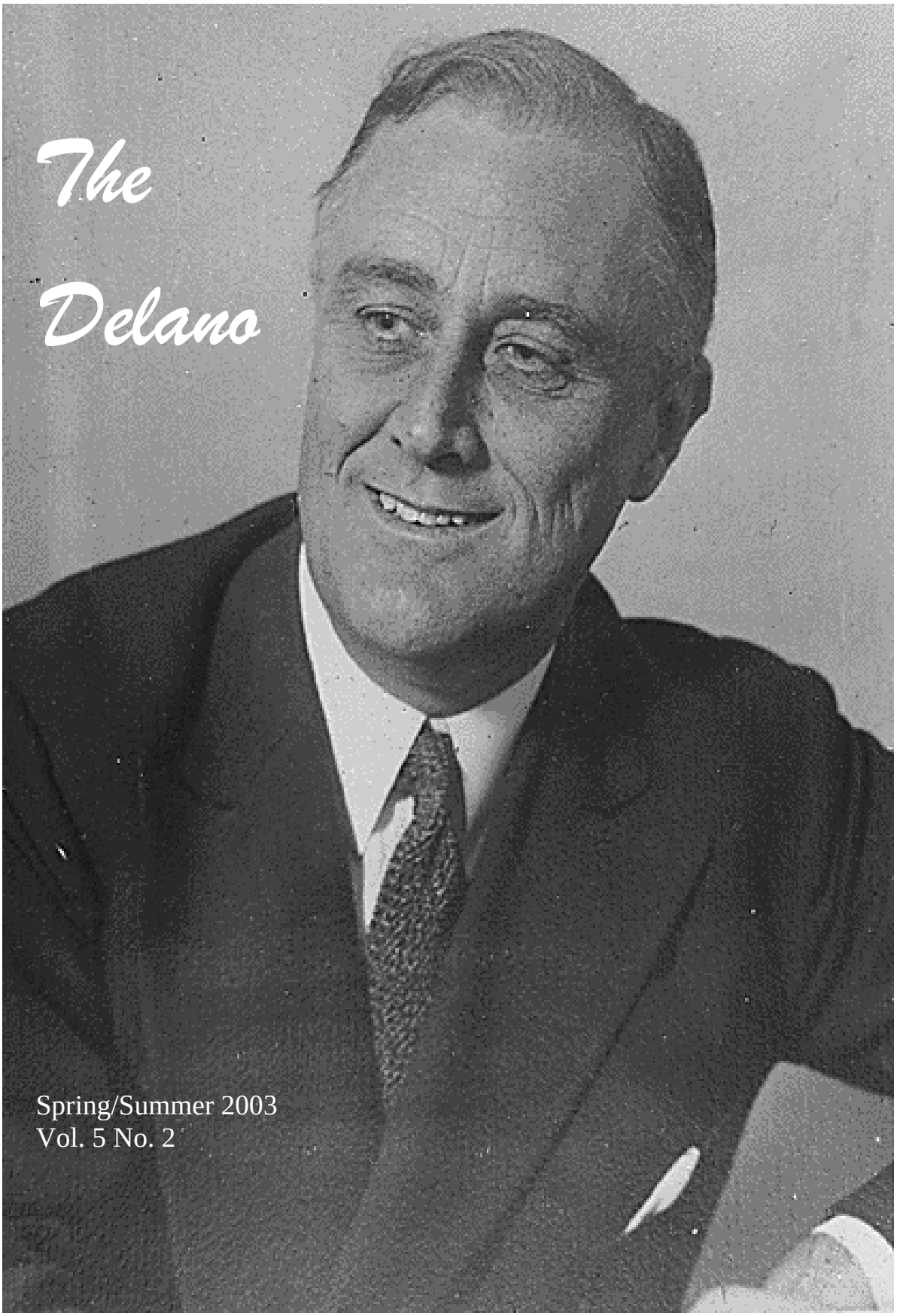

The Delano

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About the Journal

The Delano is the student journal of Roosevelt University's chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society. The journal is named to honor Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Since 2001, the chapter has been publishing the journal twice a year. In the past, the chapter accepted research papers, book reviews, poetry, and reflections on visits to places of historical interest for submission. Non-members are welcome to submit work.

This current issue has been co-sponsored by the Center for New Deal Studies at Roosevelt University, and copy editing done by the Center's director and Phi Alpha Theta/Kappa-Upsilon faculty advisor, Margaret Rung.

All submissions should be typed in Microsoft Word, version 97 or better. Submissions must have footnotes as outlined in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please submit a hard copy and the computer file to the faculty advisor.

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Introduction

The Battle of Gettysburg was one of the most important battles fought in the Civil War. For three days in 1863, from July 1 until July 3, the Confederate and Union armies battled each other at the small Pennsylvania town. The battle ended when the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, General Lee, put to rest any other future plans for invading the North after he was repulsed from Union territory. Historians have studied and analyzed nearly every aspect of the three-day battle, making it one of the most examined events in United States history. Even with all of this attention, however, certain aspects remain underappreciated – namely the presence and role that the 82nd Illinois played during part of the battle. The 82nd Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment was the only infantry regiment from Illinois that participated in the battle. Beyond its contribution to perhaps the most pivotal battle of the war, its significance to Illinois history alone deserves further attention and study. With the majority of the regiment originating from the Chicagoland area, its relevance to Chicago history should not be ignored. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the regiment, in itself a reflection of Chicago, past, present and future, reinforces the need to bring closer examination to its organization and actions. Primarily thought of as a German-American ethnic regiment at its formation, the 82nd Illinois actually contained a wide variety of immigrant volunteers. These were groups that normally would not have socialized with one another in their everyday lives. The individuals who joined and participated in the 82nd Illinois shared a common historical experience and are important to a wider understanding of the Civil War era. The questions as to who these men were and what their role was during the Battle of Gettysburg present fundamental inquiries that need answering and will be addressed during this study.

The Seeds of Formation

The most important fact about the regiment was that the 82nd Illinois was an all-volunteer organization. The men who joined the regiment chose to become members, and were not forced to join because of any federal government conscription requirements. The regiment's creation took place at Camp Butler, Springfield, Illinois, on September 26, 1862, and it was mustered into service on October 23 of that same year. The 82nd started that autumn with nearly a thousand men, the usual regimental strength, and would end the war with barely three hundred soldiers three years later. During the battle of Gettysburg, the 82nd alone suffered over one hundred casualties.

The regiment was divided into eleven companies, A through K. More than two thirds of the men were immigrants living in the Chicago area. Almost all of the enlisted men were

Germans[1] of various religions or Scandinavians. For example, Company C was entirely Jewish, while Company I was Scandinavian.[2] The regiment was a combination of groups that would not normally have mixed socially. In turn, the officers reflected the ethnic mix of their men.

The men of the 82nd Illinois came from four main areas of Illinois: Cook County, where Chicago is located, St. Clair county, which is located in Southern Illinois adjacent to St. Louis, Missouri, and McLean and Peoria counties, which have a more central location, being north of Springfield. A small number of men also came from outside Illinois. Their previous residences ranged from St. Louis, where it was easy enough to make the crossing over the Mississippi and join in St. Clair County, to as far away as New York City. The surprising quantity of men who joined from Southern Illinois helped to fight off the area's pro-Confederate stigma. Since that region is located next to Missouri and Kentucky, many government officials believed that Confederate sympathizers would hamper Union efforts. The large German immigrant population living in St. Clair County, however, strongly supported the Union cause, quickly filling the enlistment quotas. The volunteers from southern Illinois were just as willing to fight for the Union cause as their patriot brothers from Chicago and northern Illinois.

Chicago at the formation of the 82nd Illinois was a city at the forefront of progress. In fewer than thirty years, Chicago had grown from a frontier outpost for fur traders to a bustling city in the heart of the Old Northwest Territory. The immigrants who made their way to Chicago, established residency, and eventually volunteered for the 82nd came to the city looking for economic and political opportunities. According to historian Theodore Karamanski, the growing community by the lake "was still as raw, socially fluid, and alive with opportunity as the frontier, but metropolitan enough to yearn to be recognized as one of America's great cities. . . . The great boomtown of the mid-nineteenth century was a magnet for people. The population of Chicago tripled between 1850 and 1860, with more than half of the newcomers coming from abroad."[3] People from around the world heard about the prospects of Chicago and migrated to the Mecca of the Old Northwest.

The diversity found in the 82nd Illinois (ethnic and religious) reflected the changing nature of not only Chicago and Illinois society, but also American society in general. The 1850's witnessed an increase in non-English speaking immigrants entering the United States from central Europe. By 1860, Illinois contained one of the largest populations of immigrants: "Of the 324,643 immigrants the census recorded there that year, 130,804 were German. . . . About 10,000 Scandinavians, mostly Swedes and Norwegians, were the only

[1] For the purpose of this study, even though a unified German nation did not exist yet, the immigrants from the various German states will be treated collectively as a German ethnic entity.
[2] Transcribed by Susan Tortorelli, 1997, *82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment History: Adjutant General's Report* [on-line], The ILGenWeb Project, 1997 [cited 9 October 2002]. Available from World Wide Web: (http://www.rootsweb.com/~ilcivilw/history/082.htm).

[3] Theodore J. Karamanski, *Rally 'Round the Flag: Chicago and the Civil War* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1993), pp. 3-4.

others of political significance. Chicago had more foreign-born than native Americans, while the counties opposite St. Louis [in Illinois] held large numbers of Germans. The 'foreign vote' was a formidable one in the Prairie State."[4] Immigrants began to establish themselves as an emerging economic and social force in Illinois. With the outbreak of the Civil War, volunteers of the 82nd and the other regiments, who were used to capitalizing on the successes found in a booming new metropolis, knew an opportunity when they saw one.

The Germans, who immigrated to Illinois and specifically to Chicago, differed economically and socially from one another. They were not necessarily a homogeneous group of immigrants following a rigid set of predetermined characteristics: "Reflecting Germany's uneven economic development and varied cultural heritage, these diverse regions of origins sent emigrants of widely varying experience and backgrounds [to the United States]. . . . A cabinetmaker from the southwestern kingdom of Wurtemberg and farm laborer from an East Elbian Prussian province did not have much in common, in a sense not even the language, as they had difficulty understanding each other's regional dialect."[5] The skilled and semi-skilled laborers were more likely to settle in Chicago, where their previous work experience could develop into economic opportunities. The farm laborer, possibly fulfilling the dream of land ownership, probably migrated to St. Claire County looking to purchase farmland among other German farmer brethren. During the decade preceding the Civil War, "southwestern Germany represented the main region of emigration. Small farmers from this area commonly settled in rural America, while artisans tended to make their homes in the expanding cities, particularly of the Midwest where the economies and social structures had not yet solidified."[6] The German volunteers in the 82nd Illinois overcame these regional and economic differences and learned to work together.

Scandinavians constituted a much smaller group of immigrants in Chicago compared to their German counterparts. On the eve of the Civil War, "there were only 2,279" living in Chicago, totaling "about 2 per cent of the total population and a little more than 4 per cent of the foreign born. Throughout the years from 1850 to 1870, the most came from Norway, followed by those from Sweden, with the Danes trailing."[7] The first wave of Scandinavian immigrants during the early nineteenth century was composed of middle-class individuals and adventurers. It was not until the late 1840's that "small farmers hungry for more and better land along with some seeking broader religious freedom than the austere Church of Sweden (Lutheran) was willing to allow" began to arrive in the United States.[8] The

[4] William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), p. 24.

[5] Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850 – 1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), p. 7.

[6] Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 3.

[7] Bessie Louise Pierce, *History of Chicago: From Town to City 1848 – 1871*, vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), p. 19.

[8] Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*

majority of the Swedish immigrants in Chicago settled around a Swedish colony, named Swede Town, located on the North Side of the city. The Norwegians coalesced in an area of the city called "The Sands." Eventually as their numbers increased during the 1850's, the Scandinavians spread further north, with the Swedes establishing a new Swede Town to complement their expanding ethnic enclave.[9]

A strong contingent of the German ethnic volunteers in the 82nd Illinois who lived in Chicago were located north of the Chicago River. The North Division area contained the largest number of German immigrants in Chicago. These Germans had taken advantage of the opportunities in the city and had begun to move up through the social structure that existed at the time. They kept their neighborhood in good condition, and the concept of a German slum, which stigmatized other ethnic groups, such as the Irish, as unhealthy and unsafe, was nonexistent. Occasional Scottish and Swedish families – including Swede Town – coalesced in the same area, demonstrating that future toleration for other ethnic groups was possible. In addition, the South Division of the city contained numerous German Jewish residents. They were located at the edge of the developing city's business district.[10] Their proximity to the center of urban development helped them achieve a decent level of economic status: "At an early time … Jews became prominent in the economic life of the city, where, for instance, the success of the Greenebaum banking house [run by a prominent German Jew] bore witness to a business acumen which aided in the material expansion of the city. Little anti-Semitic feeling seems to have existed in Chicago."[11] The recently arrived working class Germans, however, lived on the Lower West Side of the city. It was there by the river that they worked, unloading lumber from the boats that supplied the various yards that had been established along the riverbank. Their numbers were not as abundant, however, as their more prosperous, established brethren living in the other city divisions.

Even with the German population spread throughout three different enclaves of the city, general employment participation in skilled and unskilled labor positions may be reconstructed. Through the 1850's and expanding during the decade of the 1860's, German immigrants were the dominant ethnic group in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. These industries included such skilled labor positions as building trades workers, wearing-apparel makers, machinists and iron workers, and wood workers and finishers. The trade industry, which contained jobs that ranged from hotel employees to banking and brokerage clerks, was the second leading area of employment for Germans. Transportation related services associated closely with the trade industry providing additional opportunities for recently arriving German immigrants. Scandinavians, too, integrated themselves into this field, dominating the mariner class – sailors, steamboatmen, and watermen. The professional services of physicians, surgeons, and attorneys were another

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2nd Edition (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002), p. 167.

[9] Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1848 – 1880 Immigration* (Stockholm: Laromedelsforlaget, 1971).

[10] Pierce, *History of Chicago*, p. 356.

[11] Ibid., p. 23.

area inwhich German immigrants made greater inroads than any other immigrant group. Finally, public service, agriculture and mining, three distinct, yet small, sections of the economy, attracted numerous German laborers during this era. The German immigrants arriving in the Chicago area looked for jobs in which their skills from the Old Country would apply and benefit them the most.[12]

The skills that the German immigrants brought over to the United States were wasting away in Europe. Skilled artisans no longer had a traditional economic development system in Germany to protect and benefit them: "They were fleeing overpopulation, the extension of economic freedom into the German states, and the new factory methods of production that undermined the wages, the prosperity, and the traditional ways of life the guilds had protected. The guild system that had preserved the lifestyle of the German craftsman was breaking down."[13] The United States became an outlet for these artisans – letting them continue their skilled crafts and becoming productive members of a community. Once they were established in communities such as, Chicago, the "skills and occupations of the immigrants, and particularly of the predominant Germans, helped shape the North Side's economic and industrial development. Thus, many German artisans 'started small bakeries, tailoring, shoemaking, and wood working shops, or brought skills needed in the new industries.'"[14] The German Jewish community, however, contained relatively few artisans, "and most of those who worked with their hands were tailors. But it was the retail trades that a disproportionate number of German Jews found their economic niche in America."[15] The German immigrants stimulated economic growth and development for the thriving city of Chicago during the 1850's.

The diversity of the German community was reflected not only in their jobs and settlement patterns in Chicago but additionally in their religious background. The 82nd Illinois included German volunteers with various religious backgrounds, ranging from non-believers to Catholics, numerous Protestant denominations, and Jews. The highly placed, politically and economically adept German immigrants in Chicago's social scene, regardless of religion, landed higher-ranking positions in the regiment than their fellow common countrymen. What united the Germans of various religious backgrounds in the United States was an increasing sense of a shared ethnic identity, as well as social-economic and political factors, fostered by their participation in the 82nd Illinois.

Regardless of their economic and social standing, the Germans volunteered for numerous reasons: protection of Northern Republican Party

[12] Ibid., pp. 151-153, fig. 499. The statistical and categorical information provided by historian Bessie Louise Pierce reflects the census data collected in 1870. Through inference and by working backwards from 1870 and through the 1860's, one can assume that the German immigrants achieved their work positions during that decade. The exact numerical data cannot be used, but the overarching pattern of development is relevant to this study in order to create a profile of the German worker turned solider.

[13] Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, eds., *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait*, 4th Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), p. 94.

[14] Keil and Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850 - 1910*, p. 129.

[15] Daniels, *Coming to America*, p. 157.

ideas under attack by the South, the opportunity to raise their status both politically and socially in the community, the chance for adventure, and for money. Ethnic pride entered into the recruitment equation as well. The Germans disliked the Irish and wanted to make sure their enlistment numbers were higher than the Irish. The economic reasoning to enlist and volunteer not only in the 82nd Illinois, but in other regiments in general, became a strong motivating factor for recruits. The U.S. Army paid its men well, and if a volunteer could survive the enlistment period, he would be able to send enough money home on a regular basis to help support his family. Fear of the draft also induced many volunteers to the regiment. Their neighborhoods faced stigmatization by the city if enough men did not enlist in the recruitment quotas. Moreover, a draftee was not entitled to any of the volunteer recruitment bonuses that were common at the time. In addition, many recruits joined the regiment out of the simple pride of being patriotic Americans, even if they were recent immigrants. These reasons for enlisting were not limited to just the Germans; they applied to many of the recruits regardless of ethnic background.

Different degrees of support existed among German immigrant communities. A split among the German religious groups during the 1850's established the Protestant and Jewish believers at the forefront of the Union cause when the Civil War erupted, and subjugated many of the German Catholics to the role of outsider. German immigrants as a whole in the early 1850's supported the Democratic Party, because "in contrast to the aristocratic Whigs, this party did indeed stand in the international democratic tradition. That belief was reinforced by the northern Democrats' comparative openness toward the foreigners, their relaxed attitude toward alcoholic beverages and observance of the Puritan Sabbath, their initially enthusiastic endorsement of land reform . . . and the verbal support [Senator Steven] Douglas and his Young American faction of the party gave to the insurgent European democracy."[16] The political and economic German refugees from the failed Revolution of 1848 embraced the Democratic Party for these ideas. They believed that the Democratic Party could embody the radicalism that they had attempted to bring about during their failed attempt to create a unified Germany.

That unconditional support of the Democratic Party, however, ended in 1854 with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Protestant and Jewish Germans were willing to overlook the existence of slavery in the United States as long as it was contained. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened up new lands to the possibilities of slavery expansion, these Germans religious groups split away from their previous association to the Democratic Party because of the party's support of slavery. German Protestant and Jewish immigrants shifted their support to the newly formed Republican Party, while German Catholics, such as wealthy conservative Alderman Michael Diversey, clung to the Democratic Party. Additionally, Scandinavians and Swiss immigrant groups, "influenced by the prevalent propaganda that slave owners were the instinctive enemies of foreigners, identified themselves with

[16] Keil and Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850 – 1910,* p. 168.

the Republicans."[17] The German Protestants and Jews were not alone in their distaste of slavery, and found support for their anti-slavery rhetoric among other ethnic groups. The nativist influence in the Republican Party "briefly sapped its appeal to antislavery immigrants, but by 1860 German Chicago had shifted decisively into the Republican camp – to a far greater extent, in fact, than the rest of the city. James Bergquist's careful study estimates what while Chicago as a whole gave Lincoln a 55 percent majority that year, Germans of the North Side's Seventh Ward voted 75 percent Republican."[18] The Seventh Ward, furthermore, included Swede Town and reflected the Scandinavian support for the Republican Party.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, German Protestant and Jewish immigrants unified again to support the Union. The Catholic Germans, still supporting the Democratic Party, were opposed to hostilities and were not as eager to volunteer for service. German Republicanism continued to develop: "With its principal social base among the Forty-Eight era artisans and their Jacobin-minded leaders, this militant immigrant Republicanism obtained its strongest organizational support in the Chicago Arbeiterverein [a Turner society dedicated to physical and military training with radical-democratic propaganda]."[19] The members of the Revolution of 1848 were demonstrating their resolve at restructuring American society in an image that best symbolized their radically minded democratic principles through their societies. The German Catholics, however, continued their overwhelming support to "the Democratic party and their opposition to what became an increasingly Republican and antislavery war" which in turn, gave them a lower regimental enlistment percentage compared to their more patriotic German Protestant and Jewish brothers.[20]

Even as the Civil War continued, the residual elements of the 1848 Revolution continued to dominate German immigrants as they demonstrated their civic nationalism:

> As the war progressed, German radicals in and out of uniform kept up a steady pressure for a program more aggressive, democratic, and straightforwardly antislavery than the one enunciated by Lincoln, raising demands which often brought them into close collaboration with congressional Radicals. Among themselves, the Jacobins debated, not about the merits of compromise with the South, but rather about whether Lincoln's war policy was antislavery enough to warrant their support.[21]

Where their Revolution of 1848 failed to bring about democratic reforms and unify Germany, the German immigrants were not about to let another opportunity slip away. In fact, during the presidential campaign of 1864, German radicals were willing for a time to support John C. Fremont's challenge against President Lincoln's bid for

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[17] Pierce, *History of Chicago*, p. 219.
[18] Keil and Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850 – 1910*, p. 175.
[19] Ibid., pp. 175, 167.
[20] James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), p. 357.
[21] Keil and Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850 – 1910*, p. 176.

reelection. Once it became clear that Fremont was not radical enough for the German contingent and withdrew from the presidential campaign, the radical German immigrants returned to support Lincoln. The German Protestant and Jewish immigrants were willing to work with anyone who supported their strong democratic views and Republican Party ideas.

The unity among Scandinavians and Germans during the election of 1860 occurred again during the formation of the 82nd Illinois. The attachment of a Scandinavian company, Company I, to the regiment was a shock to both the Germans and the Scandinavians. Primarily thought of as a pure ethnic regiment at its creation, the 82nd Illinois soon had to deal with the diversity issue – not only among the different religious groups, but between ethnic groups as well. Scandinavians and Germans customarily did not get along. Historian William L. Burton argued, "where Old Country emotions ran strong, traditional hostilities surfaced as part of the intellectual baggage that crossed the Atlantic. Scandinavians in Europe held little affection for Germans. . . ."[22] When Company I joined the regiment, Captain Ivar A. Weid repeatedly petitioned any government official he could in order to separate the Scandinavians from a German led regiment. His attempts failed, and ethnic diversity prevailed among the 82nd Illinois' ranks. Two prominent ethnic groups that normally would have had little to do with one another were forced to work together in a common cause, fighting for the Union under the banner of the 82nd Illinois.

[22] Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, p. 206.

In Support of the Cause

The 82nd regiment's first commanding officer was Colonel Frederick Hecker, and he had the regiment named after him – "the Second Hecker Regiment." He formed the regiment after leaving the 24th Illinois, which was his first command and aptly named "the First Hecker Regiment." Born in Eichtersheim Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany, on September 28, 1811, Hecker immigrated to America after leading the failed German Revolution of 1848. Serving with future Union Army commanders Carl Schurz and Alex Schimmelfennig, Hecker gained military experience and discipline during the Revolution. When the Revolution failed, he and the rest of the exiled leaders fled across Europe, eventually making their way to the United States. Hecker was described as "one of the grandest characters which the revolution of 1848 produced. A man of great influence and wealth, a lawyer of uncommon ability and wonderful eloquence, he sacrificed all his worldly possessions, honors and position to a true and unselfish patriotism, and became the acknowledged leader of the people's cause."[23] During his flight across Europe, Hecker spent time with the Frey family in Switzerland. One son of this Swiss family, Emil, would eventually reunite with Hecker in Illinois. Hecker finally settled on a farm in Belleville, Illinois, after traveling through Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis looking for work. The Belleville area of St. Claire County had a huge number of German immigrants, and welcomed Hecker into their community.

[23] Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. 2 (New York: Arno Press, 1975) p. 235.

With the Presidential election in 1860, Hecker supported Lincoln and went on speaking tours to rally German voters to embrace the Republican Party. He was strongly against slavery, and used his powerful speeches to speak out against what he saw as a social cancer that was consuming America. German immigrants, especially ones who had participated in the failed German Revolution of 1848, were generally in favor of the Republican Party. In the 1860 election, the strong German contingent in the Republican Party silenced the remnants of the Know-Nothing Party, which opposed the assimilation of immigrants and Catholics into American society and tried to incorporate itself into the Republican Party during the 1850s. The establishment of a pro-nativist platform during the campaign would have cost the Republican Party immigrant support and most likely the election of 1860.

When the Civil War erupted, Hecker crossed over the Mississippi into St. Louis and joined a regiment with only a three-month enlistment term to fight for the Union. His stay in St. Louis did not last long for his friends in Chicago began organizing an all-German regiment in which he would become commanding officer. After a political battle between Hecker, other prominent German ethnic leaders who wanted to command the regiment themselves, and the Governor of Illinois, the 24th Illinois Infantry regiment was finally organized. Hecker beat out his rivals and received the rank of colonel. On June 17, 1861, Hecker assumed command of the regiment, and the formation of the first "Hecker Regiment" was now complete.

The 24th Illinois and Colonel Hecker, however, did not last long and they soon separated. Almost immediately after being mustered into service, and ordered to Kentucky, the regiment experienced lack of discipline and in-fighting. Hecker suspected problems early on, and "attributed the problem to a conspiracy, a cabal of disgruntled officers that plotted his ruin. He even demanded a court of inquiry, which he thought would expose the conspirators and strengthen his position. He was convinced that he had a set of rascals for his staff and that the ranks were full of drunkards and worse."[24] Hecker attempted to dismiss the officers he believed were the ringleaders. Unfortunately for Hecker, the dismissals were found to be illegal and the officers were reinstated into the 24th. Hecker could no longer hold practical command of the 24th with the reappointed officers – he had lost almost total support of the regiment.

After a lengthy process seeking resolution, a compromise solution was finally reached that involved the Lieutenant Governor Francis Hoffman, surgeon and friend William Wagner, and Governor Yates of Illinois. Hecker resigned as colonel, and returned to his farm to await further instructions. Unhappy with the compromise, Hecker blamed the Lieutenant Governor for his problems. Fortunately for Hecker, he did not have to wait long for another chance to command: "German-Americans in Illinois raised a second regiment, the Eighty-second Illinois Infantry, and the command was offered to Hecker. A bit wary after his experience with the first German unit, he insisted on guarantees against intrigue and internal turmoil before accepting."[25] Governor Yates gave command of the

[24] Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, pp. 72-73.
[25] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

82nd to Hecker, and the new regiment had a leader.

Colonel Hecker brought one of his prime supporters, then-Major Edward S. Salomon, over from the 24th and made him a Lieutenant Colonel. Salomon, an immigrant from Germany, was a lawyer and Chicago alderman of the Sixth Ward before the war, and would later become the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the Union army. He was born in Schleswig, Holstein, Germany on December 25, 1836. In 1854, Salomon left Hamburg, Germany, where he had spent time trying to improve his economic well being, and arrived in the United States. Finally, in 1855, he arrived in Chicago and "for a short time was employed as a clerk in a small store in the North Division, and subsequently as [a] bookkeeper in a hat and cap store. He commenced the study of law in 1858 with Davis & Buell, was admitted to the Bar the following year, and later became a member of the firm of Peck & Buell."[26] He became Sixth Ward Alderman in 1860, and served in the city council while remaining a member of Peck & Buell, until hostilities between North and South erupted. It was at this time that he enlisted in the 24th Illinois and joined Colonel Hecker. Salomon quickly moved up the ranks, eventually reaching the level of Major.

The Jewish community became actively involved in the recruitment process for the new regiment and thereby demonstrated their pride in the Union's cause. They showed their support in a prominent way: "The idea was conceived of fitting out a Jewish company of the new regiment. The company was to consist of one hundred members and each man was to be given a bonus of $100 for joining the company."[27] The goal was to recruit one hundred men and raise $10,000 for them. Selected as the recruitment site was Concordia Hall, located in downtown Chicago at the intersection of Dearborn and Monroe. Established by Henry Greenebaum earlier that year, Concordia Hall was a Jewish social club. Greenebaum, a banker, was the former Sixth Ward City Council Alderman and an influential member of the Jewish community. The club soon became the place for the prominent Chicago Jewish social elite to meet and mingle with one another. The use of the club as a recruitment hall for volunteers enrolling in the 82nd Illinois was ingenious. The Jewish elites were willing to contribute as much money as possible for the new regiment. Young Jewish men filled with pride eagerly crammed the club looking to volunteer. Within three days, ninety-six men had volunteered and the Jewish community raised $11,000, exceeding their monetary goal. Then-Major Salomon even contributed money to help fund bonuses for the volunteers. The ninety-six men were nicknamed the Concordia Guards, after the recruitment hall, and later became Company C of the regiment. Captain Jacob LaSalle was placed in charge of the company.

Not wanting to be left out of the recruitment excitement, the Jewish women found a way to participate: "A beautiful flag was unfurled [at the recruiting office] which cost the sum of $152, raised by the women who with their own hands inscribed on it the words, '82nd Regiment Illinois Volunteers.' This was the flag of the regiment, and the Jewish company

[26] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, p. 235.

[27] Hyman L. Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Jewish Historical Society, Wellington Pub, 1990), p. 88.

proudly carried it during the war."[28] Colonel Hecker, Lieutenant Colonel Salomon, and Captain LaSalle attended the ceremony to accept the flag from Mrs. Mary Leopold. The *Chicago Tribune* praised the recruiting efforts displayed by the Jewish community: "Our Israelite citizens have gone beyond even their own most sanguine expectations. Their princely contribution of itself is a record which must ever redound to their patriotism. The rapidity with which their company was enlisted has not its equal in the history of recruiting. In barely *thirty-six hour time* [*sic*] they have enlisted a company reaching beyond the maximum, of gallant, strong-armed, stout-hearted men, who will make themselves felt in this war."[29] Patriotic fever gripped the Chicago Jewish community.

Company C was not the only company to have Jewish volunteers. Joseph B. Greenhut, who served in the 12th Illinois before being wounded, became Captain of Company K. Captain Greenhut was originally from Austria and moved to the United States in 1851. He was "the first Jew in Chicago to answer President Lincoln's call for troops and the second Chicagoan on the enrollment list"[30] when he originally volunteered in 1862 with the 12th Illinois. Joseph Gottlob would eventually become Captain of Company I, Herman Koch became Sergeant of Company F, and Herman Simpson would achieve the rank of Corporal.

Besides forming the Concordia Club and helping to recruit Company C, Henry Greenebaum personally solicited twenty-three men to join Company E. In addition, Greenebaum became head of a committee that communicated regularly with the regiment, keeping the Chicago Jewish community informed of the regiment's situation. Other Germans of political and economic influence were not to be out done, and "Chicago Germans enthusiastically supported Hecker's recruiting efforts. The colorful sheriff, A. C. Hesing, funded Company B, [which would be] known as 'Hesing Sharpshooters'. . . ."[31] German pride filled its ethnic communities and in turn the recruiting offices.

Other individuals and ethnic groups followed Colonel Hecker to his new regiment as well. Emil Frey of Company H became a member of the 82nd Illinois after serving time with Colonel Hecker in the 24th Illinois. Frey, who was Swiss, had emigrated from Germany after attending the University of Jena in the fall of 1860. He made his way to Highland, Illinois, which had a sizeable group of other Swiss immigrants, eventually finding work from the future Colonel Hecker. Hecker was a friend of Frey's father in Switzerland, and Emil spoke extremely highly of the man: "There never was a man more unselfish or a more fervent idealist, and never was I more proud of a man's friendship than I was of the paternal affection with which Hecker . . . honored me."[32] Hecker had encountered the Frey family in Switzerland when he was leaving Germany during the failed Revolution of 1848. When Frey volunteered under Hecker's 24th Illinois,

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[28] Ibid.
[29] "Third War Meeting of the Israelites," *Chicago Tribune*, 16 August 1862.
[30] Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago*, p. 91.
[31] Rudolf A. Hofmeister, *The Germans of Chicago* (Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 88-89.
[32] Hedwig Rappolt, *An American Apprenticeship: The Letters of Emil Frey 1860-1865* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1986), p. 189.

Hecker gave him the roll of regimental color bearer. In January 1862, he reached the rank of first lieutenant.

Frey continued to serve with Hecker through the spring of 1862, and when word spread that Hecker was forming a new regiment that summer, Frey joined Hecker in the recruitment process. Frey wrote home that in the "August following, in Camp Butler, near Springfield, Ill., I [Frey] was unanimously elected captain by my company [Company H]. This company, which was mainly composed of Swiss, most of whom I had recruited at Highland, Ill., I instructed with the greatest care, and it was soon considered one of the best in the regiment."[33] Frey had to pay the expenses of transporting the Illinois recruits from Highland, Trenton, and Decatur to Camp Butler. Not until the recruitment of the entire company was complete would there be a chance for Frey to recover the expenses. For a recent immigrant from Switzerland, frequently footing the government's bill became a constant worry. Frey, however, continued to serve loyally to Hecker and the 82nd through their early engagements. In fact, Frey achieved the rank of acting major in the 82nd a few weeks before Gettysburg due to the fatal wounding of Major Rollshausen at Chancellorsville.

Max Schlund of Company B was another immigrant from Germany who joined the 82nd. Born May 21, 1844 in Imenstadt, Bayern Germany, Schlund moved to the United States with his family in 1853. They first settled in Newark, New Jersey, eventually moving to Newport, Illinois, in 1855. Schlund "wanted to devote his life and his health to his country in need. He left his trade as a harness maker even though he could have had a very comfortable living and could have made very good waves in his trade during the war."[34] On August 7, 1862, Schlund volunteered with the 82nd Illinois under future-Captain of Company B, Augustus Bruning, fellow German immigrant and Justice of the Peace, who was organizing a company at the Courthouse Square. The square was the center of Chicago, and from the balcony of the courthouse observers could see the surrounding city neighborhoods and even the countryside. When the bell rang from the top of the Courthouse, nearly everyone throughout the city could hear the sound. Schlund was proud of the regiment he had joined, for he stated that: "This reg[iment] . . . showed in different instances an accuracy in movements and field manuvering [*sic*] as was found in very few other regiments"[35] during his training period. This group of immigrants with different ethnic, religious, social, and economic backgrounds had united to become the 82nd Illinois. After months of training, the 82nd was ready to integrate itself into the Union Army.

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[33] Ibid., pp. 192-193.

[34] Max Schlund, Civil War Diary 1862-1865, p. 2, Midwest Manuscript Collection, the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL. The original was written in German with an English translation provided by the Newberry Library.

[35] Ibid., p. 3.

The Vichy French Regime: 1940-1944

The so-called Vichy regime of Marshall Philippe Petain governed France between 1940 and 1944 to the extent the French government was able to exercise sovereignty while the nation was under German military occupation. Many people in France regarded Petain as the hero of Verdun and the man who had saved France from disaster in 1917. They hoped Petain would be able to do so again when he became France's head of state in 1940 at the age of eighty-four. Instead, Petain's tenure as head of state forever tarnished his legacy by linking his name with the controversial policy of collaboration with Nazi Germany. This essay will examine the objectives, policies, and actions Petain's Vichy regime, with a special focus on the policy of collaboration with Germany.

The German invasion of France in May 1940, and the rapid success of the German forces left France devastated. Within one week, the Germans had broken through the Meuse River crossing at Sedan, placing Paris in jeopardy. The French government fled Paris for Bordeaux on June 9, and the German Army entered the city on June 14. There were millions of refugees fleeing Paris and other parts of northern France, and they clogged the roads leading south.[36]

The collapse of the French military caused many military leaders and members of the French Council of Ministers, including Petain, a minister without portfolio, to call for a cessation of hostilities. The French premier, Paul Reynaud, wanted the government to move to French North Africa and continue the war. Nevertheless, after stormy sessions of the Council of Ministers on June 13 and June 15, Reynaud gave in. Reynaud resigned on June 16, 1940 and French President Albert Lebrun appointed Petain to succeed him.[37]

On June 17, 1940, Petain announced in a radio address that he had approached the Germans about the possibility of an armistice. During this address, Petain also stated that he was giving France "the gift of his own person to attenuate its misfortunes."[38] The next day, in a radio address from London, French General Charles DeGaulle condemned the French leaders who wished to stop fighting, and he urged French listeners to continue the fight. But few heeded DeGaulle's plea, at least for the time being.[39]

France concluded an armistice with Germany and Italy on June 25, 1940. The armistice provided that Germany would annex Alsace and Lorraine outright, the German military would occupy approximately three-fifths of France and the remainder would remain unoccupied. The Occupied Zone consisted of northern France, including Paris, and the entire Atlantic coast. This area contained most of France's industry, and it also contained the most productive agricultural land. After the armistice was signed, the Occupied Zone

[36] William Shirer, *The Collapse of the Third Republic* (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), pp. 4-6, 9.

[37] Philippe Burrin, *France Under the Germans* (New York: The New Press, 1996), pp. 8-9.

[38] Ibid., p. 9.

[39] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

was only nominally under Vichy rule.[40] The two zones were divided by a Demarcation Line, which few French citizens were allowed to cross. Although the armistice provided that the French government could return to Paris, the Germans did not allow Petain to do so until May 1944. France was required to pay occupation costs to Germany, which were later fixed at 20,000,000 marks, or 400,000,000 francs per day. While Petain was in power, approximately 58 percent of the French government's income went to pay occupation costs, a staggering amount.[41] The armistice provided that the two million French prisoners of war would remain in German custody until a peace treaty was signed, but it allowed France to keep its navy and to maintain an Armistice Army of 100,000.[42]

Because Bordeaux was in the Occupied Zone, the French government was forced to choose another temporary capital. Several southern cities were eliminated from consideration because their proximity to the Mediterranean coast made emigration a temptation. Vichy, a city of 30,000 which attracted many tourists to its spa and casinos, was chosen because of its location away from the coast and because it had a large number of hotel rooms that could be commandeered for use by government officials and foreign diplomats.[43]

While DeGaulle's Free French movement posed a threat to the Vichy government, that threat was quickly diminished by a tragic incident at Mers-el-Kebir, Algeria, where much of the French fleet was docked. On July 3, 1940, British Navy vessels appeared at the port and demanded that the French warships docked there follow the British ships to either Britain or a neutral port. When the commanding French admiral refused, the British ships opened fire, sinking several ships and killing over 1,200 French sailors. After this incident, all but 250 of the 18,000 French sailors who were in England chose to return home rather than fight with the Free French. Anglophobia became widespread in France, and many regarded DeGaulle as little more than a British stooge.[44]

Thus, within two months of the commencement of the German invasion, France had not only been defeated by Germany, it had also suffered the indignity of a naval assault from its former ally. Shocked by this state of affairs, many people in France blamed the decadence, chaos and corruption of the French Third Republic. Petain promised to implement a National Revolution that would restore a sense of order, discipline, and morality to the nation and foster French national pride. The first step of the process was to remove the National Assembly from the

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[40] Ibid., pp. 1-11; Alexander Werth, *France 1940-1955* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1956), p. 49.

[41] Robert Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972, pp. 53-54, 143-44.

[42] Robert Paxton, *Parades & Politics At Vichy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 9.

[43] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, p. 18; Robert Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), p. 57.

[44] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 43, 55; Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, p. 53.

political scene, thereby eliminating the partisan political atmosphere that had divided France and brought about chaos. On July 9, 1940, the National Assembly met in Vichy to consider a proposal that would confer absolute power on Petain and authorize him to draft a new constitution. Thanks in part to the machinations of Deputy Premier, Pierre Laval, the measure passed by a vote of 569 to 80. Shortly thereafter, Petain named himself Head of State, and he abolished the office of President.[45]

Petain's National Revolution made its mark in several areas of French life. The Vichy regime launched a campaign against alcohol abuse, and it enacted laws forbidding aperitifs stronger than 32 proof and prohibiting persons under 14 from being served in bars. The antagonistic atmosphere between the government and the Catholic Church disappeared, and state aid was given to parochial schools for the first time in many years. The regime also allowed religious instruction in public schools, and it placed a greater emphasis on classical education. Additionally, the regime created youth organizations, including the Compagnons de France and the Chantiers de Jeunesses. The Chantiers de Jeunesses was a mandatory form of national service for young men who had just turned twenty-one; they were put to work mostly in forests. The Compagnons de France was a voluntary group for boys between 15 and 20 who worked in farms and other places, and Petain described it as the "avant guard of the National Revolution."[46]

The Vichy regime also emphasized the importance of the family. The Third Republic's liberal divorce law was discarded when a law was enacted in 1941 limiting the grounds for divorce and forbidding divorce altogether during the first three years of marriage. Additionally, some positions on government committees were reserved for men with large families. Vichy's family policies did have an impact, as there was a notable increase in the French birthrate during the Vichy regime.[47]

The National Revolution also had a xenophobic side that was rooted in the anti-Semitism and antipathy toward foreign nationals that had long been exhibited by many among the French right. France had become a refuge for foreign exiles after the enactment of 1927 law that made it easier to become a naturalized French citizen. During the 1930's, many Jews had emigrated from nations such as Germany, Austria, and Poland, and many who had fought for the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War had fled across the Pyrenees. After the defeat, these refugees were a potential source of trouble because they threatened Vichy's relationship with Germany and Franco's Spain.[48]

The Vichy regime's solution was to turn back the clock. A July 22, 1940 Vichy law provided for review of all naturalizations that had been granted since 1927. Those who became citizens under the 1927 law had their grants of citizenship reviewed by Vichy's Ministry of Justice. Over 15,000 people found to be undesirables had their citizenship revoked, including more than

[45] Shirer, *The Collapse of the Third Republic*, p. 950, Werth, *France 1940-1955*, pp. 31-33.

[46] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 147, 151, 159, 162-64.

[47] Ibid., pp. 167, 356.

[48] Ibid., pp. 168-70.

6,000 Jews. Loss of their French citizenship ultimately made many of these Jews victims of Hitler's Final Solution, as foreign refugee Jews were deported from France to death camps in Poland and Germany in July 1942 with the assistance of the Vichy regime. Other laws enacted between July and September of 1940 limited entry into the civil service and the medical and legal professions to those born of a French father. These laws were applied most rigorously against Jews.[49]

The most notorious anti-Semitic measure enacted in the Vichy regime's first year was the Statut des Juifs (Statute on the Jews), which was enacted on October 3, 1940. This law defined who was Jewish in the eyes of the French government, and it excluded Jews from important civil service positions, from the officer corps, and teaching. The Statut des Juifs also provided that the government could set quotas for the percentage of Jews in professions such as law, medicine, dentistry, architecture, pharmacy, and midwifery, and in the student body of French universities. The Vichy government subsequently did this, setting a quota of two percent in most professions covered by the law. The day after the Statut des Juifs was promulgated, the Vichy regime enacted a law which authorized French prefects to confine foreign Jews in special camps.[50]

There is no evidence that the anti-Semitic measures described above resulted from German coercion. In fact, before Germany implemented the Final Solution, it used France as a dumping ground for German Jews, sending 6,000 Jews from western Germany into France in October 1940 despite loud protests from Vichy. The Vichy regime's anti-Semitic measures are better understood as the product of indigenous French anti-Semitism, which had exhibited itself on other occasions, including the Dreyfus affair, and the intense opposition of the French right to Popular Front Premier Leon Blum. Vichy's anti-Semitic measures were introduced to achieve indigenous goals, such as blocking further Jewish immigration at a time when many in France were already hungry, encouraging emigration of refugees who had recently arrived, and reducing foreign influences upon French culture and public life.[51]

Just as Vichy's anti-Semitism was not the product of German pressure, most of the collaboration between French and German officials did not result from German coercion. In fact, it was the Vichy government which doggedly pursued collaboration, often to be met with a cold shoulder by the Germans. Vichy's pursuit of collaboration originated at a time when most people in France believed that Germany would win the war in a short period of time. This was quite understandable considering the manner in which the German military had overrun Poland, Denmark, Norway, France, and other several other European nations. A German victory appeared imminent, and German domination of Europe appeared inevitable. France

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[49] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 170-71, 311-12; Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France And The Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 4.

[50] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 174, 178; Maurras and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, pp. 4, 98-99.

[51] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, p. 174; Maurras and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, pp. 13-14.

hoped to gain advantageous peace treaty terms and an important role in the New Europe by collaborating with Germany. This policy failed because it was based on the faulty assumptions that Germany would win the war and that a victorious Germany might have agreed to a peace treaty that did not impose vengeful terms upon France.[52]

At times, however, it seemed as though serious prospects existed for a substantial degree of collaboration between France and Germany. One of those times was the autumn of 1940, after Vichy forces had successfully repelled a raid conducted against Dakar in West Africa by the British and Free French, who had successfully gained control of French Equatorial Africa in a bloodless coup carried out in August. Deputy Premier Laval, who had eagerly sought a meeting with German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, was allowed to see Hitler at a French village called Montoire on October 22, 1940, while Hitler was on his way to confer with General Franco in Spain. While Hitler was on the way back from the meeting with Franco, he stopped again in Montoire to meet Petain on October 24.[53]

There had been no advance diplomatic preparation for the Montoire meetings, and nothing concrete was accomplished. Petain and Hitler spoke of the possibility of greater Franco-German cooperation, but they discussed little in the way of specifics, and they did not reach any agreements. Hitler had hoped that the meetings would drive home to the British the extent of their isolation, and that they would strengthen the isolationist cause in the United States. By contrast, the French hoped the meetings would lead to a fundamental change in the relationship between the two nations. In an October 30, 1940 radio address, Petain stated that collaboration between France and Germany had been discussed at the meeting with the goal of allowing France to have a constructive role in the new European order. Petain further stated that he hoped collaboration would result in better treatment for France in general, a better fate for French prisoners of war, reduced occupation costs, and a loosening of restrictions on crossing the Demarcation Line.[54] For the most part, Petain's hopes would be dashed by the Germans.

Soon after Montoire, the Germans used the dismissal of Pierre Laval from the cabinet on December 13, 1940 as an excuse to give the French a diplomatic cold shoulder. Laval had been one of the most ardent supporters of collaboration, and he had developed some excellent German contacts, including Otto Abetz, the German Ambassador in Paris. Laval's dismissal did not result from his support for collaboration, nor did his dismissal mean that Vichy had decided to stop pursuing that course. Laval's successor as Deputy Premier, Pierre-Etienne Flandin, attempted to pursue collaboration, but the Germans refused to deal with Flandin. Flandin resigned on February 9, 1941 because of his inability to conduct meaningful negotiations with

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[52] Werth, *France 1940-1955*, p. 49; Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 51-52.

[53] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 69-70, 74; Burrin, *France Under the Germans*, pp. 99-100.

[54] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 74-75; Burrin, *France Under the Germans*, pp. 100-01.

Germany. His successor was Admiral Francois Darlan, the head of the French Navy, who already held several cabinet posts.[55]

At first, Darlan received a cold shoulder from the Germans as well. But an April 1941 uprising led by Rashid Ali in British-held Iraq provided the impetus for further negotiations between Vichy and Germany, including a meeting between Hitler and Darlan on May 11, 1941. On May 28, 1941, the two nations signed the Protocols of Paris in which the French agreed to grant the Germans base rights in Syria, which was then a French colony, so the Germans could assist Rashid Ali. In return, the Germans reduced French occupation costs from 400,000,000 francs per day to 300,000,000 francs, they agreed to release some 75,000 French prisoners of war who were World War I veterans, and they made some concessions regarding the French military. There were additional protocols providing that further concessions would be made if France granted Germany base rights in French North and West Africa, but these protocols were never implemented.[56]

The cost of the concessions the French received in the Paris Protocols was high as the British and Free French invaded Syria on June 8, 1941. The Germans offered help from the *Luftwaffe*, but Vichy declined. Although the Vichy forces put up stiff resistance, they were forced to capitulate on July 14, 1941, and Vichy had lost Syria. Due to the loss of Syria, Darlan advised the Germans that significant additional concessions would be necessary before France implemented the protocols giving the Germans base rights in French North and West Africa. Darlan pushed for further talks with the Germans, but their attention had turned away from Africa and the Middle East because of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Furthermore, von Ribbentrop and other German officials regarded Darlan's new demands as a form of extortion. The Germans refused further substantive negotiations, stating that they had to concentrate their resources on the fight against bolshevism. By August, 1941, it was clear that Darlan was once again receiving the cold shoulder from Germany.[57]

The last significant opportunity for Vichy to gain important concessions through a policy of collaboration with Germany had passed, although Vichy would never abandon the quest for collaboration. In April 1942, Petain gave up the office of Premier and appointed Laval to the post, although Petain remained as Head of State. Petain hoped that Laval would have more success in winning concessions from Germany due to Laval's strong German contacts. But conditions soon became worse for the French. In July 1942, Germany, which had just begun subjecting its own civilian population to the rigors of a wartime economy, cut the food ration for the French. Laval did win one concession when the Germans agreed to delay forced conscription of French workers and adopt Laval's *relève* system in September 1942. Under that system, the French government solicited French volunteers to work in Germany, and the Germans released one French prisoner of war for every three skilled

[55] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 101-05.

[56] Ibid., pp. 114-22, 143.

[57] Ibid., pp. 120-26.

French laborers who worked in Germany. Laval's system resulted in the recruitment of 181,000 workers for Germany, 90,000 of whom were specialists, and the subsequent release of about 30,000 prisoners of war. But, because the *relève* was insufficient to meet German labor quotas, Vichy was forced to institute forced labor conscription anyway in February 1943.[58]

Any semblance of Vichy independence crumbled in the wake of the American invasion of French North Africa on November 8, 1942. After the invasion, Hitler decided to occupy all of France, and German troops moved into the Unoccupied Zone on November 11. The Germans increased occupation costs from 300,000,000 per day to 500,000,000 per day as a result, placing an even greater burden on the fragile French economy. On November 27, 1942, Hitler dissolved the Armistice Army, and German naval vessels attempted to seize the French fleet the next day. The French Navy scuttled the fleet rather than turn it over to the Germans.[59]

By the end of November 1942, France and its entire empire were occupied either by Axis or Allied forces. The French fleet and empire had given Vichy some leverage in its dealings with Germany, but now both were gone. Yet, efforts at collaboration continued. With the war turning against Germany, Vichy now hoped it would be called upon to mediate a compromise peace between Germany and the Western Allies so that both could concentrate their energies on fighting bolshevism. A compromise peace was the Vichy regime's only hope for survival as the French Resistance grew and support for Vichy declined. But neither side was interested in a negotiated peace with Vichy as the mediator.[60]

The Vichy regime's desire to maintain some degree of sovereignty ended up implicating the regime in German efforts to destroy the French Resistance. The introduction of forced labor conscription for Germany in 1943 had caused many young men in France to flee to the mountains and join the Resistance fighters known as the *maquis*. In 1943, the Vichy regime and its Secretary-General for the Maintenance of Order, Joseph Darnand, formed a paramilitary organization called the *Milice* to combat the Resistance. About 45,000 people volunteered for the *Milice*, which conducted operations in which suspected Resistance sympathizers were brutalized and summarily executed. The *Milice* often targeted Jews, including former Third Republic officials Georges Mandel and Jean Zay, both of whom were murdered. The *Milice* acted in close cooperation with the German SS.[61]

Petain and other Vichy leaders feared an Allied invasion of France because they knew this would mean the end of the Vichy regime, and because they feared that massive disorder would result. The invasion took place on June 6, 1944, however, and France was soon liberated from German occupation. The Germans moved Petain and Laval east, and Petain eventually ended up in the

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[58] Ibid., pp. 131-35; 281-82, 367-68.

[59] Ibid., pp. 144, 280-81.

[60] Ibid., pp. 281, 288-90.

[61] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 242, 294; Burrin, *France Under the Germans*, pp. 439-47, 451.

Singmaringen Castle in western Germany. After the war, both Petain and Laval were tried by French courts and sentenced to death, although General de Gaulle commuted Petain's sentence to life imprisonment.[62]

The Vichy regime tried to create a new French order in the midst of a German occupation. It also sought to ameliorate the rigors of the occupation by pursuing a policy of collaboration with Germany in the hope that the Germans would ease the armistice terms. In return for the minor concessions granted by the Germans, the Vichy regime allowed itself to be implicated in acts of brutality against the French Resistance and in the deportation of Jews from France. As one author correctly observed, the Vichy regime's efforts to lose the French state caused it to lose the French nation.[63]

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[62] Paxton, *Vichy France Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*, pp. 300, 329.

[63] Ibid., p. 382.

The Disloyalists: Confederate Expatriates After the Civil War

Following the fall of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865, thousands of individuals and families exiled themselves from their homes in the South. In their quest to reestablish the Confederacy, they emigrated from the South to British North America (Canada), Europe, Latin America, and Mexico. Most of these expatriates went into voluntary exile rather than live under a federal reconstruction government that they despised. Others fled under indictment for treason and war crimes. However, they were all forced to live disenfranchised in strange lands.

In the aftermath of the American Revolution, more than fifty thousand people wishing to remain loyal to the British Crown fled north to British North America (Canada) and joined others of common British heritage in settling the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Upper Canada (Ontario). These individuals are known as the Loyalists and their descendants commemorate their actions in annual Loyalist Days pageants.

> The Loyalists generally found success and happiness in Canada. For most of the loyalists, the Canadian colonies worked in precisely the way that revolutionary America had not. Where the American Revolution made loyal colonials feel like exiles in their own homes, the successful loyalists in Canada soon felt at home in what may at first have been only a place of exile. They quickly put down roots. Rather than remaining or becoming a cohesive group, they adapted to the parts of Canada they lived in, so that soon there were several very different and rather competitive loyalist colonies in British North America.[64]

The Loyalists moved relatively short distances and lived among people sharing a common heritage and language. They were accepted and prospered, with many of their number becoming leaders of colonial Canada.

The Confederate expatriates did not experience the same good fortune. Theirs is a story of loneliness and misfortune. These "Disloyalists" are the focus of this paper.

In "Confederate Exiles" historian William C. Davis classifies Confederate expatriates into four distinct groups.[65] The first was composed of those who left for reasons of personal safety. These men were former Confederate officials and military officers who were indicted for treason by the federal government and fled to escape possible death sentences. The second was composed of other Confederate military and state officials who refused to live under federal reconstruction governments. Adventurers seeking new battles in foreign lands composed the third group. Most had lost their homes and families and took off seeking fame and wealth as soldiers of fortune. The fourth and largest group of expatriates left because they had to. Their homes and farms had

[64] Christopher Moore, *The Loyalists* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1984), p. 252.
[65] William C. Davis, "Confederate Exiles" in *American History Illustrated* 5 (June 1970).

been destroyed and they sought to start over in a new land. We will look at each of these groups and consider their struggles.

The first group of expatriates was composed of Confederate leaders who fled indictments for treason and others who were already abroad representing the Confederacy in diplomatic capacities. Secretary of War John C. Breckenridge, Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, and many former Confederate diplomats and military officers fled in many directions at the end of the war. Many traveled throughout Europe, spending time in London and Paris, visiting with European heads of state. Former Confederates were both admired and respected by the elite of Europe. Eventually, most of them settled in the Canadian town of Niagara, just across the border from New York State. Niagara became "the headquarters of the Confederacy in exile."[66] They waited there until their pardons were eventually granted.

On Christmas morning, December 25, 1868, President Andrew Johnson issued the Universal Amnesty Proclamation covering all former Confederates. With this order, Johnson revoked all charges against the former Confederates and removed any obstacles that prevented them from returning to the United States. Virtually all of these men returned to the United States after being pardoned. Life in Europe had proven to be too expensive and exile in Canada had proven to be too lonely.

John C. Breckenridge is a case in point. The former vice-president of the United States feared that he would be executed for treason after the war. He initially served as a Confederate general and later served as Secretary of War for the Confederacy. After the fall of Richmond, Breckenridge fled first to Cuba, and then traveled throughout Europe, before settling in Niagara. Throughout his exile, he longed for the opportunity to return to the United States. Breckenridge returned in early 1869, making a tour of the United States, visiting many of his former friends on both sides of the war. He then resettled in Kentucky where he "built a law practice, an insurance company, and three railroads."[67]

Like Breckenridge, most other former Confederate leaders returned to their home states and rebuilt successful careers. The only notable Confederate official to remain in England was Judah P. Benjamin, who became a Queen's Counsel and earned a sizeable fortune practicing law.

The second group, composed of Confederate military and state officials who refused to live under federal reconstruction governments, welcomed their exile.

> It is the record of bitter and recalcitrant men who would not and could not surrender, men in the grip of Southern chivalry, men ruled by a code of ethics suited to a spirit of Manifest Destiny alive before the Civil War. Scorning defeat, the generals, governors, judges, and senators who left the South for exile were the irreconcilables of their era.[68]

[66] Davis, "Confederate Exiles," p. 33.

[67] William C. Davis, *Breckenridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), p. 606.

[68] Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. ix.

The largest group of these men went to Mexico, where they set up "the most hopeful, idealistic, and unsuccessful colonies of exiles anywhere on the globe."[69]

Most of the men who fled impatiently to Mexico went individually or in small groups. They came from all corners of the South and were from all walks of life. They left without plans and traveled without leadership. They were unsure of what they would encounter.

> Former governors, generals, colonels, congressmen, judges, and the mayors of small and large towns all over the South joined carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, farmers, and peddlers determined to live outside the damnable Yankee dominion. They were alike only in that they scorned defeat together and that for each this journey was a flight into the unknown.[70]

The Confederate expatriates had been invited to Mexico by Maximilian, the Austrian archduke who had been placed on the Mexican throne by Napoleon III of France. In December 1861, England, France, and Spain sent troops to Mexico to enforce collection of debts incurred by the Mexican government. In April 1862, after England and Spain had withdrawn their forces, Napoleon III sent legions of French troops to Mexico. By June 1863, the French toppled the government of Benito Juárez and installed a provisional government. In an attempt to recreate a French empire in the New World, Napoleon III installed Maximilian as emperor in June 1864. Almost immediately, the new emperor found himself in a guerilla war with the supporters of Juárez, who had established a government in exile at San Luis Potosí, north of Mexico City.

"The Southerners who flocked into Mexico during 1865 were hardly aware of these complex events."[71] During the Civil War, the Confederacy maintained friendly relations with Mexico. In fact, after the Union blockade of Southern ports, Matamoros became the Confederacy's most effective port. Mexico also sent supplies to the Confederacy in the late stages of the war. Finally, at the end of war, Maximilian encouraged Southern immigration as a means of garnering support for his position in Mexico.

The stories of Generals Edmund Kirby-Smith and Joseph O. Shelby document why Mexico became the favorite destination of former Confederate leaders. These stories also illustrate why emigration to Mexico failed.

General Edmund Kirby-Smith was the commander of Confederate military forces in the Trans-Mississippi region and supervised the running of the Union blockade along the western Gulf of Mexico. Based in Shreveport, he commanded a wide area covering Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Confederate President Jefferson Davis had delegated extraordinary powers to Kirby-Smith. His Trans-Mississippi Department was by far the most independent of all the Confederate commands. It was virtually self-sufficient, operating factories and mines. "On paper at least, Kirby-Smith assumed the powers of the Confederate presidency in the West. Eventually all orders to his command were issued by

[69] Davis, "Confederate Exiles," p. 33.
[70] Rolle, *The Lost Cause*, p. 9.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.

its commander, instead of from inaccessible Richmond, capital of the Confederacy."[72]

> Kirby-Smith maintained close relations with the Mexican imperialists. As dictator of the Trans-Mississippi region, he informed the Mexicans that his forces would most willingly enter into an agreement based upon mutual protection from a common enemy - the American Union. The General assured Maximilian's northern representatives that his war-tested soldiers, who hated Yankees and their Juárista allies, could be of great service to an imperialist Mexico. Also, Kirby-Smith asked his Mexican agents to inform Maximilian that if he received refuge he might influence as many as sixty thousand of his own soldiers, plus nine thousand Missourians (driven by warfare from their homes), to settle in Mexico. As permanent residents these men, of course, would be useful to the Emperor's hard-pressed regime in its fight against Juárez.[73]

When Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, on April 9, 1865, there were still more than 150,000 Confederate troops under arms in the west. It is believed that Jefferson Davis intended to escape to the Trans-Mississippi area and launch a final defense of the Confederacy with Kirby-Smith. Failing at that, they would retreat into Mexico.

After Davis was captured in Georgia on May 10, 1865, Kirby-Smith suffered massive defections. As one general after another disbanded their troops and left him behind, Kirby-Smith moved his headquarters from Shreveport to Houston on May 27, 1865. By the time Kirby-Smith surrendered on June 2, 1865, a sizeable group of his army had already fled to Mexico.

Kirby-Smith became the first high-ranking Confederate official to cross into Mexico. On June 26, 1865, he rode into Mexico on a mule, accompanied by a small group of his men. They rode eight hundred miles south to Monterrey, where they joined up with another group of former Confederates. On July 5, 1865, joined by former Governors Thomas C. Reynolds and Cadmus M. Wilcox, Kirby-Smith began a month-long journey to Mexico City.

Once in Mexico City, Kirby-Smith became quickly disillusioned. He found that city lax and immoral. Within a few months, Kirby-Smith went to Havana and wrote to his former West Point classmate, General U. S. Grant, requesting a parole similar to the one given to Lee. Grant gave Kirby-Smith permission to return to the United States in 1866. After returning to the South, Kirby-Smith discouraged others from emigrating to Mexico.

Kirby-Smith first served as president of Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company. He later joined the ranks of academia in 1870, serving as chancellor of the University of Nashville. In 1875, he became a professor of mathematics and later president of University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee.

The most colorful emigration to Mexico was that of General Joseph O. Shelby of Missouri. He refused to surrender and marched the remnants of

[72] Ibid., p. 40.
[73] Ibid., p. 42.

his army into exile as a unit. He was joined on this march by other Confederate generals and remnants of their armies and certain former Southern governors. Generals Hamilton Bee, John B. Clark, George Flournoy, William P. Hardeman, Thomas C. Hindman, Danville Leadbetter, John B. Magruder, Monroe M. Parsons, Sterling Price, and Trusten Polk eventually joined forces with Shelby. Governors Pendleton Murrah and Edward Clark of Texas, Charles S. Morehead of Kentucky, and Henry W. Allen of Louisiana also joined the march to Mexico. "This stellar company crossed into exile on July 4, 1865, burying their battleflags with their lost hopes in the muddy waters of the Rio Grande."[74]

Their march into Mexico met with almost immediate peril. In order to reach the waiting welcome of Maximilian, this group had to cross through hundreds of miles of rough terrain controlled by Benito Juárez and his forces. Although Shelby asserted his neutrality in the Mexican hostilities, the Juáristas were aware of his invitation and destination. Yet, because of the Confederates' strength and numbers, they passed with relative safety to Mexico City.

When Shelby arrived in Mexico City in August 1865, he immediately offered his services to Maximilian. "The Emperor, however, had no desire to keep an armed band of Southerners together in his country."[75] Instead, Maximilian proposed that the Confederates become colonists, and provided them with a half million acres of land seventy miles west of Vera Cruz. This colony was named "Carlota" in honor of the Empress.

Not all of Shelby's men wanted to settle in Mexico. Some immediately left for California, the Caribbean, South America, and the Orient. Some joined the French troops in Mexico supporting Maximilian. Others joined the Juáristas and fought against Maximilian.

Those who settled in Mexico eventually moved to Carlota and sent for their families. They were poor, but wanted to start over. They met with little success. Carlota never achieved critical mass. It was too expensive to achieve the steady flow of colonists from the South needed to keep the colony alive. "Carlota grew into a dirty little settlement of ramshackle clapboard and adobe dwellings and offices with neither beauty nor direction."[76] Other settlements were started near Carlota, but none of them even reached that status.

"We do not have a full picture of the Confederate colonies in Mexico, mainly because virtually nothing is left of them."[77] The Southerners' dream of building a New South in Mexico dissolved. "Their crops failed, the natives were hostile, robbers flourished throughout the country, and the military and civil officials were reluctant to give much assistance."[78]

Shelby was separated from his men and offered the former villa of exiled General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana near Cordova. Shelby then brought his family to Mexico and started a freight business with a Major McMurtry which delivered supplies to French military outposts. This freight business thrived, but was under constant attack by the Juáristas.

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[74] Davis, "Confederate Exiles," p. 33.
[75] Ibid., p. 34.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Rolle, *The Lost Cause*, p. 92.
[78] Davis, "Confederate Exiles," p. 34.

On May 31, 1866, Maximilian learned that Napoleon III planned to remove all French troops from Mexico. The Juáristas immediately began an offensive, attacking French troops and the Confederate colonies. Carlota and its neighboring colonies were looted and pillaged. The dingy little towns were destroyed.

The internal unrest in Mexico eventually forced the Southerners to return home to the United States. Shelby left Mexico in the spring of 1867 on a United States gunboat sent to rescue American citizens after the abdication and execution of Maximilian. Most of the colonists had left Mexico within two years of their arrival. The few who remained were able to survive until the Mexican Revolution of 1910 drove the last of the "gringos" back to the United States.

The third group of Confederate expatriates, composed of adventurers seeking new battles in foreign lands, scattered across the globe. Although a few of these men ventured to India, Japan and Korea, the largest group went to Egypt.

In 1869, Ismail Pasha, the khedive of Egypt, needed to train his army and bolster his defenses against bordering enemies. "With no adequately trained and instructed military men available in his country, he naturally turned to the nation which had so recently displayed to the whole world the proficiency of its soldiery."[79] The khedive hired former Union colonel Thaddeus Mott to recruit an army. Mott consulted with General William T. Sherman who recommended a select group of his former Confederate foes to join the Egyptian forces.

Former Union and Confederate soldiers fought side by side in Egypt. They fought campaigns against the Abyssinians and in the Sudan. The also explored uncharted terrain, surveyed railroad routes, and mapped the very edges of the Egyptian kingdom. In the end, their geographic services were more valuable than their military skills. These men spent eight years in Egypt before being discharged by the khedive. A few remained in Africa searching for further adventure, while most returned home to the United States.

The fourth and largest group of expatriates left the South because their homes and farms had been destroyed and they wanted to start over in a new land. Most of these people emigrated to Central America and South America. They were pursuing a dream. It is not surprising that former Confederate dreamers looked south immediately after the war. The seeds of that dream had been planted years before.

> It is certain that southern interest in the tropics reaches back into the era of "manifest destiny," when the "Young Americans" were saturating the atmosphere with their fulminations, filling books and newspapers with their chauvinistic philosophy, and dispatching advance agents into the domains of their Latin neighbors.[80]

Among the most influential of the tropic dreamers was Matthew Fontaine Maury. His primary interest centered on the Amazon Valley. In the decade prior to the Civil War, Maury wrote prolifically in newspapers,

[79] Davis, "Confederate Exiles," p. 41.

[80] Lawrence F. Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America I," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX, (October 1935), p. 100.

magazines, and journals, and toured the South speaking about the importance of this region. Between 1849 and 1855, his articles appeared in widely circulated publications such as *DeBow's Review,* the *National Intelligencer,* the *Southern Literary Messenger,* and the *Washington Union*. Maury spoke at southern conventions in New Orleans in 1851 and Memphis in 1853. He was a renowned scientist, a gifted writer, and a persuasive salesman.

> If he could induce hard-headed government officials to appropriate funds for the exploration of the Amazon Valley and for the necessary negotiations leading to the opening of its great river, he could with less difficulty capture the hearts of an imaginative, simple-minded public.[81]

Maury was not the only spokesperson for the wonders of Brazil. Daniel P. Kidder, a missionary who authored *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, also praised the glories of Brazil. His two-volume best-seller related thrilling experiences of two and a half years' travel throughout Brazil. It spoke of incredible beauty and natural wonders in an enchanted land.

Antebellum Southerners were also treated to newspaper and magazine articles about the wonders of Central America. In fact, during the decades before the Civil War, Southern interest in Central American was every bit as great as interest in the American West. "Indeed, in this era the fingers of 'manifest destiny' pointed southward as frequently as westward, though most so-called 'American' historians have not yet discovered the fact."[82]

This highly romantic antebellum interest in the tropics carried over into the post-war South. The force that transformed the dream to reality was the complete and utter destruction of the South in the years after the war. "Wreck and ruin, desolation and starvation covered the land from Virginia to Texas. A battleground for contending armies throughout the war, Virginia had been converted from a garden into a desert."[83]

The brutalizing effects of four years of war had made conditions throughout the South frightful. Bridges and railroads were destroyed. Factories and homes had been burned. Livestock and produce had been consumed by the Union armies. The banks were insolvent and currency and securities were worthless. People everywhere were without food, clothing, or shelter. To former Confederates, these were made infinitely worse by the reconstruction program that the federal government imposed upon the defeated South.

> No great stretch of the imagination is required to understand the state of mind of the Confederate soldier when he returned home in the late spring or early summer of 1865. He had lost the cause which he had been made to believe was his dearest possession. He returned to a dilapidated home… No hand could be had to clear the fields… The farm could not be sold, for there was no buyer. Taxes were high and money could hardly be found. Little wonder that several thousand of these victims of war were ready to flee from their

[81] Ibid., p. 102.

[82] Ibid., p. 103.

[83] Ibid.

> native land and seek new beginnings under foreign flags! Four years of grim war had been hell! A yawning hell enveloped the future! It was too much for romantic souls![84]

The Southerners who emigrated to Central America and South America did not depart rashly like the soldiers who rode unknowingly into Mexico. In fact, most of them carefully considered their actions.

Some tried to settle in Central America between 1867 and 1869. A group of colonists from Georgia received a land grant of more than 150,000 acres and settled in Honduras in 1867. They introduced the first farm implements to that country. However, their colony in the wilderness failed to survive the hostility of natives, insects, and disease. Most of these disillusioned individuals returned to their old homes.

The British government actively recruited settlers for British Honduras, providing free land and subsidized steamship service. Approximately 1,500 colonists from throughout the South accepted the challenge and established the settlements in British Honduras. The largest settlement was New Richmond, near San Pedro, on the Belize River. Other villages were established along the rivers and some settlers lived in the capital city of Belize. By 1869, poor crops and financial hardships caused most of these settlers to return to the United States.

In the Caribbean, Cuba served a "stopping place for exiles as they journeyed to and from the Confederacy and Latin America."[85] Few Southerners remained there for any length of time.

Venezuela was the site of a settlement that was one of the "most tragic and heartbreaking in its demise."[86] Captain Henry M. Price of Virginia established the Venezuela Company and obtained a land grant in the State of Guyana and the Territory of Amazonas. Venezuela was seeking immigrants and provided grants to settlers. Price made a total of seven expeditions to colonize his holdings.

He took the first group of fifty colonists from New Orleans in early 1867. They sailed up the Orinoco River to a site about 200 miles from its mouth. There they established Orinoco City. Price established other settlements on his other expeditions.

The Venezuelan colonists were initially excited with their new homes. The land was fertile and all varieties of grains, vegetables and fruits were easily raised. However, these settlers lacked capital and access to commercial markets. Starting over in a new land required financial resources, which were not available to emigrants who had lost everything in the war.

Most of the Venezuelan colonists returned to the United States by 1870. They were sad, tired and disillusioned. They had found a good site to start a new life, but simply did not have the resources to make it work.

Brazil was the site of the largest and most successful Confederate colonies. Brazil attracted more Confederate expatriates than any other country. These expatriates are known today as "Os Confederados." Although they did not all stay, and all of their settlements did not survive, there is clear evidence of the influence of the Confederados on Brazil.

[84] Ibid., p. 108
[85] Ibid., p. 6.
[86] Ibid.

In 1972, Jimmy Carter, then the governor of Georgia, visited the town of Americana in Brazil where he met with a crowd of two hundred descendants of the Confederados. Carter was moved to tears as he toured the graveyard and walked past the headstones of Civil War veterans. After he returned home, he spoke with the *Atlanta Constitution* and stated:

> My primary feeling was one of appreciation for their preserving in an almost unblemished way in names, inflections, and voices of the their ancestors their obvious love for the United States. My most significant feeling was one of great sadness. They had foregone for all those generations the enjoyment of being a part of this nation they still revere so deeply. The futility of it all was apparent. None of them looked upon their ancestors as mistaken. They didn't seem to feel any self-pity.[87]

The ancestors of these residents of Americana emigrated to Brazil between 1865 and 1870. In all, it is believed that between 2,500 and 4,000 persons moved to Brazil during this period. In fact, Brazil continued to receive emigrants from the South until the early years of the 20th century.

Brazil proved to be the favorite site in South America for Confederate colonization because it featured geographic and social conditions similar to those in the South. Fertile land was plentiful and inexpensive. "Brazil's climate, soil, and rainfall were suitable for the production of such familiar crops as cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, rice, and corn."[88] Negro slaves were available as a source of labor. Although Brazil had stopped the importation of slaves from Africa in 1850, slavery remained legal until 1888. The Confederados could literally replicate their homes in Brazil.

Interest in emigration to Brazil intensified during the early years of Reconstruction. Settlement in Brazil was promoted heavily in the South by agents of the Brazilian government and through travelogues written by explorers. The roles of both the Brazilian government and these explorer/writers need to be considered.

The Brazilian government of Emperor Dom Pedro II and other prominent Brazilians strongly promoted Southern immigration. Dom Pedro's government offered generous inducements to settle in Brazil.

> These included long-term loans for low-cost transportation of settlers; large tracts of government land at prices as low as twenty-two cents an acre, to be paid for in five annual installments; free maintenance of immigrants and their families while they were getting established their adopted country; and the promise to build roads for the convenience of those settling in remote regions. Citizenship was obtainable at the end of two years by merely taking an oath of allegiance.[89]

The explorers operated under the sponsorship of emigration societies that had been formed throughout the South.

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[87] Eugene C. Harter, *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1985), p. xii.

[88] Bell I. Wiley, "Confederate Exiles in Brazil," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 15 (January 1977), p. 24.

[89] Ibid., p. 25.

These men were sent to Brazil to seek locations for future settlements. Each wrote of their explorations in books that were widely circulated throughout the South.

General William Wallace Wood was one of the first prospecting agents to go to Brazil. A resident of New Orleans, Wood was an editor, an explorer, a lawyer, and an accomplished public speaker. After the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, about six hundred Southern planters engaged him to make an inspection tour of Brazil on their behalf. Wood made the trip in October 1865 and was wined and dined extravagantly by his Brazilian hosts. The opportunity to lure six hundred planters to their country certainly appealed to the Brazilian government officials.

The Brazilian government arranged for a team of engineers, guides, and interpreters to assist Wood in touring the country to seek a site for the resettlement of the planters. Wood failed to do proper due diligence and looked no further than the first site shown to him. Wood's group met another group, headed Dr. J. McF. Gaston, that was representing a number of South Carolina families. Both returned from Brazil replete with stories of adventure. Wood published *Ho! For Brazil* in 1866 and Gaston published *Hunting a Home in Brazil* in 1867. These books led to the settlement of Brazil.

New immigrants generally arrived in Rio de Janeiro and were housed in an elegant government-operated hotel until ready to be transported to their new colonies. During this brief stay in Rio, they would be joined for dinner by the Emperor, who would personally welcome them to Brazil. After this, they would proceed to one of the four major areas of settlement. Each of these settlements was promoted by one the leading explorers.

The first area of settlement was at Santarém, located on the Amazon River about five hundred miles inland from the Atlantic Coast. This colony was established by Major Lansford Warren Hastings of Missouri. Hastings recruited approximately two hundred emigrants and departed from Mobile in July 1867. This settlement which composed 614,400 acres seemed to have many advantages. The climate of the Amazon Valley was suitable for farming, there was timber to build homes, and the soil was very fertile. However, the site was too isolated, provisions were scarce, and the settlers were under-financed. They lacked experience in farming and farm implements were in short supply. Most of the settlers quickly decided to return home and were aided were aided by the United States counsel's office. Ironically, the government that these emigrants sought to escape provided the means for them to return to their former homes.

> The Santarém colony, however, refused to die. As late as 1874 there were still at Santarém some fifty of the two hundred Americans who had attempted to establish themselves on the Amazon. But at this time, according to Roy Nash, the half hundred were burdened with debts, living in squalor, with broken-down bodies and discouraged hearts.[90]

[90] Lawrence F. Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX (January 1936), p. 192.

The colony apparently lingered into the twentieth century. "As late as 1940, one writer found three original emigrants, one man and two women, at the Santarém settlement…"[91] There is little, if any, trace of this colony today.

The second area of settlement in Brazil was promoted by the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn, an Episcopal priest who served as Rector of Saint Phillip Church in New Orleans. He had fought for the South during the war and was disillusioned with Reconstruction. During 1865, Dunn made several trips to Brazil searching for a new home for his family and other like-minded Christians.

Dunn worked with the Brazilian government to obtain a 614,000-acre tract of land at Iguape, a few miles from the coast on the border of the provinces of Sao Paulo and Paraná. This tract stretched along the Juquiá River for about forty miles. Dunn was able to purchase this land for forty-two cents per acre. The Brazilian government agreed to subsidize transportation for people wishing to emigrate and promised interim housing in Rio.

Dunn returned to New Orleans in 1866 and published *Brazil, Home for Southerners* in order to promote his new colony, which he named "Lizzieland" in honor of his daughter. "He appealed to such Southerners as were willing to force among themselves 'that law of honor, and Christian rectitude, which obviates the necessity for enforcing any other law.'"[92]

Dunn recruited 150 families for Lizzieland and they set sail from New Orleans in early 1867. Dom Pedro greeted the new settlers and housed them for a week before they boarded boats for the trip to their new colony.

Lizzieland was short-lived. The settlers grew disheartened over the difficult task of constructing their own homes. After three months Dunn departed for New Orleans, allegedly to recruit new settlers, but he never returned. He must have known what was to come.

> Then came a destructive flood, followed by an onslaught of fever, shortage of provisions, and other hardships. As a result of these unhappy experiences the surviving settlers abandoned Lizzieland to seek homes in other immigrant settlements or to return to their native land. The only settlers who remained in Lizzieland were a few who had the means to acquire plantations and slaves.[93]

Adjacent to Lizzieland was another colony, established by Major Frank McMullan of Texas. This colony also got off to an ominous start. The settlers lost their possessions at sea when their ship was wrecked off the Cuban coast. These unfortunates combined with the survivors of Lizzieland to experience yet further misery. "Disease and destitution, combined with the death of McMullan, resulted in abandonment of the settlement within a few months of its establishment."[94] Some of these colonists returned to the United States, while others moved to another colony near Santa Barbara.

The third area of settlement was located at Linhares, in the Rio Doce Valley, in the Province of Espiritu Santo. This colony, which was promoted by

[91] William Clark Griggs, *The Elusive Eden* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1987), p. 125.
[92] Hill, "The Confederate Exodus," p. 126.
[93] Wiley, "Confederate Exiles in Brazil," p. 27.
[94] Ibid.

Colonel Charles G. Gunter of Alabama, suffered the same fate as the colonies at Santarém and Iguape. This group had even started out with strong leadership and consisted of men who had achieved success in the South as doctors, lawyers, military officers, and planters.

Although this colony enjoyed beautiful surroundings, its location was far from the provincial capitals of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo and it lacked accessibility. It also suffered from a bad climate. During the first year, nearly all of the settlers returned to Rio "with injured health and straitened fortunes."[95] Only Gunter and a few others remained.

Much is known about life in this colony through the diary and letters of Jennie Rutledge Keyes, the teenage daughter of Dr. J. W. Keyes. Jennie was fifteen years old when her family moved to Brazil in 1867. She related detailed stories of the hardships of establishing a new life in a foreign country in her diary entries. Her stories described swarms of mosquitoes and rain pouring through the thatched roofs in the rainy season and heat and drought in the dry season. This dreadful climate led to frequent illness.

The Keyes family moved seven times during their stay in Brazil. However, most of their years were spent near the city of Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Keyes operated a dental practice in Rio, which provided his family with a lifestyle far better than those found in the colonies. Yet, throughout the pages of her diary and her letters to friends back home, Jennie relates her dreams of returning to Alabama. These dreams were realized in June 1873. By this time, most of the settlers of Linhares had returned to the United States.

The fourth, and most successful, group of Brazilian colonies was built near the city of Santa Barbara, eighty miles from Sao Paulo and within thirty miles of a railroad line which ran to the port city of Santos on the Atlantic coast. This is the only group of colonies to be reasonably accessible to transportation.

The founders of these colonies were Colonel William H. Norris and his son Dr. Robert Norris. They went to Brazil in 1865 to select a site for their colony and bought a large tract of land which later became known as Americana. In 1866, the Norris group of twenty-six families departed from New Orleans bound for Rio. After trouble at sea, they eventually arrived safely and their colony prospered immediately. The Norris group had the foresight to bring a sufficient supply of farm implements to start the new colony.

The success of this colony was widely reported throughout the failing colonies of Brazil and back in the South. This brought refugees from the failed colonies elsewhere in Brazil and a new group of immigrants from the South. In addition, beginning in the 1880s, this colony was supplemented by thousands of immigrants from Germany and Italy, who settled nearby.

Most of the settlers near Americana grew cotton during their initial years in Brazil. Some were successful at raising cattle for meat. The colonists also grew fruits and vegetables to eat, plus coffee, sugar, and tobacco. However, due to poor transportation and limited demand, they were unable to market their products effectively.

In 1870, with seeds brought back from Georgia, they started to grow "Rattlesnake" watermelons. Then, in 1875, a railroad connection to Americana was built and national commerce in watermelons began. The "Rattlesnake" was far superior to local

[95] Griggs, *The Elusive Eden*, p. 125.

Brazilian watermelons and nationwide sales developed.

> For twenty-five years the business lasted and was the basis of general prosperity for the Americana colonists. The most profitable period was from 1890 to 1900. Finally, the soil became exhausted, and the Italians who had come into the neighborhood took up the business on fresh land.[96]

> Without question, the Americana colony was a success. This most successful of all the experiments in Confederate colonization persisted for a long time. But before the advent of the present century many of the inhabitants of Villa Americana had scattered to various parts of the world. Some had returned to attachments in the United States; some went to ranches in other parts of Brazil; and some established themselves in business and in the professions in the Brazilian cities.[97]

> The Confederates contributed much to the intellectual and religious life of Brazil.The greatest American contributions were in the fields of education and religion. At first the immigrants taught their own children, but as time passed they persuaded teachers to come from the homeland to conduct regular schools. Eventually most of the teachers learned Portuguese and taught Brazilian as well as American students. Brazilian educators were so impressed by American teaching methods that they adopted them in their own schools.[98]

Colegio Internacional, believed to be the first American school in South America, was founded by the Presbyterians in 1869. Other religious groups also founded schools and universities in Brazil. Mackenzie University was founded in 1891 with a grant from John T. Mackenzie.

Today, Americana is a city of over 200,000 inhabitants. Throughout the years, the descendants of "Os Confederados" have intermarried with Brazilians and other immigrants. They are thoroughly Brazilian.

There are still vestiges of the Old South that can be seen, however. The official seal of Americana contains the "Stars and Bars." Although not on a scale with Loyalist Days in Canada, there is still an annual festival for the Disloyalists.

> Each year, at a secluded cemetery hemmed in by soothing hills of sugar cane, hundreds of Brazilians converge on this factory town to throw a party, complete with deep-fried chicken and biscuits, corn bread and candied apples.
>
> There is banjo music billowing, Southern-belle skirts and lots of jokes, mostly good-natured at the expense of Yankees. These Brazilians have names like Jones and Pyles and Steagall. And

[96] Mark Jefferson, "An American Colony in Brazil" *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (April 1928) p. 230

[97] Hill, "The Confederate Exodus," p. 174.

[98] Wiley, "Confederate Exiles in Brazil," p. 34.

there are lots of Confederate flags.

The annual festival shows just how much the Americans have integrated over generations. Black beans and rice and other Brazilian foods now accompany the traditional Confederate fare. Sometimes young people will steal away from the crowds to listen to a soccer match. And many of the children of Confederados are bronze-skinned and dark-eyed.[99]

The Confederados in Brazil operate an internet site SCV Camp #1653 – "Os Confederados," which can be accessed at www.scv.org/camp1653. At this web-site you read about the Confederados and order books on-line, while listening to a synthesized version of "Dixie." The Confederacy still lives on the World Wide Web. Somewhere Jefferson Davis must be smiling.

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[99] Stephen Buckley, *The Washington Post*, August 26, 1999.

American-born Chinese: Expendable Parishioners in the Chinese Church

Most Chinese immigrants in the United States are not Christian, but the number of Chinese immigrants who are either Christian upon arrival, or else adopt Christianity fairly soon after arrival, is rapidly increasing. There are now many Chinese Christian churches in the United States that fulfill the needs of those immigrants. It appears that most of the Christian Chinese churches in the United States cater primarily to first generation Chinese immigrants, to the exclusion of the children of those immigrants, the American-born Chinese, or ABCs as they often refer to themselves. In many cases, second generation Chinese Americans often feel disconnected from the Christian churches their immigrants parents attend.

There are several possible reasons for the dissatisfaction that many second generation Chinese Americans feel toward the Chinese Christian church. One reason is that the leadership of the Chinese churches has apparently tried to distance itself from the American-born Chinese, and does not seem to take all of their concerns seriously. As Weyland Wong, one of the founders of the Fellowship of American Chinese Evangelists (FACE), states, "[the leaders of the Chinese churches] didn't understand the issues or needs of the ABCs, who were not considered Chinese enough and more of a nuisance."[100] Wong's quote primarily refers to the 1970s when, as he recalls, "many leaders back then told their ABCs to leave and go to other non-Chinese churches."[101] The problems of the 1970s have still not been fully resolved today, and there is somewhat of a rift within the church between the American-born Chinese Christians and the Chinese Christian immigrants.

Perhaps the leadership within the Chinese church is hesitant to give the American-born Chinese more power because, as Robert Goette, director of the Chicagoland Asian-American Church Planting project says, according to Helen Lee, "[i]n Asian culture, you have a very slow giving over of authority and control to the younger generation"[102] and that "often the control resides with the parents until they die."[103] That idea, that children must defer to the authority of their parents for the duration of their parents' lives, has roots in Confucianism perhaps, which emphasizes hierarchy and order within families, but it is not a component of mainstream American culture. This is an example of a cultural clash because American-born Chinese who have grown up under the influence of mainstream American cultural values such as independence and individualism are relegated to a level of traditional Asian subordinance within the authority of the Chinese church. Also, most of the Chinese churches are evangelical, conservative, and Protestant, and as Fenggang Yang states, "conservative religions combat modernity by asserting absolute beliefs and strict moral

[100] Wayland Wong, "ABC Ministries: At the Crossroads," *About FACE*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (May 2000): 2.

[101] Ibid., p. 2.

[102] Helen Lee, "Silent Exodus," *Christianity Today* (August 12, 1996): 52.

[103] Ibid., p. 52.

standards."[104] A closed atmosphere inwhich doctrine is unquestionably accepted might be uncomfortable for those of the second generation who have been, perhaps, more exposed to the idea of questioning authority.

Clarence Cheuk, an American-born Chinese who is a self-proclaimed member of generation X, has described his experiences. At one Chinese church he attended in San Francisco, he became frustrated by the lack of spirituality and emphasis on superficiality that he encountered. As a young man with a pierced ear, he was told to remove his earring because "Christian guys do not wear earrings."[105] He followed the rules, but received frequent reminders about how one's appearance must conform to the ideals expressed by the church leaders. As he says, "[o]n the pulpit the pastor would preach about acceptable hairstyles, music-styles, and of course, that guys should not wear earrings."[106] Cheuk was a member of that church for several years, but whenever he questioned the superficiality of what he saw, he felt as if his "questions were acts of rebellion"[107] and he eventually "had to leave the church in order to find something more meaningful."[108]

Another complaint that some American-born Chinese have about the Chinese churches is that sermons are often only presented in Chinese. For many, perhaps most, American-born Chinese who have attended American schools and become largely assimilated into the mainstream American culture, English is their primary language. Undoubtedly, many American-born Chinese do not speak or understand much of the Chinese language. As Lee says, "as the Chinese churches in America matured, significant change has been avoided or resisted, especially in introducing English worship services."[109] And Yang refers to a sermon he attended at a Chinese church in the Washington, D.C. area in which the pastor "preached in Mandarin."[110] The language issue is a major barrier for American-born Chinese, preventing them from obtaining leadership roles within the church. As Samuel Ling says, "Among the American-born Chinese Christians, many seminary graduates are unemployed, unable to fulfill the Chinese churches' requirement that they speak Chinese."[111]

Perhaps another gap between the American-born Chinese and their Christian immigrant parents is due to the different life experiences of each group. China has experienced a tremendous amount of turmoil within the last century, and many Chinese immigrants adopt Christianity because of its emphasis on eternal salvation and otherworldliness, which may be of comfort to those who have had to endure such traumatic events as the invasion of Japan, the Cultural Revolution, a communist government that has traditionally tried to squelch organized religion, or the turmoil that surfaced

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[104] Fenggang Yang, "Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christianity: The Importance of Social and Cultural Contexts," *Society of Religion*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1998): 252.

[105] Samuel Ling, with Clarence Cheuk, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things: Perspectives on American-Born Chinese and the Chinese Church in North America* (Vancouver: Horizon Series, 1999), p. 12.

[106] Ibid., p. 12.

[107] Ibid., p. 13.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Lee, "Silent Exodus," p. 51.

[110] Yang, "Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christianity," p. 244.

[111] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 102.

during the Tiananmen Square incident. In fact, Yang states, "[t]he 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, when the Chinese government crushed the pro-democracy student movement in Beijing, was the turning point for many mainland Chinese students and scholars studying abroad"[112] in terms of adopting Christianity. American-born Chinese, who have not lived in China and may not have experienced much turmoil in their lives, may not feel the same need for the security of eternal salvation as their parents.

Ironically, although the quest for eternal salvation and spiritual meaning in a world of turmoil may influence many Chinese to become Christian, it is apparent, at least from Cheuk's experience of superficiality in the Chinese church he attended, that there are instances when the Chinese churches lose sight of that and get bogged down with materialism, hierarchy, and superficiality. Samuel Ling conducted interviews with several young American-born Chinese; one of those interviews was with nineteen-year-old Keith Chau. Chau expressed his view of the materialism in the Chinese church he attended, and suggested, "A reason why [they are re-doing the church building] is for looks. It is all based on what you have, what you own, how big it is ..."[113] Still, the perceived emphasis on materialism is something that likely affects many churches in America, whether they are Chinese or not, perhaps by virtue of being situated within a materialistic society. With reports of wealthy television evangelists and the creation and growth of mega-churches in America, it is unlikely that only Chinese churches are concerned with materialistic goals. Certainly, many Chinese Christians in China, including those in underground Christian movements who may experience persecution, are primarily concerned with spirituality and the teachings of Jesus.

During Karen Feaver's visit to China around 1993, after having met several Chinese Christian women who had endured persecution, she asked a translator whether the Christian women needed financial help. The translator said, "Oh, they do ... and they *don't*."[114] Feaver says, "I knew what [the translator] meant. Even the American church, the wealthiest church in the world, always seems to find itself low on cash; yet the Chinese church [in China] is too busy fulfilling the Great Commission to notice their poverty."[115]

Most of China's population does not embrace Christianity, but "[t]he church in China contains between 30 and 80 million believers, and it is growing fast."[116] Yang suggests that one reason why the Chinese did not embrace Christianity until recently is because "[i]n the past the Chinese regarded Christian evangelism by Western missionaries as an integral part of Western imperialism"[117] To explain why many Chinese are now willing to adopt Christianity, without the stigma of Western imperialism, Yang suggests several reasons, which can roughly be summarized as follows: Western

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[112] Yang, "Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christanity,"p. 250.

[113] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 29.

[114] Karen M. Feaver, "Chinese Lessons: What Chinese Christians Taught a U.S. Congressional Delegation," *Christianity Today*, vol. 38 (May 16, 1994): 34.

[115] Ibid., p. 34.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Yang, "Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christanity,"p. 251.

imperialism has not been present in China for many years, so it is fairly easy for the Chinese to consciously disassociate Christianity from Western imperialism at the present time. Also, Christianity in China is now promoted and spread by Chinese laity, and has, therefore, become something that the Chinese can call their own.[118]

In fact, the primary missionaries in China at the present time are Chinese Christians themselves. As Yang states, "[t]oday, Chinese churches and Christian organizations have surpassed other American missionary and Christian organizations in evangelizing Chinese immigrants."[119] There appears to be a reciprocal arrangement of sorts between Chinese Christians in America and China, whereby the Christian Chinese organizations in the U.S. help to influence the spread of Christianity in China, which, in turn, helps to spread Christianity among new Chinese immigrants in the U.S., which then helps to strengthen the existing Chinese organizations in America, and so on. "[I]n the United States, without the enthusiastic responsiveness of Chinese students, refugees, and new immigrants, there would not have been so many Christian organizations and churches working to evangelize them."[120]

Although Christianity is increasing in China, the Chinese government and most of its citizenry do not embrace Christianity, and, in fact, some Christians in China experience persecution. Feaver describes having met the several Christian Chinese women who had experienced horrible treatment on account of their religious beliefs. One of the women told of having been "hung upside down and beaten with electrical cords"[121] while being imprisoned. The Chinese government, while being more accepting of religion than in the past perhaps, is still wary of organized religion. The Chinese government is still a communist institution, and organized religion, in general, is usually considered to be a threat to the principles of communism. As Feaver states, "[a]lthough the worst time for the church was during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and '70s, the underground church still faces severe persecution at the local level."[122] Still, the oppression that some Christian Chinese experience only strengthens their faith. According to Feaver, the woman mentioned above who had experienced torture said, "[w]e go out ready to preach the gospel, ready to go to jail, and ready to die for Jesus' sake."[123]

As long as there are growing numbers of Christians in China, who are even willing to risk persecution or death for their beliefs, and as long as Chinese immigration to America continues to increase, it makes sense that Chinese churches in America, especially those that organize missionary work in China, are going to focus on the immigrant Chinese population. As long as there is a steady influx of new immigrants who are already Christian or willing to embrace Christianity, the Chinese churches will experience much growth even without the participation of the American-born Chinese. Therefore, the American-born Chinese are currently at a disadvantage in terms of gaining power in most existing Chinese churches because "the church become[s] a place

[118] Ibid., p. 251.
[119] Ibid., p. 247.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Feaver, “Chinese Lessons,” p. 33.
[122] Ibid., p. 33
[123] Ibid., p. 34.

where new Asian Americans feel comfortable and where fresh immigrants can learn from and support each other."[124]

Wong says, of the 1970s, especially, that [b]ecause the [Chinese] churches were overwhelmed and blinded by the waves of new immigrants, they lost sight of future generations."[125] It appears as if the wave of immigrants is still in progress, so it is difficult to know how events will end up. The very title of Wong's article, "ABC Ministries: At the Crossroads" indicates that this may be a turning point for the Chinese American Christians who are now faced with important decisions that could affect their religious future. They have the following choices available to them: They could either choose to remain in the Chinese church under the current authority with the expectation that eventually the increase in Chinese immigrants may subside and the American-born Chinese will be in a position of more control, or they could choose to remain in the Chinese church in a position of little power or influence. A third possibility is that they could choose to separate themselves from the current church altogether and form their own church, that would cater specifically to the needs of American-born Chinese. A fourth possibility is that they could choose to become members of other, non-Chinese, churches. The fifth possibility, that American-born Chinese will stray from the church and Christianity altogether, is the least acceptable option for Chinese American Christians. Wong says, "[t]he situation today is extremely desperate. Over 95% of the ABCs are still outside the church of Jesus Christ. The dropout rate of both ABC pastors and lay leadership continues to be a serious problem"[126]

One may wonder why, with such feelings of conflict, the American-born Chinese do not willingly break away from the Chinese churches that cater to immigrants, and either form their own churches or else attend non-Chinese churches. To some extent, American-born Chinese have already formed some of their own religious organizations. The Fellowship of American Chinese Evangelicals is one such organization. In describing the history of how FACE was created, Wong says:

> In the '70s and '80s several ABC pastors became the advocates of ABC ministries for the Chinese church through leading seminars, speaking, writing, and attending nationwide conferences. They were like square pegs trying to fit in a round hole and were not well received by the Chinese leaders. In 1978 church leaders at the North American Congress of Chinese Evangelicals (NACOCE) suggested that the ABCs set up their own organization. Accordingly, after much prayer and discussion, Hoover Wong, Peter Yuen, Joseph Wong, and Wayland Wong joined together to form the Fellowship of American Chinese Evangelists (FACE). In 1979 the first quarterly issue of ABOUT FACE was published.[127]

In addition to organizations such as FACE, there are some churches that are sympathetic to the needs of Chinese American Christians. After Cheuk's frustrating experience at the church he attended in San Francisco, he moved to

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[124] Lee, “Silent Exodus,” p. 51.
[125] Wong, “ABC Ministries,” p. 2.
[126] Ibid., p. 2
[127] Ibid.

Illinois to attend college, and then "found a Chinese church in Chicago which seems to understand Chinese-Americans."[128] He says his pastor "preaches from the Bible and not from his cultural beliefs"[129] and that the pastor "does not care that I have a hole in my left ear or that I like my hair a certain way."[130]

Although there are undoubtedly some individuals who choose to break away from the Chinese churches to attend non-Chinese churches, the majority are not willing to do so. As Lee says, "[o]f those young people who have left their parents' churches, few have chosen to attend non-Asian churches."[131] There are some exceptions; for example, Jerry Lin, whose interview appears in Ling's book, is described as "currently attending an Anglo church because the teaching there is excellent." [132] Most of those of the second generation, however, either withdraw from Christianity altogether or else remain in Chinese or Asian churches, in spite of conflict or feelings of powerlessness within the church. For those of the second generation who choose to stay in the Chinese churches despite the frustration, there must be something other than spirituality and Christianity that they gain, or hope to gain, by staying connected with those churches. If it was only spirituality or Christianity at stake, it should be more common for American-born Chinese to become members of non-Chinese churches, where they would still be exposed to Christian doctrine and fellowship. The Chinese churches that Yang interviewed during his research in the Washington, D.C. area, "stressed that the church is a religious organization that exists for spiritual purposes only."[133] He found that "some Chinese pastors and lay leaders even objected to [his] referring to Chinese churches as ethnic or social organizations."[134] However, to some extent, those churches must be functioning as ethnic and social organizations, and it seems that the second generation, especially, must see them that way. Otherwise, it would be easier for the American-born Chinese to attend non-Chinese churches. There appears to be more than just spirituality that is at stake for the second generation, when they feel disconnected to the Chinese church.

Cheuk says he "attended an Anglo church for a while, but then opted for a large Chinese church in order to meet more young Chinese-American Christians like myself."[135] Many American-born Chinese, in spite of their close connection with American life and values, still desire a meaningful connection with the Chinese ethnic community, and the church is one way to fulfill that desire. Ling suggests that American-born Chinese are more Chinese than they realize, and, conversely, that overseas-born Chinese who live in the United States are more Americanized than they realize.[136]

It seems that American-born Chinese look to the Chinese church as a way to connect with their Chinese heritage, and to meet other American-

[128] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 13.
[129] Ibid., p. 13.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Lee, "Silent Exodus," p. 50.
[132] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 16.
[133] Yang, "Chinese Conversions to Evangclical Christianity," p. 242.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 12.
[136] Ibid., p. 172.

born Chinese Christians. Yet they do not want to relinquish their American values either. As American citizens, they generally identify very strongly with the American culture they have experienced all of their lives. In terms of the Chinese immigrants, it is also easy to understand why they prefer to attend the Chinese church. After all, it is a way for them to connect with other immigrants who may have had similar life experiences and are also trying to get accustomed to life in a new country. They can find comfort in the Chinese church because most of the sermons are in Chinese, and many of the values expressed by the clergy are compatible with traditional Chinese values that are familiar to them.

It is interesting to note how the role of the second generation Chinese Americans has changed over the years. Wong says that "[t]he ABC leadership [in the Christian church] for the past 30 years has been fading,"[137] which implies that prior to that time, perhaps there was some amount of room for the American-born Chinese to have leadership roles within the church. Certainly, in San Francisco's Chinatown during the 1920s and 1930s it was the second generation of Chinese who had the most influence within the church. As Judy Yung states, "[b]y 1930 there were ten churches in Chinatown competing against each other to attract the second generation into their folds..."[138] The Chinese churches and organizations in San Francisco during that time did provide more than just spirituality; they also served as social and educational centers, especially for the American-born Chinese. The Chinese churches' reluctance to use the English language for sermons is a fairly recent problem if viewed historically because "many Chinese churches have had English-speaking young people since the first half of the twentieth century, and services tended to be bilingual. Then came the immigration wave of the 1960s and 1970s, and the needs of the English-speaking young people became relatively neglected ..."[139]

Today's Chinese churches, at least the ones mentioned by Yang in the Washington, D.C. area, do provide "church activities and youth programs ... to foster a moral environment for nurturing the growing second generation,"[140] but apparently such programs are not sympathetic and flexible enough to serve the second generation throughout the teenage years and early adulthood. It is during that time especially that many American-born Chinese feel alienated from the church.

Because the number of Chinese immigrants has increased, it stands to reason that the number of American-born Chinese will continue to increase as well. Perhaps one day, with greater numbers of American-born Chinese, the Chinese church will consider their needs more seriously. Ling, who was born in China but is sympathetic to the needs of the second generation, says that the Chinese church "must take the long-term perspective: our children and grandchildren will mingle in Western society, and some of them will, whether we are ready or not, intermarry with non-Chinese."[141] He hopes that the

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[137] Wong, "ABC Ministries," p. 1

[138] Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1995) p. 151.

[139] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 123

[140] Yang, "Chinese Conversions to Evangclical Christianity," p. 245.

[141] Ling, *The "Chinese" Way of Doing Things*, p. 178.

Chinese church will be ready for that eventuality and learn to accept those who may be different from themselves. Another possibility is that more churches will be created to specifically fulfill the needs of the American-born Chinese, which may serve to make the traditional Chinese churches less important to those of the second generation.

There is definitely a growing awareness of these issues of conflict within the Chinese Christian community and many are trying to find a solution. There is certainly hope that the problem will be resolved, but for the time being many American-born Chinese continue to feel alienated from the Chinese churches their immigrant parents attend. In addition, in today's church climate that appears to favor the Chinese immigrants, the American-born Chinese, with their different views and needs, can be viewed as expendable parishioners in the Chinese church.

Margaret P. Jaffey
History Major

Movie Review: Gods and Generals

Gods and Generals is a film that captures the sights and sounds of battle in such a way as to give the audience a vicarious experience of the battle at Chancellorsville. Aficionados of the Civil War will appreciate the ubiquitous captions throughout that highly detail the generals' names and rank, the names and numbers of divisions of infantry, dates, and locations. The audience is also privy to planning sessions by generals in which their battle strategies are revealed. The Chancellorsville battle unfolds in a play-by-play fashion.

Gods and Generals, created by Ted Turner Productions, is a visually beautiful film, paying lavish attention to color, costume, as well as beards and couture; reconstruction of period sets; and the use of period trains and plantation homes. The viewer gets a feeling of authenticity. The serenity of the pastoral field where the battle takes place points up the contrast with the violence and gore that will take place there. The soul-stirring music greatly enhances each scene by the degree that the film seeks to match the music with specific scenes. The film skillfully alternates instrumental and vocal and different instruments in prominence to fit the effect or impression that the scene is making on the audience. Of course, the usual French horns, trumpets, and percussion that we have come to associate with battle scenes are prominent. The audience is drawn into the real experience by special effects sounds of battle. Camera effects were especially good, too. Explosions, soldiers, and animals seem to fall toward the audience. Camera transitions were fairly seamless considering the difficulty of switching to so many scenes quickly. However, some repeating of scenes for purposes of economy is highly noticeable.

The primary thrust of the film is to give the audience a sense of the specialness, or exceptionality, of the Civil War in American history. The professions of moral certainty on the part of the generals serve to shore them up in face of the moral uncertainty and upheaval they face. It seems that the war would define for them what they could not define for themselves—who they are. In an opening scene, a northern professor is explaining to his class American values. Behind him on the blackboard is written, « Cosmology of the Universe. » He explains that the cosmology is freedom and that freedom is protected by law. A student responds that his theory is inconsistent with the protection of slavery by law. Silence ensues.

The film is seen through the eyes of General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, acting as spokesperson for the film. He presents the Southern view as he gives guidance to his 1st Infantry. He declares to them that this is the Second War of Independence. The Yankees have invaded their land and are bent on destroying it. Privately, he points out that the South has a greater stake than the North in the war because, if the North is defeated, they will go back to a world unchanged. If the South is defeated, they will lose everything. He blames the bankers and industrialists for the war. Southerners identify with their forbears as one throwing off colonial oppression.

His counterpart in the North answers the call of his governor simply because he has been called. He refers to the poem with its famous phrase, « . . . if I loved not honor more. » He is relieved at the news of the emancipation of the slaves because it gives him a tangible cause.

The will of God and his power to tip the scales for victory is invoked by both sides at every turn, especially on the part of General Jackson. The film points up this ironic contradiction in a scene in which General Jackson and his cook, Jim Lewis, pray in tandem. General Jackson prays for God's assistance and blessing, while Jim prays for the freedom of his black brothers still bound in slavery. The contradiction that God's answer to the prayer of one would constitute the denial of the other is not lost on General Jackson. He tries to placate Jim by promising that the slaves will be free someday. However, Jim feels it is best to change the subject by giving Jackson's horse some treats. He prefers to leave his freedom in the hands of God rather than Jackson's.

The audience gets a sense of the blurring of opposites as in good and evil, right and wrong, friend and enemy, glory and horror, and life and death. General Jackson muses to his wife that war made everything in life seem « so temporary. » He sees how fragile the borders are between life and death, and good and evil, and that one or the other opposite easily passes from one to the other or is transformed by the other.

Jackson is portrayed as a richly complex character. He humbly corrects others for calling him « Stonewall » because he states that only his brigade has earned that name. In another scene, he develops a strong bond with his young niece. At news of her death, he sobs for the first time since the onset of the war. A soldier observes that he is crying « for us all. » His duty to thoroughness compels him to join a late night reconnaissance, resulting in injuries, ironically from friendly fire. At the news that Jackson has lost his left arm, General Robert E. Lee remarks, « General Jackson has lost his left arm while I have lost my right arm. » Implicit in his foreboding statement is that the loss of General Jackson is a turning point in the war, possibly as much as the Confederate defeat to come at Gettysburg, At the moment of his death from pneumonia, Jackson's eyes gaze in the distance at a battlefield as he barks orders to his men. He is the consummate general as a flawless strategist, flawed though his ideals may have been.

Much emphasis is placed on the special character of a civil war. Troops consist of soldiers of all ages, even the aged. The variety of quality of apparel indicates that the soldiers come from all stations in life. There is a sense of camaraderie with the enemy because they are fellow countrymen. The Georgia Irish Brigade shout, as Jackson did, to « kill them all ! » However, they sob loudly at the sight of the Northern dead and dying they have just shot. There is a poignant scene in which a Confederate soldier and a Union soldier meet in a shallow place in the river to exchange coffee and tobacco. The Union soldier offers to exchange General Burnsides, evoking a sad chuckle from both. For them, the concept of « enemy » has become abstracted apart from their real life camaraderie as fellow countrymen.

Showmanship is an important aspect of this war, seemingly out of a desire to impress each other as well as

the enemy. The Confederate troops brandish headdresses and flashy shirts and sashes. In another scene, Union soldiers are admonished not to cheer when their commander is speaking to them.

When the viewer looks past all the praying and philosophical musing, the war is mostly for glory. When a slave woman tells the Union soldiers, after they take Fredericksburg, that she is glad they came so that she and her children could be free before they die, her gratitude is met with indifference. The Union soldiers just want the house for a hospital to patch up the players in their war games. She slinks away, embarrassed at what they have perceived as impertinence. The soldier bleeding all over the piano (a makeshift surgical table), in their eyes, is dying for a higher purpose than the dreamy wishes of a mere slave woman.

In another scene, a Union soldier on the field apologizes as he uses the body of a dead soldier for cover, « I know you're in Heaven but you've still got work to do down here. » In the pursuit of glory, death has become cheap, or perhaps glorious. Another scene shows the Lone Star Brigade conducting a kind of « pep rally » of war singing to whip themselves up for the battle. Further, one does not see hesitation or reluctance in battle except among the three deserters, which they likewise did not hesitate to shoot. America whipped itself into a frenzy and did not stop until it was spent, or perhaps just ran out of supplies, ammunition and human fodder for battle. In one scene, Union generals discuss how their troops will « eat bullets every inch of the field. »

At the root of the frenzy is the recently opened territories in the West, evoking visions of heretofore unimaginable wealth that expansion to those territories would afford to speculators and to those just seeking to improve their situation. The ground floor advantage is not lost on either side. Paradise is certain, but would it be the pastoral dream of the South or the fulfillment of the financial dream of bankers and industrialists. General Jackson was wrong. For the North, everything that every meant anything to them was at stake.

Judy Porter
MA Candidate
History

Museum Review: Cantigny Park Located in Wheaton, Illinois

Joseph Medill, then owner of the Chicago Tribune Newspaper, built his estate called Red Oaks Farms in 1896 for his daughter and son-in-law. It was named after the live Red Oak trees that still grace the property. It was not until the 1950's that Colonel McCormick changed the name of the estate from Red Oaks Farms to Cantigny Farm to commemorate the small French village he helped to free from German occupation during World War One.

The mansion on the grounds is where the McCormick family lived from 1896-1955 and is open for tours. It is a beautiful example of Beaux-Arts style architecture that you would expect to see in the ante-bellum south but not in the western suburbs of Chicago. The formal gardens are beautiful to view in all seasons, but the rose garden in the summer is especially nice.

The highlight of the visit is the First Division Museum, which was completely rebuilt in 1992. Outside the museum are actual tanks used in battles from WWI up until present. The museum itself takes the visitor on an interactive tour of all the wars in which the First Division of the Army fought including WWI, WWII, Vietnam and the Gulf War (I).

Upon entry into the interactive part of the museum you are transformed back into a trench in Cantigny, France during WWI. There is a tank stuck above you as bombs go off around you. Next you enter a barracks in WWII. Push a button to hear a CO address the troops, and you get to see the bedding and equipment the soldiers used. The next room contains a time line of the war with many photographs and artifacts. After exiting this room you enter a theatre and view a short video about the Allied landing at Normandy. After the video the screen rises up, the back wall of the theatre rises up and you walk out of the theatre onto the Omaha Beach. There are the German pillbox bunkers in the distance and remains of the battle strewn everywhere on the beach. After leaving the beach you enter the Cold War Gallery which details the role the First Division played in the occupation of Germany. The next engagement of the First Division was in the jungles of Vietnam. You can hear the insects and feel the oppressive heat and humidity. After leaving the jungle there is an exhibit on the first Gulf War.

Throughout the exhibit are interactive displays and artifacts. Signs posted describe what the war was like for soldiers and civilians alike.

The museum is an excellent resource for someone looking to do research on the First Infantry Division of the Army. It is also a wonderful place to spend the day. The stables have been converted to a visitor's center with a gift shop and snack bar. Throughout the year there are musical concerts as well as special exhibits on gardening and crafts.

Julie DeNood
MA Candidate
History

Poetry: *Painters*

Journalists paint pictures
with news print
Dramatic ink that runs
through the veins of
the ones who have their
lives unfold
onto a page where truth
is sorted on a palette
then selected and organized
to please the artist's eye
And columnists'
are true surrealists typing
colors of thought onto the
white spaces circling their reality
The paintings enter my home
I admire the work
wondering about the
motivation folded inside page four
titled "Inspiration"

Rose Giltzow
English Major