

Slavery, Confederate Diplomacy, and the Racialist Mission of Henry Hotze

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From its inception, New World slavery depended on the willing collaboration of Atlantic empires, kingdoms, and colonies on four different continents. This matrix of international cooperation only began to dissolve with the American and French Revolutions, which initiated a countervailing sequence of international conflicts that began an era of emancipation. By the outbreak of the American Civil War, armed conflict and diplomatic pressures had already played a decisive role in slavery's end across much of the Western Hemisphere. This process culminated in the military clash between the Northern Union and the Southern Confederacy, which forced governments on both sides of the Atlantic to contemplate the future of slavery in North America and, by extension, in Brazil and Cuba, the two remaining outposts of bondage. As the preeminent player in international politics, Great Britain occupied a central role in indirectly assuring Union victory, the freedom of four million Southern slaves, and the ultimate end of chattel slavery throughout the Americas. While the United Kingdom's devotion to "King Cotton" proved to be less important than some Southerners had predicted, British statesmen did not adopt a consistently pro-Union or pro-emancipation policy. A dialogue between government officials and the

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broader British public involved a calculus of commercial interests, moral and religious convictions, political infighting about democracy's future, and an emerging battle between inherited antislavery sympathies and a newfound openness to scientific racism.¹

Confederate officials who worked within this international framework were more attuned to the complexity of the British view about slavery and race than most historians have allowed.² Whatever their own stances, Southern diplomats simply could not ignore the prevailing assumption of British representatives like Lord Richard Lyon, who in 1861 predicted that "the taint of slavery will render the cause of the South loathsome to the civilized world." While slavery had long been condemned as a relic of barbarism, its notoriety intensified in 1852 with the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which would quickly become a global sensation. Given this tide of opinion, some Confederates considered that a government of their own might permit them to defy such negative outside judgments. Alexander Stephens, the new vice president, staked out this position when he identified white mastery of black inferiors as the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy and in the process openly invited the world's scorn. More typical were those repeated attempts to obscure the connections between the Confederacy and chattel bondage and to link the rebellion to less controversial topics such as free trade, the inherited principles of constitutionalism, or the supposed racial differences between Northern and Southern whites.³

1. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975), 64–83; Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), 245–58; Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988); R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2001).

2. Slavery and race receive only passing mention in Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1931), 550–52, and Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1998), while these issues form the main theme of Gregory Louis Mattson's dissertation, "Pariah Diplomacy: The Slavery Issue in Confederate Foreign Relations" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1999).

3. Lord Lyons to Lord Russell, Apr. 15, 1861, in James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, *The American Civil War Through British Eyes: Dispatches from British Diplomats* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 2003), 50; Alexander H. Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech," in Jon L. Wakelyn, *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860–April 1861* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1996), 405. Michael O'Brien explores how slavery's moral onus affected Southern intellectuals in *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860* (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2004), while I have addressed the Confederate emphasis on racial differences between whites in "Round-headed Cavaliers? The Contexts and Limits of a Confederate Racial Project," *Civil War History* 48 (Mar. 2002): 34–59.

Henry Hotze, the most important Confederate propagandist in Europe, developed a third strategy in the middle of 1863, at the same time that Confederate officials in Richmond abandoned efforts to lobby the British for official recognition. Both Hotze's private dispatches and his public statements indicate a conscious move from an earlier emphasis on the white South's Christian piety and martial heroism to a consideration of how its defining system of slavery exemplified the scientific principles of racial anthropology. After writing a series of anthropological notices for the London *Index*, a weekly paper he had founded in 1862, Hotze traveled to France and Italy in 1864, where he worked to nurture the emerging racialism in those countries and to put a pro-Confederate gloss on news dispatches from North America. After the Confederacy's defeat the next year, Hotze attempted to bring his racist mission back to the New World, briefly forming plans to convince leaders of a re-United States to accept the permanence of human difference. In transforming himself from a Confederate editor into an international racial propagandist, Hotze returned to his own intellectual convictions about racial hierarchy that he had formed a decade earlier when he had translated Arthur de Gobineau's important work, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*.

Hotze's activity helps to illuminate one of the most paradoxical developments of the 1860s: signaling how the end of chattel slavery coincided with newfound international respect for the racialism proposed by Gobineau and others. Existing historical accounts of Hotze's work have all but ignored his involvement with such large international trends, focusing most of their attention on those novel propaganda techniques he put in place on behalf of the Confederacy. Yet the transition that he and other pro-Confederate writers made from issues of slavery to those of race deserves consideration in its own right, as do the long-term consequences of this shift. Focusing on such larger developments can clarify an overlooked aspect of Hotze's while also leading to a more complicated assessment of his success. The two primary goals of Confederates—securing the sovereign independence of their new government and perpetuating slavery—both ended as spectacular failures. But in the course of championing these causes, Hotze and his allies strengthened an anthropological tradition that would rise in prominence for the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, when systematic scientific racialism in such areas as eugenics was itself discredited. In the years that slavery was rooted out in North America, racialism increased its global appeal, in part because of the stances taken by Hotze and others who had suffered defeat in their war against the American Union. Former Confederates helped to set the terms for subsequent debate, influencing how

the American political system functioned and how racial hierarchy might be made reputable within the wider international community.

Hotze's wartime interest in anthropology resulted from a combination of tactical expediency and his own earlier engagement with scientific racism. Nearly a decade before he joined the Anthropological Society of London, this young Swiss immigrant had first embraced the notion that race was the most important pivot of human history. His ideological initiation came in his collaboration with the Mobile scientist Josiah Nott, then the leading member of the "American School" of racial science.⁴ In 1854, Nott contacted Hotze on the Alabama plantation where he was working as a tutor and suggested that his knowledge of foreign languages and his cosmopolitan sensibilities might be useful in a new and exciting endeavor.⁵ Hotze quickly agreed to provide an English translation of the *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, which Arthur de Gobineau had just published in France. As Hotze undertook the project, he became determined to write the first analytical introduction in English to what would in time become one of the most important racist tracts of the modern era.⁶

Hotze was deeply moved by the *Essai's* infamous explanation of race as the motor of all human history, and the key to understanding the past, present, and

4. For more on Nott and the "American School," see Reginald Horsman, *Josiah Nott of Mobile: Southerner, Physician, and Racial Theorist* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1987); William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815–1859* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960); Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2002); Robert Young, *Imperial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995); and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, which identifies Nott (on 242) as "the most famous Southern intellectual of his day, insofar as Northern and European reputation defined celebrity."

5. These prepublication arrangements are explained in George Gliddon to Gobineau, Dec. 28, 1854, and Nott to Gobineau, Mar. 7, 1855, in Ludwig Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk: Aktenstücke und Betrachtungen zur Geschichte und Kritik des Essai sur L'inégalité des Races Humaines* (Stuttgart: F. Frommanns, 1910), 190–97.

6. *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, with Particular Reference to their Respective Influences in the Civil and Political History of Mankind. From the French by Count A. de Gobineau: With an Analytical Introduction and Copious Historical Notes. By H. Hotz . . .* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1856). Gobineau's centrality in later Nazi ideology has influenced several studies of his work, as can be seen in Michael Denis Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau* (New York: Weybright & Talley, 1970); Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977); and George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York: H. Fertig, 1978). Recent works assign the *Essai* a more modest status within nineteenth-century racialism, as is evident in Ivan Hananford, *Race: A History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996), and George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2002).

future. As he passionately explained in a letter he sent to Gobineau soon after completing the translation: "Here was the light I had sought for so earnestly and perseveringly, which had so often given me a transient gleam and then left me more in the dark than ever. I was like the pilgrim in the old German lyric, who entering a chapel, grumbled at the blurred and blotted glass that admitted a scant light into his place of devotion when behold! the clouds were withdrawn from the sun and what to his ignorance had seemed an unsightly daub, proved a brilliant glasspainting by a master-hand." While *Essai* contributed to Hotze's quest for knowledge, it also helped him to address his adopted country's leading political controversy. Slavery was clearly "the sore point of the nation," he confided to Gobineau, evident in Kansas political turmoil, on the floor of Congress, and in the way the topic "comes home to our very door, nay crosses our threshold and penetrates the privacy of our domestic life."⁷

Hotze's first major publishing project combined a sense of intellectual discovery with a keen awareness of how the international dynamics of scientific racism could help the cause of the slave South. Nott and his Northern colleagues had immediately recognized that they were fighting "on the same side" as Gobineau, and they realized, as Nott pointed out directly to the "French savant" himself, that the book's "simple expressions of historical truths" would be received "with much more respect than those of a man like myself from a Slave country."⁸ To Americans, the *Essai* was less important for its theory of degeneracy (which was arguably Gobineau's most important contribution to nineteenth-century racialism) than because of its depiction of Africans. Describing this group as having been "for ages plunged in the darkest gloom of barbarism," Gobineau claimed that there was "not one ray of even temporary or borrowed improvement to cheer the dismal picture of its history or inspire with hope the disheartened philanthropist." These parts of the *Essai* stressed the distinctive physical characteristic of the "dark races" that the American School and others had linked with "the shape of the pelvis," the "character of animalism," and that "narrow and receding forehead," which marked inferior

7. Hotze to Gobineau, Jan. 1 and July 11, 1856, in Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 196–205. Hotze's passionate description recalled Gobineau's introductory epiphany (which Hotze chose not to include in his translation but which can be found in *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. by Adrian Collins, intro. by Oscar Levy [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915], xiv–xv). A similar invocation of intellectual heroism can be seen in Hotze's letter to Percy Greg of Aug. 18, 1864, Hotze letters, Library of Congress.

8. Gobineau's influence on the American School was later apparent in Josiah Clark Nott, George R. Gliddon, and L. F. Alfred Maury, *Indigenous Races of the Earth; or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry; Including Monographs on Special Departments* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott, 1857), 212–14, 444.

reasoning capacity. Hotze worked to bring out some of these physical connections in his own 103-page “Analytical Introduction” and in his extensive annotations about the “repulsive” eating habits of slaves and their “fondness for odors.” In the appendix, he also included an essay by Nott on human hybridity, the issue on which Nott’s own scientific reputation had rested.⁹

Yet while Hotze included what was becoming the standard materialist approach of the American school, he used this project to distance himself and Gobineau from the group’s controversial antireligious bent. His introduction denied any “sympathy with those who deny the existence of the soul, because they cannot find it under the scalpel” and insisted on considering “the body not the mental agent, but the servant, the tool” of the spirit within each human person. Time and again, he went out of his way to avoid the American School’s “parson-skinning” attacks on the Southern clergy and even adopted a “tinge of piety,” which disappointed Nott.¹⁰ Whatever his own religious convictions, Hotze showed a strategic sense in recognizing that Americans were “a very religious people, and the pulpit, in some form or other, exerts a much more potent influence here than it does in Europe.” Having witnessed how even the suggestion of “infidelity” alienated “precisely that class of readers whose ears I was most anxious to gain,” he was determined to employ “exquisite caution” in avoiding the heated battle then raging between those who considered all humans as the same species (and all descended from a common ancestors) and those who denied this traditional scriptural view.¹¹ In the same spirit, he avoided alienating potential allies by

9. *Moral and Intellectual Diversity*, 32–33; 98; 338–39, 443–47. Hotze wrote to Gobineau that expediency required that he obscure the organizing concept of degeneracy because “intelligent private circles” in America had been “appalled at the result”; Hotze to Gobineau, Jan. 1, 1856, in Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 196–200. Robert Young highlights the connections between degeneracy and Nott’s theory of unfertile hybrids in *Colonial Desire*.

10. *Moral and Intellectual Diversity*, 91–92; Hotze to Gobineau, July 11, 1856, in Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 203. While Hotze was generally guarded about his religious background, several factors suggest an early Catholic influence that may have persisted in his adult career. These factors include his familiarity with Jesuit education, as he made clear in *The Intellectual Diversity of the Races* (198–99) and in a letter to Percy Gregg of August 18, 1864; the position his father held in the French Royal Service; and his decision to call his newspaper the *Index*, a possible nod, as Robert Forbes has helped me to understand, toward nineteenth-century Catholic orthodoxy. Hotze’s reluctance to make a public issue of his possible Catholicism might have been a response to the Protestant nativism that flourished in 1850s Mobile, in Victorian Britain, and that earlier had become part of the struggle over slavery in the case of “Jesuit intrigue” explained by Davis in *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 541–51.

11. Hotze to Gobineau, Jan. 1, 1856, in Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 196–200; *Moral and Intellectual Diversity*, 53–54, 81–82. Those who accepted the biblical account of a Creation according to the Garden of Eden story were considered monogenesists while the polygenesists

changing Gobineau's title from its emphasis on racial inequality to the softer *Moral and Intellectual Diversity of the Races*. Such a modification helped him to insist that "so far from loosening the ties of brotherhood, [racial science] binds [the races] closer, because it teaches us not to despise those who are endowed differently from us" but "shows that they too may have excellencies which we have not."¹²

Perhaps because of his European background, Hotze considered the American struggle over the place of black slaves within a much larger crisis that confronted the Western world amid an age of revolutionary excess. He wrote to Gobineau that the "fanaticism" of antislavery was only one head of an "unconquerable hydra" of social discord and cheered the *Essai's* attempt to "calmly, philosophically . . . aim a shaft at the heart of the monster." In contrast to the American School's fixation on hybridity, reproduction, and other anxieties involving sexual pollution, Hotze invoked the religious language of heresy and the organic metaphors of social illness and viral infection. In using such frankly reactionary language, Hotze displayed a deep hostility to modernity's "fanatical" and "delusive" embrace of freedom and equality, which he presented as a betrayal of God's original designs.¹³

With the vigor of a convert and the skills of a salesman, Hotze pledged in 1856 that he would become Gobineau's "first disciple" in publicizing the racial dynamics that governed the universe, and which would lead to a new period of calm order. He even hinted at plans to undertake a multivolume translation of Gobineau's work, though he appears to have given up on this project fairly quickly. Such a long-term collaboration was stymied in part by Gobineau's misgivings about how his supposed New World "friends" were using a work meant to divine the course of human history as a crass way of continuing to "bludgeon their Negroes."¹⁴ With no real encouragement from Gobineau, Hotze moved on to other ways of satisfying his considerable ambition, which in turn prepared him for the trip to England that he would take as a Confederate. After serving briefly in the United States diplomatic corps as a secretary to the Belgian delegation, he began his career as a jour-

disputed the common human descent from Adam and Eve. Hotze's emphasis on religion, and his hesitancy to accept polygenesis, was welcomed in two of the most prominent reviewers of the work: A. Roane, "Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races," *DeBow's Review* 21 (July 1856): 63–70, and George Fitzhugh, "Superiority of Southern Races," *DeBow's Review* 31 (Oct.–Nov. 1861): 369–81.

12. *Moral and Intellectual Diversity*, 101.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology*, 145–48. Hotze mentioned two direct replies from Gobineau in his correspondence, but neither of these apparently still exists.

nalist by serving on the staff of the influential *Mobile Register*. As the Civil War began, he briefly left the world of ideas for that of battle, serving for nearly half a year as a private in the elite Mobile Cadets. He even took part in the first major Confederate victory at the Battle of Bull Run.¹⁵

If Hotze never systematically built upon his youthful engagement with European racialism, neither did he renounce this crucial early project. In 1862, he would introduce Gobineau to readers of his new London newspaper, contrasting the Frenchman's religious orthodoxy with the apparent skepticism of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. A dispatch written to the Confederate secretary of state Judah Benjamin in the fall of 1863 similarly showed the lingering influence of his earlier convictions. In reporting on his new involvement with the Anthropological Society of London, Hotze recalled that an interest in vindicating Southern institutions had been "the day-dream of my early youth," which had begun "before I had scarcely emerged from boyhood." These might provide an impasse for what he took as an "intellectual suicide" then undertaken by those timid Confederates who saw racial dominance as something to be ashamed about, rather than something that might be offered up as a signal that the new country was poised to push human progress forward, not to hold it back.¹⁶

During the first two years of the Civil War, the issues associated with African American slavery challenged Union and Confederate diplomats alike. Those who worked on behalf of the Union confronted a series of policy dilemmas, knowing that their government's actions toward fugitive slaves, the slave trade, or the enlistment of African American soldiers signaled how the war for the Union related to the future of America's most controversial institution. There were political dangers in moving too aggressively against slavery, most notably in risking political fallout in the North and in alienating slaveholders in border states like Kentucky and Maryland. The Lincoln administration moved slowly precisely to avoid such hazards. But Republican reticence undermined the Union's standing among Europeans, who saw hesitancy in regard to emancipation as an insufficient commitment to freedom.¹⁷

15. For biographical details of the late 1850s, see Charles P. Cullop, *Confederate Propaganda in Europe: 1861–1865* (Coral Gables, Fla.: Univ. of Miami Press, 1969), 19–21.

16. Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, Aug. 27, 1863, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, ser. II, 3:876 (hereafter ORN). This letter was Hotze's first mention of the Anthropological Society of London to his superiors.

17. Kinley J. Brauer focuses on the actions of Secretary of State William Seward in "The Slavery Problem in the Diplomacy of the American Civil War," *Pacific History Review* 46 (Aug. 1977): 439–69, while Howard Jones pays more attention to the president's role in *Abraham Lincoln*

Confederates faced fewer policy decisions than their Union counterparts, though they still took great care in how Southern slavery might be presented to the rest of the world. After an initial public clash over lifting the ban on the slave trade in 1861, Southern diplomats largely avoided public debates about slavery and race until the end of the war, when an even fiercer controversy developed over gaining European recognition by freeing those slaves who would serve as soldiers in the Confederate armies. Between these episodes, Confederates abroad were involved largely in a job of salesmanship, which alternated between minimizing the importance of slavery to their cause and insisting on their right to be free of all outside interference in this especially sensitive matter. Complete silence about slavery was difficult to maintain, even in the case of such pro-Confederate writers as James Spence of Liverpool. Prevailing national opinion compelled Spence, who was the chief spokesman of pro-Confederate Britons, to denounce slavery as “a gross anachronism” that brought “the brute force of dark ages . . . into the midst of the nineteenth century.” Trying to distance the Confederacy from the cause of bondage led Spence to identify slavery as the South’s “foul blot, from which all must desire to purge the annals of the age.”¹⁸

When Hotze first arrived in the United Kingdom, he was “reluctant to believe” the depth of British antislavery convictions or the likelihood that even such staunch pro-Confederates as Spence might publicly favor its overthrow. It did not take him long, however, to realize that “repugnance to our institutions” was “a part of the [British] national conscience and therefore an honest article of the national creed.” In dispatches to his Richmond superiors, Hotze surveyed many topics, including the course of British politics, the shifting economics of cotton, and the intricacies of the metropolitan press. Among his most regular concerns, however, were the fluctuating opinions of Europeans about slavery, which varied amid ever-changing wartime events. Far more than other Confederate foreign agents, Hotze conveyed to his superiors both the general “prejudice” against slavery that existed and the openings that seemed, from his perspective, to bode well for an eventual change of public sentiment.¹⁹

and a New Birth of Freedom: The Union and Slavery in the Diplomacy of the Civil War (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1999). See also Sadie D. St. Clair, “Slavery as a Diplomatic Factor in Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War,” *Journal of Negro History* 30 (July 1945).

18. Besides Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, and Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy*, see E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1924); James Spence, *The American Union: Its Effect on National Character and Policy*, 3d ed. (London: Richard Bentley, 1862), 131.

19. Hotze to Robert M. T. Hunter, Feb. 28, 1862, ORN, ser. II, 3:352–55. See also Hotze to

Hotze acknowledged the sensitive nature of slavery and race by insisting that he alone would address this topic in the *Index*, the weekly newspaper he had launched in May 1862, a few months after he arrived in London.²⁰ He subtly affirmed racial hierarchy in the first issue, adopting a stance that was carefully crafted to elicit British understanding and cooperation. His opening book review, which evaluated Henry Beveridge's study of colonial rule in India, did not mention slavery at all, merely noting that British imperialism rested on the fact that "progressiveness not only distinguishes man from the lower animals, but degrees of progressiveness distinguished race from race." He moved a bit farther a few months later when he reviewed his own translation of Gobineau's *Essai*, at which time he once more emphasized the compatibility of scientific racialism with orthodox Christianity. Only at the end of this piece did Hotze suggest how the *Essai* "prepares, leads up to . . . and suggests a solution" to the "Confederate dilemma, namely that three options there are extermination of blacks, amalgamation of races, or continuing slavery."²¹

During its first year and a half of publication, the *Index* focused far more attention on changing British attitudes toward white Southerners than in discussing the polemical controversies about African American slavery. Emphasizing the heroism of Southern soldiers and their leaders in battle became the most important aspect of his campaign to bolster the Confederacy's reputation abroad. To Benjamin, Hotze bragged that "our acts and the acts of our God-forgetting enemies [have] raised us in the estimation of mankind, and given a practical refutation to the slanders of half a century, which perhaps could not have been given in any other manner." He made a similar point in the *Index*, writing, "We need hardly say that the corps of Stonewall Jackson was not composed of men who were accustomed to force their female servants, by the terror of the lash, to become mothers of mulattoes, to be sold hereafter for their father's profit or worked to death on his plantations." Through the end of the war, discussions of slavery in the *Index* rested on a positive evaluation of Southern whites, who were represented as better stewards of their racial "inferiors" than the supposedly more racist Federal occupiers. In this, Hotze's editorial emphasis on white characteristics

Benjamin, Aug. 4, 1862, *ORN*, ser. II, 3:507. Dispatches from other Confederate agents—notably Edwin DeLeon, A. Dudley Mann, James Mason, and John Slidell—discuss issues of slavery far less frequently; these documents also appear in *ORN*, ser. II, vol. 3.

20. Hotze claimed responsibility for all *Index* articles about race and slavery in a letter to the Paris journalist Felix Aucaigne on Jan. 24, 1864, *ORN*, ser. II, vol. 3, p. 1027.

21. Review of Beveridge, "Comprehensive History of India," *Index*, May 1, 1862; "The Distinctions of Race," *Index*, Oct. 23, 1862.

was a means of building credibility, which would in time allow for more frank defenses of black bondage.²²

While Hotze recognized British pride in having pioneered abolition, he was alert for countercurrents, especially among the ruling classes. And countercurrents there were, notably in Thomas Carlyle's emerging amalgam of racism and hero-worship, which would not reach its full form until the 1866 dispute over Governor James Eyre's part in the massacre at Morant Bay, Jamaica. The first elements of this reaction began in the late 1840s, when Carlyle published his "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," a diatribe concerning the "failure" of black freedom in the West Indies. An added dimension came with Carlyle's valorization of heroic rulers in the 1850s and with his subsequent contempt for Union war aims, which he associated with reckless power rather than with exalted principle. By 1862, some Confederates were beginning to understand how the "bold, truthful and statesmanlike views" of this Victorian sage were responsible for "much of this salutary change in the public sentiment of England regarding slavery." Through his extended stay in the metropole, Hotze was especially well situated to observe the growing disillusionment over the earlier "mighty experiment" in granting freedom to Caribbean blacks.²³

The status of slavery in Civil War diplomacy changed fundamentally with the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. While many British observers initially suspected this measure was little more than a cynical attempt to incite insurrection, opinions slowly changed, in part because of popular support for Lincoln among the British working classes. The elements of a rearguard action became immediately apparent, as was evident in two developments during the opening days of 1863. On January 6, the Confederate-friendly London *Times* suggested there was some validity to the biblical

22. Hotze to Benjamin, Aug. 4, 1862, *ORN*, ser. II, 3:507; "Colonel Lamar at Chertsey" *Index*, Oct. 22, 1863. See also Hotze to Benjamin, Feb. 14, 1863, *ORN*, ser. II, 3:693. A series of *Index* articles that Hotze wrote about his own service (and that documented the noble motives of Confederate warriors more generally) has been collected, edited, and published by Richard Barksdale Harwell as *Three Months in the Confederate Army* (University: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1952).

23. A. W. Dillard, "Thomas Carlyle: His Philosophy and Style," *Southern Literary Messenger* 34 (1862): 290–96. Among the works that address the evolution of Carlylean racialism are: Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971); Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press; New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978); and Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002). For the broader development of British disillusionment, see Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002).

arguments for slavery, an approach that had been popular in America but was largely taboo in England.²⁴ This suggestion quickly inspired a backlash in the London press, with the most sustained attack coming from the Oxford don and Union supporter Goldwin Smith. While Hotze's *Index* remained aloof from this particular controversy, his newspaper continued to affirm the Christian underpinnings of Southern slavery and to stand by its early call for the faithful to experience a "conversion" in attitudes toward racial hierarchy. Recognizing that God sanctioned inequality, the paper had argued, depended less on pouring over ancient texts than in observing the actual workings of a world where hierarchy predominated almost everywhere.²⁵

Hotze learned the difficulties of associating slavery and religion in the wake of one of his boldest accomplishments—the mass distribution of the "Address of the Confederate Clergy to the World." He accomplished this task by ingenuously arranging to stitch an extra sheet of this letter into a quarter of a million bound copies of popular British Quarterlies. This propaganda victory was soon undermined, however, by the fiery response from a group of Scottish antislavery clergy, who seized upon the "Appeal's" glancing reference to slavery in forming a counterattack on the Confederacy. The Scottish manifesto that circulated through the press emphasized not the barbarity of the North (which had been the main theme of the Confederate clerical appeal) but the perfidy of the South. Confederates were under attack regardless of specific tactics, it seemed, since an overt embrace of slavery, an indirect reference, or an effort to distance themselves from the institution all drew hostile fire. Even in the pages of the *Index*, the "Appeal" became caught up in the slavery controversy, showing once more that Europeans' instinctive association of the Confederacy with slavery could not be countered by mere Confederate claims to scriptural fidelity.²⁶

By the time the uproar over the clergy dissipated, Hotze had already turned his attention to new ways of eliciting British support, having inserted himself

24. (London) *Times*, Jan. 6, 1863; Martin Crawford, *The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Times and America, 1850–1862* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1987), explains the earlier development of the *Times's* pro-Southern leanings.

25. Ron Bartour, "American Views on 'Biblical Slavery' 1835–1865, A Comparative Study," *Slavery & Abolition* 4 (1983): 41–55; Goldwin Smith, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* (Oxford: J. Henry and J. Parker, 1863); "The South and Slavery," *Index* Nov. 6, 1862, which focuses on Benjamin's Palmer's secession sermon; and "From an Englishman in the South," *Index*, June 26, 1862, which offers the conversion narrative.

26. "The Appeal of the Confederate Clergy," *Index*, June 18, 1863; Hotze to Benjamin, July 23, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:849–51; "Reply to the Address of the Confederate Clergy" (letter) and "The Scottish Reply" (leader column), *Index*, Nov. 5, 1863.

into the world of European anthropology, which was then making headlines in the London press. Two days after the *Times* printed its controversial remarks about the scriptural sanction for slavery came a second form of reactionary response to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation—the charter meeting of Dr. James Hunt's new scientific organization. Over time, the framework provided by this group would be far more effective than religious appeals in providing Confederates with an effective means of repelling assaults. The group's formation would allow Hotze over the following year and a half to reverse his attempt in the 1850s to infuse a project initiated by the American School with religious orthodoxy. Beginning in the summer of 1863, he began to approach the issue from the opposite direction, gradually abandoning his invocation of religious authority in favor of the authoritative insight that came from the supposedly disinterested realm of modern science.

It was early in the summer of 1863 that Hotze met Dr. James Hunt, the moving force behind the new Anthropological Society of London (ASL). Hunt set the terms of their relationship from the outset, urging the *Index* editor: "You should and must take a strong interest in our objects, for in us is your only hope that the negro's place in nature will ever be scientifically ascertained and fearlessly explained." Hotze eagerly responded to this suggested partnership between the new scientific organization and his own faltering propaganda campaign. When the Society convened on July 7, both Hotze and George Witt (who later joined the editorial staff of the *Index*) were elected to the group's fourteen-member council. By August, Hotze was impressed enough with the Society to predict, in a long letter to Secretary of State Judah Benjamin, that it represented evidence of an impending "reaction" that would soon "set in against certain fanatical beliefs of this century." As plans were under way for recalling Ambassador James Mason, and thus abandoning lingering hopes for British recognition, Hotze seized upon signs of more important progress outside official channels. He predicted that there would soon be an assault from within British culture itself on "the heresies that have gained currency in science and politics—of the equality of the races of men."²⁷

While Hunt was a self-conscious disciple of the Scottish racial theorist Robert Knox, he modeled the ASL on the Société d'Anthropologie, established in 1859 by the Paris scientist Paul Broca. Compared to its French counterpart, the ASL devoted far more attention in its meetings and publications to the politics of empire, slavery, and missionary activity in Africa and Asia. Hunt regularly

27. Hotze to Benjamin, Aug. 27, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:878; *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of London* 1 (1863): xxv.

insisted that scientific advances could be made only after the humanitarian tradition of earlier British ethnology was set aside, so that the impartial truths of “natural” racial differences could help statesmen solve such “practical” issues as whether they should recognize the Confederacy and how they should govern Britain’s nonwhite colonies.²⁸ Hunt’s fixation on “the Negro’s place in Nature,” as he titled his best-known and most controversial scientific paper, led some of his contemporaries to assume that the ASL was merely a front for Confederate sympathizers. Some recent historians have echoed this charge, noting the financial support Hotze provided to the organization in its opening year. The roster of Society fellows—which included Nott, (as a nonresident honorary member), Hotze, and other London-based Confederates such as George McHenry and Albert Taylor Bledsoe, and a wide range of pro-Southern Britons—lends some credibility to this assertion. Hotze’s financial support, however, should not be overstated, since his paltry £5 contribution to the ASL “Library fund” was a minuscule part of his own budget, and an even smaller part of the fund that Hunt’s group raised for its operating expenses.²⁹

While Hotze helped the ASL by serving on its council and modestly supporting its finances, his most important contribution was to publicize the group’s work in the *Index* and thus enter into a larger discussion circulating in the London press about the relationship of science and international politics. He first mentioned the organization in the summer of 1863 in an extended notice of the *Anthropological Review* that captured its combination of scientific empiricism and thoroughgoing reaction: “The most dangerous dogma of modern times, and that which, unconsciously to the majority of those who accept it, underlies every social, political, and religious heresy that mars our civilization, is the dogma of the equality of man. Our daily experience belies it, our instinctive convictions repudiate it, our constant

28. Helpful information about Hunt and his group can be found in Ronald Rainger, “Race, Politics, and Science: The Anthropological Society,” *Victorian Studies* 22 (Autumn 1978): 51–70, and George W. Stocking, “What’s in a Name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1837–1871,” *Man: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6 (1971): 369–90. Hunt’s own explanation of the group’s purposes was laid out in “Introductory Address on the Study of Anthropology,” *Anthropological Review* 1 (May 1863): 1–20. The less political nature of Broca’s group is evident in his lengthy summaries of the Paris proceedings in the LAS’s *Anthropological Review*.

29. Membership lists and budget figures provided in *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of London* 1 (1863): xxv; *Journal of the Anthropological Society* 2 (1864): xxiii; and 3 (1865): lxxv; Hotze’s expenses, including his contribution to the LAS are listed in J. F. Jameson, “The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service,” *American Historical Review* 35 (July 1930): 814–22. For accusations made in the 1860s about Hunt’s pro-Confederate sympathies, see Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians*, 149–50.

practice ignores it; and yet we continue to assert it, and in its various forms build upon it elaborate structures of theory.” This potent “heresy” of equality would be remedied only by wider knowledge, Hotze argued, insisting that fanaticism depended on the lack of impartial scientific information. The truths of inherent inequality had been hampered by the misguided attempt “to associate the study of human races with infidelity, or at least, skepticism.” Science had been grievously damaged by the apparent tension between biblical literalism and those “several distinct centers of creation” posited by scientists like the Harvard professor Louis Aggasiz.

As with his Gobineau translation, Hotze shifted the religious issue away from the contentious debate between monogenesisists, who insisted that all racial groups were descended from a common ancestor, and polygenesisists, who insisted on what they called “multiple creations.” Realizing how this debate inevitably led to a controversy over the Creation story of Genesis, Hotze emphasized that God’s “plan of salvation” included all human types, regardless of how the mystery of differences had come about. “As we do not measure a man’s claims to Divine mercy by the weight or texture of his brains, so neither need we those of races,” the paper explained, as he explicitly renounced the more extreme positions, taken up by some scientific racists, that nonwhite races lacked eternal souls. His notice then argued that traditional religious faith was threatened far more by ignoring racial differences than by embracing them. As he reasoned, “The shortest road to infidelity in morals, politics, and religion, is taken by him who sets out with the idea that all men are born equal in all respects, and that the apparent differences of later life are the results of external circumstances and accident.”³⁰

Hotze predicted a bright future for the new *Anthropological Review*, whose “catholic spirit” could be seen in a refusal to give either “favour or prejudice either for or against any preconceived theory.” Avoiding any “exclusive set of scientific tenets” meant that it could boldly follow the facts to their inevitable conclusions, without the encumbrances imposed on science by humanitarian blinders. The ASL’s “vigor, vitality,” and rapid growth all seemed evidence of its “promise of a brilliant career of usefulness,” Hotze predicted, following up this initial notice by a series of advertisements for the Society and its rapidly expanding series of publications. He gave special attention to Hunt’s “The Negro’s Place in Nature,” an effort that drew as much from the biting racial invective of Thomas Carlyle and George McHenry as it did from physical anthropology. In his remarks on that address, Hotze minimized its controversial tone and its role in undermining Hunt’s credibility among

30. “The Natural History of Man,” *Index*, July 23, 1863.

British scientists, choosing to praise the work as a “very able, learned, and truly philosophical paper” without delving into any of its details.³¹

Hotze was hesitant to connect the new anthropological society with the Confederate cause too directly, initially trusting readers to draw their own conclusions about the relevance of racial science to the Southern republic. In defending James Hunt, the *Index* was forthright enough to claim that “it must be apparent to the philanthropist and the Christian that the best condition of life in which the negro has until now been placed is that in which is found in the Confederate states.” Yet even here, he placed Southern slavery as one part of a larger hierarchical order, noting its similarity to the system of class hierarchy in England and to the dominance of men over women across human history. Each of these instances demonstrated that “intellectual inferiority, and consequent physical, political and social subordination, are not incompatible with happiness, which does not consist in equality, but in each one performing the part adapted to his or her capacity.”³²

Soon enough, however, the *Index* took on a more combative tone when addressing the issue of racial theory. In an angry response to a pro-emancipation article that appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, it lashed out that “if the negro is inherently, or through the effect of four thousand years of brutish barbarism, inferior to the white man, a mere act of legislation will not raise him to the level of his present master, no more than by emancipating a child from parental control you can give him the attitude of an adult.” The real problem, Hotze now contended, was that this fundamental truth had not been sufficiently emphasized by the likes of James Spence, the Liverpool merchant who had been the foremost Confederate spokesman in Great Britain in 1861 and 1862. The *Index* despaired that the South’s “most active and earnest friends in Europe have not ventured to speak this language in its full force.” Far better to have struck back earlier because, as the paper put it a month later: “A powerful prejudice may be likened to an infuriated wild beast; it is unwise to provoke its attack, but if attacked, there is no safety but in boldly confronting it. Truth must be fought for; it cannot be insinuated by a dexterous mixture with falsehood. . . . No cause has ever prospered which its advocates dared not wholly espouse.”³³

31. Hunt, “On the Negro’s Place in Nature,” in *Memoirs Read before the Anthropological Society of London* 1 (1863): 1–60, reprinted in *Index*, Nov. 26 and Dec. 3, 1863; “Anthropological Society of London,” *Index*, Nov. 19, 1863; “The Negro’s Place in Nature,” *Index*, Dec. 10, 1863.

32. “The Negro’s Place in Nature,” *Index*, Dec. 10, 1863.

33. “The ‘Edinburgh Review’ on the Negro,” *Index*, Jan. 21, 1864; “The Foul Blot,” *Index*, Feb. 18, 1864. The dispute between Hotze and James Spence is explained in Cullup, *Confederate Propaganda in Europe*, 45–47.

In covering new developments in racial anthropology, the *Index* regularly championed the impartiality that British science could achieve when stripped of those humanitarian concerns that had hid the truth from the broader public. This stance did little, however, to diminish the newspaper's own overt advocacy and its own tendency to move from facts to politics. In staking out new territory for the *Index* to cover, Hotze conveyed the same sense of heroic discovery that had marked his encounter with Gobineau, explaining how the "earnest, single desire to discover truth" was part of the "marvelous progress of physical science" that had evolved since "the days of Bacon." In doing so, he returned to the same connection between intellectual progress and racial hierarchy that Alexander Stephens had ventured in the "Cornerstone Speech," an effort that had compared fearless scientific racists to the astronomy of Galileo and the work on the circulation of the blood done by William Harvey. Calm scientific progress was harder to sustain, however, amid the sort of intense controversy that Hunt's efforts sparked among British scientists. The *Index* itself documented some of the scathing criticisms made of the methodology of the ASL when it printed Hunt's interchange with T. H. Huxley, one of the foremost Darwinians at the time. The overheated scientific controversy that followed compromised Hotze's own preference for consensus over conflict, which was as evident in his relationship with the ASL as it had been in his earlier attempts to temper the polemics of the American School during the Gobineau project.³⁴

Beginning in the spring of 1864, *Index* coverage of the ASL declined, in large part because Hotze shifted operations away from London, a move he made with the encouragement of his Richmond superiors. As his own contributions to the *Index* dwindled, the paper addressed issues of race and slavery primarily by reprinting other newspaper notices, a practice that continued until later that year, when Hotze returned to England and to full-time work for the newspaper.³⁵ This did not mean that the editor had dropped his interest in linking Confederate fortunes to the newest trends of scientific racism. If anything, his efforts grew even more ambitious as he worked to

34. "The Negro's Place in Nature" *Index*, Dec. 10, 1863; "The Negro's Place in Nature" (reprinted from the *Reader*), *Index*, Mar. 10 and 24, 1864. Hunt's own lecture implicitly invoked Huxley's "Man's Place in Nature," which earlier, in 1863, applied the Darwinian theory of natural selection to human evolution.

35. Hotze's travels can be tracked through both his private correspondence and his official dispatches, while his thoughts on how the *Index* should be guided in his absence are best conveyed in his letter to John George Witt, Aug. 11, 1864, Hotze papers. Among the more relevant clippings made in his absence were "The Negro" (from the *Richmond Enquirer*) and "A Southern View of Miscegenation" (from the *Richmond Dispatch*) in *Index*, Mar. 24 and May 12, 1864.

bolster racial science beyond the coverage his own newspaper provided. His activities certainly grew more cosmopolitan, as Hotze extended work meant primarily for a British public to a far wider range of European audiences.

Months before taking on his duties on the Continent, Hotze had begun to consider the subtle national differences that existed between England, whose “antislavery prejudice” was notorious, and the attitude of other European countries. While the British might be the most outspoken opponents of slavery, they also impressed Hotze as the most likely converts to scientific racism. Comparing them to the French, Hotze privately explained how it was “much easier for the English accustomed to a hierarchy of classes at home and to a haughty dominion abroad, to understand a hierarchy of races.” Convinced that his work with the *Index* and the ASL had yielded results, he boasted a few months later about the “enormous progress we have made in English public opinion.” He drew attention to two pro-Confederate pamphlets written by British authors, hailing these efforts as “genuine fruits of English thought” rather than the sort of American transplants that he had circulated in the *Index* at the beginning of his mission. In accounting for the shift, he relied once more on the metaphor of a disease and the salutary effects of his own propaganda work. “The virus of antislavery prejudice was in the blood,” he wrote. “No external application could cure it; but the antidote is now entered into the blood also, and follows it in its circulation through the body literary and politic.”³⁶

Shifting attention to the Continent was a mark of Hotze’s confidence in the recovery of the British public from its once-diseased understanding. He considered that France would be a far more challenging case, since he perceived scant popular feeling there for the Confederacy, despite the clear Southern sympathies of Emperor Louis Napoleon. Perhaps remembering Gobineau’s earlier reluctance to extend his racialism to a defense of American slavery, Hotze noted that too much had been made of French distaste of “violent antislavery demonstrations.” In fact, he believed that Frenchmen were “far more dangerous and difficult to deal with” because they classed slavery “with atheism, socialism, or other topics, on which however eccentric one’s views may be or however certain one is of the secret sympathy of one’s hearers, it is a rule of decency and decorum not to make them the subject of argument or to obtrude them upon well-bred ears.” The difficulty had its origins in the upheaval of the French Revolution, Hotze suggested, noting that “the apostles of universal equality . . . who sacrificed so much to their creed” were likely to cling to error longer than those without such commitments.³⁷

36. Hotze to Benjamin, Sept. 26, 1863, and Dec. 26, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:916, 984.

37. Hotze to Benjamin, Sept. 26, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:916; Seymour Drescher’s superb

Hotze's doubts about his French prospects gradually changed. He initially suspected that "all the intelligence, the science, the social respectability" there was "leagued with the ignorance and radicalism in a deep-rooted antipathy, rather than active hostility, against us." After a series of disillusioning encounters with Parisian newspapermen, he despaired of having the same success in the French press that he had experienced in London. But he did surmise after a stay of several weeks that "the most promising approach to the French public mind seems to me to be through the men of science," who were "far advanced in correct views of the place assigned by Providence to different branches of the human family." French scientists had fostered polygenesis far more aggressively than their British counterparts in the early nineteenth century, and by the early 1860s there was a critical mass of racialists, represented by historicists like Gobineau and scientists such as Paul Broca (who regularly corresponded with Hunt's ASL about his own work on racially distinct characteristics of the human brain), Alfred de Maury (who had earlier collaborated with Nott), and Armand de Quatrefages (professor at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle and a pioneer anthropologist). Hotze did not record his interactions with any of these individuals, though all were in Paris at the time except Gobineau, who was then representing the French government on a consular mission abroad. It seems likely, however, that Hotze knew how to make others aware of his own racist credentials in his American School translation of Gobineau and his most recent work with the ASL.³⁸

Hotze purveyed racial doctrines in two other ways during 1864—by initiating regular dispatches through the French telegraph service and by arranging for the publication of pamphlets and books that he believed would help spread racist principles across Europe. The first of these projects involved inundating the French public with material favorable to the Confederacy, doing so at a time when there was considerable interest in how slaves initially experienced freedom. Believing that "it is not one newspaper article, nor a dozen, but hundreds that effect public opinion at large," Hotze concluded that "reiteration is the most powerful argument with the hundreds of thousands who take their opinions at second hand."

comparison of French and British racialism bears out some of Hotze's insights; see his "The Ending of the Slave Trade and the Evolution of European Scientific Racism," *Social Science History* 14 (1990): 415–50.

38. Hotze to Benjamin, Sept. 26, 1863, Mar. 12, 1864, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:916, 1061. Elizabeth A. Williams, "Anthropological Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France," *Isis* 76 (Sept. 1985): 331–48. It was unlikely that Hotze met Gobineau at this time, since he was in the midst of shifting his French diplomatic post from Persia to Greece; see Biddis, *Father of Racist Ideology*, 181–96.

A careful selection of items showing the Confederate military in the best possible light and Union emancipation in the worst possible light seemed the best way to sway European opinion. "If we can only induce or coax people to look across the Atlantic, the facts themselves will soon speak for themselves, and with more eloquence than rhetoric can give them," Hotze wrote to Benjamin. Securing the cooperation of the Havas agency—which he described as the French equivalent of the Associated Press—assured that Confederates would have "a hearing in journals of every shade of opinion, even those most fiercely opposed to us."³⁹

An international publication program was the final aspect of Hotze's campaign to tie Confederate fortunes to emerging European racialism. He had commissioned and financed particularly useful books and pamphlets since 1862, when he helped launch a German translation of James Spence's *The American Union*.⁴⁰ Yet with his move to the Continent late in 1863, Hotze shifted his agenda toward a notably greater emphasis on slavery and race.⁴¹ Besides arranging to reprint the *Brief Reply to Goldwin Smith*, which offered a rare British attempt to affirm the scriptural basis of slavery, Hotze collaborated with other Confederate sympathizers to produce racial polemics for Italian, French, and English readers.

Perhaps the most interesting of the books Hotze sponsored was Fillipo Manetta's *La Razza Negra*, which was published in Turin in 1864. Manetta's earlier residence on a Virginia plantation made him one of the leading Southern supporters in Italy. While family obligations kept him from accepting Hotze's suggestion to join the "great crisis" brewing in New York during the presidential election year of 1864, he did agree to arrange a collection of anti-black racial theories addressed to the Italian public. His harsh depiction of the "negro race" harkened all the way back to Virgil for material, though the

39. Hotze to Benjamin, Feb. 13, Apr. 16, and May 7, 1864, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:1025, 1091, 1115–16.

40. Jameson, in "The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service," details Hotze's publishing expenses for 1862–63, which included not only the Spence translation but also the 200,000 copies of the *Address to Christians*, Frank Howard Key's *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles*, his own *La Questionne Mexicaine* (which was actually published in 1864); J. W. Colwell, *Southern Secession* (largely an attack on federal tariff policy), the anonymous *L'Alliance Russo-Americaine*, and a series of posters depicting the new "Southern Cross," adopted by the Confederacy as a national flag, which alone cost over \$500.

41. Hotze financed several pamphlets in 1864 unrelated to black slavery, including: Sir Hugh Cairns's *Alexandra Case*; *Vigilans, The Foreign Enlistment Acts of England and America: The "Alexandra" & the Rams*; a facsimile of Dahlgren Papers (published in the *Autographic Mirror*); and Lord C. Howard, *Emigration*, which was printed and distributed in Ireland. These are listed in Jameson, "The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service."

bulk of his examples came from works written in the late 1850s and early 1860s by Hunt, Broca, Carl Vogt, Richard Burton, J. H. Van Evrie, James Spence, William Mallet, George McHenry, and Edward Pollard. Soon after the book appeared, the *Index* noted the “care in the compilation of his authorities and skill in the disposition of the various parts of his subject,” making sure also to “welcome heartily every work which will aid in dispelling the gross ignorance in which the history and nature of the negro race has long been veiled.”⁴²

Hotze addressed a quite different racial antagonism in a self-authored French work that invoked the supposed ethnic strife between a “Latin” South and an “Anglo-Saxon” North. This pamphlet represented a departure for Hotze, who had minimized Gobineau’s focus on racial variety among whites in the 1850s and had largely ignored Confederate theorizing about supposed racial differences between Northern Saxon and Southern Normans in the pages of the *Index*.⁴³ Yet his own *La Questionne Mexicaine* explained how French colonization of the New World would ensure the supremacy of “la race latine” in South America, echoing the propaganda of Napoleon III and other French advocates of imperial projects in the New World. In the process, Hotze also managed to vindicate the racial stewardship of Confederates, contrasting the “yoke” of servitude imposed on Indians by Southern races with the extermination of native peoples by Northern races. Early in 1865, he returned to the theme of racial hostility among whites in an *Index* review of another French pamphlet, affirming that “the antagonism of race has certainly exercised its influences upon the movement which has separated the South from the North.” This ethnic clash, he was then quick to point out, was only one part of a much larger conflict and clearly was not as basic or important as those racial differences separating white and black.⁴⁴

42. Filippo Manetta, *La Razza Negra nel suo Stato Selvaggio in Africa e nella sua Duplice Condizione di Emancipata e di Schiava in America* (Turin: Commercio, 1864); Hotze to Benjamin, Sept. 27, 1863, *ORN*, ser. II, 3:878; Hotze to Manetta, June 18, 1864, in Hotze Papers, Library of Congress; “La Razza Negra,” *Index*, Jan. 5, 1865. Interestingly, Manetta did not invoke the foremost Italian ethnologist of the period, Giusiniano Nicolucci, whose work is surveyed in “Italian Anthropology,” *Anthropological Review* 2 (Feb. 1864): 30–38.

43. Hotze touched briefly on the theory of a “Norman” and “Saxon” racial conflict in “The Colonial History of Virginia,” *Index*, July 3, 1862, but did not elaborate at any length.

44. [Henry Hotze], *La Question Mexicaine at la Colonization Française* (London, 1864), 28–34; “The American Question in 1864,” *Index*, Jan. 19, 1865. Hotze claimed authorship for this pamphlet in his dispatch to Benjamin of Feb. 13, 1864, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:1024. Earlier, Hotze had suggested that support for the French in Mexico be based even more explicitly on racialism, advocating a pamphlet that would invoke the “strong and eloquent passages” from Gobineau’s *Essai* and champion the “two master races” of the Latin French and the Anglo-Norman Confederates. See his Aug. 23, 1863, “Sketch of proposed pamphlet on Mexico,” in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:868–70.

Hotze continued to direct his antiblack racism to English-reading audiences in 1864 as well, publishing Charles Morehead's rebuke of the Emancipation Proclamation, reprinting recent presidential addresses from Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and supporting George McHenry, a Confederate sympathizer in London who had written widely about both race and the international cotton trade. Morehead's address elaborated at some length on how "the breath of the President's proclamation" had "swept like a deadly sirocco over a large portion of the once beautiful valley of the Mississippi, leaving in its track one unvarying scene of devastation and ruin." Those who lost the most in this disaster were the slaves, Morehead argued, "for whose liberty rivers of blood have been shed." The innate incapacity of African Americans for freedom was made worse by Federal complicity in their "extermination," he continued, visiting a point that Hotze made indirectly in contrasting Lincoln's messages with those pleas for white paternalism that Davis had issued.⁴⁵

Hotze's support for McHenry suggests some of the enduring connections between the work of Confederate propagandists and the broader scope of European racialism in the 1860s. McHenry had spent his early career in Philadelphia, where he became an enthusiastic Democrat, a doctrinaire racist, and an expert on the cotton trade. During the Civil War, he established himself as one of the most vocal supporters of the Confederacy in Europe, though his efforts cost him his personal fortune. The £300 advance that he received from Hotze in 1864 (which was far more than Hotze made to any other individual) allowed McHenry to stay in Europe, where he would continue to be active in the ASL for the rest of the decade. Continuing to be a regular participant at this group's meetings, McHenry spoke out more frequently than any other member about American matters, applying the lessons of the late Southern rebellion to the problems of Jamaica and elsewhere. Of course, by that point, the cause of Confederate independence had been lost. Matters were far less clear, however, when it came to the cause of racial hierarchy.⁴⁶

Comparative studies make clear that systematic racial theories have tended to expand most vigorously when slavery and other traditional systems of racial

45. Charles Slaughter Morehead, *Slavery and President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation* (London, 1864). Copies of the reprinted presidential addresses are now quite scarce, though Hotze notes an expenditure of £14, or roughly three times the cost of the Morehead pamphlet.

46. The funds for McHenry are discussed in a series of letters, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:1207–12. McHenry's career is helpfully surveyed in Charles Francis Adams, "McHenry on the Cotton Crisis, 1865," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 47 (Mar. 1914): 279–87; "McHenry on the Negro as a Freedman," *Popular Magazine of Anthropology* 1 (Jan. 1866): 36–39.

order have come under attack.⁴⁷ That was certainly the case for Hotze's wartime embrace of scientific racism, which coincided with his own realization that Southern slavery might be on the verge of collapse. In publicly considering the possibility of emancipation, Hotze situated Confederate fortunes within the British consensus, which had always been a key part of his mission. Yet as he discussed race and slavery from the fall of 1863 through the spring of 1865, his own priorities underwent a more radical reorientation. Conceding that divinely sanctioned white supremacy might be achieved outside the context of chattel bondage led Hotze to consider, if only for a brief time, how he might help arrange America's postbellum racial landscape. He considered the United States itself ready for the same sort of racial reeducation he had provided Europeans. Yet his shift in attention from slavery to race was hardly an isolated event, especially if one considers his career within the broader history of European theories of racial difference.

Hotze first publicly endorsed a limited plan of emancipation in September 1863, in response to British rumors that his government was planning a mass enlistment of slave soldiers. The *Index* addressed this rumor with a forthrightness meant to impress readers with its candor, simultaneously warning against "subverting on one blow the whole social fabric of a great country" and recognizing the "immensely superior practical prospect" of moving from bondage to freedom by first subjecting slaves to Confederate military discipline. In his private dispatches to Secretary of State Benjamin, Hotze noted the advantage Southern partisans had gained by emphasizing that political independence was more important than their stake in black slaves. "In suppressing all surprise, and in treating the reported measure not only as possible but even probable," he noted, Confederate sympathizers in Europe "made the greatest step yet made toward blunting the sharp edge of the unreasoning hostility to our institutions and conciliating wavering sympathies, and this without compromising, but, on the contrary, strengthening their position."⁴⁸

47. George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History*; Seymour Drescher, "The Ending of the Slave Trade and the Evolution of European Scientific Racism"; Thomas Holt, "An Empire over the Mind: Emancipation, Race, and Ideology in the British West Indies and the American South," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982). In this context, appeals to racial science could function to blunt abolition in an effort to discredit it, to provide an alternative to slavery as a basis for racial order, or to alternate between these positions.

48. "Arming the Negro," *Index*, Sept. 10, 1863; Hotze to Benjamin, Sept. 26, 1863, *ORN*, ser. II, 3:915. Bruce Levine presents the Confederate debate over emancipation as a potential "revolution from above," which, like other such nineteenth-century conservative campaigns, was meant to manage rather than capitulate to change. See "What Did We Go to War For? Confederate Emancipation and Its Meaning," in *The American Civil War: Explorations and Reconsiderations*, ed. Susan-Mary Grant and Brian Holden Reid (New York: Longman, 2000).

While Hotze realized the strategic gains from accepting the possibility of Confederate-sponsored emancipation, he was careful to avoid “making any concessions of essential points, or compromising the truth” in staking out his advanced position. Appealing to the transcendent power of race was crucial in this regard: doing so allowed him to probe how white supremacy might be achieved in a range of social institutions, rather than only within the particular legal system of chattel slavery. Hotze typically endorsed the ASL by assuring readers that he was “not engaged in defending or even in treating of slavery in the abstract.” Accompanying this denial was the admission that “it would be illogical for us to assert . . . that the peculiar institution of the South is the only system that meets the requirements of the negro.”⁴⁹ Hotze’s private correspondence from this same period revealed how he was reworking his commitment to slavery by making a more fundamental commitment to racial hierarchy. Writing to Manetta in Turin, Hotze cautiously endorsed slavery “reform” by warning that changes must “surely be made by the South itself,” and not “through foreign and violent interference, nor during the progress of this war.” The same week, he urged the French editor of a leading daily newspaper that slavery was “less a question of property than it is a form of civil government over an inferior race only a few generations removed from barbarism, and equal in numbers to one-third of the master race.”⁵⁰

For Hotze, Confederate willingness to grant freedom to its slaves further contrasted Southern nobility to Northern cupidity. What Hotze called the “polluted and dishonored stars and stripes” had become as much “the symbol of dominion and tyranny” for slaves as for Confederates, he argued, because African American’s “liberation” had come at an enormous price to those it intended to help. He predicted that by establishing freedom “the Confederate States will stand distinguished for the most courageous experiment of emancipation on record, an experiment on so unprecedented a scale that the boasted self-sacrifices of other nations in distant nations sink beside it into utter insignificance.” Southern whites would continue to be the best steward of black people even after their freedom, especially compared to the rule of Yankees, which would bring African Americans “the direst calamity,” by “subject[ing] them to a tyranny under which their sufferings would be more horrible than those endured by their race when the saints of New England imported them into America in ships not fit for the stowage of swine.”⁵¹

49. “The Negro’s Place in Nature,” *Index*, Dec. 10, 1863.

50. Hotze to Manetta, Aug. 17, 1863, Hotze to Felix Aucaigne, Aug. 21, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:864–65, 868.

51. “Arming the Negro,” *Index*, Sept. 19, 1863; “Abolitionism and the Negro,” *Index*, Oct 20, 1864; “The Southern Press and Negro Emancipation,” *Index*, Jan. 19, 1865. In warning of the

At the same time that Hotze called attention to Northern hatred of black people, he warned of broader disasters that might follow Republican attempts to undermine white authority. In the pages of the *Index*, Hotze mustered calm determination in writing that “emancipation settles no question; it simply opens that which slavery had practically, or at least temporarily, solved.” He sounded a more dire note in proposing to Benjamin Wood, the New York editor, *Peace Democrat*, and Negrophobe, how the “Africanization of the Union” by congressional Radicals could be stopped with a united front of white supremacists. “I will never believe that, however inscrutable be the ways of Providence, it is the Divine will that the fair American continent should everywhere present the miserable spectacle of the South and Central American Republics,” Hotze insisted, adding that “if there is manhood and common sense enough to construct a white man’s government out of the smouldering ruins that negrophilism and all the other accursed issues of your section have left I should like to have my part in the work.” To Joel Cook, a Philadelphia journalist and future Democratic congressman, he sounded a similar theme, identifying the “seeds of civil war” in the struggle then under way among Northern voters over whether the restored Union would remain a “white man’s government” or plunge into an abyss of degeneracy and ruin.⁵²

In considering a renewed partnership with the Northern Democracy, Hotze intended not only to shape Reconstruction policy but also to save his *Index* from financial collapse. There was an emotional and professional dimension to his plans in this regard, because he had developed for the paper “the same weakness that a man has for an estate which he has amassed by his own industry and perseverance.” As funds provided to the journal by the Jefferson Davis administration disappeared, Hotze searched for new means of sustaining his enterprise, considering how a cheap American edition might play an important role in the process of restoring the white South to its rightful place in the Union. A series of letters to friends in America and England primarily concerned logistics of determining the proper circulation and the means of eliciting regular correspondents from the South as well as from those Caribbean planters who had lived through the post-emancipation challenges for a quarter of a century. He was not alone in imagining such a publishing program. Journals conducted by Edward Pollard, James DeBow,

possible black extinction in freedom, Hotze drew on a broader tradition that is usefully set forth in Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003).

52. “The Impending Revolution,” *Index*, Apr. 27, 1865; Hotze to Wood, Apr. 21, 1865, and Hotze to Joel Cook, Apr. 22, 1865, both in Hotze Papers.

and Benjamin Wood, to name only three Reconstruction-era editors, were relatively successful in bringing together in print former Confederates, Northern Democrats, and the latest in antiblack racial invective.⁵³

As Hotze contemplated an American audience, he began to despair about the fate of his efforts to influence European consideration of racial hierarchy. His pessimism about the Old World was clear enough in remarks made late in 1864, when he wrote Benjamin that the “dark thunderclouds” indicated that “the whole card house of the reconstructed post-Napoleonic Europe” might “suddenly be swept away in one tremendous deluge of blood.” Through the opening weeks of 1865, the *Index* explained in a recurring editorial header that chief among the reasons for Confederate failure was “the perplexity, to the European mind, of the unsolved and unprecedented problems involved in the management and education of four millions of the African race, intermingled with a population of the highest Caucasian type.” Despite the progress that had been made in the ASL and elsewhere, European opinion had remained hostile to the South and its institutions. While this had been a catastrophe for the South, Hotze sensed greater dangers that would engulf all societies that continued to tolerate what he considered the false and dangerous embrace of equality among the races.⁵⁴

Hotze’s attempt to save the *Index* failed, though that did not mean that he abandoned propaganda work altogether. His obituary from the 1880s listed a number of efforts he took on behalf of European governments, though the nature of these assignments is murky. At least during the immediate postwar period, he remained involved in Hunt’s Anthropological Society as well. In May 1865, he attended the farewell dinner that the ASL held for Captain Richard Burton, listening while Hunt denied that his group had been “established for the advocacy of negro slavery” or that it had made any provocative attempt to assail religious orthodoxy. “Our object is something far higher and more noble than the mere proposition of infidel opinions,” Hunt had said on that occasion, insisting to a friendly audience that “we have to discover what is true.” Hotze seemed to agree, returning in 1866 and 1867 to take the same position on the ASL council he had relinquished in 1865. In these critical years, the popular uproar over racial conflict in Jamaica convinced the group to shift its attention away from the London

53. Jack P. Maddex Jr., *The Reconstruction of Edward A. Pollard: A Rebel’s Conversion to Postbellum Unionism* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1974); Otis Clark Skipper, *J. D. B. De Bow, Magazinish of the Old South* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1958).

54. Hotze to Benjamin, May 7, 1864, ORN, ser. II, 3:1117; Editorial Note, *Index*, Jan. 19, 1865.

scientific community and to attempt a project of educating a wider public, both through its new *Popular Journal of Anthropology* and through a series of popular lectures on scientific racism across Great Britain.⁵⁵

The ASL activity was one of several signs of new allies for the defeated planters of the Confederate South. Ironically, it was only with Confederate defeat that Hotze was able to accomplish his stated intention to remove the “intellectual blockade” that separated Southern whites from “communion with the rest of mankind.” On the issue of race, if not of slavery, Southern norms and European attitudes would come to be far closer to each other in the late 1860s than they had been for decades. The *Index* played a role by helping a body of information and ideas to flow back and forth across the Atlantic. Hotze illustrated this by reprinting a Richmond report, made early in 1864, which noted how “intelligent persons in Europe” were steadily progressing toward the Southern views of African Americans. This article pointed out that “one of the benefits of this war is that it is developing a statistical and moral defense of our peculiar institution, which sentimentalism will assail in vain, and which the most adventurous representation can never surmount.”⁵⁶

In the seventy-five years that followed the American Civil War, western racialism would flourish, as the body of pseudoscientific ideas from earlier decades became the basis for a series of “race states” or “overtly racist regimes” that appeared in Europe, in South Africa, and in the Jim Crow American South. While Hotze was lost to the historical record in these years, his vision of an international racist consensus proved to be ahead of its time. Gobineau’s prediction of the eventual importance of his *Essai sur l’Inégalité des Races Humaines* was realized by this work’s popularization by Richard Wagner, Houston Chamberlain, and Oscar Levy, whose 1915 translation made the work available to English readers for the first time since Hotze’s 1856 edition.⁵⁷ From the perspective of the early twentieth century, there was something portentous about the pledge Hotze made to Gobineau as a young man in the 1850s, when he wrote: “If you allow me the honor,

55. Hotze obituary quoted in Cullop, *Confederate Propaganda*. Hotze’s attendance at Hunt’s speech is noted in “Farewell Dinner to Captain Burton,” *Anthropological Review* 3 (May 1865): 167–82. His election to the council is recorded in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 4 (1866): lxxxi, and 5 (1867): lxxi. The activities of the ASL between the Civil War and its demise in 1869 are detailed in Stocking, “What’s in a Name?”

56. “Our Name,” *Index*, May 1, 1862; “Editorial,” *Index*, May 15, 1862; “The Negro” reprint from the *Richmond Enquirer*, *Index*, Mar. 24, 1864.

57. Hannaford, *Race*; Fredrickson, *Racism*; Gobineau famously noted in 1873 that “I shall only come to be appreciated a hundred years after my death”; see Biddis, *Father of Racist Ideology*, 271.

I shall be your first disciple, and a zealous one you may be assured of ever finding me.” His invitation for Gobineau to “command me” in advancing the racialist cause would have chilling echoes during the first forty years of the twentieth century, as would Hotze’s vision of the time when “in every European capital” there would be “a zealous and able man who thoroughly understands [Southern] institutions and ourselves, and who has the power and the will to vindicate us against our enemies’ calumnies.”⁵⁸

The strength of modern racialism depended on its associations with the supposedly impartial realm of science and on its seemingly universal application across national borders. As such, its articulation depended on individuals who were capable of forging cosmopolitan intellectual connections between different societies. Statesmen and informal diplomats like Hotze thus played a key role in making racialism a universal political norm, and allowing the fundamental principles of racial hierarchy to inform policies of those wielding government power. Diplomatic interactions were a key means of achieving this international legitimacy of race in political terms, as the cases of the ambassador Gobineau and the editor Hotze make clear for the mid-nineteenth century. In an earlier period, the racial theories proposed by the future secretary of state Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* had first been sparked by a French consul, who was seeking information about a young American republic that might become his country’s most important ally. In the 1890s, Anglo-Saxon racialism would be invoked within a similar context of international interchange by men like Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Chamberlain, who offered a “white man’s burden” that pushed British and American rivals to pursue common racial goals. Such maneuvers helped governments appreciate their shared racial interests and helped to legitimize the increasingly common practices of racial dominance and state-enforced racial purity.⁵⁹

This racialist consensus among the great powers developed after the American Civil War had dealt the last blow to international cooperation in the area

58. Hotze to Gobineau in *Rassenwerk*, 199–200; Hotze to Benjamin, Aug. 27, 1863, in *ORN*, ser. II, 3:876.

59. For Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia*, see Dain, *Hideous Monster of the Mind*; for the international politics of late-nineteenth-century racialism, see Leslie Butler, *Cultivating America: Victorian Intellectuals and Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, forthcoming); Paul Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910,” *Journal of American History* 88 (Mar. 2002): 1315–53; and Wolfgang Mock, “The Function of ‘Race’ in Imperialist Ideologies: The Example of Joseph Chamberlain,” in *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914*, ed. Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (London, 1981), 190–92 n.3.

of slavery. Yet in the end, the agreement of American and European whites about their mission to govern “darker races” would prove no more durable than that international consensus that had underlay slavery prior to the age of Revolution. Global tensions of the early twentieth century would expose underlying fractures, and the massive military conflict of the 1940s would discredit overt racialism in fundamental, lasting ways comparable to the discrediting of slavery in the 1860s. The global disavowal of official racialism was pushed forward less by scientific developments than by the defeat of Nazism; among the political developments that continued the trend were decolonization in Africa, the American civil rights movement, and the freedom struggle against apartheid mounted by black South Africans. By the end of the twentieth century, formal, state-sponsored racialism was every bit as illegitimate, and as shameful, as bondage had become a hundred years earlier.

Such developments culminated a very big story, whose geographical and chronological breadth deserves to be taken seriously. Only by taking the long view can Henry Hotze’s Civil War mission be appreciated as something more than a relatively minor, albeit intriguing, aspect of Confederate foreign policy. Of greater import was what might be considered the dual character of his wartime work. On the one hand, initiatives he took across Europe represented a late episode in the history of New World slavery, demonstrating as they did the futility of carrying American slavery into the last third of the nineteenth century. On the other, his commitment to racialism anticipated an early chapter of a darker, more modern story, when twentieth-century governments took up the nineteenth century’s most pestilent ideas and implemented them with thoroughness and malice, until another global war marked their end.

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