




AMANDA FOREMAN

author of the *New York Times* bestseller
Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire

A World on Fire

BRITAIN'S CRUCIAL ROLE
IN THE
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR



Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire

A WORLD ON FIRE

BRITAIN'S CRUCIAL ROLE
IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Amanda Foreman



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Preface

Some years ago, while researching the life of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, I learned that her great-nephew, later the eighth Duke of Devonshire, had spent Christmas Day 1861 making eggnog for the Confederate cavalry officers of General Robert E. Lee's army. "I hope Freddy [his younger brother, Lord Frederick Cavendish] won't groan much over my rebel sympathies, but I can't help them," he wrote to his father three days later. "The people here are so much more earnest about the [war] than the North seems to be."

I was aware that the American Civil War had sharply polarized public opinion in Britain (my original doctoral thesis had examined attitudes toward race and color in pre-Victorian England), but it was still a shock to discover that the heir to the greatest Liberal peerage in England thought the slaveholding South had the moral advantage over the antislavery North. Understanding how the Confederacy had managed to achieve this ascendancy, not only with the duke but also with people who might generally be considered as belonging to the "progressive" classes in Britain—journalists, writers, university students, actors, social reformers, even the clergy—became one of the driving obsessions behind this book.

My original intention was to write a history of the British volunteers who fought in the Civil War. I had assumed that by examining their reasons for joining the Union or Confederate armies, I would gain an insight into the forces that had shaped public opinion. But once I began, the book refused to stay within its intended confines, especially as it became clear that these volunteers were part of an Anglo-American world that was far greater and more complex than I had ever imagined. It gradually became a biography of a relationship, or, more accurately, of the many relationships that together formed the British-American experience during the Civil War.

The war began on April 12, 1861, when Confederate troops fired on the Federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina. The ensuing four-year struggle would lead to the freedom of 4 million slaves and cost the lives of more than 620,000 soldiers and 50,000 civilians. President Abraham Lincoln responded to the attack on Fort Sumter by calling for 75,000 volunteer soldiers and declaring a blockade of Southern ports. Across the Atlantic, however, Lord Palmerston's Liberal government was chiefly concerned with ensuring that Britain did not become embroiled in the conflict. There was too much at stake: the livelihoods of nearly a million workers depended on Southern cotton, while British investors held \$444 million worth of U.S. stocks and securities. On May 13, reflecting a rare moment of unanimity between Parliament, the press, and the public, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of neutrality, which recognized that a state of war existed between the Union and the Confederacy and forbade British subjects to take part. But this well-meaning act had precisely the opposite effect of what was intended. Each side accused Britain of favoring the other: the North threatened to invade Canada in retaliation, the South used every legal loophole to build its warships in British dockyards, and Britons ignored the injunction against interfering and volunteered by the thousands in the Union and Confederate armies. Twice in four years Britain and the North were on the brink of war: the first time, in December 1861, British troops were halfway to Canada by the time the two governments backed down.

Biography is a subset of history, yet it stands independently, too. The most obvious difference is that biographers delve deeply into individual lives and the influences that shaped them, whereas for historians it is the sum of individual experiences that is important. In *A World on Fire* I have tried to combine both approaches. I decided from the beginning to treat each of the significant figures in the story, and many of the lesser ones, as though he or she was the principal subject of the book, so that I could understand the antecedents of the motives and decisions during the Civil War. This not only added several years to the project but also created the problem of how to construct a single narrative out of competing points of view within a time frame that encompassed multiple simultaneous events. The challenge seemed insurmountable, until one day I remembered having seen Trevor Nunn's 1981 *Nicholas Nickleby*, an extraordinary "theater-in-the-round" production that brought together a vast panoply of characters through a combination of three-dimensional staging, shifting scenes, and running narratives that created an all-enveloping experience for the audience. This memory became my guide and inspiration, and I set about writing a history-in-the-round in the hope of immersing the reader inside the British-American world of the Civil War. I was fortunate that many areas of this world had already been researched by Brian Jenkins, Howard Jones, R.J.M. Blackett, Charles Hubbard, D. P. Crook, Frank Merli, Warren Spencer, Norman Ferris, and others. My debt to their pioneering work cannot be overstated; any omissions or errors in the book are mine alone.

I am deeply grateful to Eve and Michael Williams-Jones, Hugh Dubrulle, Jonathan Foreman, Brian Jenkins, James McPherson, Christopher Mason, Michael Musick, Fred Smoler, and Richard Snow for their help and criticisms of early versions of *A World on Fire*. The book took twelve years to complete, and I owe heartfelt thanks to Andrew Wylie, Sara Chalfont, and Jeffrey Posternak of the Wylie Agency for their loyalty during all that time. True to the spirit of the book, *A World on Fire* was simultaneously edited by Susanna Porter at Random House in New York and Stuart Proffitt at Allen Lane in London; it has been a profoundly rewarding and intellectually satisfying process to work with them both. Over the years I have benefited enormously from the help and guidance provided by librarians and archivists all over the world, and they are thanked by name in the acknowledgments section. My family have been a tremendous support to me, but there is one person who, above all, made this book possible, and that is my husband: the center of *my* world.

Dramatis Personae

AMERICANS

Diplomats, Commissioners, and Agents

Charles Francis Adams (1807–86) UNION—Minister at the U.S. legation in London, 1861–68; son of President John Quincy Adams; grandson of President John Adams; married Abigail Brooks and had six children: John Quincy, Charles Francis Jr., Louise, Henry, Mary, and Brooks.

Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (1835–1915) UNION—Captain in the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry; later colonel of the 5th Massachusetts (Colored) Cavalry; son of Charles Francis Adams.

Henry Adams (1838–1918) UNION—Author, journalist, and historian; private secretary at the U.S. legation in London to his father, Charles Francis Adams.

Edward Anderson (1813–82) CONFEDERATE—Purchasing agent for the Confederate navy in England, 1861.

William H. Aspinwall (1807–75) UNION—Northern shipowner, sent to England to prevent the Confederacy from purchasing ships.

August Belmont (1813–90) UNION—New York financier and U.S. agent for the Rothschilds.

John Bigelow (1817–1911) UNION—U.S. consul in Paris, 1861–64; minister at the U.S. legation in Paris, 1865–66.

Irvine Bulloch (1842–98) CONFEDERATE—Youngest officer on CSS *Alabama*; half brother of James Dunwoody Bulloch.

James Dunwoody Bulloch (1823–1901) CONFEDERATE—Chief Confederate secret service agent in England and architect of the Confederate naval acquisition program in Europe.

Clement Claiborne Clay (1789–1866) CONFEDERATE—U.S. senator from Alabama, 1853–61; Confederate senator from Alabama, 1862–64; Confederate commissioner in Canada, 1864–65.

George Mifflin Dallas (1792–1864) UNION—Minister at the U.S. legation in London, 1856–61.

William Lewis Dayton (1807–64) UNION—Minister at the U.S. legation in Paris, 1861–64.

Edwin De Leon (1818–91) CONFEDERATE—U.S. consul in Cairo, 1853–61; Confederate propagandist in England and France, 1862–64.

Thomas Haines Dudley (1819–93) UNION—U.S. consul in Liverpool, 1861–65; co-head of the U.S. secret service with Freeman H. Morse.

Ambrose Dudley Mann (1801–89) CONFEDERATE—U.S. assistant secretary of state, 1853–55; Confederate commissioner to Belgium, 1861–65.

William Maxwell Evarts (1818–1901) UNION—New York lawyer, sent to England to liaise with Crown prosecution lawyers in the *Alexandria* trial in 1863.

John Murray Forbes (1813–98) UNION—Influential businessman; sent to England to prevent the Confederacy from purchasing ships.

Rose O'Neal Greenhow (1817–64) CONFEDERATE—Washington society leader and Confederate spy.

James Holcombe (1820–73) CONFEDERATE—Confederate commissioner in Canada, 1864; former law professor at the University of Virginia.

Henry Hotze (1833–87) CONFEDERATE—Confederate propagandist, sent to England in 1862; editor of the pro-Southern *Index*.

Caleb Huse (1831–1905) CONFEDERATE—Purchasing agent for the Confederate army in England.

Colin McRae (1813–77) CONFEDERATE—Confederacy’s chief financial agent in Europe, 1863–65.

James Murray Mason (1798–1871) CONFEDERATE—Senator from Virginia, 1847–61; Confederate commissioner in Britain, 1861–65; with Slidell, one of the two subjects of the *Trent* affair.

Benjamin Moran (1820–86) UNION—Assistant secretary at the U.S. legation in London, 1857–64, and secretary, 1864–74.

Freeman Harlow Morse (1807–91) UNION—U.S. consul in London, 1861–69; co-head with Thomas Haines Dudley of the U.S. secret service.

John Lothrop Motley (1814–77) UNION—Historian; U.S. minister to the Austrian Empire, 1861–67.

Pierre Adolphe Rost (1797–1868) CONFEDERATE—Confederate commissioner to France, 1861, and to Spain, 1862–65.

Henry Shelton Sanford (1823–91) UNION—Minister at the U.S. legation in Brussels; set up U.S. secret service operations in England and then in Belgium, 1862–65.

John Slidell (1793–1871) CONFEDERATE—Confederate commissioner to France; captured, with Mason, aboard the *Trent*.

Jacob Thompson (1810–85) CONFEDERATE—Colonel in Confederate army; head of clandestine operations in Canada.

Norman Walker (1831–1913) CONFEDERATE—Major in Confederate army; shipping agent in Bermuda; husband of Georgiana Walker.

Thurlow Weed (1797–1882) UNION—Adviser to Seward; unofficial envoy to France with Archbishop Hughes, Bishop McIlvaine, and General Winfield Scott, 1861.

Charles Wilson (1818–78) UNION—Illinois newspaper editor; secretary to the U.S. legation in London, 1861–64.

William Lowndes Yancey (1814–63) CONFEDERATE—Confederate commissioner to Britain and France, 1861–65.

Military

Nathaniel Prentice Banks (1816–94) UNION—Commander of the Department of the Gulf, 1862–64.

Braxton Bragg (1817–76) CONFEDERATE—Principal Confederate commander in the Western theater of the war; commander of the Department of Western Florida and the Army of Pensacola, 1861; commander of the Army of the Mississippi and the Army of Tennessee, 1862–63; chief military adviser to Jefferson Davis, 1864–65.

John Yates Beall (1835–65) CONFEDERATE—Confederate privateer.

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard (1818–93) CONFEDERATE—First prominent general of the Confederacy, 1861–65; hero of Fort Sumter and First Battle of Bull Run; commander in the defense of Charleston.

Ambrose Everett Burnside (1824–81) UNION—Brigadier general and commander of the Army of the Potomac, 1861–63; commander of the Department of the Ohio, 1863–64; his prodigious whiskers allegedly inspired the word “sideburns.”

Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818–93) UNION—Commander of Fort Monroe, 1861; administrator of the occupation of New Orleans; commander of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1863, later designated the Army of the James, 1864.

Josiah Gorgas (1818–83) CONFEDERATE—Chief of the Confederate Ordnance Bureau.

Ulysses S. Grant (1822–85) UNION—Commander of the Army of the Tennessee, 1862–63, and the Military Division of the Mississippi, 1863–64; commanding general of the U.S. Army, 1864–69. Known as “Unconditional Surrender Grant” because of the terms he offered to the defeated Confederates at Fort Donelson.

Henry Wager Halleck (1815–72) UNION—Commander of the Department of the Missouri, 1861–62, and the Department of the Mississippi, 1862; general-in-chief of all Union armies, 1862–64; chief of staff, 1864–65; known as “Old Brains” for his treatise on military theory.

John William Headley (1841–1930) CONFEDERATE—Captain in General John Hunt Morgan’s brigade; participated in the plot to bomb New York in 1864.

Thomas Henry Hines (1838–98) CONFEDERATE—Spy sent to Canada, via Chicago, to recruit propagandists and fighters for the South.

James Longstreet (1821–1904) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1863; commander of the Department of East Tennessee, 1863–64; principal subordinate to General Lee, who called him “Old War Horse.” Also known as “Old Pete.”

Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson (1824–63) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign corps commander in the Army of Northern Virginia under Robert E. Lee, 1862–63; nicknamed “Stonewall” after the First Battle of Bull Run.

Albert Sidney Johnston (1803–62) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the Western Department, 1861; led the Army of the Mississippi to defend Confederate lines from the Mississippi River to Kentucky and the Allegheny Mountains.

Joseph Egleston Johnston (1807–91) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, 1861; commander of the Army of the Potomac (later rechristened the Army of Northern Virginia), 1862; commander of the Department of the West which gave him control over the Army of the Tennessee and the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana.

Fitzhugh Lee (1835–1905) CONFEDERATE—Rose from lieutenant colonel of the 1st Virginia Cavalry to major general, 1861–63; nephew of Robert E. Lee.

Robert Edward Lee (1807–70) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, 1862–65; general-in-chief of Confederate forces, 1865.

George Brinton McClellan (1826–85) UNION—Commander of the Department of the Ohio, 1861; commander of the Department of the Potomac, July 1861–November 1862; general-in-chief of the Union army, November 1861–March 1862.

Irvin McDowell (1818–85) UNION—Commander of the Army of Northeastern Virginia, 1861; commander of the Army of the Potomac, 1861–62.

George Gordon Meade (1815–72) UNION—Commander of the Army of the Potomac, 1863–65; defeated General Lee at the Battle of Gettysburg; nicknamed “The Old Snapping Turtle” for his hair-trigger temper.

George Washington Morgan (1820–93) UNION—Commander of the 7th Division of the Army of the Ohio, 1862–63; commander of the 3rd Division of the Union army’s XIII Corps, 1863.

John Hunt Morgan (1825–64) CONFEDERATE—Colonel and brigadier general, 2nd Kentucky Cavalry Regiment, 1862–64; commander of the Trans-Allegheny Department, 1864; known for instigating “Morgan’s raid.”

John Singleton Mosby (1833–1916) CONFEDERATE—Commanded the 43rd Battalion, 1st Virginia Cavalry (known as the Partisan Rangers), 1863–65; nicknamed the “Gray Ghost.”

John Pope (1822–92) UNION—Commander of the District of North and Central Missouri, 1861–62; commander of the Army of the Mississippi, 1862; commander of the Army of Virginia, 1862.

Winfield Scott (1786–1866) UNION—Commanding general of the U.S. Army, 1841–61.

Phillip Henry Sheridan (1831–88) UNION—Commander of the 3rd Division, XIV Corps, Army of the Cumberland, 1862–63; commander of the 2nd Division, IV Corps, Army of the Cumberland, 1863–64; commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, 1864–65.

William Tecumseh Sherman (1820–91) UNION—Brigadier general in the Army of the Tennessee, 1862; commander of the Department of the Tennessee, 1863–64; commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, 1864–65.

James Ewell Brown (“Jeb”) Stuart (1833–64) CONFEDERATE—Commander of the 1st Virginia Cavalry Regiment, 1861; commander of the Virginia Cavalry Brigade, 1861–62; commander of the Virginia Cavalry Division, 1862–63; commander of the Virginia Cavalry Corps, 1863–64.

Politicians

Judah Philip Benjamin (1811–84) CONFEDERATE—The second Jewish senator in U.S. history; Confederate attorney general,

1861; secretary of war, 1861–62; and secretary of state, 1862–65.

John Cabell Breckinridge (1821–75) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of war, 1865.

Salmon Portland Chase (1808–73) UNION—U.S. secretary of the treasury, 1861–64.

Jefferson Davis (1808–89) CONFEDERATE—President of the Confederate States, 1861–65.

John Adams Dix (1798–1879) UNION—Military governor of New York.

Edward Everett (1794–1865)—U.S. secretary of state, 1852–53; U.S. senator from Massachusetts, 1853–54; celebrated educator and orator, famous for his two-hour speech before Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

Abraham Lincoln (1809–65) UNION—First Republican president of the United States, 1861–65.

Stephen Russell Mallory (1813–73) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of the navy, 1861–65.

James Alexander Seddon (1815–80) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of war, 1862–65.

Frederick William Seward (1830–1915) UNION—U.S. assistant secretary of state, 1861–69 and 1877–79; son of William H. Seward.

William Henry Seward (1801–72) UNION—U.S. secretary of state, 1861–69.

Edwin Stanton (1814–69) UNION—U.S. secretary of war, 1862–65.

Charles Sumner (1811–74) UNION—U.S. senator from Massachusetts, 1851–74.

Robert Augustus Toombs (1810–85) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of state, February–July 1861.

George Alfred Trenholm (1807–76) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of the treasury 1864–65; founder of Fraser, Trenholm and Co.

Clement Laird Vallandigham (1820–71) UNION—U.S. House of Representatives, 3rd District Ohio, 1858–63; head of the Copperhead antiwar movement.

LeRoy Pope Walker (1817–84) CONFEDERATE—Confederate secretary of war, February–September 1861.

Gideon Welles (1802–78) UNION—U.S. secretary of the navy, 1861–69.

Pro-Northern Supporters

Edwin Thomas Booth (1833–93)—Actor; brother of John Wilkes Booth.

Frederick Douglass (1818–95)—Former slave; social reformer and abolition campaigner.

Horace Greeley (1811–72)—Editor of the *New York Herald*.

Sarah Parker Remond (1826–94)—Campaigner for abolition.

George Templeton Strong (1820–75)—Lawyer, co-founder, and treasurer of the U.S. Sanitary Commission.

Pro-Southern Supporters

Belle Boyd (1844–1900)—Confederate spy.

Mary Boykin Chesnut (1823–86)—South Carolinian diarist.

William Wilkins Glenn (1824–76)—Maryland journalist; conduit for British travelers entering the South.

John B. Jones (1810–66)—Virginian diarist; clerk in the War Department, Richmond, Virginia.

Charles Kuhn Prioleau (1827–87)—Head of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., Liverpool, England.

John R. Thompson (1828–73)—Poet, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1847–59; contributor to the *Index*.

At Sea

David Glasgow Farragut (1801–70) UNION—Admiral on USS *Hartford*, 1862–66.

John Newland Maffitt (1819–86) CONFEDERATE—Captain of CSS *Florida*.

Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806–73) CONFEDERATE—Oceanographer; Confederate purchasing agent in Britain.

William Lewis Maury (1813–78) CONFEDERATE—Commander of CSS *Georgia*.

James Morris Morgan (1845–1928) CONFEDERATE—Lieutenant on CSS *Georgia*.

David Dixon Porter (1813–91) UNION—Commander of USS *Powhatan*; rear admiral of the Mississippi River Squadron.

Raphael Semmes (1809–77) CONFEDERATE—Commander of CSS *Sumter*, 1861–62; Captain of CSS *Alabama*, 1862–64.

Charles Wilkes (1798–1877) UNION—Captain of USS *San Jacinto*; instigator of the *Trent* affair.

John Ancrum Winslow (1811–73) UNION—Captain of USS *Kearsarge*; sank CSS *Alabama*.

BRITISH

Diplomats

Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald (1810–94)—British consul at New York, 1857–71.

Robert Bunch—British consul at Charleston, South Carolina, 1853–64.

Joseph Hume Burnley—Secretary of the British legation, Washington.

Richard Bickerton Pemell Lyons, 2nd Lord Lyons (1817–87)—Minister at the British legation, Washington, 1859–65.

Edward Baldwin Malet (1837–1908)—Attaché at the British legation, Washington, 1862–64.

Charles Stanley Monck, 4th Viscount Monck (1819–94)—Governor-general of Canada, 1867–69.

William Mure (1813–64)—British consul at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1843–57.

Francis Napier, 10th Lord Napier (1819–98)—Minister at the British legation, Washington, 1857–59.

Arthur H. Seymour—Third secretary of the British legation, Washington.

George Sheffield—Attaché at the British legation, Washington, 1859–64.

William Stuart (1824–96)—Secretary of the British legation, Washington, 1861–64.

Henry Wellesley, 1st Earl Cowley (1804–84)—British ambassador to France, 1852–67.

Journalists

John Chandler Bancroft Davis (1822–1907)—Pro-Northern correspondent, *The Times*, 1861.

Samuel Phillips Day—Pro-Southern correspondent, *Morning Herald*, 1861.

John Thadeus Delane (1817–79)—Editor of *The Times*, 1841–77.

Edward James Stephen Dicey (1832–1911)—Pro-Northern contributor, *Spectator*.

The Hon. Francis Charles Lawley (1825–1901)—Pro-Southern contributor, *The Times*.

Charles Mackay (1814–89)—Pro-Southern New York correspondent, *The Times*, 1862–65.

Harriet Martineau (1802–76)—Writer, social theorist, and contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Daily News*, 1852–60.

Mowbray Morris (1819–74)—Managing editor of *The Times*.

William Howard Russell (1820–1907)—Celebrated war reporter for *The Times*.

George Augustus Henry Sala (1828–95)—Novelist and pro-Southern contributor, *Daily Telegraph*; ghost writer for several pro-Southern memoirs.

Tom Taylor (1817–80)—Journalist and contributor to *Punch*, playwright, author of *Our American Cousin*, 1858.

Observers

Thomas Conolly (1823–76)—Member of Parliament for the County of Donegal.

Griffith Evans (1835–1935)—Veterinarian officer, Royal Artillery, British Army.

Arthur James Lyon Fremantle (1835–1901)—Lieutenant colonel, British Army; member of Her Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards; observer of the Battle of Gettysburg and the New York draft riots, April–July 1863.

Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire, Marquess of Hartington (1833–1908)—Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1863; British undersecretary for war, 1863–66.

George Alfred Lawrence (1827–76)—British lawyer and novelist; author of *Guy Livingstone*, 1857.

Edward Fitzgerald Turton Ross (1835–?)—Captain, Austrian Hussars; Confederate propagandist and observer, 1863–64.

Lord Edward Percy St. Maur (1841–65)—Captain, volunteer cavalry, British Army; diplomat.

Edward Lyulph Stanley, 4th Baron Sheffield, 4th Baron Stanley of Alderly, and 3rd Baron Eddisbury (1839–1925)—British peer and member of Parliament for Oldham, 1880–85.

Leslie Stephen (1832–1904)—Author, literary critic, and editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–91.

Henry Yates Thompson (1838–1928)—Owner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1878–92; observer of General Grant's victory at Chattanooga, 1863.

Garnet Wolseley, 1st Viscount Wolseley (1833–1913)—Field marshal, British Army; special service officer sent to Canada following the *Trent* affair, 1861; Pro-Southern observer, 1862–65.

Politicians

George John Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll (1823–1900) LIBERAL—Lord Privy Seal, 1853–55, 1859–66, and 1880–81; postmaster general, 1855–58.

John Bright (1811–89) LIBERAL—Manufacturer; member of Parliament, and co-founder, with Richard Cobden, MP, of the Anti-Corn Law League, 1836.

George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon (1800–70) LIBERAL—Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1853–58, 1865–66, and 1868–70.

Richard Cobden (1804–65) LIBERAL—Businessman, member of Parliament, and co-founder, with John Bright, of the Anti-Corn Law League, 1836; he and John Bright were known derisively in the House of Commons as “members for the United States.”

Edward Smith Geoffrey Smith-Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby (1799–1869) CONSERVATIVE—Prime minister, February–December 1852, 1858–59, and 1866–68.

Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–81) CONSERVATIVE—Leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, 1851–52, 1852–58, 1859–66; chancellor of the exchequer, 1852, 1858–59, 1866–68; prime minister, 1868, 1874–80.

William Edward Forster (1818–86) LIBERAL—Industrialist; member of Parliament for Bradford, Yorkshire, 1861–85.

William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) LIBERAL—chancellor of the exchequer, 1852–55, 1859–66; prime minister, 1868–74, 1880–85.

William Henry Gregory (1817–92) CONSERVATIVE—Pro-Southern member of Parliament for Dublin City, 1842–47, and County Galway, 1857–72.

Edmund Hammond, 1st and last Baron Hammond of Kirkella (1802–90) LIBERAL—Permanent undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, 1854–73.

John Laird (1805–74) CONSERVATIVE—Pro-Southern member of Parliament for Birkenhead, 1861–74; founder of John Laird Sons and Co.

Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–94) LIBERAL—Undersecretary of state for Foreign Affairs, January–February 1852, 1861–66

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, 2nd Baronet (1806–63) LIBERAL—Chancellor of the exchequer, 1855–58; home secretary, 1859–61; secretary of state for war, 1861–63.

William Schaw Lindsay (1816–77) LIBERAL—Pro-Southern Scottish shipping magnate; founder and owner of W. S. Lindsay and Co., 1849–64; member of Parliament for Tynemouth and North Shields, 1854–59; member of Parliament for Sunderland, 1859–65.

Richard Monckton Milnes, 1st Baron Houghton (1809–85) CONSERVATIVE—Poet; member of Parliament for Pontefract, 1837–63; pro-Northern.

Henry Pelham-Clinton, 5th Duke of Newcastle (1811–64) LIBERAL—Secretary of state for war and the colonies, 1852–54; secretary of state for war, 1854–55; secretary of state for the colonies, 1859–64.

Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl of Selborne (1812–95) LIBERAL—Pro-Northern solicitor general, 1861–63; attorney general, 1863–66; Lord Chancellor, 1872–74 and 1880–85.

Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, known as Lord Palmerston (1784–1865) LIBERAL—Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1830–34, 1835–41, and 1846–51; home secretary, 1852–55; prime minister, 1855–58 and 1859–65.

John Arthur Roebuck (1802–79) LIBERAL—Member of Parliament for Bath, 1832–37 and 1841–47; member of Parliament for Sheffield, 1849–68 and 1874–79; pro-Southern.

John Russell, 1st Earl Russell (1792–1878) LIBERAL—Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1852–53 and 1859–65; leader of the opposition, February–December 1852 and 1866–68; prime minister, 1846–52 and 1865–66.

Edward Adolphus Seymour (later St. Maur), 12th Duke of Somerset (1804 or 1805–85) LIBERAL—First commissioner of woods and forests, 1849–51; first commissioner of works, 1851–52; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1859–66.

Pro-Northern Supporters

Elizabeth Blackwell (1821–1910)—British-born doctor; first woman to earn a medical degree in the United States; first woman to be placed on the British Medical Register; founder of the New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children, 1857.

John Elliott Cairnes (1823–75)—Irish economist; Whatley Professor, Trinity College, Dublin, 1856–61; professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Queen's College Galway, 1859–70; author of *The Slave Power*, 1862.

Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish (1836–82)—Progressive politician; private secretary to Lord Granville, 1859–64; private secretary to Prime Minister Gladstone, 1872–73.

Thomas Hughes (1822–96)—Author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 1857.

Fanny Kemble (1809–93)—Actress; author of *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*, 1863.

Peter Sinclair—Social reformer; author of *Freedom or Slavery in the United States: Being Fact and Testimonies for the Consideration of the British People*, 1863.

Goldwin Smith (1823–1910)—British Canadian historian and journalist; Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, 1858–66.

Harriet Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1806–68)—Granddaughter of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire; a champion of the American antislavery movement.

Pro-Southern Supporters

Mary Sophia Hill (1819–1902)—Sister of Sam Hill, 6th Louisiana Volunteers; regimental nurse in the 6th Louisiana Volunteers; Federal prisoner of war, 1864.

Thomas Kershaw—British peace campaigner on behalf of the South.

James Spence (1816–1905)—Author of *The American Union*, 1862; Liverpool businessman; pro-Southern propagandist and lobbyist.

Francis William Tremlett (1821–1913)—Vicar of St. Peter's Church, Belsize Park; unofficial chaplain to the Confederate navy in England.

Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Montagu-Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie, 3rd Baron Wharncliffe (1827–99)—President of the Manchester Southern Independence Association.

The War at Sea

Sir William Nathan Wrighte Hewett (1834–88)—Commander of HMS *Rinaldo*, 1861–62, and HMS *Basilisk*, 1865–69; commander of the ill-fated *Condor*, 1864.

The Hon. Augustus Charles Hobart-Hampden (1822–86)—Under the pseudonym “Captain Roberts” commanded the blockade runners *Don* and *Falcon* during the Civil War.

Sir Alexander Milne, 1st Baronet (1806–96)—Royal Navy commander-in-chief, North America and West Indies, 1860–64. First Naval Lord, 1866–68 and 1872–76.

Thomas Taylor (1841–?)—Supercargo on the blockade runners *Banshee*, *Will o' the Wisp*, *Wild Dayrell*, *Stormy Petrel*, and *Wild Rover*; author of *Running the Blockade*, 1896.

Volunteers

Bennet Graham Burley [also spelled Burleigh] (c. 1844–1914) CONFEDERATE—Scottish volunteer, Confederate navy; Federal prisoner of war, 1864; went on to become a notable war correspondent.

Charles Culverwell (1837–1919) UNION—Actor (stage name: Charles Wyndham); brigade surgeon in the Union army, 1863–64.

Leonard Douglas Hay Currie (1832–1907) UNION—Assistant adjutant general to Brigadier General W. F. Smith; colonel in the 133rd New York Volunteer Infantry.

Francis Warrington Dawson [né Austin John Reeks] (1840–89) CONFEDERATE—Common sailor, CSS *Nashville*, 1861; master's mate, CSS *Louisiana*, 1862; 1st lieutenant of artillery in the “Purcell Artillery” battalion, under the command of Captain William “Willy” Johnson Pegram.

John Fitzroy De Courcy, 31st Baron Kingsale (1821–90) UNION—Stipendiary magistrate of San Juan Island; colonel of the 16th Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

Frederick Farr (1844–64) UNION—Private, Company F, 7th Maine Infantry, 1863–64.

Henry Wemyss Feilden (1838–1921) CONFEDERATE—Private, 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of the Foot (also known as the Black Watch), 1857–60; assistant adjutant general in Charleston, Confederate army.

George St. Leger Grenfell (1808–68) CONFEDERATE—Assistant inspector general of the corps of cavalry of the Army of Tennessee, 1862; assistant inspector general of the corps of cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, 1863.

George Henry Herbert UNION—Lieutenant, 9th New York Volunteer Infantry (“Hawkins's Zouaves”).

Henry George Hore (d. 1887) UNION—Aide-de-camp to Major General John Sedgwick.

James Horrocks UNION—Private, 5th Battery, New Jersey Volunteers.

Robert Moffat Livingstone (1846–64) UNION—3rd New Hampshire Infantry; son of the explorer Dr. David Livingstone.

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