

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations xi

Introduction: “A New Power of a New Species”	1
1 Condemned by Their Own Words	13
2 Slaveocrats on the High Seas	35
3 No Such Embryo State	60
4 To Cast into Perdition	87
5 Confederate Pariahdom and International Law	114
6 <i>La Cause Perdue</i> from Menace to Melodrama	139
Afterword: Mother Emmanuel and the Recognition of Confederate Infamy	165

Acknowledgments 171

Appendix 1: Confederate Naval Warships’ Ports of Call 175

Appendix 2: Resolutions Passed by Both Houses of Congress, March 1, 1863 179

Abbreviations 183

Notes 185

Index 219

INTRODUCTION

“A New Power of a New Species”

ITS ENEMIES damned it from the moment of its birth. In breaking up the United States, the Southern Confederacy set in motion American history’s bloodiest war. Why it did so—to keep four million people enslaved—provoked global fury. Between 1861 and 1865, the white South’s wrongs stirred the world’s conscience and awakened fears of an ignominious future if the slaveocracy became a full-fledged nation. At stake, in the eyes of the Confederacy’s foes, were nothing less than the drift of human progress, the vindication of human rights, and the possibilities of recasting international law. Loathing of a monstrously disruptive insurrection inspired new rules meant to isolate any similarly diabolical regime of the future. The disgust of the Civil War years has lately reemerged in today’s ongoing campaigns to furl rebel flags, to dismantle monuments, and to topple the pro-Confederate Lost Cause.

Likewise, Southern partisans conducted a robust countercampaign of ideas and images that remade rebel villains into heroes. Here, too, the white South’s overseas apologists invented the rhetoric that would live on in pro-Confederate commemorative traditions that dominated how millions of Americans would recall the Civil War. The same generals on horseback who enjoyed global renown while still leading men into battle would be memorialized in countless bronze and limestone tributes after the government they fought for had ceased to exist. The aura of a people victimized by Yankee terror touched the heartstrings of foreign admirers before it was translated into postbellum Lost Cause nostalgia for the Southern cause. Through the late twentieth century, posterity’s warm regard for a vanquished Confederacy would echo the pro-Southern commentary that foreigners offered while the war’s outcome remained undecided.

This book focuses on the worldwide efforts of the 1860s to stigmatize, ostracize, but also defend and praise, the Confederate polity. The book's main protagonists raised the alarm about what they insisted was a uniquely wicked rebellion. Their charges, which anticipated those made against the so-called pariah states of our own time, built upon abolitionist indictments of Southern slavery. Secessionists who pursued nationalist power trumpeted the benefits of Black subjugation more loudly than ever before. It took little effort to document their apparent eagerness to expand the scope of their previous criminality. A newly forged slaveocracy threatened to spread the poison of slaveholders' ideas, to wreak havoc across the world's oceans, to cast a pall over ancient religious traditions, and to usher in a relapse into past barbarisms.

The public relations campaign to contain the wartime South reached a new level of intensity after the United States embraced emancipation as a war aim early in 1863. Anti-Confederate advocacy peaked over the next two years in an outpouring of transatlantic commentary. After the rebellion was defeated, the anti-Confederate campaign subsided. Soon enough, the promise of aligning the law of nations with new emancipationist principles also faded. Wartime assaults on the Confederacy meant little to those who would assail rogue twentieth-century regimes such as the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, or apartheid-era South Africa. The Civil War's prototype of a menacing renegade state was largely forgotten over the span of just a few decades.



A woodcut from 1861 emblemized the rebellion's global threat. It shows a figure, a bushy-faced muscular man who wears nineteenth-century leotard leggings. As I spent more time probing themes of Confederate pariahdom, I developed a nickname for him—the “Palmetto Tyrant.” Standing no more than three inches tall, this image circulated far less widely than other attacks on the new proslavery republic. It has not appeared in the vast pictorial catalog that has made the drama of the Civil War vivid to later generations. Yet its very small scale can offer a useful vision of Confederate meaning-making before better-known cultural flashpoints emerged. This Tyrant looks out at us at a moment when Confederates had yet to adopt their diagonal Southern Cross flag and before the world knew of battlefield heroes and antiheroes like Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Nathan Bedford Forrest.¹



FIG. 1.1. In this woodcut, a symbolic “Palmetto Tyrant” pins down a slave and towers over two figures who represent Europe’s preeminent maritime powers. The masts in the background evoke a blue water realm where a new slaveocracy’s global threats proved especially troubling. From the South Caroliniana Library, the University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

Most existing versions of the Palmetto Tyrant contain no words, although clues to the character’s identity are evident in the details that surround him. The whip resting on his shoulder and the palmetto medallion dangling around his neck evoke Deep South tyranny and the chaos of a Carolina-led secession movement. The most important visual element appears at the bottom center. There, a prone Black man, stripped naked above the waist, is reduced to a

human footstool. This victim serves as the foundation of all the riches of the scene. A column of cotton bales overflows with the bounty wrung from his oppression. The cornucopia of agricultural wealth that spills from the Tyrant's hat and appears on his epaulettes displays the profitability of mass plantation violence.

The visual lampooning of a cruel and rapacious despot is not the only story being told here, however. A pair of figures to the right establish the Tyrant's overgrown size and suggest how his ambitions extend beyond pinning down an individual slave. A man in a top hat and one with a military bicorne have fallen under the central villain's sway, for reasons that reveal their own greed and self-interest. The image hints at a victimization based not on violence but on a corrupted morality that causes eyes to be averted from the human misery that lines pockets with gold. Viewers at the time would have associated the figure wearing striped pants with the British economic elite of merchants, manufacturers, and financiers. The facial hair of the man shown in half-profile nods to Emperor Louis Napoleon of France. The masted ships behind these two await cotton to be shipped to the ports of France and Britain, then Europe's two leading maritime powers.

This image, which appeared at the very start of the war, came as international tolerance for proslavery rebels agitated the Northern public. Its biting visual commentary targeted great-power neutrality, which, when proclaimed in the late spring of 1861, breathed life into an upstart slaveocracy by misunderstanding what the struggle was all about. A few early overseas abolitionists, whose numbers grew over time, immediately embraced Northern warnings that a diabolical slaveocracy would both drench North America in blood and disrupt the world at large. An outcry from both within and beyond American borders insisted that this state would follow military victory with vicious territorial expansionism, proslavery propagandism, and a renewal of the Atlantic slave trade from Africa.

The group portrait of the Tyrant and his accomplices portrays proslavery despotism on the docks of an unidentified port. Signs of disunion's maritime aftershocks appear only as a backdrop. A primary objective of this book is to reverse the vantage and to consider not only how Americans looked out at the world but how the world peered across the ocean at the Southern rebellion. That reorientation foregrounds the masted ships that the woodcut places at a distance and explores how a global Civil War that grappled with ideas about slavery, race, and human rights had a vast blue water realm as its front line. The

high seas made intercontinental commerce possible during a period of burgeoning economic globalization and raised thorny questions about the role of neutrals in a conflict between a seaborne Confederacy and its US adversaries. Still more important for our story, Southern actions in international waters provided vital clues about what sort of bona fide sovereign power the Confederate state might become.

The oceanic order was imperiled most by Richmond's targeting of unarmed US merchant vessels. Its semipiratical campaigns began with a revival of the discredited practice of privateering and then passed into a stage of more technologically advanced commerce raiding, which brought American hostilities across four oceans and into the ports of five continents. In contrast to those rebel armies that inspired mostly positive international coverage, the marauding Confederate navy darkened the rebellion's reputation in its gleeful cruises of wanton destruction. Many thousands of seaborne and portside observers came in direct contact with a new menacing power by encountering the CSS *Florida*, the CSS *Alabama*, the CSS *Shenandoah*, and other fearsome war sloops. Voyages that notched tens of thousands of miles by sail and steam imperiled existing civilized norms.²

My emphasis on the seaborne Confederacy draws attention to the robust international debate about the South's cloaked designs to resume the African slave trade. A program of decriminalizing this illicit traffic was favored by the most radical secessionists even if disavowed by Confederate officialdom. The world was put on notice that oceanic slaving was the rebellion's gravest threat to nineteenth-century progress. The specter of a revived international network of human trafficking outweighed all other perils of this aggressively proslavery insurgency.³

A taboo against maritime slaving was part of a moral framework established by British-based reformers like William Wilberforce, Olaudah Equiano, and other transatlantic humanitarians who established how this “sum of all villainies” was a human rights abomination. Abolitionist publicity made the putrid holds of slaving ships the epitome of inhumanity, evoking a horror akin to that which genocidal concentration camps would generate in the wake of World War II. What might be termed the Wilberforcian achievement of a formal ban of the trade early in the nineteenth century did not stop the large-scale illicit slaving of the 1850s and early 1860s. The persistence of this profitable criminal enterprise bred a Wilberforcian moral imperative to establish a common front. An onus was placed on all who challenged the consensus that trafficking from

Africa was humanity's gravest moral stain. Not until the immediate post-Civil War period would that urgency fade, as both the centuries-old enslaved Middle Passage and the Confederate rebellion simultaneously passed into the realm of history.

If a small woodcut helps to mark the early stages of Southern pariahdom, the climax of the anti-Confederate case can be glimpsed in a marathon speech delivered on September 10, 1863, by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Three thousand stalwart enemies of the rebellion gathered in the cavernous Great Hall of Manhattan's Cooper Union Institute to hear what would, in newspaper columns and multiple pamphlets, become a full thirty-six-thousand-word production titled "Our Foreign Relations." Sumner thrilled this crowd in an effort to shame complicit foreign governments in London and Paris so that they might help to stamp out Confederate naval marauding; his words were also meant to sway the people of Britain, France, and every other country who were attending to American affairs. The ministry of Lord Palmerston in the United Kingdom was Sumner's particular, though not exclusive, target. New York's biggest newspaper hoped that the senator's "exhaustive and exhausting" performance could pierce "the rhinoceros hides of the British Cabinet" and cause it to join an effort to quell a slaveocracy that was disrupting the world's oceans and propagating heretical principles.⁴

Statesmen and opinion makers on both sides of the Atlantic had known of Sumner since a shocking episode in the summer of 1856, when a proslavery zealot left the New Englander unconscious in a pool of his own blood, crumpled beneath his desk in the US Senate. The cane wielded by his South Carolina congressional assailant became yet another symbol of Southern brutality. Just as slavery's foulness was spreading from plantation fields to the Kansas frontier, the sanctuary of the national capitol had been despoiled. Across the dozens of European cities that hosted Sumner during his long recuperation, a new martyr earned renown as the preeminent white victim of a morally deranged South. Sumner ramped up his rhetorical assaults on monstrous slaving despots, using turns of phrase that won him countless sympathizers at home and abroad.⁵

Sumner's "Our Foreign Relations" speech surpassed earlier assaults on the tyrannical South. Invective that mostly concerned the evils of past and present



FIG. 1.2. Charles Sumner's blistering assaults in "Our Foreign Relations" put the world on notice. His hostility to Britain's betrayal still resonated when this 1872 cartoon appeared in a London magazine. Image courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

hit an emotional crescendo in the forecast of the horrific future once the Confederacy had achieved nationhood. A proslavery republic awarded a “seat at the great council-board” of sovereign powers would “jostle thrones and benches” and cast a shadow over all of humanity. “Ambassadors of Slavery” would “rove from court to court, over foreign carpets, poisoning the air which was announced too pure for a slave to breathe.” The most grievous damage would be inflicted on those who had to relinquish past achievements so as to commence an “adulterous honey-moon with Slavery.” Queen Victoria of England, though herself a mother, would in this scenario “sink into unseemly dalliance with the scourges of women and auctioneers of children.”

Sumner put masted ships front and center in his indictment of those who aided and abetted an immoral rebellion. The high seas was for him the most important realm of Euro-Confederate complicity, and slaveocratic piracy was the war’s single greatest catastrophe. A year and a half of the rebellion’s torching of unarmed ships had transformed the ocean into “a furnace and a melting pot of American commerce.” Rebels who prowled sea-lanes in search of vulnerable prey required civilization to draw together to put down these “disturbers of the common highway, outlaws, and enemies of the human race.” High seas criminality upended decades of progress and threatened the Wilberforcian treaty system whose antislaving efforts “embraced the whole human family.” In the short term, Confederates had to be stopped in their attempt to expand their European-built navy. Taking a longer view, Sumner imagined himself working to revamp international maritime codes to advance global progress.

Pleas to make the Confederacy into a pariah to be shunned as an outcast by all sovereign powers and have its flag driven from the oceans were complicated by one especially powerful objection. Principles needed to follow precedent, and here all understood that bondage had never been a factor for either acknowledging or denying sovereign standing in the international community. Britain had profited from its own slave colonies until 1834, while France had done so until 1848. Both Spain and Brazil continued to enrich themselves from bound labor on Cuban and South American plantations. If a new anti-Confederate doctrine were adopted, would that require the diplomatic shunning of those established powers? Anti-Confederate partisans responded by establishing the unique depravity of the Richmond government, which should be stripped of prerogatives enjoyed by existing slave powers. The case to be made was how the wartime South displayed a more deeply criminal character than counterparts whose plantation-based economies also relied on unfree labor.

Anti-Confederates as a group routinely took up this issue, though never to the full satisfaction of skeptics. Few did so more memorably than Sumner, whose 1863 speech offered up the memorable image of the Confederacy as a “new power of a new species.” He borrowed the phrase from the Irishman Edmund Burke, who had in the 1790s made an unsuccessful plea to impose diplomatic isolation on the Jacobin regime of France. What Burke had warned against as a perilous “regicide peace” paled beside the prospect of what Sumner termed the “liberticide” power seeking nationhood in the 1860s. Confederate rebels who murdered freedom itself seemed capable of inflicting far greater damage on the world order than had the king killers of the French Revolution. Sumner built upon months of research and writing to establish a legal brief against a Confederacy that, in his view, posed a graver danger than any government or cause that had preceded it.

The novelty of the Confederate threat contained an important corollary: that the generation of the 1860s had to search for new solutions. Imposing a condition of pariahdom on the rebellion could take several forms. Each option imagined shifting great-power diplomacy in slightly distinct ways. A permanent modification of international law was Sumner’s preferred outcome. What actually happened stopped short of a formal ban on the Confederacy or on any similarly abhorrent claimant to power in the nineteenth century. Anti-Confederates produced a steadily intensifying moral campaign through what the historian Don Doyle has termed the “public diplomacy” of the 1860s. Those efforts put the slave South’s affront to human rights on the international agenda and diminished its prospects. Yet efforts to castigate its quest for nationhood largely ceased at war’s end. To restore the drama of these years, the problem of the Confederacy must be handled as not simply involving how we now hark back to the past. It must include an awareness that, both then and now, moving global audiences involves registering appeals about global consequences.⁶

The rhetorical blasts of Sumner’s Cooper Union speech exemplified the anti-Confederate campaign at the height of its influence. Epithets developed and deployed by antislavery activists like Sumner loom large in the story of how the rebellion menaced the world. Other rhetorical moves also deserve careful attention in the story of how Confederate wickedness emerged as a global theme. Commentary directed to the wider world sought to amplify white

Southerners' own words, to expand existing terminology, to coin new phrases, images, and metaphors, and to refine novel legal principles. This imaginative work moved Anglo-American themes into the vocabularies of non-English-speaking global publics and made foreign commentary available to English-speaking Britons and Americans.

In no instance was “pariah,” “pariahdom,” or any foreign language equivalent applied to the Confederate rebellion during the 1860s. Atlantic-oriented Victorians associated the “pariah” terminology with South Asian caste structures, and a few, including Sumner, compared the barbarism of societies with an established “pariah class” to white Americans’ exclusion of their country’s Black population from full citizenship and social equality.⁷ The practice of classifying dangerously disruptive governments as pariah states only emerged after World War II, when a discourse on international relations adopted the term to describe a distinct variant of problematic regimes that needed to be identified, contained, and sanctioned. Over the late twentieth century, the notion of the “rogue state,” the “outlaw regime,” the “bandit state,” or an “axis of evil” entered the lexicon of foreign policy makers. No settled criteria were established for such labels, and the “sloppy or vague” targeting of specific actors proved useful in the elastic environment of great power politics.⁸ During the 1970s, most world powers imposed pariahdom on states violating nuclear nonproliferation agreements. The condition was later applied to those seeking or using weapons of mass destruction. Violators of human rights norms, like apartheid-era South Africa, were despised and marginalized as immoral regimes. Even an overly aggressive hegemon like the United States could lose some of its soft-power influence via broad-based accusations of acting like a “rogue state.”⁹

That genealogy begs a number of questions about whether pariahdom is a suitable framework for narrating the long 1860s. My inclination has been to acknowledge the anachronism of the word while presenting the anti-Confederate campaign as the first application of “pariahdom” and a precursor to the ensuing potency of that and similar labels in world affairs. I have been guided by insights made in histories of Native Americans that have used the neologism “genocide” to describe atrocities committed prior to the coinage of that term in the 1940s. Other words were used for mass killings that targeted specific groups before Nazi atrocities led to a new classification of such actions in international law.¹⁰ Likewise, discussions about the incapacity of “barbarous” or “uncivilized” governments saturated nineteenth-century Eurocentric consideration about which states lacked full diplomatic standing.

Non-Christian powers like the Barbary states, the Ottoman Empire, and West African slaving kingdoms suffered from the presumption that they lacked the capacity to behave as responsible sovereigns. A new set of concerns about “treaty-worthiness” marked the early careers of fragile postimperial republics across the Americas, including the young United States. Nearly all the governments of newly forged republics eventually attained what the Richmond administration did not and were formally accepted as full-fledged members of an international state system. The Confederacy’s dubious morality caused it to be held at arm’s length. In its case, broad-based accusations of barbarism were novel in that they targeted a government led by white Christians who, in being supported by a substantial part of their polity’s free citizenry, demonstrated a commitment to democratic self-rule.¹¹

The social science literature on disruptive states of the past several decades provides analytical clarity about two intertwined aims of the anti-Confederate campaign. The route to establishing the pariah status of the Richmond government first required a coordinated effort to stigmatize transgressions capable of harming the world at large. Parallel efforts coupled the ostracizing and shaming of this government with denunciations of those who provided it with aid and comfort, whether they be government policymakers or individual partisans. Collaboration with the wartime South thus became for a great many commenters a moral transgression that demanded rebuke.

A few episodes before the mid-nineteenth century anticipated this process. As such, only a soft claim, supported by various qualifications and distinctions, can be made that what happened in the 1860s was a “first.” A much stronger case relates to the distinct circumstances of the mid-nineteenth century that allowed, for the first time, an international public sphere to serve as a forum for stigmatizing a candidate for nationhood and ostracizing and shaming its backers. Communications and media technology not unlike that utilized in the various cases of twentieth-century pariahdom registered opinion that purported to represent the conscience of civilization. Government actions were constrained by the collective discussion and deliberation of aroused citizenries that embraced the conceit that public opinion was the world’s only true sovereign. Something quite modern arose in the interconnection in these years between mass-mediated popular commentary, high-level diplomatic decision making, and perceptions of global trajectories that could either fulfill or betray humanity’s highest aspirations.¹²

Confederates validated their actions through the same nineteenth-century amalgam of media and statecraft that produced proslavery pariahdom. In

addressing both the international public and great-power decision makers, partisans of the Richmond government emphasized the rhetoric of nationalist self-determination. They chafed at foreign diplomats' demeaning terminology in addressing the "so-called Confederate States." They insisted instead that nationalist Southerners at war had demonstrated that a collective will and coordinated action placed them in the same category as Italians, Germans, Poles, and other peoples who sought a homeland within a single sovereign state. The nationalist theme of Confederate meaning-making has a very long lineage and continues to draw scholarly attention.¹³ This book establishes the comparatively neglected counterdiscourse of Confederate damnation as a critical element of the world response to America's great upheaval. The time has come to do so, as the rebellion's disreputable legacies helped to impugn pro-Confederate memorialization. The resilience of white supremacist nativism, whose admiration for proslavery forebears has grown in intensity, troubles the twenty-first century. Pushed ahead by dark forces reminiscent of the 1860s, the most violent of these neo-Confederate malcontents not only fight about history but threaten to disrupt the peace of today's world.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures and tables.

- Adams, Charles Francis, Jr., 135–38, 211n42
Adams, Charles Francis, Sr., 16, 55, 66, 84, 100, 116, 118, 130, 135, 136; portrait of, 117
Adams, John Quincy, 116, 118
Address to Christians throughout the World, 93–95
Africa/Africans, 11, 27–28, 29, 30–31, 33, 42, 66, 78–80, 99, 105–7, 106, 112, 123–29, 135–37, 157, 169, 176, 177. *See also* Liberia/Liberians
Alabama Claims, 110, 118, 129–35, 134
Alamo, 154
Alexander II (Czar), 36
American Historical Association, 135
American Historical Review, 137
Andersonville Prison, cruelties, 139
anti-Confederate flag campaign, NAACP, 162
Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris (1867), 151
antislaving initiatives of the United Kingdom 5–6, 28–31, 66–67, 73–74, 128. *See also* Wilberforcian indictment of oceanic slaving
Argüelles, José Agustín, 126
Argyll (Duke and Duchess of), 76
Ariel (steamship), 56, 58
Arlington National Cemetery, 167
Asia/Asians, 10, 16, 58, 101, 105, 106, 122, 124, 149, 159, 177
Athenaeum, *The* (magazine), 108
Atlanta Olympic Games, 160
Atlantic Monthly, *The* (magazine), 152, 166
Australia/Australians, 51, 149, 177
Austrian government, 152, 209n19
Autant en emporte le vent (Mitchell), 158, 164
Avery, I. W., 20–21
“axis of evil,” notion of, 10
“bandit state,” notion of, 10
Barbary States, 11, 145
Bartholdi, Frédéric Auguste, 150–51, 153
Battle of Sedan, 150
Beauregard, P.G.T., 128
Beecher, Henry Ward, 24, 97–98
Benjamin, Judah: ceding slave questions to authorities, 81; debt issuance of 1863, 83; dispatch about slave trading, 81–82; response to Mason’s report, 78–79
Benton, Lauren, on piracy, 37
Bigelow, John, 85, 108, 146
blackbirding, individualized kidnappings as, 42
Black Lives Matter movement, 159, 167
Black sailors 40–43, 41, 51–53
Black soldiers, 101–2, 103
“Blood and Iron” speech: von Bismarck, 17
Bluntschli, Johann Kaspar, 122, 132–33, 208n15, 210n35
Booth, John Wilkes 26, 112–13, 113, 166
Booth, Mary, 146
Boyd, Belle, 140
Braun, Carol Moseley, 14, 15
Brazil/Brazilians, 8, 28, 52–53, 63, 70, 84, 88, 104, 109, 122, 163, 175, 176
Bright, John, 8, 28, 52–53, 63, 70, 84, 88, 104, 109, 122, 163
British North America (present-day Canada), 46, 59, 111, 177
British Quarterly Review (magazine), 108
British Standard (magazine), 30

- Brown, Michael: murder in Ferguson, Missouri, 166
- Bryant, William Cullen, 58
- Bulloch, James, 48–49
- Burke, Edmund: Sumner borrowing phrase from, 9, 76
- Buxton, Thomas: warning by antislavery activist, 28
- Caillé, Pierre-François: translation of Mitchell, 158
- Cairnes, John Elliott, 89, 115–16
- Caledonian Mercury* (newspaper), 22, 107
- Campbell, John Archibald, 21
- Cape Town, South Africa, 105–6
- Caribbean/Caribbeans, 39, 52–54, 55, 59, 125, 131–32, 175, 176, 177
- Carter, Jimmy, 157
- Césaire, Aimé: on Emmett Till’s 1955 murder, 159–60
- Channing, William Ellery, 144–45
- Channing, William Henry, 33
- Chauvin, Derek, 166
- Chertsey Agricultural Society, 80
- Chesnut, Mary, 31
- Christian, George, 137
- Church of England, 91
- Cicero, 37, 76
- Cicerón* (steam-powered slaver), 125–26, 209n23
- Clay, Cassius, 36–37
- Clotilda* (slaver), 42
- Cobbe, Frances Power, 101
- Cobden, Richard, 64, 76, 108
- Confederate States Navy, 36, 38, 44, 46–47, 48–49, 52, 80, 82, 104–12, 106; maritime burnings, 46–47, 48
- Confederate States of America: call for privateers, 37, 38; collapse of government and army in 1865, 168; constitutional ban of oceanic slave trade 30–31; defined as belligerent though not a sovereign entity, 69; international law, 114–15; loans sought from international investors, 82; military heroes of, 1, 71, 85–86, 96, 97, 112, 113, 141, 154–56, 155, 158, 161; statesmen of, 68–69; theorizing about status of, 71
- Confederate symbols, 1, 12, 161–62, 163, 165; satirical descriptions during Civil War, 17, 36, 37–38; twenty-first century repudiation of, 166–67
- Cooper Union Institute. *See* “Our Foreign Relations” speech (Sumner)
- “Cornerstone Speech” (Stephens), 14–17, 15, 20, 26, 27, 31, 34, 65, 88, 94, 133, 137, 139; transit of telegraphed words, 21–23
- Cornhill Magazine*, *The* 54–55
- Cosmos* (von Humboldt), 20
- Crimean War, 37
- CSS *Alabama*, 5, 43, 44, 47, 50, 51, 57, 59, 80, 81, 104, 106, 129; postwar diplomatic tensions around, 130, 135; Semmes command of, 43, 45, 47–51, 105–7. *See also* Alabama Claims
- CSS *Florida*, 5, 46–47, 52, 58, 80, 81, 104, 108, 109, 129
- CSS *Nashville* 47, 53; London-produced woodcut of, 48
- CSS *Shenandoah*, 5, 46, 51, 52, 109–11
- CSS *Sumter*, 43, 45, 46–49, 50, 52, 105
- CSS *Tallahassee*, 46, 58–59
- Cuba/Cubans, 8, 28–29, 52, 63, 79, 122, 124–26, 127, 132, 175, 176
- Custer, George Armstrong: Reagan’s onscreen depiction of, 158
- Daily News* (newspaper), 22, 25, 26, 191n44, 199n39
- Dana, Richard Henry, on work of Wheaton, 135
- Davis, Jefferson, 21, 22, 31, 37, 38, 39, 82, 85, 112, 128, 158
- Dayton, William, 108
- De Bow, James D. B., 30
- Declaration of Independence, 14, 23, 24, 25; Adams on Stephens’s rejection of, 16; Adams Jr. on its “erroneous theory,” 137; Lincoln corollary to, 62
- Declaration of Paris (1856), 37, 136
- de Havilland, Olivia, 158, 164
- De Leon, Edwin, 21
- Democratic Party, 44, 65–66, 78, 96, 141. *See also* Douglas, Stephen A.; McClellan, George
- Dickens, Charles, 39–40
- Django Unchained* (film), 163
- Douglass, Frederick, 14, 90, 145
- Douglas, Stephen A., 44, 65–66
- Doyle, Don, “public diplomacy” term, 9

- Dred Scott case, 101, 130
Dubois, François-Élie, 149
Du Bois, W.E.B., 114, 136
Dutch Empire, 52–53, 175
- Early, Jubal: on Lee statue, 154
Echo (brig), 42
Echoes from the South (Pollard), 141
“Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” (Gray), 62
Elements of International Law (Wheaton), 114
Elisha Dunbar, whaler, 46
Emancipation (film), 164
Emancipation Proclamation, 23, 51, 98, 137;
Harcourt and, 72–73; as held by man
sculpted by Pezzicar, 152; Lincoln’s
memo in wake of, 61
“embryo” resolution: composed by Lincoln
in April, 1863, 60–62, 61, 70, 75, 121–22
Enchantress, Tillman on, 41, 41
Enforcement Acts, 123
England/English, 4, 23, 26, 34, 47, 62, 63, 73,
79, 80, 82, 89, 90, 95, 96, 101, 125, 131, 175,
176, 177. *See also* United Kingdom
policy-makers
Equiano, Olaudah, 5
Estcourt, John Hall, 76, 89
Euro-American monuments, 152, 154–56
Evangelical Alliance, 91, 201n11
evangelical clergy: antislavery involvement
in anti-Confederate campaign, 24, 28,
90–101, 93, 100; proslavery assertions of
Confederate partisans, 93–96
Everett, Edward, 145
Exposition Universelle (1867), 147
- Faulkner, William, 159
Fish, Hamilton, 118, 131
Fishmonger’s Hall, Yancey’s appearance
at, 34
Floyd, George, 166
Flynn, Errol, playing Stuart, 158
Foley, John Henry, Stonewall Jackson
statue, 154
Ford’s Theatre, Lincoln’s murder, 26
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 2, 102
Forster, William, 33
Fort Pillow massacre (1864), 102, 139,
205n37
- France/French, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 22, 24,
26–27, 28, 34, 35, 37, 69, 75, 77, 81, 90,
91–92, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108–9,
112, 124, 144–64, 176, 177
Frank Leslie’s Illustrated (newspaper), 50
Franklin, Benjamin, 145, 213n12
Fraser’s Magazine, 35
Free Trade Hall, Manchester, 93
French colonial empire, 52, 54, 101, 148, 175,
177
French Corps Législatif: Alexander
Stephens’s words read aloud at, 16–17
French “La Course,” / “course de guerre,”
44, 112, 193n18
French liberals: interactions with Black
abolitionists, 145; on Lincoln administra-
tion, 145–46
French Protestant “free church” movement,
91–92
French Revolution, 55
French Second Empire, 151; authoritarianism,
146
Fugitive Slave Act (1850): Mason as author,
78
Fullam, George Townley: mock Lincoln
obituary, 55
- Gaillardet, Frédéric, 141
Galilei, Galileo: Stephens on, 19
Garrick, Jacob: William Wallace Smith
seizing, with aim to sell, 41–42
Garrison, William Lloyd, 148
Gasparin, Agénor Comte de, 91; *Les*
États-Unis en 1861, 27; heroism of, 151;
indictment of South’s evil new govern-
ment, 27–28; opponent of slavery, 145;
receipt of books, 88; Republican Party
rule, 27; on slavery and African slave
trade, 30
“genocide,” terminology in post-WW II
international law, 10
Germany/Germans, 22, 58, 88, 112, 154, 157,
169; villainous legacy of Nazi regime, 2,
10, 165–66
Gladstone, William, 133
Gloria Victis (Mercié), 152, 154, 155
Golden Rocket, bark, 45–46
Gone with the Wind (film), 158, 159, 160
Gone with the Wind (Mitchell novel), 142
Gordon, Nathaniel, execution of, 126

- Grant, Ulysses S.: campaign by, 88; death tolls, 104; on antisemitic discrimination, 122–23; Enforcement Acts, 123; Greeley and, 142; on maritime slave trade, 127; winning presidency in 1869, 142
- Gray, Thomas: “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” (poem), 62
- Greeley, Horace, 142, 199n32
- Green, Julien, 160–64, 215nn35, 37, 216nn38–40; television appearance (1989), 163
- Green, Mary, mother of Julien, 160–61
- Grotius, Hugo: Sumner on works of, 119, 120
- Hague, The: emancipation decree from, 52
- Haitian Revolution, 55, 149
- Hale, Edward Everett, 128, 128–29
- Harcourt, William Vernon: collaboration with Lewis, 71; deploying international law, 145–46; “Historicus” pseudonym, 71, 72, 73, 83; legal acumen of, 71–73; photograph, 72; on status of slavery, 72–73
- Harper’s Monthly* (magazine), 108
- Harper’s Weekly* (newspaper), 44, 56, 57
- Harriet* (film), 163
- Harvey, William, Stephens on, 19
- Harvey Birch*, (merchantman), 47, 48
- Hawkins, John, initiatives of, 128
- “Historicus,” William Vernon Harcourt as, 71, 72, 73, 83
- Hodge, Charles, 23, 24
- Hoge, Moses Drury, 94–95
- Holt, Thomas: rationales for inequality, 25
- Homer, Winslow: woodcut of *Alabama* victims, 56, 59
- hostis humani generis, 37, 200n45. *See also* piracy and piratical behavior
- Hotze, Henry: on Black inferiority, 25; French harbor conflict in *Index*, 54; Hoge’s cooperation with, 95; laying out options in *Index*, 85–86; on “scandalous and libelous accounts,” 58
- Howells, William Dean, 152
- Howes, Lucy, narrative of, 58
- Hugo, Victor, 145, 152
- “idea of humanity”: von Humboldt’s, 20
- illustrated press, 17, 29, 41, 47–48, 48, 50, 57, 63, 98, 103, 113, 119, 134, 143, 153, 155
- Independent* (newspaper), 39
- Index* (newspaper), 25, 54, 85–86, 195n38
- Indian Ocean, 105, 106
- Indian rebellion (1857), 101
- Institut de Droit International, 121
- Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (Lieber), 115, 121
- international law, 9, 37, 114–21, 120–21, 131–32, 136, 138, 169; Confederacy and, 114–15; minimal engagement with by Civil War-era presidents and secretaries of state, 118; notion of “interpolity law” 122, 209n17; orientation to human rights (largely absent in earlier “law of nations”), 10, 122, 123
- Iranian Revolution, 157
- Ireland/Irish, 58, 98, 116, 125, 167; Belfast Protestants, 202n19
- Irish Sea, destruction of *Harvey Birch*, 47, 48
- Italy/Italians, 12, 22, 69, 88, 124, 209n19
- Jackson, Stonewall, 2, 95, 102; Foley’s statue of, 154
- Jacob Bell* (clipper ship), 47
- Jacobs, Harriet, 99
- Jay, John, II, 67–68, 120, 124
- Jeff Davis* (privateer), 41, 42
- Jefferson, Thomas, Declaration of Independence, 14, 23
- Johnson, Andrew: Laboulaye admonishing, 149; presidency of, 131; Seward as secretary of state, 130
- Johnson, Reverdy: mission of, 130–31
- Kemble, Fanny, 99
- Kennedy, John F.: foot soldiers of FBI, 67
- King of Dahomey, villain of English abolitionism, 30
- Laboulaye, Édouard, 24, 88, 139–51; coins terminology of Confederacy’s *cause perdue* or its “lost cause,” 140, 143; *Paris en Amérique*, 146–47
- Laboulaye, François, 157
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 144
- Laird, John, *Alabama* builder, 130–31
- Lamar, C.A.L., 42, 79–80
- Lamar, L.Q.C., 79–80, 95
- Landrieu, Mitch, 14

- law of nations, 2, 37, 84, 114, 119–21, 136. *See also* international law; Westphalian state system
- League of the South, 168
- Le droit des gens* (Vattel), 76
- Lee, Robert E., 2, 102, 104, 112, 137; as American hero, 137; equestrian monument in campaign, 154–55, 155; French portrait of in 1864, 113; hero of film, 158; hostile actions against Southern Blacks, 102; monument of, 166
- Le Monde Illustré* (newspaper), 102
- Les États-Unis en 1861* (Gasparin), 27
- Le Siècle* (newspaper), 22
- Lewis, George Cornewall, 71
- Liberator* (newspaper), Sumner's oration in, 77
- Liberia/Liberians, 42, 112, 126
- liberticide, Sumner term, 9
- Liberty Enlightening the World*: 150–52; dedication, 151; "Liberty Weekend" (1986), 157–58; sculptor Bartholdi, 150–51; symbolism of chains, 153
- Lieber, Francis: Sumner and, 69, 118–20, 122, 132
- Lieber Code. *See Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (Lieber)
- Lincoln, Abraham, 70; appeal to law of nations, 126; campaign of 1864, 96; on Confederacy as a global pariah, 60–61, 61; corollary to Declaration of Independence, 62; election (1860), 166; eloquence of, 16; embrace of emancipation, 55; embryo memo, 121; embryo state, 139; Howells writing campaign biography, 152; Massie and Rylance visiting, 93; mock obituary of, 55; murder of, 26, 111, 112, 113; mutual admiration of Bright and, 64; principle of international law, 60–61; seeking reelection, 88; Seward on Lincoln's intent to attack slavery, 74; short 1863 embryo state memo, 118; Sumner aiding communication with Bright, 64–65; Sumner and Seward rivalry, 74–75; Sumner's tribute to, 63
- Lindsay, William, 65
- Lion of Belfort* (Bartholdi), 154
- London Quarterly Review* (magazine), 108
- L'Opinion Nationale* (newspaper), 22, 102
- Lost Cause, 1, 14, 23, 137, 140, 155, 157, 168; campaigns to dismantle, 1, 165, 166–67; culture of, 141–42, 158; French identification with, 156, 168
- Lost Cause, The* (Pollard), 140, 141, 142
- Lost Cause Regained, The* (Pollard), 141, 142
- Louis Napoleon of France (Emperor), 4, 65, 71, 92, 145, 150, 157
- Low, John, 56, 58
- Loyal Publication Society, 88, 90
- McClellan, George: campaign of 1864, 96; as proposed replacement for Adams in London, 130
- McDuffie, George, 19
- McKaye, James, 146
- McPherson, James, 16
- Maffitt, John, 52
- Malespine, A., anti-Confederate commentary, 102
- Margarita Quintero* (slaver), 126. *See also Noc Daqui* (steam powered slaver)
- Martin, Henry, on Sumner's oration, 77
- Martin, J. Sella 98–100, 145, 149; portrait, 100
- Martineau, Harriet, 88–89
- Marx, Karl, 65
- Mason, James, 78–79, 85, 95, 119; withdrawn by Confederates from London in 1863, 121
- Massachusetts Historical Society, 135
- Massie, James William, 87, 93, 94 portrait, 93
- Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 95, 96
- M'Clintock, John, 22
- Melvil-Bloncourt, Sainte Suzanne 101–2, 149; banishment from France, 150; photograph of, 148
- Mercié, Antonin: *Gloria Victis*, 152, 154, 155; Lee Equestrian monument, 154–56, 155; public monuments, 159
- Mexico/Mexicans, 69, 79, 125–26, 154
- Miall, Charles S., 20
- Mitchell, Margaret: *Autant en emporte le vent*, 158, 164; *Gone with the Wind*, 142, 159, 160
- Mitterrand, François, 157, 164
- Monod, Guillaume: Anti-Confederate manifesto, 92
- Monroe, James, 118
- Montagu-Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie, Edward, 96

- Montalembert, Charles de, 26
Monuments: Euro-American, 152, 154–56
Morris, Charles Manigault, 109
Murray, Robert, 67
- Napoleon I (Emperor), 146
Ned (enslaved aboard *CSS Sumter*), 53
New Departure of 1872, 133, 142
New-York Daily Tribune (newspaper), 82, 94
New York Times (newspaper), 166
Noc Daqui (steam-powered slaver), 125, 209n22
Nonconformist, The (newspaper), 20
Norse Vikings, 169
North's anti-Black racism, 98
- Obama, Barack, 166
Old Guard (magazine), 141
“organized war,” term, 88
Ottoman Empire, 16, 70, 122, 149; slaving power, 70
“Our Foreign Relations” speech (Sumner), 6, 7, 8, 65, 73, 76, 77, 81, 83, 84, 108
“outlaw regime,” notion of, 10
- Palmerston, Prime Minister, 67, 71, 89–90, 130, 136
“Palmetto Tyrant,” 2–5
Pariahdom, 9–12, 16, 36, 59, 60, 75, 83–84, 90, 96, 99, 112, 129, 136, 138, 139, 185nn8–9; anachronism of “pariah” terminology, 10; Bluntschli's 1872 appeal to isolate and shun slaveholding states, 132–33
Paris antislavery convention (1867), 147
Paris banquet, Clay at, 36–37
Paris Commune, 150
Paris en Amérique (Laboulaye), 146–47
Parker, Theodore, 145
passenger ships, 56–59
Payne, Daniel, 149
Pegram, Robert, 47
Pelosi, Nancy, 14
Pezzaric, Francesco: *L'abolizione della schiavitù negli Stati Uniti*, 152, 153
Phenix (vessel), proposal to equip, 38
Pierce, Franklin, Davis and, 37
piracy and piratical behavior, 8, 35–43; as associated with Confederate high seas operations, 35–36, 47, 107, 108, 109, 110; as associated with those engaged in illicit slave trade, 30, 80, 123, 126, 190nn38, 41; commerce raiders' arson, decoys, and false flags as indicators of, 49, 107–8, 136; criminal prosecution of by the United States, 41–42, 67, 126; imagery of, 35, 36, 37, 48; legal jurisdiction under national and international law, 37–38, 67–68, 111, 123–24, 127; nostalgic tendency to romanticize, 36, 39. *See also* Declaration of Paris (1856); privateers
- Pollard, Edward A. 140–44, 157; French-language translation of *The Lost Cause*, 143; *The Lost Cause*, 140, 141; *The Lost Cause Regained*, 141, 142; *The Lost Cause*, 142–43
Portugal/Portuguese, 27–28, 30, 124, 177, 209n9
Powell, Enoch, “Rivers of Blood” speech, 18
Presgurvic, Gérard, 160; *Autant en emporte le vent* (musical), 159
Pressensé, Edmond de, putting Confederates on notice, 92
privateers: Richmond's commissioning of, 37; Northern commentators condemning, 39
Prussia/Prussians, 112; 1871 defeat of France 150, 152, 156–57
Punch (magazine), 134
- Reagan, Ronald: Paris dinner (1982), 158, 160; welcome to Europe, 157
Rebellion Record, The, 88, 90, 97
Reclus, Élisée, 104, 149, 158
recognition: deliberation of great powers in conveying to Confederate States of America, 70–72, 72, 84, 99, 136; failed quest of Confederate diplomats to achieve, 21, 68, 121, 167–68; Sumner's failed attempt to modify the doctrine of, 75–76, 76, 122; Taylor on the politics of, 168; wartime published discussion of, 70–74, 197n20, 198n27
- Remond, Sarah Parker, 99, 101; portrait, 100
Republican Party, 68, 114, 116, 119, 126; Gasparin on rule of, 27
Richard Lyons–William Seward Treaty (1862), 66–67, 124, 126, 127, 136, 137
Ripley, Alexandra, *Scarlett*, 159
Roebuck, John Arthur, 65, 99, 130
“rogue state,” notion of, 10

- Roof, Dylann, 14, 164–68
- Royal Navy blockade of Africa by, 28, 125; cooperation with U.S. in 1864–65, 123, 125–26; decisive role in suppressing transatlantic slaving, 128, 128; U.S. resistance to peacetime right of search, 66. *See also* Richard Lyons–William Seward Treaty (1862).
- Ruckstuhl, F. Wellington, 156
- Russell, John, 69, 70, 84–85, 110, 123–24, 126, 127
- Russia/Russians, 36, 79, 84, 88, 123, 209n19
- Rylance, Joseph Hine, 93
- St. Nicholas* (steamer), 39
- Sanford, Henry Shelton, 22–23
- Santa Fe Trail, The* (film), 158
- Saturday Review* (newspaper), 26, 30, 107
- Sawyer, Henry, 53
- Scarlett* (Ripley), 159
- scientific racism, 14, 19, 25, 133, 137, 139, 189n28
- Scotland/Scots, 16, 56, 84, 88, 91, 94, 124, 167, 176
- Selznick, David O., *Gone with the Wind* (film), 158, 159, 160
- Semmes, Raphael, 43–58, 45, 81, 105–8, 111, 112, 132, 139, 140; Adams Jr. identifies as last “black legged banditti,” 136; expressions of anti-Black racism, 44, 51–55, 105–6; dubbed “Old Beeswax” in 1862, 49; memoir of 1851, 43–44; memoir of 1868, 53–54, 140; on slave Ned, 53; wartime published accounts of his voyages, and their reception, 107–8; Welles arrest in 1865, 111; Wilkes failing to locate, 125
- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations: Sumner and, 119, 119, 130
- Seward, William: Adams and, 130; on approach to rebellion, 74; concerns about shipbuilding, 80–81; on *Florida’s* seizure, 109; idealistic rhetoric of, 68; on international law, 118; Jay urging modification of international law, 67–68; as Johnson’s secretary of state, 130; Lincoln and, 66; on Lincoln’s intent to attack slavery, 74; rivalry with Sumner, 74–75; Secretary of State, 64; seizure of Argüelles, 126; Sumner and, 136; Taylor and the Confederate’s “insidious document,” 79; on “wicked and devastating traffic,” 80
- Sharpe, Granville: on African slave trade, 65
- shipbuilding: for Confederate Navy in European ports, 80–81, 84; occasion for anti-Confederate mobilization 80, 81, 99; Sumner’s grievances about, 8, 130
- Sinatra, Frank, 158
- Slave Power, The* (Cairnes), 115–16
- slave ship, schematic drawing of, 29
- slave trade from Africa, 4–5, 27–34, 41–42, 55, 66–67, 78–80, 92, 99, 115, 118–20; Benjamin’s dispatch about, 81–82; Cuban market, 29; death toll, 28; final suppression of this variant of maritime human trafficking, 123–29; horrors of illicit, 29–30; maritime trafficking, 123–24; US-Africa-Cuba complex, 28–29. *See also* piracy and piratical behavior; Wilberforcian indictment of oceanic slaving
- Slidell, John, 127
- Smith, Adam: Stephens on, 19
- Smith, Delafield, 67
- Smith, Goldwin, 89, 96–97
- Smith, William Wallace: on Black sailors as targets, 41; trial for crime of piracy, 41–42
- Society for Obtaining the Cessation of Hostilities in America, 96
- South America/South Americans, 16, 111, 112. *See also* Brazil/Brazilians
- Southern History of the War* (Pollard), 141
- Southern Independence Association, 96
- Spain/Spanish, 8, 28, 69, 84, 122, 126, 129, 132, 175, 177, 209n19. *See also* Cuba/Cubans
- Spanish Inquisition, 15
- Spectator* (newspaper), 131
- Spence, James, 25, 96, 97, 141, 189n26
- Spratt, Leonidas, 30
- Standard* (newspaper), 39
- Statue of Liberty. *See* *Liberty Enlightening the World*
- Stephens, Alexander H., 12–27, 17, 30, 31, 44, 108; development of “Cornerstone Speech” and Stephens’ subsequent vilification, 14–17, 15, 16, 20, 21–23, 26, 27, 31, 34, 60, 65, 88, 94, 102, 133, 137, 139, 162–63, 166; Lost Cause orthodoxies, 137, 141. *See also* scientific racism
- Stovall, Tyler, 151
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 23, 24, 188n21

- Stuart, J.E.B., hero of film, 158
Sud (play), 162
Sumner, Charles, 6–8, 7, 24, 64–70, 73–74, 115, 118–23, 127, 145, concept of “ocean belligerency,” 108, 132; Congressional Joint resolutions of March, 1863, 75–76, 179–81; leading Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 119, 119, 130; Lincoln’s “embryo” memo of April, 1863 and, 61, 61–62, 64–65, 120–22; “Our Foreign Relations” speech of September, 1863, 6, 7, 8, 65, 73, 76, 77, 81, 83, 84, 108; Seward’s rivalry with, 74–75, 136; Treaty of Washington (1871), 129; tribute to Lincoln, 61–62, 63; Adams Jr. ridiculing, 137
Switzerland/Swiss, 21, 25, 91, 92, 116, 122, 129, 145

Taylor, Bayard, 79
Taylor, Charles: politics of recognition by, 168
Taylor, Elizabeth, 158
Texas Republic, 168
Thackeray, William Makepeace: *The Cornhill Magazine*, 54
Third Reich’s symbols and mottos, 167
Thompson, George, 100–101
Till, Emmett: Césaire on murder of, 159–60
Tillman, William 40–41, 41
Times, *The* (newspaper), 31, 71, 83, 107, 110
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 144
Tonowanda (packet ship), 51
Toombs, Robert, 33; fictionalized version of, 162
Treaty of Washington (1871), 129–35, 135, 136
Tremlett, Francis, 96
Trent affair, 47, 49, 71, 136
“Trois Citrons, Les” (Laboulaye), 147, 148
Trump, Donald, 166
Twelve Years a Slave (film), 163

Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Stowe), 52, 99, 144, 159, 160
Underground Railroad, The (film), 163–64
United Kingdom policy-makers, 3, 6, 36, 123–24, 127, 129, 133–35, 134; Clay warning to 36; and privateering policy, 40; and retaining neutrality in relation to American war, 71–74, 209n19. *See also* Alabama Claims; Gladstone, William; Palmerston, Prime Minister; Richard Lyons–William Seward Treaty; Russell, John; *Trent* Affair
United States Colored Troops, 101, 136
United States Navy, 43, 44, 54, 109, 125
Unite the Right movement, 166
University of Virginia, 161
US Constitution (1787), 18, 30
USS Hatteras: sinking of, by *Alabama*, 44
USS Iroquois: *Sumter*’s standoff with, 54
USS Kearsarge: *Alabama*’s destruction, 44, 51; Semmes’s charges against, 107
USS Niagara: on detaining *Cicerón*, 125
USS Somers: Semmes and, 43; sinking of, 43
USS Wachusett: Florida seizure, 109

Vae Victis (Mercié), 152
Vattel, Emer de: *Le droit des gens*, 76; Sumner on works of, 119
Verne, Jules, *Vingt Mille Lieues sous les mers*, 112
Victoria (Queen) of England, 8, 88
Vigilant (whaler), all-Black crew of, 54, 55
Vingt Mille Lieues sous les mers (Verne), 112
von Bismarck, Otto: “Blood and Iron” speech, 17; submarine warfare, 112
von Humboldt, Alexander: *Cosmos*, 20

Walker, Robert J., 82, 101
Walker, William: Wilkes and, 125
Wallace, George: “Segregation Forever” inaugural, 18
Wanderer (slaver), 79
Warren, Robert Penn: on Civil War, 169
W. B. Nash (brig), torching of, 46
Welles, Gideon, 111
Westphalian state system, 70
whaling vessels and whalemens, 40, 46, 50, 109
Wharnccliffe, Lord (Montagu-Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie, Edward), 130; Southern Independence Association, 96
Wheaton, Henry, 120, 135; *Elements of International Law*, 114, 135
White, David, 51, 55
Whittle, William: activity on CSS *Shenandoah*, 52
Wilberforce, William, 5, 65, 66, 77
Wilberforcian indictment of oceanic slaving, 5–6, 8, 65–66, 74, 77, 127
Wilkes, Charles, 49, 125

- Williams, John: experience of, 51; Whittle's torment of, 52
- Williams, Martha Noyes, 58
- women: female activism, 90; treatment of by Confederate commerce raiders, 55–59, 57, 141–42; vulnerability of those held in slavery, 99–100, 102, 148
- World* (newspaper), 21
- World War II, 5, 10
- Yancey, William, 31–34, 32, 85, 95, 108; pro-slave trade tirade in Montgomery in 1858, 31–32
- Zambo (Laboulaye's character), 147
- Zarvona, Richard Thomas, 39
- Zulueta, Julián, 124–26. See also *Cicerón* (steam-powered slaver); *Noc Daqui* (steam-powered slaver)