PICTURES OF A FORGOTTEN PAST: THE SOCIO-HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF
WARTIME VIGNETTES ON CONFEDERATE CURRENCY

Christian M. Lengyel

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Committee:

Scott Martin, Advisor

Ruth Herndon
ABSTRACT

Scott C. Martin, Advisor

Recently scholars have begun to reassess the importance of monetary imagery as a reflection of subjects integral to past societies. This study looks at the vignettes featured on the Treasury notes issued by the Confederate States of America, and attempts to determine their cultural and historical significances. Using Grover Criswell’s seventy defined varieties of Confederate bills, as well as correspondences and records from the Confederate Treasury Department, I explore how these pictures promoted the diverse Southern causes of agriculture, patriotism, and victory. Further, besides advocating these aforementioned concepts, I demonstrate that early wartime representations acted as indicators of Confederate citizens’ advanced intelligence and practical self-sufficiency.

In contrast to those who argue that the C.S.A.’s tableaus functioned as proslavery propaganda, I argue that they reflected a broader set of ideals among Southern Civil War society. By statistically testing the frequency that “slave scenes” were employed, I directly challenge these allegations and find that they represent a very small portion of the aggregate iconography. Instead, my analysis shows that several other vignette-types – namely commercial and mythological figures – were more regularly utilized. However, in October of 1862, these metaphoric depictions disappeared from circulation and the diversity of monetary images started to fade. In turn, realistic portraits of Confederate leaders and Southern capitol buildings dominated C.S.A. scrip with little room for variation. While this shift may have been due to a concerted effort to decrease counterfeits and conserve resources, I suggest that it was actually intended to convey a more overt sense of nationalism after Antietam and the Emancipation Proclamation.
DEDICATION

Some of the happiest childhood recollections I have are going to coin shows with my father, or sitting together, hunched over a pile of old money, studying its value and its significance. Honestly, if it had not been for my father, the following project would have never come into being as he was the one who suggested that I expand my knowledge of Confederate currency into a Master’s Thesis. Since then, nobody has been a bigger influence to its completion than him, which is why I am dedicating these contents to Dr. Laurence E. Lengyel. My father and I have always shared an unusually close bond. While I could write about all of our fond memories (surely a book-length project itself) I feel as though that type of dedication has been done to death. Further, it would not do either of us any justice because there is far more to our relationship than simply “good times.” We have certainly experienced more than a few struggles; yet, despite them all, I cannot remember a time when he regarded me as anything less than his intellectual equal. He used to talk to me – not an outlandish occurrence, I know – but it was the way in which he taught me by doing so that really was unique. Our subjects ranged from memorizing the Presidents of the United States (and their wives) to discussing the Kings and Queens of England, from understanding math through blackjack to learning how to read from *Dilbert* and *Bloom County*. Most importantly, he spoke to me in an advanced manner that made me feel like an adult, and he personified someone who I looked up to with the highest levels of regard and admiration. Twenty-four years later and little has changed. My father still represents the essence of the person I aspire to be. In reality he is more than just my parent – he is also my best friend. I think that is the best compliment that can be paid to man who has put up with my shit for nearly a quarter of a century. I love you, Dad; and I do not believe that anyone is more deserving of this dedication than youself.
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Throughout my time at Bowling Green State University I have been fortunate to be surrounded by individuals who made it impossible for me to assume that I knew everything there is know. Thankfully, these same individual also persuaded me not to sell myself short and settle for “second best” because of their patient guidance and unwavering support.

An eternal debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Scott Martin for advising this project. Had he not been willing to have faith in a research paper and the word of a second-year Master’s student, it is doubtful whether this text would have ever materialized. Further, his keen insights, thoughtful critiques, and genuine interest have all greatly contributed to this document’s completion – I attribute whatever elements of conceptual or stylistic clarity it possesses to him.

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I also wish to thank my “outside readers,” Drs. John McCusker, John Murray, and Stephen Mihm, who took time out of their busy schedules to look over various drafts of my work. Your renowned reputations within the historical community make your comments all the more special. I only hope that I have done them justice in this manuscript. One last "outside reader" would be Kim Fleshman, the coordinator of Student Technology Assistance Center. I owe many thanks to Ms. Fleshman for tolerating me throughout the OhioLINK process, despite my lengthy list of corrections.
While not integral to this particular project, Professors Edmund Danziger, Douglas Forsyth, Dwayne Beggs, Tiffany Trimmer, and Katie Brown have all done their fair shares to make me want to be an historian. During my six years at Bowling Green State University each of these individuals played a key role in that process, and for their influence I am perpetually grateful. Additionally, recognition goes out to R. Lowe McManus who believed in my writing, but also taught me a thing or two along the way.

Fellow colleagues Mike Kneisel, Sherri Bolcevic, Tim Prindle, and Becky Denes were continuous sources of motivation during my graduate education; while dear “comrades,” Susan Krans, Devin Neal, Peter Mette, and Tim Crabtree showed me the power of a kind ear. You all have truly given validity to the saying “no matter how full your life may seem, there’s always room for a couple of beers with a friend.” Also, I could not forget Mrs. Margaret Bryant, whose faithful emails still make me smile and continue to be sources of inspiration.

To my theatre family - namely Kelly Mangan and Sara Chambers - who identified my ability to conduct historical research during my undergraduate years: your predictions were correct! Thank you for pointing me in the right direction and reading through my ungodly long projects and analyses.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the love and encouragement of my Mother, Father, and Grandmothers; as well as my Uncle and Grandfathers, who unfortunately did not live to see its completion. I cannot express in words the amount of gratitude I have for everything you have done. All I can say is that I would not be who, what, or where I am today without you.

Thank you all for not allowing me to settle for “second best;” but also, thank you for showing me that I still have so much to learn.
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“From the Back of a Confederate Note”

Representing nothing on God’s earth now,
   And naught in the waters below it;
As the pledge of a nation that’s dead and gone,
   Keep it, dear friend, and show it.

Show it to those who will lend an ear,
   To the tale that this trifle can tell,
Of Liberty born of the patriot’s dream,
   Of a storm-cradled nation that fell.

Too poor to possess the precious ores,
   And too much of a stranger to borrow,
We issued today our promise to pay,
   And hoped to redeem on the morrow.

The days rolled by and weeks became years,
   But our coffers were empty still;
Coin was so rare that the treasury’d quake
   If a dollar should drop in the till.

But the faith that was in us was strong, indeed,
   And our poverty well we discerned,
And this little check represented the pay
   That our suffering veterans earned.

We knew it had hardly a value in gold,
   Yet as gold each soldier received it;
It gazed in our eyes with a promise to pay,
   And each Southern patriot believed it.

But our boys thought little of price or of pay,
   Or of bills that were overdue;
We knew if it bought us our bread today,
   ‘Twas the best our poor country could do.

Keep it, it tells all our history o’er,
From the birth of our dream to its last;
   Modest, and born of the Angel Hope,
Like our hope of success, it passed.
INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY AND THE HYPOTHESIS

Paper dollars are one of the most widely used and accepted forms of transaction in modern-day American society. While checks and credit cards are both equally popular instruments of exchange, “cold hard cash” is still the preferred means of commerce for many businesses throughout the country. Note collecting has also started to emerge as a burgeoning field of interest the world over as old bills’ beauty and rarity gradually gain more appreciation. But this was not always the case. As recent as the early 20th century, paper money carried with it predominantly negative connotations of instability and untrustworthiness. These suspicions were not unfounded since, from the time of its creation, America’s currency was synonymous with runaway inflation, bank failure, and overall economic collapse.

To be sure, paper notes of the United States have experienced a diverse history; but do we ever question what types of cultural nuances are hidden beneath their surfaces? More importantly, do we ever wonder what kinds of stories these distinctions might be able to tell us about past societies? This thesis aims to show how our money’s iconography may aid in answering such inquiries. As American Studies expert Heinz Tschachler explains, “pictures on currency often reflect the ideas and identities about political sovereignty that [were] prevalent” at the time it was issued.¹ Numismatist Richard Doty agrees, stating that while notes today appear remarkably similar, those of the past were “actually intended to communicate with its audience and not simply to serve as an aid to commerce.”² In short, old paper bills are useful historical tools because

² Richard Doty, “When Money was Different.” Common-Place Website, Vol.6, No. 3 April 2006. Last Access Date: July 1st 2013, http://www.common-place.org/vol-06/no-03/doty/
their portraiture showcases the items and ideals that were once important to our nation and its peoples. But whose aspirations are really represented by these displays – the public or the individuals in charge? I suggest the latter group to be the primary motivator due to the noticeable interrelationship between political rhetoric and the scenes present on monetary scrip. Yet although government officials may select the pictures, they are still intended to convey popular (public) sentiments. Therefore, “one of the recurrent themes found on our early paper is the construction of a national identity.”³

Nowhere is that claim more applicable than during the Civil War. From 1861 to 1865, the Confederate States of America produced over one billion dollars in Treasury notes, each utilizing multiple pictures, known officially as vignettes. While the variety of such imagery ranges from the naturalistic to the whimsical, the majority of tableaus appear to focus on the Southern way of life through representations of agriculture, patriotism, and victory. That concentration leads me to argue that C.S.A. Treasury notes functioned as promoters of these “Confederate causes” by displaying symbols that spoke to the mentality of its audience, and the aspirations of Jefferson Davis’ cabinet.

Still, a smaller set of portraits depicts African Americans, closely associated with the cultivation and harvesting of cotton. Scholars have, in turn, argued that the ideological justification and support of slavery formed the primary basis for these vignettes. Essentially, they assume that the institution itself was being promoted through the bills’ exchange, thus making them convenient vehicles for chattel advocacy and advancement. Accordingly, the following thesis also challenges these assertions. My text examines the frequency with which “slave scenes” were employed and determines that

they represent a very miniscule portion of the Confederate vignette inventory. While their relative rarity may suggest that printers, engravers, and Confederate Treasury officials labored with insufficient time, resources, and manpower, it might also signal a currency system that emphasized subjects other than slavery. But in order to understand how the “Blueback” came into being, one must also realize the sordid background surrounding these specimens.4

Like most societies, settlers of the New World desired a monetary standard made exclusively of precious metals. For a brief time this want was fulfilled in the form of crude coins modeled on the Spanish dollar. However, faced with a deficit of resources to mass-produce these tokens, as well as the on-set of the Revolutionary War, the idea of promissory paper notes first began to take hold. But without an organized bank to back this “Continental currency” and the persistent problem of counterfeits, note holders found their dollars completely worthless by the War’s close. The responsibility of creating a regulatory organization, in turn, fell to the newly formed United States Treasury, led by Alexander Hamilton. It was Hamilton who was prompted to establish the First National Bank of the United States and to stipulate that its means of exchange be based solely off those coins authorized by Congress.5

The founding fathers understood, however, that having a metallic monetary system could potentially be problematic, a situation that was hastened by limited precious metal reserves throughout the Colonies. As a result, the framers of the Constitution were intentionally vague with their wording of the articles that pertained to the issuance of money. Although the document forbade states from issuing their own “bills of credit,” it

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4 Blueback = Treasury Note. Some scholars prefer “Blueback” (because the backs of these notes were often colored blue) while others prefer “Grayback” I have placed the term in quotes to denote my preference.  
5 See U.S. Constitution,(Art. I, Sec. 8, Sub Sec. 5) and (Art. I, Sec. 10, Sub Sec. 1).
was “cleverly silent on whether the new national government could do so.”6 In short, while the United States for all intents and purposes was to be a “hard money” nation, Colonial elites realized that an emergency might someday arise that would require a reintroduction of promissory notes.7 Such an “emergency” did indeed occur, taking the form of the Civil War; yet, that was not the only reason that paper appeared more promising. Heavy and often dangerous to transport, coins could become burdensome for long distance transactions. Thus, the Supreme Court also allowed “commercial banks to issue currency on the condition that their issues were redeemable in legal tender [specie]” when so desired by the bearer, and were “based on loans made by the banks for marketable assets.”8

Unfortunately, with Andrew Jackson’s dissolution of the National Bank in 1836, the nation entered into “The Free Banking Era.” During that period, individual states, cities, and companies began producing paper money in an attempt to counteract the two depressions which resulted, in part, from the President’s decree.9 As no official body was in place to regulate these “wildcat” agencies, the U.S. government, due partially to the Supreme Court’s allowance, and the overall public sentiment that “banking be operated as a free enterprise,” was left powerless to enforce a consistent monetary system.10 Significant currency depreciations once again occurred, this time lasting until 1878.11

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6 Richard Doty, “When Money was Different.”
7 Ibid.
9 This is in reference to the Panics of 1837 and 1857. See Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American South: From the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).
11 See Ibid., 5. While the Banking Act of 1863 provided for a uniform national currency in the northern regions, it was not until 1878 that the National Banking System was restored to all of America. Further, it was not until 1913 that the Federal Reserve Bank was created to uphold the monetary security of today.
At this stage it only seems appropriate to point out that the “Blueback” was never an “official” form of money. Although “a bill was introduced in the Confederate Congress to make the currency legal tender […] it failed to pass,” leaving note holders “only to hope that [the value] would eventually be paid as promised.”\textsuperscript{12} But that did not stop the government from treating this scrip as a legitimate financial instrument, thereby using it in transactions and petitioning Congress for more when additional funds were needed. What resulted was a series of seven congressional acts that authorized the printing of specified numbers of Treasury notes within a given timeframe.\textsuperscript{13} These were the Acts of March 9\textsuperscript{th} 1861, May 16\textsuperscript{th} 1861, August 19\textsuperscript{th} 1861, April 17\textsuperscript{th} 1862, October 13\textsuperscript{th} 1862, March 23\textsuperscript{rd} 1863, and February 17\textsuperscript{th} 1864.\textsuperscript{14} Those seven decrees will serve as my benchmarks for determining the amount of currency produced during the Civil War, as well as identifying the various shifts in vignette popularity that occurred throughout that period.

**Historiography: The Books and The Biases**

Of all the subjects within the historical discourse, monetary history is one of the most under researched. While the economically based study of monetary policy has become quite popular, a more culturally rooted assessment of the notes themselves has rarely been conducted beyond the field of numismatics. Therefore, a socio-historic reassessment of these tableaus is necessary to not only correct contentions that “Blueback” currency served as proslavery propaganda, but also to question what these

\textsuperscript{13} An example would be the First Issue of March 9\textsuperscript{th} 1861, which was stipulated the total sum of notes could not exceed $1,000,000 between that date and March 1\textsuperscript{st} 1862.
\textsuperscript{14} See Raphael P. Thian, *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America*, 1878. And *Minutes from the Confederate Congress*, 1878.
scenes indicate about Southern society. Since this study centers on several other elements besides economics – namely the political, social, and cultural factors that contributed to the Confederacy’s decision to place certain vignettes on their currency – it goes beyond the confines of monetary policy. Like Douglas Ball’s *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* and Larry Schweikart’s *Banking in the American South*, “Pictures of a Forgotten Past” examines how inflation and other fiscal considerations influenced Confederate note makers.\(^{15}\) However, unlike Ball and Schweikart, my work attempts to bridge the gap between a primarily economic evidence-base and the diverse social histories written about the mindset of wartime Southern citizens. In this sense I present a relatively unique line of scholarly investigation usually reserved for notaphilists.\(^{16}\)

The forefathers of monetary history have largely been note collectors themselves. Early works by Raphael Thian, William Lee, George Massamore, and William W. Bradbeer, all attempt to classify Confederate bills into easily manageable guides; however, they pay little attention to vignettes other than as instruments for classification. Perhaps the first work to seriously consider their historical significance was H.D. Allen’s “The Paper Money of the Confederate States – With Historical Data,” published from 1917 to 1919 in *The Numismatist* magazine. Allen’s articles reveal an individual obsessed with uncovering the sources behind monetary designs, a desire which resulted in several corrections to previously held beliefs.\(^{17}\) More so, it was Allen’s curiosity that prompted aficionados like Wayte Raymond to pen *The Standard Paper Money Catalogue* in 1940, which soon became the go-to source for monetary research.

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\(^{15}\) See Douglas Ball, *Financial Failure*, and Larry Schweikert, *Banking in the American South*.

\(^{16}\) A “Notaphilist” is someone who collects banknotes for a hobby.

\(^{17}\) See Arlie Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper*, 59-60. Allen’s biggest credit was debunking the myth that Mrs. Jefferson Davis had her likeness displayed on several Confederate notes. Allen determined that this vignette was not of Mrs. Davis, but rather Lucy Pickens. This point will be discussed later.
Raymond’s synthesis also represents the beginning of a second generation of numismatists who viewed vignettes for their artistic qualities as well as their organizational purpose. This particular group, which included Philip Chase, Grover Criswell, and Arlie Slabaugh, published large amounts of material on the subject of Confederate currency, an endeavor that they continued for well over five decades. Chase’s *Confederate Treasury Notes: The Paper Money of The Confederate States of America 1861-1865*, which first appeared in 1947, is often looked at as the earliest example of these comprehensive manuals, since it provides details about counterfeits and the printing processes in addition to a standard price index.18

Colonel Criswell’s *Confederate and Southern Currency* similarly contributed to this effort during its publication run from 1957 to 1996. This piece eventually became the basis for Criswell’s *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, thought by many to be the definitive price guide of Confederate notes to date. Slabaugh has also elaborated on this data over the years, initially publishing *Confederate States Paper Money: Civil War Currency in the South* in 1958. Since then, Slabaugh’s book has seen 12 separate editions, each revising the values and information on these specimen’s origins. 19 Although countless collectors produced similar anthologies, none bothered to elaborate on Chase, Criswell, and Slabaugh’s narratives. That is, until a curator at the Smithsonian Institute named Richard Doty suggested that these scenes served a far greater purpose than simply works of art.

Dr. Doty is thus credited with being the founder of the third wave in monetary studies, which effectively incorporated history into numismatics. Doty was far more

18 See Philip Chase, *Confederate Treasury Notes*, (Philadelphia; Self-Published, 1947).
academic in his approach to money than many of his predecessors, a trait surely due to his formal training as a historian. Throughout his 45 year career, Dr. Doty authored and edited seven books and wrote over 250 articles on the subjects of coins and currency; however, he is best remembered for America’s Money, America’s Story: A Chronicle of American Numismatic History (2008) and Pictures from a Distant Country: Seeing America Through Old Paper Money (2013). In his article, “When money was Different,” Doty asserts that “bankers and others came to see their currency as way of telling Americans about themselves – about their country and its unique destiny, its past, its prosperity, and its strengths.” The idea that monetary vignettes were issued with the intention of communicating “popular ideologies” to their users is a prevalent theme in Doty’s work. His theories have become widely accepted by other scholars over the past decade, such as Michael O’Malley and Jules d’Hemecourt, who argue that Confederate Treasury notes promote the slave system through their vignettes.

Unfortunately, these two have not analyzed the other types of vignettes both present and popular during the wartime years. Further, although several book-length projects have been written about the “Lost Cause” and the mentality of those involved, Doty, O’Malley, and d’Hemecourt have neglected to use these works as means of evaluation. Therefore, by examining the notes for myself, as well as various scholarly works about Southern culture and ideology, I desire to produce a more “well-rounded” and accurate monetary history.

For this purpose, I have surveyed William Fletcher Thompson, Jr.’s The Image of War: Pictorial Reporting of the Civil War, and Mark Neely, Jr. et al.’s The Confederate

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20 See http://americanhistory.si.edu/press/releases/richard-dick-g-doty-1942-2013. Doty received a PhD. in Latin-American Studies from the University of Southern California in 1968.

21 Richard Doty, “When Money was Different.”
Image: Prints of the Lost Cause to better understand the art of wartime propaganda. After reviewing these books, it quickly becomes apparent that the main job of the printmaker was to please the public.\textsuperscript{22} Further, monographs like Bertram Wyatt-Brown’s \textit{Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South}, Michael Bernath’s \textit{Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South} and W.J. Cash’s \textit{The Mind of the South}, add specifically to comprehending the general psyche of Confederate citizens. Each author presents different cases, but all three posit that Southerners were a highly value-oriented people, and that these ideologies were constantly reflected in aspects of their daily life.\textsuperscript{23} Still, my study would not be complete without utilizing Richard Current’s \textit{Encyclopedia of the Confederacy} as a guide for dates, and other spurious details. In sum, a useful Civil War historiography has been compiled, which, although not all-encompassing by any means, represents the most germane literature on this topic.\textsuperscript{24} These and numerous other sources will be detailed more fully in the proceeding sections of this manuscript.

Methodology: The Study and The Significance

counties, railroads, private banks and merchants.”

This total may seem rather large, but according to Criswell the $1.7 billion put into circulation by the Confederacy can be classified into 72 separate specimens. That figure is further pared down by Criswell’s determination that of those 72, two are “bogus notes” that were passed off as legal tender.

I have chosen to investigate this relatively small sample of 70 note-types in order to determine the socio-historic significance behind Confederate wartime vignettes.

The notes’ obverses often contain multiple images, typically illustrating a “central” vignette and one or more “peripheral” vignettes. For the purposes of this project, reverses were ignored since they are often blank or made up of only simple geometric designs. I break this thesis down into four main chapters based on the different varieties of vignettes issued by the Confederate States of America. The first chapter, “Blueback Bondage? Slave/Black Vignettes,” discusses the pictures of individuals of African ancestry, who may (or may not) be part of the chattel system. It also addresses the current historical debate, refuting the claims of Richard Doty, Michael O’Malley and Jules d’Hemecourt. The second chapter, entitled “From Figures to Figureheads: Allegorical/Mythical and (White) Heroes/Official Vignettes,” investigates scenes of fictitious entities, usually related to Greek or Roman history, as well as scenes of soldiers, generals, members of the Confederate government, their wives, and former statesmen.

In chapter three, titled “Finding Firm Foundations: Industrial/Commercial and Building/Capitol Vignettes,” I analyze scenes of ships, trains, canals, blacksmiths, sailors,

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25 Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog, 38.
26 Ibid. NOTE: Neither one of these notes depicts a slave scene.
27 See Nell Irvin Painter, The History of White People, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010): xi. “American tradition equates whiteness with freedom while consigning blackness to slavery.” But, while most slaves were indeed black, not all blacks were in fact slaves.
28 In short, this means “Southern heroes” like George Washington and John C. Calhoun.
and farmhands alongside houses of power. Finally chapter four, appropriately labeled “The Rest: Worth/Whimsy/Other Vignettes,” addresses the seemingly unrelated portraits of children, Indians, design medallions, and stylized monetary values.²⁹

Each of these chapters will ask several pertinent questions about its respective material, and will answer them using statistical and historical methods of analysis. My basic research topics include what types of images were chosen; why were some images selected and others neglected; why do certain images disappear and others proliferate; for whom were the images marketed; what socio-cultural elements were emphasized by the Confederacy with these images; and how did that emphasis change over time. Ultimately, the answers uncovered will help to address the main query of my research: what do these vignettes say about the people who produced them and what does that statement indicate about their overall cultural values? My conclusion is that these tableaus make an educated statement about wartime Southern society. Not only were they intended to promote the aforementioned concepts of agriculture, patriotism, and victory, but also were reflectors of Confederate citizens’ intelligence and self-sufficiency.

Finding satisfactory explanations, however, are not easy feats. I recognize that definitive answers to these statements are difficult considering few secondary and even fewer primary sources exist which deal exclusively with my topic. Still, I believe that several contributions can be made to the master narrative by looking at the notes themselves. Using Grover Criswell’s renowned *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, and Clint Reynolds and K.C. Robinson’s *Confederate States Currency 1861-1865: A Piece of History, A Work of Art*, I am able to view these specimens firsthand. Thankfully, Colonel Criswell also categorically classifies these Confederate

²⁹ Christian M. Lengyel “Confederate Vignette Classification System.”
bills, providing production figures and dates for each note. These numbers are extremely useful for my project as they allow me to statistically test the frequency that each set of vignettes happens to appear.\(^{30}\)

The quantitative results form a compelling case against the arguments of Drs. Doty, O’Malley, and d’Hemecourt. Blacks constitute a very small part of the Confederate monetary iconography catalogue, making a study that focuses on the other types of vignettes all the more essential. They are, after all, “a way of telling Americans about themselves – about their country and its unique destiny, its past, its prosperity, and its strengths.”\(^{31}\) Moreover, as Heinz Tschachler explains, “a national currency may foster a sense of nationhood only […] in accordance with the wishes of the nation.”\(^{32}\) If these statements are correct, perhaps the Confederate government wanted its notes to reflect a “unique destiny,” but placed their emphasis on subjects deemed more important than slavery. I agree that slavery was a major component of the Civil War; however it is equally important to discuss the other cultural implications that these images might indicate about the Southern mentality.

Of the all the categories studied, two stand out as being unusually high in representation on Confederate notes (See Table 1): “Allegorical/Mythical” and “(White) Heroes/Officials.” More intriguing are the facts that between 1862 and 1863, allegorical scenes practically die out, while heroic tableaus increase in number. Interestingly, there seems to be a noticeable shift during the autumn of 1862 towards more “realistic” types of vignettes, with “(White) Heroes/Officials” becoming the dominant category for the remainder of the Civil War. A similar pattern is apparent in the “Industrial/Commercial”

\(^{30}\) See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*, and Reynolds and Robinson’s *Confederate Currency*.

\(^{31}\) Richard Doty, “When Money was Different.”

and “Building/Capitol” arenas. Beginning precisely in the fall months of 1862, Buildings and Capitols seem to become more favored and completely replace Industrial/Commercial tableaus.\(^{33}\) But why did these shifts take place? I suggest that the Confederacy initially utilized their paper money to depict their cause as just, blessed by God and Nature for the first two years of the war, but changed to a more “concrete” set of characters as the Union started to dominate the warfront after Antietam/Sharpsburg.\(^{34}\)

To get at that point and others associated with it, the anthologies of Raphael P. Thian have proven to be very useful. Thian’s compendiums, which include

*Correspondences of the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America,*

*Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America,* and

**Table 1: Bar Chart of “Totals” of Categorized Vignettes (1861-2 & 1863-4)**\(^{35}\)

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\(^{33}\) Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalogue.*

\(^{34}\) This event took place in September of 1862 – only a month before the vignettes changed.

Correspondences with the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America, form the crux of my case. As their titles suggest, these works compile nearly the entire body of decrees, letters, and memorandums issued or received by the Confederate Treasury. I investigate Thian’s works to identify the monetary considerations of the Confederate Treasury, most significantly the relationship that existed between the two secretaries of the Treasury and the various note printing firms of the South. For a more comprehensive overview of Southern culture, The Rebellion Record, edited by Frank Moore during and immediately following the Civil War, provides a perfect research tool. Moore’s 12-volume set, containing various documents, narratives, poetry, bits of gossip, and incidents is thus consulted alongside Thian’s important manuscripts with the express purpose of gleaning a more detailed cultural perspective in the social, as well as economic, spheres.36

Confederate Treasury notes’ monetary iconography is mainly comprised of agrarian, patriotic, and victorious vignettes. In this thesis I link these tableaus to the outlook of the Confederacy by tracing their evolutions on wartime paper money, as situated within the confines of the wartime historiography. In doing so, I demonstrate the significant correlation that existed between the imagery on “Blueback” currency and the Southern peoples’ – namely politicians – desire for a “justified cause.” While it is noted that the pictorial presentation of their ambition changed several times from 1861 to 1865, moving from the realm of symbolism (allegories) to literalism (heroes), it ultimately remained the underlying message of nearly all the vignettes issued throughout the Civil War. This thesis addresses that issue by shedding a new and insightful light on this compelling, but ultimately forgotten, area of numismatic research.

36 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences, and Frank Moore, Rebellion Record.
CHAPTER ONE: BLUEBACK BONDAGE? SLAVE/BLACK VIGNETTES

The True Value of a Dollar: An Overview

Although scenes of agriculture, patriotism, and victory represent the majority of tableaus on Confederate currency, I feel that it is more imperative to begin my thesis with a discussion of the smallest and most controversial image category: Slave/Black vignettes. Race is a very subtle issue; yet, contemporary scholars have often generalized its terminology. Nell Irvin Painter states: “American history offers up a large bounty of commentary on what it means to be nonwhite, moving easily between alternations in the meaning of race as color, from ‘colored’ to ‘Negro’ to ‘Afro-American’ to ‘black’ to ‘African-American,’ always associating the idea of blackness with slavery.”1 But not all slaves were black and not all blacks were slaves. In this case, however, it is almost certain that the African Americans featured on C.S.A. Treasury notes were part of the chattel class, and therefore, how I refer to them requires some explanation. I have titled this chapter Slaves and Blacks in an effort to denote that these pictures are of blacks, and more specifically, black slaves. Throughout its text I am very careful to use the words “black” or “African American” only when talking about this racial group as a whole. Likewise, the terms “slave,” “slavery” and “chattel” are reserved solely for discussions about the institution itself and the bills that possibly depict it.

In total, there are only seven Confederate-issue “slave notes” in existence. The majority of these specimens showcase African Americans engaged in activities closely associated with the production and harvesting of cotton.2 Types 4 (a $50 note) and 41 (a $100 note) display two slaves weeding cotton, while Types 13 (a $100 note) and 35 (a $5

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note) illustrate two slaves loading cotton onto a wagon and ship, respectively. On Type 23 (a $10 note), two slaves are taking cotton to market on a wagon, whereas on Type 29 (also a $10 note), one slave is picking the crop itself. The outlier is the $10 Type 30, also known as “General Francis Morton’s Sweet Potato Dinner,” where a slave is seen serving his master out in a field.³

While the noticeable interrelationship between blacks and cotton is undeniable, it does not necessarily indicate an emphasis on slavery. Indeed, “more than 4 million 500-pound bales cotton were grown each year, which was 80% of the world’s supply.”⁴ Eugene Genovese estimates that by 1860, “about 75 per cent of the South’s cotton crop went abroad,” and that cotton, not grain, constituted the main source of Southern income.⁵ It would, therefore, be reasonable to represent this industry on Treasury notes since they were originally used for the crop’s purchase.⁶ Unfortunately, most of the available iconography illustrating cotton fields also happened to illustrate those who typically worked in them. Could it be that the primary goal of these notes was to showcase King Cotton and just happened to include slaves as an aside? Perhaps; but that has not stopped scholars from speculating that a more negative set of interpretations can be drawn from these bills. In the last fifteen years, these authors have set out to prove that Confederate currency contains “coded” support for the system of slavery – literally, economically and allegorically.

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³ Grover Criswell Notes: 4, 13, 23, 29, 30, 35, 41. See appendix for example of these notes. Types 23 and 35 were “barrowed plates” from the Bank of Charleston. See Chapters two and three.
⁶ See Raphael P. Thain *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America, 1878*. Eventually, the Confederate Treasury issued “cotton certificates” and special bonds for the crops exchange; however, at the outset of the Civil War many found it convenient to utilize Treasury notes.
Promoting a “Peculiar Institution:” The Historiographical Debate

Three dominant viewpoints emerge concerning this matter, each detailing an ulterior motive on the part of the Confederacy. The first of these is found in the recent monograph, *Pictures From a Distant Country: Seeing America Through Old Paper Money*, written by numismatic expert Richard Doty. In his text, Doty asserts that “imagery did not spring to life in a single creative act; rather, it evolved over time reflecting a growing national sentiment and a growing skill in creating and disseminating a particular way of looking at the world.” That outlook manifested itself in many ways; however, the author believes it was most pronounced in depictions of slaves on American money. Accordingly, Doty explains that slaves experienced a three-phase system of incorporation onto Southern bills, which attempted to promulgate the chattel system at home and in the Northern states.

The first phase included a blatant reworking of the printing plates by retouching known vignettes to “feature slave workers rather than free ones – turning white into black, if you will.” The second and third parts were far subtler. Instead of just darkening existing images, new scenes were created that intimately linked blacks with agriculture rather than industry. Doty believes note makers had sound reasoning for doing so: “those in the North would be concerned with the wage and class threat represented by such people, while their counterparts in the South would be concerned with much larger matters still: if a slave proved intelligent enough to operate a machine, what was the

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8 Ibid., 28. For examples of this phase see Farmer’s Bank of Onondaga $1 note, printed in 1852 vs. Bank of Howardsville $50 note, printed in 1861; or The Adrian Insurance Company $1 note, printed in 1853 vs. Planters Bank of Fairfield $5 note, printed in 1855.
justification for keeping him in bondage?”

Eventually, an even more refined set of tableaus began to emerge. While “the new depiction[s] continued to center on agriculture […] the visage of the slave changed,” now reflecting contentment and satisfaction with his work. These were the vignettes that circulated just prior to and during the Civil War, which, in Doty’s opinion, could not have been better timed. Technically, any note could circulate anywhere; “if a banker in the South chose to place an image sympathetic to slavery on his currency, Northern as well as Southern people would see that image,” thus adding validity to the latter’s convictions.

Although very skilled at making the distinction between public and private-issue bills, Dr. Doty sometimes loses sight of their significant differences. In his work the author occasionally refers to “Southern currency” as if the term applies to both groups, when in fact it does not. Throughout the Civil War both the Southern Banks and the Confederate government produced their own series’ of notes. While the Confederacy maintained their money “was ‘the accepted currency of the whole country,’” individual cities, banks, and businesses continued to follow “free banking” regulations, and circulated scrip simultaneously. As a result, the catalogue of monetary images becomes increasingly complex. By periodically merging these two divergent groups together historians, like Doty, are only causing greater confusion and misjudgment. Further, Doty’s statement about blacks being kept away from industry is not verifiable. According to Eugene Genovese, Secretary of the Treasury “C.G. Memminger wrote to [James H.] Hammond arguing that Negroes, not whites ought to be employed in the

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9 Ibid., 30.
10 Ibid., 33. Emphasis mine.
11 Ibid., 33. Emphasis in original
factories because a white proletariat would represent the greatest possible threat to the regime.”

More importantly, once the war began, business between the North and the South was effectively destroyed. Although “the border between the two sections remained extremely porous through the spring – and even longer in some places,” it gradually became more difficult to get goods from one section to the other. If the South had wished to spread the “positive sides” of slavery through their currency, they chose the wrong time to do so. Even before fighting commenced, Northerners were wary about accepting Southern paper money because of its fluctuating values. Eugene Genovese explicates, “for years following the bank failures of 1837 the banknotes of New Orleans moved at a discount of from 10 to 25 percent,” and other banks’ scrip often closely followed suit. The North’s reluctance only increased during wartime, when Union forces deliberately tried to devalue the Confederacy’s Treasury notes. Heinz Tschachler explains how the “Greenbacks were exchanged, at first clandestinely, then quite openly, at a ruinous discount on Confederate notes.” By the time General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Northern monies had depreciated the “Blueback” to such an extent that they were practically worthless.

Another aspect of this debate is outlined in Michael O’Malley’s *Face Value: The Entwined Histories of Money & Race in America*. Here the author argues that specie (coins) and slaves shared several communalities that ultimately led to the latter’s

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18 Ibid. 35
immortalization on currency. 19 Slaves not only had worth as labor, they also “had value in capital […] which] allowed Americans to speculate and experiment with money.”20 O’Malley explains that, “like the idea of gold’s intrinsic value, the supposedly non-negotiable racial difference of Africans stabilized value in exchange; […] racial value anchored monetary value,” and forever bound the two systems together.21 This bond was only strengthened during the Free Banking Era, when, “in the absence of a central bank, slaves served in place of gold,” sometimes being used as “black flesh coins.”22 O’Malley reasons that this was perhaps the greatest motivating factor for putting African Americans on notes, as it symbolizes the economic importance of “negro bodies.”23 He, like Doty, posits “paper notes […] shared a visual vocabulary” that would undoubtedly influence merchants to continue chattel sales just by looking into their pocketbooks.24

According to this line of argument, bills also provided the perfect avenue to propagate slavery in the North. O’Malley agrees with Doty that “by the eve of the Civil War, Southern paper money tended to feature benign and positive images of healthy slaves toiling in subservience: a positive message […] that the circulating money carried with it as it traveled North.”25 O’Malley is of the opinion that if “slaves, not gold, formed the capital base of credit” in the South, than it should be obvious that they be promoted through the exchange system.26 After all, “bankers put images […] on their notes not simply from sentiment,” but rather because they were important components to

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21 Ibid., 11.
22 Ibid., 44.
23 Ibid., 27.
24 Ibid., 68.
25 Ibid., 73.
26 Ibid., 72.
the proliferation of the Southern way of life. But while this statement is true, on the eve of secession banks were more concerned about going broke than they were about what types of vignettes appeared on their bills.

Almost immediately after declaring themselves an independent nation, the C.S.A. ordered Southern banks to loan their specie to the government in exchange for Confederate Treasury notes. Their decree had two adverse results. First, the act of seceding stirred a panic, which caused citizens to remove their money from the banks. Second, the numbers of notes needed to match these demands were unfortunately not tendered until mid-1861. Tellers, therefore, found themselves lacking scrip when the public demanded it. If, according to Larry Schweikart, “bankers were preoccupied with the slave question, few evidenced such concern in their personal letters until after secession was at hand […and] even then, they were principally concerned with the practical effects of secession on business.” Schweikart’s claim can be verified by simply perusing Raphael Thain’s 3000-page compendium of Treasury correspondences, in which no Southern banker ever expressed pro or anti-slavery sentiments. Their need for currency was so great that the majority of them just desired some form of respectable money to fill their vaults, be it notes that depicted slaves or not.

An equally important query is if blacks were so linked to the economy during The Free Banking Era, why were their likenesses noticeably absent from bills issued before 1850? Richard Doty raises a very valid point with regards to this issue. During his 30-

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27 Ibid., 73.
28 Raphael P. Thian, Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1878.
30 See Raphael P. Thain, Correspondences with the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America, 1880. The more persistent problem was counterfeiting and thus the majority of bankers wanted notes with higher security features rather than slave vignettes.
year career as a curator at the Smithsonian Institute, Dr. Doty investigated countless
currency specimens, and he admits “among the thousands of notes that I have examined
at the Smithsonian […] and elsewhere, I discovered precisely one image of African
Americans prior to 1850.” Doty credits this underrepresentation to the mood of the
country during this period: “the economy, recovering from hard times of the late 1830s,
was set to reach new heights; and Americans had more important […] things to think
about than a potential conflict over slavery.” Instead, “the South was yearning for the
good old days of unfettered local control over local affairs, and while its view on the past
was not accurate in all respects, there was enough truth in it to give pause to reflective
Northerners” throughout the war.

While Michael O’Malley’s arguments are closely related to those of Richard
Doty, a different rationale is professed by Jules d’Hemecourt. Dr. d’Hemecourt, while not
an historian, claims the use of allegorical images in conjunction with slave vignettes
points to a “divine” historical justification of chattel servitude. He believes that “the
imposition of such classical figures suggest[s] that the slave system was not only
economically crucial but also in perfect compliance with revered tradition.”

Typical of many Confederate bills, the $100 note honors a white hero of the South, in this case
the late senator […] John C. Calhoun. But the largest vignette […] is devoted to a field scene in
which slaves serenely hoe cotton. The symbolic national figure of Columbia (a classically
illustrated female originally used to portray the United States), gazing upward from the right
foreground, seems to offer tacit blessing to the concept of forced labor, suggesting that it is
integral to a national purpose… Such conjoined motifs reappear throughout Confederate currency
[…] providing a sense of traditional, almost heavenly, acceptance of the Southern System.

32 Ibid., 28
33 Richard Doty, America’s Money, America’s Story: A Chronicle of American Numismatic History
34 Jules d’Hemecourt, “Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency,” Beyond Face
35 Ibid.
In the same article, d’Hemecourt continuously points to the various notes issued by the Confederacy, Southern states, and private banks during this four year window as evidence that “slavery was actively and aggressively promoted as the principal bulwark of Confederate prosperity” and carried moralistic undertones in its presentation.36

Dr. d’Hemecourt seems to be suggesting is that by mixing images of slavery with emblematic representations, the South had found the perfect form of propaganda. The earliest $50 Confederate bill (which d’Hemecourt incorrectly labels as a $5 note), depicts slaves picking cotton under the supervision of their white master, alongside scenes of Agriculture and Industry. D’Hemecourt discusses how “the clever juxtaposition of classical icons and idyllic scenes of modern involuntary servitude serves notice that the government bases its economy on slavery, and that history and heritage validate the system.”37 The use of mythological goddesses, accompanied by portraits of government officials only drives this point home as it justifies the “peculiar institution” as “not only moral but legal” as well.38

This is a profound revelation, but the evidence from the notes challenges d’Hemecourt’s argument. Such scenes were not “typical” on notes issued by the Confederate government – far from it. Just because a printer happened to pair two vignettes together may be nothing more than a coincidence, especially since such combinations often occurred out of convenience and necessity. As I will address later in this chapter, ill-prepared printing houses often selected their imagery based on what they had at their disposal. In fact, many firms’ work at this time touted “artful but irrelevant images of Greek goddesses, civic virtues, and the odd railway train” all on the same

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
note. So, although one picture might have been used in conjunction with several others, that placement does not necessarily indicate an ulterior motive on the part of Confederate officials.

But this is not the only shortcoming of d’Hemecourt’s case. Like Doty, d’Hemecourt is somewhat careless in his observations. Throughout his article (and most of the web-archive), currency is grouped together so haphazardly that the untrained scholar assumes public and private-issue bills to be one and the same. If we follow d’Hemecourt’s lead, there is no problem accepting the statement that “issuers of paper money in the Confederacy openly sought validation for slavery;” but I contend that this is not the case. While the Confederate government was certainly guilty of enacting numerous ploys to see the slave system continued, I maintain that they did not do so with their currency. A statistical assessment of the notes yields scant evidence to support the claim that “Confederate currency was designed […] to validate [a] system that held black laborers in perpetual slavery.”

Neglected Numbers: The Statistical Findings

My analysis indicates that “Slave/Black” scenes represent one of the smallest groups of vignettes on Confederate currency (See Table 1). With regard to the “total images studied” sample, Slaves and Blacks make up 4.6% of the 153 aggregate vignettes examined, placing them fifth among the other six sections. Turning to the “total central images” sample, Slaves and Blacks come in last place at a mere 8.4% of 71 central

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39 Richard Doty, *America’s Money, America’s Story*, 139.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
Table 2: The Numbers and Percentages of Categorized Vignettes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th># Of Central Images</th>
<th># Of Peripheral Images</th>
<th># Of Total Images</th>
<th>% Of Central Images</th>
<th>% Of Peripheral Images</th>
<th>% All Images Studied</th>
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</thead>
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<td>“Slaves/Blacks” 1861-1862:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
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<td>“Industrial/Commercial” 1861-1862:</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Allegorical/Mythical” 1861-1862:</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>“(White) Heroes/Officials” 1861-1865:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Buildings/Capitols” 1862-1865:</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>0%</td>
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<td>“Worth/Whimsy/Other” 1861-1865:</td>
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<td>4.9%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>Approx. 100%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

43 Christian M. Lengyel. “Number and Percentage of Categorized Vignettes.”
vignettes appraised.\textsuperscript{44} Finally, in the “total peripheral images” sample, Slaves and Blacks again rank fifth at 1.2\% of 82 peripheral vignettes, only outnumbering “Buildings/Capitols,” which have 0\% in that category. These figures are taken from seven different varieties of notes – the only Confederate “black notes” in existence – with six showing centralized scenes and one showing a peripheral tableau.\textsuperscript{45} Also important is the fact that all but one of these notes was printed during 1861, a period when the variety of imagery was at its height and when note makers were scrambling to find suitable designs.

Given this information, it is difficult to believe that currency of the Confederate States of America functioned as a form of proslavery propaganda. Simple statistics show that bills which \textit{did} depict black slaves were designed and circulated in such small numbers (3,554,363) that they were unlikely to have affected the mindset of the average Southern citizen. When added up, these notes equal just 11.0\% of the 32,285,409 bills issued between 1861 and 1862, leaving 89.0\% that could potentially promote causes other than slavery.\textsuperscript{46} Since all of these notes were printed when the assortment of images was at its most diverse, it is quite improbable that an 11\% figure reflects a genuine attempt to pictorially advocate chattel labor. Further, that percentage only becomes smaller as the years progress. By 1865, approximately 85,095,974 notes had been circulated among the public, which would significantly reduce the potential indoctrinating effects of slave scenes.\textsuperscript{47} At the wars’ close these images amounted to only 4\% of the aggregate, and thus would have been quite rarely seen in daily transactions.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Criswell notes: 1-70. Only one bill printed during 1862 depicts any type of black/slave scene. This appears on a $100 note and was produced early on in the 1862 series.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., Using Criswell note: 1-72.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., Using ibid., 56-72.
Production numbers are also misleading. Notes displaying slaves and blacks were only issued in the denominations of $100, $50, $10, and $5. With the two counterfeits excluded, a total of seven different $100 bills, or 2,457,028 individual notes, circulated between 1861 and 1862. Of that figure, 1,285,827 (52%) were “ethnic,” and shown in two issues.\(^49\) But by early 1862 “notes of $100 cannot rightly be regarded as being a real portion on the paper currency of the country, [since] not one dealer in fifty wish[ed] them” due to a rash of forgeries.\(^50\) This resulted in Christopher Memminger instituting a mass recall in the fall of 1862, which potentially included over 600,000 $100 bills that bore a prominent slave vignette and greatly reduced the gross amount of “black notes” in circulation.\(^51\) Further, it is highly unlikely that the average Southern citizen would have regularly possessed a note of such high value. Albert A. Nofi computes “that on the eve of war a common laborer received about a dollar for a ten-to-twelve hour day, and usually worked a 55 to 65 hour week, for a monthly income of $30.00.”\(^52\) Although heavy-duty inflation eventually caused this wage to rise, by the end of 1862 the ratio of Confederate dollars to gold was only 3.25:1.\(^53\) In turn, this kept earnings relatively constant, but also lessened an ordinary person’s chances of seeing one of these $100 bills.

More widely seen denominations are equally problematic. The seven varieties of $50 bills amount to 1,460,106 notes. Only 1,606 (0.001%) portrayed a slave, and were shown in just one issue.\(^54\) A similar situation is witnessed with the $5 series, where of the

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\(^50\) Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 1881: 482.

\(^51\) $22 million were redeemed, but $130 million remained in circulation.


7,982,701 bills printed, 7,160 (0.009%) depicted chattel workers. The majority of these vignettes instead appeared on the 8,055,892 $10 notes issued between 1861 and 1862, which was the common form of pay for Confederate soldiers. Of the eleven $10 varieties, three depict black field workers; yet this sample can be deceptive. While African Americans appear more here than on any other denomination, the production figure of 2,246,770 bills is equivalent to a mere 27.9% of the total $10 issues. Perhaps these notes were meant to be circulated among Confederate troops in an attempt to stir anti-emancipatory sentiments; however, it is doubtful that this small percentage would have made much of an impact. Thus, it seems fair to assert that slavery carried with it a relatively low priority on the Treasury notes of the Confederate States of America.

Shortages and Deficits: Explanations for This Absence

While I have argued that the Confederate government did not deliberately use their currency to promote slavery, they more than likely had a reason for not doing so. Based solely on the sheer amount of support that this “peculiar institution” received in the South, one could make a case that note makers had to see the advantages of such a convenient form of indoctrination. In turn, it is rather incongruous for slavery not to have appeared more frequently on an item that would so easily disseminate itself within the public sphere. Further, the fact that slave vignettes were used, albeit minimally, at the start of the war and then quickly vanished, does little to explicate this issue. This is a difficult question to answer; however, by investigating the background surrounding these

55 Ibid.
56 See Albert Nofi, *A Civil War Treasury*, 381. Nofi provides a helpful chart that lays out the pay figures for Confederate (and Union) soldiers. Monthly earnings ranged from $11.00 to $301.00, but the majority of serving men (privates, corporals, and sergeants) received approximately $13 to $17 a month, and was usually paid in 10-dollar notes.
specimens insights might be gleaned that help clarify why slave scenes were not more prevalent on Confederate scrip.

The most straightforward cause for this dearth may stem from a simple lack of availability. As Dr. d’Hemecourt so appropriately mentions, “chronic shortages in both artistic manpower […] and essential supplies eventually strangled Southern publishing,” and the Confederate Treasury Department was no exception.58 According to Neely et al., “so desperate was the fledgling country for engravers that it had serious difficulty even printing a respectable-looking national currency.”59 Originally printed using the intaglio (engraved plates) process on cotton paper, the quality of notes began to decrease as “ink and rag paper became increasingly scarce.”60 This was compounded by the army’s need for soldiers, which effectively drained the talent pool of artisans for the duration of the war. Although the Confederacy still attempted to maintain a “proper” monetary system, these added pressures made the realization of such a goal progressively difficult.61

Ink, paper, and manpower are all essential for producing bills; however, the plates also play a key role in the process. Since “most of the engravers of bank note plates were in the North, as were the plates,” the South lost access to these resources when they seceded from the Union.62 For a brief time The National Banknote Company, which had a branch office in New Orleans, continued to supply the newly formed Confederacy with currency.63 Unfortunately, this partnership came to an abrupt end on April 19th 1861 when President Abraham Lincoln declared an official blockade between the Northern and

59 Mark Neely Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor Boritt. The Confederate Image; Prints of the Lost Cause. 6
60 Jules d’Hemecourt, “Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency.”
the Southern regions. A few weeks later, authorities raided NBNCo’s New York office, and ordered them to cease their Southern dealings. But this was not the end of The National Bank Note Company, thanks to the efforts of an ambitious (Southern) employee named Samuel Schmidt.

Just because the Northern operation was out of the picture that did not mean the Southern contingent could not continue business as usual. Samuel Schmidt, who headed NBNCo’s three-man firm in New Orleans, decided to continue producing Confederate Treasury notes under the alias of the Southern Bank Note Company. However, this too was short-lived. The Union capture of New Orleans on April 24th 1862 officially brought an end to SBNCo’s wartime involvement. The South soon faced the fact that it needed to find, not one, but several new printing houses to meet their constituency’s growing demand for currency. Eventually, they settled upon the lithography firms of Hoyer & Ludwig, Archer & Daly, and Keating & Ball, as well as independent agents like Blanton Duncan and James T. Patterson; yet, there were to be severe costs for their compromise.

One element that suffered was the variety of images that they could select for their bills. Lithography is a vastly different medium than intaglio, using stones rather than steel plates. More importantly, lithographers were not used to printing paper money, meaning their selections of imagery did not match the parameters of the banknotes. Hoyer & Ludwig fell into this category, as before the war the company had mainly

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64 See ibid. This included the first four Confederate notes (known as the Montgomery Issue), which was authorized by the Act of March 9th 1861. This series happened to include one slave scene.
65 See ibid. This was known as the Richmond Issue of 1861 (The capital was moved from Montgomery to Richmond in May of that year). SBNCo continued to be one of many note producers for the Confederacy well into 1861. In all, this company issued no slave vignettes for the Confederate States of America.
66 See Raphael P. Thain Correspondences. Just prior to the Union entering New Orleans, Christopher Memminger ordered that Schmidt’s printing equipment be seized due to his inability to meet deadlines. Unfortunately, they were seized by the Union before Memminger could do so.
67 See ibid.
produced stock certificates, sheet music, and maps. Therefore, the firm “had a limited number of suitable lithographic views or ‘cuts’ from which to choose (for it had never intended doing business as currency printer).” While companies like Keatinge & Ball executed their tasks with slightly more finesse, occasionally even printing with the intaglio method, all note making companies were faced with the same predicament: how to produce an official and quick currency with few resources and limited expertise.

To compensate for their handicaps, printers were forced to select one of two alternatives: using the images they already had in stock, or making new stone lithographs with existing works of art. A prime example of the latter process is “General Francis Morton’s Sweet Potato Dinner,” which was actually painted during the Revolutionary War and hung in the Charleston state capitol. When the Civil War began, paintings like this provided a convenient source of imagery for Southern printmakers, like Blanton Duncan, who wished to illustrate a sense of peace and harmony through the lens of a more bucolic past. Of course other “Southern printers simply lifted by offset […] scenes that had been used on bank notes they had access to.” Indeed, “many notes did not even picture Southern scenes, but were vignettes used before in the North.” By the end of 1862 these “recycled” pictures accounted for over half the vignettes in circulation.

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70 Richard Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 123.
71 Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*.
75 Ibid.
The rest just made do with what they had available in their files. In order to come up with general approximations of previous bills, firms like Hoyer & Ludwig often utilized disjointed vignettes, “not because [they] were identical to what had been on the earlier note[s] but because [they were] about the same size.” The outcomes were images that had a “cut and paste” appearance, resembling stock certificates rather than currency. So what types of iconography were featured on Confederate bonds? Typically they matched the product of the company for whom the certificate was issued. Thus, Railroads depicted rail scenes, canal companies depicted canal boats, and cotton manufactures depicted cotton fields. But tableaus of cotton crops came with an added component. These scenes also incorporated the people who were entwined with cotton production: slaves. Whether it was the lithographer’s intention to promote slavery by selecting such imagery is uncertain. Still, I maintain that the cotton – not the slaves – was probably the primary focus of these vignettes, due to its significant role in the Southern economy.

The war’s progression indeed had a harsh impact on the South’s financial situation. Simply put, the more new bills that were issued the less old bills were worth. While the true pains of this inflation spike were not fully felt until July of 1863, the continuous printing of Treasury notes had a devastating effect on Confederate currency’s overall value. It also put a tremendous strain on the lithography stones as they were heavily used to match a growing public demand and reverse the monetary deficit. But,

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77 Richard Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 123.
whereas the hardened steel plates used in the intaglio process could usually withstand this high frequency of use, the soft limestone used in lithography could not. Unfortunately, when the Southern Bank Note Company dissolved at the beginning of 1862, the intaglio system all but vanished from note making. In its wake limestone was left as the primary medium for printing, and with it came a series of drawbacks.

Lithography was not as sophisticated as intaglio. Lines were often ill defined and the amount of security that could be incorporated into the designs was significantly reduced. Additionally, “the slender stock of artwork available […] was available to virtually any other lithographer, honest or not, as the portraits and scenes had been around for decades.” This left the door wide open for any able-bodied counterfeiter to reproduce the Treasury’s notes with relative ease, which usually they did without hesitation. Further, their crude presentation did little to instill the sense of nationhood that the Confederacy desired. Instead, notes resembled unbalanced pieces of paper that were often as primitive as those produced by unauthorized agencies.

More alarming was the amount of attention that the lithography stones required. Although the number of imprints that could be made from a single stone varied considerably, “the maximum appears to have ranged generally from 3000 to 5000” before the quality deteriorated to such a degree that a new stone needed to be created. Doing so wasted valuable energy and artistic manpower that neither the engravers nor the

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81 See Grover Criswell, Confederate Paper Money, 53.
82 See Larry Schweikart Banking in the American South 296.
85 Philip H. Chase, Confederate Treasury Notes: The Paper Money of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865, (Philadelphia, 1947): 133. Lithography stones are made by transferring an image from a steel plate onto a porous type of limestone that, when rubbed with fat, resists ink an thus creating a relief copy of the original image.
Treasury had at their disposal. Slave vignettes (and other tableaus in place on earlier notes) were quite detailed and required a great deal of skill to create.\footnote{Grover Criswell, \textit{Comprehensive Guide of Confederate Paper Money}^{86}} Since the Treasury tried to produce approximately 200,000 notes a day by November of 1862, new stones would have to be prepared at least 25 times per session.\footnote{Raphael P. Thain, \textit{Correspondences with the Treasury Department}, 676.} Therefore, it would seem sensible that as the more complicated designs started to wear out, the Confederate Treasury simply replaced them with images that could be hastily constructed. Due to time deficits engravers perhaps chose not to concern themselves with more complex images, which may easily explain why slave tableaus are not only relatively scarce, but also disappear after 1862.

This date holds much significance. As I will discuss in the following chapters, 1862 represents a turning point in the Civil War for a number of reasons. Besides signaling the beginning of a Northern-dominated warfront, 1862 was also the year in which Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves. On September 22, “Lincoln declared that as of January 1, 1863, ‘all persons held as slaves, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion,’ would be ‘forever free.’”\footnote{Richard N. Current (ed.), \textit{Encyclopedia of the Confederacy Vol. 2}, “Emancipation Proclamation,” (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993): 530.} Coincidentally, slave vignettes cease to exist in October 1862, less than a month after the President made this decree. But why? Certainly it could be argued that Mr. Lincoln’s actions did not directly affect the Confederate States of America because they had already become an independent nation. However, according to Richard Current, “the Confederacy was seriously weakened […] by the long-term effects of Lincoln’s emancipation policy.”\footnote{Ibid., 532} Current goes on to explain that “early on, [Jefferson] Davis feared that it would handicap
Confederate efforts to gain recognition and intervention” from potential allies in France and Great Britain.\textsuperscript{90} Therefore, it is logical that scenes blatantly illustrating slavery were removed after this time, and replaced with pictures more closely associated with states’ rights.

In reality that is what the South had been professing the war was about since its secession. Robert Francis Engs as well as numerous other historians have noted, “the new republic claimed its justification to be the protection of state rights,” or at least that is what they intended to sell to people abroad.\textsuperscript{91} Davis and his cabinet were well aware of “the universal hostility of Europe to slavery,” and therefore attempted to downplay that element as much as possible.\textsuperscript{92} But when President Lincoln launched the Emancipation Proclamation, it thrust this “peculiar institution” into the spotlight. The C.S.A. thus found it hard to pass off the “states’ rights issue, especially when their currency featured slaves.

More Than Meets the Eye: Conclusion

The term “propaganda” does not hold very favorable connotations, and the idea that we may be susceptible to its influences is a thought upon which few care to dwell. However, it is almost inevitable that in times of crisis the public will be more easily swayed by textual content and pictorial images promoting their side’s beliefs. And such was the situation at the beginning of the Civil War. William Fletcher Thompson, Jr. notes that, “by 1861 the American people were ready for a crusade, […] yet] their very readiness made them prime subjects for a concerted propaganda campaign,” which manifested itself in books, cartoons, newspapers, and periodicals.\textsuperscript{93} With these media

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 532.  
\textsuperscript{91} Richard N. Current, \textit{Encyclopedia Vol. 4}, “Slavery during the Civil War,” 1441.  
forms, the South became saturated with various scenes that reminded its citizens why they were fighting in the first place, and fueled an intensive campaign for victory of the “Confederate cause.”

Unfortunately, Doty, O’Malley and d’Hemecourt do not look beyond this point. Of course it sounds sensible that slavery would be the main subject of propaganda efforts since it was the reason the South seceded from the Union. But, as Thompson adeptly points outs, although “Southerners […] preferred the image of Uncle Tom, the ‘happy, contented slave, […] most of the picture publishers preferred to ignore slavery altogether,” and select more “inoffensive” scenes instead. Their reasoning was remarkably simple: because slavery was such an incendiary topic, the act of placing it on broadly circulated materials would limit a product’s national (and international) acceptance. When illustrators “occasionally […] violated these practices, the Southern reaction was indignant and sometimes violent.”

Limited printing materials made it essential to conserve resources for those subjects that truly mattered. Neely et al. argues that national identity was more of a concern than slavery because it reflected favorably on the Southern people. In The Confederate Image, the authors state, “the dominant theme was celebration: pictures of soldiers in spruce uniforms; patriotic music covers; and above all, images glorifying the man Southerners expected to become the father of their county, Jefferson Davis.” It stands to reason that those who designed the Confederacy’s currency would share in this philosophy; and so I turn my attention to the Allegorical/Mythical and (White) Heroes/Officials categories.

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95 Ibid., 284.
CHAPTER TWO: FROM FIGURES TO FIGURHEADS:

ALLEGORICAL/MYTHICAL AND (WHITE) HEROES/OFFICIALS VIGNETTES

People and Personages: An Overview

As I illustrate in the previous section, slavery was but a footnote in the Confederate States of America’s monetary catalog. Not only were Black/Slave vignettes issued in small numbers, but also ceased to exist by the fall of 1862. Other subjects, namely Roman divinities and governmental bureaucrats, were far more pronounced; however they too experienced profound transformations.

During the first, second, and third Confederate Congressional acts, monetary imagery remained relatively mixed. Notes usually included of at least one “emblematic” tableau in conjunction with several others that, in some opinions, made them resemble true “works of art.”¹ That being said, representational figures account for of the largest samples of image-types utilized by the Confederacy during the early Civil War. These scenes, hereafter called Allegorical/Mythical, account for 25.5% of the 153 aggregate vignettes issued between 1861 and 1864, with 22.5% placed centrally and 28.0% placed peripherally. The portraits of (White) Heroes/Officials are even more pronounced. They are featured as 23.9% central, 50.0% peripheral, and equal 37.9% of the aggregate.² But beginning with the Act of April 17th 1862, and continuing into the Act of October 13th, that diversity started to wane. The need for a “uniform national currency” became more essential, pushing out the creative portraiture which had once characterized these bills, and substituting more “official looking” pictures in their stead.³

³ Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 1881.
In this chapter I explain why Allegorical/Mythical scenes disappeared and, more importantly, why they were replaced by heroic images. While this change may have been due to the Confederate Treasury’s desire for consistency, I posit that an underlying cause also rests with the patriotic message(s) C.S.A. leaders wished to convey with their currency. As Michael Bernath discusses, “Confederates at the time […] did not know that their nation was doomed.” As a result “their viewpoint was forward looking, even millennial. They expected the Confederacy to survive and thrive, and thus it was incumbent on them, as their nation’s founding generation, to determine the meaning of their independence.” ⁴ Dr. Bernath goes on to state: “in making their case to the southern public, Confederate nationalists explicitly linked their project to the war itself […] emphasizing the concrete wartime and future benefits to be gained from escaping northern dominance.” ⁵

My findings indicate that bills bearing Allegorical/Mythical subjects began to recede from the C.S.A. monetary record in early-1862. By October of that year, these tableaus vanished completely and were replaced by a wealth of (White) Heroes/Officials. This sequence of events correlates not only with the dearth of suitable vignettes detailed in chapter one, but also with the Battle of Antietam/Sharpsburg, which negatively affected the public’s wartime morale. In turn, I suggest that this costly campaign greatly contributed to an excessive use of political iconography as a way to strengthen Southern confidence. Further, because of the somewhat cultured nature of the Allegorical/Mythical category, I believe these tableaus reflect an element of intellect among Confederate superiors that is somewhat out of fashion today.

⁵ Ibid., 27.
Dissecting the Numbers: Vignettes of Allegory and Mythology

Emblematic tableaus were quite common during the first year and a half of the Civil War. These types of vignettes were placed on 55.3% of the notes produced between 1861 and 1862, often multiple times, and were present on nearly every denomination of bill. Although the Acts of March 9th and May 16th 1861 included just 13 Allegorical/Mythical characters, and were featured on merely four types of notes, those series were comprised of only a few “Bluebacks” in total. However, by the Act of August 19th 1861, that number spiked to 32, which suggests note makers were not only catching up to the demands of the Confederate government, but that allegories and mythologies were becoming favored by both of these entities.

This was also a time for great diversity. Almost all of the Allegorical/Mythical images utilized by the Confederacy appear between August 19th 1861 and April 17th 1862, with varieties ranging from symbols of “Industry” to “Navigation,” and likenesses of Moneta (money) to Cupid. Although some of these characters are certainly eclectic, those that frequently repeat themselves are remarkably consistent (See Table 3). So what types of characters were popular amid these two congressional acts and how prevalently were they employed? The dominant allegorical depictions are of “Liberty,” “Justice,” “Commerce,” and “Hope;” whereas mythological tableaus tend to focus on

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6 Christian M. Lengyel “Statistics of Currency.” See Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money, Notes: 1-55. A total of 17,869,772 Allegorical/Mythical bills were issued (out of 32,285,409), between 1861 and 1862. The only denominations not to feature an Allegorical/Mythical vignette were the $1000 and the 50 cent issues. See appendix for examples.

7 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences. This small number is attributable to the amount of time needed to get note-printing firms up to speed with the growing demand for currency. As stated in chapter one, few firms possessed the capacity or capability to issue mass sums of money.

8 Ibid. Even so, the note production did not meet its full capacity until late-1862 – early-1863.

9 James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008). Moneta is the goddess of money. This plate was likely borrowed from the Bank of Charleston. Further, all of the deities’ names are taken from Grover Criswell’s Comprehensive Catalog. With the exception of Thetis, a Greek sea nymph who was also the mother of Achilles, all are of Roman derivation. This seems to match the South’s concept, which saw the Confederacy as on par with the Holy Roman Empire.
Table 3: Chart of Allegorical/Mythical Characters Used during the First Five Acts of The Confederate Congress\textsuperscript{10} NOTE: (") Indicates an Allegory; (=) Indicates a Myth. *Type 46 was actually issued in 1861, but dated 1862 by mistake.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Act of March 9\textsuperscript{th} 1861</th>
<th>Act of May 16\textsuperscript{th} 1861</th>
<th>Act of August 19\textsuperscript{th} 1861</th>
<th>Act of April 17\textsuperscript{th} 1862</th>
<th>Act of October 13\textsuperscript{th} 1862</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceres= Agriculture/Corn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva= War/Wisdom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Justice&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Agriculture&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Industry&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina= Fertility</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellus= Earth Mother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Liberty&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Commerce”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneta= Money/Memory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hope”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Navigation”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cupid= Love</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thetis= Water/The Sea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South/The Confederacy”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South vs. The North”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{10} Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Allegorical/Mythical Characters Used during the First Five Acts of the Confederate Congress.”
Ceres (the goddess of agriculture and corn) and Minerva (the goddess of war and wisdom). 11 It is Heinz Tschachler’s assertion that bills “speak to the identity of a group of people, a place and a time […] by images that convey messages to and from the society that gives rise to them.” 12 Following that logic, Confederate Treasury notes seemed to emphasize elements that were integral to Southern society during the Civil War: farming and trade; independence and self-rule; and the aspiration for victory in the wake of conflict. 13

These themes are only enhanced when the individual groups are added together. Broadly speaking, farming/trade and independence/victory make up practically the entire list of subjects within the Allegorical/Mythical bracket (See Table 4). While some images have overlapping significances, all but one can be classified into the above pairings. 14 On the other hand, the caricatures of “Navigation,” “Hope,” and Thetis are universal – for they can readily be assigned to either column. 15 Confederate note makers could have theoretically intended portraits of “Navigation” to apply to both successful overseas trade and control over the waterways of America. Similarly, the concept of “Hope” can easily be attributable to multiple agencies. Of course there is the standard idea that Hope always remains in the face of evil, a lesson clearly shown in the Greek legend, “Pandora’s Box;” but Hope’s appearance may carry a religious connotation as well. This point is stressed by the fact that the better part of the “Hope” scenes show her next to an anchor, which

11 Ibid.
14 See James Hall Subjects and Symbols, 10 and 90-91. The outlier is the type 20, which pairs “Industry” with Cupid and a beehive. The significance of that scene is closely related to Theocritus’ fable wherein Cupid steals honey from a beehive and is stung in the process. His mother (Venus) tells him “the wounds he inflicted on others were much more painful.” This may have been used to represent “The Golden Age” during the time of Metamorphoses, when men were self sufficient and lived off the land. See Cash, 62.
15 The term, “Thetis” is of Greek derivation. The term was taken from Criswell’s Comprehensive Catalog.
was a common symbol of early Christianity. Finally Thetis, better known as the mother of Achilles, was also the goddess of water. Although it is possible that her connections with the Trojan War led to her placement, it is doubtful that Thetis’ vignette served to illustrate anything other than a strong naval and commercial sea force.

Table 4: Themes of Allegorical/Mythical Vignettes with Character Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Farming/Trade</th>
<th>Independence/Victory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceres= Agriculture/Corn</td>
<td>X (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva= War/Wisdom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Justice”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Agriculture”</td>
<td>X (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Industry”</td>
<td>X (3)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina=Fertility</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellus=Earth Mother</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Liberty”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Commerce”</td>
<td>X (5)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneta=Money/Memory</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hope” (usually with anchor)</td>
<td>X (4)</td>
<td>X (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Navigation” (depicted with scrolls)</td>
<td>X (3)</td>
<td>X (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cupid=Love (depicted with bees)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thetis=Water/The Sea</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South/The Confederacy”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South vs. The North”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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16 Ibid., 161. This scene most likely derives from St. Paul, who said Hope “is like an anchor in our lives […] it enters in through the veil,” but may also represent a maritime emphasis. See Hebrews 6:19. Also, as the poem the was found on the back of a Confederate Treasury note after Lee’s surrender tells us: “‘Keep it, it tells or history o’er/ From the birth of the dream to its last,/ Modest and born of the Angel Hope,/ Like our hope of success, it passed.’” (See the poem at the beginning of this thesis). It is very likely that the Confederates viewed their nation as one that was brought about by Providence. In this case, the “Angel Hope” was seen as the mother of the Rebel’s cause, and was thus possibly used on CSA currency to get that idea across to citizens and soldiers alike.

17 See ibid., 40, 186, and 310. Besides being the mother of Achilles, Thetis has another connection with this conflict. Her marriage to Peleus was said to have touched off a feud among the gods, which indirectly led to the Trojan War. Eris, the goddess of strife, was not invited to the wedding. In spite, she threw down a golden apple that was to be awarded to the most beautiful woman. A beauty contest thus took place with Paris as the judge. He awarded the apple to Venus, who promised him the object of his affection – Helen of Troy. Paris then abducted Helen, touching off a fray that ensued for the next ten years.

What does it All Mean? The Rationale

Based on this information, I posit that the majority of Allegorical/Mythical characters used on Confederate paper money deliberately point to a “self-righteous” belief system. By placing portraits of “Liberty” and “Justice” on their currency, the Confederate government was stating that their separation from the Union was not only essential, but also a consecrated action. Minerva, the goddess of defensive war, venerates this outlook by standing witness to the C.S.A.’s willingness to fight for independence in a fair and objective manner. Essentially, she represents a “benevolent and civilizing influence” that “fights for the defense of just causes, not […] for the sake of destruction.”

Moreover, Ceres, Proserpina, and Tellus are closely associated with the soil and its cultivation. With not much of an industrial base to stand on, farming remained the South’s primary source of income and, in turn, an aspect of daily life that the Confederacy undoubtedly wished to preserve. Therefore, “by choosing a figure representing Plenty or Agriculture the South could successfully advertise the prosperity of local trade,” as well as their ability to sustain themselves with locally grown produce.

Several other trends are also apparent. With the exception of Cupid, all of these divinities are female. Besides Thetis, all come from Roman rather than Greek mythology. And finally, some scenes take a more “centralized” role than others (See Table 5). The four highest numbers of central vignettes are pictures of Ceres, “Liberty,” “Commerce,” and personifications of the “South versus the North.”

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19 James Hall *Subjects and Symbols*, 216. Emphasis mine. This is in contrast with Mars.
22 Christian M. Lengyel, “Numerical Breakdown of Allegorical/Mythical Vignettes.” There are three vignettes of each character, equaling 12% apiece.
vignettes accentuate Minerva, “Justice,” “Liberty,” and Ceres, and have a 50% match with their central counterparts. What can these genders, origins, and placements tell us about the Confederate mentality and, more crucially, how did that perspective correlate and change with the progression of the Civil War?

Women and Roman tradition occupied special places in Southern society during this time. As Bertram Wyatt-Brown discusses, ladies “were not expected to be mere ornaments, but were to fulfill duties commensurate with male prestige.” In turn, “the Southern woman was supposed to be not only ethereal, but also hardworking [and] politically aware,” despite her somewhat unequal social status. W.J. Cash elaborates, arguing that the notions of “Southern womanhood and Southern virtue” often went hand-in-hand to place females on an almost heavenly level, otherwise known as “gyneoltry.” Cash explicates: “she was the South’s Palladium, this Southern woman – the shield-bearing Athena gleaming whitely in the clouds, the standard for its rallying, the mystic symbol of its nationality in the face of the foe.” Of course the Confederate’s vignettes of “saviors” would take this unearthly (feminine) form, since it was “wholly for her that they fought.” And a similar sentiment was felt towards Roman mythology. Overall, the C.S.A. compared itself more closely with ancient Rome than any other culture because it viewed the Confederacy as a homogenous empire that would rise to the same level of greatness as the Carthaginians when this conflict (speedily) subsided.

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23 Ibid. Here we see a more diverse distribution, with Minerva, “Justice,” “Liberty,” and Ceres garnering the values of 6 (24%), 4 (16%), 4 (16%), and 3 (12%), respectively.
25 Ibid., 50.
27 Ibid., 86.
28 Ibid. Emphasis mine.
29 See ibid.
**Table 5: Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Mythological/Allegorical Character**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Central:</th>
<th>Peripheral:</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceres=Agriculture/Corn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva=War/Wisdom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Justice”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Agriculture”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Industry”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpina=Fertility</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellus=Earth Mother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Liberty”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Commerce”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneta=Money/Memory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hope”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Navigation”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cupid=Love</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thetis=Water/The Sea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South/The Confederacy”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The South vs. The North”</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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30 Christian M. Lengyel, “Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Allegorical/Mythical Character.”
Unfortunately, few Confederate cabinet members understood how prolonged and materially draining the fray was to be. Douglas Ball writes: “one explanation for the South’s proved incapacity […] was that the Southern population shared the historically disproved assumption, common at the beginning of most wars, that the struggle was to be concluded quickly.” Ball goes on to state, “such a roseate view was reinforced by a chauvinistic tendency to appraise Southern élan as far more important than the North’s discounted material resources.”31 I mention in chapter one that most of the engravers of note plates, and the plates themselves, were confined to the North; yet, the same deficits were also felt with regards to the coinage system. Grover Criswell makes the observation: “mint operations ceased by the summer of 1861 due to sabotage […] and supply shortages” brought on by arms and ammunition production.32 Therefore, while the Confederacy certainly intended to issue “hard currency,” even going so far as to take control of the mints in New Orleans, Dahlonega, and Charlotte, they quickly realized that this task was to be difficult because of their need for metals.33

In early-1861, however, the Confederate Treasury Department was still woefully ignorant about these limitations and actively sought to mass-produce several forms of monetary tokens. Albeit seemingly unrelated to the current topic, proposals of coin engravings counteract the noticeable lack of similar blueprints concerning paper money. W.A. Elmore, the superintendent of the New Orleans mint, submitted one such outline to Christopher Memminger on April 27th 1861. Elmore’s letter includes vivid details about the engravings and their metaphoric meanings, which read as follows:

32 Ibid., 38.
The principle figure, the Goddess of Liberty, seated, holds in her right hand a staff surmounted by the liberty cap; her left arm rests on a shield, and the left hand on the ‘Constitution.’ On the shield (there being a coat of arms yet adopted) is shown a portion of the flag of the Confederacy, unfurled; to the left of the figure will be observed sugar-cane, growing, a bale of cotton, a sugar hogshead, and a bale of tobacco; to the right cotton in its various stages of growth, as also tobacco. On the reverse side is an endless chain composed of fifteen links; South Carolina, having taken the lead, occupies the top link, and the other links represent, right and left, the other states in order of their secession; the remaining blank links are an invitation to the border states to hasten to inscribe their names within the circle. The stars of the Confederate States are distinct; those of the border states are in the twilight, but visible soon, we hope, to stand out as boldly as their neighbors. In the center is inscribed the monogram, composed of the letters C.S.A., meaning the Confederate States of America. Twenty dollars has been printed to represent the denomination of the coin. Of course, fifty cents might as well be put, by which we mean that the design is adaptable to any denomination of our coin.34

While intended for a series of specie, this description neatly fits into the above classification system for currency. The design clearly emphasizes the same descriptors of independence and patriotism, and has a noticeably identical set of agricultural themes.

All 19th century monies stressed the importance of these economic elements. A letter from W.S. Lyle to the people of Fairfield put forth a likeminded example of national self-interest on the Confederacy’s scrip: “So far as the Treasury notes which our Government proposes soon to issue are concerned, I beg to say a word or two. Based, as they will be, not only upon the faith of the Confederacy, but upon the cotton purchased by the Government, they will constitute the very best currency we can have. Cotton is and will be king, and is, therefore, equivalent to specie; hence as a basis in the issue of the notes of the Government, it must give them a currency equal to the best bank bills, and will serve all of our purposes or the purchase of supplies, payments of debts, &c.”35

A printer by the name of Blanton Duncan offered a similar sentiment to Mr. Memminger on May 20th 1862: “I enclose you a copy of the new $20, also a design for the $2 note,

34 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America, 1881: 83-4. The term “liberty cap” is an ancient symbol for freedom, first used on a 1793 penny.
35 W.S. Lyle qtd in.Ibid., 224-225.
which, if you approve, send back immediately for me to commence engraving. Your likeness is to go in the corner. The vignette represents the South rising in its might and striking down the North and crippling the eagle. The right hand corner represents the South reclining upon her cotton bales, and at the same time tending the olive branch.”

Not surprisingly, Secretary Memminger shared Colonel Duncan’s feelings, and thus authorized that the “North vs. South” vignette be used on three separate bills.

These philosophies were not unusual. Richard Doty asserts, “next to its role as an exchange medium, the most important duty of the 19th-century private American bank note was to instruct.” Moreover, Southern and Northern peoples expected their currency to bear numerous tableaus. Doty goes on to detail that, “by 1850, the average private bank note bore a central vignette, one or more portraits to the left or right of the central scene, and a smaller representation at the bottom-center.”

Likewise, many wartime iconographers carried their resentments for the North and an imbued perception of the South onto their prints. William Fletcher Thompson Jr. notes that Southerners “delighted in the symbols and pageantry of warfare […] lithographers and engravers thus illustrated the eagerness with which young men put on the uniform of their country [and] a number of sentimental portraits portrayed […] church women preparing bibles for

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36 Blanton Duncan qtd. in Ibid., 553. Colonel Duncan was one of many independent printers that the CSA hired to meet their note quotas. Characterized as very brusque, and by some accounts unbalanced, Duncan was always landing in hot water with the Treasury Department and other note makers because of his stubborn, unpredictable behavior. A slew of letters exist within the Thian compendiums that show Col. Duncan as a domineering and conniving individual. It is possible that this design was a maneuver to ingratiate himself to Christopher Memminger, with whom he had recently fallen out favor. See Thian.

37 See Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog. This vignette appeared on types 38, 42, and 43, all of which were $2 notes. For some reason, Duncan chose not to use Memminger’s portrait on any of these bills, selecting Judah P. Benjamin instead.

38 Richard Doty, Pictures from a Distant Country, 1.

39 Ibid. These scenes ranged from vignettes of allegory/mythology to tableaus of people engaged in everyday pursuits. This was a time for extreme diversity and, accordingly, numerous whimsical designs.

Even so, Heinz Tschachler argues that, “designers are not artists. They do not create their own world so much as they fit existing worlds in the things that they design.”\footnote{Heinz Tschachler, \textit{The Greenback}, 62.} Essentially, they must model their products around the preferences of their targeted consumer body; and for engravers working in the wartime Confederate States, that group would have preferred scenes of a somewhat sophisticated nature. Although it is easy to think of Southerners as ignorant, most “had a sense of oneness with ancient values – both Old Testament and classical –” that were often looked at as the hallmarks of “proper gentlemen.”\footnote{Bertram Wyatt-Brown, \textit{Southern Honor}, 25.} Michael Bernath puts forth that Confederate nationalists were “facilitators of culture dedicated to fostering an intellectual environment and constructing a cultural infrastructure that would allow great southern thinkers to emerge, and then sustain them.”\footnote{Michael Bernath, \textit{Confederate Minds}, 288.} Further, Jefferson Davis and the majority his cabinet members were outspoken supporters of educational opportunities. They too possessed extensive knowledge of the Classics, especially the historic fables of ancient Greece and Rome, and felt “true independence [...] could be achieved only by establishing the Confederacy’s intellectual and cultural autonomy.”\footnote{Ibid., 14. Also see Richard N. Current, \textit{Encyclopedia Vol. 2}, “Education,” 515.} Printmakers thus had to make their products appealing to these intelligent palates, which may have caused them to utilize Allegorical/Mythical scenes as the primary subject matter for their Treasury notes.
In short, I maintain that these bills can speak for themselves, and do so in an intellectual way. Chapter one mentions that during the Civil War Confederate monetary lithographers “recycled images from earlier notes.” Whether their decision was influenced simply by the “comforting familiarity that such vignettes engendered,” or was solely the result of a dearth in suitable iconography, is still unclear. But regardless, the fact that this scrip features a defined set of thematic pictures is undeniable. Nearly all of the Allegorical/Mythical tableaus printed by the Confederate States of America fall into two distinct categories of either agriculture and commerce, or triumph and self-rule. Countless other scenes existed that could have been selected, but for some reason these portraits were neglected. Yes, “the same vignettes or portraits had a depressing tendency to show up” multiple times; however, the rationale for that reoccurrence seems to follow a more calculated, even clever, thought process than just haphazard placement.

I posit that the Confederate States of America actually wished to convey the economic, militaristic, and – to some extent – educational superiority of its populace through the vignettes on “Blueback” currency. Based on the C.S.A.’s monetary record, it seems as though that scheme remained strong throughout 1861. But, as the North started to dominate the warfront in September 1862, the idea of metaphoric symbols may have lost their appeal. Perhaps it became harder for the government to justify why the South, if so favored, was being dealt such debilitating blows. Confederate leaders conceivably wanted more “concrete evidence” that their nation’s ideals were justified, and turned their attention to realistic heroes instead of emblematic ones.

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47 Ibid., 115.
48 Ibid., 123.
49 September 17th 1862 was the Sharpsburg/Antietam campaign – a turning point in the Civil War.
A Shift in Patriotism: Vignettes of (White) Heroes and Officials

As Table 3 illustrates, by the Act of October 13th 1862 Allegorical/Mythical scenes had fallen into complete disuse. Their demise follows a similar pattern among all vignettes of the Confederate States of America: changing from heterogeneity to homogeneity. Whereas in 1861 *multiple* notes had been utilized within each denomination, halfway through 1862 that mélange substantially diminished. The variety that had once characterized Confederate currency was now replaced by images that remained both relatively constant and predominantly realistic. Of course these portraits gave the C.S.A. “a uniform currency that was less subject to confusion (and counterfeiting),” but they also showcased the country in ways that allegories and mythologies could not: though tangible representations. In this sense, esteemed figures increased their presence on Confederate currency after 1862, since it was their leadership and perseverance that actually determined the South’s future.

Unlike Allegorical/Mythical tableaus, (White) Heroes/Officials *always* enjoyed a place on Confederate paper money (See Table 6). Richard Doty admits: “if you really wanted inspiring images, scenes of Southern heroes, heroines and heroism, you would do well to look to […] the currency of […] the Southern Confederacy.” These vignettes remained integral parts of “Blueback” designs from the Act of March 9th 1861 through the Act of February 17th 1864, and often shared the stage with their emblematic cousins. In fact, 12,227,522 (or 37.9%) of the Allegorical/Mythical notes issued between 1861 and 1862 feature some secondary picture of a white hero or official.

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50 See Grover Criswell *Comprehensive Catalog*, Types 1-38. In 1861, denominations of $1000 to $2 were issued. Among those, 4 different type of $100s, 6 different types of $50s, 6 different types of $20s, 10 different types of $10s, and 9 different types of $5s, circulated simultaneously!


Table 6: Chart of (White) Heroes/Officials Vignettes during the Seven Acts of the Confederate Congress

NOTE: “Heroes” are denoted by *italics*. *These vignettes were often issued in conjunction with Allegorical/Mythical (and other) vignettes during the first five congressional acts. Also, the “mistakenly” labeled 1862 Type 46 mentioned in Table 3 has been placed in the correct 1861 column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>John Calhoun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Washington</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson Davis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Stephens</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ward</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Hunter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5*</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Christopher Memminger</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Judah Benjamin</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Lucy Pickens</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Clay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
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<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
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<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite being relegated mainly to the periphery, “(White) Heroes/Officials” definitely made up a significant portion of the monetary record during these dates. Of the 32,285,409 bills released, 22,574,766 (69.9%) contained a patriotic personage, the highest percentage of any vignette category studied. However, that number is nowhere near the amount seen during the final years of the war. The Confederate Congressional Acts of March 23rd 1863 and February 17th 1864 brought about an additional 52,810,565 treasury notes, all of which included at least one heroic or governmental character.

Who’s Who? The People Portrayed and Their Placement Patterns

Confederate scrip was dissimilar to the currency of today in that it portrayed statesmen that were in office at the time the bills were issued. Individuals such as Christopher Memminger (Secretary of the Treasury); Alexander Stephens (Vice-President); Robert Hunter (Secretary of State and President Pro Tempore); Clement Clay (An Alabama congressman and Confederate Representative in Canada); Judah Benjamin (Attorney General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State); and of course Jefferson Davis (President); all occupied spots on Treasury notes during the Civil War. Yet there were a few exceptions to this rule. George Randolph appeared on three pieces of paper money well after his unceremonious resignation as the Secretary of War. Likewise, the rather obscure John E. Ward also makes an appearance on a single bill. A former lawyer, bank director, and mayor of Savannah, Ward eventually became the U.S. minister to China and played a key role selling the Erlanger Loan to France. Although this would be reason enough for Mr. Ward to hold a prominent place on an exchange instrument, he

was featured only because the plate, originally used by the Mechanics and Savings Bank of Georgia, happened to include his portrait.58

More famous past politicians also had their faces immortalized on Confederate paper dollars. Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and George Washington each were emblazoned on at least one “Blueback,” reminding Southern citizens of their nation’s historical roots.59 This was especially the case with President Washington, who “was claimed as the father of the country by both the United States and the Confederate States.”60 Jackson and Calhoun served similar purposes, despite their somewhat volatile relationship with one another.61 W.J. Cash writes that the ruling working class’ emergence to power “can be exactly gauged by the emergence of Andrew Jackson – born in a log cabin in the Carolina wilderness – who first achieved political importance as its more or less explicit protagonist. [And] it reached its bloom in Calhoun, the son of a plain and sleeveless farmer of the Midlands of South Carolina.”62 As incongruous of a match as it may have been, these men quickly became the fathers of the new Confederation.

Another well-known profile is of Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, the only serving general ever to be placed on a Treasury note.63 Jackson’s tableau is somewhat ironic as it was released posthumously. Lieutenant General Jackson commanded the rebel army in several decisive battles; however three bullets at Chancellorsville struck him down in

58 Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalogue, 112. At the beginning of the War several banks made offers of their note plates to help the Confederate Government meet its quotas for currency. While Secretary Memminger was hesitant about doing so, he eventually borrowed several plates from institutions such as the Bank of Charleston (see Black/Slaves and Allegorical/Mythical section) and Mechanics Savings Bank of Savannah, Georgia.
59 See Ibid., Types 1, 6, 7, 8, 31, 41, and 64.
60 Ibid., 43.
61 See Richard Current, Encyclopedia. A.J. staunchly disliked J.C.C. because of his stance on nullification.
63 Ibid., 208. Type 64.
The vignette was modeled from a photograph taken only two weeks before Jackson’s death, but it was placed on a bill issued a full year later. Even so, such an unusual act was not surprising. It occurred at a time (1864) when the need for heroes was at its height, resulting in four soldier illustrations – one even supposedly depicting Braxton Bragg – to surface simultaneously (See note on Table 7). But, for the number of “solider scenes” going around, it seems odd that General Robert E. Lee’s image was not among them. The General’s absence remains a great mystery to me, and to most other monetary historians; however, I am inclined to agree with Richard Doty, who speculates that, “Lee may have simply told the Treasury he was uninterested in such honors.”

Then there is the portrait of Lucy Holcomb Pickens, who had no political or military ties whatsoever. Lucy was the wife of the U.S. ambassador to Russia and South Carolina governor, Francis Pickens. Her likeness is noticeable on five separate Confederate bills, but she is often incorrectly titled. According to Arlie Slabaugh, “for years the woman appearing on the $100 note was called Mrs. Jefferson (Varina) Davis,” until that statement was corrected by H.D. Allen in 1918. Perhaps not so much an official vignette, but rather a heroic one, Slabaugh claims that “while Mrs. Pickens was used as a model, she was really intended as a personification of ‘Women of the South.’” Her picture thus deserves careful consideration. In fact, so do all of these distinguished figures since, like the preceding allegories and mythologies, they were undoubtedly selected for specific reasons.

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64 Richard N. Current (ed.) Encyclopedia, 830-835.
65 See Ibid., 833 for an example of the photo, taken by famed photographer, Matthew Brady.
67 Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalogue, 42.
68 Arlie Slabaugh, Confederate States Paper Money, 60. Allen wrote a series of articles for The Numismatist from 1916-1918, which attempted to determine this lady’s identity.
69 Ibid., 59.
Table 7: Chart of Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each (White) Hero/Official Character

* This central scene is a bit of an anomaly as it “is said to represent Braxton Bragg’s artillery at the Battle of Buena Vista in 1847 during the War with Mexico.”

Indeed, it was printed in high numbers (9,145,000) and may have been used as “patriotic payment” for common soldiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Central:</th>
<th>Peripheral:</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>John Calhoun</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>George Washington</td>
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<td>Jefferson Davis</td>
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I find that examining the placements of each individual vignette may be the best method of visual analysis. As far as central concentrations, Jefferson Davis obviously comes out ahead of any other person. Davis appears in only centralized scenes, a fitting location for the president of the Confederate States of America. His dominant presence adds validity to Neely et al.’s statement that Southerners “almost expected Davis to play a double role” as a soldier and statesmen, making him “a George Washington” in his own right. Consequently, the tableaus that exist of Davis emphasize his erect stature and serious expression, all of which “suggested the natural soldier” as well as the qualities of a fine political leader.

Peripheral vignettes are not so easily analyzed. Three individuals – Robert Hunter, Christopher Memminger, and Judah Benjamin – all appear at comparatively high intervals on “Blueback” notes. Memminger’s image is easily explained by his appointment as Secretary of the Treasury and, in turn, the issuer of this money; however, his likeness oddly remained in use after he had resigned in 1864. Such an “oversight” is understandable since, by the time Mr. Memminger left office, it was too late to create a new plate of his successor, George A. Trenholm. Hunter and Benjamin’s pictures, like Memminger’s, are also well represented. Both men held numerous positions of power during the Civil War, so it is not surprising that they too were heavily featured on the nation’s currency. Robert Hunter served as Secretary of State from July 24th 1861 to February 22nd 1862, yielding his post to become President Pro Tempore in the

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73 Ibid., 14.
74 See Richard N. Current, (ed.) Encyclopedia, vol. 3, pgs. 1022-1026. Discredited by the failure of the Southern economy, Christopher Memminger resigned as Secretary of the Treasury on July 18th 1864. He appeared on both $5 and $10 notes, starting with the Act of August 19th 1861.
75 See Ibid., vol. 4, pgs. 1618-1619. Trenholm was in office for less than a year, resigning on April 27th 1865 due to illness.
Confederate senate. Throughout his tenure “Hunter took a keen interest in the Confederacy’s financial woes, especially attempts to limit inflation,” making him a hero to the Treasury Department. Similarly, Judah Benjamin, who acted as the Attorney General, Secretary of War, and eventually Secretary of State, believed that cotton was key to the Confederates’ success. Therefore, because of their economic advocacy, these individuals became natural subjects for the Treasury’s catalog of monetary imagery.

If this information is taken along with the types of notes a typical citizen was likely to see between the Act of October 13th 1862 and the end of the War, one can discern certain “denominational” placement patterns (See Table 8). Albert Nofi estimates that normal laborers and soldiers earned approximately $30 a month, indicating most Southerners would rarely have come into contact with a piece of paper money worth more than 50 dollars. That data suggests $20, $10, and $5 notes accounted for the majority of scrip in regular use. The pictures of Robert Hunter and Christopher Memminger appear on these denominations, and respectively comprise 31.5% and 25.8% of the total issues. Alexander Stephens’ $20 bill (15.3%) and Jefferson Davis’ $50 and 50-cent bills (11.9%) closely follow these figures, as do the Judah Benjamin $2 series. In turn, it seems the notes with the most public circulation emphasize a strong state and a trustworthy treasury; however, what about those “Bluebacks” of a higher denomination?

76 See Ibid., vol. 2, pgs. 801-804.
77 See Ibid., 803. During his time in the Senate, Hunter was overly critical of how the Davis administration handled its finances. Instead of relying on Treasury Notes, Hunter believed that interest-bearing Treasury bonds should be utilized. The Confederate Treasury, especially Memminger, shared this feeling.
78 See Ibid. Vol. 1, pgs. 157-162 and 418. The CSA originally withheld cotton from Europe as a leveraging tactic. This was formally called “cotton diplomacy,” where the Confederates would agree to ship the cotton only if Europe sided with them. Again, this was an idea that was supported by the Treasury Department.
79 Albert A. Nofi, A Civil War Treasury, 383. Some workers may have received as much as $50.
80 Christian M. Lengyel, “Statistics.” In total 62,268,285 Treasury notes were issued between the Act of October 13th 1862 and the end of the War. Of that, 19,625,800 were Robert Hunter $10 bills and 16,106,400 were Christopher Memminger $10 and $5 bills.
81 Ibid. Alexander Stephens $20: 9,503,404 notes; Jefferson Davis $50 & $0.50: 7,399,161 notes. Only 2,225,000 Judah Benjamin notes were issued.
Table 8: Chart of Denomination Distribution for Each (White) Hero/Official Character with Central & Peripheral Denotations\textsuperscript{82} [C]=Central; [P]=Peripheral

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\textsuperscript{82} Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Denomination Distribution for Each (White) Hero/Official Character with Central & Peripheral Denotations.”
According to the content of Raphael Thian’s compendiums, scrip of $100 or more was initially used by the Confederacy for bank transfers. As such, only bankers and businessmen saw $1000, $500, and early $100 bills. Yet when inflation rates skyrocketed in mid-1863, planters probably traded $100 notes for large commercial transactions. Ironically, by 1863 many plantations were run by the wives of men serving their country, which might explain Lucy Pickens’ unusually popular $100 vignette as an appeal to the Southern businesswomen. But another possibility is that the Pickens picture was used as a means of ingratiating. From 1861 to 1862, Secretary Memminger was in regular correspondence with the South Carolina governor, Francis Pickens, to procure favors for the Confederate government. Then on June 9th 1862, Blanton Duncan mentioned: “I have a handsome engraving of Mrs. Pickens, and shall place it upon one of the notes, if you do not disapprove of it.” Perhaps it was coincidence that the Colonel made his suggestion one month after Governor Pickens agreed to allow C.S.A. currency engravers to resettle in Charleston; however, the fact that Memminger approved Duncan’s tableau, and continued to reuse others like it, may be construed as a form of outright flattery.

History is in the Eye of the Beholder: Why this Shift Occurred

Visual and statistical assessments are limited in the ways they can explain why (White) Heroes/Officials increased their presence on Confederate Currency after the Act

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83 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences of the Treasury Department and Correspondences with the Treasury Department. Upon secession, the CSA Government seized all the coin and currency housed in Southern banks and replaced it with these large denomination notes.
85 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences of the Treasury Department. These favors included petitioning the SC banks to turn over their coin and currency to the Confederacy, to mandate that SC citizens begin using Confederate scrip (instead of barter), and allowing the CSA’s monetary printing firms to relocate to Charleston in May of 1862. This latter point will be addressed more fully in chapter three.
86 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 562.
87 See Types 44 and 45. Duncan’s offer was made regarding the soon-to-be-issued $1 bill, on which Lucy was a peripheral figure. It is possible that Christopher Memminger seized this opportunity (and allowed her likeness to appear on the later-produced $100 note) to show his appreciation for Francis Perkins’ efforts.
of October 13th 1862. Interestingly, the historical record strongly implies the choice to utilize these portraits was not the result of increased patriotism, but rather a security measure to decrease counterfeiting and confusion. Scholar, Stephen Mihm, says that “by the 1850s, with so many entities commissioning bank notes of their own design […] the money supply became a great confluence of more than ten thousand different kinds of paper that continually changed hands, baffled the uninitiated, and fluctuated in value according to the whims of the market.” With such a broad range of monetary materials at their disposal, forgers reveled in the opportunity to profit from the government’s negligence. The Civil War only hastened their initiatives and, “as a consequence, counterfeiting went from being a nuisance to being a threat to national sovereignty and sanctity.”

The act of copying Confederate Treasury notes was a frequent pastime in both the North and the South. A notice released by the Treasury Department on August 20th 1862 warned: “Treasury notes of the denominations of one hundred dollars, of fifty dollars, and of twenty dollars […] of the lithographic plates of Hoyer & Ludwig, Richmond, have been counterfeited and put into circulation.” A similar communiqué from Joseph Pope to Christopher Memminger, written October 30th 1862, reads: “I send you another of [Blanton] Duncan’s notes, a twenty with counterfeit signatures. There is evidently carelessness or gross neglect somewhere, and I must give you a special charge

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90 Ibid., 19.
91 See Michael O’Malley *Face Value: The Entwined Histories of Money and Race in America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012): 85. The act of counterfeiting Confederate Treasury notes was a common way for the North to undermine the South, and is often labeled as the first form of “carpetbagging.” The reason for this term is that Northerners would cross enemy lines with carpetbags full of forged “Bluebacks.” They would introduce these copies into the market as a means of devaluing the Confederate scrip and, in turn, increasing their own note’s values.
to inquire into the matter.”93 Pope was correct in his claims. Few if any note-printing company’s products were immune from forgery under the shoddy quality control standards in place throughout the Confederacy. L.G. Bowers expressed his concerns on the matter as early as August 12th 1861: “the ‘Treasury notes’ printed or engraved in Richmond are so badly executed that I fear the country will soon be flooded with counterfeits. They can easily be ‘photographed’ or printed on ‘wood-cuts’ so as to defy detection.”94 By mid-1862, B.C. Pressley and other Southern bankers were confirming Bowers’ predictions, stating: “nearly all the money I have on hand is of the class which has been counterfeited.”95

The problem was that too many different varieties of bills were being circulated in vast numbers at the same period of time. Thus, banks and businesses were not only having trouble keeping track of which vignettes were released by the government, but also the legitimacy of those designs that could be verified. Further, because the majority of tableaus had been recycled from previously issued banknotes, the surpluses of original and “artistic” images were relatively low.96 The need for a “uniform currency” was quickly becoming apparent to both the Treasury Department and the merchants of the South.97 Therefore, in the summer of 1862, plans were made to redesign the Confederate monetary system “so as to have all the notes look alike” in both their color and layout.98

The outcome was a currency “printed back and front” on pink “paper of the same size;” however, the question of what, or who, was to be featured on the obverses

93 Ibid., 378. Emphasis mine. Joseph D. Pope was employed as a Treasury agent by Secretary Memminger.
94 Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 1881. Pg. 273. In the North, this was not as much of an issue. While “Greenbacks” were just as diverse, they were able to incorporate additional design measures to ensure some degree of security.
95 Ibid., 605. This change closely matches the North’s National Bank Notes Act of February 25th 1863.
97 See “Our Currency” in ibid., 197. This need was expressed by merchants as early as 1861 as well.
98 Ibid., 620.
remained a mystery. Yet, based on the Thian archive, it appears as though it was actually Christopher Memminger who decided to place statesmen on the newly designed bills. Joseph Pope recounted in a letter to Mr. Memminger: “I received a message from you that the heads of Departments should be put on the notes and […] that you desired all original work.” Unfortunately, by virtue of that decree the likeness of George Randolph happened to be used on a $100 dollar note, which “nearly got Secretary Memminger fired because […] Randolph had resigned in a huff” before the series was released! But Pope reminded the Secretary that this was the price for originality: “Randolph’s head had never been published, and was not so much for a compliment, but for security.” Pope went onto say that a similar effort had been made with “the peculiar picture of Mrs. Pickens […] which (if well done) would be very hard to counterfeit.”

Pope’s statements leave the concentration of (White) Heroes/Officials attributable mainly to a desire to curb forgeries. While certainly a plausible explanation, I maintain that more thought went into the selection process. At this time “politicians were still striving to take credit for secession, not, as they did later, to blame it on […] others.” In turn, they would be more than willing to put their names, or their likenesses, on the line to defend their decision. But even though the Confederate government felt confident during this ordeal that did not mean others shared the same outlook. On September 17th, 1862, Major General George B. McClelland engaged Robert E. Lee at Antietam Creek in Sharpsburg, Maryland. During what has been called “the twelve bloodiest hours in
American military history,” the Confederacy was dealt several debilitating blows. Not only did they lose over 10,000 troops, but also their defeat was used by President Lincoln to launch his Emancipation Proclamation. Therefore, Sharpsburg “is considered a turning point in the war,” and perhaps a turning point in Confederate monetary history as well. 

While “contemporary newspapers indicate that the Confederate government censored war news, especially after costly defeats at Antietam and Gettysburg,” it was impossible to keep this information hidden forever. Marc Weidenmier identifies only a month-long window between the Sharpsburg/Antietam campaign and the media’s unfavorable reports of its outcome. Thus, “from October 17th to November 7th, the price of gold jumped from $2.40 to $3.30” per ounce, creating a need for more bills. That call was answered by the Act of October 13th 1862, which allowed for the printing of an “unlimited amount” of Treasury notes. Yet the fact that this act was brought before congress and was passed prior to the “Blueback’s” official decline in value points to an assembly who recognized the long-term effects that Antietam might have on the economy. Could it be the case that these men also understood the impacts that such a serious setback would have on Southern morale and trust in the Treasury’s scrip?

I believe Confederate superiors must have realized the importance of these issues. In short, officials needed to provide some form of reassurance that the “Southern cause” and the “Blueback” were both “honorable;” and I maintain they used monetary vignettes

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106 Ibid., 1408.
108 Ibid.
110 See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*, 156. The Act was originally issued on Authorized on September 23rd, but was not formally ratified until October 13th. Even so, the notes were not released until December 2nd 1862.
as a way of doing so. Bertram Wyatt-Brown writes in *Southern Honor*, “differing economic systems may coexist peaceably in the same country […] but when moral assumptions diverge, the chances for disunion are much greater.” One of the biggest “moral assumptions” made by the Confederate government was that the Civil War was necessary to preserve the honor of the Southern people. That honor is made up of three basic components – a personal conviction of self-worth, claiming that self-assessment before the public, and the confirmation of it via one’s reputation – “none of which may exist wholly independent of the other.” C.S.A. leaders certainly understood the detrimental financial effects of events like Sharpsburg and the resultant Emancipation because “only two possible outcomes remained: Southern independence or Northern rule, and the latter meant that Confederate currency would become worthless.”

By demonstrating what W.J. Cash calls “Old South values,” the post-Antietam/Sharpsburg currency system of the Confederate States of America seemed to advocate “new people,” like politicians, women and soldiers, as being paragons of Southern virtue and fiscal trust. Cash explains, “nine-tenths of the men who would direct the affairs of the Confederate government, like nine-tenths of the men who would officer its armies, would be not colonial aristocrats, but new people” of common stock. On Treasury notes, this class distinction is visible with the vignettes of self-made State officials, such as Jefferson Davis, Robert Hunter, Alexander Stephens and Christopher Memminger; however, localized nationalism was equally promoted through tableaus of Lucy Pickens, Thomas “Stonewall” Jacksons, and generic soldiers as well.

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111 Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviors in the Old South*, 24.
112 Ibid., 14.
114 W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, 59. While Cash does not directly tie this point in with money the distinction he makes between the old “Colonial aristocrats” and the new “planter class” is germane here.
A Picture’s Worth a Thousand Words: Conclusion

The shift from Allegorical/Mythical scenes to portraits of (White) Heroes/Officials is a fascinating part of the Confederate monetary story. These vignettes, while vastly different in appearance, tell similar tales about the how the South viewed its situation during the course of the Civil War. From an originally “divine” viewpoint to one firmly rooted in reality, a natural progression from emblematic to concrete representations of patriotism took place during the fall of 1862. Although many believe that these initial Allegorical/Mythical tableaus were exclusively the result of a lack of available imagery, I propose that a hybrid scenario is more likely. Indeed the Confederate States of America were strapped for suitable designs during the War, but they obviously exercised more judgment in their selections than scholars have otherwise noted.

It is also my conclusion that the October 1862 change in vignettes was not solely caused by a desire to discourage counterfeiters. I certainly agree that the forgery factor greatly contributed to the creation of a uniform national currency, but I maintain that the shift to strictly heroic and official types of iconography was a politically motivated decision. Indeed, if the main purpose of this money was to showcase “unpublished people,” why did all the bills issued after October 13th 1862 only feature leaders or heroes? I feel as though this occurrence is far from a mere coincidence. After all, the Civil War stirred “a deep affection for these captains, a profound trust in them, a pride that was inextricably entwined with the commoners’ pride in themselves.” 115 Quite possibly these new notes represent a somewhat subtle attempt by the Confederate government to capitalize off that sentiment, and provide Southern citizens hope for an independent future under the auspices of a trustworthy national currency.

115 Ibid., 111.
CHAPTER THREE: FINDING FIRM FOUNDATIONS:

INDUSTRIAL/COMMERCIAL AND BUILDINGS/CAPITOL VIGNETTES

The Nuts and Bolts: An Overview

Industrial/Commercial scenes follow a pattern similar to tableaus of allegory and mythology. While not nearly as popular as their emblematic brethren, Industrial/Commercial vignettes came into being at the beginning of the War and disappeared promptly after the Act of October 13th 1862. Exactly at this point, a new type of imagery made its way onto “Blueback” dollars: portraits that prominently displayed Confederate Buildings/Capitols. Yet, from the first through the fourth act, idyllic recreations of industry and commerce held their own and comingled with the other types of iconography. In sum, 16.3% of the entire vignette catalog was comprised of Industrial/Commercial subjects, including 12 (16.9%) central and 13 (15.8%) peripheral pictures.¹

The process of classifying images into this category can (and did) prove problematic at times. Chapter one illustrates that labor scenes predominantly tie African Americans in with the cotton-production scheme. Therefore, it becomes hard to differentiate scenes where blacks are loading cotton onto a ship and a portrait of the actual vessel itself.² Further, it is equally difficult to separate notes where a white field hand is harvesting corn and a black one is picking cotton.³ These overlaps occasionally appear on the same bill; thankfully, however, those pairings are few and far between.⁴ Still, when considering the varieties of Industrial/Commercial tableaus, it may be more

² Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money (Port Clinton: BNR Press, 1996): 135 (Type 35) and 152 (Type 44), respectively.
³ Ibid., 112 (Type 23) and 123 (Type 29). The “Corn Gatherer” depicted on Type 23 was featured on the Mechanics Savings banknote mentioned in Chapter two (See John E. Ward vignette).
⁴ Ibid. This is the case with type 29.
appropriate to view them as vignettes that illustrate depictions of everyday life closely
associated with the Southern economy (e.g. trains, ships, and produce). With those
portraits that show *people* engaged with these inanimate objects (e.g. blacksmiths,
mechanics, sailors, and milkmaids), the individuals shown are *all white*, much like the
heroes and officials discussed in the preceding chapter. If the likenesses of African
Americans had not come under close historical scrutiny, they would have definitely been
included in this section.

Not all of this iconography is so convoluted. In October of 1862, the Treasury
Department released a new series of paper dollars, some of which featured various
powerhouses located throughout the Confederacy. Although they only accounted for
5.2% of the total wartime image-inventory, Buildings/Capitols were placed on 8 of the 23
(34.8%) bills that made up the fifth, sixth and seventh acts. Unlike any other kind of
pictorial vignette, these tableaus occupied exclusively central places on “Blueback”
currency. While just 11.3% of the total central pictures were capitol buildings, over 34%
of the notes produced between the Act of October 13\textsuperscript{th} 1862 and the Act of February 17\textsuperscript{th}
1864 used such portraits. This points to the same trend as the previous chapter: like
scenes of allegory and mythology, representations of industry and commerce die out by
1862, and are replaced by realistic subjects. Thus, I propose its issuers shifted their
intention from promoting generic symbols of strength among the elite, to showcasing
concrete samples of national power to members of the working class.

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5 See Appendix for examples of Industrial/Commercial notes.
6 Christian M. Lengyel, “Statistics.” As discussed in chapter one, the Act of October 13\textsuperscript{th} 1862 signaled the
beginning of a “uniform” national currency. As a result, only one type of each denomination was issued
during the fifth, sixth, and seventh acts – causing the variety of notes to greatly diminish and resulting in
only 23 different specimens of bills. These were issued in the denomination of $100-$1 (fifth act), $100-50
cents (sixth act), and $500-50 cents (seventh act).
7 Ibid. This percentage is taken from *all* notes issued between 1861 and 1864.
Business as Usual: Vignettes of Industry and Commerce

I have already established that Industrial/Commercial vignettes are not as “clear cut” as the other design categories. Since Southern banks had previously utilized some of these plates, they tend to reflect occupations related to their customers.\(^8\) Prime examples are found with a $10 note (Type 23) and a $5 note (Type 32), both of which had formerly been issued by the Mechanics Savings Bank of Savannah, as well as a $50 note (Type 14) originally released by the Bank of Charleston. Accordingly, they feature pictures that seem rather out of place when compared with other Confederate bills.\(^9\) Arlie Slabaugh explains “the use of $5 and $10 dollar designs of [the Mechanics Savings] bank lies in the fact that these notes were produced by predecessors of the American Bank Note Co. by whom Keatinge [of Keatinge & Ball] was formerly employed.”\(^10\) Perhaps Mr. Keatinge possessed transfers of these plates and used them in a pinch; however, it is more likely that the bank itself offered them to Secretary Memminger.\(^11\)

While “full copies” of preexisting banknotes were relatively scarce during the Civil War, the Confederate Treasury did lift a number of individual vignettes from private-issue scrip (See Table 9). And, much like the Allegorical/Mythical bills, Industrial/Commercial paper monies also depicted other (related) items on their

\(^8\) See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*, and Arlie Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper Money Civil war Currency from the South*, (Iola: Krause Publications, 2012). This was the case with Types 14, 23, and 32. It is important to distinguish those notes that were printed from reworked plates and those that only lifted certain scenes from pre-existing currency. The majority of early Confederate-issues included vignettes that had been featured on other notes at one time or another and, therefore, illustrate some form of choice behind their employment. With types 14, 23 and 32, however, the plates themselves were reworked rather than the specific designs (due to a lack of time/resources).

\(^9\) See Ibid. Type 23 depicts John E. Ward peripherally, slaves taking a wagon of cotton to market centrally, and a young man gathering corn in the far right corner; Type 32 depicts a small child and a machinist with a hammer peripherally. Type 14, contains a central vignette of Moneta with a money chest and a peripheral vignette of two sailors talking.


\(^11\) See Raphael P. Thain, *Correspondences with the Treasury Department 1861-1862*, and *Correspondences of the Treasury Department 1861-1865*, 188. Numerous banks sent former plates to Secretary Memminger, including the Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Bank of Savannah
Table 9: Chart of Industrial/Commercial Vignettes during the First Five Acts of the Confederate Congress

NOTE: Again, many of these vignettes were issued in conjunction with one another. Further, since many of these scenes show their subjects alongside various Industrial/Commercial products (e.g. a sailor sitting on a cotton bale), and therefore, that distinction has been made in the following chart. Only one vignette exists where the various products of the South are exclusively featured; even so, that note has a portrait of Alexander Stephens imposed over it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Act of March 9th 1861</th>
<th>Act of May 16th 1861</th>
<th>Act of August 19th 1861</th>
<th>Act of April 17th 1862</th>
<th>Act of October 13th 1862</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trains (with or without products)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships/Boats (with or without products)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors (with or without products)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmhands (with products)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Workers (with products)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products (by themselves)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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façades. A $500 bill from the first 1861 series shows a train crossing a bridge while cattle drink from the brook below; a $100 dollar bill from the same issue also shows a train, but this time as it is being loaded with supplies in the station; and a $5 bill, released as part of the Act of August 19th 1861, places a seaman by some cotton bales as a ship sails in the distance. Such pictures seem to replicate stock certificates – which they did – but they may have also been used to illustrate the strength of the Confederacy’s industrial-commercial bases.

In all, 61.9% of the currency printed between 1861 and 1862 incorporate at least one Industrial/Commercial vignette; however, the most frequently repeated examples tend to depict trains, sailors, and seafaring vessels. Moreover, of the 22 total Industrial/Commercial notes, 18 display rail or maritime items on its obverse side and, of that number, over half (11) showcase these scenes in a centralized location (See Table 10). A similar statistical trend is noticeable: 12,482,422 out of a total 20,000,354 (62.4%) Industrial/Commercial bills feature a ship, a sailor, or a train. It is obvious from this placement and percentage that transportation, as well as the people, places, and things associated with it, were key considerations for the Confederate government; but why such a strong emphasis?

13 See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*. As mentioned in chapter two, there are several Allegorical/Mythical scenes that incorporate “other images” (e.g. “Hope” with an anchor, Cupid with bees, and “Agriculture”/”Industry” seated on a bale of cotton). Here we see similar themes being utilized alongside images of industry and commerce (e.g. barrels, cotton bales, and tools).

14 See ibid. Types 2, 3, and 37. Other examples do exist that pairs such imagery together – See appendix for pictures of these notes.

15 See Arlie Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper Money*, 49. As mentioned in chapter one, some of these images appeared on bonds and stock certificates, where the vignettes were utilized to represent “commercial” aspects of the company. Therefore, they tend to feature mainly commerce-related iconography, such the April 17th 1862 $100 issue, printed by Hoyer & Ludwig.

16 Christian M. Lengyel, “Statistics.” 20,000,354 notes (out of 32,285,409) have at least one I/C scene featured somewhere. Also see Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*. Types 2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 27, 28, 29, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, and 45 for examples of trains, ships, and sailors.

17 Ibid. Types 2, 3, 5, 9, 15, 18, 37, 39, 40, 44, and 45.
Table 10: Chart of Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Industrial/Commercial Figure

Note: Some notes have more than one vignette of industry and commerce (one central and one or more peripheral).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central:</th>
<th>Peripheral:</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trains</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships/Boats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmhands</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Devil is in the Details: The Purpose of Industrial/Commercial Vignettes

Since 61.9% of the notes issued during 1861 and 1862 featured an Industrial/Commercial tableau somewhere inside their margins, it can be argued that the chances of seeing one would have been relatively high. This is true, but up to a point. While 94.4% of Industrial/Commercial imagery appears on paper bills typically handled by the public – meaning a denomination of 50 dollars or less – the majority of this iconography is placed peripherally. Just 5,915,420, or 31.3%, of the 18,886,716 “everyday” notes bear a central Industrial/Commercial vignette, and those that do showcase almost strictly maritime subjects. In fact, the only “common” Treasury notes to illustrate centralized themes other than ships or sailors are found on two relatively low production and large denomination bills (See Table 11).

18 Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Industrial/Commercial Figure.”
19 See Albert A. Nofi, A Civil War Treasury, (Conshohocken: Combined Books, Inc., 1992): 383. Even by the most liberal estimates, average citizens would probably not have seen a note worth more than $50 in his or her lifetime.
Table 11: Chart of Denomination Distribution of Industrial/Commercial Vignettes with Central and Peripheral Values

NOTE: Denominations of $1000 and 50 cents are absent because none feature an Industrial/Commercial scene. Further, like other categories, some notes feature more than one Industrial/Commercial vignette. [C] = Central; [P] = Peripheral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>$500</th>
<th>$100</th>
<th>$50</th>
<th>$20</th>
<th>$10</th>
<th>$5</th>
<th>$2</th>
<th>$1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trains</td>
<td>1 [C]</td>
<td>4 [C]</td>
<td>1 [C]</td>
<td>2 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships/Boats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 [C]</td>
<td>1 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 [C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmhands</td>
<td>2 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [C]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Denomination Distribution of Industrial/Commercial Vignettes with Central and Peripheral Values.”
These pieces are a $50 and a $20 “Blueback,” printed in the amounts of 14,860 and 164,248 specimens, respectively. While it was conceivable for an average laborer to have seen such high-value scrip by the end of the War, at the beginning it was quite a different story. Both notes were released as part of the Act of August 19th 1861, which lasted until April 17th of the following year. During that eight-month timeframe the dollar to gold ratio remained relatively constant at around 1.50:1. So, for all practical purposes, 50 dollars was in fact close to 50 dollars, and that represented an exorbitant sum to most civilians and soldiers. Therefore, the railway scene featured on this $50 note probably did not frequently pass through the hands of commoners when it was released. Likewise, although the $20 issue is more likely to have circulated among the public, that amount was still at the upper end of the pay spectrum – making it, and other $20 bills, available to only a privileged few.

Why were the vignettes distributed in this way and how does that distribution speak to the wartime mindset of the Confederacy? Perhaps rail transportation was more integral to the Southern economic complex than historians have previously noted. Edward Pessen argues: “the South’s ‘un unusually favorable system of navigable streams and rivers’ has been cited to explain its lag in railroads. Yet in the 1840s Southern railroads equaled or exceeded the national average capitalization per mile.” Pessen goes

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22 See Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog. These are Type 15: a $50 note that depicts a train by the Hudson River; and Type 14: a $20 note that depicts cotton/barrels behind a portrait of Alexander Stephens.  
23 See Marc D. Weidenmier, “Turning Points in the U.S. Civil War: Views from the Grayback Maket,” Southern Economic Journal 68, no. 4 (2002): 886-889. Starting on July 17th 1863, the gold to dollar ratio rose to 10:1. By January 20th 1865 that figure had increased to 66.50:1, meaning it would indeed have been reasonable for an average person to see a $50 bill regularly.  
24 Ibid., 886. The ratio ranged from 1.12:1 (August 19th) to 1.76:1 (April 17th).  
25 See Albert A. Nofi, A Civil War Treasury, 381. As mentioned previously, the pay for the majority of Confederate soldiers was not much better than the wages of a common laborer.  
on to state that Northerners and Southerners alike “put their money into American products, industrial and agricultural, […] drawn almost entirely by the profit margin likely to result from their investment.” Therefore “the greatest stimulus to railroad building in the South came from the competition of seaport cities whose merchants were anxious to improve their trade.” James Huston writes, “transportation routes in the antebellum South developed mainly to get cash crops out to seaports, to bring in manufactured goods from the Northeast, and to bring in grain from the Middle West.” Additionally, both sides used the same types of engines. Most Northern and Southern locomotives were complete with a “functional cowcatcher, balloon stack, and large headlight, […] weighed from fifteen to twenty-five tons, cost $8000 to $10,000 new, used wood or coal for fuel, and [were] the pride and joy of the engine crew to whom [they were] assigned.”

Essentially, these vehicles stirred senses of enthusiasm and national identity among people living in the newly formed Confederacy. They “admired the railroad […] because] here is what Progress and hope, and feeling good about the world and one’s place in it, were all about in an earlier time.” Certainly those virtues would be extolled on the currency. Further, for many 19th-century Americans, especially those living during this war over “state’s rights,” the steam engine symbolized “freedom and choice of movement […] as they] could go virtually anywhere, and […] cost far less to build than did artificial waterways.” That is not to say railways were cheap. Within “three years of

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27 Ibid., 1126.
29 Ibid.
30 Richard Current, Encyclopedia Volume 3, “Railroads,” 1294. Southern railways were far less advanced.
32 Ibid., 94. Emphasis original.
the war, mechanics’ wages climbed from $2.50 to $20.00 a day, [...] shovels from $10.50 to $300.00 per dozen, coal from 12 cents to $2.00 a bushel, and lubricating oil from $1.00 to $50.00 a gallon.” Although these operation figures “rose faster than the freight rates and passenger fares,” the other two categories increased to comparatively exorbitant levels. 

Though rail travel was important to the Southern civilian population at the war’s outset, it eventually became an untenable mode of transportation. Expensive to ride as well as maintain, many railroads fell into disrepair by 1862. More so, “freight traffic was [...] reduced by the effective Union blockade of the Southern coastline” during the early war months. This narrative correlates with the vignettes on C.S.A. currency, which initially depicted centralized train scenes on high denomination notes. By late-1861, these images move to the periphery, and practically vanish by 1862. Therefore, while the immense pride felt for the locomotive may explain its prominent placement on the first and largest-valued series of bills, their disappearance may stem from the fact that they became all-but-useless burdens on the Southern economy.

Then there was the ship. More historically rooted than trains, boats – be they canal, sail, or steam – had already experienced many years of parallel public exuberance. This popularity was likely the result of their equally significant impact on the nation’s business network. As Richard Doty explains, ships “carried goods from one place to another, [...] and [they] carried them with economy and style [...] In time, they would be equated with Commerce itself,” which may be why they appeared on Treasury notes.

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34 Ibid., 1295. Passenger rates rose approximately 10% a month.
35 Ibid.,1295. The Union army effectively destroyed what had not fallen into disrepair.
36 Richard Doty, Pictures from a Distant Country, 97.
These were, after all, key elements that the Confederate Government wished to preserve and promote. One of the Rebels’ biggest wartime advantages was that “the Southern states were surrounded by [...] protected waterways where small craft could carry the commerce and forces of the Confederacy.”\(^{37}\) James A. Huston estimates, “if the Confederate states somehow could have gained and maintained command of the rivers [...] and the adjacent seas of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, their success at arms scarcely could have been denied.”\(^{38}\) Controlling these watery avenues was thus essential for victory, both militarily and commercially, because “steamboats were associated with the most important kind[s] of Commerce.”\(^{39}\)

Of course, if boats were being featured, it would be natural to also include the individuals who manned their decks. Sailor scenes appear quite frequently on Confederate scrip; however, with the exception of one bill, they are entirely peripheral tableaus.\(^{40}\) In many cases, these images were “drawn from prewar notes,” but they, like all the others, were chosen for particular reasons.\(^{41}\) First, they were “related to a common past and culture, [...] serving to instill in citizens a sense of collective identity.”\(^{42}\) Second, “the greater popularity of mariners over river men removes any doubt as to which profession captured the minds and hearts” of Southern citizens.\(^{43}\) But aside from their cultural appeal, sailors served a practical purpose within the Confederate States of America: they staffed the trade ships so that business could continue at home and abroad.

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\(^{38}\) Ibid., 1691. This is especially the case with the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

\(^{39}\) Richard Doty, *Pictures*, 97. Besides domestic shipping, boats also allowed the South to conduct business with potential foreign allies, such as Great Britain and France. Further, at a time when communication was limited to written letters, ships carried mail to various parts of the country. See Richard N. Current, *Encyclopedia*, “Waterways,” for further information.

\(^{40}\) See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*. Type: 37.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., 46.


Unfortunately, the South’s plan for maintaining a commercial enterprise via the nation’s waterways quickly fell away. The preliminary “seizure of Harper’s Ferry by Federal forces assured Northern control of the upper Potomac, and George B. McClelland’s first action […] in Western Virginia in July 1861, assured Northerners control of the upper Ohio.” Both losses severely affected the Southern maritime monopoly and caused many to question the power of the Confederate navy. By February 1862, the situation became worse when “Ulysses S. Grant […] captured Fort McHenry […] and other U.S. forces captured Roanoke Island, North Carolina.” Considering these events, it is little surprise that the Act of October 13th 1862 brought with it no vignettes of ships or sailors whatsoever. Their presence on lower denomination bills theoretically was a way for the government to illustrate the qualities of the C.S.A.’s trade industry and sea-force; however, when these notions became discredited, it rendered images of mariners and seafaring vessels virtually obsolete.

So what are the contents of the remaining Industrial/Commercial inventory? Other specimens depict a blacksmith and a milkmaid, as well as the three aforementioned tableaus of a corn harvester, a machinist, and an array produce. While these representations equal just 3.6% of the total Industrial/Commercial category, their appearance alongside industrial objects indicates that the South’s economy might have been partially “mixed.” Often, “historians [have] described the antebellum economy – and, for that matter, Southern society as a whole – as noncapitalist.” But Edward Pessen

45 Ibid., 1691.
46 See Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog. Types 19, 21, 23, 32, 39 and 40.
48 Edward Pessen, “Antebellum North and South,” 1125.
posits that, “although the value of Southern manufactured products was usually less that one-fifth of the national total during the antebellum decades, the South was hardly a region devoid of industrial production.”

Pictures of a corn harvester, a milkmaid, and an assortment of crops all suggest a “glorification of the purely agrarian scheme of things;” however, what about the machinist and the blacksmith tableaus? Perhaps they could have reminded their users “whatever the promises and pretensions of the new industrialization, most commodities were still made as they always had been made, by hand, by gifted craftsmen.” Of course they could have also had the opposite effect – showing the necessity of industry in addition to agrarianism – by conjoining traditional farming motifs with advanced “transportation technologies.”

It is difficult to know whether these “work related” vignettes actually functioned in either capacity since so few of them exist. Still, they play a large role in understanding the various economic and cultural emphases that characterized the early Confederacy. As Heinz Tschachler explains, “design does not merely add value to existing notes, […] but is a fundamental element of product innovation, linking production and consumption” together into a strong financial foundation. That concept remained vibrant throughout the war, but how it was pictorially presented changed drastically at the end of 1862. In essence, “gone were the pomp and pageantry of the grand procession” for both North and the South. This was war, and warriors and leaders alike needed firm, structurally rooted foundations to stand on.

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49 Ibid., 1125.
51 Richard Doty, Pictures, 66.
52 See Types 39 and 40. These notes show a (traditional) milkmaid alongside a (advanced) train.
Symbols of Strength: Vignettes of Buildings and Capitols

I posit that this desire for “firm foundations” helped facilitate the incorporation of Building/Capitol vignettes onto Confederate currency. In a very literal sense, these pictures were the epitomes of strong governmental infrastructures, and efficaciously aided in creating pictorial definitions of nationalism and trust. Much like the portraits of (White) Heroes/Officials, tableaus of Southern capitol buildings showed tangible examples of political power that were built on strong frames of brick and marble. Therefore, they would not crumble in the event of a disaster, or in the case of the Tennessee building, cease to be a source of pride if captured by enemy forces.55

More importantly, these notes show a monetary system that was supported by the government. In his book The Greenback, Heinz Tschachler makes the germane point, “what gives paper money its authority […] is its backing by a trustworthy individual or institution.”56 Following Tschachler’s logic, the Confederate Treasury notes released after the Act of October 13th 1862, skillfully illustrated both of these facets in the form of solid Confederate buildings and reputable Confederate people. Building and Capitol scenes played a particularly integral role in promoting such nationalistic elements because they served to “reassure, as well as to inspire,” the public.57 For “it was through the mass immersion in nationalistic iconography that the inhabitants already of the young republic ‘molded their identity and perceived their destiny.’”58 It was only fitting that such important tableaus occupied solely central places on key “Blueback” dollars and were featured only on commonly circulated bills.

55 Arlie Slabaugh, Confederate States Paper Money, 58. The Tennessee capitol building was occupied by the Union on February 25th 1862.
57 Richard Doty, Pictures from a Distant Country, 85.
58 Heinz Tschachler, The Greenback, 95.
Of the 62,268,205 notes issued between October 13th 1862 and February 17th 1864, 36,090,604 include a Building/Capitol portrait.\(^{59}\) In other words, almost 58% of the C.S.A.’s monetary imagery showcase these “firm foundations,” and always under the watchful eye of a Confederate official.\(^{60}\) For a percentage as high as this, it is rather unusual that just three denominations feature Southern buildings.\(^{61}\) But these particular bills were also the most *widely distributed* types of Treasury notes.\(^{62}\) Not only are they placed on scrip typically used by the public, but also their production numbers dwarf those of most other specimens (See Table 12, 13, and 14).\(^{63}\) These statistics are interesting, but the buildings themselves present an even more fascinating study.

In total, just three Building/Capitol vignettes were employed during the lifespan of Confederate currency. They are the capitol buildings in Virginia and South Carolina, and the former statehouse of Tennessee.\(^{64}\) The latter edifice, depicted on the $20 bill, poses a bit of a conundrum because the Union army occupied it ten months *before* this note was produced.\(^{65}\) Why was this picture used after the Confederacy lost the capitol on February 25\(^{th}\) 1862? Further, why were these particular structures selected and not others? The answers lie beneath the histories of these buildings and how their respective states impacted the Confederacy during the Civil War.

\(^{59}\) See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*. Types 49-72.

\(^{60}\) Christian M. Lengyel, “Statistics.” All notes that have a Building/Capital displayed also have a member of the Davis cabinet in the periphery. No Building/Capital notes feature a hero (e.g. Lucy Pickens, “Stonewall” Jackson, or soldiers) of any sort.

\(^{61}\) Grover Criswell, *Catalog*. Types 51, 52, 53 (1862); 58, 59, 60 (1863); 67, 69 (1864).

\(^{62}\) Ibid. These images appear on $20, $10, and $5 bills during the 5\(^{th}\), 6\(^{th}\), and 7\(^{th}\) acts. Interestingly enough, the 1864 $10 note does *not* include its former capital building, and features a soldier scene instead. See Appendix for examples.

\(^{63}\) Ibid. Ironically, one of the note that has higher issues is Type 68, the 1864 $10 bill mentioned above. The other is Type 55, a $1 note, but that figure is less than 2 of the 3 B/C vignettes.

\(^{64}\) Ibid., 47. Normally, this category would just be labeled “Capitols;” however, because of Tennessee’s loss of their statehouse to the Union Army in 1862, an action that prohibited it from continuing any Confederate-related business, I elected to include the term “Buildings” as well.

Table 12: Chart of Production Numbers during the Act of October 13th 1862

Table 13: Chart of Production Numbers during the Act of March 23rd 1863

Table 14: Chart of Production Numbers during the Act of February 17th 1864

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Foundations for a Cause: The Significance of the Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee Capitol Vignettes

The capitol building in Virginia was perhaps the most obvious choice for a vignette. After moving the locus of Confederate power from Montgomery to Richmond in May of 1861, the Davis cabinet found itself needing a suitable structure in which to conduct business. They settled on a building that had been “designed by Thomas Jefferson with help from Charles-Louis Clériseau in 1785:” the Virginia state capitol. Originally used by the General Assembly of 1788, the architecture closely resembled a Roman temple rather than a house of government. That type of layout fit closely with the ideals of C.S.A. leaders, who carried “their line back to such mythical personages as Brutus, the eponymous founder of Britain, and Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, who wandered to Scotland’s shores and brought that nation into being – and beyond these to the lost tribes of Israel.” In turn, the Virginia capitol building exemplified the Southern cause in both its neoclassical construction and its well-established political history.

Virginia itself also offered a good deal of prestige. As James I. Robertson discusses, “the state was the largest, richest, and most populous. A third of the South’s nonagricultural goods came from Virginia [,] the iron yield of the Old Dominion was three times greater than that of the next Southern state [, and] twenty percent of the Confederacy’s nine thousand miles of railroads lay” there. For a nation that may have been practicing a “mixed economy,” it was “the closest thing to a manufacturing center

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http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Virginia_State_Capitol_During_the_Civil_War_The#start_entry
69 Ibid.
existing in the lower half of America.” 72 Therefore, at the beginning of the War, the South (and also the North) looked to the “mother state of the nation” for support. 73 But Virginia’s decision would not come easily. The fact that it “was one of the last states to secede was evidence of its strong ties to the Union” and, in many ways, proof that the “state [was being] driven against its will to seek independence.” 74 This was probably true; however, despite basing its decision mainly upon the C.S.A.’s threat to dissolve “the union between the State of Virginia and other States under the Constitution,” the now-liberated Old Dominion quickly became the jewel of the newly formed Confederacy. 75

As a reward for their allegiance, Rebel leaders named Richmond the Confederate capitol two days later. 76 Southern citizens expressed their gratitude in the form of songs, poems, and ballads like “Virginia to the North,” “Our Braves in Virginia,” and “Virginia’s Message to the Southern States.” 77 Newspapers, like the Richmond Examiner, extolled: “the whole cause, on our part, is the maintenance of the sovereign independence of these [Confederate] States.” 78 As a result, “the Capitol and its landscaped public square became a well-known setting for wartime events.” 79 These included celebrating Grey Coat victories, such as Manassas, in early-1861, inaugurating Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens in February 1862, and memorializing General “Stonewall” Jackson in 1863. 80 Even the “large equestrian statue of George Washington

72 Ibid., 1664. Virginia also had a vast agrarian background. The Shenandoah Valley was one of the South’s biggest suppliers of foodstuffs, and tobacco farming was integral to its economy.
73 Ibid., 1662.
74 Ibid., 1663. Virginia officially seceded on April 17th 1861.
75 Except from the Virginia Convention of April 17th 1861 qtd. in Ibid., 1663.
76 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Mark K. Greenough, “The Virginia State Capitol.”
80 Ibid.
on Capitol Square provided the inspiration for the official seal of the Confederate States of America” in 1863. \(^{81}\)

Around the time currency displaying the Virginia capitol building was released, a *White Cloud Kansas Chief* newspaperman editorialized: “if the Confederacy loses Virginia it loses the backbone and right arm of the war.” \(^{82}\) The Old Dominion had certainly become an integral part of Confederate workings; yet, the “war struck Virginia […] with staggering force” in 1862. \(^{83}\) The Peninsular campaigns of General George McClelland badly affected Southern businesses located in the capitol. The environment was so unsettled that Mr. Memminger deemed it expedient “to remove from Richmond the establishment for the manufacture of Treasury notes,” and relocate it to Columbia, South Carolina. \(^{84}\) Still, it stands to reason that the printers and Secretary Memminger held a certain degree of respect for this center of power, and hoped to return to it one day under the banners of Confederate victory. The Virginia capitol vignette may have thus acted as homage to that desire, in addition to its structure’s symbolism of strength.

The next logical state to have its statehouse immortalized on a piece of monetary scrip was South Carolina. The home to several Confederate forefathers, most notably Christopher Memminger and John C. Calhoun, the Palmetto State had also been the first organized body to officially secede from the Federation in 1860. \(^{85}\) On December 20\(^{th}\) of that year, delegates of the Secession Convention enacted “an ordinance to Dissolve the

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81 Ibid. This seal was actually used on a “Blueback”- the $500 (Type 64) note that also depicted “Stonewall” Jackson. For the purposes of this project, it was included under the George Washington/ (White) Heroes/Officials section.
82 See Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record Volume V.*
85 See Richard N. Current, *Encyclopedia Volume 4,* “South Carolina.” Memminger was initially leader of the South Carolina “Cooperationists,” or those who a “united secession movement among the other Southern states.” He changed his tune, however, when Lincoln was elected.
Union between the State of South Carolina and other States,” following Abraham Lincoln’s presidential nomination. The Union occupation of Fort Sumter in January of 1861 only hastened this matter. In short, Governor Francis Pickens regarded the action as a threat to South Carolina. His fears would be legitimated when Mr. Lincoln, now the President of the United States, promised to “hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government,” which of course included Fort Sumter. But, eventually, South Carolina would regain control over its precious property. On April 10th Union Major General P.G.T. Beauregard was instructed “to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter or to reduce it.” When the Fort’s commanding officer, Major Robert Anderson, refused Beauregard’s ultimatum, the General ordered the infamous April 12th bombardment that forever remains linked with the beginning of the Civil War.

Southerners largely praised South Carolina’s vanguard actions as being synonymous with Confederate allegiance and strength. Those who were responsible for the attack on Fort Sumter found that “when the first relief went to work, the enthusiasm of the men was so great that the second and third reliefs could not be kept from the guns.” The excitement felt in mid-April did not diminish as “one deep, strong, overpowering sentiment [swept] over the whole community – a sentiment of determined, devoted, active loyalty” that brought citizens together in the pursuit of a common cause.

Poems like “Sumter – a Ballad of 1861,” “On Fort Sumter,” and “Sumter” all captured

86Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record Volume I*, 2
87 Richard N. Current, *Encyclopedia*. Francis Pickens was the husband of Lucy Holcomb Pickens, the same lady that had her likeness displayed on several Confederate notes. Governor Pickens was extremely important to the C.S.A. as he staunchly supported the secession of South Carolina and the other Confederate States. Perhaps Lucy’s vignette was a demonstration of respect for Francis Pickens’ loyalty and stalwartness at the beginning of the Civil War.
88 Ibid., 1508.
89 Ibid., 1508.
91 Ibid., 24.
the glory of Rebel victory with stanzas lauding “Southern Firmness […] Southern Will […] and] Southern Courage.” Likewise, “when news of secession reached Columbia from Charleston, it was greeted with bonfires, cannons, bell-ringing, and parades” that celebrated the promises of these “new beginnings.”

Fort Sumter and secession were not South Carolina’s only “claims to fame.” During the mid-19th century, “Charleston was the social and cultural center of the low country, the state’s manufacturing center, and its principal and most cosmopolitan city.” Similarly, Columbia “played a significant role in the Confederacy,” acting as host to the South Carolina Secession Convention in 1860 and offering countless volunteer hours throughout the war. But a more important element is the fact that “in 1862 Confederate printing operations were moved to Columbia from Richmond.” Several extant letters from Christopher Memminger to Francis Pickens outline this printer relocation, and ask the Governor to “extend to them and their workmen the protection of the State government […] so that they may be in the uninterrupted discharge of their duties.” Pickens obviously did his job correctly as evidenced by a letter from Keatinge & Ball: “The location of our office is delightful […] the men are much pleased by with the change, and say they will give us more work than ever before.” Perhaps the vignettes of South Carolina’s capitol building were used in thanks for Pickens’ efforts; however, they are more likely to have served as reminders of the state’s intrinsic contributions to the Confederate campaign for independence.

92 See “On Fort Sumter” qtd. in Ibid.
96 Ibid., 370.
97 Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences of the Treasury Department 1861-1865, 292.
98 See Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 545-6.
The most unusual tableau is that of the Tennessee statehouse on three issues of $20 notes. Its presence is peculiar for a number of reasons. Joining the Confederacy on June 8th 1861, Tennessee was “the last state to secede, [and] it was also the only one to leave the Union by means of a legislative ‘declaration of independence’ rather than a secession ordinance adopted by a special convention.” 99 Even after this decree many Tennesseans, especially those living in the East, refused to acknowledge the state’s sovereignty without “forceful coercion” from Confederate officials. 100 Further, “the campaigns and battles in Tennessee were, with few exceptions, disappointments or disasters” for the rebel army due to the lack of a strong defense network. 101 Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, the two bastions respectively guarding the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, were still unfinished, making the city vulnerable to Northern assaults. 102 In turn, by “February 25, 1862, Nashville became the first Confederate state capitol to fall” into enemy hands, remaining there until the end of the War. 103

It is, therefore, remarkable that the capitol building which stood in this enemy-occupied territory of questionable allegiance and strength would be showcased on currency ten months after its capture. But the Confederate’s untimely loss of Tennessee may explain why it was featured in the first place. Despite its shortcomings, the Volunteer State was key to both the North and the South. Proper “control of the Mississippi River […] was impossible without possession of western Tennessee,” while the middle and lower eastern sections were gateways to the “Confederate heartland.” 104

99 Richard N. Current, Encyclopedia Volume 4, “Tennessee,” 1574. This means the government made the decision to seek independence, not representatives of the local people.
100 Ibid., 1575-6.
101 Ibid., 1576.
102 Ibid.
Additionally, “middle Tennessee was rich a rich food producing region; […]and] the Cumberland-Tennessee river region near the Kentucky border boasted some of the South’s largest ironworks” and mines.\textsuperscript{105} Nashville also offered a unique set of advantages. The city “was a major supply center for the Southern army [as] local plants produced cannons, muskets, ball and shot, percussion caps, friction primers, swords, saddles, harnesses, carriages, and gray uniform cloth.”\textsuperscript{106} Finally, its paramount placement along the banks of the Cumberland River allowed the city to become a commercial hub and one of the biggest distributors of goods to Southern markets during the first half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{107}

In short, “Tennessee’s strategic location made it the focus of military operations in the western theater for much of the war.”\textsuperscript{108} After Nashville’s fall in 1862, several decisive skirmishes took place between Southern and Northern forces in an attempt to regain Confederate control of the state’s waterways and railroads. Of these, Ulysses S. Grant’s campaign at Shiloh is perhaps the most famous; however, other engagements at Stones River, Tullahoma, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Nashville all helped to secure the Union’s dominance over Tennessee.\textsuperscript{109} In the wake of these frays, the Volunteer State was looked at with a certain amount of nostalgia, as Southerners recounted the halcyon days of the early Confederacy. When the Rebels “let another rousing cheer for Tennessee be given. [And] the single star of the bonnie Blue flag [grew] to be eleven.”\textsuperscript{110}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} Frank Moore (ed.), \textit{The Rebellion Record Volume IV}, “The Bonny Blue Flag,” 84. In sum, Tennessee may have become a symbol of hope to the Confederates and gave them something to fight for.
\end{flushright}
The fact that “only Virginia was the scene of more battles and skirmishes than Tennessee,” indicates a land which held tremendous worth for Confederate leaders. This was certainly the case due to the state’s central geographic setting and vast commercial network, but it also reflected the political prominence of the capital city. Since “many [Confederate] offices were [once] located in the new capitol building,” the Rebels almost assuredly wished to reclaim it. Thus, the edifice might have become a symbol of lasting inspiration among Southern soldiers (and others) who viewed the possibility of its liberation as a significant wartime success. As was the case with all of the structures displayed on C.S.A. Treasury notes, the Tennessee statehouse reminded those involved with the War what they were fighting to preserve. In this particular instance, the building’s vignette may have functioned to justify the number of costly (and unsuccessful) struggles that were waged over Tennessee soil, as well as to provide hope that the landmark and the state would one-day return to the Confederates’ control.

Capital vs. Capitol: Conclusion

When imaging the concept of freedom, one might be inclined to envision pictures of the American flag, the bald eagle, or the Statue of Liberty. These subjects are what Heinz Tschachler calls “new symbols of Freedom” and are often used on modern Federal Reserve notes to showcase “icons of Americana.” But such scenes are not exclusive to today’s monetary market. During the Civil War, many “new symbols of Freedom” surfaced on paper money that caused consumers to take notice of, and in turn, relate “not just to the national currency but to the government as well.” From the Act of March 9th

114 Ibid.
1861 through the Act of April 17th 1862, one particular set of Confederate vignettes seemed to center around transportation and trade. Images of trains and boats attest to the idea that the country had “come under the spell of ‘civilization’ [which…] involved the building of canals, toll roads, […] bridges, and railroads.”¹¹⁵ In addition, they illustrate the importance of a solid, albeit “mixed,” business network, and the freedom of being able to take materials practically anywhere with utmost speed and efficiency. These tableaus thus spoke to well-to-do groups of people with emblems of pride and glory, but also of stability and endurance. Essentially, they presented financiers, businessmen, and even potential foreign allies with metaphoric examples of strength and power that were all hallmarks of a modern, functioning government.

Yet, like the Allegorical/Mythical iconography discussed in the preceding chapter, portraiture of industry and commerce served little purpose to a nation that was on the losing end of the fight. By the last two years of the War, Southerners had effectively been cut off from nearly every major waterway and railroad in America, leaving them confined to their self-created borders and absent of any substantive industrial or commercial base.¹¹⁶ In response to this predicament, Confederate note makers appear to have changed their focus (and their audience) with the Act of October 13th 1862’s new series of bills. Similar to the Allegorical-(White) Heroes shift, the C.S.A. Treasury Department placed Buildings/Capitols on “Bluebacks” in an attempt to display tangible subjects that had literal foundations. By doing so on low-denomination scrip, the Confederacy was better able to personify itself to the working class majority as an independent entity of permanence and its currency as trustworthy instruments of value.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 72.
¹¹⁶ On April 19th 1861, President Lincoln ordered the blockade of Southern ports. By the summer of 1863, the North had seized control of the Mississippi River.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE REST: WORTH/WHIMSY/OTHER VIGNETTES

Indians, Children, and Value: An Overview

This thesis has found that the majority of tableaus displayed on Confederate currency indicate a reaffirmation of Southern values, which shifted from metaphoric to realistic as the Civil War progressed. However, the portraiture that makes up the remainder of the C.S.A.’s Treasury note catalog presents a bit of a conundrum for classification. These images, hereafter referred to as “Worth/Whimsy/Other,” deal with topics that appear both obvious and obscure, depending on their observer’s understanding of numismatic history. They showcase scenes of foreign peoples as well as large, stylized designs that attest to the notes’ values and those who issued them. In short, the following category represents “the rest” of the Confederate States of America’s long-since-forgotten monetary pictures; but still, they serve to tell a story in and of themselves.

Despite their historical significance, these tableaus amount to a relatively small portion of the Confederacy’s wartime currency. Produced from 1861 through 1864, worth, whimsy, and other vignettes are found on just 3,857,812, or 4.5%, of the 85,095,974 bills that were printed in that period.1 Moreover, out of 153 vignettes, the Worth/Whimsy/Other bracket accounts for 10.4% of the total scenes investigated, and are comprised of 12 (16.9%) central images and 4 (4.9%) peripheral images.2 But a few of these pictures can be tricky, and thus require further explanation. Indeed, their Worth/Whimsy/Other label is intended to quickly get across the types of subject matter depicted on particular kinds of Confederate scrip; yet, it does not fully speak to all of the vignette varieties contained within those groups. One such example is the worth section, which

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2 Ibid. See Chart 1.
includes both numerical symbols of the money’s denomination and “The Confederate States of America” title that is featured simultaneously. Therefore, the name “worth” actually implies two separate meanings: one of value and the other of trust. As all Treasury notes incorporate these elements somewhere inside their perimeters, the worth segment only involves itself with bills that prominently exhibit them in lieu of centralized (pictorial) vignettes.

Conversely, “whimsy” details the imagery of young boys that are occasionally highlighted on the face of “Blueback” dollars. They have been subsumed under this heading because these tableaus tend to portray children “in a romantic fashion, adapted from contemporary paintings which had found favor with the public” before and during the Civil War. Essentially, it is due to their “whimsical” natures that I have assigned the existent child-centered portraiture its corresponding nameplate. A similar case is made for the “other” vignettes, a subset that explores a league of individuals exclusively “othered” by Southern and Northern societies alike: the Native American. In Pictures from a Distant Country, Richard Doty aptly entitles his chapter on Indians “The People in the Way” as a “recognition of the fact that, for many 19th-century Americans, that is exactly who they were” when their likenesses were placed on these monetary instruments. In turn, I have attempted to retain Doty’s concept that Native Americans were representative of an “out group” of citizens, and I word my denotation of them accordingly. But the frequency, or lack thereof, with which these scenes were employed is intriguing, and is consequently deserving of careful consideration.

4 Ibid., 16.
5 Ibid.
On the Surface: Descriptions and Placements of Worth/Whimsy/Other Vignettes

Scenes of worth, whimsy, and other are best understood when these words are expanded to show their “full definitions” (See Table 13). By breaking down that bracket, I have demonstrated that depictions of “worth” are by far the most popular set of images among the three; yet, this is no surprise considering the financial nature of “Blueback” bills. Thus, significant quantities of Confederate currency display “verbal vignettes” instead of traditional pictures, and always spotlight them in centralized locations. In nearly all cases, however, symbols of value and trust share the stage with other (peripheral) tableaus from one of the previously studied categories.  

The only exception is Type 12, a $5 note printed by Jules Manouvrier, which is completely absent of any type of portraiture whatsoever. Manouvrier, a prominent lithographer in New Orleans, was asked by the Confederate Treasury in 1861 to create and manufacture a set of $5 and $10 bills that would provide the public with some form of small-denomination currency. Unfortunately, as Grover Criswell explains, “a package of these notes were broken into in Petersburg, Virginia […] and the signatures] were then filled in by the thieves and circulated.” According to Christopher Memminger, “the packages from New Orleans of impressions printed from the five and ten dollar plates of Manouvrier were put up in paper by the carelessness of the printer, and the agent of the express company abstracted a few of the sheets and signed them with fictitious names.” While all of the $5 forgeries were eventually recovered, a few $10 issues remained unaccounted for, causing Secretary Memminger to void the entire series. But this early
counterfeit scare did more than just invalidate a specific piece of scrip; it also led the Treasury Department to adopt heightened measures of security and strike the concept of “pictureless paper money” from its inventory.10

A less prolific variety of Worth/Whimsy/Other imagery is seen with vignettes of (white) children, who occupy spots on two Treasury notes in total. They are immortalized on a $10 and a $5 bill – Types 24 and 32 – and portray “the presentation of idealized sweetness” that commonly made up 19th century banknotes.11 Perhaps it is for this reason that Type 32, a “Blueback” that was created using one of the Mechanic’s Savings Bank’s plates, features a young boy in place of an elder statesman.12 Richard Doty reasons: “it was a sentimental age. It should therefore not surprise us that some of the things which amused earlier Americans involved figures and situations which we might find ‘twee’ – a useful British word roughly equivalent to ‘over the top’ or ‘too cute for words.’”13

Many of the tableaus produced by the Confederate States of America ascribe themselves to this colloquial phrase, including the other infant portrait of the Reverend Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn. Dr. Elwyn’s picture graces the periphery of an attractive $10 bill produced under the Act of August 19th 1861, and has been the subject of much controversy within the field of numismatic history. Like “General Francis Morton’s Sweet Potato Dinner,” this vignette was taken from a preexisting work of art that was painted by Asher B. Durand in the early-1840s.14 Yet, unlike the “Sweet Potato Dinner” scene, the Elwyn image illustrates a person who became “a Philadelphia minister, a

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12 See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*, Type 32.
**Table 15: Chart of Worth/Whimsy/Other Character Breakdowns by Specimen Type**

NOTE: “Worth” refers to a placard that says both “The Confederate States of America” and the actual denominations. These two labels always appear together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Symbols of Trust/Value: (Worth)</th>
<th>Children: (Whimsy)</th>
<th>Native Americans: (Other)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 28</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type 32</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Type 35</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 70</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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15 Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Worth/Whimsy/Other Character Breakdowns by Specimen Type.” See Appendix for visual examples.
Unionist, a Republican and an abolitionist” in his later years. Unfortunately, the reasons as to why this drawing was selected for a C.S.A. Treasury note, and continued to “be used by Keating & Ball on a couple of Florida State issues,” still remain mysteries.

Compared to the scant number of child likenesses, vignettes of Indians are equally small in size. Only two “Blueback” dollars bear Native representations; however, three separate portraits of majestic “others” are found in the Confederate States’ monetary iconography catalog. These are Types 35 (a $5 bill) and 22 (a $10 bill), the latter of which features two Native American tableaus. The first specimen, “affectionately known by all as the ‘Indian Princess’ because of the Indian maiden on the right,” is yet another example of a “borrowed bill.” Briefly footnoted in chapter one, Type 35 “was made from a plate donated to the Confederacy by the Bank of Charleston, South Carolina.” Chapters two and three discuss more fully how this was a recurrent practice, often resulting in a series of “non-sequitur” images, and leaving the origins of Type 35 similar to those of the Mechanic’s Savings Bank’s whimsical $5 note.

Type 22 is not an entirely bona fide Confederate design either. Its center displays a Native American family, shown seated on a rocky ledge, while an Indian woman stands to the right holding an ear of corn and the Roman numeral “X.” Richard Doty skillfully outlines how this maiden, who initially appeared on a $10 New York bill, showed up several times throughout the mid-19th century, and was made the object of considerable attention. Doty believes that she became an “obvious prop” to note makers because “her

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16 Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog, 113.
18 See Grover Criswell, Comprehensive Catalog. Types 22 and 35.
19 Ibid., 135.
20 Ibid., 135. Another example of a Charleston note – Type 14 – is featured in chapters two and three. This $50 bill has a central vignette of Moneta and a peripheral vignette of two sailors.
presence [was] required to express the value of the bill,” and the fact that “she also held a product typically associated with Native Americans” even furthered her appeal.22 As Linda Frost explicates, “depicting primitives as either inhuman monsters, bestial and cannibalistic, or children, naïve and ignorant, conveniently positioned them at the beginning of the story of Western civilization.”23 Vignettes of Indians were thus proudly featured on U.S. currency both during the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, showing the complex “love-hate” relationship that existed between Natives and white men of the Southern as well as Northern regions.24

Although these scenes may have been ordinary on private-issue scrip, they were quite rare on Confederate paper money. Excluding images of value/trust, child and Indian tableaus equal merely 10.4% of the Worth/Whimsy/Other category.25 When looked at on a wider scale, pictures of young boys and Native peoples account for just 4.2% of the total 85,095,974 notes produced between 1861 and 1864, which is a meager sum considering the high percentages of the previously studied samples.26 Even so, how were they featured and on what denominations are they usually found? The answers seem to follow the trend outlined above. As far as the placements of these representations, 11 out of 12 (91.6%) central vignettes depict some type of worth indicator, whereas only 1 (8.3%) showcases a Native American (See Table 14). No children are present in this column; instead they occupy half of the peripheral subset and

24 Native Americans were featured on scrip and specie well into the 21st century. The most popular “paper” example is the $5 silver certificate of the 1890s, which featured the head of Indian chief as its central vignette. Other “metallic” examples include the famous Indian-head penny, the buffalo nickel, and the new Sacajawea dollar. In sum, Native peoples have always fascinated U.S. Citizens and have thus continuously found a home on the Nation’s currency.
26 Ibid.
12.5% of the aggregate. Indian portraits constitute the balance of the peripheral group, and compose the residual 18.7% of the gross population.

**Table 16: Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Worth/Whimsy/Other Character**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central:</th>
<th>Peripheral:</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Symbols of Trust/Value</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An interesting pattern is also noticeable when the vignette’s denominations are examined on a case-by-case basis (see Table 15). Their rarity notwithstanding, Worth/Whimsy/Other pictures tend to be visible only on notes with very high ($500 and above) or relatively low ($10-$2) monetary values. Nine of the 11 “worth” images (81.8%) appear on scrip between the range of $10 and $2, while all of the “whimsy” and “other” iconography exist on strictly $5 and $10 bills. I have already established that paper money of this size was the conventional pay-medium for soldiers and members of the working class. Could it be that Worth/Whimsy/Other scenes were geared specifically towards these individuals? Perhaps portraits of Indians and children functioned as learning tools for the uneducated, whereas symbols of trust and value were meant to reassure the cynics. I feel that there is merit to this hypothesis, or else why were similar tableaus excessively popular on other Civil War banknotes? Further, for as favored as these designs were, why did they materialize so infrequently on Confederate currency?

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27 Christian M. Lengyel, “Central vs. Peripheral Scenes of Each Worth/Whimsy/Other Character.”
28 As previously mentioned, these types of vignettes were employed quite frequently during the Antebellum and Civil War eras. They appear on both Southern and Northern currencies; usually those from private banks or states, although they are also present on some Northern-issue demand/legal tender notes.
Table 17: Chart of Denomination Distribution for Each Worth/Whimsy/Other Character with Central & Peripheral Denotations\textsuperscript{29} [C]=Central; [P]=Peripheral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols of Trust/Value:</th>
<th>Children:</th>
<th>Native Americans:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>$20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>[P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>[P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{29} Christian M. Lengyel, “Chart of Denomination Distribution for Each Worth/Whimsy/Other Character with Central & Peripheral Denotations.”
Below the Surface: The Significance of Value/Trust, Child, and Indian Vignettes

American Studies scholar, Heinz Tschachler, posits that paper money’s “authority” derives from the institutions or individuals who endorse it. But Dr. Tschachler believes “there is […] a symbolic contribution, which lies in the imagery on paper money” as well. An article published in the February 1862 edition of Harper’s New Monthly Magazine corroborates Tschachler’s statement: “In designing a note there are several points to be considered. The various denominations must all be different in appearance, and none of them must resemble any note of any other [organization]. Each must combine the various kinds of work adopted as securities against frauds, and must, moreover, present a handsome appearance.” Although the Confederate States of America initially neglected much of this advice, they quickly realized the necessity of producing an original, secure, and attractive national currency.

As early as the fall of 1861, the C.S.A. Treasury recognized its limitations in printing this kind of scrip; however, that did not deter them from trying to do so. Christopher Memminger’s letter to G.B. Lamar states: “In respect to the execution of the Treasury notes, I am sorry to say that we have been unable to do better. As far back as May I made contract for steel engravings, which are not yet forthcoming. I have used every effort to import workmen and paper. A few have been obtained, and I shall soon procure good paper. In the meantime I am endeavoring to procure lithographic plates with two colors, and thus to diminish the chances of forgery […] Congress made the penalty death and any suggestions of security made by the banks will be cordially

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Secretary Memminger’s wish for some sort of input was met with countless correspondences from both creditors and Southern citizens. While financial officers pushed for a uniform currency, lay folk, such as E.S. Hubbard, recommended that in order “to distinguish [Confederate dollars] from the ordinary issues of the banks, the Government, as it receives it should have the face of each bill colored, say, ‘red, white, and blue.’”

Hubbard’s idea certainly falls at the upper end of the nationalistic spectrum, but nonetheless, he was onto something with his proposal of a patriotic color scheme. Richard Doty makes the very compelling point: “paper is a very fragile trading mechanism” because its users perceive that, in and of itself, “pieces of paper have no value.” Indeed, “if all goes well, you may persuade the public that they represent wealth – but that is a great leap of faith, and you will do well to add all the reassurance you can by any means available.” Doty reasons: “this is why modern credit cards have holograms. And this is why 19th century […] currency so often employed images and techniques meant to reassure, as well as inspire.” As I illustrate in chapters two and three, that “reassurance” often took the form of (White) Hero/Official and Building/Capitol portraits; however, I contend it also influenced the “verbal vignettes” mentioned here. In short, like red, white and blue’s unmistakable combination, large placards with the words “The Confederate States of America,” pared with stylized representations of the notes’ obligation, gave these bills credibility in the eyes of a skeptical society.

32 Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences of the Treasury Department, 184. Lamar was originally worked for the NBCo; however, relocated to the Bank of Savannah following secession.
33 Raphael P. Thian, Correspondences with the Treasury Department, 50.
34 Richard Doty, Pictures from a Distant Country, 85. Emphasis original.
36 Ibid. Doty’s statement is meant to imply that holograms give credit cards security, and thus reassure people about their worth. In this sense, they are very similar to vignettes of banks, coins, and other symbols of financial “trust” that often graced Civil War currency.
Beyond creating a trustworthy monetary system, these types of designs were also intended to enhance the scrip’s security. The father of steel-plate (intaglio) printing, Jacob Perkins, envisioned a bi-faced currency, “with holes allowing for ‘customization’ [of] the denomination, the name of the bank, and the place of issue.”\(^{37}\) Perkins believed that these unique crests would make the dollars harder to duplicate, which they did, yet their “homely” appearance made them none too popular among the public. Instead, note makers chose more pleasing and ornate images, thinking that few could reproduce the complex pictures. But they would soon come to realize that someone who possessed the right talents could forge even these elaborate works of art. Stephen Mihm explains how Confederate money was made especially susceptible to this type of counterfeiting because “the majority of the notes […] relied heavily on lithographic engraving, which produced fuzzy, indistinct prints that could be imitated with less effort than those printed from steel plates.”\(^ {38}\) Therefore, the Treasury Department may have finally bit the bullet and instituted the Perkins process on the $1000 and $500 issues in attempt to deter reproductions of the government’s highest-value bills.

Vignettes of children present a different scenario altogether. Whereas symbols of “worth” were more than likely used to instill senses of trust and value in the Confederacy’s currency, portraits of young boys served to educate the masses about the importance of the up and coming (male) generation. Richard Doty explains that well before the Civil War even began, “our private currency functioned as a ‘people’s primer,’ and there is every indication that this teaching function was there deliberately” due to the

\(^{37}\) Richard Doty, “When Money was Different,” Common-Place Website, Vol.6, No. 3 April 2006. Last Access Date: July 1\(^{st}\) 2013, [http://www.common-place.org/vol-06/no-03/doty/](http://www.common-place.org/vol-06/no-03/doty/) A bi-face is one which has a design printed on both the front and back.

\(^{38}\) Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeiters*, 323.
romanticized depictions of youth that prospered on paper money during the Antebellum Era. This profusion of toddler tableaus “happened to coincide with the development of photography, and the realistic possibilities inherent from [that] new science.” Doty believes that images of children became “undeniably real” with the invention of photographic tin-types because they “were carried uncut and uninterrupted from daguerreotype to printer’s plate.” In turn, scenes of “Childhood and Family in 19th-century America were just as vibrant as they are today,” a factor that was surely, at least partially, owed to the use of this medium.

Why then are these vignettes so scarce on Treasury notes? The answer may rest with the Civil War’s impacts on Southern adolescents, and the family unit in general. James Martin skillfully discusses how “children in the Confederacy shared virtually every one of their parents’ experiences,” including starvation, homelessness, and loss of relatives. In this sense, “the war had a deep impact on the youngest Confederates [as] thousands of young boys served in […] armies, and even on the home front.” According to Martin, “the war forced many children to grow up very quickly,” and take on their absent fathers’ (adult) responsibilities. Since many of the tableaus that dealt with kids presented them in a blithe and carefree manner, the average individual would not see them as even remotely realistic. Perhaps this explains the naturalistic portrait of a young boy, dressed like a miniature solider, on the $5 (Type 32) “Blueback.”

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39 Richard Doty, Pictures from a Distant Country, 49.
40 Ibid., 50.
41 Ibid. Emphasis original.
42 Ibid., 52.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid., 307. These responsibilities often ranged from working in factories to support their families, to actually helping their mothers’ administer the plantation(s).
Children often did not appear on bills by themselves. Richard Doty details how “other private currency pays homage to the entire family, its members relaxing, reveling in each other’s company.” And yet, nowhere in the Confederate monetary record are these images evident. The reason for this dearth possibly stems from the ways in which the Civil War tore families apart and rivaled the very concept of a patriarchal household. Bertram Wyatt-Brown states: “the parades of patriarchs stretching back sometimes to ancestors in Scotland, Ireland, Ulster, Wales, or England provided standards of accomplishment, status, and character to be matched” by Southern men. As a result, despite largely believing in a “child-centered” family, “quite early in childhood, family members learned respect for the patriarchal name and the value that it embodied.”

By 1862, however, “the absence of hundreds of thousands of fathers created a new wave of guilt and longing” among Southern families because it challenged this dynamic. Orville Vernon Brown reasons, “the family lost [its] moral authority” due to the fact that 70 percent of the male population was away from the community. Brown goes on to describe how “in Southern society, where masculinity was associated with power, children at home sometimes used their father’s absence to test their mother’s control” and rebel against the previously existing patriarchal hierarchy. What had once been a celebrated institution now became a disputed sore spot throughout much of the Confederacy. In turn, it is very possible that note makers wished to avoid promoting these scenes, which probably carried with them a series of negative public sentiments.

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47 Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviors in the Old South*, 119.
48 Ibid., 123.
51 Ibid.
Native Americans also played a small part in Confederate currency’s monetary iconography catalog, but for an entirely different reason. I suggest that images of these individuals, who were closely associated with the South’s “frontier mentality,” began disappearing as that concept faded during the Civil War. W.J. Cash reveals that “the history of the South throughout a very great part of the period from the opening of the nineteenth century to the Civil War […] is mainly the history of the role of frontier upon frontier” and the conquering of Native peoples who inhabited those areas. Yet, as the North-South ordeal intensified, outlooks of Southern citizens started to evolve. Richard Doty explains that although “new industrialism [and] new ways of working the land” all primed the nation for this transformation, “sectionalism and the resulting war between brothers did speed things up.”

Indian vignettes even coexisted with scenes of industry on private-issue banknotes for a cursory period. Throughout the 1850s, Native peoples were often shown alongside tableaus of trains, factories, and steamships, all the while baring looks of disapproval in the face of these innovations. Such is the case with the $10 (Type 22) “Blueback.” In this sense, “the Native American’s status can be seen to approach that of an onlooker, passive rather than active,” and primitive instead of sophisticated. Essentially, “he could be confronted with the idea of Progress and react to it in […] ways that that

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54 See ibid. Some other (banknote) examples include the 1855 Western Exchange Fire & Marine Insurance Company of Omaha, Nebraska $2 note (Trains); the 1857 Bank of Tekamah in Burt County $1 note (Factories); and the 1858 Bank of Florence, Nebraska $2 note (steamships). Several other samples exist, and even include bills printed in Northern locations!
55 Ibid., 16. Also see Appendix for a visual example of this bill.
validated whites’ opinion of him,” as well as simultaneously speaking to Southern ingenuity.\textsuperscript{56}

The “confrontation between Native and Machine would continue to form a popular subject for inclusion of private banknotes, especially on those from frontier areas,” well into the early-1860s.\textsuperscript{57} Of course, “the problem with Progress is that it changes things, and not always for the better.”\textsuperscript{58} W.J. Cash observes, in addition to production and commerce, the South felt “Progress stood […] for a sort of new charge at Gettysburg, which should finally and incontestably win for it the right to be itself.”\textsuperscript{59} Obviously that right included legitimatizing the slave system; however, it also meant (forcibly) expanding the Confederate dominion to create a wholly sustainable “cotton empire.”\textsuperscript{60} But 1865 marked “an end […] of the independence and self-sufficiency, the freedom from direct exploitation and servitude, which had been so primary for the preservation and growth of the old frontier individualism, for the suppression of class feeling, and the binding of the South into its extraordinary unity of purpose and outlook.”\textsuperscript{61} Plainly put, the Civil War effectively destroyed Southerners’ “frontier mentality,” and with it their aspirations for control over blacks and Indians alike.

As a consequence, pictures of Native Americans may have lost the interest of Confederate note makers because Indian lands were now beyond the Government’s reach. Yet, that sobering message had already been conveyed to the Confederacy prior to General Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox. As Richard Doty wistfully comments,

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 16-17.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 105.
\textsuperscript{60} See ibid. As history has shown, the Southern ideology of a “forced expansion” eventually came to pass. Policies like the Dawes and Burke Acts effectively destroyed Indian sovereignty and allowed the U.S. Government to relocate Native Americans by whatever means necessary.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 158.
“the most reflective inhabitants of the Distant Country [America] were aware […] that they were living in a age that was becoming […] alien to them,” and they adjusted their paper money’s portraiture accordingly. Doty notices an emergent pattern in monetary vignettes as early as the mid-1850s, “which appear to share […] common theme[s] of change, movement, and loss.” Although these combinations manifested themselves in a number of diverse forms and for several different reasons, Dr. Doty identifies one possibility that bears particular relevance to the C.S.A.’s currency. As stated in the author’s book: these “collision[s] may in fact be a competition, in which new ways win out over old ones,” represented by two separate tableaus. If Type 35 ($5) is examined closely, the pairings seem to match Doty’s hypothesis. On the right side an Indian girl stares off into the distance, her gaze divided by a banner of “worth,” but still focused on the left hand scene of African Americans working around a steamship. Still, regardless of whether or not this bill served in a competitive capacity, its tiny production figures (7,160), and Type 22’s ($10) comparatively small series (58,806), each indicate that Indians had fallen out of favor with the Confederate States of America by late-1861.

The End of an Era: Conclusion

There is not much dispute over the meanings behind symbols of worth on Confederate currency. Ostensibly, these verbal vignettes were intended to get across the bills’ denominations; but they also functioned to boost their integrity at a time when Southern citizens were reluctant to accept them as reliable exchange instruments.

63 Ibid., 105.
64 Ibid., 106.
65 See Appendix for Type 35
66 See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog*. These are some of the rarest specimens in the entire “Blueback” series.
According to Richard Doty, “the search for ‘fiscal credibility’ took the banks and other institutions in several directions, [...] ranging from state-sponsored associations to fancy printing techniques” that seemingly supplemented their product’s security. On private-issue scrip these measures often took the form of emblematic tableaus, such as images of coins that equaled the note’s value and pictures of watchdogs guarding the key(s) to safes or cash boxes. The “Blueback’s” iconography was far more straightforward. Instead of relying on metaphoric portraiture, it focused on the innate value of the “Confederate States of America” nameplate. Nonetheless, “while the procedures varied, the objective did not: the public must be convinced of the validity of paper money” for it to succeed.

Conversely, vignettes of whimsy and other can either be looked at as outliers in Confederate currency’s complex history or representatives of a bygone era. After reviewing the different kinds of wartime monetary imagery, I have found that tableaus of children and Indians tend to stick out from the rest. Not only do they appear somewhat out of place among the more routine representations of agriculture, patriotism and victory, but also their rarity points to a limited public circulation rate. So why did banknotes celebrate these American archetypes, as well as the frontier, in the years leading up to the Civil War? As Dr. Doty explains, “people felt impending change, [and thus] a nostalgia for [subjects] that had not previously engaged their attention.” But Doty cautions that “the frontiersman was in danger of becoming a prop, [...] suffering the same treatment as [...] his Native American” and adolescent counterparts. By late-1861, that process had already taken place – leaving Types 22, 24, 32 and 35 as nothing more than fleeting, educational reminders of the South’s past glory.

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68 See ibid. Besides animals and coins, vignettes of banks were also quite popular because they showed the organizations that (supposedly) backed the currency.
69 Ibid., 86.
70 See ibid. In the 1850s, private banks produced a huge number of these vignettes.
71 Ibid., 103
72 Ibid.
CONCLUSION: THE ARGUMENT AND THE EVIDENCE SUMMARIES

As the Civil War drew to a close, the Southern economy lay in ruins. By January 20th 1865, the exchange rate of Confederate Treasury notes had steadily risen to $66.50 per ounce of gold, which made them practically worthless in the eyes of bankers and businessmen1 (see Image 1). That inflation and its resulting side effects were due largely to the Treasury Department’s ignorance of paper money’s fragile trading mechanisms. Christopher Memminger, despite his efforts at administering a national monetary system, “never seems to have decided whether treasury notes derived their value from their public acceptance, their fundability, or their tax receivability.”2 Memminger’s uncertainty leads Douglas Ball to observe, “in looking back over the Confederacy’s currency management program, one is struck by the absence of any conscious planning outside the inchoate desire of Congress for a government currency.”3

Still, just because “Bluebacks” depreciated with such disastrous consequences does not mean they are entirely purposeless today. Not only do they express the economic considerations of the Confederate government but their imagery also tells a story about the South’s wartime mentality. Unfortunately the master narrative that has been forged from these bills is a bit limited. Much of the recent scholarship concerned with C.S.A. scrip focuses on its ties to slavery, and how its tableaus served to propagate that institution. This thesis has sought to challenge those assertions. It remains my contention that the Confederacy’s monetary iconography instead reflected several, more important, Southern causes other than the slave system.

3 Ibid.,189.
Figure 1: A *Harper’s Weekly* Cartoon Commenting on the Significant Depreciation of Confederate Currency.\(^4\)

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Statistically, I have shown that Slave/Black scenes make up a small portion of the Confederate States of America’s Treasury note catalog. Besides accounting for only 8.4% of the central vignettes, 1.2% of the peripheral vignettes, and 4.6% of the total vignettes, portraits of Black/Slaves appear on just 4% of the aggregate currency produced between 1861 and 1865.\(^5\) When compared to the other categories’ sum percentages – 25.5% (Allegorical/Mythical), 37.9% ((White) Heroes/Officials), 16.3% (Industrial/Commercial), 5.5% (Buildings/Capitols), and 10.4% (Worth/Whimsy/Other) – pictures that supposedly advocate chattel advancement are clearly in the minority.\(^6\) What these figures seem to alternatively suggest is a visual emphasis on elements that promoted successful crops, Southern patriotism, and Confederate victory through a series of metaphoric and realistic depictions.

This study has illustrated with primary and secondary sources that by mid-to-late 1862, emblematic pictures began to be replaced by concrete representations: Vignettes of allegory and mythology turned into tableaus of Southern heroes and officials; objects of industry and commerce became a series of buildings and capitols. Similarly, portraits of children (whimsy) and Indians (other) disappeared altogether, while symbols of trust and value (worth) persisted throughout 1865. What this trend appears to indicate is a certain degree of disillusionment with “undefined iconography” after the Battle of Sharpsburg, which continued to grow as the Civil War progressed. Further, the excessive amount of attention given to both abstract and actual likenesses evinces the possibility that C.S.A. paper money may have represented an ideological “cathexis,” as Southerners invested a significant level of their wartime mental outlooks into these particular images.

\(^6\) See Christian M. Lengyel, “Number and Percentage of Categorized Vignettes.” These figures are taken from the “% of All Images Studied” column.
Take Aways: The Research and The Development

There are several gaps in the monetary historical record that would provide excellent vehicles for this project’s expansion. My sample was limited only to those bills bearing the motto: “The Confederate States of America,” detailed in Grover Criswell’s catalog. But, as Criswell himself mentions, there were also an estimated “$215 million dollars […] issued by the individual states, counties, railroads, private banks, and merchants” well into the 1860s. The questions are, what types of vignettes were displayed on these issues, and how did their scenes match up with Confederate “Bluebacks?” Finding reliable sources for conducting this research may be problematic, however, due to discrepancies in the production data for local, public, and private notes. It is Richard Doty’s belief that “any answer must be an informed guess at best, because the private and local issuers kept few if any records, while those of the states were lost or destroyed in the general debacle of 1865.”

Even so, James Haxby’s four-volume Standard Catalog of United States Obsolete Banknotes, 1782-1866, details nearly every piece of paper money printed by American banks during that period. Although Haxby’s text only concerns itself with one variety of bills, his compilation provides an excellent stepping-stone for determining what other Southern currencies looked like both prior to and at the time of the U.S. Civil War.

The South was not alone in its struggle for a decent wartime currency. According to Richard Doty, “Lincoln’s government floundered about for a number of years in search of a reliable, stable, but expandable fiscal medium,” which also resulted in several types

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of paper money.\textsuperscript{9} Since no one was certain whether the federal government could print money, the Union found itself in a similar situation as their Rebel adversaries. But that did not stop them from \textit{borrowing} money. On July 17\textsuperscript{th} 1861, “Congress sanctioned a $250 million borrowing program […] and turned a portion of that quarter-billion dollars into […] federal paper money,” otherwise known as Demand Notes.\textsuperscript{10} Eventually, Legal Tender bills replaced Demand scrip; yet, \textit{both} brands of Greenbacks “bore inspirational face designs and lauded American patriots.”\textsuperscript{11} What would be advantageous is a comparison of North-South issues, especially these Demand and Legal Tender Notes, in order to pick up any similarities or differences that existed between the two sides. Numerous compendiums have been written that deal with Northern paper money, making a project of this caliber entirely accomplishable within a limited scope of time.

This project could also benefit from additional insights about the individuals who produced the Confederacy’s currency. In \textit{America’s Money, America’s Story}, Richard Doty admits, “no one has ever succeeded in creating a complete list of these printers;” however, their backgrounds may help to explain why certain vignettes were utilized.\textsuperscript{12} And they are quite an interesting bunch. The correspondences of Blanton Duncan alone are telling of what kinds of people were involved with the note-making process. In an early letter to Secretary Memminger, Colonel Duncan wrote: “I could disguise myself so that the Devil himself would not know me.”\textsuperscript{13} While statements like this granted Duncan a humiliating reputation, even causing some to regard the Colonel as a “bit cracked,” they nonetheless make him an engaging subject for further investigation as well.

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., 140. These included Demand and Legal Tender Notes, but also National Banknotes.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 146.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 147.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 129.
\textsuperscript{13} Raphael P. Thian, \textit{Correspondences with the Treasury Department}, 374.
Significance: The Past and the Present

In theory, there is not much difference between the Federal Reserve notes of today and the Confederate Treasury notes of the Civil War. Both are forms of “fiat currency,” meaning they have no “tangible assets” (e.g. gold or silver) backing them other than the Government’s promise to “pay the bearer on demand.” Yet, as was shown with the “Blueback,” if that authority is mismanaged, or worse yet misunderstood, it could lead to dire economic consequences. Therefore, it is imperative we learn from our previous mistakes by studying the shortcomings of our nation’s monetary history – a factor that makes my project, and others like it, all the more essential.

This thesis has set out to tell Confederate scrip’s complex story using its vignettes as illustrations of Southern society’s wartime mentality. Currently, “visitors to the United States often complain, ‘your money all looks alike.’ Ones look like fives or tens or twenties, with the same color combinations – black for the faces and muddy green for the backs, [...] with the same limited [...] choice of portraits and views.” And most people would agree. Still, “there was a time when America’s paper money reveled in the offbeat, the inconsistent, the colorful. There was a time when it came from thousands of places rather than one, when local scenes and notables predominated, and when Americans were accustomed to receiving threes, fours, sevens, and nines along with fives and tens.” But during that period these notes also functioned as reflections of daily life. By studying their tableaus, hidden nuances are unearthed which enhance the historical community’s appreciation for those items of greatest importance to the individuals who issued them.

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15 Richard Doty, “When Money was Different.” Common-Place Website, Vol.6, No. 3 April 2006. Last Access Date: July 1st 2013, http://www.common-place.org/vol-06/no-03/doty/
16 Ibid.
My research comes on the cusp of an interesting turning point within the field of numismatics. Over the last 15 years coin collecting has experienced renewed enthusiasm, due mainly to the several series of commemorative quarters, nickels, and dollars that have flooded the public market. Unfortunately, bill collecting, or “notaphily,” has yet to receive the same attention. Although paper money has and continues to attract its fair share of followers, the idea of preserving scrip instead of spending it is a relatively new phenomenon. Further, the recent deaths of several prominent currency gurus, such as Richard Doty, Grover Criswell, Arlie Slabaugh, and Douglas Ball, have left a void of popular monetary historians. While scholars like Stephen Mihm and Michael O’Malley carry on these men’s legacies, the discipline itself is struggling to find a connection with modern-day audience members outside of the academy.

For as much as we handle these pieces of paper, it is difficult to figure out why contemporary Americans are not wholly interested in their monetary system’s past. Heinz Tschachler reasons, “that the lowly paper dollar is one of those everyday, self-evident things that are most often taken-for-granted but that for that very reason may well be the most important ones for revealing an understanding of American culture.”17 If we realize that “a currency speaks to us through the images it carries,” then perhaps Tschachler’s point will become more easily recognizable.18 The goal of this thesis has been to show how the scenes on Treasury notes issued by the Confederate States of America can act as artifacts for interpreting the Civil War. By using these bills as primary source documents, I have sought to dispel previously held beliefs about that era and to show there is still a great deal yet to be learned from these fascinating physical specimens.

18 Ibid., 11.
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Articles:


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APPENDIX A: IMAGERY: 

Slave/Black Vignettes

Type 4

Type 13

Type 23

Type 29

Type 30

Type 35

Type 41
Allegorical/Mythical Vignettes:

Type 2

Type 3

Type 5

Type 6

Type 7

Type 8
Type 46
(White) Heroes/Officials Vignettes:

Type 1

Type 6

Type 7

Type 8

Type 16

Type 20
Type 62

Type 63

Type 64

Type 65

Type 66

Type 67
Industrial/Commercial Vignettes:

Type 2

Type 3

Type 5

Type 9

Type 11

Type 13
Building/Capitol Vignettes:

Type 51

Type 52

Type 53

Type 58

Type 59

Type 60
Worth/Whimsy/Other Vignettes:

Type 1

Type 12

Type 22

Type 24

Type 26

Type 27