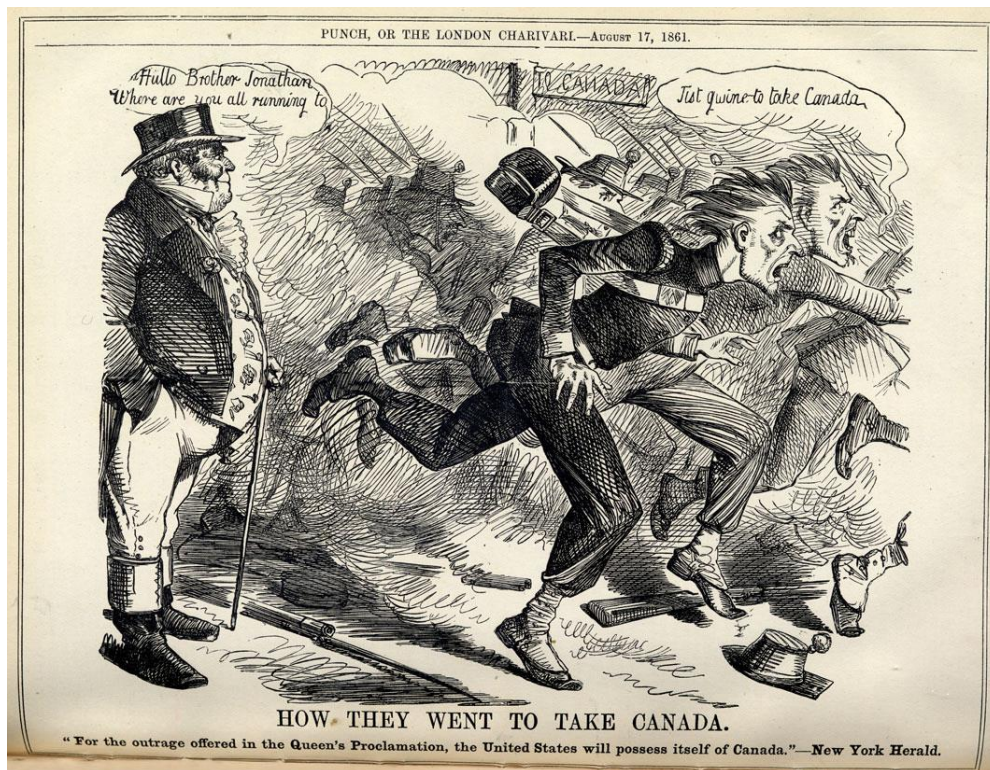
1861



In this image, Vizetelly has chosen to depict Wisconsin troops. Similarly to the New York regiments that Vizetelly sketched, the regimental history of the Wisconsin troops authenticates that the 2nd Wisconsin Infantry fought at Sudley Road, near Henry House.

The image has been sketched in a very particular way, almost drawing on the virtue of gallantry or chivalry. This is caused by the soldier dying in his comrades arms whilst other men fall, clutching the places where they have been wounded. The men are surrounded by shells flying overhead and there is a mass of smoke from the unloading of muskets, and yet the men are standing firm and together. This deeply contrasts the earlier image of confusion in the cavalry charge. By using the two contrasting images, the *Illustrated London News* is likely to form the more realistic image of the battle. It is true that in some sections of the battlefield, there was order and control, whereas in other places, panic was created, especially when cavalry charged on troops who had marched many hours to get to the battlefield. The British public would have enjoyed both the romantic, chivalrous image that was popular in Victorian Britain, as well as the inexperienced, retreating troops that contrasted so greatly to British military forces.

Punch, on the other hand, did not attempt to create any factual reconstructive images. Instead, the newspaper used its characteristic, satirical commentary of the Bull Run, and this continued with all reports of military engagements throughout the course of the war.



(How They Went to Take Canada". *Punch*, Volume 41, August 17, 1861, p. 67)

As previously established, the battle was a disaster for both sides, but mostly for McDowell. It was McDowell's retreating troops that captured most media coverage and it is this topic that Tenniel chooses to scorn in this image.

In the sketch, John Bull watches the retreating men. He asks one of them, depicted as Brother Jonathan "Hullo, Brother Jonathan. Where are you all running to?" The use of the term "you all" may, in itself, be mockery of the American terminology and idiom. He answers "Jist gwine to take Canada". One must remember that not only had the Union lost Bull Run, they had also lost at Fort Sumter.

John Bull encapsulates the mocking attitude of the British to the inexperience of the Union Soldiers. Britain prided herself on its military, which was well drilled and well regimented.

The last significant war that Britain had lost was the American Revolution. Therefore, John Bull scoffs at the Union Generals who seem to have an inability to control their fleeing troops.

The quote at the bottom is taken from *The New York Herald*. It reads, “For the outrage offered in the Queen’s Proclamation, the United States will possess itself to Canada”. Some Northern editors, such as Bennett of *The New York Herald*, called for the United States to invade Canada and then join an international war against Great Britain. Evidently, John Bull and therefore Britain, does not seem too worried by this threat at all.

Rather humorously, Punch satirised this threat, together with the result of Bull Run, in its edition of 17th August 1861. A new series of lyrics was written for “Yankee Doodle²”. “Yankee Doodle” was originally a revolutionary song and was sung by British soldiers and officers at the colonial forces to mock their lack of organisation and untidy appearance (Sonnock, 1972). Therefore, the choice of using particular song draws immediate links with the traditional British superiority over their Colonial cousins.

The re-lyricised version of the American popular song, “Yankee Doodle,” provides significant detail of what was informing British opinion of the Civil War. In Verse One, a true sense of ridicule is communicated through the sarcasm of the “American Federation” and also the arrogance of the Americans fighting a war of self-interest. This communicates two key messages; firstly, the inferiority of America which had descended into a Civil War; and secondly, the arrogance of the Union attempting to retain a part of America that wanted

² Complete poem in Appendix One

independence, simply for self-interest and conceit. Verse Two directly attacks the Northern leaders and journalists (particularly the New York Herald) advocating the war. The Northern cause is considered vain, probably because it does not consider the best interest of the seceding states. The author's emphasis on the North's use of "smoke" could be interpreted as a quip at the lack of true power of the North. Verse Three further explains the arrogance of the Federal cause and warns the British public that "Yankee Doodle"'s attention could first focus on stopping the rebellion but then to British on Canada. Verse Four reminds the reader of Britain's stance of neutrality and how the Union had responded negatively to this decision. Verse Five continues to explain the North's response to British neutrality, but from the point of view of Britain. In essence, it is the continued mockery of the American arrogance at thinking Britain would want to help the side that had fought against Britain for independence and self-determination. Verse Six explains Britain has similar allegiance, both for the North and their anti-Slavery stance and for the South looking for protection in its quest for independence from the United States. Tenniel explains that, to Britain, the North is the "pot" and the South is the "kettle", i.e. both sides are equally at fault. Verse Seven then records the first military engagement at Bull Run, yet again picks out the Northern arrogance at thinking it had won and then the changing fate of the North resulting in the stampeded of fleeing men from the battlefield. The mockery of this action is continued in Verse Eight, where Yankee Doodle's Federation feather transforms into a white feather, symbolising defeat. There are two further points mentioned in this verse; firstly that the South did not pursue and consolidate the victory at Bull Run; secondly, that the white feather was in "public view", perhaps referring to the tourists that were picnicking at the battlefield in order to watch the defeat of the rebel force. Verse Nine links to the immediate image in *Punch* in that John Bull now questions the fleeing Northern force, asking where they are running to. Yankee Doodle replies that they are running to capture Canada. Yankee Doodle states how he has been "drive up a tree," basically insinuating that the defeat has driven

them to a difficult position and the Union force is almost like a frightened animal that has run for safety in the tree. In order to regain pride and strength, and also in reaction to Britain's policy of neutrality, Yankee Doodle aims to "take" Canada. The final verse suggests that John Bull warns Yankee Doodle against his intended actions, stating that the defeat at Bull Run was lenient in contrast to the defeat he would suffer should he fight Canada. Bull suggests that the power of the British in Canada is far greater than the Rebel force and, moreover, once Yankee Doodle was defeated, the Union force would not be allowed to escape from the conflict unhurt.

What is clear from this study of the re-written song is that the British public was reminded of certain episodes in Anglo-American History and British public opinion would have been influenced by these reminders. The song selection of "Yankee Doodle" is the first obvious statement made by Tenniel, reminding the British public of their original superiority and mockery of the Americans during their struggle for independence. Mocking the politics of secession and the Union's refusal to allow independence further develops this derision. Then the author ridicules the battle of Bull Run but, most significantly, informs the British Public of what Federal newspapers were encouraging i.e. the invasion of Canada. As a strong, imperial power, reminded of losing the original 13 Colonies, this final warning by John Bull would have aroused suspicion with the public and negative opinion would have been formed towards the Union, even though the South did not escape criticism in this poem, demonstrated by the mention of their failure to pursue the Union forces.

It was the next few weeks and months following Bull Run that caused newspapers to show which side they supported. *The Economist* was sure that this second defeat (the first being Sumter) would inspire the Union to call an armistice, if not immediately after Bull Run, then

certainly in the next few weeks (17th August, 1861). *The Examiner* remained pro-Southern for the rest of the war. Conversely, *The Daily News* claimed that the South could not maintain its resources and manpower, which was quite inferior to the North (21st August, 1861). Had Beauregard pressed the retreating Federal troops at Bull Run, the course of the war may have been concluded. However, both sides were allowed to recuperate and *The Daily News* implied that it was this lull that would allow the North to strengthen and threaten once again. *The Saturday Review*, however, decided to remain neutral (17th September 1861; 10th August 1861). It certainly had pro-Confederate journalism, but the newspaper did not openly support either side.

The Trent Affair

The event that caused the greatest international tension between Great Britain and the Union was undoubtedly the Trent Affair. Whilst other events impacted on Britain economically or caused tension politically, the Trent Affair caused an international crisis and almost brought Britain into the war, siding with the Confederacy.

The Trent affair occurred in October 1861 and was a comparatively small event in the course of the Civil War but became an international crisis, requiring intense and intricate diplomacy. The synopsis of the event was that two Confederate commissioners, James Murray Mason³ and John Slidell⁴, had been dispatched by the Confederate Government in an attempt to

³ James Murray Mason was the grandson of George Mason and author of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law – a law that made the return of runaway slaves to their masters compulsory. He was a representative of Virginia and, in 1861, was commissioned by the Confederate States of America to encourage positive Anglo-Confederate and Franco-Confederate relations.

⁴ Northern-born James Slidell rose to political fame as a politician of Louisiana. He was appointed Confederate Commissioner to France in 1861.

gain recognition (or at least European sympathy and favour) for the Confederacy. Their initial plan was to make their way to Mexico on land and sail from Mexico to Europe. However, their plans changed. Instead, they boarded a ship called the *Gordon* which had sailed through the Union blockade without raising any suspicion. This ship was bound to Cuba and it was in Cuba that the two commissioners boarded the British mail steamer, the *Trent*, which was bound for Southampton. The Federal Government heard of Slidell and Mason's location and wanted to hinder any negotiation between the Confederacy and Europe. Therefore, the U.S. warship *San Jacinto* was dispatched to stop the *Trent*. The *San Jacinto* sailed from Havana in pursuit and caught up with the *Trent* 300 miles from the Cuban coast in the Bahaman Channel. On November 8th, the *San Jacinto* fired a warning shot at the *Trent*. It is at this point that two offences had occurred in British naval protocol; the first was that the *San Jacinto* had stopped the *Trent* in international water under a flag of neutrality, therefore having no jurisdiction to stop any foreign vessel; the second offense was that the *San Jacinto* fired at a mail steamer, a ship incapable of bearing any physical resistance and so posed no threat to a warship. The captain of the *San Jacinto*, Captain Charles Wilkes⁵, sent an armed boarding party to the *Trent*, arrested the two Confederate commissioners, apprehended their diplomatic papers, and removed the men from the *Trent* as contraband of war.

The *San Jacinto* returned to the United States, receiving a hero's welcome. Lincoln, however, was aware that the event would have not been received well in Britain. He immediately sent word to Adams, The United States minister in London. He asked him to pass on the message to Palmerston stressing that Captain Wilkes "...acted without any instructions from the

⁵ Charles Wilkes was the great-nephew of the celebrated British-politician John Wilkes. He entered into the Merchant Service in 1815, before receiving a commission in 1818. He was promoted to Captain in 1850. Following the Trent Affair, he was promoted to Commodore in 1862, perhaps demonstrating Lincoln's true feelings towards the actions of the Captain in November 1861.

government.." and expressed hope that the British would "...consider the subject in a friendly temper..." (Letter to Seward, 17th January 1862).

Lincoln's attempt at intercepting and neutralising the matter before it angered Britain failed. On November 27th, news of the *Trent Affair* reached Britain via Commander Williams; there was complete outrage. Palmerston reacted vigorously, stating "You may stand for this but damned if I will." Lord Clarendon, accused Seward of "...trying to provoke us into a quarrel" (Warren, 1981, p89).

It was relatively common knowledge that Seward approved a war against Britain, thus Clarendon was merely stating what many politicians would have thought - that Seward was using deceitful means of bringing the United Kingdom into the war. Palmerstone ignored Russell's request of a Cabinet meeting and ordered the preparation of Royal Navy ships to sail for North America. He also ordered the mobilising of troops ready to fight in Canada, ordering the digging in, to prevent invasion. Meanwhile, Lord Russell prepared an ultimatum to be sent to the United States. He sent it to Queen Victoria for review and received a reply from Albert on behalf of Her Majesty. It stated that the Queen "...should have liked to have seen the expression of a hope that the American captain did not act under instructions". The rely went onto include warnings that the United States Government "...must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow its flag to be insulted, and the security of her mail communications to be placed in jeopardy". The Queen made it clear that the actions had been seen as "...an insult upon this country..." and therefore she expected "...the restoration of the unfortunate passengers and a suitable apology" (Clarendon personal Diaries; 1865).

The ultimatum was edited to include these suggested alterations, whilst still maintaining the necessary demands. This was sent via the British ambassador in Washington, Lord Lyons. The final ultimatum read that the entire affair was seen as “..an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of national law...” and that the British expected “ a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed”. Essentially, surrender Mason and Slidell and apologise, or go to war (Ferris, 1977).

Russell added his own note, stating that as long as the commissioners were released the British would “be rather easy about the apology”. Meanwhile, military preparations accelerated. Russell wrote in his diary that he was “...resolved to go to Boston being satisfied that a great popular excitement and uprising will, in all probability, take place” (Russell, 1882, p428-429). This excerpt from Russell’s private diary shows how Russell anticipated the news would create public hysteria. He was sure he would be called to an international diplomatic meeting, more than likely called by the United States Government, to prevent a war. Russell does not state what he would want the outcome to be; the preparation of troops may have been bravado to scare the United States Government into backing down, rather than to have troops ready to fight a war.

Lincoln read the Ultimatum and commented to Lyons “This is not diplomacy... this is international bullying. This small affair has become what? The cause of the destruction of two great nations?”

In reply to the ultimatum, Seward admitted that the event did take place as communicated by Lyons, but defended the United States Government in the act by stating that Wilkes had

acted "...without any direction or instruction or even foreknowledge on the part of the United States government...".

It is clear that the United States did not feel they had done much wrong. Historians have argued both in favour of Wilkes's actions, and the reaction of the British. Hensch (1994, p347) comments that it is "...unclear now who was to blame for the incident" and this is probably the most logical summary when analysing the affair. Whoever was to blame, Lincoln was aware that a war that combined his original enemy with the might of the British would be foolish. Whilst Britain did not yet have an ironclad fleet, the sheer power in numbers of the British Royal Navy, in addition to the number of ground troops it could collect over its Empire, would mean almost certain defeat of the Union. The speed in which Britain had dispatched a minute proportion of its military and mobilised troops in the Canadian colony in reaction to the *Trent* demonstrated to Lincoln the conviction Palmerston felt in the Union's actions. Lincoln uttered, "One war at a time" to Seward (Mahin, 2000).

Seward was against Lincoln's decision as he felt this event could rally the neutral states to the Union's side, uniting them in a war against Britain (although Seward's opposition to Lincoln's judgments was not unusual) (Stahr, 2003). His answer to the ultimatum would have been a detested chore. Seward took two days to compose the reply from the United States. In the cleverly worded response, he focuses on the release of Mason and Slidell. He uses legal reasoning to explain that Wilkes had not actually acted incorrectly by taking the ship's contents as contraband back to the United States.

Following the conclusion of the Trent Affair on 31st December, the *Birmingham Daily Post* printed an interesting exchange between Russell to Adams, where Adams drafts the articles of the Declaration of Paris to Russell, but Seward challenges the Declaration and his responses are also published in the same article.

The first section of the draft which is challenged by Seward reads, “..Her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing... on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States” (*Birmingham Daily Post*, 31st December 1861). Seward replies that Lincoln considers the declaration “inadmissible”, suggesting that admitting the declaration would be to “.. permit a foreign Power to take cognizance of and adjust its relations upon assumed internal and purely domestic differences existing within our own country”. Seward clearly felt that the document simply allowed the British Government to interfere in United States domestic issues. Moreover, he felt that it actually permitted Her Majesty a “special rule” in the United States.

Seward closes by suggesting all parties “...withdraw from the subject, carrying away no feelings of passion, prejudice, or jealousy, so that in some happier time it may be resumed”. This seems to be an inducement placed at the concluding point of Seward’s challenges to the Declaration. He does continue reinforcing the key message of his challenge i.e. that “...private property, not contraband, of citizens and subjects of nations in collision shall be exempted from confiscation equally in warfare...”. His concluding point reminded Britain that the United States regarded her as a “friend” and “...according to traditional principles, covers enemy's goods not contraband of war. Goods of her Majesty's subjects, not contraband of war, are exempt from confiscation though found under a neutral or disloyal flag.”

This cantankerous exchange between British and American diplomats would leave the readers in little doubt as to the relationship between Britain and the United States. The British readers would have disapproved of the elevated and scathing tone of the American when they had declared neutrality.

Tenniel created a series of images for *Punch* magazine dedicated to the satirical reporting of the event. The first was in the December 7th 1861 issue.



(Look Out for Squalls. *Punch*, Volume 41, December 7, 1861, p. 229)

The first of the images in this series represents the ultimatum that Lord Russell issued to the United States. The sketch depicts John Bull as Jack Tar, labelled as Britannia, threatening

Borther Jonathan. Jack Tar is dressed as a sailor of no significant rank, but his stature is vast; He towers over Brother Jonathan and in much stouter. Brother Jonathan is half the size of Jack Tar and very slim. He is dressed in an almost Napoleonic uniform and is clearly of significant rank. The fragile, puny frame of Brother Jonathan is made ridiculous by the quantity of military decoration and garb, which is clearly oversized. The British Public would have immediately recognised the Napoleonic Uniform and the memory of the defeat of Napoleon would have been in relatively recent History. This would have implanted the subconscious assumption of British superiority over America by using the image of a defeated enemy. Brother Jonathan is heavily armed with guns and swords, whereas Jack tar is unarmed. The quote below states *"You do what's right, my son, or I'll blow you out of the water"*. Whilst Brother Jonathan is in an aggressive stance, it is clear that he is no real match for Jack Tar; Jack Tar would easily overpower the slight Brother Jonathan. The threat is clever, because a sailor is making the threat, but if Brother Jonathan does not do "what's right" i.e. release the commissioners and apologise, then Jack Tar will rally all of his might and destroy Brother Jonathan.

A further, clever representation in this image comprises of the flags; The Union Jack is between the two seamen and is flying strong. The direction of flight is the same as the finger Tack Tar points menacingly at Brother Jonathan perhaps representing the British support of Jack Tar's threat. In contrast, Brother Jonathan clutches the Stars and Stripes which lays dormant against his fragile frame. This could represent how Britain has the wind and power on their side, whereas The Union does not have supernatural support.

This image appears to have two purposes; firstly, it informs the British public of the ultimatum and that Britain is waiting on America's movement; Secondly, it is an empowering

image, rallying support from the British public in case Britain does go to war with the Union. It shows the effortless power of Britain through an overweight, insignificant seaman threatening and overpowering the fully equipped Commodore. Britain would not have feared intervention if the public was exposed to subtlet messages such as this.



(Waiting For An Answer". *Punch*. Volume 41, December 14, 1861, p. 239)

The next cartoon shows Britannia literally, "Waiting for an answer". Whilst negotiations took place between Britain and the United States, the British troops and ships were mobilised ready for action. Britannia waits for America's response, her hand grasping the cannon's lanyard ready to fire. Her body language suggests she has been waiting for quite a while as she does not look poised as though something were imminent; rather she is slumped over the gun, with her shield on the floor.

This image was published a week after the previous “Look out for Squalls” image. Jack Tar’s threat and the passionate unity of the British Public reflected Britannia in the image. The public’s interest was beginning to wane as news of the Union’s decision was delayed. Britannia is still ready to fire, just as the British public was still ready to intervene, but the initial passion and excitement had passed. Britannia may have placed her shield on the floor because it was heavy and she began to tire, just as the British public had begun feeling defensive and energetic but this had begun to tire them.



(“Columbia's Fix”. Punch, Volume 41, December 28, 1861, p. 259]

This image, published 14 days after the previous Trent Affair image, depicts Columbia contemplating what she should do. This was published on the 28th of December. The actual decision on Trent was made by the United States Government the 26th, however, this news would not reach Britain until the 8th of January, so whilst this image was historically inaccurate, it shows the stage at which the British Public was aware of in the negotiations.

By the 26th December, Columbia would have already decided to release the Confederates, but Tenniel would not have known this.

This cartoon is clearly meant to reflect Britannia from the previous image. As Britannia waits for her answer, Columbia wrestles with what to do. As with Britannia in the previous image, Columbia is in classical dress, with the Stars and Stripes draped round her in a toga-style. It is a very romantic image, as she clutches the Biblical Dove of peace from Genesis to her breast, whilst allowing the raven, depicted as the American eagle and tagged as “war” on her finger. It may be that she is clutching peace to her breast as this is really what she wants to do, but she anticipates she must release the eagle of war. The decision is clearly worrying her, as shown by the distress on her face.

Tenniel may have created this image to show why the decision was taking so long i.e. that Columbia is struggling with which answer to send. Furthermore, the fact that the American eagle is depicted as war perhaps shows the audience that America had literally become war through anthropomorphism.



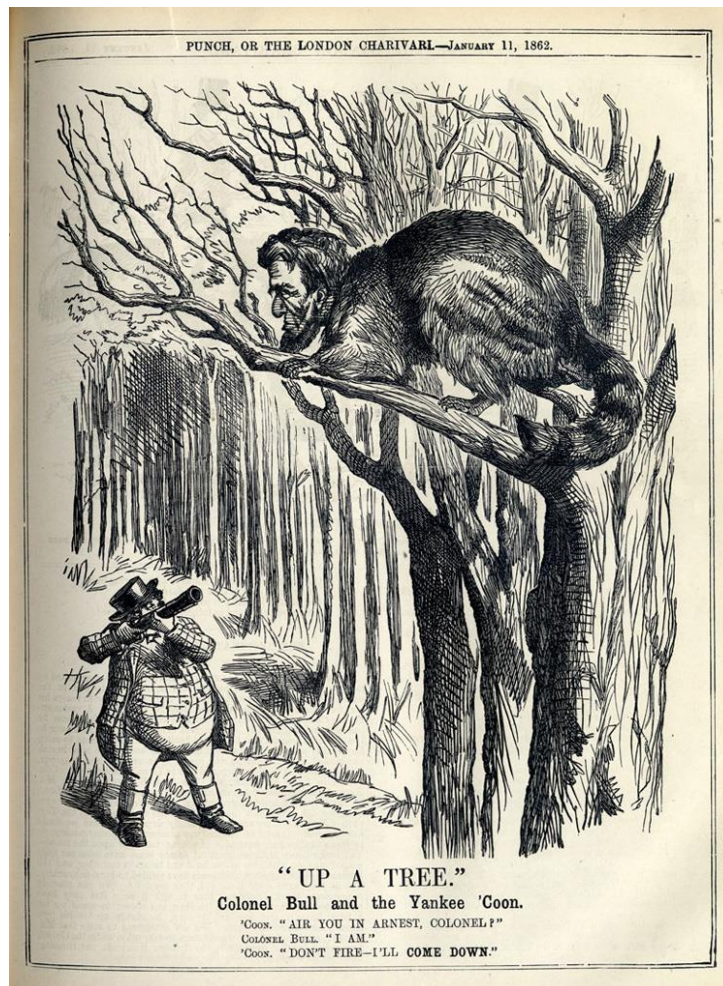
(Boxing Day. *Punch*. Vol 42. January 4 1862, p. 36.)

As the British Government's decision over the *Trent* Affair was awaited by the national press and British public, *Punch* continued publishing images of the event with each image depicting Great Britain firmly as the side with the power. At this point, formation of public opinion had been achieved, but maintaining this was essential. Had news papers and magazines, such as *Punch*, stopped reinforcing British opinion on the event, interest would have declined or, even more detrimentally, British confidence in intervention may have declined. Journalists, therefore, had to keep the British public aware that the Federal Government was yet to reply but that Britain was still ready to intervene against an arrogant and inferior enemy.

In the above sketch, Mr. Punch, the renowned childhood pantomime character and magazine's embodiment, is shown furnished with a red-hot poker. He wears a Union Jack

waistcoat to show he is personifying Britain. Brother Jonathan is characterised as almost the pantomime baddy, turning towards the mischievous Mr. Punch. The caption is written as though Mr. Punch is talking to Brother Jonathan, *"Now then! Which end with you have Jonathan?"* On either end of the poker reads "war" and "peace," with the more dangerous, heated end of "war" towards Jonathan.

There are two points that can be established from the sketch; Firstly, that Britain was willing to threaten the USA with war rather than offering peace, and secondly, that the situation had become an international joke rather than an international crisis as childhood figures were being used to depict the event. Furthermore, Tenniel uses a clever play-on-words for the cartoon's title, "Boxing day," the day after Christmas where gifts were traditionally given to servants. Therefore, Mr. Punch is offering Brother Jonathan the gift of war. In addition to this interpretation, "boxing day" could be interpreted in terms of "boxing" as the aggressive, combative sport. Therefore, the two characters could be seen as sparring.



(Up a Tree. Colonel Bull and the Yankee 'Coon. *Punch*, Volume 42, January 11, 1862, p. 15)

This image of the Trent Affair, realised on January 11th, allows the British public to see that the Americans had conceded. John Bull has the "Yankee 'Coon", shown as Lincoln, in a compromising position. He has a clear shot and is reading to fire. In the text, the final note reads "Don't fire – I'll come down" which demonstrates the backing down of the Federal Government. Lincoln literally has to come down from a higher position to Bull, showing the transfer of power in the event.

The word "coon" can have two meanings; the first is the abbreviation of "raccoon", which Lincoln personifies. The racoon was, and still is, an infamous pest in America, similar to the

British fox for its scavenging; the second meaning could be the racial insult of “coon” referring to black people. Tenniel may have been linking Lincoln’s weakened position after the Trent Affair to the issue of race. i.e. the politician sympathetic to the black population and freedom is now forced into a position of inferiority and defeat.



(Naughty Jonathan". *Punch*, Volume 42, January 18, 1862, p. 25)

This final image in the Trent Affair series is titled “Naughty Jonathan”. Brother Jonathan is standing in a shamed stance, like a small boy who has been told off by his mother. Conversely, another child stands to the other side of Britannia, delighted and gloating. Mrs. Britannia, a large nurse-like figure states, “There, John! He says he is very sorry and that he didn’t mean to do it – so you can put this back into the pickle-tub”. This reveals who the other child is; It is Lord John Russell who has won the diplomatic negotiations over the Trent Affair, as the Federal Government has not only surrendered the Confederate

Commissioners, but apologised for the actions of Wilkes which caused the international crisis.

Mrs. Britannia is saying that Brother Jonathan has apologised and does not need punishing. The punishment that would have been inflicted on Brother Jonathan was probably a whipping type motion with a large brush from the pickle tub. The pickle-tub was a common Victorian household item. Pickles tend to be preserved and so this could be a link to the preservation of the peace between America and Britain. Had Brother Jonathan been whipped, this would have been a highly embarrassing punishment because Tenniel used imagery of whipping to symbolise the Confederacy. One could therefore interpret this as the Confederacy itself, in that if the Federal Government had not backed down, Britain would have sided with the Confederacy, represented by Britannia whipping Brother Jonathan with the Confederate form of punishment.

Whilst these are quite complex interpretations, which may not have been fully acknowledged by the average British reader, the message of British victory over Brother Jonathan is unquestionable. The British public would have been left in no doubt that the Trent Affair had concluded with British superiority preserved.

Hampton Roads and Ironclads

Whilst the British public would have considered the diplomatic success at Trent as confirming British authority and superiority, Lincoln and the Federal Government would have been conscious of this loss, aware that the whole world had followed the event and,

therefore, conscious of wanting to regain a powerful reputation which had been enfeebled by the British perceived success.

It was internationally accepted that British power came from their naval superiority; the ability to trade with such vast and varied products gave economic power and then establishing new colonies gave political power. Furthermore, the establishment of British law and order in British Imperial territories meant that Britain had effectively created legal protocol throughout the globe. However, the Trent Affair was a major embarrassment for the Federal Government. *Edinburgh Blackwood Magazine* commented on this, also informing the British public that the threat of intervention in the American Civil War was not over, stating that the Americans had, "...been coerced into an act of justice which they performed with the worst possible grace... It appears then that a war with the Federal States of America is only deferred" (June, 1862).

If magazines in Edinburgh were conscious of the continued possibility of British intervention, there is no doubt the Federal Government would have been aware of this too. If the Federal Government hoped to prevent a further diplomatic clash and possible British intervention, the logical political move would be to block British intervention through somehow attacking their great power of the navy. Thus, the development of the ironclad, the *USS Monitor*, was hugely important, not necessarily for use against the Confederacy, but to prevent the wooden, steam ships of the British navy from entering the war.

It is important to note that the ironclad was not a new concept. In fact, one of the first ironclads to be designed and used was *The Turtle Ship* in 1592 by the Korean Admiral Yi-Sun (Turnbull, 2002, p94-96). Following this, three hundred years later, France launched the

Gloire on November 24, 1859 under Napoleon III (Gardiner, 1992). The development of this ship panicked Britain. They felt it directed threatened British safety as the biggest weakness of Britain logistically is the fact it is an island. Britain had been experimenting with ironclad-type designed in that they created large frigates armoured with metal, but it became clear more attention was needed in naval warship development. Ironically, the British armoured frigates were often as powerful and more seaworthy than the French ironclads (Quarstein, 2007). By the outbreak of the American Civil War, in 1861, the British ironclad, *HMS Warrior*, was under development (Hore, 2006).

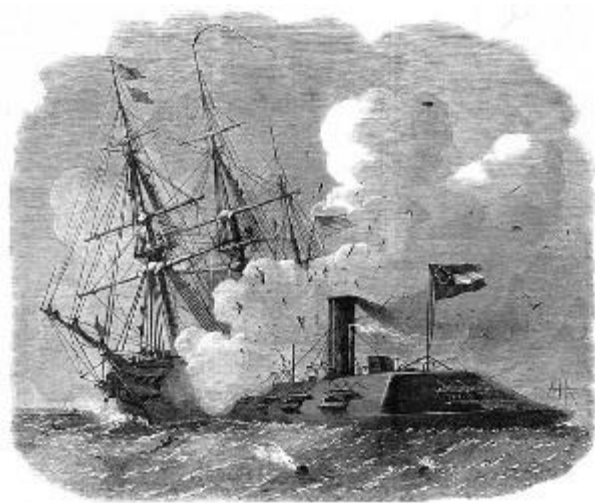
There is no doubt that the engagement at Hampton Roads between the *U.S.S. Monitor* and *C.S.S. Merrimac (Virginia)* on March 9th 1861 provoked substantial interest and concern in Britain. The fact it was the first ironclad-to-ironclad battle could not have been the sole interest. Therefore, the assumption is that the sheer design and power of the American ironclads made it obvious to Britain, and the rest of Europe, that naval warship design and manufacturing had to accelerate. Even Ericsson, designer of the *Monitor*, was aware of the message his ship could deliver, writing to Fox, “...in twelve months we can say to England and France, leave the Gulf! We do not want your kings and monarchical institutions on this continent” (Ericsson Papers, January 4th 1862).

There was a certain amount of ridicule directed towards the *Monitor* due to the bizarre design of the craft. When Confederate soldiers saw the turret of the ship, their descriptions varied from “a floating cheesebox” to believing the turret was a replacement tank on a raft being brought to a damaged ship. The Duke of Somerset and First Lord of the Admiralty echoed the Confederate mockery by saying it appeared as though “something between a raft and a bell”.

Interestingly, Nast is the first artist to recreate an image of naval warfare in the *Illustrated London News*.

Naval engagement in Hampton Roads.

1862



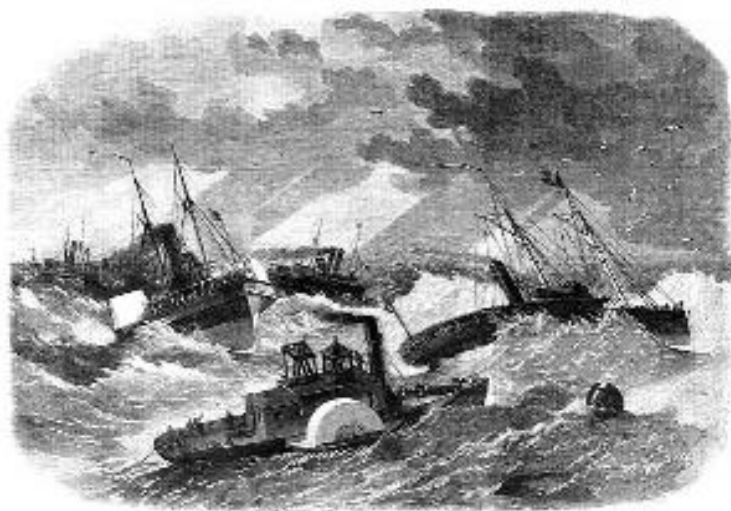
Nast had been employed by the *Illustrated London News* as artist for Garibaldi in Italy. He then drew a sketch of a caricature in 1862 entitled “Peace,” concerning the Union and those who did not agree with the cause of the Civil War. It was this sketch that caused *Harper’s Weekly* to employ him for the remainder of the Civil War (Halleron, 2012). One of his key fans was Lincoln himself who appreciated the support for the Union that Nast’s cartoons conjured. Nast’s allegiance to his old employer, *The Illustrated London News*, meant that he sent this sketch to the newspaper. The image captures one of the first engagements of the first Confederate ironclad, the *Merrimac*. It is not surprising that the *Illustrated London News* printed this image. No one had seen such a ship before, as all warships were still wooden including that of the Royal Navy. With the single use of this ironclad, the Confederates had

rendered all other wooden navies obsolete. The ship had awesome firepower, but also the capability to drive through other ships, destroying the wooden structures whilst maintaining the metallic shell of the ironclad. This image would have stirred huge interest in Britain, as well as a sense of concern. The Royal Navy, until this point, had full control and power over the seas. It would have been obvious at this point that huge effort was needed in the British ship-building industry to better what both sides of the American struggle had put into production. It was with this sea engagement that Europe awoke to the technological developments that the America Civil War was creating.

With the first ironclad images produced in Britain, the British readership was keen to see more of these vessels.

The Picket leading the ships
of the Burnside expedition
over Hatteras Bar.

1862



This image was created by Vizetelly. The violence of the engagement is enhanced by the way in which Vizetelly has drawn the movement of the water. In this sketch, Vizetelly returned to his more romantic war images, creating artwork for the *ILN* rather than merely cartoons. As this trend is the more popular within his collection, the assumption must be that the Victorian readership enjoyed this romantic image. This is certainly in keeping with the popular Pre-Raphaelite style of the 1860s (Bills, 2001).

Midnight storm on the
Mississippi.

1862



To use one more example of Vizetelly's romantic recreation of naval warfare, the above sketch shows a Union ship at anchor off Fort Pillow. The image depicts a storm from 20th May 1862, where lightning nearly struck an ammunition boat carrying 25,000 pounds of powder – truly a near-miss. The way in which the moonlight touches the water creates a beautiful work of art, rather than an insert to illustrate a news article.

The overwhelming majority of communication surrounding the Monitor expressed concern

or caution. The *Times* in particular recorded the British reaction to the *Monitor* stating,

At Washington, says our Special Correspondent, the common remark is that the naval supremacy of Great Britain is disposed of. We don't think it will be disposed of quite so easily, and yet the conclusion has really better warrant than usual... Of all this force there are but two vessels that could be relied upon to meet such a ship as the monitor.

(January 5th 1861)

In January 1862, Parliament erupted in debate (Palmerston Papers, 11th January 1861). Cobden raised the idea of negotiating with France to try to use both their technologies together and not in an arms race (McGilchrist, 1865). Unsurprisingly, due to the relatively recent military conflict between the two countries, this idea was not well supported. Somerset pressed for more improvements to the navy whilst investing more in coastal defences. It is clear that spending did increase in naval defences and warships.

By April, Britain's politicians were still unsettled. On April 3rd, the House of Lords began raising their concerns. The Earl of Hardwicke called the ironclad issue a "crisis in public opinion". He further stated that it was the "*duty of the navy to secure the coasts and harbours of the colonies*" and this was something that the navy could no longer do based on the power of the metallic ironclads against the wooden British ships. Further to this, a War Office meeting had been called for the 4th of April, and it is clear from reading the Parliamentary Reports that the Earl of Hardwicke's concerns were already the chief concern of the Government.

The development of *HMS Warrior* had caused debate and criticism had been expressed regarding the cost of the new ironclad. However, following the Hampton Roads clash, the Prime Minister fully supported her development and began advocating this in public. In his private papers, Russell outlines his concerns to Palmerston, fearing a repeat of the naval defeats Britain had suffered in 1812 to 1813 (Hansard's Parliamentary Papers, 3rd April 1861).

Similarly, however, the Federal Government was aware of the newly ignited concern of the British. Fuller argues that the creation and use of the ironclad may well have been, very simply, in reaction to Britain's Proclamation of Neutrality (May 13th 1861) (Fuller, 1968, p50-55). Moreover Lincoln was aware that Britain may actually want to make a show of strength in reaction to the ironclad clash and to reaffirm their superiority. This could be achieved through British intervention with the Confederacy. Britain had also begun to send more reinforcements to Canada. This encouraged Federal suspicion of British intervention. Therefore, similar coastal fortification improvements were ratified in Congress, along with a transcontinental routes and canal system. Welles also stimulated more naval spending by suggesting to Congress in 1862 that a "formidable navy" would rival British maritime supremacy (Gideon Welles' Papers). Welles's point regarding building a permanently powerful fleet to rival British naval and maritime power is echoed by Lincoln's own records, where he states,

The resolution of the Trent Affair was a pretty bitter pill to swallow,
but I contented myself believing that England's triumph in the
matter would be short-lived, and that after ending our war
successfully we would be so powerful that we could call her to

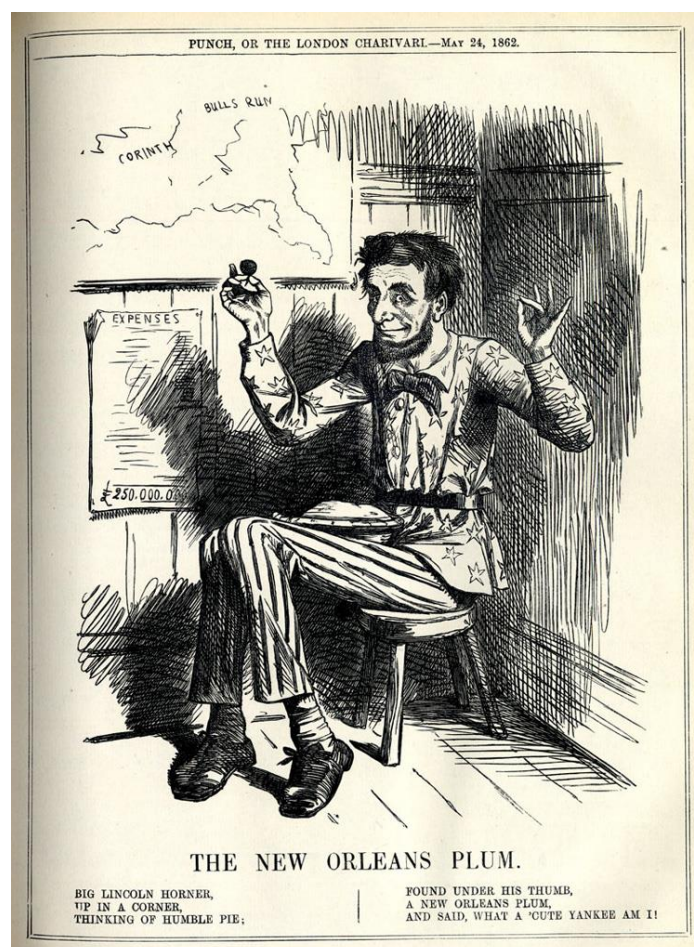
account for all the embarrassments she had inflicted upon us.

(Segal, 2002, p380)

Thus, naval power was seen by Lincoln as a diplomatic tactic, both during the war and subsequently. The British success over *Trent* would not be forgotten and the ironclad development programme would act as a form of retaliation by the Federal Government as punishment for their embarrassing diplomatic defeat in 1861.

When considering both the Trent affair and the ironclad ships, something interesting occurs in British advocacy and journalism; All politicians, diplomats and journalists unite in their approach. Whilst there is debate over how to deal with each matter, there is no doubt that the attitudes of the politicians are, for the most part, amalgamated into one opinion. The outrage of the *Trent* and the disgust at the flag being disrespected ignites outrage at the United States. Britain was at its most close to entering the war in favour of the Confederacy. Had it not been for the Federal apology, albeit forced with obvious tones of fake flattery, Britain may have entered the war. Ironically, for all of the Confederate Commissioners' efforts in Europe throughout the American Civil War years, it was their involuntary imprisonment resulting from the Trent that gained the Confederacy the most British sympathy and was therefore the closest Britain ever came to entering the war. The ironclad engagement of the *U.S.S. Monitor* and *C.S.S. Merrimac (Virginia)* caused similar concern for the coastlines of the colonies. In both cases, the British Government was willing to stand united against foreign foes that threatened aspects of their collective Britain.

Following the Trent Affair and then the Hampton Roads ironclad clash, very little regular coverage of the American Civil War occurs, as though British intervention was now no longer a threat and, therefore, newspapers would turn their attention back to events that directly involved Britain. *The Times* continued to publish articles from the “Special Correspondent” and other local papers continued to publish segments from these letters and offered analysis and opinion but it was *Punch* magazine and the *ILN* that continued a relatively regular reporting of the war.



(The New Orleans Plum. *Punch*, Volume 42, May 24, 1862, p. 207)

“The New Orleans Plum” cartoon was created after consecutive Union Victories; the defeat of Van Dorn at Corinth in Mississippi (Hartje, 1994, p367) and then the success at New Orleans. The image does include Bull Run, which was unsuccessful for the Union, but this is

at the top of the sketch suggesting a chronology of battles leading down to the major success of New Orleans.

In the image, Lincoln takes the form of the boy from the nursery rhyme “Little Jack Horner”.

The nursery rhyme has been adapted to say;

Big Lincoln Horner,
Up in a Corner,
Thinking of Humble Pie;
Found under his thumb,
A New Orleans Plum,
And said, What a ‘cute Yankee am I!

There are some clever suggestions in this adaptation. Firstly, Lincoln, as Jack Horner, is in the corner; After several defeats, the Union Army had been “cornered” by the Confederate troops. They had no option but to fight their way out. In the nursery rhyme, Lincoln even admits he was thinking of “humble pie” i.e., losing the war and having to give in to the demands of the Confederacy. However, the Union Navy then had a radical victory. Winfield Scott created the “Anaconda Plan” early in the war (Johnson, 1998). The plan was to seal off the Southern coastline with a blockade and also the capture of the Mississippi. By successfully controlling the Mississippi, the Confederacy would be split into two and this would then prevent supplies being transported East and West. The only way to gain control over the Mississippi was through the capture of New Orleans (Eisenhower, 1999). New Orleans was the Confederacy’s largest and busiest port. It was therefore the most densely defended, with two forts, Jackson and St. Philip, as well as ten gunboats and two ironclads, the *CSS Louisiana* and the *CSS Manassas* (Pierson, 2009). From April 18th 1862, the Union

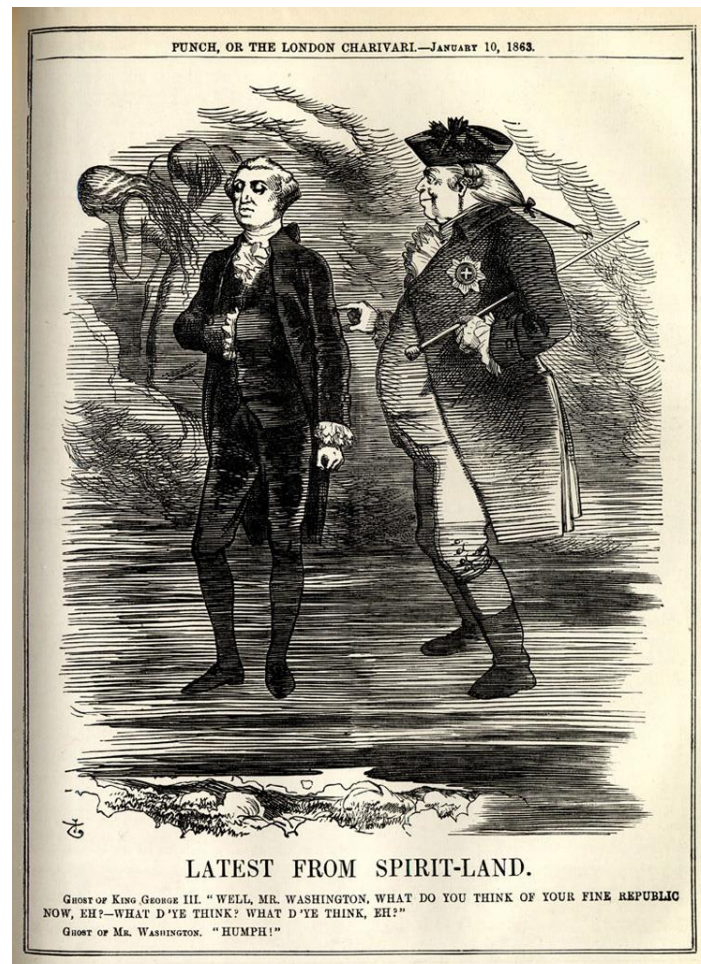
navy bombarded the city for five days and nights. By April 23rd, Union commander Farragut had lost patience and decided to launch a Union fleet upstream. On April 24th, the fleet sailed. Heavy fighting incurred but by April 25th, Farragut marched into New Orleans and ordered the city's unconditional surrender (Winters, 1963, p98-99).

This unlikely victory was one of the most significant achievements by the Union of the entire Civil War, hence Lincoln Horner pulling out the "New Orleans Plum" from the pie. With the growing cost of the war, represented in Tenniel's sketch by the itemised bill pinned to the wall, Lincoln knew such victories were hugely important.

Interestingly, the final line of the nursery rhyme reads "what a 'cute Yankee am I". Lincoln is obviously pleased with himself by pulling the plum out of the pie, calling himself "cute" as in charming. However, there is a missing letter from the word "'cute". This word may have begun as "acute," meaning sharp or heightened. In both interpretations, Lincoln is seen as the heroic figure, who has been able to fight his way out of a corner. Furthermore, there is an error on the map which hangs on the wall; the script read "Bulls Run" instead of "Bull Run". Along with the image of Lincoln looking puerile, the spelling error on the wall suggests he is disconnected from the war or perhaps misinformed.

Yet, even though Lincoln has "pulled out a plum" or succeeded at New Orleans, the cartoon is not a positive image of the Union campaign; Lincoln is still mocked through his comparison to the nursery rhyme character. The Union victories are not celebrated, but more considered luck as Lincoln is clearly in the corner and had one last chance of escape. The huge cost of the war is evident. But, most significantly, Tenniel was a superb artist who could sketch

images that communicated power, dominance and great victory. There is absolutely no evidence of such positivity in this image. This would have prevented the British public from empathising and supporting Lincoln and the Union.



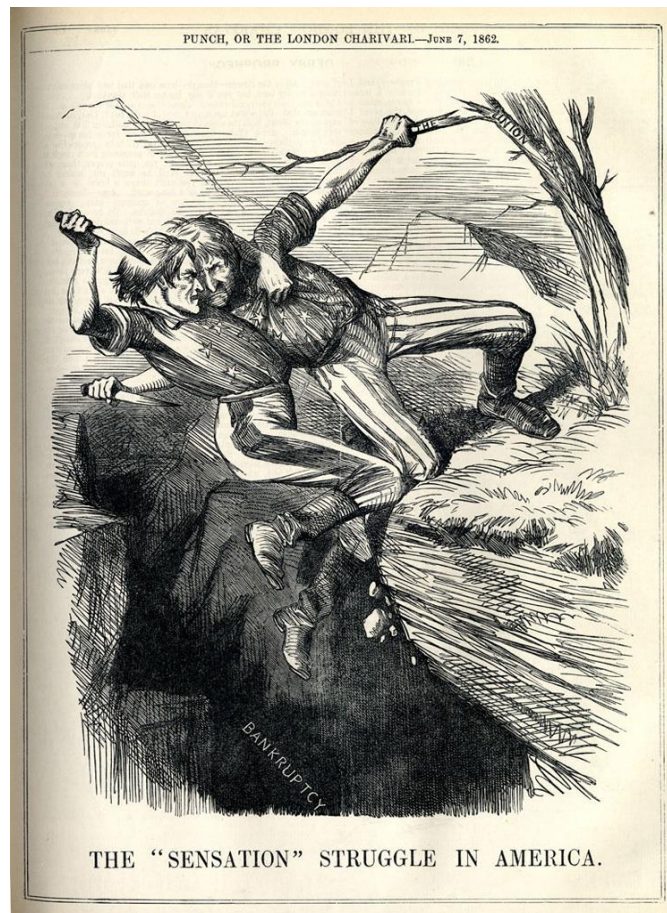
(Latest from Spiritland, Punch, Vol 42, January 10^t 1862. P.42)

In this sketch, Tenniel depicts the ghosts of King George III of England and General George Washington, both the leaders of England and America respectively during the American Revolution. Americans study and memorialise this war as the long fight for freedom against the tyrannical rule of the British, when in fact Historians such as Dr. Richard Holmes suggest *"The War of Independence plays such an important part in American popular ideology that references to it are especially prone to exaggeration"* (BBC article, Holmes, 2013). Whilst the fight for freedom is certainly exaggerated by the Americans, Holmes believes that the fight

was more abandoned by the British who had more interest and preoccupation with its Empire to the east of Europe where greater possibilities and economic advantage lay in countries such as India. Tenniel's sketch emphasises this view. King George is mocking Washington stating, *"Well Mr Washington, what do you think of your fine republic now, eh? What d'ye think? What d'ye think, eh?"*, to which Washington merely utters *"Humph!"* in reply. The clear taunting by King George is clear as he demands a response from Washington much like a childish victor would demand a reply from the vanquished. King George knows that Washington's country is being torn apart and yet wishes to celebrate this. King George is clearly delighted that the republic, founded on freedom after their independence was fought for and granted by the British, is crumbling. This immediately undermines the memory of the great founder of the republic and national hero, Washington."

In the background, women are weeping. This could be the ghosts of people that fought for American Independence or women who lost their relatives in the struggle; the women could be the relatives of men killed in the American Civil War; the women would even possibly be Columbia, or the female icons of individual states such as Georgia or Carolina, crying over their country. Whilst the identity of the women cannot be ascertained for definite, the use of weeping women shows the tragedy of the event and exaggerates the sorrow for the deterioration of the "fine republic".

It is worth mentioning that the King refers to Washington as "Mr" and not General. This, again, undermines the memory of the great American national hero, demoting him to simple gentleman status by removing his title.



(The "Sensation" Struggle in America. *Punch*, Volume 42, June 7, 1862, p. 227)

As the year 1862 progressed, numerous battles were fought with little progress by either side. As Tenniel points out in his sketch, the Union and the Confederacy are frantically wrestling, almost without appreciation of their surroundings.

The two men, one wearing the Stars and Stripes, the other wearing the Stars and Bars, are falling off the side of a cliff towards a large cavern (almost bottomless as the viewer cannot see the end of the picture) labelled "bankruptcy". The primary concern of the falling men is harming each other and yet Tenniel points out that they are both plummeting towards their doom, no matter who harms whom the most.

This image would have left the readers of *Punch* with no question who to empathise with; As the Union clings onto a branch to prevent himself from falling, it is snapping. Written on the branch is “The Union”, representing the division of the United States; literally, the Union attempts to cling onto the snapping “Union” or United States. The tree from which the branch stemmed is bare of any foliage, suggesting that it is out of season. This is symbolic of the Union no longer being productive or plentiful. Also, the Union’s dagger is hovering behind the falling Confederate. Tenniel sends a clear message with this symbolic positioning of the dagger as the Union is stabbing the Confederate in the back – the colloquial term for betraying someone.

The caption “*The ‘sensation’ struggle in America*” reads awkwardly, but intentionally. The ‘sensational’ struggle would read more logically, yet “sensation” is used deliberately to show an event that rouses violent and excited emotion.



(Beware! *Punch*. Volume 44, May 2nd 1863 p. 64)

Throughout March and April 1863, the Federal Government increased pressure on Britain to sever ties with the Confederacy. The Emancipation Proclamation issued in January had prevented Britain officially recognising the Confederacy as an independent nation. Had Britain allied with the Confederacy after the Emancipation Proclamation, Britain would have been supporting a slave based society. However, The Federal Government increased pressure on Britain to stop producing ships for the Confederacy. Furthermore, a bill was ratified in April allowing private vessels to intercept and retain any blockade runners bound for Confederate ports, no matter which country they were destined from. British ships had been using international waters of the Bahamas and Bermuda to access the Southern ports, thus appreciating that this bill was predominantly against Britain. In this cartoon, Tenniel demonstrates that Britain was aware of the Federal Government's actions. Tenniel represents Britain and her empire as a caged lion; Brother Jonathan acts as a petulant child, poking the animal with a stick. Punch is depicted as the zoo keeper, wearing a collar with "ZSL" written on it, standing for "Zoological Society London". He warns Brother Jonathan *"He ain't asleep, young Jonathan, so you best not irritate him"*. This warning has serious connotations; *Punch*, the character and the magazine, is warning the Federal Government not to poke, or provoke, Britain too much because Britain is more than aware of what has been happening and before long, the lion will react. The fact Brother Jonathan is shown as a scrawny child and the lion as a great animal, the traditionally accepted "king of the jungle", shows the contrast of power and strength between the Federal Government and the British Lion.



(The Great 'Cannon Game.' *Punch*, Volume 44, May 9, 1863, p. 191)

"*The Great Cannon Game*" was produced in response to the Union troops who had failed in their attempt to capture Charleston. An elongated Lincoln watches Jefferson Davis potting a ball on the billiards table whilst saying "*Hurrah for Charleston; that's another to me*". The billiard balls represent the battles, so for each ball Lincoln or Davis pots, they are rewarded with a victorious battle. The statement at the bottom by Lincoln reads, "*Darn'd if he ain't scored again! Wish I could make a few winning hazards for a change.*" The reference to "hazards" and "The Great 'cannon' game" derives from terminology used in English Billiards'.

Cannon (striking one's cue ball so that it hits, in any order, the other cue ball and the red ball on the same shot): 2 points

Winning hazard on the red (striking the red ball with one's cue ball so that the red enters a pocket): 3 points.

(Goodwill and Morgan, 2013)

However, the caption also refers to the cannon fire that was exchanged in the assault of Charleston as well as the hazards of the battle and the hazard of not capturing such an important city. This would have been detrimental to the overall course of the war for the Union.

Chancellorsville

The Battle of Chancellorsville was reported in a similar fashion to other battles in 1862 and 1863, i.e. *The Times* would publish long coverage of the battle from the “Special Correspondant” or British newspapers would gain copies of American newspaper coverage and select sections to print and annotate. However, Chancellorsville saw the fall of General Jackson, a figure who was admired by the British public. This death caused a significant reaction in the British press.

Initially, the news of his death was not reported within the newspapers. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* (Friday 22nd May 1863) , *Newcastle Journal* (Tuesday 19th May 1863) *Glasgow Herald* (Wednesday 17th June 1863) are but a small sample of the newspapers which delegated a column or two to cover the Confederate victory, all of which show similar reporting styles in celebrating the Confederate generals and the Rebel army. Whilst Union and Confederate personnel were all mentioned in British media, it was the Confederate generals that occupied the majority of positive press in Britain.

There was a certain admiration for the patriotism of these generals. Also, the “underdog” always has a certain admirable quality and tends to rally support from neutrals. This was no different during the Civil War years, where odds were against the Confederacy in numbers, weapons and resources. The Confederate generals had managed to sustain the war when statistics in 1861 suggested that the Union should have won quickly and easily; perhaps by Christmas, as most Federal sources had bragged at the beginning of the war (Wagner, Gallagher and Finkelman, 2002).

The Battle of Chancellorsville typified this adoration and celebration of the Confederate senior officers. Obviously, Robert E. Lee was one of the characters who prompted attention; a man that refused the command of all the Union forces in exchange for a lesser post with his State, Virginia; a man whose military genius had enabled unexpected Confederate victories. Such gallant behaviour and almost romantic loyalty impressed the British public. Examples of this include Cheltenham offering Robert E. Lee a sword in admiration in 1864 (*Cheltenham Chronicle*, Tuesday 23 August 1864), even though the war was in its closing stages. There are also several written accounts of British admiration for Lee after his death showing true British esteem for the general (Cooke, 1883, Johnson p552, Marshall p543).

However, it was Thomas Jonathan Jackson, popularly and affectionately nicknamed “Stonewall” Jackson by his troops, who seemed to have most enchanted the British public. *The Times* released several articles that featured the general; Articles included the July 17th 1862 issue where Jackson was headlined as “*The Confederate Cromwell*”. Cromwell was often used as a comparison to the Confederate cause, Cromwell being the main component for Parliamentary victory against the Royalists in the English Civil War, the state system being challenged by radicals etc. Cromwell is still questioned as a “hero or villain” individual

in history classes today and this conundrum can certainly be applied to Jackson. He was a ruthless general, a fanatic and incredibly devout - all qualities that could easily describe the Puritan leader of the Parliamentary cavalry. This theme of a religious warrior is something *The Times* related Jackson to in later articles. In the January 17th article of 1865, two years after Jackson's death, *The Times* recalls the general as "*A Christian Warrior*," obviously a value that the Victorian British public would have valued. In his study of Jackson, James Robertson summarises how the Presbyterian Jackson viewed the war, stating that Jackson was "...convinced that Northerners had violated principles of both the Founding Fathers and Christianity by attempting to create a new society that lacked order as well as cohesiveness.." (1997, p13-14). Jackson, therefore, felt the Civil War was not only about the Southern States seceding, but also the Northern States interfering with the agreement made between the Founding Fathers and his God.

Jackson died on May 2nd 1863 at the battle of Chancellorsville. As he returned to camp, Jackson and his staff were mistaken for Union cavalry. Many of his staff lost their lives and Jackson was shot twice in his right arm and once in the other. He was taken to a field hospital where he died on May 10th from complications following the amputation of his right arm and pneumonia (Robertson, 1997).

The *Leicestershire Mercury* (Saturday 30 May 1863) reprinted the announcement that was made by Lee about the Lieutenant General;

With deep grief the commanding General announces to the army
the death of Lieutenant General Jackson, who expired on the 9th,
at 3.15 p.m. The daring skill and energy of this great and good

soldier by a decree of an all wise Providence are now lost to us. But while we mourn his death we feel that his spirit lives, and will inspire the whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God as our hope and strength – Let his name be a watchword for his corps, who have followed him to victory on so many fields. Let officers and soldiers imitate his invincible determination to do everything in the defence of our beloved country.

The bereaving Confederacy was paralleled by a significant amount of the British public. Benjamin Moran was an American who had been in England for a number of years, serving as Assistant Secretary at the United States Embassy from 1857 until 1864 and as secretary from 1864 until 1874. He kept a journal throughout his post. When the news of Jackson's death was reported in Britain he wrote : "Jackson is dead of wounds... The British people are as sensibly affected by this last news as if the disaster were their own" (Moran, 1997).

The Times goes further, suggesting "Even on this side of the ocean the gallant soldier's fate will everywhere be heard of with pity and sympathy". He is described as man of "greatness and genius" and even referred to as a "heaven-born general". Jackson's ability in the field is said to have been "...as terrible and decisive as Bonaparte himself" (October 30th, 1875).

Reports on the military genius and loss of this general were not restricted to national news; the regional newspapers also expressed sadness at the loss of Jackson. Typically, the regional newspapers or less established national newspapers used extracts from *The Times* Special Correspondent and then added a few lines of annotation. However, many journalists felt they needed to record personal tributes. *The Kentish Gazette* (Tuesday 2nd June 1863) remembered him fondly as a man "...who can infuse their own spirit into all around them.

Such a commander is the soul and strength of a cause when it asserts itself in arms.” The article went on to suggest that “...The combination of sincerity and enthusiasm with the professional skill that amounted to genius for war is rare indeed. Power cannot evoke, nor can the wealth of empires create it.”.

The Newcastle Journal reprinted a collection of newspaper extracts to review the death, entitling it “Sprit of the Press”. It recorded extracts from *The Daily News* and *The Manchester Examiner and Times* – both of which were Right Wing, radical newspapers, but had different readerships as *The Daily News* was a national, but predominantly London read publication whereas *The Manchester Examiner and Times* was predominantly read in the industrial city of Manchester. Within the summaries, the Richmond press is also quoted as well as hypothesising about the Federal reactions to Jackson’s death.

The Daily News rated the death of Jackson “...as one of the greatest misfortunes which could have befallen the Southern cause”. The battle of Chancellorsville and Jackson’s action as the battle was referred to as “...heroic and persistent but vain attempts he made on Sunday, the 3rd of May.” The newspaper goes on to refer to American newspapers, stating that *The Richmond Examiner* reported the fatal wounding came from his own men. Rather than criticise the Southern soldiers who inflicted these wounds, *The Daily News* commented that “Such accidents are not uncommon in war” but turns its attention to Union newspapers, such as *The New York Herald*, anticipating that “...the “base foe” will exult in the disaster”. In anticipation of such exultation, *The Daily News* defends Jackson as “...a model soldier – cheerful, patient, ever ready for action, with a marvellous coup d'oeil and rapid execution”. The review of *the Daily News* concludes by admitting that “This American war, it has often been remarked, has been singularly barren of great men” and yet, in Jackson, the British

(and other international spectators) saw an almost mythically expert soldier who would be mourned. In fact, *The Daily News* goes so far as to suggest that women carried images of Jackson in their locket and, on hearing the news of his death, wept as much as they had “wept over Mrs Stowe's “Uncle Tom”” (Wednesday 27th May 1863).

The summary of *The Manchester Examiner* and *The Times* echoed *The Daily News* in discussing the “...great and irreparable loss in the death of General “Stonewall” Jackson”. The newspaper recounts the wounding and subsequent amputation of Jackson’s left arm, but gives more detail on “the inflammation of the lungs” or pneumonia to which the general eventually lost his life. In a similar fashion to *The Daily News*, *The Manchester Examiner* and *Times* admits the wounding to have been sustained from his own men, by a Richmond newspaper is again used to show there is no animosity felt towards these men because these men “... would have laid down their lives for him”. Similarly to *The Daily News*, the general is described with such terms as “beloved and trusty leader”, “the hero of the war” and compares the grief the South will feel to a similar grief felt at the death of a “martyr”. Unlike *The Daily News*, *The Manchester Examiner* and *Times* reports more on his strong Christian background, applauding his devotion and piety.

The British press were aware of his military genius and his importance in the Confederate campaign. In fact, even journalists who refused to support the Confederacy due to their support of Slavery managed to express grief. One such example was the report from *The Bury and Norwich Post* (Tuesday 14th July 1863), which refused to celebrate Jackson as righteous due to the Confederate connections with Slavery but stated, “...his career was worthy of a better cause.

The British expression of empathy for the loss of Jackson did not stop at earnest announcements. Following the Civil War, a monument was erected for Jackson in Virginia. This is not unusual as several commemorative structures were erected quickly after the civil war years. However, what is particularly interesting about this monument is that it was bought by English admirers. On June 3rd, 1863, *The Times* held a meeting to ascertain how the British would commemorate Jackson. It was Hotze's *Index* that then published the result of the meeting, to raise a fund for the "*erection... of a British monument to the gallant man*" (June 4th 1863). Beresford-Hope was the treasurer to this fund and donated a large sum, as did James Spence and the infamous blockade runner Andrew Collie. By the end of 1863, £600 was in a memorial fund set up at Coutts bank account. For the 1860s and 1870s, this was a vast amount of money, suggesting that many people wanted to donate to the memorial, and donate substantially.



Above is the statue that was created by James Forley. The inscription below is particularly significant. It reads, "Presented by English Gentlemen as a tribute of admiration for the soldier and patriot Thomas J. Jackson..."(visited October 2008).

The memorialisation of Jackson is a significant insight into the extent to which British society still connected with American, in spite of hostility remaining after the War of Independence or the British feeling of superiority over a war torn apart by Civil War. The British found respect for the Confederate generals, to the point of memorialising Jackson. The desire for the British admiration to be remembered in connection to Jackson perhaps demonstrated that the British did have sympathy for tragedy in America, even if it was not publicised regularly. This was seen with Tenniel's final sketch and can now be seen with this Monument inscribed by "English Gentlemen".

Gettysburg

The First Bull Run, Trent Affair and death of Jackson are interesting events in British newspapers for their level of detailed coverage to engage and inform the British public of the war across the Atlantic and the threat of intervention. These events show journalists having a united opinion; Bull Run ignited British interest in a foreign war that divided a country and whose population voluntarily took up arms. The battle showed poor military training and strategic planning, which the British read with relish as their own, proud military history had been blemished by the War of Independence 100 years earlier. The Trent Affair directly involved Britain; The British public were outraged that the unarmed British mail ship sailing under the British flag had been fired upon in international water; The death of Jackson united a British public in grief for the loss of a true military genius which even

supporters of the Union could not deny. The three-day battle of Gettysburg in July 1863, however, witnessed fragmented British public opinion. The reports were, again, taken from the main report from the *Times* Special Correspondent, but the regional journalists selected extracts and then added their own annotations and opinions in keeping with their own newspaper's allegiance.

The Battle of Gettysburg ended in Union victory. *The Liverpool Daily Post* collated a number of American and British newspaper reports to cover the event for their readers, but interestingly chose facts, figures or phrasing which appear to criticise the Union actions and eventual victory. For example, the article recounts, "...Federal losses at the battle of Gettysburg are enormous," but makes no mention of Confederate losses. Furthermore, the article does not celebrate Union victory, but rather implies Union failure by saying "...General Lee is stated to have marched off at leisure with all his artillery". To further discredit the Union forces, the same article uses a case study of General Pemberton at Vicksburg, "...A Northern man, is openly accused of treachery and the receipt of a heavy bribe from the Federal Government". In contrast, the newspaper comments that Lee "...is still at the head of a numerous army and master of the mountain passes, through which no enemy can follow him" (Tuesday 21st July 1863).

The New York Times' coverage is also included in the *Liverpool Daily Post* when discussing the possibility of British intervention. The newspaper suggests that, should Britain and other European powers propose to mediate an armistice "...the great bulk of the North and North-western people would agree to the proposal after a faint protest". The justification for this agreement was that losses at Gettysburg could not be repeated, otherwise Lincoln would need "...a new army of at least a quarter of a million of men". Most significant in this extract

from *The New York Times* is the first mention of the growing peace movement in the North as people were “...beginning to think that they have all along been fighting against logic and fate”. This indicated a changing national mood in the United States from one of patriotism and union to the Confederate secession seeming inevitable.

The Newcastle Journal reported with a more sympathetic tone for Lincoln. Whilst still recording the “...many gallant men who have fallen”, the newspaper also stated how Lincoln asked that these men “...be everywhere remembered and revered with the most profound gratitude” (Thursday 16th July 1863). Although only a brief comment about the President, many other newspapers focused solely on Federal mistakes or Southern bravery. This view of Lincoln is a rare compassionate interpretation.

The Examiner, renowned for being anti-American, saw the battle as a draw. Both sides had lost extensive numbers of men whilst neither side had gained substantial ground; The Union merely retained what was theirs and the Confederacy returned to positions they held before. Both armies would need time to repair before further engagement, thus rendering Gettysburg almost futile from the point of view of *The Examiner* (25th July 1863 and 1st August 1863). *The Examiner*, however, failed to appreciate that the Union army had far more resources to draw from because so many Northern States did not force conscription on the people. Conversely, the Confederacy would never recover from the losses sustained at Gettysburg as all white men capable of fighting were at the front line from late 1862.

The Manchester Guardian (20th July, 1863) saw Gettysburg as a Confederate failure stating “We cannot attempt to persuade ourselves that the Confederate leaders aimed at a much

greater result". Had Ewell decided to launch his assault on day one, the Confederacy could have been victorious. Besides this poor decision, had Longstreet launched his half of the attack at the correct time on day two, the Confederacy could still have achieved victory. Instead, the Generals had failed to carry out their duty and thus the Confederates had failed to continue their run of victories and possibly their chance of winning the entire war.

The Times failed to report the battle for three days. When the newspaper eventually published the report on July 6th, 1863, the whole event was written in a pro-Confederate style; "The valiant effort of Lee" and their "moral excellence" in defeat is certainly alluded to. *The Times* goes further in the article of July 16th by reminding the readers that it was on July 4th (the day after the final day at Gettysburg) that America celebrates Independence day. This "great day" in American history, where the patriots had defeated the tyrannical British, was now marred by thousands of deaths, caused by Americans fighting Americans. *The Times* demonstrates the irony of the Federal victory, in that the "United States" Government was forced to fight to keep their country united.

Interestingly, the British newspapers were not only interested in reporting the battle of Gettysburg and the failures of the Federal senior military staff. There was also significant coverage of the inadequate formal medical arrangements. One such newspaper was the *London Daily News*, which used extracts from *The Medical Journal* to record the events (Saturday 8th August 1863). The report begins with immediate criticism of the Federal army, stating, "The Gettysburg wounded were left to the care of the country". Instead of the army medical core taking control of the casualties, the townspeople of Gettysburg and the surrounding areas responded to the demand, and did so "nobly." The armies "had used up everything eatable for miles," including medical supplies such as bandages and chloroform.

But the local inhabitants donated “..blankets, shirts, drawers, socks, soft pillows for stumps to rest upon, fans to keep the flies away... food... brandy, wines and fruits”. There was even a supply of tobacco brought in for the surgeons, and local women volunteered as untrained nurses. The whole community was commended for transforming “...the scene of misery here to one of home-like comfort”.

The *North London News* (Saturday 15th August 1863,,), The *Derby Mercury* (Wednesday 12th August 1863) and many other regional newspapers opted to print a lengthy summation of Gettysburg from the *New York Times*. Typically, regional newspapers only took small sections of the lengthy articles to summarise events. Many newspapers, however, printed this article in its entirety. The article began totalling the number of combined wounded as around 20,000 men. The article supported many of the claims made in *The Medical Journal*, such as the armies ravaging all supplies, both food and medical, in the local area (although stating that the Rebel army stripped the area first, attributing more blame to the Confederate forces for the New York readers). *The New York Times* explained that “...only one-third of the surgeons, ambulances and waggons could be left from each corps... and no details of well men to nurse them, ” almost mitigating the dire situation of medical staff. The volume of wounded men and the wounds they suffered was described in meticulous detail; men with “legs shot off, shot in the eye, the mouth, both hands gone, one arm lost...” were described as “two, three and four miles to the depot... lying in rows”. As if to comfort the *New York Times* readers (who may have known soldiers at Gettysburg), the reporter adds “The rebels, as was just, had to wait their turn for having their wounds dressed or their limbs amputated till the Union men had been cared for”.

This very gory review of the wounded after Gettysburg includes some interesting points;

Firstly, *The New York Times* writes with marginal positivity at the “splendid victory” of the Union troops. Many articles before this suggested that the newspaper supported possible acceptance of Southern secession so that peace could prevail. The Union had lost a number of successive battles and many Northerners were questioning whether the expense and loss of life was worth the Union; Secondly, the level of detail about the injuries seems to juxtapose this positivity. Within the reprinted excerpt, there is no suggestion that this level of casualty was worth the victory. The only comfort for Northern readers of this article would be that the Confederate soldiers were treated after the Northern soldiers.

These medical accounts would have been of particular interest to the British public. Only relatively recently had the British reformed their military medical care and hospitals. It was in 1854, during the Crimean War, that Florence Nightingale began her reformation of military hospitals and nursing. The scene at Gettysburg before charitable intervention described by *The Medical Journal* is reminiscent of the situation in Crimea. A young British Army surgeon, Edward Mason Wrench, wrote of Crimea “...There were no beds. The patients lay in their clothes on the floor, which...was as muddy as a country road... We were practically without medicines...”. He also recounted “...The cries of the patients..” (McCoubrey, 1995). Nightingale brought in a strict regime for a newly educated nursing staff, which focused on hygiene and cleanliness. Fatality numbers reduced and her effect was celebrated substantially in the British Press. *The Times* wrote of Nightingale, “She is a “ministering angel” without any exaggeration in these hospitals” (Thursday 8th February 1855).

The memory and legacy of Nightingale has become a topic of modern controversy and debate as many consider her impact to be far less than what the British newspapers informed the British public. Many modern students may consider Mary Seacole a far more

significant individual. Nevertheless, the belief of the time was that Nightingale transformed military medicine and public health. This transformation was around ten years before the American Civil War and was clearly an aspect of pride for the British as they reported the medical conditions at Gettysburg.

Sherman and Grant's Land Campaign

By 1863, the number of desertions in the Confederate army increased rapidly. Undoubtedly, the death of Jackson and then Lee's loss at Gettysburg were crucial factors for this increase. There was also a change in the Union army's personnel. This in itself was not the crucial factor as Lincoln had found it necessary to replace the Union generals on several occasions⁶. But in 1863 to 1864, Grant and Sherman took over the Union army. These two Union generals adopted an entirely different attitude to their predecessors and the war became more attritional in nature. Grant accepted the necessity of significant losses for the strategic defeat of the Southern States. This included civilian intimidation and Sherman's famous march from Atlanta to the sea. With almost immediate effect, the Union began celebrating successes, including Vicksburg.

Prior to the appointment of these generals, the British press had ridiculed the Union army and its generals. McClellan's command in particular had triggered vast mockery of the Union forces due to his reluctance to engage in battle. In fact, the ridicule of McClellan was reported in newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic.

⁶ Examples include November 5th 1862, McClellan replaced by John Pope after Antietam; Burnside replaced by Hooker after Fredericksburg;

It could be assumed that a change in the leadership of the Union army would kindle a sense of refreshed hope in the Federal Cause. This view, however, fails to acknowledge the numerous administrative changes at the command of the Union army. Instead of optimism, therefore, the press reported with suspicion.

The *Maidstone Telegraph* printed a report of Sherman's land campaign dated after the fall of Atlanta and at the instigation of the march to the sea (Saturday 10th December 1864). The newspaper reported his actions as "...deliberately planned and deliberately executed". There is no sense of opposition or support for this action, but the report does allude to other commentators who had sought "...to misrepresent the facts by stating the reverse".

The *John O'Groat Journal* took its information from New York newspapers and reported "The Daily News New York correspondent does not write in a very sanguine tone as to the results of Sherman's campaign" (Thursday 22nd December 1864). This implies that even the New York newspapers were not convinced of Sherman's competence.

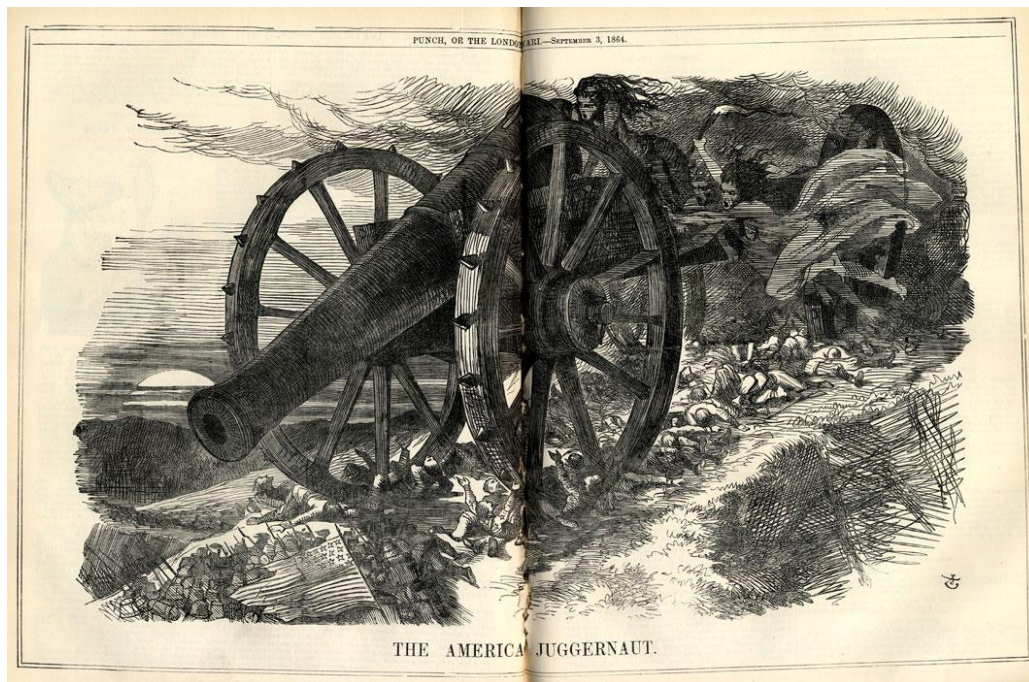
The Economist (December 26th 1863) wrote a persuasive article, almost rallying the Confederates to continue. Numerous other journalists also adopted this tone; *The Saturday Review* decided to focus its report on the thousands of losses that Sherman's army suffers without really mentioning his victory (26th March 1864). Similarly, *The Examiner* failed to praise Sherman's victory (March 15th 1864). *The Manchester Guardian* seemed to despise Sherman and predicted his defeat in the Southern States of Kentucky or Tennessee. *The Standard* in 1864 echoes *The Manchester Guardian* saying that Grant and Sherman were bound to encounter many difficulties eventually against such their "supreme" opponent Lee (20th June 1864; December 6th 1864). In fact, it is only *The Saturday Review* that begrudgingly

admits that the South may not win, but even this admission was not until 1865 when the war was all but over (April 1st 1865).

From analysis of a plethora of newspapers at The British Library, the most positive coverage of Sherman's campaign was sought in the *Kendal Mercury*. It testified "...Sherman is pressing on, and it is evident that he is doing so with the masterly ability that has marked his long and notable march" (Saturday 13 August 1864). Yet even this commendation is weakened through the same article's admission that, the week previously, it reported that Sherman had taken Atlanta based on telegrams from London papers but had found these reports to be erroneous.

Interestingly, some newspapers omitted any substantial mention of Sherman entirely. Whilst other newspapers commented on Atlanta or the destructive march to the sea, The *Cheltenham Chronicle* reported "*It is intended to present a sword of honour to General Robert E. Lee*" (Tuesday 23 August 1864).

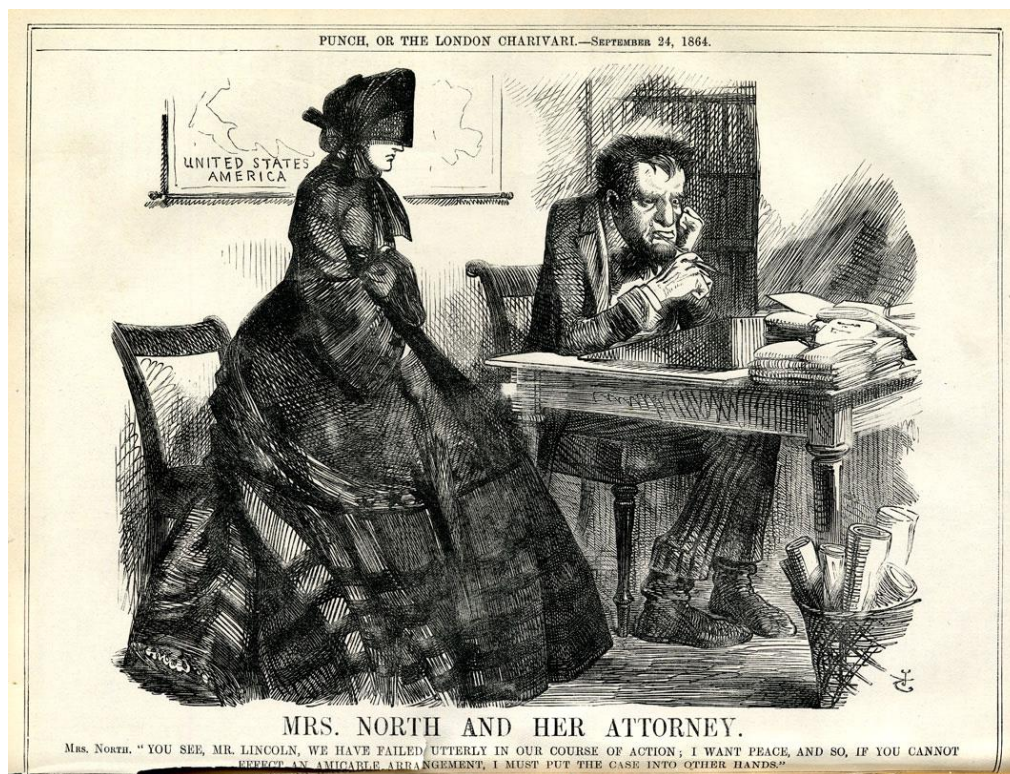
Punch magazine dedicated a rare double page spread to communicate Sherman's march to the sea campaign.



(The American Juggernaut. *Punch*, Volume 47, September 3, 1864, pp. 96 – 97)

This double page image is probably Tenniel's most dramatic image to be printed in *Punch*. It shows a Napoleonic cannon rolling over lines of Federal soldiers. The wheels of the cannon are studded with metal spikes, enhancing the pain and damage the artillery would inflict as it rolled. The gun represents Grant's overland campaign of 1864 against Lee in Virginia, and the scale of the deaths that were being caused by his unyielding advance. Pushing the gun, Tenniel has used three Greek furies. The cannon is clearly out of control, representing how the war and the campaign by the Union generals, is out of control. In addition, both Confederate and Union soldiers have perished under the wheels of the cannon, showing how the war was damaging to both sides of the conflict. The image provokes an uneasy feeling for the reader and it is exactly this unease that Tenniel appreciated in the British Public. By 1864, the casualty rate had become greater than any American war before it. This unease was deepened when people acknowledged that this was American killing American. Many people called for British intervention to stop the war.

Tenniel continued with similar messages in his following four images. The images clearly show that Tenniel believed the war was in its concluding stages and so attention had to begin focusing on how Lincoln would repair the country.



(Mrs. North and Her Attorney. *Punch*, Volume 47, September 24, 1864, p. 127)

1864 was election year in America. The Republican Party re-nominated Lincoln as President and Tenniel's cartoon is referring to this event. By September 1864, the war's duration was approaching its fourth year; The overwhelming opinion of all the soldiers at the First Bull Run in 1861 was that this battle would decide the war demonstrating that very few expected the war to last for this long. By the time of this cartoon's production, people were war weary, including the British audience. Mrs. North is veiled and dressed in mourning clothes. She is appealing to Lincoln to find some resolution. She states, "You see, Mr. Lincoln, we

have failed utterly in our course of action; I want peace, and so, if you cannot effect an amicable arrangement, I must out the case into other hands." Tenniel plays on Lincoln's profession before he became a politician; in that he was an attorney. The huge pile of paperwork on Lincoln's desk the amount of work he has to complete. Tenniel is suggesting that Lincoln has to find a harmonious conclusion to this war, otherwise he will not be elected. Furthermore, Tenniel draws on the Victorian legal mentality of a case having to be worth the fee. Ergo, this image suggests that the fee charged by Lincoln was the casualty rate of the Union army and Mrs. North is asking whether the fight to retain the Union was worth the cost.



(Columbia's Sewing-Machine. *Punch*, Volume 47, October 1, 1864, p. 137)

A young Columbia, shown with the stars on her blouse and the bars across her skirt, is attempting to stitch back together the divided United States. Britannia is shown as an older

matron-type character, counselling the young Columbia. She states, *"Ah, my dear Columbia, it's all very well; But I'm afraid you'll find it difficult to join that neatly"*. Columbia sits next to a sewing machine. During the 1850s, sewing machines went into mass production when Isaac Singer revolutionised the design. Rather than the cumbersome side-to-side needle, which was hand cranked, Singer created a foot pedalled machine that made the needle work in an up-and-down motion. It used a lockstitch that Elias Howe had invented and was known as a "Yankee" invention (Parton, 2008). Howe even donated a portion of his \$2 million fortune to help equip a Union regiment and served in this regiment as a private. It enabled the production of uniforms to accelerate. The machines were also renowned for their clean lines, therefore if a sewing machine could not stitch the divided line of American neatly, then the emphasis was on the possible irreparable damage that had been done by the war.

Chapter Conclusion

The Depiction of Warfare

Whilst America fought a national war between Northern and Southern States, this war had many international implications. The number of soldiers that had European heritage suggests that many would have an immediate interest in the war and a large number of these men would have been British. This connection was strengthened by the shared history and cultural heritage of Britain and America, with America being an ex-British colony. One cannot escape the undertones of mockery from the British with regards to this history; America founded its country on unique principles, more democratic and equal than any country had ever created before. Yet, it was the extent of this freedom that meant the Southern States had Constitutional rights in their choice to secede. Furthermore, as the United States collapsed and the country plunged into a bloody Civil War, Britain had a thriving Empire; Britain had expanded and prospered since losing America, gaining a credible amount of global control (at least in the British opinion). This control was further extended since the defeat of the French earlier in the century.

An interesting contrast to the British opinion was the American view of British opinion. This is perfectly articulated by Cassius Clay, the United States Minister in Russia. He stated,

I saw at a glance where the feeling of England was. They hoped for our ruin! They are jealous of our power. They care neither for the South nor the North. They hate both. (Herbert, 1960; 89.)

Clay viewed the hostile feelings of England towards America as jealousy. This is a remarkable conclusion for the 1860s. There is no doubt that the clash of the two armies was closely

observed by the British, especially when considering the new military technology that developed. In addition, the development of the ironclad was something that concerned Britain. In fact, it launched a new arms race between Britain and France, as Europe desperately attempted to out-produce the United States with more powerful ships. However, at no point is there any evidence for the feeling of jealousy. The overwhelming opinion of the British was almost antipathy or mockery of the whole event. Britain's own civil war took place 200 years prior to the Americans. The American Civil War was even enabled by the Declaration of Independence, the overly-democratic document that allowed every man to have the right to do anything as they were free to make their own choices; even if this meant freedom to choose to secede from the United States.

The British dominance was considered arrogant by many, and this was mostly founded in the power of the British army and navy. This power was coveted by both the Union and Confederate forces as both attempted to gain British allegiance and involvement for their side in the war. Britain had claimed neutrality in 1861, but flirted with both Union and Confederacy suggesting they would support both sides at certain points during the crisis. British journalists, politicians and artists all found humour in the incapability of both Union and Confederate Armies side to win the war, especially in the case of the Union which had the advantage in men, manufacturing and munitions. Bull Run in particular was found to be a disgraceful battle, with poor battlefield discipline, troops fleeing and missed opportunities to win. Tenniel certainly showed the incapability of the American generals and the war in his sketches in *Punch*. He also made numerous sketches demonstrating Britain's neutrality. Yet throughout the war, the Confederacy conjured more support. The British admired the generals of the Confederacy with their valour and patriotism; The British admired Jackson so much that they even organised a private collection for to commission a memorial. Even at

Gettysburg, when Lee's generals failed him and the Confederacy began to decline in power, the British attempted to mask it as a slight loss or an exaggerated battle within the context of the war. The romance of the Southern way of life, the patriotism of their music and the organisation and social structure was admired by the British, leading to the Victorian public sympathising with the Confederate Cause. Remarkably, even the majority of the church denominations seemed in support of the Confederacy.

Yet there were two events that stopped British involvement; *The Trent Affair* and the Emancipation Proclamation. *The Trent Affair* created concern for the Union. Eventually, Lincoln forced Seward to issue an international apology for the actions of Wilkes and the Union. Seward was understandably reluctant. There was clear intolerance from the Federal Government to the whole affair, in addition to their belief that Britain had acted against the Treaty of Paris, set out in 1851. Yet as Lincoln stated, "*One war at a time*"; The Union could not have coped with a combined threat of Britain, the Confederacy and potentially the British colonies and thus the Union issued their apology to Britain.

However, if Britain had gained a diplomatic "upper hand" from the result of *Trent*, it was the Lincoln that took it back in 1863. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation prevented the British from entering the war in support of the Confederacy. Lincoln knew Britain could not publically side with a system supporting slavery, but until this point, the war had not actually involved the question of slavery. But with the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln made the war a fight for the freedom of all Americans. There was very little chance of Britain supporting the South if the North were fighting against slavery, no matter how the British government truly felt.

Furthermore, the use of the ironclads at Hampton Roads had a significant international impact as Britain's wooden navy lay dormant in British ports. The sheer numbers of the British navy would have overpowered the Federal ironclads, but the use of the ironclads sped up British development of their own iron navy. Ironically, division over the production of the *HMS Warrior* was unified as the strength and threat of the ironclads distressed British politicians.

The decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation on 1st January 1863 could be seen as the point where the Confederates began losing the war, even though the war continued for a further 18 months. This may seem a bold statement, but when considering the support the Confederacy had in Britain, there was a good chance Britain may have entered the war. The British public admired the Confederacy. The image of the South seemed to capture their imagination and the hierarchy, whilst morally wrong, was something the British could relate to. Photographs of the Confederate generals were bought by the public and the patriotic military tunes were played in the music parlour of Britain. Stonewall Jackson's memorial in Richmond was even paid for by British admirers. The support for the Confederacy increased as the war continued. The South was at a huge disadvantage at the beginning of the war. And yet, through 1862, the Confederacy began winning many battles. This gained respect from the British.

When looking at the depiction of warfare and British society during the American Civil War, the research suggests that there was a definite favouritism towards the Confederacy but British intervention failed to occur due to Lincoln's diplomatic manoeuvres after Trent and then the power of the ironclads, used principally as a warning to European bystanders.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REPRESENTATION OF SLAVERY AND THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE

The Confederacy's adherence to the institution of slavery is also often used as a reason for Britain's refrainment from interference in the war. In order to assess the validity of this view, an analysis of British public opinion through various media is required. It should be noted that, whilst there are clear connections between Slavery and cotton, this chapter aims to assess Slavery as a moral issue. The economic argument regarding cotton considers the manufacturing process, including the use of Slaves.

Primarily, an understanding of the British position on Slavery, including the History of Britain and Slavery, is necessary as this will provide an understanding of the mid-Victorian perspective on the topic. Furthermore, an understanding of the American position on Slavery at the outbreak of the Civil War is pertinent as this was undoubtedly a complex issue which induced conflict.

The Abolition of Slavery in Britain

One could argue that Slavery existed in the British Isles from before Roman occupation (Cunliffe, 2005) until it was replaced by the Norman societal feudal system (Ganshof, 1952, p158-9), but the trading of slaves in the transatlantic slave trade and the establishment of trade routes in the trade triangle (from Europe to Africa and to the Americas) formalised in the mid-seventeenth century. As Britain, and other European powers, settled in the New World, the demand for labourers increased. This demand could be satisfied through the use

of slaves. Between 1620 and 1865, 597,000 slaves were traded by British traders in America (Miller and Smith, 1988, p678). By 1860, there were around 3,950,538 slaves in America, 13 per cent of the population (1860 census data).

Following the American War of Independence, a number of anti-Slavery movements were established. In 1787, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded (Fogel and Engerman, 1995, p33-34). This society had a number of significant members such as Olaudah Equiano, Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce and Josiah Wedgwood.

Within a year, this movement had minor parliamentary success through gaining the support of Sir William Dolben. Dolben pressurised his colleagues to pass an act to regulate the conditions on slave ships, which was named after Dolben (the Sir William Dolben's Act) (Hochschild, 2005, p140).

The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave trade had further success in 1807 with the Slave Trade Act, which was passed in 1808. This Act outlawed the trading of slaves and was enforced by the British Navy, which patrolled the seas and fined any captain found to be trading slaves £120 per head. The group went on to become the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery (more commonly known as the Anti-Slavery Society) in 1823. This group campaigned for the abolition of slavery in its entirety.

Interestingly, British women had a significant involvement in anti-Slavery campaigns. There are several suggested reasons for this; firstly, many historians have suggested that women had a more emotional connection to the stories of women and children being enslaved and so felt moved to campaign against this; Secondly, as women did not have a voice in Parliament and thus could not be affiliated with many formal groups, women unified in their own groups designed to campaign against Slavery (Campbell, Miers and Miller, 2007).

During the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign, the Baptist War broke out in Jamaica in 1831. Around 50,000 slaves took part in a ten-day rebellion attacking over 225 estates and causing £1million worth of damage. The rebellion was suppressed brutally by Jamaican Government troops who executed rebels and suspected rebels by the hundreds (Reckford, 1968; Turner, 1982.). On hearing reports of the rebellion, the British Government ordered enquiries into the rebellion. The overwhelming conclusion to the enquiry suggested that slavery was unsustainable and the continuation of slavery would only lead to further rebellion, more damage and greater expense (Parliamentary Debates, 1832).

In 1833, the Slavery Abolition Act was ratified. It stated that any former slave of the age of *"...six Years or upwards, shall by force and virtue of this Act, and without the previous Execution of any Indenture of Apprenticeship, or other Deed or Instrument for that Purpose, become and be apprenticed Labourers."* It goes on to clarify *"...every Slave engaged in his ordinary Occupation on the Seas shall be deemed and taken to be within the Colony to which such Slave shall belong'*. This Act, therefore, only realistically freed slaves under the age of six, but all other former-slaves were given apprenticeships. The Act also ensured that any slave owner who was losing their property was to be compensated.

This Act was a well-considered article. Anticipated animosity from former slave-owners was avoided by financially compensating these owners for their loss of property; supplying the slaves with forms of employment circumvented criticism of the Government for any hint of irresponsibly freeing the Slaves; Abolitionists were satisfied by the universal emancipation throughout the British Empire. Thus the British were able to congratulate themselves on a responsible, moral and progressive legislation.

Once Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire, the Anti-Slavery Society evolved once again and became the British and Foreign anti-Slavery Society in 1839 with the purpose of abolishing Slavery throughout the world (Frederick Douglass Papers, 1842-1852). It was this Society that had the most interest and influence in the American Civil War in Britain.

Even though British responsibility for the social, economic and political welfare of the United States had been removed after the War of Independence in the Eighteen Century, some commentators linked American Slavery to British rule. This cartoon from *Punch* magazine in 1850 clearly suggests British responsibility for Slavery;



(Liberty. *Punch*, 5th November 1850)

The illustration suggests that, in the shadow of Britannia's liberty was a resonance of slavery. The artists suggests British aristocratic settlers and colonisers of the 17th and 18th centuries brought slavery to America. Therefore, Britain should have some sort of liability for the race debate. Although Britain may have celebrated its own abolition of Slavery and congratulated its humanity to all races, the creators suggest there is blame for the slaves of America. This would have been a shocking image to the British readers, who had separated themselves from such institutions.

Slavery in America Before the American Civil War

When Britain first colonised America, the Thirteen Colonies were founded with Slavery as part of their societal structure. On gaining independence in 1776, American retained this

institution (Higginbotham, 1980). In fact, by 1825, slaves had replaced the role of servants in America (Adams, 1923; 54).

By the 1840s, Slavery had polarised Northern and Southern States (Kochin, 1995); in 1794, Eli Whitney's invention, the cotton gin, caused the rapid and copious expansion of the cotton industry in the Southern States as cotton fibres could be separated more quickly from their seed (Lakwete, 2003, p97). Following this, the Slavery industry in the agrarian South (especially the "inner south") boomed as plantation owners now required more hands to pick cotton (Pierson. September 2009, Vol. 22). Conversely, Northern States were developing a manufacturing and commercial economy. By 1850, two clear societies existed; the slave-free Northern States, whose economy was defined as factories and heavy industry, and the Southern States, where slaves were used as manual labour on the tobacco, cotton and sugar plantations (Merriam, 2012, p567). It was during this period of economic division that abolitionists in American began to increase their rhetoric and campaigning. Moreover, the Southern States began to believe that both their economy and their culture depended on slavery and that the North was determined upon a course of abolition and of re-making the South in its own identity. By 1860, 90 per cent of American manufacturing came from the Northern States (Benjamin T. Arrington, National Park Service). This was to impact heavily on the course of the Civil War in terms of munitions, railroad development and manpower in factories.

Actual major conflict had been kept in check during the rapid period of territorial expansion by a series of compromises. After The Wilmot Proviso's proposal of a introducing a slave free state in the newly acquired territory from Mexico, it was clear that the debate on Slavery had now become a political concern (Cooper, 1978, p234). Inspired by Proviso's attempt,

Senator Lewis Cass introduced the concept of popular sovereignty, suggesting that whether a state was to allow Slavery was a State issue and not a Federal matter (Klunder, 2006, p129-153). Overall, the doctrine was a failure as both Northern and Southern Democrats disputed the terms.

The most significant event in the development of political discussion over Slavery was the application of the territory of California to become a state of the United States. On application, California declared itself as Slave-free. Southerners felt that approval of California into the United States would increase the numbers of anti-Slavery senators and thus decisions on policy making would be biased towards this point of view (Ellison, 1950, p221). Therefore, a compromise was agreed.

The Compromise of 1850 comprised of five major points; Firstly, California was admitted as a free state (Hamilton, 1965, p160). Secondly, the selling of slaves was abolished in the District of Columbia, although Slavery continued (Holt, 1978, p48). Thirdly and fourthly, the Territories of Utah and New Mexico were organised under popular sovereignty. Finally, the Fugitive Slave Act was passed (Campbell, 1970, p141-6). This was the most explosive element of the Compromise. The Act made it Federal Law to return any runaway slave to their owner and also stripped any legal rights of that runaway slave. Many Northern States reacted to this Act; Boston, for example, created many anti-Slavery associations with the aim of protecting any black fugitives. One very famous group was The Boston Vigilance Committee (Nel, 2002, p99).

Debate on Slavery was further exacerbated by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed the inhabitants of the state to determine for themselves whether they were to allow slavery. Hundreds of pro-Slavery and anti-Slavery rushed to the territory in an attempt to affect the outcome. Violence then erupted leading to the colloquial name of “Bleeding Kansas” for the territory (Etcheson, 2001). Kansas had reduced itself to a bloody, internal Civil War in which the use of terror and murder became common (Goodrich, 2004).

The Fugitive Slave Act doctrine was found wanting after the Dred Scott case of 1857. Scott was a slave who had lived in the slave-free state of Illinois and Wisconsin before moving back to the slave state Missouri. On his return to Missouri, he appealed to the Supreme Court for his freedom. In the Supreme Court Decision, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney declared all blacks – slaves and free – to be non-citizens of the United States and thus Scott may not have his freedom, stating that Scott “...had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit...”.

The judgement of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott of 1857 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 sparked a series of seven public debates in 1858 between Stephen Douglass and Abraham Lincoln, both future presidential candidates (Guelzo, 2008).

In 1859, John Brown escalated tensions significantly with his attack on Harper’s Ferry. Having come to prominence during the Kansas Campaign where he and his supporters slaughtered five pro-Slavery Southerners, Brown had made it his life’s mission to abolish Slavery (Reynolds, 2005, p6). At Harper’s Ferry, Brown’s plan was to seize the armoury, arm the free black men and then emancipate the slaves. Unfortunately, his plan failed as the free

blacks did not follow Brown. Brown was eventually captured, trialled by the State of Virginia and hanged (Barney, 2001). Southerners celebrated his execution, whereas Northerners and abolitionists viewed him as a martyr (Potter, 1976, p378-79). Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that John Brown was the meteor or trigger of the Civil War.

The election of 1860 brought matters to a head and the eventual election of Abraham Lincoln as President alienated most Southern States. Lincoln only won with 40 per cent of the popular vote. Before Lincoln's inaugural address, seven Southern States had passed secession ordinances; South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas (Klein, 1999, p321). As these Southern States seceded with the threat of other states to also secede, war became a matter of certainty as the Federal Government confronted individual state's governments in a war to restore the Union.

Interestingly, the British public were made aware of the tension in America over the election of Lincoln even before secession happened. This sketch by Tenniel was created on December 1st 1860; South Carolina seceded on 20th December.



(Monkey Uncommon Up, Massa! *Punch*, Volume 39, December 1, 1860, p. 220)

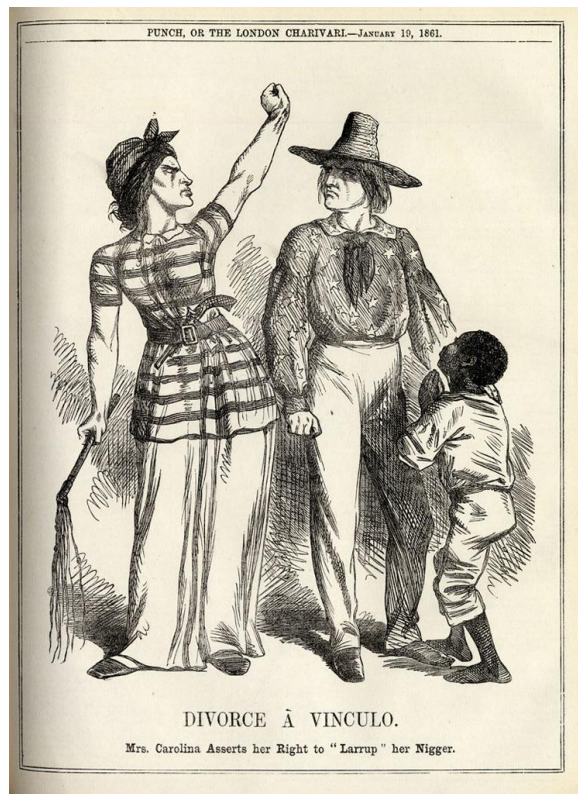
This illustration, titled “Monkey Uncommon Up, Massa!” disclosed to the British public how the Southern States received the news of Lincoln’s election and suggests the controversy surrounding the election and race relations.

The image shows an African American man, presumably a slave, stating “Hab you seen de papar Sar?”. This would have been considered quite an insolent question because it suggests the African American man read the paper before his, presumably, white master. The Victorian readers would have known that the African-American literacy rate was quite low. In fact, in Alabama in 1833, a law was passed stating that, anyone who attempted to teach any African-American “...to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by

indictment, be fined in a sum not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars (Aiken, 1836, p22). Therefore, this source is inaccurate, but the message is made more persuasive through the inaccuracy.

One should also note the whip in the white man's pocket. This may be to prove the man in the master, but it may also be in reference to South Carolina's order; Some slave owners in the Southern States were so outraged by the election of Lincoln that they whipped all their slaves in an act of defiance against the new President. The look on the face of the Southern gentleman clearly supports the disgust of his election. The title reference to "monkey" may refer to Lincoln himself who was compared to a monkey and a baboon by critical journalists (Museum of the Confederacy, Virginia, visited July 2008).

This is an ambiguous source in terms of British interpretation. A Victorian Britain may have sympathised with the slave owner in that the slave is being insolent towards his master; The British were very keen on order and hierarchy and the slave is clearly speaking out of place. The whip, however, slavery itself and act of violence that some slave owners used against their slaves would have appalled the majority of the population. In either case, there is no interpretation of Lincoln himself, just how the news was received in the South. One further point to note is the pistol in the belt of the white man. This suggests that whipping would be used as a punishment and yet the gun threatens something more sinister. This could either be the murder of the slave as an ultimate punishment or even the war itself as pistols were a weapon given to the officer classes. The gun may allude to Lincoln's famous speech of 1858 made during one of the Lincoln-Douglass debates at Illinois State Capitol, in which he stated the famous lines, *"A house divided against itself cannot stand"*.



(Divorce a Vinculo. Punch, Volume 40, January 19, 1861, p. 27)

This next image was created on January 19th 1861 and its subject was the Acts of Secession. By this date, South Carolina (December 20th 1860), Mississippi (January 9th 1861), Florida (January 10th 1861) and Alabama (January 11th 1861) had seceded (Editors, 2012.). The remaining Southern States were yet to secede, although Georgia seceded on the date of this cartoon's publication.

The title is in reference to the Latin *Vinculo Matrimonii* meaning "from the bond of matrimony." It is used in family law to mean a final divorce. Therefore, the image represents the seceding States that are "divorcing" from the Union. The image shows "Mrs. Carolina" and Brother Jonathan as the arguing couple. The Stars and Stripes flag of the United States has been divided between the two figures, symbolising the divide in America; Mrs. Carolina wears the stripes whereas Brother Jonathan wears the stars in his shirt. Mrs. Carolina also

holds a whip in her hand and a gun tucked into her waist belt, both images used by Tenniel, to convey the idea of threat, violence and tyranny of the Southern States. The caption reads "Mrs. Carolina asserts her Right to 'Larrup' her Nigger", meaning South Carolina was demanding their right to slavery. She is stood demanding brother Jonathan to move aside so she can get to the African-American boy. Brother Jonathan is standing between her and the child symbolising the Federal interference that questioned the Southern States' right to Slavery. Tenniel is, therefore, suggesting that the issues brought up by the states' rights were merely a gloss for "preservation of slave owners' property rights." It has been suggested that the young boy clinging to Brother Jonathan was drawn by Tenniel to represent the child on Josiah Wedgwood's emblem for the Society for the Abolition of Slavery (shown below).



British Support for American Abolition

The course of free labour became an ever more a central pillar in the Victorian economy (Heffer, 2003, chapter 4) and the formation of such organisations as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1839, and the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society (originally founded in 1825 as the Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves) indicated the Victorian consciousness and moral opposition to the continuation of Slavery beyond the British

Empire (Birmingham City Archives: Women's Antislavery Collection). Following the abolition of Slavery in the British Empire in 1833, many of these societies reduced in membership.

Frederick Douglass attempted to revive British interest in anti-Slavery campaigns through a tour of Britain. In a speech in Finsbury Chapel on May 22nd, 1846, Douglass explained why Slavery in American should be campaigned against in Britain. He stated that the people of America had almost become blinded to the immorality of the system and thus it required "...the morality of the world to remove it...I expose slavery in this country because to expose it is to kill it". By encouraging the international community to campaign against American Slavery, Douglass hoped slaveholders would be "...surrounded, by a wall of anti-slavery fire, so that he may see the condemnation of himself and his system glaring down in letters of light..." (Douglass, Finsbury Chapel, May 22 1846).

Douglass continued his campaign tour in Taunton, strengthening his position that Britain had a moral obligation in pursuing the global abolition of Slavery. His highly emotive speech made the British audience share in the accountability for American Slavery, suggesting it was "...the curse inflicted upon it by your fathers". This argument links to the *Punch* cartoon "Liberty: The Shadow of English Liberty in America," which argued that the British colonisers founded a society that relied on Slavery. Douglass also drew on the similarities between the British and the Americans to engage his audience, stating "You should take an interest in this matter because you speak the same language as Americans... you profess the same religion, your standard of morality is the admitted standard of morals in America." Douglass almost pleaded to the British audience "...let the press of England blaze with anti-slavery indignation. Let it call upon the Americans to abolish slavery..." (Douglass, Taunton, 1st September 1846).

Douglass's speeches demonstrated how un-Christian Slavery was. He stated that the slave owners retracted the basic right of religion and God in the slaves' lives (Bridgewater speech featured in *The Times*, September 3rd 1844). This would not have been received well by a highly Christian, Victorian, British audience. He also suggested that the slave owners almost took on the role of God in the slaves' lives. The Victorian audience would have immediately recognised this as arrogant and wrong.

Douglas's impact on Britain is difficult to quantify. He conducted over 300 lectures , which were clearly popular, as attendants' figures totaled over 1500 people from different economic background (Blackett, 1983, p17-19). One observer, Catherine Clarkson, stated, "Mr Douglass is making a great impression on this country" (Blassingame, 1979, p101).

In addition to Douglass's lectures, the British were made unequivocally aware of the evils of Slavery in America through the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin". Originally published as a serial in 1851 in the abolitionist newspaper *The National Era*, edited by Gamaliel Bailey in Washington, the success of the publication meant there was demand to collate the publications into a novel. The novel was first published on March 20th 1852. The immediate success and popularity of the novel spread beyond the United States and by May 1852, Clarke & Company published in London. Further to this edition, further English editions followed including illustrated editions, authorized in addition to various configurations such as copies with special binding and copies with cloth (Patkus & Schlosser, 2000). *The Times* reported on Friday 3rd September 1852 "Twenty thousand copies of this book... are circulating among the American people, but three times as many thousands more has probably been issued from the American press since the title page was written". *The Times* suggested the immediate impact of the publication was proven through

the abolition of Slavery in Seven American States⁷. But *The Times* also shows foresight, almost warning America, "...abolition must be the result of growth, not of revolution..." (Friday 3rd Sept 1852). The article includes rhetoric on Northern and Southern States, showing an international awareness in 1852 of the economic divisions in America. The article concludes that emancipation must be "...by a method that has not failed in older countries to remove national troubles almost as intolerable as that of Slavery itself".

Even though there was substantial Southern opposition to the book, such as William Gilmore Simms who declared the work utterly false and slanderous (Ridgely, 1960, p421-433), the international imagination was convinced. Within the year, over a million and a half copies were sold which placed the Bible as the second-best selling book. On the eve of publication, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were presented with a copy by Stowe herself on with a cover note stating, "...when fugitives by thousands are crowding British shores she would enlist for them the sympathy of British hearts...". Beecher Stowe then appears to the Queen directly, stating "...The author is encouraged by the thought that beneath the royal insignia of England throbs that woman's & mother's heart ..." (March 20th, 1852) Whilst this may have been a presumptuous act by Stowe, on reading the book, Queen Victoria is said to have wept due to the emotive and striking content with little Eva's death (Wilson, 1941, p338).

Stowe herself become a minor celebrity and toured Britain. She attended the Glasgow Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society in 1853 (Hedrick, 1994, p236) and then continued a tour around Britain, collecting money and gifts (Meer, 2005, p165). It was Stowe's novel and new

⁷ There is no evidence to support this claim made by *The Times*. Recently approved territories voted to be non-Slave holding states and some states, such as Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire had already abolished Slavery in the 18th Century, but direct abolition caused by the book is unfounded.

status as celebrity that reignited interest in anti-Slavery societies. In fact, on meeting Stowe in 1862, Lincoln went as far as to state, "So this is the little lady who started the great war" (Stowe, 1911, p203).

Undoubtedly, Douglass and Stowe's presence in Britain throughout the 1840s and early 1850s had a significant effect on the anti-Slavery campaign for America. Funds were raised and British memberships to anti-Slavery organisations increased. On Douglass's return to Britain in 1859 following John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, Douglass was disappointed to find that anti-Slavery rhetoric had diminished and racism towards blacks had increased. Certainly, the *Leicestershire Mercury* supports this by recording this opening remark on the visit of the abolitionist Reverend R. J. Balme "*Owing to the fair, the fine weather, or some other cause.. the attendance was so small than an adjourninto the Mayor's Parlour was considered advisable*" (Saturday May 18th 1861). It seems the British public may have grown weary of the debate, campaigns and lectures from American abolitionists, when the subject did not directly affect their daily lives. Clarkson supports this theory, writing, "...many seem to think that having paid 22,000,000 to redeem our own slaves England has nothing more to do" (Blassingame, 1979, p101). This is further supported by the termination of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* publication by 1863 (Blackett, 1986).

Therefore, by the commencement on the American Civil War, Britain's anti-Slavery position was still relevant for its own Empire, but less potent in its international view. To further demonstrate this point, on meeting Stowe in 1856, Queen Victoria was warned this may appear in support of anti-Slavery campaigns and the danger this may present to the cotton imports from the Southern States. Queen Victoria replied "America and Slavery was a question with which Great Britain had nothing to do with" (Wilson, 1942, p232).

The commencement of the war, however, made Britain's position more difficult to maintain. Both Union and Confederacy were aware of this. Therefore, campaigns to gain British intervention included the subject of Slavery.

Why did Britain Fail to Oppose the Confederacy?

When considering Britain's own history of abolition as well as the mid-Victorian society being rooted in Christian values and morals, an assumption may be formed that Britain would immediately oppose the Confederacy based on their retention of Slavery.

A number of the original British Abolitionists, who were now part of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, focused their attention of raising the profile of Slavery in the Confederacy in an attempt to gain international support for abolition. Whilst Quaker abolitionist, Joseph Sturge⁸, had died in 1859, he had raised the profile of American slavery. In 1841 he had visited the United States and published his findings in *A Visit to the United States* in 1842, which included details on slave auctions, individual stories of cruelty and the abolitionist movement in America. Sturge's findings were widely published and he even approached President Tyler with his arguments, but was largely ignored (Fladeland, 1972, p381-282). Harriet Martineau, a English social theorist who write several essays and essays on utilitarian themed issues such as slavery and also feminism, also continued her abolitionist work in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. She worked as the English correspondent for the American Anti-Slavery Standard (Sanders, 1990, p205). Elizabeth Blackwell actively supported the Union in the war, training nurses to aid the soldiers fighting

⁸ Sturge was a Quaker, abolitionist and activist who believed in equal rights for all and working-class rights. His persuasive publications in the 1830s aided the British abolitionist campaign, especially at the time of the Jamaican Uprising,

for the cause of abolition. However, direct campaigning by British abolitionists was reduced and, instead, abolitionism was mostly campaigned for by American abolitionists in Britain.

Further to the debate over abolition, the decision on how to free the slaves was controversial. The debate ranged from gradual emancipation or immediate emancipation. Both Sturge and Martineau favoured immediate abolition, rejecting the arguments that ex-slaves needed any form of gradual intervention into society in order to learn how to vote or to work and pay taxes. However, many people, such as Lord Brougham, argued this to be irresponsible and instead suggested a passage of gradual emancipation.

Although the years of the American Civil War pre-date the great age of the impact of American Revivalism and the hymns of Sankey and Moody on British Society (who first met in 1871), it is nonetheless a considerable influence which can be seen in the religious literature and worship which can be seen on the religious literature and worship during the war years linking both the Second Awakening in America (Smith, 1965) and the rise of anti-slavery with British religious sentiment.

By the mid 19th century, a certain propriety was linked to the religious press, with a common view of morality and justice in which the integrity of society was protected by a rigid hierarchy with a rich sense of decorum verging on hypocrisy. The British Empire was the stage for the British missionary and the bringing of Christianity and the wider benefits of education to the British Empire was undertaken against the backdrop of the British abolition of slavery in 1833.

As Christianity advanced, a new sense of white superiority also began to develop as the suppression of indigenous people through religion became more common. Many African-Americans travelled to England to campaign for the abolition of Slavery or in an attempt to raise funds for their own personal quest to free family still in bondage, as *The South London Review* exemplifies; "...Two coloured persons, who have purchased their own freedom, have come over to this country in order to raise a fund for the redemption of the two sons and two daughters..." (Saturday November 10th 1860).

The same article expresses the anticipated response to Lincoln's presidency and American Slavery, "In the struggle which is now going on for the Presidency, Mr. Lincoln, who is favourably known for his anti-Slavery opinions, seems to have the greatest chance of success, and in that case the whole Government will be reversed... ". This, almost heralding extract, suggests that Englishmen should unite with American abolitionist movements as the institution of Slavery is wholly unchristian. Additionally, the journalist uses England as the exemplar, which would have appealed to patriotic readers and the superior sensibility that the British felt over America. What a glorious day will that be for America when she imitates the example of old England and emancipate her slaves!

The Southern States made no attempt to disconnect the Christian congregations from slaveholding. As the *Southern Methodist Itinerant* records, "...there are hundreds of slaveholders in Virginia... who are acceptable members of the Methodist Episcopal Church... The fact is, the preacher in charge of that very station, was a slave holder..." (Monday, 17th May 1857). Moreover, when the Southern troops marched to war, many declared the war to be a religious war for the "Cause of Christ, the interests of religion" (Genoverse, 1998, p3). Whilst many justifications could be given for making the war and the retention of

Slavery a religious war, the two most common defences were, firstly, that slavery had been scripturally sanctioned in the Bible, and secondly, that the slave masters were fulfilling the Christian duties by actually improving the natural condition of the Africans.

The British press, however, could not justify Confederate Slavery with religious scripture. The contemporary religious press and the direction from the pulpits was, understandably, more outspoken about the evils of slavery.

Grant (1918, p20) and Lorimer (1976, p415) examine a vast plethora of contemporary religious press, using extracts from *The Jewish Talmud*, *The African Times*, *Evangelical Christendom*, *Church Missionary Intelligence*, *The Record*, *The Methodist Reporter*, *The Welseyan Methodist Magazine* and *The Baptist Magazine*. The pages of *The Church Times*, *The Catholic Weekly* and *The Catholic Messenger*, were equally full of comment and opinion on the American Civil War and on the issue of slavery in particular. The general message that can be deduced from the religious press is that blood spilt by the American's on both sides was divine punishment for America retaining slavery for so long.

What is very clear in numerous articles is that all religions discredited journalists justifying Slavery with scripture. Grant cites two extracts that demonstrate this; Firstly, *The Jewish Talmud* defends the Old Testament; "...The Midrash is of opinion that the exodus from Egyptian bondage was granted on condition that the Israelites should never more allow themselves to sink into a state of servitude"; Equally, Samuel Garrett (1863) defends the New Testament against such allegations, "The Bible as a whole... is an anti-slavery book; and

though there are certain passages in the Old Testament which permitted slavery in a semi-civilized age, there are none which recommend the institution to the adoption of a people”.

But interestingly, there were ministers that looked for a positive view of the Confederacy. Whilst British ministers could not voice a pro-Confederate view with any hint of justifying slavery, there were more subtle methods to write supportively for the Confederacy. The Reverend Malet⁹ wrote numerous anecdotes in his widely popular journal that linked Southern white Slave masters with the introduction of blacks to Christianity. He praised the African-American population for their commitment to church, using statistics to commend their devoutness; “3,204,089 negro slaves and 428,661 free negroes... No one can be more regular at church than the negroes” (Malet; 1867, p39).

In reality, going to church and religious festivals would have been valuable time away from duties for the slaves, so it is no wonder so many African-American people were so “regular at church”. Also, it may be that slaves were forced to go to church by the Christian slave owner. Yet Malet does not take these views into consideration. Malet’s entire journal reflects on how much care and consideration is taken by slave owners to ensure their slaves are well treated; “Mrs. W- gives out supplies of food weekly, viz, corn flour, rice and bacon, and salt;- molasses, of which they are very fond, is now scarcely to be had; but they have a little, and plenty of honey and they are well clothed”.

⁹ Malet was a British minister who travelled to the Southern States of America and kept a journal of his findings of the religious health of the country.

Further in his journal, Malet seems to accuse the Union of mistreatment of the slaves. By declaring war and causing hardship on the Confederacy, the plantation and slave owners struggled to maintain food supplied. The male staff would be drafted to war and the war would prevent food being distributed around the countries. Therefore, the Confederacy would not have so much food readily available. In the excerpt, Malet suggests that because of the war, the plantation mistress is unable to carry out the same amount of care to her workers as she usually would because she is unable to obtain the same amount of supplied.

Whilst the majority of the religious press did not support slavery due to its inhumane nature, there were individuals that were able to see slavery as being a positive system. Malet's journal would have been read widely and, as his journal was a first-hand experience of travelling the South and seeing slavery with his own eyes, many people may have been swayed by his comments. However, the quantity of anti-slavery religious material would have certainly out-weighed Malet's singular publication. Therefore, any religious editor in favour of the south would have to focus their articles away from slavery and towards other aspects of the Confederacy that could be viewed positively.

When withdrawing the immorality of Slavery, there were considerable arguments in favour of supporting the Confederacy, even with Slavery. The British saw some attraction in the concept of an independent Confederacy as this created two competing economics through two states in Northern America. The prospect of two markets put Britain in a potentially strong position; The Confederacy would need a powerful ally to help set up the new country, and Britain was one of the most powerful countries in the world. In addition, several British politicians and leading members of the landed society approved of the Southern aristocratic image. In fact, the majority of diplomatic effort turned towards ways of justifying the

survival of the Confederacy. The Union's economic power would also be reduced as it would need to import raw materials and compete with Britain for Southern cotton. As Britain and the Southern States already had trade links, Britain thought the South would maintain these links. The Union would have fought a costly war and so not be able to increase their bid for raw materials.

Admittedly, Union campaigners continued to appeal to the British public for support, but their campaigns were a lot more challenging due to the popularity of the Confederacy. Other politicians found advantage in the continuation of the war itself, whilst both British and American Abolitionists campaigned heavily within British politics. Knowing that Britain was not in support of the Union, but was firm in its anti-slavery beliefs, politicians and commissioners from both sides of the American struggle were sent to London by their respective presidents to appeal for support. It has already been pointed out that Britain in the mid 19th century was the most powerful nation in the world, with an Empire that spanned over one quarter of the globe; Support from Britain was desirable to both Union and Confederacy.

It should also be noted that Britain was well aware of this fact and used this position to her best advantage. In addition, Britain was a huge military power at the time; any involvement from this army would add huge advantage. The question was, would Britain involve itself in the civil war of a country based on its anti-slavery ideology? Furthermore, could it fully recognise the Confederation of Southern States as an independent country when the economy was based on a labour system that was deemed socially unacceptable?

Knowing the difficulty the British Government faced in supporting either Confederacy or the Union (which had not yet mentioned the possibility of Emancipation in its war rhetoric and in which the British Government did not entirely trust at this time), numerous campaigns began to influence the British Government in favour of one side or the other.

At the outset, the British cabinet was united in an official policy of neutrality, even though three of its members had some sympathy for Confederate support; Prime Minister Palmerston stated that a Southern Confederacy “would afford a valuable and extensive market for British manufactures” (Ridley, 1970, p552); Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell’s sympathy also lay with the Confederacy and Chancellor of the Exchequer (Beisner; 2003); and William Ewart Gladstone made several positive speeches referring to Jefferson Davis such as his speech in Newcastle where he stated, “... Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an Army; they are making, it appears, a Navy; and they have... made a Nation” (Cooper, 2010, p435).

Gladstone appeared to endorse the notion of the de facto existence of an independent South as the Confederacy had elected both a separate president and was forming independent armies to fight to defend herself. Gladstone was also rumoured to have purchased Confederate cotton bonds (Bigelow, 1923, p5). The Northern newspaper *Harper’s Weekly* reported on Gladstone’s public Southern support in a long and highly critical article where it stated,

He (Gladstone) admits that Great Britain has sympathized with the Southern rebels. This he justifies, first, on the ground once taken by Earl Russell, that the North is contending for power, the South

for independence; and secondly, because it would have been impolitic for England to have made enemies of 8,000,000 Southerners (whereof 4,000,000 are negro slaves) by sympathizing with the North (Saturday May 24th 1862).

It is probable that, like the American Founding Fathers of the 18th Century, these men expected the Confederacy to abandon the use of slavery of its own volition. On an economic level, the case appeared simple as Britain imported 80% of the output of the South's cotton production. This vast economic dependency would present Europe with great diplomatic influence over the Confederation; essentially Europe would be able to apply heavy pressure on the Confederacy to force her to make far-reaching changes. It would be at this point that the European nations, in particular Britain, would impress the importance of the Confederacy being a slave-free system (1862, Russell's Memorandum to the Cabinet, Gladstone to Argyll, 26th Aug 1862,). Palmerston was more cautious in his open political discussions because of his position as Prime Minister. However, in 1896 Gladstone recollected in his "Recorded Errors" that Palmerston was highly anti-slavery, but far shrewder on the nature of the American conflict. In the Palmerston's opinion, the devastation and cost of the war between the Union and the Confederacy meant the two sides would weaken each other. With the perpetuation of the conflict, the scale of cost would increase whilst the power of each side kept weakening. This was advantageous for Britain from an economic point of view as well as her position as a world power.; The rivalry between the two nations would not be as competitive as America would be divided and economically crippled, whilst Britain would be far more superior. It was not only Palmerston who held this rather cold, but calculated view. Edmund Hammond, permanent under-secretary of the Foreign Office, and Lord Clarendon were also in agreement (Parliamentary Papers, Clarendon to Hammond, 28th April, 19th Oct and 29th Oct, 1862).

Campaigning to influence British public opinion was widespread in support of both sides. The pamphleteering in this period in Britain reveals the extent to which the three issues of warfare, slavery and “King Cotton” became the touchstone for the debate.

Aware that the British Government was more likely to support the Confederacy due to the political and economic advantage it offered Britain, pro-Confederate organisations directed their campaigns to the British public, using similar views to those spoken by British Ministers. This was a sensible option as the ministers had already gained some support for the Confederacy and so the pro-Confederate organisations were simply reinforcing the views. Doubtlessly, it was the efforts by a number of individuals that made a great difference to the amount of support each side achieved. These individuals were responsible for editing news or finding faults in their respective side’s opposition. One individual that must be mentioned in this section is James Spence. Blackett even makes the statement, “*One cannot imagine a Confederate movement in Britain without Spence*” (Blackett, 2001, p140). He was an iron merchant, a shipper and a stockbroker in Manchester in the 1860s. He was often referred to as “The Headquarter of the southern sentiment” for his open campaigning for the Confederacy. His efforts for the cause included organising of a group of Liverpool gentlemen to press for Confederate recognition, and then expanding his efforts to Manchester, Oldham and Birmingham. Spence wrote pamphlets on “The American Union; its effect on national character and policy, with an inquiry into secession as a constitutional right, and the causes of the disruption,” and “Recognition of the Southern Confederation”. In fact, it was Spence that encouraged Henry Hotze to found *The Index*, the pro-Confederate newspaper, for which he offered to write the editorial free of charge. It was Hotze and Spence’s difference of opinion over Slavery that turned this friendship bitter. Spence’s view was British recognition of an independent Confederacy would aid gradual and responsible

Emancipation. The Southern Independence Associations, which he either set up or had strong affiliations with, supported Spence and passed resolutions in favour of the recognition of the Confederacy. Hotze was never as outspoken with his assurances of the Confederacy abandoning its system. Instead, he simply suggested that an independent Confederacy would take into account the wishes and beliefs of her European "friends" (May 29th 1862 p.73; 2nd Oct 1862 p.360-2; 6th Nov 1862, p.25; 20th Nov 1862 p58-9)/

Whilst reading Spence's pamphlets, various speeches, and affiliations with pro-Confederate authorities demonstrates the amount of pro-Confederate literature in circulation, it does not suggest if his actions were successful. One factor to support Spence's fame, persuasion and popularity is that key politicians of the day, such as John Roebuck, were keen supporters of Spence. In fact, a certain amount of dialogue between the campaigner and politician was built up. Roebuck was one of the politicians in close proximity and influential to Palmerston (Steele, 1991, p126-127). Roebuck supported Palmerston's aggressive foreign policy and the likelihood is that Palmerston used and studied Spence's work for his own political agenda and speeches to Parliament. In fact, numerous points from Spence's pamphlets are reflected in the speeches of politicians such as Russell. Also, from the epithet "The Headquarter of the Southern Sentiment," one could argue he was quite prominent. It is unclear just how many people referred to him in this way, i.e. it may have just been people who knew him and his campaigning, or his greatest supporters. But, the fact he helped launch *The Index* by putting his name to it and writing editorials may be substantial evidence for his success, but the readership of this newspaper has not yet been established. To measure Spence's influence, one must try and investigate the circulation of his pamphlets, the extent of his fame and the readership of the newspaper he wrote the editorial for (until his row with Hotze). The extent of his fame is the simplest to establish. He was well known in Northern industrial and

merchant circles, as well as Pro-Confederate organisations. It seems that any Confederacy supporting association was influenced, created or run by Spence. This, in turn, affects the popularity of his pamphlets. Pamphlet figures are difficult to establish due to the nature of their design. Pamphlets were circulated freely in various public places such as meeting houses. There was also a certain amount of distribution to passers-by at train stations etc. However, aware of Spence's fame and popularity, one can estimate the readership of these were high. It may also be true that a number of pamphlets would have been published in Hotze's newspaper throughout the early years of its formation. In terms of *The Index*, for a political newspaper, its readership was high, but it seems not possible to gain figures for readership or circulation. Furthermore, the readership and influence of the newspaper probably exceeded its circulation figures as articles would be passed on through discussion or narration amongst meeting groups.

One very significant point to note is that Spence actually began losing support from the Confederates later in his campaigning. In order to gain more pro-Confederate support, his views, speeches and pamphlets became increasingly critical of the Southern States system of slavery, whilst assuring his various audiences that the slave system would not continue in a Confederation that traded with Europe. In fact, Jefferson Davis heard of his work and demanded that the Confederate Commissioner in London, James M. Mason, halt all communication and affiliation with Spence (Ellsion, 1959, p94; Cullop, 1969, p82).

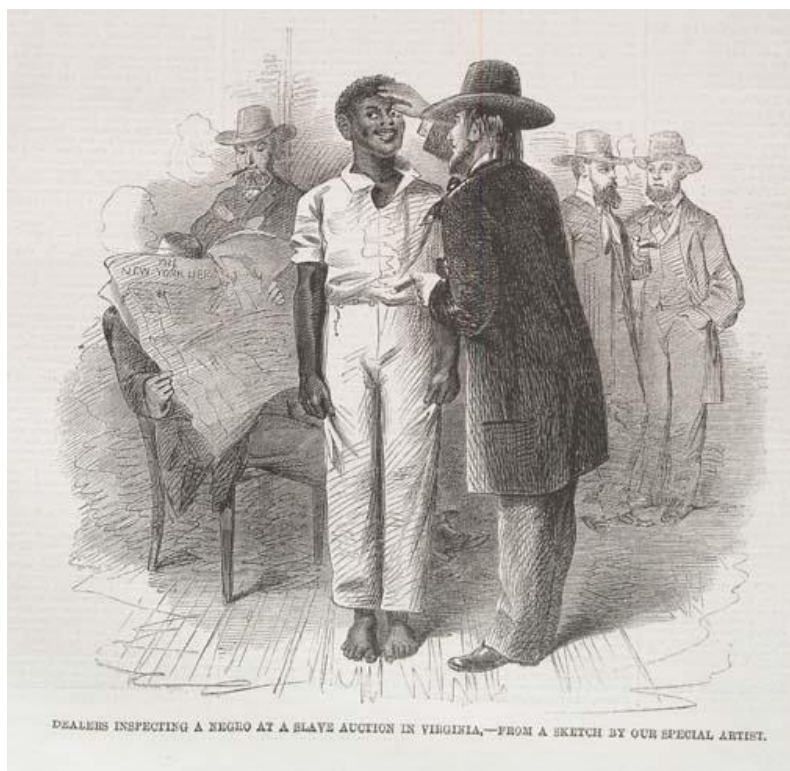
A second individual that was also highly influential for the Confederacy was Alexander James Beresford-Hope. Grant describes "...his aversion to slavery was the touchstone for the British ruling classes..." (1918, p16-17) as his pamphlets and speeches were instrumental in British Christianity, the Confederacy and the class system in Britain. His attitude towards slavery

was the typical opposition that most Britons felt. The only problem with Beresford-Hope's rhetoric was that occasionally he found ways to defend the slave system. For example, he wrote, "...In the free States, the negro is treated with unchristian cruelty... in the slave States this terrible aversion has no existence, nor is found a much milder degree..", therefore suggesting that, whilst the Southern States did advocate slavery, the North considered African Americans with no more respect or admiration. He also stated that Slavery was a "curse and misfortune", but then attempted to defend some of the slave owners, suggesting, "...the best of slave owners make its chains as light as possible – they educate the blacks, make them Christians while in Africa they would remain uncivilised" (20th March 2009).

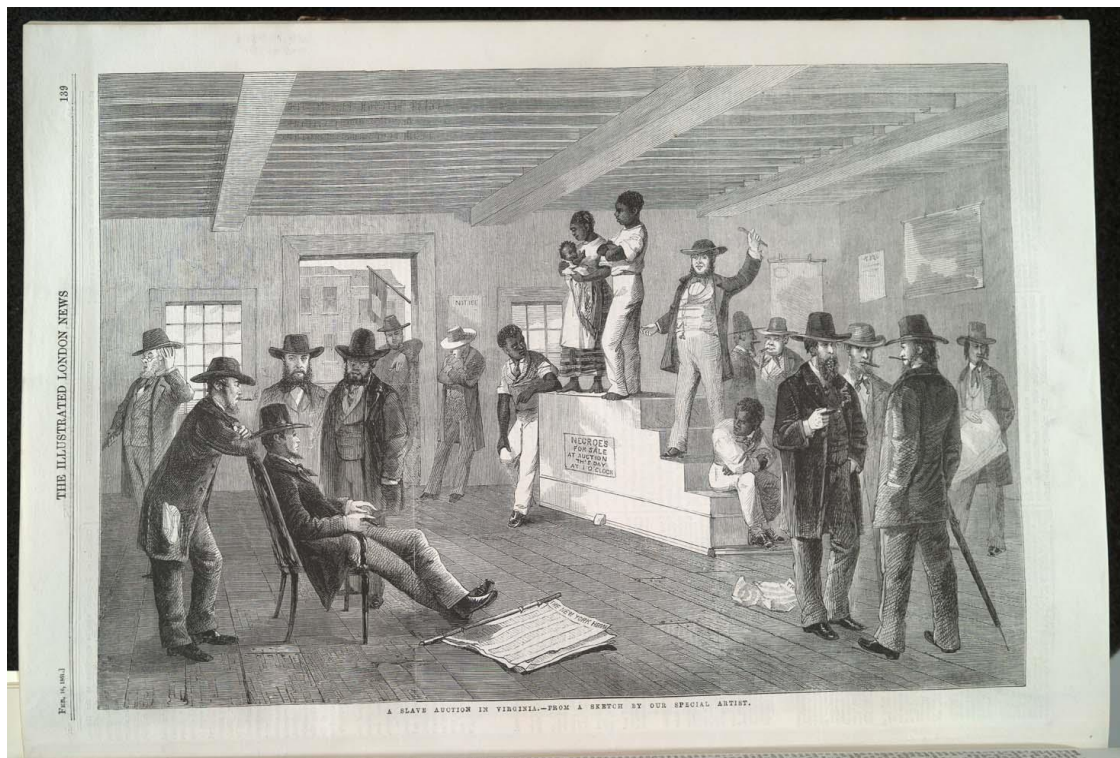
It is interesting that Beresford-Hope made these comments that seem to contradict his opposition to slavery. It may be that he truly believed slaves had a better life as enslaved Christians, as opposed to their native Africa with tribal religions. However, there may be a different argument. This statement by Beresford-Hope seems to be identifying subtle sympathies for the slaveholders whilst still articulating his anti-slavery persuasions. By completely ridiculing the Confederacy for retaining slavery, the British would have no defence for the Southern States and thus would be unable to ally themselves with the Confederacy. This alienation would be a complete disaster for pro-Confederate ambitions. The "Southern Gentleman" was a romantic image favoured by the British aristocracy, and cruel slave-owning masters would certainly destroy this ideal. Furthermore, the aristocracy admired the stories and military prowess of such Southern generals as Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson. In order to retain these impressions, Beresford-Hope continued to praise Confederate military leadership.

During Britain's own campaign for abolition, many images were created which supported the writings of abolitionists. These images were incredibly powerful as they were universally understood and emotive in content. One would therefore anticipate similar images of American Slavery in British circulation to support the American abolitionists. Yet Stowe's descriptions of the brutal treatment of slaves, from the selling of slaves to the life of slaves on plantations, are far removed from the images presented in the *Illustrated London News*. The first *ILN* issue during the civil war that involves images of Slavery is that of February 16th 1861 has two images.

The first image is pictured below; "*Dealers Inspecting a Negro at a Slave Auction in Virginia;*"



The second was "*A Slave Auction in Virginia*"; ;



(*ILN* February 16th 1861)

Both these images were produced by the newspaper's "Special Artist" Frank Vizetelly, and were a visual reproduction of an event Vizetelly witnessed. The *ILN* were clearly impressed with Vizetelly's sketch and the topic as the images and narrative warranted a full page print. At the date of production, February 1861, the State of Virginia had not yet reached its decision of secession, although it was to secede on April 17th 1861. Virginia declared that it would remain part of Union so long as the United States did not make any move of aggression towards the seceded States. This peace lasted until the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12th. Therefore, this slave sale in February took place in United States territory. These images were more potent because of Virginia's role in forming the Constitution of the United States and its role in forming the original Declaration of Independence.

The images show the process of auctioning and buying slaves. A man, woman and child stand on the block at the auction room. The slaves are visibly unhappy at the auction, as the mother clutches her baby and the man has his arms folded, whilst the buyers stand around half-interested and half in conversation. The inspection of the slave demonstrates how the slaves were regarded – a commercial good or animal where prospective buyers investigate their bodies for faults or areas that may limit their capability.

The mid-Victorian British audience would have undoubtedly disapproved of the auctioning of slaves and the inspection of the slave would have repulsed many viewers. Similarly, the obvious dismay on the faces of the slave family would have evoked sympathy. However, when comparing these images to descriptions of slave auctions, these images are far softer in their message. Slaves were often stripped naked to show how obedient they were (due to the lack of lash scars on the backs) and how healthy there were (Bancroft, 1996, p178). Slaves were often forced to dance or jump to show their energy levels. Solomon Northup's famous autobiography details the scene at an auction and comments on how "The little fellow was made to jump, and run across the floor, and perform many other feats, exhibiting his activity and condition" (Northup, 1853, p78-92). In fact, Northup describes the auction as "...one of the most barbaric practices of the harsh system of slavery...". Yet the *ILN* opted to portray the auction as a much more civil event than many other accounts suggest. It is unlikely that Vizetelly coincidentally attended an auction so different from opposing accounts. Therefore, the assumption is that he portrayed it in a way that would not offend or repulse the readers. There are elements of truth to the images; the distress on the slaves' faces and the inspection of the slave. However, the slaves do not appear to be opposing the system, nor do they appear harmed. Therefore, British readers would maintain that Slavery was wrong, but would not immediately be moved to challenge the system used in America.

The next images in the *Illustrated London News* referring slavery images was in the issue of April 6th 1861, the *ILN* printed more images of slavery (pages 303-326). These were produced by Thomas Nast; The first one is entitled, "*The Dandy Slave; A scene in Baltimore, Maryland*".

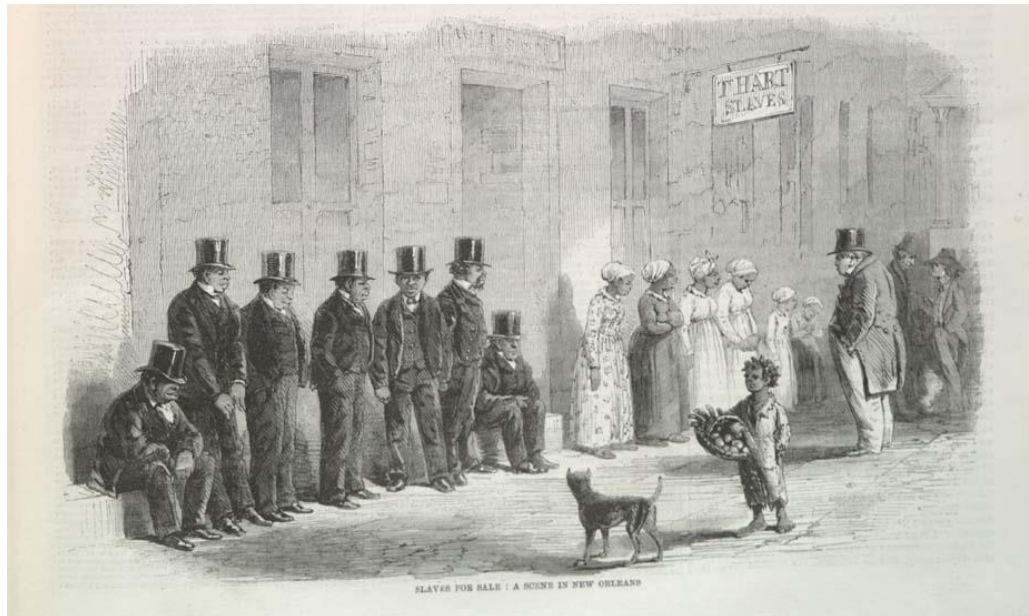


The *ILN* website adds the description "...a well dressed Baltimore household servant and the other representing a slave sale in New Orleans with the men dressed in suits and the women in calico...". The report that accompanies the image, presumably written by Nast, states, "Wherever a negro can afford it, he dresses well..". Nast explained that this was a slave and his mistress, but that "He was proud and fond of her, and she, no doubt, not a little attached to him". The pictured "*Dandy Slave*" represents more of a servant than a slave. There is a level of mutual affection between owner and slave, with a genuine concern for each other's welfare. This is not to say that they are considered equals. There is a definite hierarchy of white owner and black servant, but this does not take away from the amicable relationship they share. In addition, it is worth highlighting that, from the slave's own account, he is

happy and even states "...Oh, lor, no; I wouldn't think of running away, or doing nothing that could noways annoy her...". If the slave was unhappy, he may not have said in so many words that he was unhappy, but neither would he have launched into such a long description of the ways his mistress is good to him and how he attempts to serve her well.

It is important to note that this owner and slave are from Maryland, a border slave state that remained with the Union. It was these Border States, however, that prevented Lincoln including the theme of slavery into his war rhetoric as he did not want to lose the support of the undecided states to the Confederacy. In fact, a large number of Marylanders joined the army of Northern Virginia rather than fighting for the Union.

Nast's messages of Slavery compare with the earlier images by Vizetelly; The Slaves are shown in their true position of servitude, but the Slaves appear physically healthy and, in general, appear happy. There is even a positive, almost affectionate relationship between slave and owner shown by Nast. These images would have prevented the Victorian British from crusading to end Slavery and thus allowing the British to maintain allegiance with the Confederacy, even though it practised Slavery.



This above image is entitled *"Slaves for Sale; A Scene in New Orleans"*. This image also has supporting text, which explains the scene shows men and women in their Sunday best. Once again, the slaves have not been portrayed as mistreated, hurt, nor blatantly unhappy. Nast adds that, *"They look heavy, perhaps a little sad, but not altogether unhappy"*. Nast uses his cartoon influences by showing the slave owner as an overweight and overbearing man, talking down to the slave women. There is also a certain amount of allowances made by the auctioneers, such as whispering by the slaves when this is not strictly sanctioned. However, when the previous article is read and viewed, there is a much starker difference. The Maryland slave is allowed more freedom and vocalised his acceptance to be in service. He has affection to his mistress, and is dressed much smarter. The fact the New Orleans slaves are in the Sunday best makes a bleak contrast to the *"Dandy Slave,"* whose attire makes him look like a black 'gentleman'.

There are explanations for the variances; the *"Dandy Slave"* shows a slave who has been with his mistress for a while and so has made a relationship; also, there would have been differences in how slaves were treated and viewed from state to state; Finally, the British

public would have been informed of some of the horrors of the auctioning of slaves. This information came from lectures and also Stowe's books. Therefore, a totally optimistic and flawless view of slavery would have been suspiciously false.

Besides the imagery of slave auctions, there were also images of black men involved or directly affected by the war. The sketch below shows "*Contraband of War*" published in the July 27th issue of 1861;

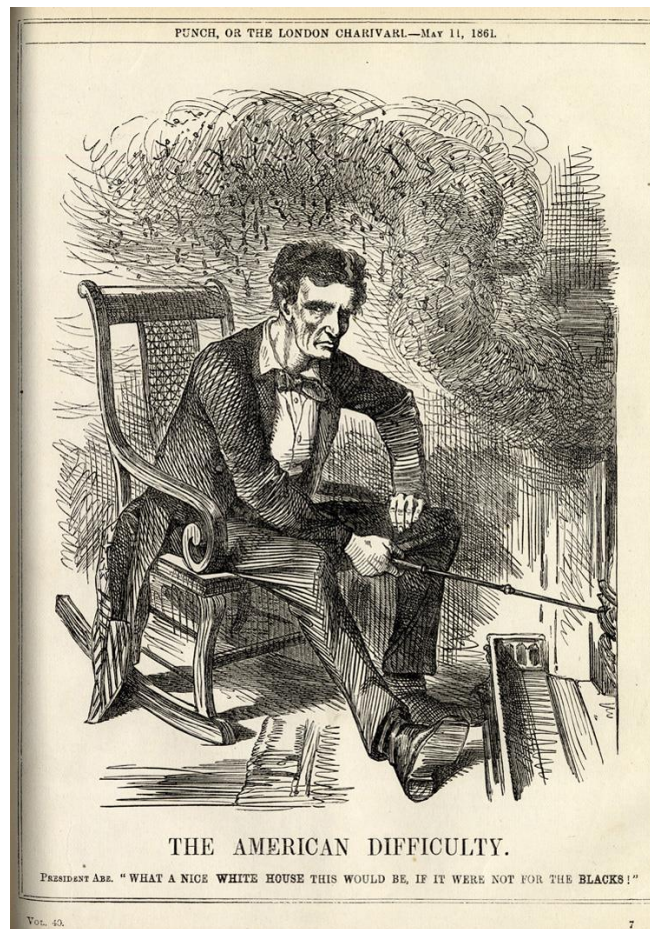


Accompanying this illustration, the description reads, "...a party of slaves seeking protection in the Federal camp.... as fugitives from their masters, and when it is proved that their owners are fighting in the Secessionist ranks the slaves are treated as contraband of war". Interestingly, this image is unusually more cartoon-like and quite different to other productions made by Vizetelly. The Federal officer is very much out of proportion, with a small head, large body and elongated gun. The larger gun, which is also placed in the foreground, may be to emphasise who has the power out of the two groups, but also to show the fleeing African-Americans had become a controversial point as the war begins

political. The group of slaves are dressed differently demonstrating they are slaves of various vocations as well as from different plantations. They go to the soldier with a desperate stance and the soldier seems to be halting them back. Unusually, Vizetelly seems to emphasise stereotypical African features, such as larger lips. This may be to demonstrate how the issue of race was becoming increasingly important by 1861.

This image by Vizetelly is clearly depicting denigration for the Federal soldier and therefore the Union. The Confederacy was formed with the intention of being an independent country, which allowed the practise of slavery. Unsurprisingly, the slaves runaway from their plantations to Federal camps seeking freedom and protection. The criticism in this sketch is directed at the Federal troops for not granting them protection. The soldier fails to consider the fleeing blacks as refugees and instead dehumanises the runaways, calling them contraband i.e. a product that has been imported illegally. Therefore, Vizetelly suggests the Federal soldiers were no more in favour of equal rights for African Americans than Confederates.

Punch magazine chose to illustrate the racial issues in a different way; Rather than “softening” the reality of Slavery in America as seen in the *ILN*, Tenniel chose to focus his sketches on the irony of a war with racial equality as a central cause being fought by white Americans.



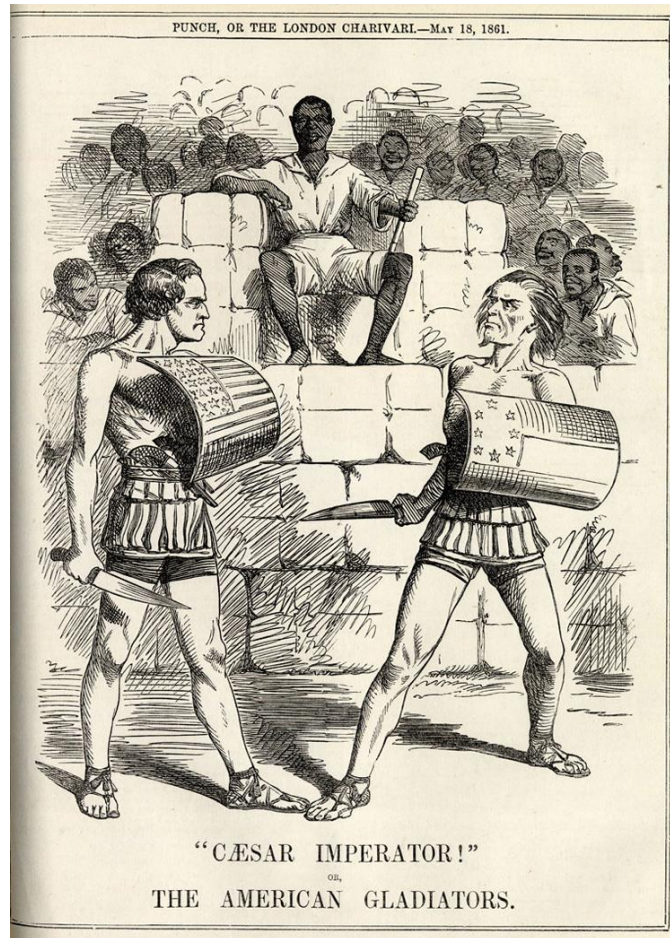
(The American Difficulty. *Punch*, Volume 40, May 11, 1861, p. 193)

In this image, Tenniel's subject matter was Lincoln's presidency and the difficulty he had with the "race" question. The image of Lincoln depicts a much younger man, as by 1861 he was growing his famous beard. The smoke from the fireplace hovers over his head as though it were a black cloud suggesting the colloquial concept of worries lingering over one's head. From this cloud, small black stick figures can be identified.

Tenniel is clearly representing Lincoln's quandary over the issue of Slavery. Whilst the image is palpable with context, the image appeared in the magazine with no attached explanation of the sketch. Therefore, the British public had to have had an awareness of this issue to interpret the symbolism.

This cartoon is very clever; It shows Lincoln stoking the fire, causing the “black” cloud to appear and linger over his head. This suggests that he was “stoking” the fire, representing his actions antagonising the beginning of the Civil War. The more he tampers with the flames, the more black smoke appears and thus the more the issue of the African-American population appears. Furthermore, the smut of soot in the smoke creates the impression that the black people are a dirty waste product. The tail of Lincoln’s jacket also has the Stars and Stripes attached to it representing the fact that any problem connected with him is attached to the whole fate of the Union and future of the United States. In addition, the irony of the “*White House*” (the Presidential house) is laid in contrast to the fate of *black* people. Lincoln clearly looks perplexed, perhaps representing the fact that he is aware the Emancipation Proclamation may stoke the fire of Civil War even more.

Once again, Tenniel opted to make a satirical and critical image of Lincoln himself. Tenniel clearly shows Lincoln as the person in control of this cartoon. He is the one stoking the fire and he is the one who must stop this action to reduce the cloud of black smoke and clam the fire. Whilst this would appear anti-Union in its vision, on studying the entirety of Tenniel’s image, one can deduce that he was more anti-American than anti-Union or Anti-Confederacy as he opted to mock all manner off issues throughout the Civil War.



(Caesar Imperator! or, The American Gladiators. *Punch*, Volume 40, May 18, 1861, p. 203)

This sketch was published one week after “The American Difficulty”, thus this was a continuation on the subject matter of race in America. Regular subscribers to *Punch* would have recognised this. The two “gladiators” are recognisable as Lincoln and Davis. Ironically, it is a black man pictured as Caesar. The shields of the two men are the flags of the Union and the Confederacy and the weapons are not gladiator swords, but Bowie knives. These knives were used by both sides during the war, but were more popular with Confederate soldiers and were multi-functional tools. They both also have pistols tucked into the waist belts. As previously stated, Tenniel used the image of the pistol as a representation of violence and lawlessness.

The message of this image is that the war was a white man's war that involved the issue of ownership of the black population. However, both sides agreed it was to be a white man's war, symbolised in this image by the arena's audience being black men. One could interpret Davis as the attacker as he is stood with his stance spread, weight shifted back and sword drawn, perhaps about to strike, whereas Lincoln is defensive with his body and weight solid, behind his shield. It is obvious that this image come from an early interpretation of the war as Tenniel has placed the Stars and Bars flag as Davis' shield, whereas this flag was quickly exchanged for the "Rebel" flag - the blue cross containing white stars in the centre of a red flag. This exchange was made after the battle of the First Bull Run, where the Stars and Bars were so similar to the Stars and Stripes that various troops attacked the wrong side, mistaking their own flag for the opposition's.

Tenniel opts to mock both Union and Confederacy with this image by showing the white Presidents as the entertainers and the African Americans as the entertained. The presidents have been reduced to the slaves in this image, fighting to the death for the spectators delectation. This is a clearly ironic message and the British public would have been amused by its message. The public may also have felt superior in viewing this sketch, reminded that this issue of Slavery was a solved problem in Britain.



(A Family Quarrel *Punch*, Volume 41, September 28, 1861, p. 127)

This image was published four months after the “*Caesar Imperator! or, The American Gladiators*” sketch and yet a similar message is communicated. Once again, the white Americans, personified as Brother Jonathan and Mrs. Carolina, are the two figures agitated and arguing whilst an African American is in the background, not directly involved in the quarrel. By calling the war a “family quarrel”, Tenniel made the Civil War seem all the more tragic by reminding the British public that it was a domestic struggle. Brother Jonathan and the Mrs. Carolina both wear parts of their respective flags and both hold half a torn map. Ironically it is a map of the “United States” that has been torn in half making the United States divided. This may represent the current situation, or suggest Tenniel’s allegiance.

Both characters are confronting each other in the centre of a room that is in devastation, representing the state of America. Neither seem concerned with the state the room is in, only in each other. In the background, a black man “tip toes” around the pair in a very

caricature manner. This almost pantomime-like sketch of the African-American makes the comical point that the cause of the American Civil War was excluded from the war itself at this stage.

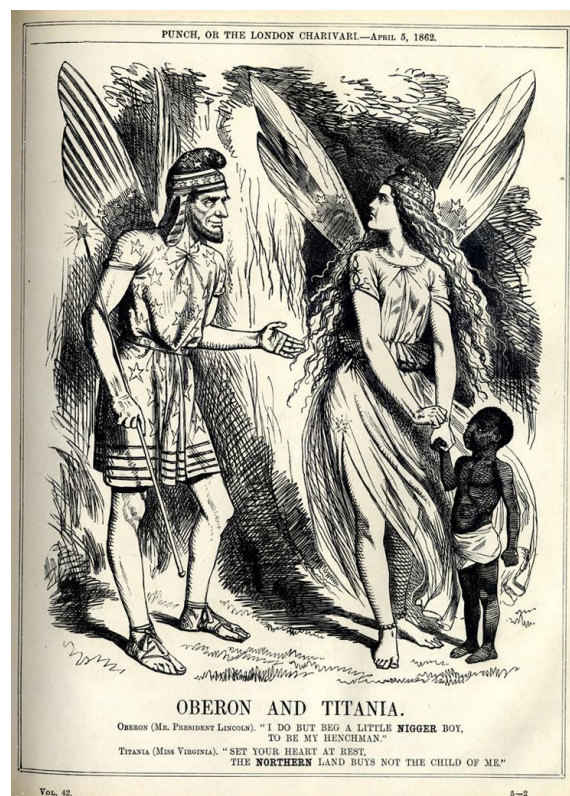


(The Genu-ine Othello. *Punch*, Volume 41, November 9, 1861, p. 187)

Tenniel often used theatrical references in his illustrations. For example, the caricature of the African-American man in the previous illustration shows an over exaggerated “tip-toeing” figure that is similar to the comedy roles on stage of the day. This illustration draws on the play “Othello” by Shakespeare. There is great significance in Tenniel’s choice of play the play; Othello was the Shakespearean black hero who was mentally tormented by the scheming Iago. Throughout the play, there are references to the nobility regarding Othello his good manners, almost in spite of his race. In fact, out of all the characters in the play, one could argue that Othello displays the highest amount of grace and intelligence. When placed in context of the American Civil War, it seems that Tenniel was suggesting that the white Americans had descended into a savage state (more traditionally interpreted as the African-Americans, especially by the slave owners) slaying one another whilst the African-American

population remained disassociated from such primal behaviour. In the scene pictured specifically Othello stands between the two American Presidents. Once again, this represents the African-American Othello having the dignity and prudence in attempting to stop the men from fighting – not just any Americans, but the highest office of politician.

One may use Tenniel's image to further analyse the readership of *Punch* as this level of Shakespearean knowledge and understanding would have been more likely in the middle to upper classes; The majority of literate lower classes would have gained their literacy rate through Sunday schools, and the topical focus of these classes would have been Biblical studies, not English Literature.



(Oberon and Titania. *Punch*, Volume 42, April 5, 1862,p137)

Again, Tenniel used Shakespeare as his inspiration for this political scene, selecting "A Midsummer Night's Dream". In this image, Lincoln has assumed the role of Oberon, the King

of the Fairies. Titania is also pictured, who represents Miss. Virginia, Virginia being the leading state in the Confederacy . Lincoln is asking Miss. Virginia *“I do but beg a little nigger boy, to be my henchman”* to which she replies *“Set your heart at rest, the Northern land buys not the child of me”*.

Lincoln asks for a “henchman” or someone to assist in his plot. As the date of production is April 1862, one can assume that Tenniel is suggesting the freedom of the African-American population in the Confederate states is being considered as a part of an overall strategy. The fact the child is referred to as a “nigger” immediately suggests that there is no regard for the child at all, and it is just being used by Lincoln for an ulterior purpose. Miss Virginia is obviously aware of his manipulative scheme and rejects Lincoln’s request stating that the North cannot demand the child from her, i.e. the Union cannot make demands of the Confederacy nor its population as it is in rebellion against the Union. It is also interesting that Tenniel also portrayed his characters wearing “Liberty caps”, drawing on the idea that America won its freedom from England and yet their country that was born from freedom has come to domestic war. This may be seen as a taunt by the British towards the Americans who were struggling in their Civil War.

Emancipation Proclamation – January 1st 1863

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.

(Abraham Lincoln, January 1st 1863; *The Emancipation Proclamation*)

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation declared all slaves in areas of rebellion free. This amounted to 10 States (South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina) and around 4 million slaves (1860 census).

The Emancipation Proclamation also needs analysing in context of the war itself and how the Union was progressing. Many argue that Lincoln wanted to issue the decree sooner but, whilst the Union had achieved some victories in the summer of 1862 (Such as the Battle of Malvern Hill, July 1st, the Battle of Baton Rouge, August 4th and Battle of South Mountain, September 14th). The Confederacy under Jackson and Lee were achieving far more significant victories. Lincoln was frustrated with his generals and there was also a rise in Northern Peace movements. Therefore, Lincoln needed an injection of enthusiasm and support. Lincoln's advisors suggested waiting for a Union victory. This came in the form of the Battle of Antietam in September 1862.

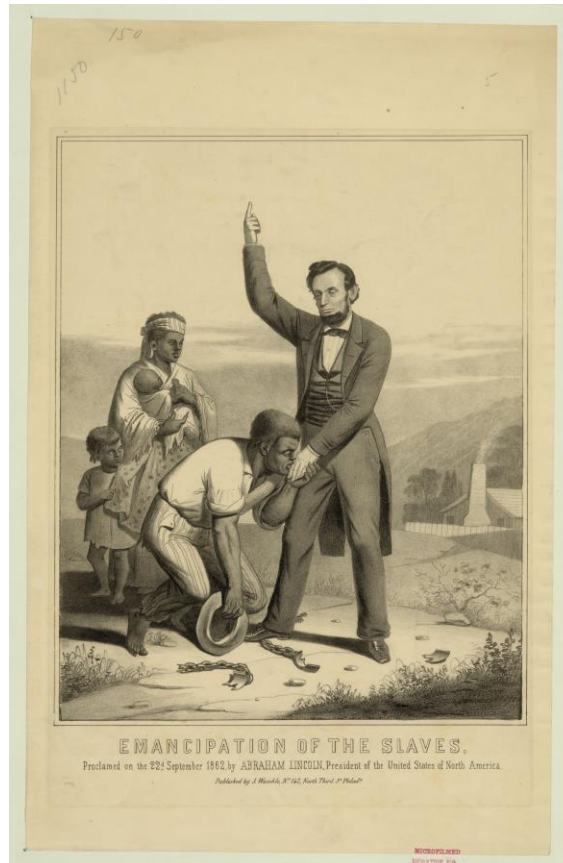
The timing of the decree was also important for international peacekeeping. Lincoln was facing an international diplomatic crisis with Britain over the Trent Affair. Lincoln knew that bringing in the issue of Slavery would prevent Britain from intervening directly on the Confederacy's behalf as Britain could not commit to an allegiance with a force that stood for Slavery.

The Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st 1863 had, in fact, already been announced by Lincoln on 22nd September 1862. In Lincoln's preliminary proclamation he stated, "...That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States". This Lincoln indicated that the Emancipation Proclamation would be issued imminently.

Before considering the British reactions to the Emancipation Proclamation, an understanding of the American reaction is pertinent.

Reflecting back in 1876, Frederick Douglass wrote in his memoirs, "...I shall never forget that memorable night... Nor shall I ever forget the outburst of joy and thanksgiving that rent the air when the lightning brought to us the emancipation proclamation...". Douglass refers to the decree as an "...achievement of a great and beneficent measure of liberty and progress".

Lincoln was held as a hero by abolitionists. Several newspapers wrote celebratory reports on his actions, with many illustrations and lithographs made to celebrate the "Great Emancipator". The following Waeshle Lithograph was a popular image of the day;



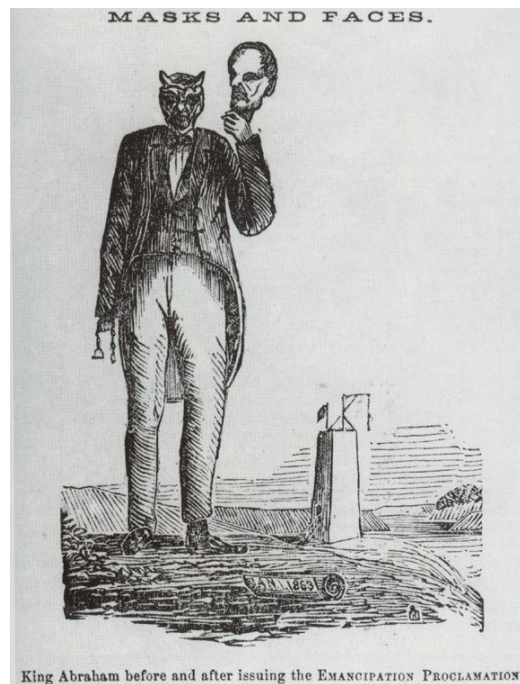
(Douglass from 2008 Wilder publication; 557)

Southern responses contrasted significantly. On hearing the news, Jefferson Davis called it "...a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race, peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere, are doomed to extermination". Not only did he suggest the Proclamation was negligent for the African-Americans who were not prepared for freedom, Davis also suggested that it encouraged "... a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation" (*Journal of the Confederate Congress*; January 14th 1863). Davis, therefore, interpreted the Emancipation Proclamation as a tactical decision because the slaves may well attack their previous owners.

The news of Lincoln's Proclamation was not purposefully made public in rebellious states. Davis made it clear that Lincoln's orders and authority had no jurisdiction in Confederate

States. Also, plantation owners did not want to lose their work force or risk the slaves turning against them. In some areas, such as country towns in Texas, the news did not reach plantations for over two years.

Southern newspapers began printing images (such as the image below) demonising Lincoln for his Proclamation.



(Southern Illustrated News; 1862 taken from Civil War Trust website)

It is clear that there were two opposing views of this act; One on side, the President began a great act of emancipation against the immoral institution of Slavery; On the other side, however, the slaves that were given freedom were in rebellious states and not throughout the entirety of the United States. This latter point gives critics and sceptics a clear argument for suggesting the great act was passed for alternative reasons. Furthermore, there was no inclusion of how the slaves were to integrate into society. In the 1833 Abolition Act, Britain

had given all blacks over six years old an apprenticeship whereas the Emancipation Proclamation makes no reference to such a schemes.

British Reactions

The British illustrators and journalists were clearly aware of the course of the Civil War and the controversy over emancipating the slaves. *Punch* released a sketch on October 18th responding to Lincoln's preliminary proclamation.



(Abe Lincoln's Last Card; Or, Rouge-et-Noir. *Punch*, Volume 43, October 18, 1862, p. 161)

In this sketch Lincoln and Davis sit at a make-shift card table and play cards. Davis looks much more in control, sitting with his feet flat and his upper body leaning in menacingly. He also wears sly and dominant facial expression. Tenniel portrays Lincoln in a typical gangly position; His legs are wide open in a butterfly position with the sides of his feet touching the floor, but not the soles. Beneath the plank of wood (which forms the table) there is a barrel

of gunpowder. This insinuates that the game is a volatile one, which has the potential to explode.

Both men appear to be on their last card. The game “rouge-et-noir” was a popular gambling game in the Nineteenth Century (Fabian, 1999). In fact, it was most popular in the state of South Carolina, the infamous state which was the first to secede from the Union. In this game, you play against the house using cards that have various value in attempt to achieve greater points than the house. In the game pictured, Davis plays as the “house”, insinuating that Lincoln is attempting an attack on Davis and therefore the Confederacy. Ironically, the “spade” card is not worth many points, yet it is Lincoln’s last card and therefore last attempt to beat the house. Lincoln’s last card is the ace of spades, representing the Emancipation Proclamation. The message of the source suggests that Lincoln has no other tactics to use, but to bring the freedom of the African-American population into the war. Tenniel creates the impression that the Proclamation was therefore just a “cheap” card to play and not a momentous act by a man of great morals.

However, there is also a second meaning within Tenniel’s sketch. In 1830, a French novel by Stendhal of the title “Le Rouge et le Noir” was published. The novel is a psychological tale of Julien Sorel who rose socially beyond his position through hard work, dishonesty, intellect and hypocrisy (Stendhal, 1924, p151). Lincoln was from a humble background; His father was an illiterate farmer. Yet Lincoln was able to rise to President of the United States through hard work and intelligence. Tenniel may well have been making the link between Lincoln’s humble heritage and his path to presidency.

When the Emancipation Proclamation absolute was declared on 1st January 1863, Tenniel created another image in response;



(Scene From the American "Tempest." *Punch*, Volume 44, January 24, 1863, p. 35)

Tenniel used another Shakespearean play "The Tempest" in this image from the January 1863 edition. Immediately from the date, one can assume it was in response to the Emancipation Proclamation. In the image, the position of the slaves is represented by the character Caliban. In Shakespeare's character list, Caliban is described as "a savage and deformed slave". He was enslaved by Prospero who deemed him a "beast" because of the nature of his disfigurement and his colour. Caliban stands between Lincoln and Davis; Lincoln is giving Caliban a document that is titled "Proclamation," in reference to the Emancipation Proclamation. Davis is standing in the background, arms folded and scowling at the actions by Lincoln. Beneath the image, Tenniel has put a quote from Caliban (Sambo) and next to it he has noted that it is "Nigger translation". It states, "*You beat him now Massa" Berry little time, I'll beat him too*". Therefore, Caliban is suggesting the act will ensure Union victory as well as a victory for the African-American population.

To analyse this further, the Emancipation Proclamation had been considered by numerous foreign spectators as an irresponsible act; The fear was that thousands of newly released slaves would rise up against their ex-masters and take out their anger on the white population. The concept of African-American men injuring the white population was a thought that disgusted a united European audience. Thus, gradual emancipation was considered a much more responsible means of ending. In this image, Lincoln does not reprimand Caliban for his suggestion of violence towards the population of the Southern States. In fact, the sly smirk by Lincoln almost encourages this. One can therefore assume that Tenniel felt Lincoln was encouraging a servile rebellion and Tenniel was obviously critical of this.

Many mainstream British journalists maintained their support of the Confederacy and found criticism with the president. The main point for this criticism was the negligence of freeing four million people that may turn on their masters. There were a few exceptions to this majority. *The Glasgow Herald* seemed more concerned with educating a people that had not exercised their right before and *The Daily News*, which found fault with its competitors for not supporting and congratulating Lincoln's act. *The Times* and *The Index* found an angry backlash from readers when they attempted to defend Slavery by using the Bible. The religious press were very keen on using prophecy and scripture to distance their religion from slavery. In fact, they deemed the war more as apocalyptic for the Sin of slavery that America had tried to defend. The radical press were more supportive of the North following Lincoln's Proclamation, but prior to this, they looked to the greater economic benefit as the war had not involved a crusade for freedom until this point.

There is one other factor that should be addressed that makes the Proclamation less significant in the eyes of numerous British politicians. This was the underlined mistrust of the Union government due to their war mongering and lack of consistent policies (Adams, 1924, p19-24). This being the case, there were also large reservations at Lincoln's reasons and sincerity for the declaration. A well-known abolitionist and traditional Whig, Lord Brougham wrote to the editor of *The Times* 6th November and 26th December 1862 expressing his views on the Proclamation, suggesting that it was negligent on the part of the president. This was another common view held at the time. Many people believed that the freeing of slaves should be in a gradual capacity, so that four million slaves would not turn on their ex-masters. Many educated critics also believed that four million uneducated ex-slaves, who had never had the opportunity to exercise any civil rights, may not have the awareness or knowledge of what to do with freedom. Lorimer's article also mentioned the Duke of Argyll. He was another renowned abolitionist, who in fact was a patron for the abolitionist cause. He was outspoken in his suspicions of the north, again believing the Proclamation was created for the North's cause and not in any way for the liberation of the slaves.

With the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, Spence immediately began voicing his opinions through his political pamphlets. He stated, *"...It is a measure of War, and a measure of a very questionable kind.. I do not think it can or ought to satisfy the Friends of Abolition who look for total and impartial freedom to the slave, and not for vengeance on the slave owner"*. Spence received the Proclamation suspicion, advising people not maintain Confederate allegiance and not be swayed by the decree. Indeed many people did see this as a reason to turn their support from the South to the Union. *The Advocate* is one newspaper that is an example of this (July 1862). In order to prevent this shift in support of the South from a few people to the majority, Spence uses a similar

argument to that of the Duke of Argyll, stating how this Proclamation was for northern advantage and not for humanitarian reasons.

Beresford-Hope had the same certainty as Spence, believing that the Confederacy would abolish Slavery if it won the war. If freedom were to happen in this way, i.e. as a natural development in a post-war society, the Confederation could then remain on positive terms with Britain and Europe. He was confident that the British would understand that Lincoln's Proclamation was careless, stating how it had caused "The subjection of millions of our Anglo-Saxon brethren by a rabble of Negroes let loose".

From this statement, one can see a complete discriminatory attitude as the white race is put in opposition to a "rabble of Negroes". The implication is that the British Anglo-Saxon public should empathise with the American slave-owning Anglo-Saxons, who were erroneously put in danger by Lincoln freeing their African-American labour force.

It was not simply individuals such as Beresford-Hope and Spence that had their suspicions of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. As previously stated, various Anti-Slavery movements believed the only way to achieve true liberation of the African-American population was through Southern secession and European pressure (*The Anti-Slavery Reporter*; 1861, p.61). The Foreign Anti-Slavery Society even considered recognition of the Confederation by Europe a means of negotiating the release of the slaves (April 1861, minutes from Broad Street commission¹).

Whilst the majority of politicians believed true Emancipation would be met through the pressure Europe would force on an independent Confederation, there were groups that did support the Union, both before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as well as after. In fact, it would be fair to say that the majority of pamphlets were produced in reaction to the mainstream press, which mostly supported the Confederacy. The pamphlet authors found it challenging to understand how Britain (a country that had passed several acts in Parliament outlawing slavery throughout her Empire thirty years earlier) could not view Lincoln's act with more support and encouragement. Cobbe wrote fiercely in his article "*The Red Flag in John Bull's Eyes*" (1863) against the people of the British Isles. It was produced in 1863, after the Proclamation, meaning that his disgust was against people who could not support the Union in spite of Lincoln's actions. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, many people found suspicion in Lincoln's act. Pamphleteers found great quarrel with these critics, and articles were produced directly attacking critics. In 1862, Dan Gow wrote, "...the message of deliverance for the captive has been received coldly and unmoved; while all 'hell is stirred from beneath'..." (1862).

In the same year James W. Massie wrote a similarly scathing message to the critics of Lincoln replying to the title question, "What has the North DONE for abolition?..." (1862). Massie pointed out how the slaves were fleeing to Lincoln's cause, demonstrating that the slaves themselves believed in his motives. He suggests "...As many as 60,000 have escaped from Missouri alone, and 80,000 from Virginia. At Port Royal, 10,000 are protected under the Federal flag within a few miles of Charleston...". Massie also responds to Lincoln's critics in England who had asked "...why proclaim liberty only to the slaves of rebels?", Massie stated, "...It must be remembered that President Lincoln was restrained by the laws he was sworn to administer... The most he can do is to offer compensation...".

Count Agenor de Gasparin went even further in his outcry at the British sympathy for the Confederate cause. In his work, he questioned Britain's morals and religious beliefs. Using the fact that Britain claimed itself to be a highly virtuous nation with a Christian centre, he wrote how Britain had "...wrenched the Acts of Emancipation some thirty years ago; yet have there been warranting voices to insinuate that this act, the glory of the century, was, at bottom, nothing but a Machiavellian calculation?"(1862). Gasparin suggested that the politics of England (the economic advantage of siding with the Confederacy, the alliance with southern diplomats etc) was becoming more important to people in positions of influence, than the fundamental Christian values that they claimed to hold with such high regard and importance in their own lives".

It should be pointed out that, whilst the majority of pamphleteers campaigned for Britons to look more favourably on Lincoln and the Union, there were pamphleteers who attempted to defend Slavery. One such author was Hugo Reid who agreed with the Southern argument - that Slavery gave African-American men a better situation than in their native Africa. He warned his British readers that "...it might be well for us to refrain from positive judgements on matters we have not the means of judging of, and from meddling with what does not concern us" (1862, p33). Steven E. Locke used a similar defence as Reid. He actually wrote his defence after the conclusion of the Civil War in 1866 with his composition, "*English Sympathies and Opinions*" (1866; 12). In his editorial, he ridiculed Lincoln. For the negligent nature of the Emancipation Proclamation, referring to it as "...the greatest blunder, and on the score of morality, the greatest public crime of modern times...".

When looking at the parties that argued the case for African-American freedom and the recognition of the Confederacy, it is clear that both pro-Confederate and pro-Union

campaigners worked avidly to gain support for their respective side. Propaganda was used by individuals such as Beresford-Hope, Spence and pamphleteers in reaction to the vast pro-Confederate journalism of the mainstream press, as well as by groups such as the abolitionist groups. Each campaigner was able to manipulate issues to better suit their argument; The most prominent of these issues were the reactions to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. It was used by pro-Union/Lincoln campaigners as justification of Lincoln's humanitarian policies and the Union's advantage, whilst it was used by pro-Confederates as a suspicious document, only drafted to make a servile revolution and, in some cases, a negligent act. It is impossible, however, to assess with any accuracy the impact of the pamphlet war on general British public opinion, but it is clear their works were readily disseminated and formed the structure for political debate.

As demonstrated by the study of Beresford-Hope and politicians such as Palmerston, the aristocracy and upper classes had an amount of sympathy and support for the South. This was also echoed in the press, in particular, *The Times*. There was a definite message of pro-Confederate support and anti-Lincoln sentiment, which has been studied through the advocacy section, as the journalists of these traditional newspapers tended to follow the politicians' interests. However, when Lincoln's Proclamation was announced, the journalists who supported the Confederacy had to provide a new argument to prevent sympathy turning to the Union, who could claim that they were fighting for the freedom of all Americans. There were a number of methods for this; Grant (1918; 27) draws attention to the January 21st 1862 edition, which reminded its readers that many countries economically depended on slavery and so its existence was needed, although not justified. Unfortunately, *The Times* went too far with its attempt to try and defend slavery. On January 6th, 1863 it reported, "They (Lincoln and supporters) preach with the Bible in their hands. In that book,

there is not one single text that can be perverted to prove Slavery unlawful..." (January 6th, 1863). Following this editorial, a dialogue opened up between the newspaper and its readers. The defence of slavery using Biblical passage and fables was not received well and *The Times* received numerous letters of complaint. This in itself demonstrates the sensitivity surrounding the issue of slavery and the Christian virtues that Victorian Britain claimed to uphold. In the eyes of the British public, slavery was wrong. Furthermore, the public was disgusted at journalists who found justification in the Bible. Other forms of justification were tolerated, but certainly not "the will of God". The negative reaction of the readers then acted as a prompt for other notable characters to join the debate; In 1863, Britain's leading abolitionist, George Thompson wrote to William Garrison stating that, in spite of *The Times* article, "the heart of the people is sound. It would be impossible to carry a pro-slavery resolution in any unpacked assembly in the Kingdom" (1885; 40).

Pamphleteers were also stirred up by this article. B.D. wrote, "*Are we to be told that the Bible sanctions slavery? – sanctions the dragging of human beings from their homes, and disciplining them under the scourge into machines of labour?*" (1862; 16).

It was not only *The Times* that used the Bible to defend slavery. Henry Hotze, founder of *The Index*, also used the Bible as a primary source defending slavery (11th June 1863). Overall, however, *The Times* was quite isolated in its Biblical justification; the majority of journalists wrote with different and less extreme views to create pro-Confederacy support. The popular method was to acknowledge the existence of slavery, but assure the readers that this system would not remain should the Confederacy gain independence from the United States. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* suggested that as the Confederacy looked to trade with Europe, Europe would be in a position to apply pressure for the removal of their

unethical system (1861, p757). *The London Examiner* was highly upfront with its views on Slavery, stating, “we utterly detest and loathe slavery as the greatest crime committed between man and man. It is better to kill than enslave” (26th Sept 1863). This, however, did not deter its support of the Confederacy. It used the same argument as *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, which states, “...left to provide for its own welfare in a distinct Confederacy with the old slave system confined within its borders, the South must either fall back into a mean rank among nations, or push freely forward with the rest...”.

The question of how to free the enslaved African-American population was also deliberated by journalists. There seemed to be a great concern that the slaves would acquire their freedom and then seek violent revenge on their ex-masters. *The Saturday Review* questioned, “Can 4,000,000 uneducated slaves be emancipated without danger to the lives, families and properties of their former masters?...” (18th January 1862). *The Saturday Review* shared the same concern with *The Standard* (22nd May 1862), *The Herald* (9th January 1863) and *The Times* (26th March 1862). On reading these papers, one may assume that the Victorian public would question just how badly the enslaved African-American population had been treated for the journalists to expect such an aggressive revolt on their freedom. *The Glasgow Herald* also shared concern on total Emancipation, but for the ex-slave himself; “We are convinced that Slavery is a gigantic evil... But (people) forget that these poor creatures have been deprived not only of their right, but their ability to use the right” (7th October 1861).

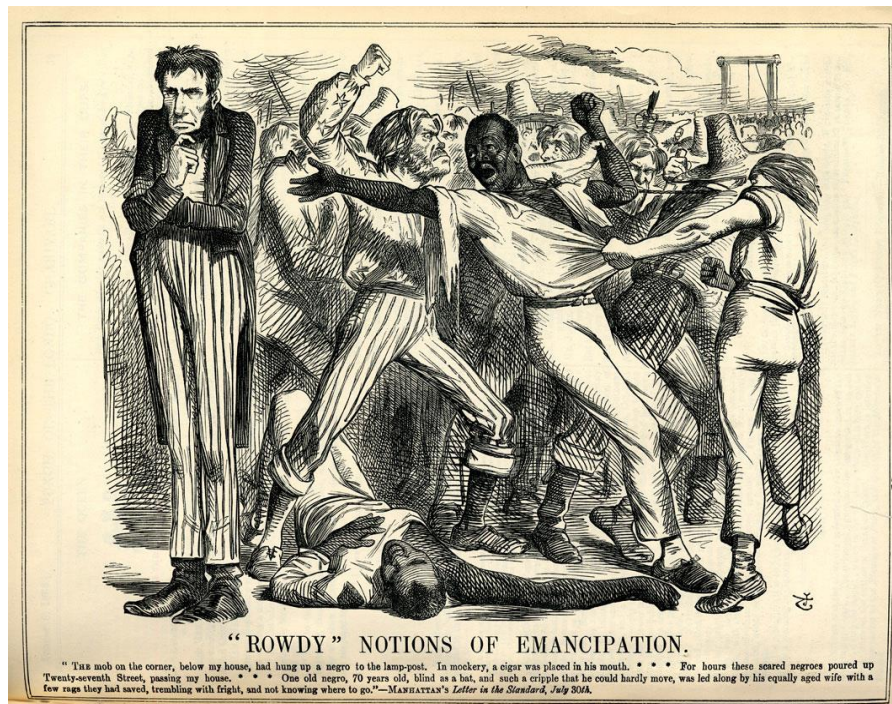
The Glasgow Herald seemed to be the only paper with genuine concern for slaves themselves, rather than the slave owners. It seems that this newspaper was in favour of the gradual emancipation rather than immediate freedom, in addition to the possible education

of the African-American population, which would have had more skilled labourers than highly educated people.

The Times January 3rd 1863 edition demonstrated another argument that drew on a more economical point, that would interest the more wealthy classes. It stated, “...*Amelioration, not emancipation, was the solution; the North was not interested in freeing the slave, but only in empire; and of course, a servile rebellion would ensue...*” (January 3rd 1863). This insinuates that Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation was only to cause the rising up of the slaves against their Confederate owners and not for their Emancipation. However, on further analysis of this extract, one can depict a deeper paranoia that began to concern the British.

The Empire was at the heart of British interest; economically, socially and politically. It spanned over a quarter of the globe and was what gave Britain its power and influence. The fact that *The Times* had stated that the Union was interested “*in empire*” would immediately arouse suspicion amongst the politicians and upper classes, who predominantly constituted the readership of *The Times*. If the Union seemed to be in competition with Britain, sympathy and support would immediately switch to the Confederacy – an emerging nation in need of British support. In addition to the theme of Empire, if the Union was looking to expand Westwards, it would reduce export and focus its resources into its own country; Not only would the Union become a larger country with more resource and, therefore, more power, it would also become a direct threat to British trade as well as being able to withdraw trade to Britain, weakening Britain.

Tenniel again created a number of sketches, which recorded the British reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation.



(Rowdy" Notions of Emancipation. *Punch*, Volume 45, August 8, 1863, p. 57)

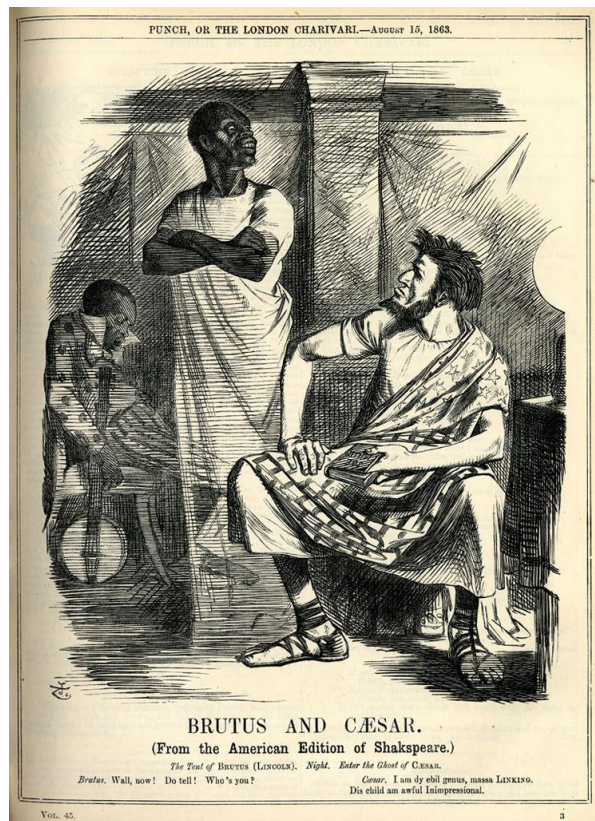
The caption at the bottom of this illustration reads;

The mob on the corner, below my house, had hung up a negro to the lamp-post. In mockery, a cigar was placed in his mouth... For hours these scared negroes poured up Twenty-seventh Street, passing my house... One old negro, 70 years old, blind as a bat and such a cripple that could hardly move, was led along by his equally aged wife with a few rags they had saved, trembling with fright, sat not knowing where to go. Manhattan's Letter in the Standard, July 30th.

This image was created in reference to the New York riots. Soldiers were signed up by drawing names from a bucket, a method which the poorer and immigrant classes detested. On 11th July, 1863, crowds rebelled against this and took their anger out on the African-American population, whom they believed had caused the war. As the caption suggests, the violence was on a very bloody scale. The old, young, men and women were all beaten, injured or killed. The riots were pacified when the Union army withdrew from Gettysburg.

As can be seen, the rioters are stereotyped Irish men with long hair and facial features identified as Irish. The connection between the Irish and the rioters was that the majority of the riot groups were men from the Irish slums of Manhattan. However, some are wearing the striped trousers and straw hat that usually represented Brother Jonathan. It may be that Tenniel was suggesting that these men are becoming American and fighting like the Americans, or perhaps he is creating links with the riots to the civil war.

Lincoln has his back to the crowd and is looking away. This represents how Lincoln is trying to ignore these riots. He also looks in deep concentration; This may suggest that his focus is on the war and the reunification of America, not the population of his Northern States who have been loyal to him and want to fight in the war.



(Brutus and Caesar. *Punch*, Volume 45, August 15, 1863, p. 69)

Tenniel's choice of Shakespearean play in the above image from August 1863 was Julius Caesar. In the scene, Lincoln plays the part of Brutus, whilst the African-American portrays Caesar. The message of the image is that Lincoln is haunted by his failure to liberate all slaves and for his inability to protect freed blacks from mob violence. Lincoln is shown reading "Joe Miller", a collection of stories by an English comedian. In the 1860s, a colloquial term for a stale joke was a "Joe Miller." Lincoln was famous for his humour, but it was also seen as inappropriate for a President. This, therefore, implies Lincoln himself had become a stale joke.

The musician is also worth mentioning; One would expect to see a classical musician in a Roman scene, such as a lute player. Instead, the musician is an African-American boy holding a banjo. In *Julius Caesar*, the musician Lucius is a favourite servant of Brutus, who addresses

him as "boy. This may have been a clever play on words/themes by Tenniel who put an African-American boy in the role of Lucius. It should be noted that the common, and inappropriate, reference to an African-American man in the 19th century was 'boy', irrespective of his age.



(Beecher's American Soothing Syrup. *Punch*, Volume 45, October 31, 1863, p. 179)

The above sketch by Tenniel reveals Henry Ward Beecher attempting to feed a lion, representing Britain, treacle. Henry Ward Beecher, related to Harriot Beecher Stowe, was a popular preacher at Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn New York. In 1863, he toured Britain lecturing at major cities, including Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Manchester. He chose to tour at this point because Lincoln had released his Emancipation Proclamation, preventing Britain from formally supporting the South. Beecher's aim was to gain support from Britain by pressing the racial prejudices of the South. There is an example of his speech at the bottom of the sketch.

The cartoon suggests that Beecher had to force the British public to accept what he was saying. The lion, representing Britain with his front paws over a shield bearing the Union Jack flag, is turning away from Beecher who has a bowl of treacle and spoon. Treacle is a dark, unrefined sugar syrup. The colour may represent the African-American population, whilst the taste is bitter-sweet suggesting that it was not a nice flavour, therefore not a particularly popular subject. The fact the lion is turning away implies he neither wants to try the syrup nor likes the topic. The lion has also knocked over a barrel of brimstone with his tail. In Victorian Britain, brimstone and treacle was a recommended mixture to keep people healthy i.e. like our modern vitamins. The mixture tasted vile and caused numerous recipients to vomit. Again, this would suggest the topic of slavery was not a favoured one and potentially people would violently react to the topic being forced upon them. The title of the sketch is "Beecher's American Soothing Syrup". A soothing syrup was a mixture given to children to make the process of teething less painful. A famous example of this medication was Mrs. Winslow's syrup. The advertisement read;

For children teething. Greatly facilitates the process of Teething by softening the gums, reducing all inflammation; will allay ALL PAIN and spasmodic action, and is SURE TO REGULATE THE BOWELS. Depend on it, Mothers, it will give rest to yourselves and RELIEF AND HEALTH TO YOUR INFANTS. Sold by all chemists, at 1s 1/2d per bottle.

(Bodden, 2014)

As previously stated in Chapter One, there were more pamphleteers that were pro-Union/Emancipation than newspapers. In fact, a dialog between the mainstream press and pamphleteers emerged. From studying both, it seems that as soon as a newspaper commented in favour of the Confederacy, such as with the Emancipation Proclamation, the pamphleteers produced literature denouncing the mainstream journalists. For example, Dan

Gow's article directly criticised *The Times* and *The Standard* for their support of Confederacy and their cynicism of the Emancipation Proclamation (1862). One may question just how popular the pamphlets were, especially as the circulation statistics do not necessarily support the readership, with many pamphlets distributed for free. However, there are arguments to support the idea that the readership was substantial. The tax on pamphlet production was lifted in 1836, much earlier than the newspapers. This potentially means that more people were in a habit of buying pamphlets in the 1860s or may have been particular admirers of certain authors. Also, the fact politicians used parts of Spence's argument in their political speeches suggests that they were read by the higher classes as well as the lower classes. Finally, there was still a strong, resonant coffee house culture from the 18th century in Britain suggests that the pamphlet may still have been distributed on tables in such establishments.

In contrast to the traditional press, the radical press was more interested in the economic issues surrounding the American Civil War. That is not to say that the journalists were disinterested with opposing Slavery, but it explains why the focus was less on humanitarian issues. *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* did not have any strong opinions of support. There was an inclination towards the North and Emancipation in the narrative, but no true announcement of favour. However, in 1862, the depression in Lancashire proved quite important in changing their position as it seemed a stronger abolitionist stance would warrant cotton interruption. *Reynold's Newspaper* was less in favour of the Union and more suspicious of Lincoln. The trade-unionist newspaper, *The Bee Hive* shared this distrust. Both newspapers and numerous public meetings passed resolutions supporting the south and emancipation of the slaves. All these views, however, were revised with the Emancipation Proclamation and became Lincoln supporters.

In addition to reporting the news of Emancipation, the newspapers also reported the visits of American commissioners in Britain. The ACWRT(UK) magazine "Crossfire" issue 47 includes an article that addresses one of these meetings. The title of the article reads "Lord Mayor of London in Confederate Controversy" and reports that the Lord Mayor of London, William Anderson Rose, hosted a banquet in February 1863 at Mansion House in honour of the Confederate Commissioner James Mason. During the banquet, the Lord Mayor proposed a toast to the 'Honoured Visitors'. This was received with loud cheers from the crowd. The Lord Mayor admitted that he could not officially welcome them as commissioners of an independent country, but could still welcome them into his official home. At this point, Mason was invited to speak by the crowd. He thanked the banqueters for their warm wishes and assured them "...The day will come – it is not far off- when the relationship between that Government which is now in its infant fortune and yours will be one of close and intimate alliance".

George Thompson, a famous abolitionist, made a public censure of this banquet and the Lord Mayor's reception of Mason. *The Index*, reported that Thompson moved for a "...resolution condemning the Lord Mayor for inviting Mr. Mason..". Thompson was forcibly relocated to Mansion House where he continued his attack on Mason, calling him "...A man stealer and a fugitive-slave kidnapper, as Mr. Mason was, unworthy of any gentlemanly highwayman in the land" (March 9th 1863).

The Times described those people who referred to themselves as "The Emancipation Society" as "*the very small dogs who have taken possession of the old lion's den*" (May 19th 1863). What this episode is a paradigm of is the constant attempts of the Confederate commissioners in gaining access to public functions and points where they could make their

presence known. Through attending such events where people of significant rank would be, the commissioners hoped to gain more Confederate support from such people as politicians, businessmen and other people with such power. It was almost a “backdoor” attempt to gain support with politicians and, hopefully, the final aim, recognition for a Confederate country and independent government. Unfortunately, whilst people like the Lord Mayor William Rose welcomed the commissioners, Lord Russell was unmoved. He initially agreed to meetings with the commissioners, but eventually grew tired of their demands and only responded to the men in writing.

With the Emancipation Proclamation, many of the pro-Emancipation societies were split in the opinion over its worth. The Manchester and Union Emancipation Club put pressure on politicians to support the Emancipation Proclamation, with underline frustration at the British upper classes for continually criticising Lincoln. In contrast, some of the patrons of the abolitionists, such as Charles Buxton and Lord Brougham were in favour of the Proclamation but found its method negligent (Kew Archives, 1876). They believed in a gradual Emancipation strategy that would allow the newly freed Slaves the education of society. After the campaigning of the various societies, and once it was clear that there was no great servile rebellion in the South, Lincoln acquired more aristocratic admirers. The constant promotion by people such as George Thompson and Thomas Potter recruited such famous politicians as John Bright, a British Radical and liberal statesman of a Quaker background, demonstrating the effect the slow but steady work of the groups had on public opinion. As studied in the section on “journalism”, the literature of these groups, in addition to pamphlets and published minutes at meetings, was *The Anti-Slavery Advocate*.

Another form of protest group was the various pro-Confederacy organisations around Britain. For example, the Southern Independent Associations in London and Lancashire, and the Manchester Southern Club (Adams, 1919). These organisations tended to follow Spence's view of gradual emancipation being responsible Emancipation. Spence, in fact, founded a number of the Pro-Confederacy organisations in Northern England. It should be remembered that Britain was fervently against Slavery and so the Southern supporters and commissioners suggested an Independent Confederation would need to trade with Britain, and it was at this point that responsible Emancipation would occur in light of the European opposition to the archaic system. The main literature of these groups was Hotze's *Index*. Hotze held similar views to Spence, but without obvious anti-Slavery literature or Emancipation approval.

It is probable that many members of the British public found Lincoln's actions, particularly between 1860-62, to be culpable as far as the genesis of the American Civil War was concerned. As we shall see, the image of Lincoln as "Holy" or "Saintly" and without guile is only presented to the British public with Lincoln's assassination in 1865 when the role of the martyr enabled Lincoln to be depicted as freedom's defender in the United States of America. It is clear that there was a high level of participation to the opposition of slavery, as well as significant effort by groups to support the Confederacy despite the labour system. Britons would have understood the rhetoric of Abolitionists as they had been exposed to the issue earlier in the century. The Emancipation Proclamation undoubtedly increased participation, but also increased people's suspicion of the President. Very few people found Lincoln's actions to be without personal gain within the Civil War years, in spite of the modern interpretation of Lincoln as a provider of freedom to all Americans.

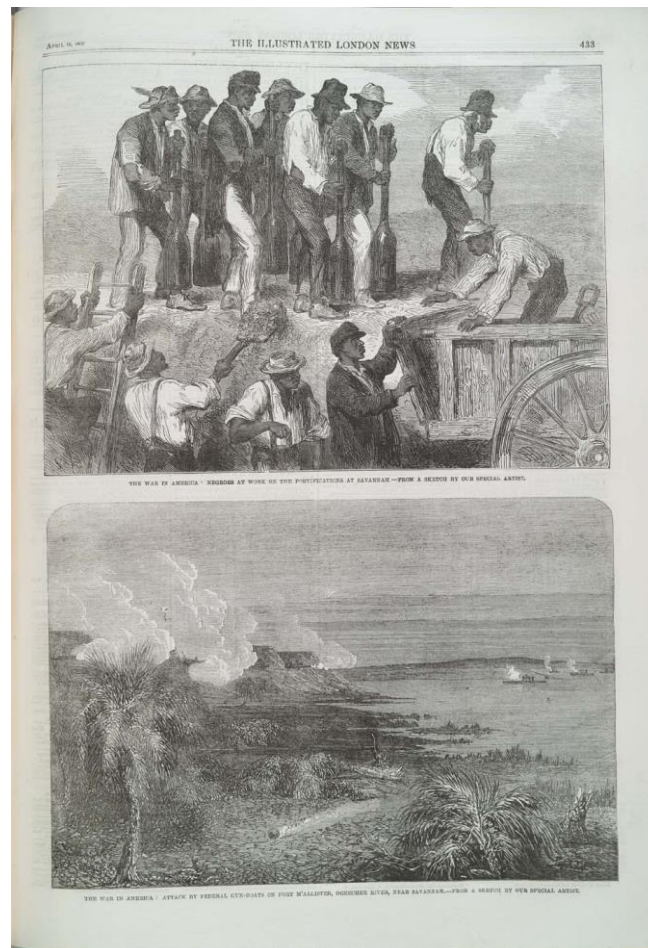
It is important to calculate whether Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did anything to change these views as the Union took on an anti-slavery campaign. It is unlikely the politicians altered their pro-Confederacy views. This is because their choice of support was based on what was most beneficial to Britain's economic position. In addition, if they believed that it was inevitable that the Confederacy would abandon the slave-based system in order to keep their trading nations happy, then Lincoln's Proclamation was less remarkable.

The Recruitment of Black Soldiers

The first clause of Militia Act of 1792 prohibited the enlistment of black men into the United States Army. Nevertheless, at the commencement of the war, thousands of African Americans flocked to enlistment offices. Lincoln refused to change the enlistment legislation because he feared this may aggravate the Border States, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky and push them to Confederate allegiance.

Both Union and Confederate armies, however, did use African Americans in their war effort. These men were used in support roles, such as cooks, nurses and manure works such as building fortifications and railroads. The Confederates did not conscript the black initially because they were afraid of arming former slaves and the repercussions and vengeance they may have sought (Escoe, 2009).

The Illustrated London News gave the British public an insight into the work of African Americans in the Civil War. The below sketch is entitled “*Negroes at work on the fortification at Savannah*” from the April 18th edition in 1863, drawn by Frank Vizetelly.



With these images there are two paragraphs of text. The first explains where Savannah is and the images of Fort Bloggs that accompanied the above illustration. It also explains how Beauregard has invited the reporter into his camp and so he will be reporting the war from Savannah with the Union army.

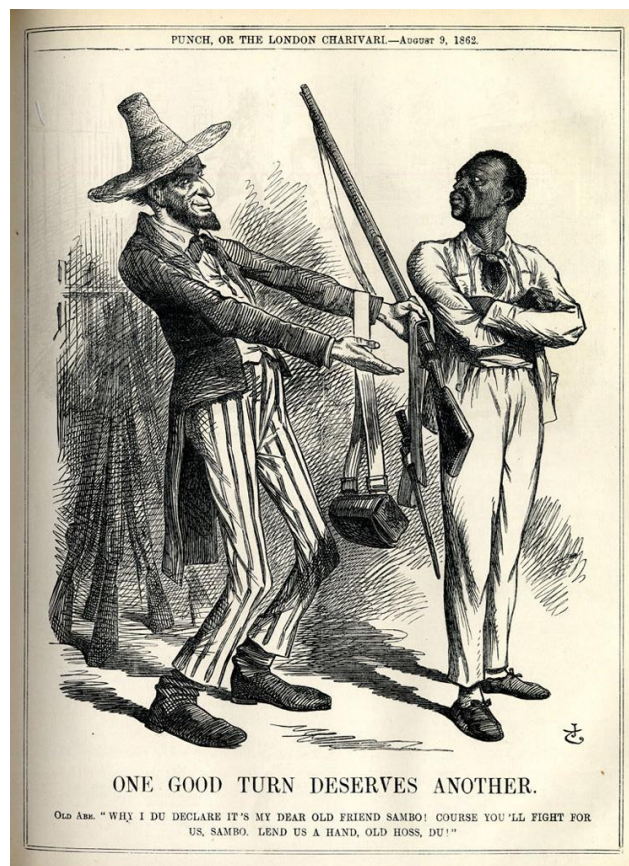
The second paragraph compares these fortifications to that of the defences of Charleston and the significance of the African Americans at the fortifications stating, "...The planters, therefore, are glad to turn over gangs of their negroes to the military authorities, by whom they are usefully employed in constructing earthworks...". The workers are described as "content" and suggests that their "ragged look" is not representative of misery or neglect because they are dressed in "*...rags for six days in the week provided that on the seventh he may attire himself in a garb of outrageous brilliancy*".

Vizetelly leads the audience to believe that the white masters had offered their field-hands to the Confederate army to be used for whatever the army needed. There is also the suggestion that these slaves were willingly to serve for the Confederate Army. The reality of African-American men building the fortifications was that these were either captured runaway slaves forced to do such manual work, or they were turned over by plantation owners to aid the war effort and the slaves did not have a choice in this transaction as they were still property owned by the plantation owners.

On 17th July, 1862, the Militia Act was passed which stated that all persons of African descent could be received into the service of the United States (Section 12). It was not until the Emancipation Proclamation, however, that African-Americans were allowed to serve as

soldiers in the Union army ('such persons (African American men) of suitable condition, will be received into the armed services of the United States...'). Even with the legislation, blacks were used infrequently and in less significant conflicts and operations.

Punch magazine reported the Militia Act with scepticism and irony;



(One Good Turn Deserves Another. *Punch*, Volume 43, August 9, 1862, p. 55)

In the illustration, Lincoln is offering the Northern black man the weapons issued to soldiers. Lincoln is portrayed in a slightly comical way with gangly limbs and large feet. The African-American man looks at Lincoln with obvious suspicion as to Lincoln's motives. Lincoln also uses quite demeaning language towards the African-American man, calling him "Sambo," a demeaning name. This demonstrates that, even in the Union army, there were racial prejudices despite the majority of the Union States not having slavery. In comparison to the African-American men pictured in other illustrations such as "*Caesar Imperator! or, The*

American Gladiators,” which portrayed African-American men from the Southern States, the black man in this illustration are dressed much better and also wears shoes. This suggests that the Tenniel and his audience believed the African-American men in the Northern States were treated much better than the African-American men in the Southern States. Whilst in modern historiographical debate, Historians have suggested that some slaves were treated very well and were well provided for, this image suggests that the perception in mid-Victorian Britain was that slaves were treated poorly. This perception is more significant than the reality.

There was, however, one black regiment that was immortalised in American History; the 54th Massachusetts Regiment – the first African American Regiment. The story of 54th Massachusetts was also turned into a film in 1989 under the title “Glory” (1989, directed by Edward Zwick.). Frederick Douglass served as a recruitment officer and a young army captain, Robert Gould Shaw, was promoted as colonel of this regiment.

Shaw led the 54th in an attack against Fort Wagner on Morris Island. The assault was unsuccessful, ending in Confederate retention of the Fort and heavy losses to the 54th, including their commanding officer. As a mark of disgrace, Confederate General Johnson Hagood refused to return his body to the Union army. To make an example of Shaw, he buried his body in a trench with his men. This was dishonourable for two reasons; firstly, he was a commanding officer who should have been buried in a ceremonial fashion fitting of his rank; secondly, Hagood believed a white man buried with black men to be the ultimate disgrace (Emilio, 2009).

The reaction to the attack on Fort Wagner and the death of Robert Gould Shaw was received with mixed reactions. Elizabeth Gaskell wrote a persuasive article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, which was then repeated in a number of newspapers, including the *Saturday Press* and *Dumfermline Press*.

.... The repugnance of the Northerners to personal contact with black or coloured people has been repeatedly spoken of by all travellers in America. Probably Colonel Shaw had less of this feeling than a Northerner would have had who had been entirely brought up in America..." (December 5th 1863)

There were other British readers who agreed with Gaskell and even called for Shaw's memorialization. "...Robert Gould Shaw will be a hero in all time. If the admirers of Southern gallantry could raise a memorial to one - could not the friends of the North and of freedom contribute a memorial to the other?" (*The Daily News* December 24th 1863). This is a letter with true foresight as the author of this letter has suggested the permanence of Shaw's actions and what the 54th Massachusetts represented, despite their loss.

However, there were many readers who failed to receive Shaw's actions as sincere and even used the story of the 54th to suggest

Mrs. Gaskell - who writes some charming stories - gives us a slightly tearful account of the life of "Colonel Robert Gould Shaw"... The article seems written to counteract what is justly said to be a prevailing impression in this country, viz., that the great body of the upper classes, in the Northern States, are lukewarm in their abolitionism.

*(The Stirling Observer; Midland Counties Advertiser, December
10th 1863*

Tenniel and *Punch* magazine did not report on Fort Wager, but the *ILN* did. This image by Vizetelly reproduced “*The Aftermath of the Battle at Fort Wagner*”. .



(Illustrated London News/ September 16th 1863)

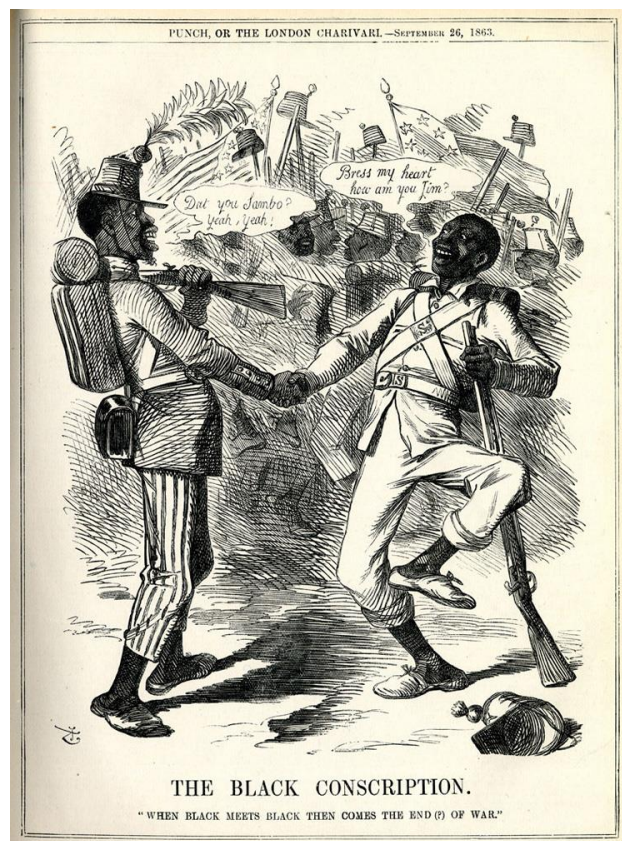
Whilst the sketch is moving in itself, it is an extract from the notes that the artist (Vizetelly) made that is most interesting. He wrote “....In the ditch they lay piled, negroes and whites, four and five deep on each other... over 600 were buried by the Southerners”.

The description of both African-American and American soldiers lying in the ditch is highly significant; The Confederate army refused a request from the Union to go behind Confederate lines to retrieve their dead. Instead, they actually buried the two races together. The intention of this act was as a mark of disrespect and humiliation to the Union

troops. However, the world's media and Union journalists turned this act of dishonour into a noble burial and a mark of true Emancipation for the slaves, who were fighting as equals for Lincoln. The idea of the two coloured races lying as equals in death, dying with the same uniform, is highly poignant.

The Confederacy did eventually approve the use of black troops on March 13th 1865. However, this was truly a desperate attempt by Davis and Lee to withstand the pressure from Grant's attack and prevent Union troops from taking the Confederate Capitol. In short, it was the Confederacy's last hope.

Whilst *Punch* magazine did not record Fort Wagner, Tenniel did report the issue of black enlistment.



(The Black Conscription. When Black Meets Black Then Comes the End(?) of War. *Punch*, Volume 45, September 26, 1863, p. 129)

Out of all the cartoons created by Tenniel, this is often perceived to be the most offensive. Not only are the two black men drawn in complete caricature, the message the illustration expresses is one of complete offence. The two black men are dressed in the uniforms of Union and Confederacy. They are the forefront of a crowd of troops. Instead of the two soldiers fighting due to their loyalty to their uniforms, they are greeting each other in a friendly way. It appears the rest of the crowd are doing likewise. The offence in this derives from the idea that black men would not make good soldiers due to their lack of loyalty and morals. They see only other black men and not the enemy and greet them like friends. The truth about black soldiers is quite different. Where allowed to fight, they proved themselves to be able and passionate soldiers, such as the 54th Massachusetts. Also, in 1864, no black soldiers in the Confederacy had been armed. This took place in the final weeks of the war.



(The Black Draft. *Punch*, Volume 47, November 19, 1864, p. 209)

This illustration shows Lincoln and Davis standing in front of two African-American soldiers from their respective armies. The men are being forced to drink out of cups labelled “conscription” followed by the letter N or S, meaning North and South. Lincoln is holding a pistol to the Union soldier and Davis threatens his soldier with a slave whip, again the two images for violence and tyranny used by Tenniel. The title “The Black Draft” can be analysed in various ways; it may refer to the first “draft” or copy of the Emancipation Proclamation as it was known as “the black draft”; A second interpretation may be the “drafting” of men into the Union army; A third interpretation is that the “black draft” was also a compound of magnesium and senna that was used as a mid 19th century replacement for castor oil. However, if Tenniel is suggesting that the presidents demanded black conscription, he was certainly wrong because every man in the Union army was a volunteer, including the 54th Massachusetts. In the Confederate army, it was only very late in the war, at the fall of Richmond, when African-Americans were equipped with guns and put at the front.

Tenniel created a very clever contrast in the images of the two African-American men; The Union soldier wears the ostentatious parade attire with a large plume in his cap. This contrasts against the wide grimace he wears across his face whilst being forced to drink. The Confederate soldier stands in full uniform but is buckling at the knees suggesting he is not conditioned well enough for military work. Neither soldier appears warrior like; in fact, they both are made to appear less than able for war.

Chapter Conclusion

The Depiction of Slavery and the Confederacy Cause

The Cause of the Confederacy in seeking independence from the Union was far more appealing to the British Public at the outset when the military judgements were in the balance. Two economic trading centres for Britain were highly advantageous as the new, reduced United States would be a weakened economic opponent and the Confederacy would maintain its trade links with Britain with a new dependency on British trade for survival.

At the outset of the American Civil War, neither Union nor Confederacy declared the war as a war about Slavery, even though it was a contributing cause. This, therefore, left the British to have more freedom in which side it offered allegiance.

Whilst some groups did rally to Lincoln, predominantly thanks to the work of such campaigners as George Thompson and Thomas Potter, the majority of the British Press and political groups tended to criticise the Proclamation. The lack of trust for Lincoln was an overwhelming factor, as well as the argument that the freeing of millions of slaves all at once was a negligent act by Lincoln, designed for a servile revolution and for his benefit rather than as an act of morale excellence. Supporters of the Confederacy jumped on these criticisms by the British public and persuaded them that an Independent Confederation would free the slaves in exchange for recognition by, and trade with, Europe. This appealed to the wealthy classes and traders due to their main import being that of Southern cotton. The Northern industrialists did sympathise more with the Union, but orthodox historians,

such as Adams, may have exaggerated this support. Imagery found throughout the war did criticise Slavery itself, but *Punch* made it clear that the government's continual focus on America's war began to infuriate Britain as domestic issues were ignored for the sake of American slaves and trade.

Orthodox historians of the early 20th Century have argued that the English general public would have been divided into pro-Union and pro-Confederacy depending on their opinions on slavery. There seemed to be a belief that the British working classes supported the industrialised Union whereas the British aristocratic classes had a certain amount of sympathy with the Confederate, Slave owning aristocracy. However, looking more closely at contemporary media, it has been established that this orthodox interpretation needs revising. Adams's account does not show any notable adaptation when the Emancipation Proclamation comes in. Instead, it is more acknowledged by Adams's with an admission of a slight shift of a few groups. Later historians have criticised Adams for this, but, as I will demonstrate, it may be that Adams had a very good point but with the incorrect reasons. What Adams does not seem to admit is the vast amount of pro-South sentiment in the British aristocratic and merchant classes. This was mainly due to the economic advantage that an independent Confederation would offer Britain. Knowing this, journalists and politicians lobbied for more pro-Southern groups in Britain. Britain's Victorian morals and Christian core would mean that the British public could not accept a country supporting the institution of Slavery. To overcome this issue, pro-Southern sympathisers and supportive groups, lead in particular by Spence, convinced people that an independent Confederation would be pressured into abolishing Slavery by the threat of a trade blockade with Europe.

With Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, very few people shifted to supporting the Union from Confederacy. In fact, it was seen as negligent by Lincoln and an act of deliberately causing a servile revolution. Tenniel demonstrated through his imagery the concept that freeing the Slaves was stoking the fire, (the fire representing the Civil war). To support the idea that few people changed to support Lincoln, there is a large number of pamphlets produced reprimanding the journalists and politicians for continuing with their pro-Confederacy advocacy. In addition to this, Tenniel's cartoons do not show the freed blacks in any positive image. Instead, he emphasises their lack of education and civil rights knowledge.

The Revisionist historians of the 1940s-1960s seemed to suggest that there was no clear preference to the Confederacy or Union in the British media. They claimed that the Conservative Government reacted to events and not principals. This does not seem creditable. The Government was not neutral and so could not stay neutral. They were self-advancing, supporting whichever side that held more advantage or, as Palmerston's memoirs recollects, neither side if it meant America was fighting a war that was weakening the country economically and politically ergo strengthening Britain. One could suggest that Palmerston was only biased in his memoirs, but then other politicians were also biased. The whole of Britain's ethics were founded on their principles of Christianity and virtue, meaning that even if the media only reacted to events, the strong principles of the time would judge these. Also, if British media only reacted to events, Tenniel's cartoons would not exist in such a great number as a lot of them do not focus on any particular event, just the American Civil War and the race question as a general theme. Finally, if the Revisionist historians were correct, following the Emancipation Proclamation as an event, the media would shift to

being more pro-Union and this did not happen. As demonstrated through the chapter, criticism for Lincoln and his act was more prevalent than rhetoric in support.

Finally, the Post-Revisionists of the 1960s-1980s divide the support of the British Public between pro-Union and pro-Confederacy according to the 19th Century class system. They seem to suggest that the British Southern working class wanted the cotton in order to work and so were in support of the South and the blockade runners. They debate the earlier interpretation that the British Northern working class supported the industrialised Union. In fact, in his paper, Cairnes states “...*the amount of Pro-Union support in Britain, even on the part of the labouring classes, appears to have been exaggerated by historians...*”(1970, p224). Whilst there was a great amount of writing and lecturing, there has been a large amount of exaggerated pro-Union support through the historians’ interpretations. In fact, very little evidence for great amounts of pro-Union literature exists, besides pamphleteers. This would suggest that there was very little pro-Union support, besides.

The conclusion drawn from the evidence gathered suggests that British media imagery was predominantly produced to encourage and influence support for the Confederacy, in spite of their institution of Slavery. Politicians wanted this support because an independent Confederation held many more advantages to Britain than a united America. It would need British support to gain strength and an economy through trade. The South had no industry and only the raw material cotton which it would need to export and so Britain could then pressure the Confederation to abolish Slavery and use the threat of not importing Confederate cotton as their bargaining tool. The anti-South campaigners were in the form of pamphleteers and abolitionists. However, their speeches and pamphlets, although popular, would not have had the same infiltration effect as mainstream newspapers and

political speeches. Also, the pro-Southern campaigners were highly influential, using the same argument as politicians to make southern slavery a very meagre issue when choosing which side to support as it was ultimately a temporary institution. The surprise in this chapter derives from the lack of change that occurred with the Emancipation Proclamation. This can be credited to the pro-Southern campaigners and politicians who declared the act as negligent. A sort of empathy was created from media imagery for the Slave owners as the image of Slaves turning on their white masters was conjured up. The lack of change can be measured through the outcry of pamphleteers who were absolutely appalled by the British lack of support for Lincoln.

One image by *Punch* which has a particularly resonant message is "*Telescopic Philanthropy*".



(Telescopic Philanthropy, *Punch*, Volume 57, 4 March 1865, Page 89.)

Clearly, this image was created to directly address the politicians of the day, in particular Lord Stanley as directed by Tenniel's footnote, "With Mr. Punch's compliments to Lord Stanley". In the image, Britannia is looking from Britain across the Atlantic to America and the chaos beyond British borders. Children are lying on the floor appearing afraid, cold and unwell. One child "Little London Arab", is tugging at Britannia's toga saying, "Please'm, ain't we black enough to be cared for?" but Britannia takes no notice of the child. She has even put down her trident and shield, the weapons that symbolised the protection she offered to Britain. It is obvious that this is a direct attack on the government, which was focusing on international activity and the issue of racism in America whilst ignoring domestic problems. It is interesting that the children have extremely angular faces; This may be simply to imply they were starving. However, it may also have been to accentuate their Caucasian descent. Furthermore, the shadows on the children are very bizarre because they do not actually fall from any object. This could be because the children are in the shadow of something metaphorical, id est, the African-American debate or that they are simply being overcast by the African-American people and the black is running off onto them.

This is an extremely important image in terms of public opinion in Britain in the 1860s; It shows the frustration the British public felt towards their Government, which was allowing international affairs to take priority in politics. There were severe domestic problems in Britain in the 1860s including children in workhouses and poor houses, but the attention of the politicians seemed transfixed on America's war and how it affected Britain. This image is very poignant and, whilst it is a superb piece of sketch, it is also a highly piece of political criticism.

When looking at slavery and the recognition of the Confederacy, the British representation of the American Civil War suggests a definite favour towards the Confederacy, even when the Emancipation Proclamation made this favour more covert.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

Without the firing of a gun, without drawing a sword, should they (Northerners) make war upon us (Southerners), we could bring the whole world to our feet. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her. No, you dare not make war on cotton! No power on earth dares make war upon it. Cotton is King. (Sandifer, 2010, p60)

In 1858, Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina made the above statement to Seward. What Hammond clearly believed was that the world's dependency on cotton would guarantee sympathy for the Confederacy and give the Confederacy foreign support by default as no country would want to "topple headlong". By 1860, this co-dependence between Britain and the Southern States was at its height as the cotton industry boomed. A primary record made by Arnold calculated that in 1860, 2,650 cotton mills employed over 440,000 workers operating in the North of England and of these, 1900 were in Lancashire. This produced a revenue of over £32million (Arnold, 1864, p37-38). In fact, mills were actively seeking extra employment as cotton production had surpassed the labour force. However, this boom took a negative turn as cotton was beginning to be stockpiled where mills went into overproduction (Owsley, 1931). In fact, by the end of 1860, over 250million lbs was in storage. Economic historians like W. O. Henderson suggest that a cotton depression was inevitable due to these stockpiling measures (1934, p67) and W. T. M. Torrens (1964, p58) stated that even without the conflict in America, a depression would

have occurred. Yet this seems to be omitted from all literature at the time. Full blame seems to be applied to the American conflict.

The Confederacy was confident that European dependency on cotton, especially by Britain due to the import rate, would ensure support, or at least neutrality (Armstrong, 1949, p54). This confidence, however, was misplaced. Historian Charles Hubbard states, “The new president (Davis) was committed to the notion that cotton would secure recognition and legitimacy from the powers of Europe” (Hubbard, 1998, p7). To consolidate this expectation, Davis sent diplomats and emissaries to Europe to campaign for British sympathy using the influence of King Cotton. Shortly after the war, Jefferson Davis himself admitted that he had misjudged or misplayed the cotton politics in his memoirs, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (Davis, 1881). The expectation was that Britain would be forced to intervene in the war as their own textile industry would suffer with no cotton imports. However, Britain’s mass stockpiles of cotton meant that this demand was not as desperate and as immediate as the Confederacy had hoped.

Undeniably, the American Civil War had a significant impact on Anglo-American trade. British industry relied on American cotton and thus Lincoln’s decision to blockade these trade links were likely to have a damaging effect on Britain’s economy. This chapter intends to analyse the impact of Lincoln’s blockade of Southern ports on British trade and decipher the extent to which the British public was affected by this interruption. Furthermore, this chapter intends to decipher if the blockade ever jeopardised British neutrality.

Britain's Economy by 1860

Before looking at the British cotton industry during the American Civil War years, a brief overview of the growth of the industry would demonstrate the importance of cotton in Britain. Unfortunately, pre-1840, the majority of data is derived from secondary material. Solar and Lyons have completed an in depth study of the British cotton industry from 1780-1840, in which they examine the rapid growth of the industry as well as Britain's economic demand on its success. They collate their information from articles by the likes of Arkwright, Strutt, Greg, Ashworth etc, in addition to the London Gazette, which they use as their primary source of information. By 1830, there were well over 1,000 spinning mills, predominantly in the North of England around the Manchester area (Lyons and Solar, 2009, p1-3). They also explain the risk factors in setting up a mill. One person could potentially owe money to merchants or cotton brokers, in addition to owing for raw cotton purchases, goods in process, yarn in stock as well as inputs and wages bills. Due to the nature of this business, there were always a high number of bankruptcy cases within the industry. Of these bankruptcy cases 1836-40, over 65% were in Lancashire, with an additional 79% of all partnership dissolutions in the same area. However, in spite of the risk factors, the cotton industry was prevalent in Britain. If we look at the four main textile manufacturers, Britain was by far superior, as the table below demonstrates.

	Number of Spindles	Bales of Cotton
GB	30, 000, 000	6, 663, 000 (50, 000 per week)
USA	4, 300, 000	650, 000 (12, 000 per week)
France	4, 000, 000	621, 000 (11, 941 per week)
Germany	2, 000, 000	307, 000 (5, 904 per week)

Where Lyons and Solar's study stops at 1840, Grant (1999) is able to fill the remaining gap in statistics, as the table below demonstrates. What Grant also shows in his data collection is the dependence on Britain to the Southern supply of cotton.

	Total Imports to GB (lbs.)	Imports from U.S. South (lbs.)
1840	592, 488, 010	487, 856, 504
1841	487, 992, 335	358, 240, 964
1842	531, 750, 086	414, 030, 779
1843	673, 193, 116	574, 738, 520
1844	646, 111, 340	517, 218, 662
1845	721, 979, 953	626, 650, 412
1846	467, 856, 274	401, 949, 393
1847	474, 707, 615	364, 599, 291
1848	713, 020, 161	600, 247, 488
1849	755, 496, 012	634, 504, 050
1850	663, 576, 861	493, 153, 112
1851	757, 379, 749	596, 638, 962

1852	929, 782, 448	765, 630, 544
1853	895, 278, 749	658, 451, 796
1854	887, 333, 149	722, 151, 346
1855	891, 751, 952	681, 629, 424
1856	1, 023, 866, 304	780, 040, 016
1857	969, 318, 896	654, 758, 048
1858	932, 847, 056	732, 403, 840

To evaluate this table, three quarters to five-sixths of Britain's cotton was imported from the Southern States of American. The remaining portion would be made up by Indian cotton known as Surat. This yarn was of a much lower quality due to the packing process. Should the seeds be left with the cotton during the packing process, the quality of the yarn is compromised, thus American cotton was preferable¹⁰ as *The Kentish Chronicle* explained to its readers, "...the inferiority of the Hindoos in this process is one of the reasons why American cotton bears so high a price in the markets compared with the Indian" (Saturday December 27th 1862).

In addition, transport of the cotton from the southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas) was faster and cheaper than from India. Thus, Britain and the Southern States had an almost co-dependent relationship as export-importers.

¹⁰ Indian Surat's fibres broke up more easily, making the quality of cotton far inferior. American cotton, grown in the Southern states where days were hot and drawn out, made the cotton far better quality. (Urzamma, 2006)

Interestingly, however, the perception Indian cotton being secondary to American cotton was not necessary legitimate and may have been a false view publicised to persuade the British public based on wider political interests. The *Blackburn Standard* printed an interesting article by the *Cotton Supply Reporter* stating, "...capitalists have looked upon India with distrust" due to the "wretched system of administration", the "destitution of roads" and "preponderance of influence exercised by government officials" (August 22nd 1860). The article suggests that investment into solving these problems would make India a profitable cotton producer, especially in the region of Dharwar. In fact, the article suggests that samples of cotton had been given to the Cotton Supply Association for analysis, who deemed the cotton, "...bright, fine, clean and strong ". The article implies that the true reason for British reluctance to invest was perhaps due to recent rebellions and mutiny. Regardless of truth behind the public perception, the important factor is the perception, in that the public perceived Indian cotton as inferior and therefore distrusted the produce and its quality.

The British Working Class

Unlike the previous two chapter which predominantly included the British upper and educated classes, this chapter considers the direct socioeconomic impact of the American Civil on the British working classes, particularly the Northern industrial towns. Therefore, a preliminary study of this society is pertinent in order to understand how a foreign war significantly influenced a large section of the British lower classes.

By 1860, British society had undergone a transformation; this included the geographic distribution of population, the British economy and even the political system.

Towards the end of the 18th Century¹¹, Britain's economy transformed from pre-industrial to industrial organisation. A series of inventions¹² created manufacturing that required less manpower for more productivity. As such, agriculture became secondary to new mechanised industries. The crowded and established Southern cities such as London lacked space for new factories and mills. Therefore, potential industrialists looked to the rural North to found new factories. When factories were founded, so migration occurred due to urban families seeking job prospects. In 1700, 17% of the population lived in urban areas. By 1800 and then by the turn of the 20th Century, this percentage increased to 77% (Mills, 200 p65). Thus, the population distribution of England changed. Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool were three of the main areas for migration, influenced significantly by the development of the railroad in 1821 by George Stephenson (Davies, 2012) and then the subsequent "Railway Mania" of the 1830s.

In addition to economic and industrial change in Britain, there had also been significant political change. As population distribution altered and the British economy transformed, protest groups began to campaign for voting reform. Their argument was that the current system did not represent the new industrial areas of Britain, nor did it allow representation for the new industrial class – the class, they argued, that funded the new British economy and Britain's growing global position. The British aristocracy and landed class feared granting electoral reform would lead to a crisis as seen in France with the French Revolution in 1776. However, a compromise was reached and in 1832, the Great Reform Act was ratified. The 1832 Reform Act increased the electorate from 366,000 to 650,000 (18 per cent of the population). Whilst, by today's standard, this was highly disproportionate, it did mean

¹¹ Difficult to identify an exact date. Deane, (1979 p1-20) explains the great debate around the start of the Industrial revolution in the opening pages of Chapter One in his study on *The First Industrial Revolution*.

¹² Examples include 1764, Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny and 1780 Cartwright developed the power loom.

the industrial areas now had some representation in Parliament. The working classes felt betrayed by this act and hence protest groups such as the Chartists existed. Therefore, the 1832 Reform Act showed the British public how uniting and campaigning for governmental action could be successful, as well as beginning the enfranchisement of the British people (Evans, 1989 and Pearce, 2009).

Following the 1832 Reform Act, there was also legislation that affected industry. The 1833 Factory Act was designed to regulate conditions in the factories. The Act included clauses stating Children under nine years old were no longer allowed to work in factories; Children aged nine to thirteen had a maximum working week of 48 hours; Children aged thirteen to eighteen were limited to a twelve hour day. Subsequent Factory Acts occurred in 1844, 1847, 1850 and 1856 (in addition to several following the American Civil War years of 1861-65). These acts meant that, by the outbreak of the American Civil War, British factory workers had a working week of 60 hours maximum and working environments had safety regulations in place (Wilson, 2003, p350-370).

A further parliamentary Act which was significant to the British working class in the years of the American Civil War was the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. This newly enfranchised middle and elite industrial classes demanded modernisation of the Elizabethan Poor Law. The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act removed their financial responsibility for looking after the poor. The new legislation was also aimed at removing beggars from the street and also combatting the perceived laziness of the working class by encouraging them to work. Workhouses were set up for the unemployed, where conditions were designed to be so poor that people would look for alternative employment (Engerlander, 2013). This legislation was

of particular significance when mass workers were rendered unemployed through the reduction in cotton imports.

Therefore, at the commencement of the American Civil War in 1861, the majority of the British working class were employed in industrial labour. The working class was more politically conscious, having canvassed for electoral reform and still having active protest groups, such as the Chartists informing the working classes of political campaigns. The industrial elite no longer had a responsibility to the welfare of the unemployed and the Government also deferred their responsibility through the establishment of workhouses. All of these factors were tested through the difficulties faced by Northern communities affected by reductions in cotton import.

The Cotton Loan 1862 or the Erlanger Loan

When the American Civil War broke out in 1860, Britain's textile industry still required cotton from the Southern States of America in order to continue manufacturing and trading. Logistically, however, there was a problem importing anything from the new Confederate States of America; Currency.

The Confederate Dollar was not an accepted currency. The New York Stock Exchange would not accept it and this was for two reasons; Primarily, they were at war with the Confederacy but also, the Confederacy was not an independent country thus making their currency void. However, the Confederacy was acting as an independent country thus needed to trade. This was particularly important for the Confederacy as the Southern states were without heavy

industry, therefore incapable of building ships or making munitions on a mass scale. Lamentably for the Confederacy, any country looking to trade with the Confederacy would not trade under the Confederate dollar. However, European countries would want the Confederate cotton, making a problem that had to be resolved.

It was Emile Erlanger, a French Jewish banker, who created the solution. Erlanger created the Confederate Bonds, the only foreign loan of either side of the American Civil War. He loaned the Confederacy \$25million in return for a 23% commission on his loan and for handling the bonds at 8%. Erlanger's daughter was engaged to the Confederate Commissioner in Paris, Slidell, which may explain the high commission that was agreed between them both (Rosen, 2000, p106). South Carolinian McRae was also sent to help with negotiations, to check the refinance, continuation and expenditure of the loan (McRae Business Papers 18611872.). The bonds were worth £500 or 12,500 Francs and were used in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Liverpool and Frankfurt. In England, the credit went to accounts set up in Liverpool at Fraser Trenholm and Company. In return for cotton, the Confederacy was able to use their European credit on ships, war supplies, materials and desperately required munitions. The only part of the deal that seemed to evade the bond purchasers was there was no mention of the blockade. Thus, when the money had been transferred and cotton was dispatched, if the blockade intercepted it then it had been a waste of money. Many newspapers reported the Erlanger Loan in their financial sections, such as *The Leeds Intelligencer*,

On the afternoon of Wednesday definite proposals were issued for subscriptions to the 7 per cent Cotton Loan... The total amount to be distributed in London, Liverpool, Paris, Amsterdam and Frankfort, is £3,000,000 and the price is fixed at 90. The dividends

are to be paid in sterling on the 1st March and the 1st September; and, unless the bonds shall have been exchanged for cotton, the principal is to be paid off in sterling at par in 20 years, by half-yearly drawings, commencing in March next year... If demanded after peace shall have been established, the cotton will be delivered free of all charges at the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans.

(March 21st 1863)

The initial set up was highly successful; Both parties, import and export, were satisfied with the arrangement. The bonds were due to be sold for 90% of their face value. However, this value was variable dependent on the success of the Confederacy. Within two weeks, the bond value decreased by 3%. In spite of this, by 1863, £1,739,894 was safe in Liverpool. The fact trading was so successful seems to have influenced the view of these European powers to the Confederacy. This new country was clearly able to solve economic problems and the war was going well for the South in 1862 and beginning of 1863. Even after Gettysburg in July of 1863, the Confederate bonds were able to hold their value.

However, it was in the months following Gettysburg that questions arose about the Confederacy, its success and subsequent independence and economy. Confederate commissioners promised that the bonds would maintain their value. C. J. McRae, Financial Agent of the Confederate Government in Europe, wrote a letter attempting to reassure investors and economists of the security of the loan and Confederate cotton market whilst also directly responding to critics and cynics. The letter was reprinted in *The Index* and then reprinted in a number of regional newspapers (*Glasgow Daily Herald*, Monday 21st

December 1863; *London Standard* Friday 18th December; *Leeds Mercury* Saturday 19th December). The letter answered a number of doubts, which had been publically voiced.

The first doubt was whether the Confederate Government could fulfill the quantity of cotton the loan promised. McRae quoted a dispatch from Memminger (Secretary of the Confederate Treasury), which assured foreign investors of ample cotton, stating "...At present we have a sufficient quantity of cotton to meet all our engagements. The enemy thus far have captured 20,000 bales and we have been obliged to burn about as much more. But as our stock reaches over 400,000 bales...". The second concern was that the Confederate Government "...had refused to the holders reasonable facilities for obtaining the cotton". McRae answers this by suggesting "...an arrangement has been made to relieve the holders from the risk attending the transmission of their bonds through the blockade...". The final objection was the rumor that "...cotton may be purchased at the present rate of exchange cheaper in the Confederacy...". McRae does not altogether deny this rumor, but assured investors that the loan included obligations not to allow the cotton to reach £200,000 and so the prices could not fluctuate significantly anyway.

Any economist would have known that the bond value was slowly depreciating with the war slipping from Confederate success. The Union had always stated that the bonds were not recognised by the United States and, as such, the bonds would not be honoured by the United States when the war ended. When the Union finally achieved success, so much was owed in Confederate loan that an amendment was added to the Constitution of America in 1868, stating, "...neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion... all such debts... shall be held illegal and void".

Nevertheless, many Historians and economists would argue the loan had significant merits. Gentry (1970) goes as far as to say that the Erlanger Loan “..must be added to the list of successful efforts in Europe... Good management enabled the loan to provide the Confederacy with more European funds than the total raised in Europe by the much-praised system of cotton exportations”.

The Blockade and Cotton Famine

Though with the North we sympathize

It must not be forgotten

That with the South we've stronger ties

Which are composed of cotton.

This verse was printed in *Punch* in March 1861, one month before Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Blockade Against Southern Ports. Whilst this is a simple poem, the message of the poem is very strong and would have been understood by the readership of *Punch* magazine. Clearly, the trade links and economic dependency between Britain and the Southern States of America was prominent enough for the British public to understand the context of this poem. Perhaps a slightly more subtle adaptation in this stanza is the use of the American spelling of “sympathize” when referring to the North. This may simply be Tenniel’s attempt to demonstrate his awareness of difference in written English from American, or it could be a insincere, almost mocking comment made within the verse itself.

In April 1861, President Lincoln issued a Proclamation of Blockade Against Southern Ports, in which he stated;

...I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to
the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the

public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations... will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid... And I hereby proclaim and declare that if any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any other pretence, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy...

British politicians received this proclamation with concern; the Civil War in America would have interrupted the cotton trade anyway as the cultivation and harvesting of the crop became secondary to the war effort. Plantations became battlefields, plantation owners were conscripted¹³ and the cotton itself became contraband. By hindering the Southern export of cotton, Britain would be directly affected, even if this effect was delayed due to the British stockpiles of cotton as the British textile industry made up 60% of all exports from Britain. Foreign critics such as Karl Marx were already making comments on this British dependence to “slave-grown cotton”;

As long as the English cotton manufacturers depended on slave-grown cotton, it could truthfully be asserted that they rested on a twofold slavery, the indirect slavery of the white man in England and the direct slavery of the black men on the other side of the Atlantic (*New York Daily Tribune*, October 14, 1861).

No matter what the politicians felt privately or collectively towards slavery, Britain had a slave-free Empire. Therefore, they could not be seen to be completely reliant on the slave-

¹³ Confederate Conscription Act was passed in April 1862

produced cotton. Reliance would also go against the British Victorian image of superiority and control.

Primarily, it should be noted that in spite of the boom in industry, the mills did not employ hundreds of additional workers to meet the anticipated increase in labour demand. This was fortunate due to the extent of social deprivation that occurred in the immediate future. It also ensured that many factories that would have closed down completely were able to keep running. There was also a slight appreciation that the boom would slow in the winter months. Therefore, plans were already in place to reduce working hours. These plans were more due to the fading light and colder temperatures of the winter months that would reduce productivity, but there is no doubt that this did aid the deteriorating situation (Factory Report, October 31st 1861, p.19).

Historians have debated whether the Federal blockade of the southern ports was an effective weapon in the Civil War. This study is not looking to enter into this debate. What needs to be investigated is this blockade as a disruption in the economy of Britain. It should also be noted that the Federal embargo of 1861 was not as effective as initially anticipated. As Surdam points out, *"...the 1860 crop had already been shipped and the 1861 crop had not yet been harvested"* (2001, p161-162). Yet these points do not consider the long term effect on the industry. Also, if the economic Historians' points are considered, the boom was always going to diminish at some point. This just so happened to align with the embargo on the cotton. Therefore, it is the perception of what caused the cotton famine that is important and what the British public would have attributed to the social problems. To add to this perception, foreign critics such as Marx uses the example of a Manchester mill using statistics suggesting that the mill was making a profit of 1d. Per 1lb in September 1860. By

September 1861, this decreased to a loss of 1 ½ d. Again, for his own agenda i.e. to paint Britain as a slave-supporting capitalist system, he suggests that this decrease was due to the lack of American cotton.

The blockade coincided with an overproduction in British cotton manufacturing in 1860. This was an unique position as Britain had an excess of produced textiles which caused this sale price to crash and the demand for raw cotton to fall. This did not cause immediate issue because the excess of cotton could sustain the cotton industry for several months and the war was thought to be a short war. By October 1861, however, the impact began to be felt (Farnie, 1979, p135-170).

Punch magazine released an illustration in November 1861 which conveyed the Union blockade as an attack on King Cotton.



(King Cotton Bound, *Punch*, November 2nd 1861)

Tenniel used the Greek tragedy, *Prometheus Bound* as the inspiration for this image. In this tragedy by Hesiod, Prometheus steals fire from the Gods and gives it to mankind, along with the tributes of civilisation. Tenniel has used this story and chained King Cotton instead of Prometheus. It is possible that his chain bind him to a cotton bale. The main clasp across the chain is engraved with the word “Blockade” representing what is restricting the movement of cotton. The gift, which was fire in the original tragedy, could be interpreted as two items. Firstly, it could represent the money that was created through the trade of cotton. Secondly, it could literally represent fire with the modern adaptation being the fire of warfare. The final twist in the cartoon is an eagle, representing the American Eagle, which has landed on top of “King Cotton” and is picking at the cotton with its beak. “King Cotton” is clearly unhappy with the bird, trying to beat it off of his torso. The American Eagle clearly represents the Union as there is a ring of stars on its left wing and the outstretched feathers of the right wing represents the stars. It could mean that the Union has so much control over “King Cotton” that it is able to just antagonise the situation as it pleases, picking at it when it chooses. Or it could just represent the pain it is able to inflict on the cotton industry. Either representation shows the Union as the aggressor and cotton as the victim.

Aware of the impending economic difficulties, the Government began looking for other cotton to import. The *Liverpool Mercury* reported the negotiations with Jamaican cotton growers (Monday November 11th 1861). Jamaica had historically been a place of cotton production, but had changed its crop to sugar. The cotton had been sampled and was of excellent quality. Mr. Bourne (the speaker advocating Jamaican cotton) suggested that “..the language and the government are the same as in England and the authorities are amenable to the Government and Parliament of England”. If this was not enough to persuade the

audience to favour Jamaican production, the speaker added, "In less than a month, cotton picked in Jamaica may be transported to Manchester".

Liverpool accounted for 85% of American cotton exports to Britain and there were around 700 voyages per year between Liverpool and the United States. The work was seasonal and took place during the winter months, starting around October and lasting for around six months. The cotton was then sent to Manchester via the Liverpool-Manchester railway, which was founded in 1830 (Merseyside Maritime Museum; visited January 2010). Therefore, this article would have been of keen interest to the Liverpool readers who would have been concerned by the news of the Union blockade. Dock yard workers would have worried about their seasonal work being affected but, more indirectly, Liverpool thrived on the economy brought in by the cotton. Dock workers would dine and drink in the city, therefore there was a wider economy than just the cotton workers that would feel the impact of the blockade.

Other countries attempted to help Britain. The Queensland Government gave prospective cotton growers land and companies were formed in Britain and Queensland to trade between them, one of the most significant being the Queensland Cotton Company (Harding, 1925, Chapter 3). The Ottoman Empire also sent 109,500 bales of cotton to England (Sandford, 1862) and Egypt attempted to increase her production, but two-thirds of the crop was liable to damage due to irrigation and wind damage.

The Government also began to turn their attention to the Indian cotton growers, perhaps indicating the degree of desperation felt by the British Government as they began to negotiate with a country that they did not want to empower through trade.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* recorded the problems with the inconsistency and unreliable nature of trading with India in its current state. "...instead of 115,000 bales of cotton having been shipped from Bombay in one week, according to the report, it appears that only 28,000 bales were shipped in the two weeks..." (Thursday 24th July 1862). Importing from India, therefore, was not an immediate solution as it was unreliable. The reputation of Indian cotton's inferior quality was also supported by some primary testimonials such as Redgrave who stated, "On opening a bale of cotton there is an intolerable smell, which causes sickness" (Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, 31st October 1863, p62). In fact, some newspapers reported that, even in the worst cases of poverty from the cotton industry stagnation, the threat of using Indian surat was worse than no cotton;

...when the operatives were in deepest distress, there was held a prayer meeting of good pious persons, one of whom with a view to daily bread, prayed that the good God would send them cotton, to which there was a response ejaculated with fervor, "Amen, O Lord, but not surat". (*New York Times*, 5th March 1865)

An article from *The London Standard* accepted the potential of India's cotton production, but also acknowledged it as a long-term project, which would not help the current suffering and famine;

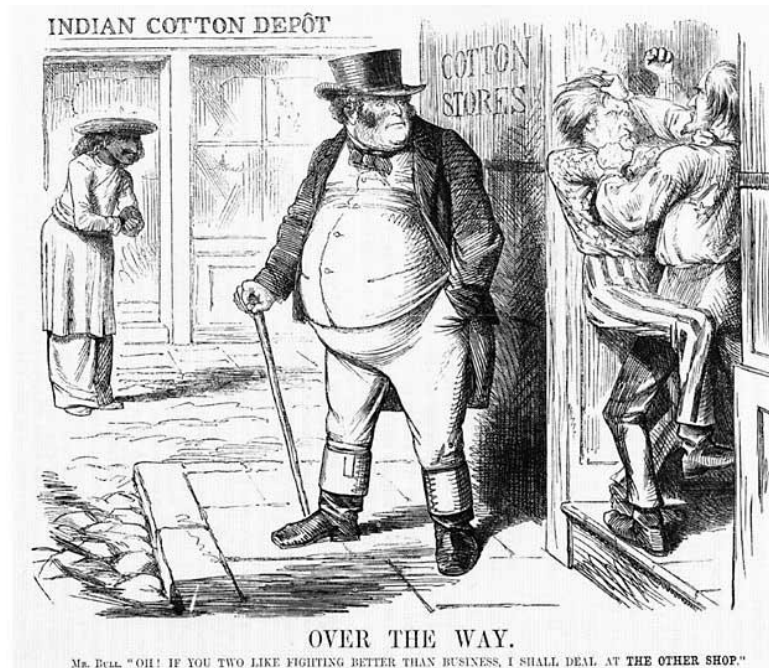
... I think it will be universally admitted that it is the duty of all those, in parliament especially, who either take an interest in the welfare of India and desire to see justice done to her great capabilities, or who sympathise with suffering humanity in Lancashire and wish to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity as it there existing to watch closely the movements of our Indian Secretary, and aid in every way the opening up of Bellary and placing her in easy communication with the coast. (26th June, 1862).

This was supported by an article published in *The Birmingham Gazette* which stated, “..whether we have war or peace in America, it may be expected that India will for the future take a very different place in the market...” (November 22nd 1862).

Clearly, the Indian cotton trade required significant infrastructure and communications improvement to make trading possible. The shipment from India to Britain was simple enough, but the difficulty lay in getting the cotton from the provinces to the coast ready for shipment. However, the British Government were clearly aware of the level of disruption and suffering caused by their reliance on one singular trade partner and so was prepared to invest in preventing such problems in the future.

Punch magazine printed illustrations which were almost directed towards the United States regarding the conflict ruining the trade with Britain. Unlike many other regular publications, which made the cotton communities and the misfortunes of the working classes their focus, Tenniel sketched the below image which depicted the frustration and inconvenience of the British merchant class. made it appear that John Bull and, therefore, England had a choice of

where to import his cotton. John Bull is drawn as though he faces a dilemma regarding his supplier, and that he is becoming impatient with the squabbling States of America whose argument in the doorway affects his business adversely and with whose argument John Bull has no concern.



(Over the Way. *Punch* .16th November 1881)

Punch's Tenniel uses his traditional satirical humour to portray the cotton crisis. A cotton mill owning John Bull stands outside the American cotton stores, obviously waiting for some sort of attention as the customer. Instead, Northern and Southern Brother Jonathans, contrasted by the different flags worn as shirts, are scrapping in the door frame. The two American figures are dressed in attire more familiar with the working classes i.e. baggy shirt, high wasted trousers than stop just above the ankle and leather boots. John Bull states to the fighting pair, "Oh! If you two like fighting better than business, I shall deal at the other shop." By "the other shop", John Bull refers to the Indian Cotton depot that is located across the street. The cartoon refers to the blockade affecting the import of American cotton and the alternative option being the Indian produce. The Indian cotton vendor is dressed in

traditional Indian dress. It is his stance, however, that is most suggestive. The vendor stands in an almost sly and suspicious way, leaning over and rubbing his hands together in a greedy sort of pose. The corners of his mouth suggest a devious smile at the prospect of business. Whilst the USA suffers, he is set to gain a large sum of money. Tenniel may also be implying through his stereotype of the Indian vendor that he is dishonest, and that his cotton is of a lesser quality.

Suffering

There's a moan on the gale, there's a cry in the air,
'Tis the wail of distress, 'tis the sigh of despair
All silent and hushed is the factory's whirl,
And famine and want their black banner unfurl
Where the warm laugh of childhood is hushed on the ear,
And the glance of affection is met by the tear;
Where hope's lingering embers are ready to die,
And utterance is choked by the heartbroken sigh.
(Ballie, 1962)

The Cotton Famine saw mass deprivation for many communities in the industrial North of Britain. *The New York Times* used statistics in 1865 to suggest the impact the blockade had on the workers' week, "In 1860 American cotton supplied the mills with five and a half days' work per week. In 1864 the quantity.. has been insufficient for half day in the six" (5th March 1865). The cotton famine affected a large proportion of Victorian Britain. One may have assumed that there was little primary evidence of how the workforce felt through the

crisis due to a perception that literacy rates of these communities were low. However, this was not the case. The Registrar General for 1861 suggests that 75.4 per cent of men and 65.3 per cent of women were able to read and write to a basic level (Johnson, 1970, p119). Also, there was a large volume of people acting on behalf of these communities, willing to voice the opinion and the suffering of the cotton workers. Thanks to a number of campaigners and philanthropists such as Edwin Waugh¹⁴, Reverend John Baillie¹⁵, Dr. Buchanan¹⁶, Ellen Barlee¹⁷ and Ernest Jones¹⁸, there are numerous documents that allow Historians to see how the cotton famine affected the population. Though the literature from the Northern industrial towns would have been steeped with bias and possible exaggeration, the sheer quantity of comparable contemporary prose suggests that there was a great level of anguish.

Edwin Waugh recorded that the cotton famine caused created many beggars who he poetically referred to as “Wandering Minstrels” who would sing “wails of the workless poor” (1867, p162-163). He described

..Swarms of strange, shy, sad-looking singers and instrumental performers, in the work-worn clothing of factory operatives, went about the busy city, pleading for help in touching wails of simple song--like so many wild birds driven by hard...

¹⁴ Waugh was a poet from Rochdale who became assistant secretary to the Lancashire Public School Association. He also sketched and wrote for the *Manchester Examiner*.

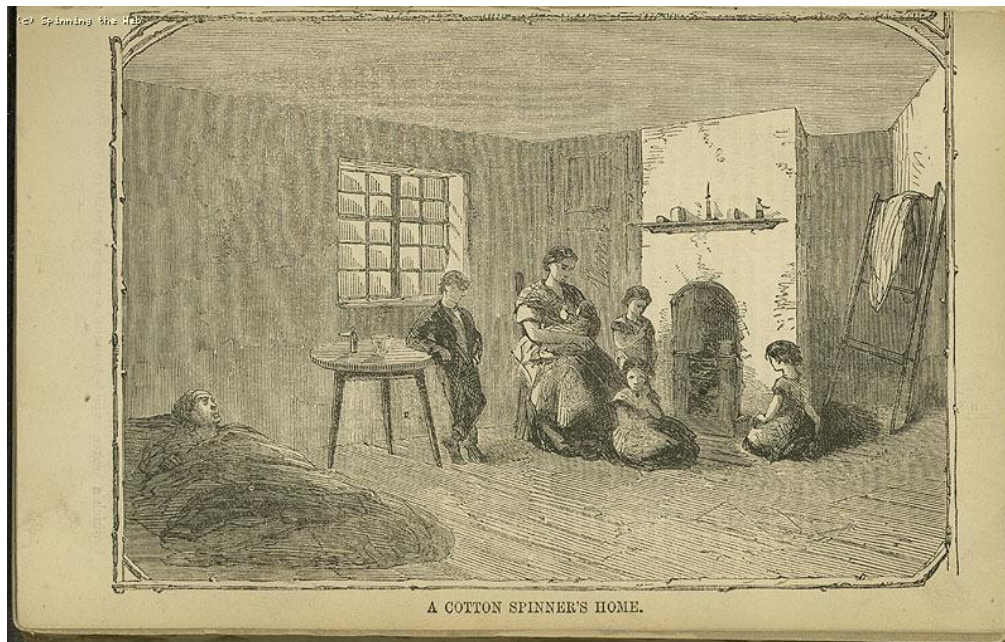
¹⁵ Baillie was a reverend who campaigned for relief for the people of Lancashire and Rochdale. He has a street named after him in Rochdale.

¹⁶ Dr. Buchanan was a young doctor who completed reports on the health and wellbeing of the Lancashire cotton communities

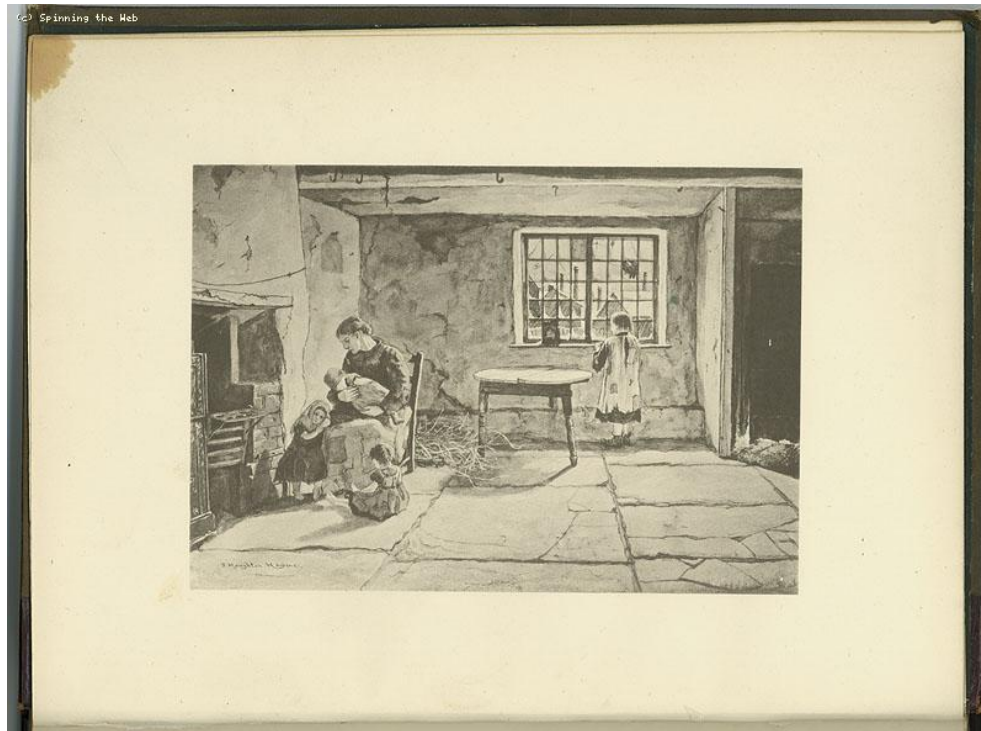
¹⁷ Barlee visited Lancashire in December 1862. She was inspired to help the people of Lancashire and so began writing pamphlets and campaigning for relief.

¹⁸ Jones was a Chartist orator and lawyer who spoke out against the cotton famine and gained support through his speeches at public meetings.

John Baillie's pamphlet of 1862 was produced to gain support for the Lancashire operatives and to put pressure on local and national authorities to gain financial support. At one stage in his pamphlet, he described the position of one family; "...As times grew bad, they exchanged their house for lodgings; unable to pay the lodgings, they were but and by turned into the street...". Baillie pointed out that this was not an unusual paradigm. Included in Baillie's pamphlets were also illustrations. Images are an important addition to articles, especially when attempting to persuade opinion. A reader can skim read a written article and fail to absorb the full message whereas an image gives a fast but penetrating impression, therefore increasing audience engagement.



(Baillie. 1862. *What I saw in Lancashire...A plea for the distressed operatives*. Page 7.)



(Waugh, 1881. *Selections from Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine.*)

One medium that has not been featured in previous chapters to this thesis and yet is highly relevant to the cotton crisis is poetry. With the cotton crisis, there seems to be numerous lamentations on the bleak situation people found themselves in. One such poet was Joseph Ramsbottom¹⁹, who wrote his experiences in Lancashire dialect. Below are two such examples;

*LET o' thoose sing o' queens an' kings,
An' men grown great i'th' wuld, ut may ;
dTo humbler folk aw'll pitch mi sthrings,
Ut's mooar to do an' less to say.
Mi counthry words aw couldno set.*

¹⁹ There is not much information available on the actual life of Joseph Ramsbottom. In the preface, John Whittaker makes some general comments regarding his knowledge on the cotton famine and his familiarity “with the features of their every day life”, but it seems he was more of an observer. Whittaker hopes that through the “suffering” and “hard times”, they were able to bring some positivity. Yet Ramsbottom’s own background is not suggested.

*Nor tune mi heart to sing a song
 To th' praise o' great folk, an' forget*

*The lowly poor aw'r bom among
 What tho' mi verse ne'er gain a name
 Among the rich, the hee, an' great,
 Tho' aw should dee unknown to fame.
 An' soon as d'ead be cawt o' date ?
 Mi task shall just be th' same, — to sing
 Mi song o' poor men's sorrows here;
 To to 'h my neighbour's heart, an' bring*

*Fro th' heart to th' ecn the kindly tear.
 To keep the good alive within.
 To bar o' th' wust o' feelins eawt.
 To taytch him he's o' th' kith an' kin
 OFo' th' poor workers reawnd abeawt;
 To taytch him th' poor, should be to th' poor.
 Their best o' friends, an' while they plod
 This heartless wuld, they should be sure
 To learn to trust thirsels an' God.*

In this first poem in Ramsbottom's collection of verses, he emphasises the class separation in the Lancashire cotton areas and makes it clear that hardship has only fallen upon one set of people; the poor mill workers. He clarifies that the days during the cotton famine were "long gloomy days" and are by far the worst that people had to bear. There was little relief

and little praise for what they did, yet there is also a sense of unity as they all struggled through the “strife” together.

In the following poem, similar sentiments are expressed.

First 3 verses of *The Pleasures of' Whoam*

THIS faggin' on, this wastin' sthrifc,
This drudgin' wark wi scanty fare,
This chetin' dyeath ut we co'n life,
Wi ev'ry comfort dasht wi care :
To ate and sleep, to fret an' slave,
I' this breet wuld o' sun and fleawVs,
If this wur o' poor men could have
They'd weary soon o'th' bitther heawrs.

II

Bo jeighs crop up i'th' midst o' cares.
The o'ersthung mind is on em set ;
The cleawdy broo ut sorrow wears.
We hardly see an' soon forget.
Aw find a wuld o' pleasant things
Come creawdin' reawnd sometimes, aw'm sure ;
An some ut God's denied to kings,
An's gan i' plenty unto th' poor.

III.

At th' eend o' th' day, mi warc o' done.

An' quite content, aw'm sat a whoam ;

Mi childher brimmin o'er wi fun,

Ull singin' reawnd abeawt me come.

An th' young'st ull romp up on mi knee.

An th' next between mi legs ull get.

An th' owdest in his cheer ull be,

Hutcht close as it con weel be set.

(1864, p12-13)

Ramsbottom clearly described the daily struggle of the cotton workers. Yet the greater implication is that their lives were so tough normally. Ramsbottom describes the way the workers live with death and strife around them every day. Therefore, without work, it would have been impossible to survive. The chance of being able to save money when work was plentiful would have been slim because the workers were living hand-to-mouth. So when times of hardship fell, they did not have vast funds to fall back on.

Whilst Ramsbottom uses Lancashire dialect and quite aggressive terminology to describe the cotton crisis, other poets chose different methods. There are numerous poems from the cotton famine published in Edwin Waugh's anthology "*Songs of Distress*" (1881). There were poetic thirteen entries in all, in addition to speeches from the day.

I have chosen to look at a few of these poems as examples of personal experiences through the cotton famine. I have selected Eliza Cook's *"Stanzas to my Starving Kin in the North"*, William Billington's *"Aw wod this war wur ended,"* and Samuel Laycock's *"Aw've Hard War to Howd Up Mi Yed"*.

Eliza Cook wrote directly and tunefully about the crisis. In her poem below *"Stanzas to my Starving Kin in the North"*, a ballad-type poem is created. She described the privation in a style that would be universally understood.

*Sad are the sounds that are breaking forth
From the women and men of the brave old North!
Sad are the sights for human eyes,
In fireless homes, 'neath wintry skies;
Where wrinkles gather on childhood's skin,
And youth's "clemm'd" cheek is pallid and thin;
Where the good, the honest — unclothed, unfed,
Child, mother, and father, are craving for bread!
But faint not, fear not — still have trust;
Your voices are heard, and your claims are just.
England to England's self is true,
And "God and the People" will help you through.*

*Brothers and sisters! full well ye have stood,
While the gripe of gaunt Famine has curdled your blood!
No murmur, no threat on your lips have place,
Though ye look on the Hunger-fiend face to face;*

But haggard and worn ye silently bear,
Dragging your death-chains with patience and prayer;
With your hearts as loyal, your deeds as right,
As when Plenty and Sleep blest your day and your night,
Brothers and sisters! oh! do not believe
It is Charity's GOLD ALONE ye receive.
Ah, no! It is Sympathy, Feeling, and Hope,
That pull out in the Life-boat to fling ye a rope...

Oh! keep courage within; be the Britons ye are;
HE, who driveth the storm hath HIS hand on the star!
England to England's sons shall be true,
And "God and the People" will carry ye through!

(1867; 256)

The message of the poem is clear – the cotton workers are struggling to the point of starvation, but Cook praises their bravery and urges them to keep positive. She also comments on the charity that people have given. In the lines “*It is Charity's GOLD ALONE / ye receive Ah, no! It is Sympathy, Feeling, and Hope, / That pull out in the Life boat to fling ye a rope,*” she insists that the people of Britain are not just throwing money at the problem. The British people have genuine feelings of compassion for the suffering of the Lancashire cotton workers. It is this sympathy that causes them to give donations and not because they are of a lower class that forces charity. This also suggests an important point about that the richer Victorian classes in the mid 19th Century. From Cook’s statement, giving charity to the lower classes may have been a fashionable thing to do. Furthermore, the donor may have enjoyed the praise that came from this noble deed. The fact Cook separates regular charity

to the donations during the crisis suggests that, with this event at least, genuine compassion was felt for the afflicted lower classes.

William Billington lived in Blackburn through the cotton crisis. His poem “*Aw wod this war wur ended*” wrote in direct response to the American Civil War.

There's nobuddy knows wod we'n gooan through

Sin' th' factories stopt at fust,

An' heaw mitch life's bin wasted too,

An heaw mitch brass we'n lost;

Aw trys sometimes to reckon up,

Bud keawntin connud mend id;

When aw sit deawn wi nowt to sup—

Aw wod this war wur ended.

A boddy's lifetime's nod so lung—

Nod them as lives to th' lungust;

Sooa dusend id seem sadly wrung

For th' healthiest an' strungust

To give three wul years' pith an' pride

To rust an' ruin blended,

An ravin up o'th' loss beside?—

Aw wod this war wur ended...

Some factory maisters tokes for t' Seawth

*Wi' a smooth an' oily tongue,
Bud iv they'd sense they'd shut their
meawth,
Or sing another song;
Let liberty nod slavery
Be fostered an' extended—
Four million slaves mun yet be free,
An' then t' war will be ended.*

Similar to Ramsbottom, Billington uses local dialect in his elegy. This poem reveals a lot about the communities through the cotton crisis. Billington's title and the line that is repeated shows that he wishes the war in America would end. In his opinion, if the Civil War stopped, the crisis would subside and therefore the suffering would demise. He articulates that since the factories stopped, each day suffering increased. He has witnessed even the healthiest of men decline in strength. He also explains the impact on morality, as men are unable to support their families. This goes beyond simply feeding, housing and clothing his family. The breadwinner may spare some money for his children to have a basic education and this would have been sacrificed. In addition, their eldest sons would have followed into the profession of their father. However, if the father was unemployed, the eldest son would therefore not have a profession. The breadwinner would witness the suffering of his family but was completely powerless to prevent it. Billington then states that many factory owners were in support of the South. Billington's own opinion is that "liberty not slavery" will end the war and when four million slaves are set free, so the war will end and the crisis will be over in England.

Samuel Laycock "Aw've Hard War to Howd Up Mi Yed" shows a further comparable poem on the suffering.

*WHEEREVER aw trudge neaw-a-days,
Aw'm certain to see some owd friend
Lookin' anxiously up i' my face,
An' axin' when times are beawn t' mend.
Aw'm surprised heaw folk live, aw declare,
Wi' th' clammin' an' starvin' they'n stood;
God bless 'em, heaw patient they are!
Aw wish aw could help 'em, aw would.*

*But really aw've nowt aw con give,
Except it's a bit ov a song,
An' th' Muses han hard wark to live,
One's bin hamper'd an' powfagg'd so long;
Aw've tried to look cheerful an' bowd,
An' yo know what aw've written an' said,
But iv truth mun be honestly towld,
Aw've hard wark to howd up mi yed!...*

*Yon Yankees may think it's rare fun,
Kickin' up sich a shindy o'th' globe;
Confound 'em, aw wish they'd get done,
For they'd weary eawt th' patience o' Job!*

We shall have to go help 'em, that's clear,

Iv they dunno get done very soon;

Iv eawr Volunteers wur o'er theer,

They'd sharpen 'em up to some tune...

Th' big men, when they yer eawr complaint,

May treat it as "gammon " an' "stuff,"

An' tell us we use to' much paint,

But we dunnot daub paint on enuff,

If they think it's noan true what we sen,

Ere they charge us wi' tellin' a lie,

Let 'em look into th' question loike men,

An' come deawn here a fortnit an' try.

Laycock's explains that wherever he goes, he meets friends who are looking gaunt and anxious. He is amazing how people are surviving through starvation and deprivation. Laycock praises their patience and states that if he could help them in any way he could, but all he can do is give them a "tune" meaning his poem. He warns the government that if they do not do act soon, people will die. He speaks to the Yankees directly stating that, whilst they may think they have a noble cause as the war is having a global effect, in fact they are losing international sympathy. Laycock even suggests that he and his friends would volunteer into the Union army and end it all for them. Laycock goes on to say that someone needs to speak out on behalf of the lower classes who are starving. There were hundreds and thousands that needed help and Laycock felt the government was ignoring them, potentially believing they were exaggerating their suffering. Laycock challenges the politicians to come to

Blackburn and see the situation for themselves and then maybe they will do something to help. Laycock's style of "friend to the workers", and "challenging the state" would have made his poem as popular one with the operatives.

A report by John Whittaker was published in *The Times* April 22nd 1862. This style of article is quite different to the approach *The Times* usually took. Instead of using facts and figures, or reports made by highly educated reporters, *The Times* used a primary account by one of the workforce. In fact, this is a much more effective way of communicating the news as people would be able to empathise with someone who is suffering so much. Obviously, John Whittaker would have been one of the more educated workers as these accounts were taken from his diary, meaning he was literate. In his article, he describes the horrendous living conditions, day-to-day, suffered by the ex-workforces of the cotton industry.

There have been families who have been so reduced that the only food they have had has been a porridge made of Indian meal. They could not afford oatmeal; and even of their Indian meal porridge, they could only afford to have two meals a day... (April 22nd 1862)

He goes on to demonstrate how all-consuming the cotton famine had become.

It is not the operatives alone that are suffering from this crisis; the entire human machinery in each district is at a standstill. Clerks, shopkeepers, mechanics, warehousemen, tradesmen of every grade - all whose businesses depended on the operatives, are also involved in the same ruin; and despair and perplexity are written on the countenances of these once prosperous people.

This is an interesting article to feature in *The Times*. The readership of *The Times* would have been different from many regional newspapers. The readers, generally speaking, would have been the wealthier and educated classes, who would have been business or landowners. These people would have been removed from the working class suffering. Yet, in this article, Whittaker explained how extensive the suffering had become, transcending a wider section of society than just the mill operatives. He outlines a number of professions, which were affected, including the more affluent classes who relied on the business or produce from the factories. Whilst the credibility could be scrutinised, in that Whittaker was writing for sympathy and Government action, this did not detract from the suffering conveyed through this article.

The New York Times reported the crisis in a sensationalising style. In the November 26th 1862 edition, the distress in Lancashire was broadcast with facts, capitalised letters and a series of shocking headlines;

THE DISTRESS IN LANCASHIRE.;

Terrible Effects of the Cotton Famine in England. Quarter of a Million of People in One District Out of Work and Living on Charity. Facts, Figures and Incidents of the Suffering. Details of the Numbers Unemployed and the Consequent Distress in the Towns and Unions of Lancashire.

EXTENT AND GROWTH OF THE FAMINE. THE NUMBERS SUFFERING.

THE AMERICAN WAR AND THE DISTRESS.

From Times Correspondent. LORD OSBORNE ON THE SUFFERING.

PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS OF STARVATION.

(November 26th 1862)

This front page paragraph would have been used as a sales technique to entice people to buy the paper to read the full story. Therefore, the information has certainly been exaggerated to make it more dramatic. It suggests that the article contains shocking statistics of just how many people were suffering in Britain and the scale of relief to which the government had to react. Again, there could be a number of possibilities as to why the newspaper would want to show this misery. One possibility could be that *The New York Times* wanted to show how powerful the blockade was in that it was majorly impacting in on foreign countries. Another possibility could be that, with the Union not winning any land battles, the newspaper was showing success on the seas. The alternative to this could be that the Union was not winning anything and they were also causing huge amounts of international strife, so maybe the newspaper was pressuring the Union to stop the war. Another possibility could be that *The New York Times* published the article in an almost congratulatory way, in that in 1862, the *Trent* Affair had occurred where Seward had to write a very reluctant apology to Great Britain, and this article was a sort of payback for that; If Britain had allied with the United States, rather than opt out of any sort of aid, this war would have been over and therefore none of the suffering would have occurred.

The ILN also reported the distress, but was careful to point out in its opening comment that there had been a huge decline in the imports from The United States; “In five months ending the 31st of May the total receipts from the United States were only 30,396 bales, against 538,413 bales in the corresponding period of 1860...” (November 1, 1862). Whilst it

comments that there have been other sources of cotton import (“India has contributed 73,403 bales, Egypt 30,872 bales, and Brazil 7513”), the onus is on the notion that there has been a huge deficit in raw product and thus a huge impact on the British cotton industry. It is also justifying the problems felt in the industrial towns. *The ILN* goes on to produce similar articles that rely more on exact numbers and political meetings and speeches.

Mr. Cobden addressed a crowded meeting of his constituents at Rochdale on Wednesday evening. In the course of his speech he made allusion to the distress now existing in Lancashire. This distress, he pointed out, was caused by the blockade of the southern ports of the United States, and that blockade arose from a state of war and the principles recognised in the conduct of war. The Government of the country were assenting parties to those principles, and therefore the distress caused by them was a national matter to be nationally relieved (November 1, 1862).

In Mr. Cobden’s speech, he points out in no uncertain terms that the cause of the “distress” was down to the international situation. In addition, the government had made the decision to be neutral and thus the repercussion to this was the blockade causing the cotton famine. From all the parliamentary sources studied, both public documents and private diaries, at no point do the government or politicians seem to ignore the famine. In fact, as soon as the famine occurs, everyone seemed to be constantly addressing ways to relieve the situation. The reason people became so frustrated and made speeches such as Mr. Cobden, was due to the extent of the famine, which the government could not relieve. Alternative sources were found, but these were inferior. Relief was given out through charities and benefits, but the extent to which people were suffering and the volume of people suffering could not be eased. The government had not planned for such a situation, making them appear to be

doing nothing. Of course, this side of the situation was not demonstrated in the newspapers as this would not sell papers!

The ILN also makes reference to the International Exhibition that was to be held in Kew. The International Exhibition was a world fair, where different artists and organisations could display their pieces and exhibits. It attracted over six million visitors from many different countries. The Exhibition was not a new concept, with the 1851 exhibition being the most successful (Dishon, 2006). Conscription and the war in America directly affected this exhibition, firstly because the United States was underrepresented at the event, but also due to the impact of the cotton crisis on the textile industry. *The ILN* reported, "...Have we not seen how the very anticipation of even a short supply of one of these materials—cotton alone—has agitated the lending nations of Europe?" *The ILN* commended the efforts of Mr. Thomas Bazley, M.P., and Mr. Henry Ashworth for attempting to draw the attention of the Royal Institution to the subject (July 12, 1862). This approach to the cotton famine and its affect on Britain is quite unique. Instead of labouring the point of the suffering as seen with *The New York Times*, Mr. Bazley instead uses this only in part. By showing that the famine had affected even the Great Exhibition in terms of cotton exhibits demonstrated, Mr. Bazley was able to show just how far the cotton famine had reached. He is also able to expand on this point, and bring in his abolitionist views.

Government Reaction and Relief Funds

The following table (Ellison, 1886, p95) demonstrates how unemployment swelled, particularly from November 1861 to November 1862. At this point in British urban working class families, the whole family would be expected to work. 59% of the labour force would

have been women and a further 15% children (Arnold, 1864, p79). Whilst certain reforms on children working in factories and mills had been introduced, such as the Ten Hour Act of 1847 that prevented children working more than ten hours a day, there were still no restrictions on employing children. It was not until 1874 that the Factory Act was ratified stopping all children under the age of ten from being employed in a factory. In fact, children had a very important position in a cotton mill as scavengers, a job which meant physical size was crucial as the scavenger would work between the loom to remove excess pieces of cotton fibre that were a fire hazard and could clog the machine. Therefore, when looking at unemployment figures, it could mean that an entire family had no income whatsoever.

	November 1861	November 1862	December 1863	December 1864	May 1865	November 1865
Fulltime employment	533,950	203,200	286,400	303,400	344,300	450,000
Total Unemployment	0	303,759	247,463	170,524	99,545	0

In 1861 there were 2,109 cotton mills in Lancashire and Cheshire. By October, 1862, 60% of the spindles and 58% of the looms were idle and 70% of the workforce were unemployed. The British Government was forced to interject.

The Government's first action was to suggest a reduction of wages. Understandably, the workers were unhappy with this decision as they would prefer less hours to work. If there was no raw material to produce cloth, keeping the same working hours was pointless as there would be nothing to do. By the Government's plans, the workers were doing less work

over a long period of time for less money. This made a very unhappy work force, so much so that multiple strikes broke out across Northern England; in Stockport, Preston, Cheadle, Colne, Lancashire, Cheshire, Rochdale etc.

Following the poor response to the cotton famine by the Government, many individuals began campaigning for more formalised assistance from the Government to the suffering communities. One such individual was the Reverend John Baillie, who has already been studied in this chapter. Baillie travelled around some of the northern communities to gain a first-hand experience of how the cotton crisis was impacting on the people. He published his findings in a pamphlet in 1862 *“What I saw in Lancashire...A plea for the distressed operatives”*. The introduction is quite revealing. It states;

To the Right Hon. The Earl of Derby, K. G., chairman of the Manchester Executive Committee and to the Right Hon. The Lord Mayor, Chairman of the London Committee, for the Relief of the Distressed Operatives, these pages are respectfully inscribed by their obedient servant, The Author.

(1862, p4)

The fact Baillie addresses the pamphlet to two individuals in highly influential positions suggests that these people were not doing anything to help solve the problem, or were directing their attention to less important issues, perhaps the reduction in capital rather than the welfare of the people. He goes on to explain the reason for his publications;

I have just returned home from a visit to the distressed districts in the North,. Much as I had read respecting their deplorable conditions, the reality far exceeded any idea which I had formed. The complicated

social machine- each part depending on the other parts – I found to be at a dead lock; and the sufferings of all classes, the shopkeepers not less than the operatives, were appalling.

This is quite revealing. The fact Baillie had already read about poor conditions in the North suggests that nationally people were aware of the problem. However, what Baillie goes onto explain is that the situation is far worse than any article that he had read. In addition, the crisis was having a greater negative effect on the population. He uses the example of shopkeepers. One would not immediately think of these small business owners. But logically, if the population were not being paid then they would not have money to spend. Thus, the shopkeepers would not have any customers and these shops would have to close. Baillie's pamphlet then gives numerous examples of ordinary people that suffered through the crisis.

Baillie was not the only individual applying pressure for government support for the operatives. A writer under the name "Ajax" wrote a pamphlet under the title, *Social wastes and wastelands ; flax versus slave-grown cotton*. In his thirty-four-page harangue, Ajax explains the working classes are gradually becoming pauperised and thus the Government must intervene,

A glance at the commercial and social state of the nation, the cause of present commercial depression; and remedies suggests; with observations on the late debates in parliament upon poor-relief; and outlines a plan to render poor law unions self-supporting.

(Ajax, 1862, 5)

He accuses the Government of ignoring the problem because, whilst taxes are being paid, the Government does not care about the people. He goes on to state that, "a great

unpleasant and inconvenient moral effect moreover attends the contact with pauperism... it becomes imperative upon society to ask whether it would not be more economical in the end... to think more of quality than cheapness in our clothing...” In this excerpt, Ajax emphasises the extent of the social problem. Beyond unhealthy and unsanitary conditions, the working classes are beginning to commit more crimes, to each other and to themselves, in a way to try to resolve their situation. Ajax offers a solution. He suggests that the Government should care about the produce more and this would, in turn, aid the working classes.

Another significant campaigner was Edwin Waugh, who was widely published in *Manchester Daily Examiner* and *The Times*. He wrote poetry and prose on the operatives of several industrial towns; Blackburn, Wigan, Preston and Wayside. He also included poetry by other authors in his articles. Other campaigners included Ellen Barlee, who created a pamphlet (1863) similar to that of Baillie on her experiences of Lancashire in 1862 and Dr. Buchannan who produced a report on the “Health of the Operatives Report Relation to the Sanitary Condition of the Cotton Towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire” (reprinted in *The Times* 11th September 1963).

By early 1862, there were mass mill closures in the North East, including Manchester and Blackburn. The Government had to act. The first organised government relief to the crisis was the Union Relief Aid Bill of 1862, undoubtedly accelerated by increasing public pressure to set up relief for the communities in the north. Before this, financial survival was down to the workers and their savings or the support set out in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and deliberated and distributed by the Board of Guardians. The Union Relief Aid Bill allowed parishes and counties to distribute relief (Hansard, August 2nd 1862, vol 168).

Relief committees were set up to manage the distribution of relief. In some areas, the suffering workers began to complain that relief may be given to the undeserving. Their worry was how the committees would judge the genuine, unemployed worker from the work-shy drunkard. Further concerns were raised regarding how to manage the various relief committees; there had to be some sort of egalitarianism in how the separate committees distributed grants and how much each distribution should be. To achieve impartiality, a manual was created (Manuel published, 14th September 1863). This manual was entitled *Minutes as to contracts by relief committees and employment of indigent cotton workmen on contracts* and included all manner of instructions, including the composition of the committees, who should be elected as executive, the administration of relief and the management of businesses during the crisis, including the management of schools, books and relief cards. The manual also included who was entitled to relief and, from the outset, relief was not simply restricted to operatives, but also those immediately dependent on the factories. Furthermore, the manual separated those who were helped by the guardians and those who were relieved by relief committees, so that people were not helped twice.

The *ILN* attempted to clarify the structure of relief for their readers.

Central, Executive, and Local Relief Committees... The two first particularly undertake to collect money, to receive money and clothing transmitted from various parts, and to see to the distribution of these to the local committees throughout the suffering districts of the county... The general committee has

nothing to do with individual relief. This is intrusted to local committees. (Saturday, November 28th 1863)

As suggested by *The ILN*, there were several committees set up due to the extent of distress in addition to the large geographical area that was affected. Three of the main committees that served the worst affected areas were the Manchester Central relief Committee, the Central Executive Cotton Relief Committee and the Lancashire and Cheshire Operatives Committee.

The Manchester Central Relief Committee was funded by Lancashire noblemen noblemen who appealed to Parliament. Richard Cobden was invited to join the committee and made persuasive speeches, reminding politicians that factory operative were certainly affected by the famine, but so were the landlords and shopkeepers in the area. He especially referenced the shopkeepers, as many of them were providing supplies to the starving population without charge and losing significant profit (Arnold, 1864, p175-81 and 494-5); The Central Executive Cotton Famine Relief Committee brought together mayors from different and distributed relief through grants at regional committee level; The Lancashire and Cheshire Operatives Relief Fund (often referred to as Mansion House Fund) was able to hand out over £1500 in relief to local communities.

On reviewing the impact of the committees and relief funds, it is unsurprising that Gladstone was happy to boast in a speech recorded in the *Southland Times* that “*The average rate of out-door Poor Law relief which was before the distress 1s 2½ per head, per week is now nearly 1s 6d...*” (April 24th 1863, Page 5) It is particularly unsurprising this bragging comment was published around election time in 1863! The following speech, published in the

Southland Times in April 1863 is also highly revealing of what prompted the government to respond. In it, Gladstone highlights the problems on the economy as a whole and the negative effect on individual businesses.

The loss of weekly wages for this population is about £150,000, or at the rate of nearly eight million a year. When to this we add by estimate the loss of wages in trades directly subsidiary to the bottom manufacture and dependent on its extent the loss of rent to the owners of houses and cottages, the loss of profit to the capitalist, and to the classes of tradesmen directly concerned in supplying the workpeople with the commodities they consume, if, I say, we take these items into account, without pursuing the remoter branches of the question it is, I think, impossible to place the loss to the country at less than twelve millions a year and it is probably a good deal more. But even at this moderate estimate, such a loss tells in a sensible degree on the revenue of the state...

.. Accordingly we find that in the district of the twenty-seven Unions, the number of persons receiving but-door Poor Law relief is about 250,000 and the number who, without receiving any Poor Law Relief, receive relief from Charitable Funds is 190,000; together 440,000...

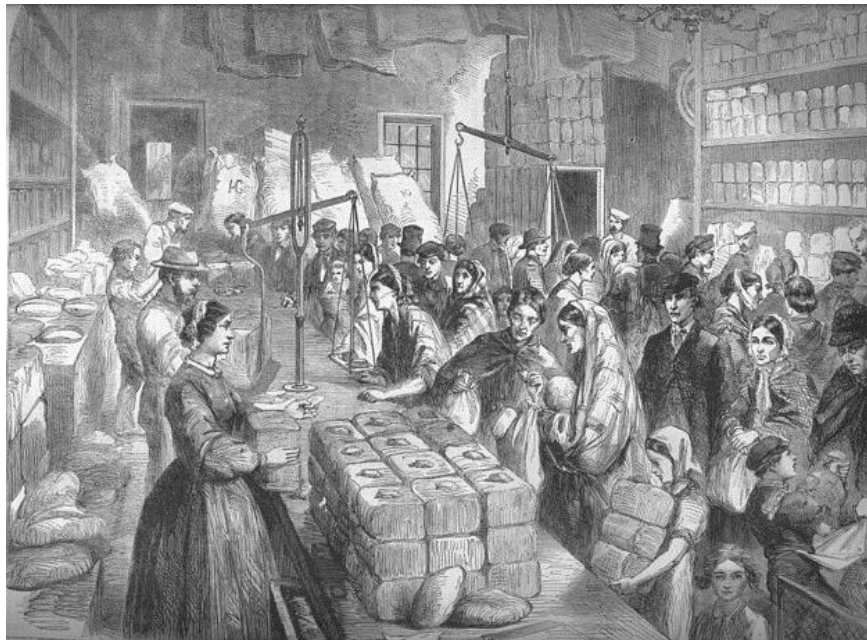
Gladstone mentions “charitable funds” but fails to express the amount of work these numerous charities did, including international charities. Had it not been for these organisations that stepped in to help with the incredible influx of poverty, the Poor Relief would have been further stretched. The sense of unity and support for the suffering Lancashire operatives can be seen through study of responses by other industrial town

communities. For example, the *Birmingham Gazette*, published the below report on November 22nd 1862;

Cotton District relief Fund Meeting, Nov 21st 1862

Moved by Councilor Taylor, seconded by Councilor Naish, supported by G. Dixon, Esq. That the operatives and others now suffering from want of employment in the Cotton manufacturing Districts are deserving of our sincerest sympathy; that it is incumbent on us to render them the utmost aid in our power, and that every inhabitant in this Ward may have an opportunity of contributing towards the Fund now being raised for their relief.

The *ILN* also published images of charitable donations being distributed to the cotton communities.



(November 29, 1862).

This picture from the *Illustrated London News* depicts the dispatch of provisions by the Manchester and Salford Provident Society. Whilst there does not seem to be a highly panicked atmosphere, the amount of people in the store suggests that there was a widespread scarcity of food. Also, the young girl on the right in the foreground is collecting armfuls of bread. This suggests that she has a large family that have not been properly fed for a while. The customers do not appear that poorly attired when compared to other images from the crisis. This image is the first in a series of two illustrations. The second is featured below. It is clear that the *ILN* was attempting to portray the situation being cared for by this society. However, in achieving this calm and plentiful appearance, the *ILN* readership may have interpreted the “crisis” as resolved. Without balancing these sketches with images of how desperate some communities were, people may have believed the government did not need to apply emergency actions.



(November 29, 1862).

This illustration comes from the same issue of the *ILN*. The caption below it reads “*The Manchester and Salford District Provident Society Distributing Clothing*”. Once again, The Manchester and Salford District Provident Society is shown in an excellent light. This time, they are allocating clothing and footwear to the public. There is a long queue of people waiting for assistance. Whilst this suggests the situation was dire, the atmosphere does not seem fraught or desperate. The charitable organisation is certainly helping the needy, but people may question how much additional help these districts would need.

These charitable donations exceeded £400,000. In fact, the charities were highly praised though this crisis for their work. Ajax commented on them in his pamphlet in 1862;

The private and public benevolence of the country is nevertheless a great face, and must not be overlooked or undervalued; and as a relief to the dark general picture, the unexampled munificent, and vast charitable relief fund which the cotton famine has organized for the relief of local disaster, and the numberless public benevolent institutions spread over the empire, carrying the balm of philanthropy to the diseased and destitute who may solicit it, may be justly pointed out as evidence of the Christian sympathy cementing the social structure.

The Government implemented two other initiatives to try to ease the suffering of the cotton communities; An emigration incentive scheme and the Government Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act of 1864.

The emigration scheme was launched with mixed success. Families appealed to the Lancashire Relief Committee for help to emigrate and on July 13th 1863 £2000 of the relief fund was given to assist operatives to emigrate. Eight-one families and twenty-one single persons – four hundred and twenty-four emigrants in total – went to Canada; others emigrated to Australia (Glasgow Herald; 15 and 29th May 1863). To further encourage distressed operative to emigrate, steamship companies reduced their passage rates and the Governments of New Zealand and Australia offered free passage (Arnold, 1865).

However, despite the hardship, many people refused to leave their lives, family and homes. Also, people campaigned against emigration as a solution to the problems, arguing that this would have a significantly detrimental long-term impact on Northern communities. Edmund Potter wrote a letter in *The Times*, which was published in many regional newspapers, suggesting that other immediate solutions such as loans could be more sensible.

He is opposed to an extended depletive emigration and suggests a loan extending over two or three years, or during the existence of the crisis; such as loan to be administered by special commissioners, added to the boards of guardians in the cotton districts, under special legislative regulations enforcing some occupation or labour, as a means of keeping up, at least, the moral standard of the recipients of the loan. (Tuesday March 24th 1863)

As tension increased in communities, the Government was forced to pass more legislation. *The Leicestershire Mercury*, published the following article from the Home Office on Saturday May 9th 1863;

The Home Office has just issued to the various local authorities two

circulars upon this subject. One is addressed to those places which have adopted the Local Government Act, and is as follows;

...The works, for which powers are given, include 1. Sewerage and drainage works. 2. Works of water supply. 3. The making of new streets and roads. 4. The widening, leveling, paving and improving of existing streets. 5. Providing and laying out recreation grounds, walks and parks. And 6. Providing markets.

This article explains how a Public Works Act was founded by the Government so that employment was given to the unemployed operatives. The distribution of this work was assigned to the Relief Committees. Whilst this legislation enabled local authorities to access national funding for public works and therefore the employment of many laborers, by 1864 (when the act was ratified), the famine and hardship had already ravaged communities. In fact, many communities were beginning to recover (very slowly). Thus the legislation was seen as too little too late. Also, the work asked of these cotton communities in the Public Works Act required different skills set and therefore were therefore not necessarily transferrable skills. The article below from *The South and North Lincolnshire Advertiser* gives a skeptical report on the success of the Public Works Act stating, “*About eighty towns have now adopted the Public Works Act... 50,000 persons, might find employment on the public works; yet the reports for September show that short of 5,000 men are engaged on them...* (October 15th 1864). The Public Works Act, therefore, may have had the potential to improve the cotton districts, but the limited update meant the relief was inadequate.

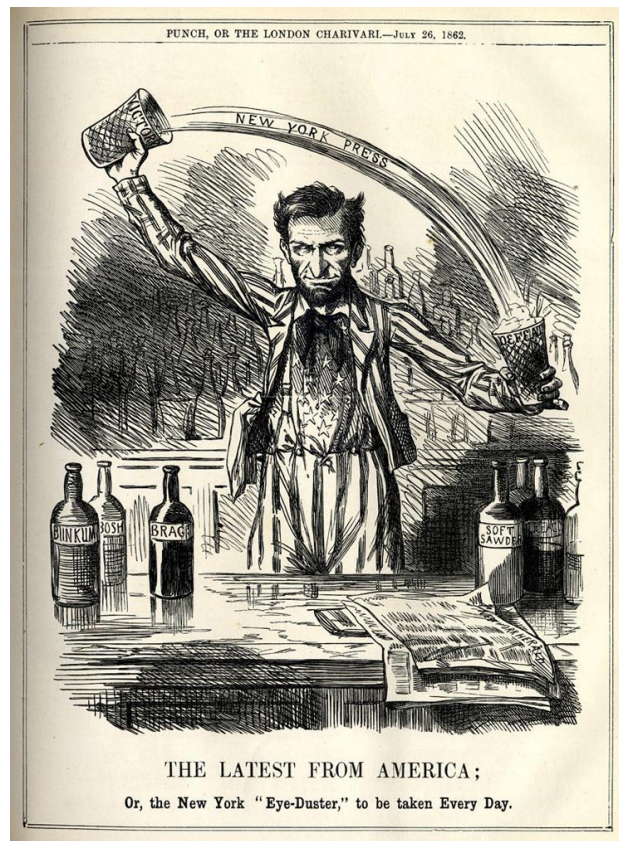
Riots

Whilst charitable intervention did ease the intensity of the suffering, impatience and frustration inevitably set in as was pointed out in *The Daily Post*, "...this outrage is the natural consequence of keeping a population in pauperism" (Tuesday March 24th 1863). Riots broke out in pockets throughout the Northeast, with some of the worst areas located in Stalybridge, Dukinfield and Ashton. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* described the riots that had been taking place as "alarming." It specified, "Shops have been plundered and windows have been broken, and there are rioters shut up in Chester castle" (Sunday March 29th 1863). The article stated that additional special constables had been sworn in to assist with containing the problem. Rather than criminalizing the rioters, however, the newspaper states that the communities were suffering extensively from the effects of unemployment and any prospect of cheaper or replacement cotton was improbable. These combined factors had caused frustration and desperation, which drove the otherwise law abiding and hardworking citizens to extreme reactions.

The Leeds Times also reported how the authorities had the riots under control. In addition to the additional constables (reported in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*), Colonel Wilsom Patten spoke in Parliament, explaining how military authorities were also brought in to suppress "...any attempt to renew the riots..." (March 28th 1863). This report in *The Leeds Times* may have been an attempt to prevent any national alarm at the news of riots and to assure the British public that the authorities had the power to restore order permanently. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the riots had been sensationalised in the national press. *The Leicestershire Mercury* wrote in response to the distress in Hinckley stating "...we repeat the ill-favoured thing, for the sake of giving it an emphatic denial. No riot has taken place there. Some little misunderstanding there has been" (Saturday May 9th 1863). One can infer

that there may have been exaggerated reporting of the riots. Whilst this may have clarified any misreporting the situation in Hinckley, the newspaper accepts the level of international coverage the riot reports acquired. It reported, "*The Hinckley Riot has assumed enormous proportions abroad...*". Britain was the most successful industrial power in Europe. In addition, it considered itself the model and moral society. For such stories of unrest and discontent to be broadcast internationally would have been an embarrassment to the British authorities.

This perhaps refers to newspapers such as *The New York Times* which had taken to suggesting the entirety of the North of England was rioting, looting and anarchistic due to the cotton famine. Tenniel in *Punch* was particularly aware of the American embellishing style of reportage as shown in this illustration.



(The Latest From America, *Punch*, vol.41, no.1155, p.85. July 19, 1862)

This image from *Punch* demonstrates just what the British thought of the New York press. New York newspapers would have been readily available in British sales stands. In the sketch, Lincoln is a bar tender, who is mixing cocktails with "Bunkum" (lies), "Bosh" (nonsense), "Brag" (boasting), "Soft Sawder" (flattery), and "Treacle" (cheap, sweet syrup). As the mixture is passed from one glass to another, the stream of fluid spells out the "New York Press". Not only is Tenniel scorning the American-taste for cocktails, which were not popular in Britain at the time, the message of the source is clearly that Lincoln mixes the news stories for his own agenda. If Tenniel's image were true and we use this when reading *The New York Times* article, the article was probably printed to show the success and power of the blockade and not as a sympathetic article, caring about the British people.

In comparison to *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, *Leicestershire Mercury* also sympathised with the workers, rather than criticizing them. It reported that the workers were grateful for

“relief given, and pray that it may continue as long as they are in want” (Saturday May 9th 1863) but that they truly wanted to return to their spindles and earn a wage. The article also states that the people are grateful for the Public Works Act as well as emigration schemes, but simply wanted honest employment.

Even if the riots had been exaggerated, the fact that there was any form of unrest demonstrated the severity of the situation to those workers in Lancashire and other cotton dependent districts. *The Huddersfield Chronicle* published the House of Commons report on the riots (Saturday March 28th 1863). The Government was forced to address the riots. Mr. Cubitt read out a case study in Parliament where three clergymen from Stalybridge wrote to the Mansion House Committee, asking for a grant to prevent further demonstrations. A grant of £500 was sent. This action, however, caused outrage in Manchester because the committee had not deferred to the Central Committee at Manchester - a group of men described as a “...body of gentleman who had zealously devoted themselves to attending and administering the funds subscribed for the relief of the cotton operatives”. Interestingly, the riots had caused quarrels between relief committees. The Central Committee had a large fund of money to distribute in small grants to any operative in poverty. Unfortunately, there were so many operatives in need that the large sum of money was divided a significant number of times, meaning that they did not have the funds to meet even the basic demands of the struggling workers.

It was this situation that led to the Stalybridge riots, although *The Huddersfield Chronicle* reported that “the factory hands had taken no part in the outbreaks, but had expressed their regret at them.

Blockade Running

Blockade running was an incredibly significant act by the British in the American Civil War because it brought in British maritime power without officially breaking Britain's position of neutrality. Without doubt, blockade running lengthened the war. The lack of heavy industry in the Southern States meant that the Confederacy relied on European imports of munitions as well as items such as boots, saddles and medical supplies. The Union were aware of this, hence why Seward and Lincoln discussed the blockade even before the war officially began (Stahr, 2013, p239). The blockade was announced shortly after Fort Sumter, but was officially patrolled by the Union Navy in July 1861.

When the war broke out, the Union had 42 ships in active service and a further 48 in shipyards awaiting repair or awaiting crews. When Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Blockade Against the Southern ports, the blockade accounted for over 3,500 miles of coastline. Very swiftly, the Union commissioned a further 160 ships, most of which were expected to patrol the coastlines. At the conclusion of the war, the Union had over 600 ships in active service (Browning, 2002, p123).

Blockade-runners began as small, old fishing ships that were usually privately owned. These could easily dodge the handful of Federal ships used to patrol the United States seas. However, as the war continued, the United States increased their naval patrol to thousands of vessels along the coasts. This meant the blockade-runners had to become purpose built so that they were more efficient and have some capability of holding off gunfire. The Confederacy was in a disadvantageous position regarding any form of ship building right from the beginning of the war. It was ill-equipped to build any form of heavy industry, let

alone a navy. Fortunately, Slidell and Mason had been commissioned in 1861 to find alternative ship building arrangements in Europe.

When the need increased for blockade-runners, Liverpool had already been established as a place of ship production for the Confederacy. However, due to the cotton links combined with the ship building industry, Liverpool became the most logical place to build these ships. Additionally to Liverpool, Clyde was also an established shipyard and also became a manufacturer of blockade-runners.

The United States was aware that Liverpool and Clyde produced these ships. In June 1862, Benjamin Moran, the Assistant Secretary at the United States Embassy in London from 1857 to 1864 and Secretary from 1864 to 1874, observed;

The British Office openly aid rebel sympathizers to violate the blockade, and the Queen's proclamation)... It is clear... that the entire British people... have openly and shamefully aided rebels while hypocritically professing neutrality.

(Department of the Navy, Naval Historical Centre)

However, at a time of economic turmoil in Britain, the additional work for the ship yards was appreciated and welcomed gladly by both manufacturers and workers.

Stephen Wise described the requirement of a blockade-runner and noted that the only ships that had traits required of the blockade-runner were the Glasgow to Belfast boats due to the tough and choppy water that the ship had to navigate through this water passage. Glasgow

Clyde shipyard took these ships and then remodelled them so that they were capable of holding between one thousand and two thousand bales of cotton yet still travel at between 18 to 20 knots- a rapid speed for ships of this era. In fact, these ships were so fast when compared with the Union ships, which were weighted down with heavy cannons, that if captured, the Union would sometimes decommission these blockade-runners and Union blockade runner hunters (Radio Show, BBC Radio 3 - Sunday 21st May 2011). Overall, however, the Blockade-runners would capture the blockade-runner, confiscate its cargo and then destroy the ship.

Interestingly, the contemporary British newspapers, both national and regional, reported the successes and failures of the blockade runners frequently. In 1863, *The Dublin Evening Mail* published an article, which was taken from the *Shipping Gazette*

It is reported in the American advices received by the last mail, that the commanders of the blockading fleet off Charleston have announced their determination to sink all blockade runners without waiting to capture them, and that three vessels - namely the Herald, of Charleston, the Isaac Smith and the Beauregard or Britannia - have been sunk while attempting to enter or leave that port... But we can hardly suppose that the officers of the blockading squadron have received instructions to treat all ships found running the blockade alike, and sink them indiscriminately. This would be to abolish all distinction between the property of neutrals and belligerents, and convert neutrals at once into enemies.

(Thursday July 9th 1863)

The Daily Post published a similar summary of blockade-running news;

We have received a few particulars of the recent large captures and destruction of the blockade runners which we subjoin; The Cumberland, when captured near Mobile, was from Havana with arms and ammunition... The Dee was run ashore near Maronborough, said subsequently burnt. Seven of our crew were taken prisoner. The Nutfield (not Hatfield) was from London... The report of the capture of the Don is supposed to be premature...The Emily and Franny was formerly the Scotix...

The arrivals from blockaded ports had been small, completing only the Fanny, Byron and ?? The steamers Index Emily, Minnie and Caladonia had arrived at Bermuda from England, preparatory to running the blockade... the recent captures... had a very discouraging effect on trade (Friday 4th March 1864).

The Daily Post published this article in March or 1864 and yet, by July, *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Adviser* published a contrasting report stating, "...The arrivals from blockaded ports have been large," itemising hauls of 803 bales of cotton and 203 boxes of tobacco from *The Index*, 594 bales cotton, and 4 barrels turpentine from *The Atlanta* and Atlanta, and from the steamer the *City of Petersburg*... (Monday July 25th 1864). The contrasting articles between March to July of the same year could yield three different explanations; firstly, it may demonstrate the volatile and unpredictable nature of blockade running; secondly, *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Adviser* had a readership

which had endured a distressing period of time with the cotton famine and therefore the news selected for publication was intended to be positive to maintain the recent improved trade; finally, that by July 1864, the Union was convinced of victory and thus relaxed their patrolling of the blockaded Southern ports.

In addition to the ship itself, the ship required a crew with precise knowledge of the Southern waters as the ships would have to pass through the blockade at speed, but also in whatever weather condition was present at the time of approach. Ideally, the blockade runner would penetrate the blockade at night when visibility was poor. Therefore, a captain who knew the waters without navigation tools and light was essential. The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* demonstrates in one article how an inexperienced or under qualified navigation officer could mean the failure of an incredibly expensive mission;

The steamer Cumbria,... laden with cloth, saltpetre, sixty cases of Enfield rifles, and a large cargo of assorted articles adapted to the Southern trade at this time. The vessel and cargo are valued at \$350,000... One of the engineers states that she could have passed in with ease if the pilot had been as well acquainted with the entrance as he was resumed to have been.

(Tuesday 17th June, 1862)

Whether due to poor navigation or simply being outmanoeuvred by the Union ships concluded in capture, the crew and the blockade-runner would be dealt with severely. There must have been an attractive reason to endure such personal risk. *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* elucidates this reason, enumerating the ship's outlay at

\$80,265 per month (which includes cost of crew, the ship's running costs such as coal and provisions for the crew as well as insurance and wear and tear estimations) but then shows the ship's earnings as \$171,000 (including the return of freight charges, passengers and examples of cargo) (Monday July 25th 1864). This leaves a monthly profit of \$91, 735. The article also suggests that, should the ship make five successful journeys, this would cover the cost of the ship itself.

As well as the financial appeal of successful blockade-running, John Wilkinson, the captain of the blockade-runner, the *Lee*, described the life of a blockade-runner. Wilkinson made twenty-one successful runs through the blockade carrying arms, ammunition and sometimes Confederate prisoners bound to Charleston and Wilmington with cotton loaded on the ship on its return voyage to Britain. In his autobiography, *Narrative of a Blockade Runner*, he describes his almost celebrity-like life as a blockade-runner. Financially rewarded, socially celebrated and adored by people either side of the Atlantic, he also describes the adrenalin rush that the blockade-runner's crew experienced when penetrating the blockade (Wilkinson, 1877).

Wilkinson was not unique in his nepotism to the life of a blockade-runner. There are numerous examples of blockade runners, her crews and captains at The Liverpool Maritime Archives and Library. One such example is the study of James Dunwoody Bulloch, a Confederate naval officer. Bulloch arrived in Liverpool in June of 1861 with instruction to build six steam vessels to be used as blockade runners. He was assisted by Fraser, Trenholm & Co., foreign bankers to the Confederacy. Firstly, they produced the *CSS Florida* built in 1861 followed by the *Enrica*. The *Enrica* took on board the armaments of the *Agrippa* and became the famous *CSS Alabama*. The *Alabama* captured and burnt 55 union merchantmen

to the value of \$4.5million and bonded a further ten worth \$562,000. She finally ended her days in a famous sea battle off of the south coast of France, watched by thousands. The crew were saved by the British steam yacht, the *Deerhound* under Captain Lancaster and returned to Britain where celebrations took place, probably in part for engaging a French ship.

Another further is that of Henry Dresser, a London-based merchant who was approached by Arthur Bower Forwood, a merchant of Liverpool and the mayor of Liverpool to be a blockade runner. What Dresser's case in particular emphasises is that it was not simply guns and money that the South exchanged for raw cotton. Dresser carried shipments of bandages, quinine, blankets and other medical supplies for cotton, demonstrating precisely how desperate the Confederate medical care had become by as early as 1863. Dresser was also a famous ornithologist and his blockade running adventures were recorded alongside his ornithological discoveries.

The blockade-runners' successes were capricious; if captured, the blockade-runner and the crew could no longer trade and thus their potential to make a fortune expired. The ship builders of Glasgow and Liverpool, however, were the true profiteers of the Union blockade as their business was continuous and plentiful.

Clydebuilt is a website dedicated to the Civil War ships built at Clyde and their fates. Forty-two ships were built during the Civil War, and this figure does not include any ships brought in for repair or any ships built before the Civil War years, but used during the Civil War. They Clyde shipyards employed 25,000 men and each ship yielded £1.4million distributed to the workers. Clydeside businesses such as Randolph & Elder, Barclay Curle & Co and John Scott

& Sons expanded their businesses and were given preferential Cotton Bonds. The colloquial term adopted for this trade was “arms in/cotton out” (Graham, 2008).

Unfortunately, at the conclusion of the war, the blockade-running and support of the Confederacy made Britain liable for compensating the United States. Gladstone calculated the figure as £8 billion. After a lodging counter-claims for damages to British shipping, Britain and America agreed a compensatory figure of £7.5 million to be paid by the British to the United States in 1877 (Shannon, 2008, p298).

British Reactions to the Union and Confederacy through the crisis

It is unsurprising that political groups used this period of economic turmoil to try and win some advantage, none more so than the Union and Confederate diplomats working in Britain for sympathy. Many Historians have made the assumption that the working classes of Manchester had sympathy for the North, especially when considering the labour system used in the South.

There is substantial evidence to support this theory too. John Bright, the British Radical and statesman, reported that in the North, “labour is honoured more than elsewhere in the world” whereas in the South labour is not only not honoured, but it is degraded” (Trevelyan, 2003, p307-8). Ernest Jones, the Chartist orator, told a demonstration in Ashton: "I say the South is your enemy - the enemy of your trade, the foe of your freedom, a standing threat to your property. Slave labour is direct aggression on the free labour of the world". Also, Lancashire cotton workers held a meeting in Blackburn in 1862, stating that the South's rebellion was the cause of, not solution to, their problems (Heartfield, 2012, p143).

There is more evidence to sustain the theory that the operatives supported the Union, such as a letter from Mayor Abel Haywood of Manchester to Lincoln where he writes, "As citizens of Manchester... we beg to express our fraternal sentiments...". He goes on to praise Lincoln's "greatness" with his "...free States, as a singular, happy abode for the working millions". Haywood suggests that the war "...has so sorely distressed us as well as afflicted you," referring to the hardship felt in the Manchester cotton famine. Haywood also suggests that British, and more specifically Mancunian, sympathy with either side in the conflict was limited because the war seemed to "...not merely maintained negro slavery, but desired to extend and root it more firmly". As the people of Manchester were suffering and the war had not included any discussion of "greater good" or emancipation, Haywood states that Manchester had endured the suffering without discussion American politics. But, following the Emancipation Proclamation, Haywood states that the people of Manchester "joyfully honour you... for the many decisive steps towards practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders, 'All men are created free and equal.'... Accept our high admiration of your firmness in upholding the proclamation of freedom".

This letter by Haywood was written after the Free Town Hall rally on New Years Eve 1862 (Gilnert, 2008, p31). At this meeting, factory owners and local cotton operatives voted in support of the Northern States, despite the economic hardship. Lincoln's reply to this letter and the show of support at the Free Town Hall came on the 19th January. In his reply, he acknowledges the decision on new Years' Eve as "...the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of peace and amity towards this country". Lincoln offers empathy to the Manchester operatives, stating "...I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis..." and goes onto applaud the suffering as a symbol of social unity between the people of the United

States, fighting for emancipation and the people of Britain enduring hardship to aid the caused (January 19th 1863, p63-65).

This exchange between Haywood reporting the Free Town Hall Meeting and Lincoln seems to conclusively show solidarity between the Lancashire cotton workers and support for the Union and abolition. This, however, was not the case. The workers were aware that the Union blockade was preventing the cotton trade and therefore causing the crisis of the mills. If the blockade were to lift, industry would recommence. Furthermore, whilst the Free Town Hall rally shows a support for Lincoln, *The Manchester Guardian* actually published an editorial advising people not to attend (December 28th 1862). Mary Ellison also published a book *Support for Succession* explaining that the working-class support for the North was merely a “myth,” exaggerated by pro-Unionist parties and newspapers such as *The Guardian* (Ellison, 1862, p25).

Spence’s Southern Independence Party, set up in retaliation to Bright’s Northern party, foresaw potential the sympathies of the British industrial towns for the South, drawn from their desire to trade with the South. Spence identified the areas of civilian unrest in industrial towns and decided he would be able to campaign from a more powerful political position should he appeal to those who were suffering. At a meeting at the London Confederate States Aid Association, he delineated his plan; “Sheffield, Oldham, Stockport, Preston, Ashton, Glasgow. We have three to come off now ready, Burnley, Bury, Macclesfield, and others in preparation”. He explained this his plan was “..to work up through the secondary towns to the chief ones and take the latter, Liverpool, Manchester, London, etc., as we come upon the assembling of Parliament...”.

The existence of the London Confederate States Aid became more renowned, so much so that by December, 1862, the *New York Times* was publishing articles sensationalising the party. On 27th December, an M.P. named Mr George Thompson, had a letter to the *Boston Liberator* published.

I have become aware of the existence of a society in London, calling itself "The London Confederate States Aid Society". It professes to be originated by Englishmen, and has issued an address "To the British Public and All Sympathisers in Europe".

The Republican Party is a political conspiracy, and Mr Lincoln "the head of vigilant committeeism, under a higher law than the laws of the land". The South "is invaded by hordes of mercenaries, collected from the scum of almost every nation". "The South has no rival either in commerce or in glory.

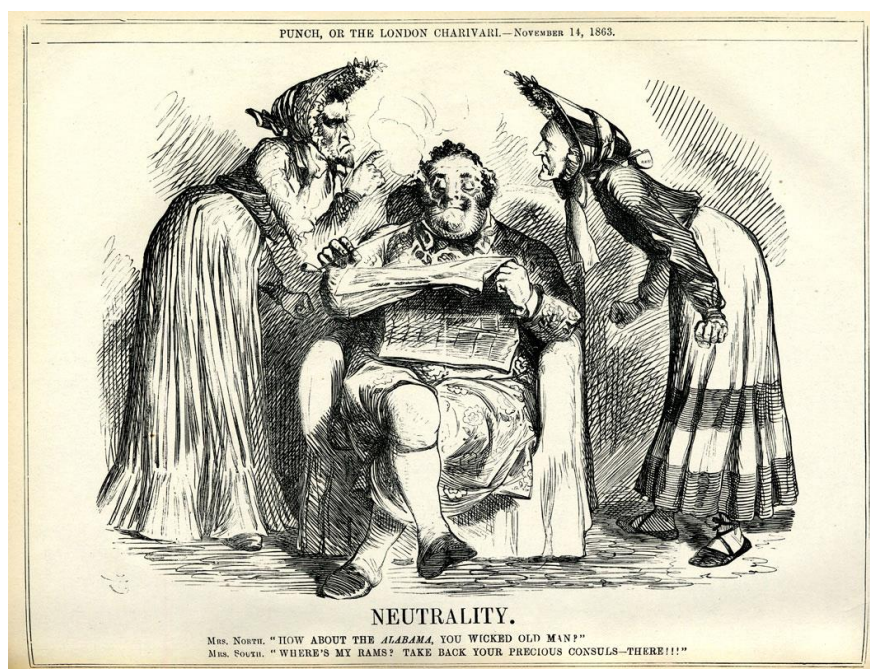
(27th December 1862)

What this extract demonstrates is the separation of the slave trade from issue of cotton. The Association wanted the sympathy of the British and created this by pointing out that the Confederacy had been subjected to victimisation, a kin to the suffering of the working class of Britain.

Yet, overall, the British Government maintained the policy of neutrality, in spite of the Lancashire suffering, the blockade and the *Trent* affair. Gladstone even spoke to the Lancashire cotton workers and encouraged them to support the Government's policy. Gladstone complimented the operatives on their patience and patriotism though their distress. He empathised with the workers through their "melancholy state of affairs" and

admits that, whilst the effects of the blockade were being felt nationally, “the operatives of Lancashire and the other manufacturing districts are the first and most sever sufferers”. Gladstone hinted that he expected some campaigning by these workers to intervene in the war to lift the blockade but Gladstone commended them; “...not a whisper is heard against the neutrality... and rather than drive Britain into measures which would to a certainty involve her in this wretched war, these people submit quietly”. Gladstone does accept that, should the war continue much longer, the Government may intervene, but for a “humanitarian” reasons and not due to economic pressure. He concludes his speech by stating “...those who are paying the most costly price for our neutrality, patiently and cheerfully put up with their privations rather than drive the British Government into war” (*The Elgin & Morayshire Courier*, May 2nd, 1862).

Punch magazine also reinforced this position of neutrality to its readers.



(Neutrality. *Punch*, Volume 45, November 14, 1863, p. 199)

John Bull sits in between Mrs North and Mrs South, respectively Lincoln and Davis in female drag. John Bull sits in a comfy armchair reading a newspaper and smoking a pipe and is in his domestic situation. He is looking comfortable, relaxed and completely unconcerned with the two women standing over him complaining. Both women are expressing their anger at the British involvement with ship production. The caption reads; *"Mrs. North "How about the 'Alabama' you wicked old man?" Mrs. South "Where's my rams? Take back you precious consuls – there!!!"* Mrs. North's concern is with the *C.S.S. Alabama*, the blockade runner built in Liverpool and which made such a damaging impact on the Northern economy. Whereas Mrs. South's concern regards the location of her naval "rams", the *Laird Rams* which were ironclads commissioned and built in Birkenhead. She refers to the "consuls," who in this case were Thomas H. Dudley, the American consul in Liverpool, and Charles Francis Adams, the U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James. The British government became embarrassed by the level of convincing to induce Laird shipyard to delay completion of the order so that Britain did not appear in breach of her neutrality.

Interestingly, many of the pro-Confederate supporters who did support the Confederacy during economic crisis seemed to avoid this admission after the war. In fact, in 1866 in his memoirs, Gladstone admitted he felt ashamed "...of his earlier support for the Confederacy" and it has been suggested that it was this guilt that led to the extension of the vote in the Second Reform Act in 1867 (Himmelfarb, 2001, p97-101) as Gladstone and Bright both applied pressure to Russell's government.

Similarly, the erection of Lincoln's memorial was placed in Lincoln Square, Manchester, and is now prominently thought of as a tribute to all the operatives who stood with Lincoln, united against Slavery and in support of the Union Cause. Initially planned to placed to be

placed outside the Houses of Parliament to commemorate a centenary of peace between the United States and Britain, the First World War interrupted the proposals. When both governments returned to the question of the Lincoln statue, many criticisms (on both sides of the Atlantic) were voiced about the depiction of Lincoln in the Barnard statue, in that Lincoln appeared shabby and his expression melancholy (Wyke and Cocks, 2000, p90-92). After deliberation, it was agreed that the statue should be placed in Manchester in tribute to the operatives support for Lincoln. At the dedication of the statue 1919, John A. Steward stated that London was against Lincoln but “Lincoln found in John Bright and Cobden and in all the men of great affairs in Manchester warm friends and sympathizers”. Steward further stated that “English cotton spinners stood by us which enabled us to preserve the Union and bring the war to a successful conclusion. For that reason we are very grateful” (Rice, 2009). Thus, the great tribute of remembrance to the Manchester cotton operatives for the hardship endured and solidarity shown was actually due to a statue in need of a resting place and a committee creating a reason for the dedication.

Chapter Conclusion

The Economic Argument.

As stated at the inception of this chapter, the British economy suffered due to the Union blockade of the Southern ports. The cotton from the Southern States was far superior in quality to any other cotton the British sourced. Furthermore, the provinces, which would have been ideal for cotton growth (such as Jamaica and India) required investment to plant, irrigate and harvest the crop. This would take time to install. Britain's principal import was cotton and its principal export was textile goods. Therefore, the embargo on cotton affected local communities as well as the national economy. Some economic historians have suggested that Britain was due to go through a cotton recession after such a boom in the 1850s. If this is true, it would be accurate to state that the American Civil War's effect on the cotton industry accelerated the inevitable situation. In fact, the speed in which the cotton crisis consumed a large section of the population was so fast that the British Government was ill prepared for the social repercussions.

The politicians firmly blamed the Union for the crisis. One of the most effective tactics that the North used was the blockade of Southern ports. There is a plethora of evidence to suggest that the Union blockade was not only done as a tactical move against the South, but as diplomatic revenge for *Trent*. This made the British Government take a resilient attitude towards the economic crisis. Determined not to let the crisis appear that detrimental to the overall economic climate, the Government refrained from acting on the social problems of the northern industrial towns, almost pretending the crisis was just a short-term problem. However, from examining the poetry and Waugh and Whittaker's experiences of the crisis, as published in the major newspapers, it is clear that there was genuine suffering and

deprivation in the communities. Whilst accepting that these experiences may have been exaggerated to enhance the impact of the literature, there is no doubt that hunger, famine and ill health were a feature of everyday life, whilst minor criminal offences increased. It was not until 1863 that real government funded help reached the people. Until this point, the British public had to rely on charity.

In fact, it was thanks to this charity that the northern communities gained some much needed support. The *ILN* depicted the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society distributing clothing and provisions. There was also an appreciation that people were donating to these charities out of genuine compassion and not just to appear “good people”. The way in which these charities stepped in and supported mass communities shows the true philanthropy of the Victorian British public. Furthermore, the international charities that supported these towns demonstrates how prominent the situation was; With every act of charity from these organisations, the more the British Government could be viewed in a negligent way. The British Government’s concern was clearly demonstrated in *Punch*. John Bull is the cotton victim as the economy suffered.

Historians have suggested that the cotton workers favoured the Union’s campaign as they would support the idea of freeing the slaves. Yet my research suggests that the workers were just weary of the war. They wanted the Union to just “get one with it” and win the war or the South to free the slaves and then the war would be over or the Federal blockade to just be lifted. There was the suggestion that they did not care about the actual war and that the Union was acting like a bully, nor appreciative of the wider implications of their actions.

However, whilst the economy and northern cotton towns were declining, there were businesses that gained custom from the American Civil War. The ship manufacturers and munitions factories were given business from the Confederacy, especially when the Erlanger Cotton Loan was set up. Places such as Liverpool, Manchester and Clyde all gained major projects from the Confederacy, as the South lacked the capability of heavy industrial. Furthermore, the blockade runners made fortunes through their high risk ventures through the Federal blockade. The blockade was increased as the war progressed, suggesting the blockade runners took on more risk and would make more profit.

When looking at economics and British imagining the American Civil War, research suggests that the private businesses who profited from the war gained their profit through trading with the Confederacy. The workers did not necessarily favour the Union, as some Historians have argued. They simply wanted the war to end and, in fact, grew frustrated with the Union for causing their hardship.

THESIS CONCLUSION

IMAGINING CIVIL WAR: WHY WAS BRITAIN UNMOVED?

This thesis intended to explore Anglo-American relations during the American Civil War of 1861-65.

At the commencement of this thesis, it was accepted that Britain had an interest in the social, political and economic affairs of America due to the shared similarities of Anglo-American culture, language and religion. Additionally, the shared heritage and history, as well as the continued trans-Atlantic trade links, meant there was substantial mutual economic interest in peace times. Moreover, the separation of America from Britain's Empire through the War of Independence was a relatively recent event in both British and American memory, though with polarising sentiment. When America claimed its independence, the new country was founded under the most democratic and egalitarian system the world had ever seen. This freedom was ridiculed by the British in several ways, but most potently by propagandists who highlighted the flaws of the document. There were two aspects of the document that were subjected to particular scrutiny; the first was the document's claim of freedom to all, and yet slavery was still sanctioned until the late 1850s when it was finally discussed as a Federal issue; the second was that within this freedom, people had the right to act as they deemed right. This latter point became significant in the 1860s, when the Southern States used their constitutional rights to secede from the Union.

As the United States divided and began military engagements, British intervention could have been a crucial factor in the conclusion of the war. This thesis explored the varying degrees of sympathy for the Union and Confederate causes and where this sympathy was

presented to the British public. In some instances and in certain factions, the support was overwhelming. Yet Britain remained neutral. This study, therefore, sought to answer two key questions; why the British remained neutral and whether this neutrality indicated general British apathy to the American conflict, despite pockets of concentrated support.

This thesis is important to the study of both the American Civil War and the history of Anglo-American relations and European-American relations for a number of reasons;

Firstly, it is a reasonable postulation that British intervention would have brought victory to the side she intervened with, as well as concluded the war sooner. The British navy was sizeable and powerful and the British army was larger and had fought regularly as one unit. Yet neither Confederacy nor Union achieved recognised military support from Britain, as British neutrality remained uninterrupted throughout the course of the war. At the commencement of this thesis, there were very few publications that looked at Anglo-American relations throughout the war. Historians had looked at the effect the war had on Britain, such as Holcroft (1992), Henderson (1933), Watts (1968) and Longmate (1978) who studied the Lancashire cotton famine and Conchran (1958) and Browning and Graham (2008) who studied the blockade runners, yet very few complete studies had been undertaken which tracked the development of the war and the impact this had on diplomatic relations, and visa versa. Adams (1924) and Blackett (2000) had written overviews, but had restrictions in their studies. Adams used predominantly Parliamentary papers and broadsheet newspapers as source material, which restricted the analysis to the upper classes of British society. Blackett widened Ellison's 1972 landmark regional study of Lancashire and this was used as a reference point for this study. By the concluding years of the study, Foreman (2012) released her award winning study of the subject, and yet received criticism for interpreting the material, without widening her analysis and

evaluation. Thus, this thesis is important as it adds additional argument with wider source material to the current debate of Anglo-American relations during the Civil War.

Secondly, this study is important because it compiles three significant topics to achieve a conclusion. The chapters of the thesis focused on three key factors; the course of the war itself and the impact the war had on politics, the question of American Slavery and the economic argument and King Cotton. Many studies prior to this thesis focused on one factor, such as Fuller's 2010 study of the impact of ironclads on the economy and on Anglo-American politics. This thesis looked to take a range of factors and combine the findings to achieve a broad and more considered conclusion on British neutrality and potential apathy.

Thirdly, the conclusions to the key questions may give insight into the Anglo-American relations in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century, particularly with the Great War of 1914 looming. At the start of World War One, Britain and America celebrated a centenary of peace. This was almost interrupted by the American Civil War. British intervention on the Confederacy's behalf may have prevented this and furthermore may have prevented American intervention on the Great War.

Fourthly, this thesis included research on agricultural and industrial development of the British Empire, caused by the embargo on Confederate cotton. The development of cotton in colonial territories, such as Jamaica and India, became a central topic in political debate. This thesis demonstrates the British were in desperate need of supplying the mills with cotton to continue the heavily relied upon textile industry. Potentially, one could argue it demonstrated the British resilience and resourcefulness. Conversely, it could prove the

British had relied too heavily upon American cotton, leaving the economy stalled until a secondary source could be harvested.

Finally, this thesis begins to examine European-American relations. The cotton and textile communities that were affected reached beyond the North of England as other European economies, particularly the French economy, relied on American cotton. The Erlanger Loan and blockade running discussed in this thesis could be incorporated into a wider study of the American Civil War and political, social and economic impact of Europe.

This thesis was investigated through various ways in which the American Civil War was represented to British society during the Civil War years. Knowing that *The Times* was the major newspaper of the day, this was a key source for analysis of the press. Unlike other studies of the topic, however, this thesis also incorporated analysis of the regional press, which allowed a more focused study of Britain demographically as the regional press tended to quote reports from major newspapers and then add annotation. The regional journalist's choice of article, excerpt and added annotation demonstrated how different regions valued different intelligence.

A further medium of study were parliamentary papers of contemporary debate and policy formation found in various national archives. These debates, combined with the newspapers, allowed an insight into the official view of Britain. This alone, however, did not give a true reflection of British opinion. In fact, based on the diaries of Gladstone and Palmerstone, the official parliamentary papers often did not give a true account of the personal opinion of politicians. Thus, the analysis of pamphleteers, radical press and public

reactions such as campaigns, lectures and even creative work such as poetry was required to achieve a balance of source material.

In addition to national campaign, a study of some regions was also pertinent. For example Clyde and Liverpool became affluent through shipbuilding and Lancashire whilst the cotton towns were directly and widely impacted through the cotton blockade. This research was undertaken through many day-trips as well as from primary and secondary accounts.

Furthermore, four visits to the United States also took place for research purposes. These were of great use, more so than perhaps anticipated. The battlefields of the American Civil War consolidated contextual understanding, which was crucial for the understanding of both chronology, but also American sentiment throughout the four years of the war. Moreover, the rangers, archivists and curators of State and Federal museums were incredibly knowledgeable on foreign soldiers in the war. Their assistance with research was outstanding, as well as their fascination with a British author researching an American war.

Some media was researched but yielded little use; the music halls and contemporary sheet music were studied in an attempt to evaluate the effect on popular culture. Unfortunately, there was very little information that enhanced the thesis. Similarly, the study of magic lanterns through the Magic Lantern Society and analysis of Civil War photography gave little augmentation on the topic. The lack of impact photography had on mid-Victorian Britain was particularly surprising as Brady and Gardner were of British origin, yet had little direct impact on British opinion of the war.

Why the British remained neutral

It is unquestionable that the British continued their policy of neutrality throughout the war. This thesis suggested two possible reasons for this; firstly, that American diplomacy prevented British intervention; secondly, that the British public were never fully unified long enough in their support for either Union or Confederacy at any one point throughout the war.

Indisputably, there were events during the course of the war that suggested Britain might intervene. The Trent Affair was one of the most likely events to cause intervention, as British anger erupted over the Union shots fired at the unarmed British mail steamer. British anger was not restricted to diplomatic exchanges; British warships sailed to Canada with troops and arms, anticipating intervention. At this early stage of the war, with Confederate victories outnumbering Union, Lincoln and his staff were aware that British intervention would more than likely result in Union defeat and the end of the war. Thus, Lincoln was forced to apologise to the British.

Lincoln's apology, however, was very much for the purpose of preventing intervention. His actions following the apology indirectly affected Britain. In many ways, one could suggest they were calculated deliberately to impact on Britain. Examples of these include the blockade, which certainly impacted Britain economically, and even the Emancipation Proclamation, which prevented Britain intervening on the side of the Confederacy, as Britain could not side with a pro-Slavery cause. Even the acceleration in the Union's ironclad production could be seen as an indirect attack on Britain as the British navy was the great and powerful naval force in the world. Lincoln and Ericsson even admitted in written

memoirs and in the records from Congress that a great fleet of ironclads would render the British navy powerless.

Lincoln was aware that Britain's support tended to lay with the Confederacy, due to King Cotton. This thesis suggests, however, that many Historians have credited too much emphasis on this argument. Undoubtedly, the blockade devastated the cotton communities of the North for two years, in 1862 and 1863. Cotton towns had to rely on charity and Government funding for survival. Not even this, however, forced the British to intervene in the American Civil War. Instead, and much to the Confederacy's disappointment, the British organised domestic relief. Admittedly, this relief was slow and often insufficient leading to riots, but there was still emergency relief distributed to the communities. More importantly, however, the British began sourcing cotton from other countries. Whilst this had begun much earlier than the American conflict, the search accelerated. Investment was made in countries with appropriate cotton growing climates. This investment included agricultural development, construction of infrastructure, improved road and railway transportation and even trade links. The development in this industry meant, had the American conflict continued, the textile industry of Britain would recover and continue through other sources of the raw material.

A possible reason for British neutrality was there was simply not enough publication on the American Civil War in British media to form any durable or permanent interest from the British public. When looking through certain representations, especially newspapers, the American Civil War is placed side by side with other international issues such as Garibaldi and the unification of Italy and the affairs of the British Empire. In contrast to these global events, the American Civil War was, at best, of equal interest and most probably of less

importance. Yet one should consider that the American Civil War did take up significant newspaper coverage in certain issues. *The Illustrated London News*, for example, often had double pages dedicated to sketches of the conflict and, likewise, Tenniel's *The American Juggernaut* sketch from September 3rd 1864 also took up a double page in *Punch*. Therefore, there was enough interest to warrant substantial media coverage of certain, specific events of the American Civil War, but why does this interest not translate into intervention?

One very simple explanation may be that the Victorian public had a basic indifference to the entire war. Britain's Empire would have suffered several skirmishes through the 1860s. In addition, Britain had been in conflict with various countries throughout the early 19th Century. Once the American Civil War had been declared, it is possible that the British saw this as "just another" international war and not of significance consequence to them because America was no longer part of their global interest.

Further to this point, it may have been the residual tension from America being Britain's ex-colony that meant Britain was unmoved by the whole American conflict. Whilst the British and American shared the same heritage, America spent over 100 years identifying themselves as a different nationality, both through literature and by law. Thus when the war was declared, Britain celebrated in the fact their ex-colony, which had fought so hard for independence, was now divided. As the war lasted beyond any anticipated duration, Britain saw the foundations of the great American freedom collapse.

A prolonged conflict also suited Britain's economic interest. As the United States of America, Britain had a strong economic rival. When the country was divided into Union and Confederacy, the rival was divided and weakened. Furthermore, this split produced two trading nations, both of which needed to trade with a strong European country. During the war years, the main produce that was required from Britain was the buying of arms. Britain's gun manufacturers and ship yards benefitted hugely from the American Civil War, especially with the Confederacy's need for equipment due to their lack of heavy industry.

A final point to be considered is that British political debate, both at national and local level, did not purely focus on trans-Atlantic politics. Without doubt, this did enter the political rhetoric, but the concentration of attention was on other domestic issues within the Empire. This may suggest a failing by the Union and Confederate diplomats in that they were unable to secure support. Furthermore, it suggests that the various representations presented to the British politicians did not have the full impact on political alignment and structure. This may be interpreted as a success in some ways, in that Union and Confederacy prevented the British supporting their opposition. This is undoubtedly the case when considering Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. This legislation came under mass global criticism for its sincerity, but the true achievement of the document was that it prevented the British entering the war as the Confederacy's ally following the Trent Affair. Britain was on the verge of war against the Union after this period of political tension, having mobilised her troops in readiness. Yet Lincoln's Act and Seward's apology meant that humanitarianism was on the Union's side and thus Britain, the Empire's beacon of morality and strength, could not side against this combined opponent.

Does British Neutrality indicate general British apathy to the American Civil War?

Overall, when considering whether Britain was unmoved, it seems that there are two responses. There is no doubt that Britain was “moved”, in that there was interest in the war. Residual ex-colonial tension still existed and the United States of America as a whole was an economic competitor. Also, certain episodes in the war was reported at length by British press, newspapers sent journalists to the America to report on the war and Tenniel dedicated great amounts of time to producing satirical, informative cartoons. Britain was also directly affected by the war, especially when considering the importing of the raw cotton.

Yet, Britain was apathetic in that she never really committed to offering support. Undoubtedly, she profited by providing arms and ships. There was definite economic hardship inflicted by the blockade, but by 1864, plans had been instigated to ensure the cotton mills would be provided for should the American conflict continue. Even the issue of American Slavery could not move the British to mobilise in support of the Union. Prior to the war, campaigners such as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe pressed the British for support in abolition. This support was enthused, but by the outbreak of the war, this support had declined. This decline can be explained by the fact Britain’s Empire was slave-free by 1861, so further campaigning seemed pointless. Also, the Indian rebellion of 1857 had inspired some racism, meaning anti-Slavery rhetoric was less powerful. Certainly Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation acted as a deterrent for intervention, but the use of Slavery by the Confederacy had not acted as a catalyst to inspire British support for the Union.

Britain mobilised troops when “honour” was questioned at the Trent Affair, yet stalled intervention whilst diplomatic exchanges occurred. Britain knew her power would have been the deciding factor in the war and thus this position was used to its maximum advantage. One may argue that, even if the Union or Confederate diplomats had presented the perfect argument for aiding their side, Britain would have never been moved enough to commit men, arms and money to aiding a country that posed more advantage being weakened, divided and almost back to its pre-colonisation days. This includes the British public, who viewed domestic issues as their primary concern and international affairs as an interest.

A final assertion to be made as a close to this thesis is that the American Civil War was a critical point in Anglo-American relations, and one that suggested a thorough breakdown in international comradeship. Before this point, there was obvious hostility towards America from Britain as her ex-colony, but the deterioration of civil unification in America gave Britain the opportunity to triumph over her ex-colony, ironically, through inaction. The British support of the Confederacy, both blatantly and subtly, demonstrated to the Federal Government Britain’s desire to either prolong the war or support the emergence of two nations. The building of weapons and ships, and then the supply of these articles of warfare through the Union the blockade, for example, was a blatant support of the Confederacy. There were several political manoeuvres on both sides that suggested further diplomatic hostility. The Union’s “mistake” during the *Trent Affair* had to be countered by a diplomatic action on a similar scale. One could argue, therefore, that the Emancipation Proclamation was used as a counter-manoeuve that blocked Britain’s entry into the war on the side of the Confederacy. Had Britain mobilised troops following Lincoln’s actions, globally Britain would appear to support slavery. The gross hatred of the Union for the blockade that caused

industrial and social deprivation in the British industrial towns would also not be forgotten easily by the British. When the Union finally won the war, the diplomacy through the Civil War could not be forgotten. Thus Anglo-American relations were at an all time low.

One may question how these relations grew into the “special friendship” Britain and America now share. Arguably, the answer lies in the Great War of 1914 and America’s entry in 1917. The winning of this war meant that Britain and America shared a duty in healing more complex international affairs, and diplomatic squabbles from the 1860s had to be forgotten for a greater purpose.

This thesis has many elements, which could be used in future studies. One could use this thesis as an introduction to European-American relations through the Civil War. Should this be the case, future research would be needed of other European countries and their relationship with the United States, in particular the French due to their similar dependency on the cotton trade. This thesis could also be used when considering the British participation in the American Civil War. Whilst researching the topic, stories of British participation frequently occurred. This is unsurprising as many British had emigrated to the United States in hope of a new, more affluent life in the new world. Therefore, many American citizens were first or second generation British or European. Whilst this thesis could have been punctuated with countless stories of direct British participation, this in itself did not have an affect on the policy of neutrality as there was never mass campaigning to pressure a policy change. This thesis would also be useful to any historian studying post war Anglo-American relations, as the tension between the two countries needed resolution following the Union victory.

This thesis is significant in the field of Anglo-American relations and the examination of British neutrality. The final evaluation of this thesis suggests Lincoln is far removed from the beacon of humanity he is now remembered for. Instead, this thesis suggests he was calculated and ratified iconic legislation, such as the Emancipation Proclamation, as a political maneuver to gain advantage during a war where the Union was militarily inferior. Furthermore, it suggests that British public opinion was torn between a desire to intervene on behalf of the Confederacy but also content to stay apathetic to the war. The British admired and preferred the Confederacy and what the Confederacy stood for, but overall, the continuation of the conflict was far more preferable.

APPENDIX ONE

"How They Went to Take Canada". *Punch*, Volume 41, August 17, 1861, p. 67

Verse One

*Yankee Doodle went to war,
On his little pony,
What did he go fighting for,
Everlasting goney!
Yankee Doodle was a chap
Who bragged and swore tarnation,
He stuck a feather in his cap,
And called it Federation.*

Verse Two

*Yankee Doodle, he went forth
To conquer the Seceders,
All the journals of the North,
In most ferocious leaders,
Breathing slaughter, fire, and smoke,
Especially the latter,
His rage and fury to provoke
And vanity to flatter.*

Verse Three

*Yankee Doodle, having floored
His separated brothers,
He reckoned his victorious sword
Would turn against us others.
Secession first he would put down
Wholly and for ever;
And afterwards, from Britain's crown,*

He Canada would sever

Verse Four

*England offering neutral sauce
To goose as well as gander,
Was what made Yankee Doodle cross,
And did inflame his dander.
As though with choler drunk, he fumed,
And threatened vengeance martial,
Because Old England had presumed
To steer a course impartial.*

Verse Five

*Yankee Doodle bore in mind,
When warfare harassed,
How he, unfriendly and unkind,
Beset her, and embarrassed;
He put himself in England's place,
And thought this injured nation
Must view his trouble with a base
Vindictive exultation.*

Verse Six

*We for North and South alike
Entertain affection;
These for negro slavery strike:
Those for forced Protection.
Yankee Doodle is the pot;
Southerner the Kettle:
Equal morally, if not
Men of equal mettle.*

Verse Seven

*Yankee Doodle, near Bull's Run,
Met his adversary;
First he thought the fight he'd won;
Fact proved quite contrary.
Panic-struck he fled, with speed
Of lightning glib with unction
Of slippery grease, in full stampede,
From famed Manassas Junction.*

Verse Eight

*As he bolted, no ways slow,
Yankee Doodle holloaed
"We are whipped!" and fled, although
No pursuer followed.
Sword and gun right slick he threw
Both away together,
In his cap, to public view,
Showing the white feather.*

Verse Nine

*Yankee Doodle, Doodle, Do,
Wither are you flying,
"A cocked hat we've been licked into
And knocked to Hades," crying?
Well, to Canada, Sir-ree,
Now that, by Secession,
I am driven up a tree,
To seize that there possession.*

Verse Ten

*Yankee Doodle, be content,
You've had a lenient whipping;
Court not further punishment
By enterprise of stripping
Those neighbours, whom if you assail,
They'll surely whip you hollow;
Moreover, when you've turned your tail,
Won't hesitate to follow.*

APPENDIX TWO

John Tenniel (1820-1914) was one of Britain's most influential cartoonists in the 19th and early 20th centuries. He reached worldwide notoriety through his illustrations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, which was translated into numerous languages. Tenniel became the chief illustrator for the periodical *Punch*. It was his images, along with his mentor John Leech, that created the concept of the political cartoon as we know it today through their illustrated reports on current affairs - in particular British foreign policy and international relations. Tenniel created 52 cartoons through the duration of the American Civil War.

Tenniel's Cartoons in *Punch*

Chronological order



Monkey Uncommon Up, Massa!

Punch, Volume 39, December 1, 1860, p. 220



Divorce a Vinculo.

Punch, Volume 40, January 19, 1861, p. 27



The American Difficulty.

Punch, Volume 40, May 11, 1861, p. 193



Retrogression (A Very Sad Picture).

Punch, Volume 40, May 18, 1861, p. 203



Naughty Jonathan.

Punch, Volume 41, July 6, 1861, p. 4



How They Went to Take Canada.

Punch, Volume 41, August 17, 1861, p. 67



A Family Quarrel.

Punch, Volume 41, September 28, 1861, p. 127



King Cotton Bound.

Punch, Volume 41, November 2, 1861, p. 177



The Genu-ine Othello.

Punch, Volume 41, November 9, 1861, p. 187



Over the Way.

Punch, Volume 41, November 16, 1861, p. 197



Look Out for Squalls.

Punch, Volume 41, December 7, 1861, p. 229



Waiting For An Answer.

Punch, Volume 41, December 14, 1861, p. 239



A Likely Story.

Punch, Volume 41, December 21, 1861, p. 249



Columbia's Fix.

Punch, Volume 41, December 28, 1861, p. 259



Boxing Day.

Punch, Volume 42, January 4, 1862, p. 5



"Up a Tree."

Colonel Bull and the Yankee 'Coon.

Punch, Volume 42, January 11, 1862, p. 15



Naughty Jonathan.

Punch, Volume 42, January 18, 1862, p. 25



Retrogression (A Very Sad Picture).

War-Dance of the I.O.U. Indian.

Punch, Volume 42, February 1, 1862, p. 45



Political Arithmetic.

Punch, Volume 42, February 8, 1862, p. 55



Oberon and Titania.

Punch, Volume 42, April 5, 1862, p. 137



The New Orleans Plum.

Punch, Volume 42, May 24, 1862, p. 207



The "Sensation" Struggle in America.

Punch, Volume 42, June 7, 1862, p. 227



Jonathan's Programme, Or a Bit of Brag.

Punch, Volume 42, June 21, 1862, p. 247



The Latest from America;

Or, the New York "Eye-Duster," to be taken Every Day.

Punch, Volume 43, July 26, 1862, p. 35



One Good Turn Deserves Another.

Punch, Volume 43, August 9, 1862, p. 55



Lincoln's Two Difficulties.

Punch, Volume 43, August 23, 1862, p. 77



"Not Up To Time;"

Or, Interference would be very Welcome.

Punch, Volume 43, September 13, 1862, p. 111



The Overdue Bill.

Punch, Volume 43, September 27, 1862, p. 131



Abe Lincoln's Last Card; or, Rouge-et-Noir.

Punch, Volume 43, October 18, 1862, p. 161



One Head Better Than Two.

Punch, Volume 43, November 22, 1862, p. 211



Latest from Spirit-Land.

Punch, Volume 44, January 10, 1863, p. 15



Scene from the American "Tempest."

Punch, Volume 44, January 24, 1863, p. 35



"Beware!"

Punch, Volume 44, May 2, 1863, p. 181



The Great "Cannon Game."

Punch, Volume 44, May 9, 1863, p. 191



"Rowdy" Notions of Emancipation.

Punch, Volume 45, August 8, 1863, p. 57



Brutus and Caesar.

Punch, Volume 45, August 15, 1863, p. 69



The Black Conscription.

"When Black Meets Black Then Comes the End(?) of War."

Punch, Volume 45, September 26, 1863, p. 129



John Bull's Neutrality.

Punch, Volume 45, October 3, 1863, p. 139



**Scylla and Charybdis,
or The Modern Ulysses.**

Punch, Volume 45, October 10, 1863, p. 149



Extremes Meet.

Punch, Volume 45, October 24, 1863, p. 169



"Beecher's American Soothing Syrup."

Punch, Volume 45, October 31, 1863, p. 179



Neutrality.

Punch, Volume 45, November 14, 1863, p. 199



Something for Paddy.

Punch, Volume 47, August 20, 1864, p. 75



Very Probable.

Punch, Volume 47, August 27, 1864, p. 85



The American Juggernaut.

Punch, Volume 47, September 3, 1864, pp. 96-97



Mrs. North and Her Attorney.

Punch, Volume 47, September 24, 1864, p. 127



Columbia's Sewing-Machine.

Punch, Volume 47, October 1, 1864, p. 137



**The American Brothers;
Or, "How Will They Get Out of It?"**

Punch, Volume 47, November 5, 1864, p. 189



The Black Draft.

Punch, Volume 47, November 19, 1864, p. 209



The Federal Phoenix.

Punch, Volume 47, December 3, 1864, p. 229



**Grand Transformation Scene
for the End of the Year 1864.**

Punch, Volume 47, December 31, 1864, p. 269



The Threatening Notice.

Punch, Volume 48, February 18, 1865, p. 67



Vulcan In the Sulks.

Punch, Volume 48, March 25, 1865, p. 119



The American Gladiators -- Habet!

Punch, Volume 48, April 29, 1865, p. 173



Britannia Sympathises With Columbia.

Punch, Volume 48, May 6, 1865, p. 183

APPENDIX THREE

The images drawn in *The Illustrated London News* that concerned the American Civil War were drawn by two artists; Frank Vizetelly and Thomas Nast.

Frank Vizetelly was sent by *The Illustrated London News* to record the news pictorially with the support the Federal Government. Vizetelly, however, found himself out of favour with the Union Government and army when his sketches of Bull Run went to press. His cutting reports of the Union loss resulted in his banishment from the front line by the Union army. Rather than return to London, he was asked by the Confederacy to join their crusade. Vizetelly followed the Union army and was even used as a spy by the Confederacy. His emotive battle images and sketches not only reported the war, but also gained the Confederacy support and sympathy in Britain.

Known as “The father of American caricature”, Thomas Nast was an American artist whose sketches were bought by the *Illustrated London News* to report on events deemed important which Vizetelly had not witnessed. He was the principal artist for the Union illustrated newspaper *Harper’s Weekly*.

A Selection of Illustrations from the *Illustrated London News* (ILN)

The illustrations selected for this appendix include all images that were considered for this thesis and show the major battles, encounters and events of the American Civil War as reported by, predominantly Vizetelly, and Nast.

Chronological order taken from the ILN website



► **Illustrated London News: Volume 38 - 1861 - (50 Illustrations)**



Dealers Inspecting a Negro at a Slave Auction in Virginia.—From a Sketch by our Special Artist.



A Slave Auction in Virginia.—From Sketch by our Special Artist.



The Dandy Slave: a Scene in Baltimore, Maryland. [p. 307]



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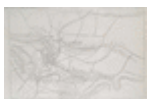
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Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA

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UK Visits

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