
Confederate Immigration to Brazil: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Reconstruction and Public History

KARINA ESPOSITO

I just returned from a research trip to Brazil. As I immersed myself in a vast array of primary sources that will be the foundation of the transnational perspective that informs my dissertation, I was reminded of the importance and challenges of cross-cultural studies. A transnational approach is grounded in multi-national, multi-archival research, and an in-depth analysis of the historiography of all of the countries involved in the narrative. Pursuing a research topic that examines the way international relations take place outside of formal state-to-state relations also enhances transnational studies. Learning how different nations, and people across borders interpret and remember events, helps us better understand our own past within a global perspective. For instance, in his innovative work, *The War of 1898: The*

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United States and Cuba in History and Historiography, Louis A. Perez Jr emphasizes on the importance of transnational research in uncovering historic silences, and in refining our understanding of memory. Perez asserts that everything Americans had been writing about the Spanish-American War was based on other United States (US)-produced historiographies, resulting in a self-perpetuating narrative that limits the framework used to understand the context of the war. As Perez points out, 'that Cubans developed profoundly different memories of 1898, from which they derived radically different meanings, goes a long way towards understanding the capacity of the past to shape the purpose of policy and the place of power.' The limited perspective that Perez identifies is also evident in the field of public history, a result of the fact that cross-cultural studies can be cost prohibitive and uniquely challenging.

As a Brazilian who finished high school in Brazil and attended college and graduate school in the United States, I have always been interested in transnational studies. As a US history teacher in the United States, and as a doctoral student researching US-Latin American relations and Public History, I have been exposed to cross-cultural studies and faced some familiar but also unique challenges both in my teaching and research. The arduous undertaking of efficiently perusing voluminous archival holdings in different languages and different countries conflicts with strict limits of time and funding for overseas study. But the task is worth the reward.

In the classroom, my students are consistently engaged with discussions, debates, and exchanges that incorporate a non-US viewpoint, even in US survey courses. In addition to expressing general interest, students have been better able to think objectively about potentially controversial topics when the actors involved in the discussion are removed from the politicized internal debate in the United States. This allows, at times, for the opportunity to open a discussion about US history indirectly by removing the barriers that sometimes generate a defensive posture among undergraduates, and the public in general. Discussions on race, ethnicity and foreign policy, for example, are sometimes difficult to discuss in a classroom setting with undergraduates or in a historic site. Once the conversation has begun, however, students are more apt to engage opposing viewpoints. We are then able to connect our discussions to some contested memories in US history and to explore how major events have been remembered and interpreted at battlefield sites, monuments and museums. In approaching our discussions from a transnational perspective, we are able to place our interpretations in a global context, while drawing

comparisons, finding common backgrounds and analyzing case studies to better understand the intricate connections between domestic and international histories. Importantly, we can explore these connections in our memory and commemoration studies.

Transnational research has also proven critical in developing my understanding of the subjects of my inquiry. Examination of Brazilian records for example, demonstrates a complexity to US-Brazilian relations, specifically a Brazilian perspective and agency for which endless mining of records in the United States simply cannot provide. Likewise, no amount of library technology can provide the vast historiographical materials accessible by interacting with knowledgeable scholars in another country. One particular case study that makes a unique and important contribution to transnational studies, as well as in the field of public history writ large, is the immigration of confederates to Brazil during and after the Civil War. Specifically, it is useful to consider how the descendants residing in Brazil today remember and commemorate their American, Brazilian, and Confederate heritage. In engaging in this cross-cultural scholarship, I was able to overcome some of the usual challenges involved in transnational studies. Moving forward, this case study can shed a light on the increasing relevance of transnational studies and cross-cultural collaboration to our interpretation of the past.

The historiography of the American Civil War and Reconstruction encompasses a complex set of arguments including debates over the principles of the American Revolution, expansion, free labor ideology, military strategies, and slavery. Specifically, scholarly interpretations of Reconstruction have ranged from the Lost Cause and the romanticized version of the period, to an increasing emphasis on the protection of civil liberties for African Americans in particular. Studies of social, political, and economic factors involved in the Civil War and Reconstruction, and how those variables have been presented to the public, offer a valuable insight into the motivations of politicians, elites, and ordinary citizens and soldiers during and after the conflict. In order to fully understand the domestic imperatives and international implications of the Civil War, however, one must explore the conflict within a global context in the classroom, and in our Public History studies.

As historian Henry Blumenthal points out, 'the dissolution of the federal Union was certain to produce far-reaching-international consequences, whatever the reason that had brought it about.'² Accordingly, other scholars of US history have successfully connected the major historiographical themes of nineteenth century America to

global events of the time. In *Generations of Captivity, A History of African Americans Slaves*, for instance, Ira Berlin relates technological advancements and international market demand to the progression and strengthening of a slaveholding society in the American South. Berlin argues that Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin and the increased exportation of southern cotton was evidence of a global dynamic underpinning the growth of the southern economy and the expansion of slavery.³ Similarly, In *Mastering America, Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood*, Robert E. Bonner argues that southern slaveholders' perspectives changed in response to both domestic and international changes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which led to a shift from Southern American Unionism to a Southern nationalism at the advent of the American Civil War.⁴ Bonner shows a shift from a Southern master class who looked to the federal government as the guarantor of southern social and financial stability, to a more confident, globalized Southern nation, who no longer believed the South's best interests laid with the survival of the Union.

As the scholarship diversified, and as the contemporary political landscape changed, the interpretation of the Civil War in the public realm, as well as the memory of the war also changed. As Robert J. Cook points out in *Troubled Commemoration, The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965*, 'federal interest in commemorating emancipation', as part of centennial commemoration efforts, 'had diverse political roots'.⁵ Referring to the American political landscape at the height of the Cold War, Cook also explains that the US Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC) 'had already decided that some formal recognition of the abolition of slavery was essential if they were to restore public faith in the centennial project'.⁶ Cook added that, 'Kennedy's leading advisers probably reasoned that too close an association with civil rights might damage the Democratic cause in the forthcoming midterm election.'⁷ Undoubtedly, contemporary politicization of a particular event influences how societies choose to remember their history, which often results in the perpetuation of an official collective memory of the past.

Balancing current politics and history is a challenge faced by all nations. Recently, for example, some critics of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe have argued that his public statements during celebrations of the seventieth anniversary of the end of World War II were an attempt to subtly shift the narrative about the war's end.⁸ Like Cook, in *Remaking America, Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, John Bodnar examines cultural pluralism in American commemorative activities. In doing so, he demonstrates the constant struggle between official and vernacular, or more local memory, and

how they have shaped collective memory and commemoration efforts.⁹ As Bodnar explains, 'more suggestive is the widespread effort on the part of ordinary people to celebrate symbols such as pioneer ancestors or dead soldiers that were more important for autobiographical and local memory than for civic memory.'¹⁰ Similarly, In *Mystic Chords of Memory*, historian Michael Kammen explores the process in which collective memory and national identity have intertwined throughout history. His study examines the groups involved in perpetuating traditions and in the building of a collective historical memory. Kammen asserts that, 'societies in fact reconstruct their past rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind- manipulating the past in order to mold the present.'¹¹ Thus, commemoration studies demand an understanding that societies have a tendency to use a reimagined past to justify contemporary interests, or to reinforce a national identity. This case study shows that the politicization of the memory of the American Civil War and Reconstruction has not followed the same pattern in Brazil as in the United States. As a result, this transnational example contributes to commemoration studies by presenting historians with an opportunity to expand their analytical scope to a global scale when exploring the most important factors influencing heritage preservation, commemoration and memory.

As discussed above, the scholarship of the Civil War and Reconstruction Era has expanded its analytical framework over time. Moreover, as the field of public history continues to grow, historians increasingly explore the commemoration efforts around the country and how the nation has remembered and interpreted the war. As we explore the myriad reasons for the war, and appreciate the enduring consequences of its aftermath to United States history, we should continue incorporating transnational studies into our interpretations of the period. Furthermore, we must apply this complex and evolving scholarship to our teaching, historic site interpretation, local history studies, and commemoration and memory analyses. In undertaking transnational and cross-cultural studies, however, historians face unique challenges, including language barriers, high costs for international travel and cultural misunderstandings.

CASE STUDY: THE CONFEDERATE MIGRATION TO BRAZIL DURING AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Throughout the 1860s, and increasingly after 1865, confederate expatriates settled in diverse regions in Brazil, in both northern and southern colonies, including Para, Bahia, Pernambuco, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Parana, and Santa Barbara D'Oeste in the

state of Sao Paulo.¹² Although the confederates immigrated to many different locations in Brazil, the migration to Santa Barbara D'Oeste region, in Sao Paulo is unique in that, unlike the other Brazilian colonies confederates temporarily established, it persisted as a successful Confederate settlement. As the *Times Union and Journal* reported in 1982, 'about 80 percent returned to the United States, and the only successful settlement was Americana', in the Santa Barbara D'Oeste region.¹³

Having faced different challenges from the confederates who stayed in the United States, this case study illuminates distinct memory and commemoration patterns obscured absent a comparative transnational context. In this particular case, Reconstruction takes on a new light when viewed through the prism of confederate immigrants to Brazil and their descendants. Confederate migrants went through the Reconstruction Era and beyond from a different geographical location, with a distinct set of political, economic and social changes than from Southerners who remained in the United States. Significantly, the descendants who remained in Brazil have remembered and commemorated their heritage largely detached from changing political landscape that shaped narratives in the post-Civil War United States. This study is reflective of local communities' pattern of remembering, removed from an official or government-sanctioned memory of the past. Importantly, this vernacular study highlights how communities separated by geographical boundaries developed distinct patterns of remembering their past, influenced by local, national and international events.

In Santa Barbara D'Oeste, Sao Paulo, the first community of confederates was founded around the *machadinho* farm that Colonel William H. Norris from Alabama purchased in 1866. Norris also purchased three slaves in Brazil.¹⁴ According to descendant Eugene C. Harter in *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy*, 'in the 1870s, when the railroad from Sao Paulo was completed, the Confederados had begun to build their houses near the railroad station, several miles east of Santa Barbara'. Harter added, 'for approximately twenty five years the cluster of homes and shops grew and the settlement took on the name Estacao (the station). The Brazilians, however, always called the town Villa Americana [American Town]'.¹⁵ The 'American Town' eventually became the town of 'Americana'. Today, Americana is about ten minutes by car from Santa Barbara D'Oeste, about thirty minutes from the Campinas metropolis, and a hundred miles west of Sao Paulo city. In the summer of 2012, I visited the region and was able to research the history of the migration at the local archives, while also exploring the Brazilian historiography on the subject, including monographs, thesis and videos. Preliminary research revealed that the confederate immigrants travelled

in large groups and usually were acquaintances in the United States prior to moving to Brazil. According to a newspaper article in the town's historical archives, 'many immigrants that fought alongside Norris' sons during the war of secession established themselves around the same area'.¹⁶

During my visit, I also had a chance to speak to some of the confederates' descendants in order to learn their perspective about the Civil War, as well as their efforts to preserve and commemorate their heritage. In 1954 the descendants formed the *Fraternidade Descendencia Americana*, the Fraternity of American Descendants. In addition to its routine activities, the fraternity holds an annual party to commemorate the community's culture and heritage. During the ceremony, some women dress as Southern Belles, and some men dress as confederate soldiers. The fraternity also has bulletins and a website to inform members across different regions in Brazil of news related to Civil War commemorations in the United States, as well as to educate the members on the history of the War.¹⁷ These bulletins include a substantial number of primary sources that historians can draw on to incorporate transnational perspectives into studies of memory and commemoration. Moreover, the fraternity uses the confederate flag as a symbol of the migrants' heritage, incorporating it into many of their sites and commemorative efforts. The fraternity also oversees the confederate cemetery in town, another symbol of the descendants' heritage. At the cemetery there is an obelisk with the confederate flag and the names of many of the confederate families who first migrated to the region.

Honouring those families and remembering their journey is central to the preservation of the descendants' heritage. Personal histories and families' stories, as well as artefacts, have been preserved and celebrated to enhance the local aspects of the region's history. Some of these artefacts are displayed in the local museum, serving as a window into the lives of the Southerners in the United States. The objects tell a story to those who visit the gallery, primarily of an 'Old South', and of pioneers from the former Confederacy. This material culture is powerful in preserving their heritage, but also lacks the fluidity of Civil War and Reconstruction interpretations that we see in the United States over time. Aside from understanding the complex history of the American Civil War and why these confederates left the United States, it is critical that historians also explore the pull factors drawing them to Brazil. The pioneer symbolism that descendants celebrate is enhanced by the motives behind the Brazilian government's encouragement of the migration. Coupled with the contested reasons that led to the war, these

pull factors allow the descendants to move the discourse beyond oversimplified narratives that explain the migration as a consequence of slavery's legality in Brazil at the time. These pull factors have influenced the descendants' memory of their ancestors, emphasizing on more positive attributes of the confederate migrants, such as their economic and cultural contributions to the Brazil. As Harter points out, the emperor of Brazil at the time 'had his agents meet with prospective colonizers and opened immigration offices at the Brazilian embassy in Washington and the consulate in New York City.'¹⁸ Acknowledging the Brazilian government's encouragement of the migration, detailed in Brazilian archives and historiography, complicates the narratives and contributes to the community's pattern of remembering their history. This is an important factor in understanding how subsequent generations celebrated their heritage, and what they think the reasons were for their ancestors' immigration to Brazil.

The confederates' initial settlement followed a peculiar pattern as a result of their focus on building a community in Brazil grounded in Southern customs and in what they defined as Southern values. Primary research indicates that once the confederates settled in Santa Barbara D'Oeste they set out to develop a community of their own, isolated from the local citizens. They focused on creating social connections and organizations that would help maintain their Southern US culture. As Harter points out, 'first generation confederates like Colonel Norris continued to consider themselves Americans. They were from the CSA not the USA; but still they were Americans, linked firmly to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and the colonial heritage'.¹⁹ The *National Enquire* also reported a migrant's account: 'the land here is so much like the Old South, we raise cotton and corn and we even have magnolias here'.²⁰ Despite their initial insistence on remaining apart from the local culture, the confederates eventually assimilated into Brazilian society. One of the descendants explained, 'the first and second generations spoke Portuguese but few married Brazilians, and the third generations and older members of the fourth have clung together somewhat as a group, but the younger fourth and fifth generation "think Brazilian and marry Brazilians"', so the line is fading.'²¹ Harter also explains that, 'one of the changes more evident in the *Confederados* of my youth [the 1920s and the 1930s] was their belief in tolerance among races. This they had acquired from the Brazilians.'²²

Investigating which traditions were most important to the subsequent generation of confederate descendants in Brazil can also help public historians better engage in cross-cultural studies, explore transnational commemoration efforts, and illuminate relevant patterns in

the preservation of one's heritage. As Harter noted of his own family, 'Grandfather and the colonists took their cultural baggage with them on their sailing ships of the 1860s. Even unto the third generation it was easy to note the romanticism, the dignity, the fanatic family cohesion, the love of heroics, and the sentimental snobbish.'²³ Without a doubt, the cultural baggage to which Harter refers to was transmitted to subsequent generations and influenced the memory of the Civil War in the Confederate Communities in Brazil. Absent the changing political landscape evident in the US after the Civil War, which influenced how Americans remembered and commemorated the conflict, the *confederados* relied on personal stories, material culture, southern cuisine passed down through generations and music to shape their memory of the 'Old South'. As technology improved, the descendants were better able to keep up with Civil War news and history as it is interpreted in the US, but they maintained their unique pattern of remembering and commemorating their heritage. This is a fascinating case study for scholars of public history because it encourages us to explore local histories within a more global context. Comparing Civil War commemoration in Brazil and in the US allows scholars and communities to address a variety of issues, including what factors influence how an individual, a community, or a nation chooses to remember their heritage, how and why does that memory change over time and what can this case reveal about cultural wars, cultural exchange and memory across geographical boundaries.

As the historiography of Reconstruction has broadened to include a more complex and intricate analysis of gender, labor and political forces, further exploration of the confederate immigration to Brazil adds another unique perspective to the analysis of the Era, one that goes beyond just discussing how Reconstruction impacted all levels of US society. In the same way that US citizens experienced the conflagration and its consequences differently, so too did the rest of the hemisphere. Moreover, the story of confederate immigrants suggests that the seismic effect of the American Civil War had reverberations that impacted the rest of the hemisphere.

In addition to enhancing Reconstruction historiography both in the scholarship and in the classroom, and the understanding of commemoration patterns, this phenomenon also contributes to the historiography of US-Brazilian relations. This case study sheds a new light on the relationship between the two countries, which can be useful in teaching and interpreting the history of American foreign relation as well. Examining the Confederate immigration, and especially the

complex cooperation between Brazilians in both official and unofficial capacities working to facilitate the process, helps increase our understanding of the motives and development of US-Brazilian relations. In this case, Confederates' response to internal drivers and external stimuli was to relocate to Brazil, in the process carving out an unintentional role as agents of diplomacy. The confederates engaged in a process of cultural exchange with Brazilians at the initial stage of their settlement. But most importantly, as evident in many immigration studies, they entered into a cultural exchange that evolved over the years. This gradual exchange can elucidate unique regional developments since the immigration took place. Initial research suggests that scholars would do well to consider the influence and impact of technological and education exchange, as well as religion in this specific case.

As the factors above suggest, this cross-cultural study offers an opportunity for a new, transnational interpretation of the Civil War and Reconstruction Era. In exploring how the Fraternity in Brazil commemorates their heritage, it is clear that the descendants view their ancestors' immigration to Brazil as a story of triumph. As Harter points out, 'in Brazil, Southerners could survive with honor'.²⁴ The community proudly preserved objects brought from the southern United States by their ancestors, and maintained a confederate cemetery in the region. The cemetery creates a connection between the descendants and their heritage, and it is a crucial symbol in their fraternity as well as of their southern heritage. This is an interesting point from which public historians can benefit from cross-cultural studies when comparing Civil War commemoration in Brazil and in the US, which would greatly enhance the teaching of public history in the classrooms as well.

More recently, the controversies surrounding the display of the Confederate flag in public spaces makes it clear that the Confederacy's place in the Civil War commemoration discourse remains contested in the United States. In contrast, the history of the United States Civil War and its commemoration has not been politicized in Brazil in the same way, as discussed above. Hence, the Fraternity's purpose, commemoration efforts, and preservation of their Southern US heritage has taken a different form. As Harter notes of his own experience when he returned to the US, 'we had not experienced the same kind of trauma and change that had overtaken the southerners who stayed in the United States after the Civil War and Reconstruction period, and we had to learn about the unique race relations... and how different northerners and southerners were from each other.'²⁵ This phenomenon not only offers historians the opportunity to include a transnational approach to

interpreting Reconstruction, but it also provides public historians with an opportunity to include a cross-cultural approach to Civil War commemoration and to explore the memory of the Confederacy through a more complex lens, across geographical boundaries. As we continue to enhance Civil War and Reconstruction studies and interpretations, this unique episode in the country's history deserves further investigation.

CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED IN CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES

Although public historians involved in cross-cultural studies encounter various challenges, the benefits of pursuing multinational research and developing transnational studies are multifaceted. Transnational studies provide historians with the opportunity to enhance the historiography by including broad perspectives obscured, ignored or misunderstood in traditional scholarship. Moreover, successful case studies can help future scholars overcome some of these barriers. One significant limitation to transnational studies is the language barrier. In this particular case study, confederate descendants in Brazil assimilated into the Brazilian culture over the years and speak Brazilian Portuguese. Thus, it is difficult for Civil War scholars, and US historians in general who might not speak Portuguese, to engage in oral history projects or peruse the local archives, which contain most of the material about the migration.

There are several informative Brazilian authored secondary sources, as well as theses and dissertations that have been published on the subject. However, if the researcher does not speak Portuguese proficiently, it would be difficult to explore these sources. In my own research, I found that my fluency in Portuguese was essential to completing this project. This allowed me to quickly conduct research at the local archives, which contained documents in both English and Portuguese. I could easily navigate through the collections and speak to the archivists in charge of the materials, while also being able to record the information I needed in a timely manner that was crucial given the financial constraints of international travel. Moreover, my language skills allowed me to speak to the descendants of the Confederacy in Brazil who did not speak English. The person-to-person engagement was perhaps the most crucial part of my research. I was able to visit descendants' homes, see the historic artifacts their ancestors had brought from the South, visit the confederate cemetery and go to the store where the Southern-style clothes were made for their annual Confederate party in town. Most importantly, I heard directly from the descendants about their views on the Civil War, Reconstruction, and their ancestors' settlement in Brazil.

It was also valuable to my research to obtain the descendants' opinions on how the Civil War is remembered and commemorated in the US. In doing so, I was able to understand the values and heritage that the descendants believe they are commemorating as they preserve their ancestors' symbols and culture. In this case study, my language skills were essential. While there is no substitute for speaking the language of the subjects of your research, there are ways to address linguistic limitations. For example, a scholar could overcome the language barrier by working in partnership with a foreign university, or working with a foreign student who speaks both languages. There were some preservationists and local historians at the regional archives where I did my internship and research that spoke English, and had a deep understanding of what the confederate immigration meant to their community. Moreover, Brazilian students and professionals were resourceful in finding secondary sources, such as local thesis and dissertations, as well as introducing me to the descendants. A cross-cultural project could greatly benefit from exploring these types of collaborations further.

Institutionally, history departments should encourage their students to approach their research topics from a transnational perspective. In doing so, advisers should suggest that students examine primary sources from foreign archives, as well as familiarize themselves with multinational historiographies. Encouraging students around the world to collaborate with one another would not only help address the language issue, but also eliminate some of the cost involved in international travel, another challenge to transnational studies. Research funding for international travel can be scarce, limiting one's ability to include foreign archives and perspectives in their studies. Some of the larger and more established archives around the world sometimes offer online access to their materials. However, in instances where archives do not have digitized collections, collaborative efforts would prove useful. In point of fact, some archives also provide copying services for a fee, which could also facilitate transnational studies. Smaller, local archives with fewer resources, however, might not offer these services. The local archives I visited for my research on the descendants of Confederates in Brazil for example did not have those services available. In my case, department and university research funding and encouragement were essential for my research. Beyond defraying costs, perhaps most importantly, collaborative research is inherently transnational and will by its very nature enrich the subject under examination.

Aside from language and international travel costs, researchers may also face challenges derived from cultural misunderstandings. Scholars

must take into consideration the background and history of the people they are studying. In the case of the descendants residing in Brazil for instance, my general knowledge of Brazilian history, Civil War and Reconstruction historiography and US-Latin America foreign policy, allowed me to more effectively connect with local historians and be better prepared to converse with the descendants of the confederates. Some Brazilian researchers, for example, might not have been as exposed to Civil War and American history in general, as someone living in the US. Similarly, some historians from the United States who study the Civil War might not have a nuanced understanding of Brazilian history, which could lead to contemporary cultural misunderstandings. Given the politicized and controversial nature of Civil War memory and commemoration in the United States, particularly pertaining to the Confederacy, the descendants of the Confederacy community in Brazil might have reservations about adding their history and commemoration efforts to the contentious Civil War discourse outside of their community. Moreover, the descendants might be hesitant of outsiders who they fear may want to fit their story into narratives that conflict with their personal and community memories. Hence, in pursuing transnational projects, scholars need to immerse themselves in archives, historiographies and personal stories from the nations involved in order to more accurately analyze contemporary efforts of remembering and commemorating one's past.

Conclusion

Cross-cultural studies, although not without challenges, can enhance our understanding of the past and present. In this case study, further research on the confederate immigration to Brazil will highlight the importance of transnational history and cross-cultural collaboration by acknowledging that identities, cultures and even technologies are influenced, but not contained by political boundaries. Including the story of these confederate immigrants provides depth to studies of American history, particularly in illuminating strong Southern convictions to preserve the antebellum culture. Explaining the challenges they faced, and particularly what they aimed to achieve when they moved to Brazil, also sheds light on which aspects of their culture were most valuable to them at the time, enhancing our Civil War commemoration studies. Furthermore, the immigrants' experience helps explain the origins, possibilities, and limits of cultural exchange and the ways that culture can impact relations between nations. Such transnational approach would be valuable both in teaching Civil War and Reconstruction, and in

connecting that history to the public. This unique case study draws considerable attention from the public due to its cross-cultural nature. Hence, it could be useful in engaging a wider audience in the studies of Civil War and memory both in the US and Brazil.

As historians continue to explore Civil War history and commemoration in particular, it will be critical to consider that changes in the social, political, cultural and economic factors in the nation are intimately connected with global dynamics. Hence, cross-cultural studies and collaboration can help us better understand our past. The more we engage in such studies, the more we can continue to identify challenges and most importantly, how to overcome them. Moreover, we must continue encouraging students in the classroom to view their history as part of a more intricate web of global trends. Finally, as we expand our analytical scope to explore these factors within a cross-cultural and transnational framework, we can enhance our understanding of memory and commemoration of one's heritage. As the field of Public History continues to diversify and reach wider audiences, cross-cultural collaborations are essential in engaging scholars and the public worldwide, promoting a more dynamic venue to address past, as well as present issues.

ENDNOTES

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 - ⁵ Robert J. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 2007, p170.
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 - ⁷ *ibid*, p175.
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- ¹⁴ MacKnight Jones, *Soldado Descansa, Uma Epopeia Norte Americana sob os Ceus do Brasil*, p150.
- ¹⁵ Eugene C. Harter, *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 70
- ¹⁶ A newspaper clip in the 'Immigracao Americana' box, undetermined date, translated by author, Centro de Memoria.
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