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Article

Pictures Frozen in Time: Determining Whether or Not Confederate Currency Vignettes Functioned as Proslavery Propaganda

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Abstract

Recently scholars have begun to reassess the importance of monetary imagery as a reflection of subjects integral to past societies. This study attempts to determine if the Confederate States of America utilized their vignettes to promote the institution of slavery. Using Grover Criswell's seventy defined varieties of Confederate notes issued between 1861 and 1864 as a sample, I engage scholars Richard Doty, Michael O'Malley, and Jules d'Hemecourt who argue that these bills functioned as a significant form of proslavery propaganda. With statistical examination of this material I suggest that such allegations are false and possess little physical evidence. My examination of this material challenges these allegations by studying the frequency that such scenes were employed and finding that they represent a very miniscule portion of the vignettes utilized by the Confederacy. My analysis shows that these notes generally promoted the "Southern cause," but did not promote slavery to any significant degree.

Paper dollars are one of the most widely used and accepted forms of transaction in modern-day American society. While cheques 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 twentieth 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 article 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 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? This essay suggests 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 American 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 indicates 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 subset 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 essay challenges these assertions by examining the frequency with which "slave scenes" were employed and determining 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 nations, early settlers of North America desired a monetary standard based exclusively on precious metals, such as gold and silver. Minted in the form of coins modeled off the Spanish dollar, this crude form of cash became the accepted monetary system among the Colonists. However, faced with a deficit of resources to mass-produce these tokens, as well as

[1] Heinz Tschachler, *The Greenback: Paper Money and American Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 95.
[2] Richard Doty, "When Money was Different," Common-Place Website, Vol.6, No. 3 April 2006. Accessed July 1, 2013, http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-06/no-03/doty/.
[3] Richard Doty, *Pictures From a Distant Country: Seeing America through Old Paper Money* (Atlanta, GA: Whitman Publishing, 2013), 1.
[4] The term Blueback refers to a 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 quotation marks to denote my preference.

the on-set of the Revolutionary War, the idea of promissory paper notes began to take hold. Unfortunately, without an organized bank to back these "Continental dollars" and the persistent problem of counterfeits, by the War's close this "fiat currency" was found to be completely worthless.[5] 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.[6]

Yet the founding fathers understood that having a metallic monetary system could be problematic and were accordingly vague in their constitutional wording on this subject. While the document expressly forbid states from issuing their own "bills of credit," it was "cleverly silent on whether the new national government could do so."[7] Their rationale was multifaceted. While the United States for all intents and purposes was to be a "hard money" nation, the framers realized that an emergency might someday arise that would require a reintroduction of promissory paper money.[8] This "emergency" did indeed occur, taking the form of the Civil War; however, that was not the only reason for the proliferation of scrip. Heavy and often dangerous to transport, specie 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" coins when so desired by the bearer, and "based on loans made by the banks for marketable assets."[9]

With Andrew Jackson's dissolution of the National Bank by in 1836, the nation entered into The Free Banking Era. While most Southern citizens, like Old Hickory, remained committed to specie, the demand for these tokens proved to be too great. Therefore, during this period individual states, cities, and companies began producing paper money in an attempt to counteract the two depressions that resulted from the President's decree. With no official body in place to regulate these "wildcat" agencies, the U.S. government, due partially to the Supreme Court's allowance, as well as the overall feeling that "banking be operated as a free enterprise," was left powerless to maintain a consistent form of legal tender.[10] While the *Banking Act* (1863) "provided for a uniform national currency and the elimination of State Bank paper" in the northern regions, it was not until 1878 that the National Banking System was restored to all of America.[11] Further, it was not until 1913 that the Federal Reserve Bank was created to uphold the monetary security we have today.

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[5] Richard Doty, *America's Money, America's Story: A Chronicle of American Numismatic History* (Atlanta, GA: Whitman Publishing, 2008).
[6] See U.S. Constitution, (Art. I, Sec. 8, Sub Sec. 5) and (Art. I, Sec. 10, Sub Sec. 1). See http://constitutionus.com.
[7] Doty, "When Money was Different."
[8] Ibid.
[9] Richard H. Timberlake Jr., "The Significance of Unaccounted Currencies," *Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 4 (1981), 856.
[10] Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, *Currency in the United State*s (Kansas: Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas, 1995), 5.
[11] Ibid.

During the Civil War, however, both public (the Confederate government and individual states) and private (banks and business) entities were charged with printing up paper money, amounting to a tremendous array of bills. Grover Criswell estimates that between 1861 and 1865, $1.7 billion were issued through various acts of the Confederate congress and an additional "$215 million [… were] issued by the individual states, counties, railroads, private banks and merchants."[12] This total may seem rather daunting but, according to Criswell, the $1.7 billion put into circulation by the Confederacy can be classified into 72 separate specimens. This figure is further pared down by Criswell's determination that of those 72, two are "bogus notes" that were passed off as legal tender.[13] The following essay investigates this relatively small sample of 70 notes in order to determine whether or not the Confederate government, the force of influence behind the Confederate states, was promoting slavery through their 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. The data has been broken down into six subsets based on the type(s) of image(s) that are displayed on each bill, as well as by the series dates, which correspond to the various acts of the Confederate congress. These categories are defined and labeled as follows. Scenes showing individuals of African ancestry who may (or may not) be part of the chattel system, hereafter called "Black/Slave" vignettes.[14] Scenes such as ships, trains, canals, blacksmiths, sailors, and farmhands, otherwise referred to as "Industrial/Commercial" vignettes. Scenes showing fictitious individuals related to Greek and Roman mythology known as "Allegorical/Mythical" vignettes. Scenes showing generals, members of government, Southern women, and former presidents, which are titled "(White) Heroes/Officials" vignettes. Scenes showing seats of power throughout the Confederacy in the form of "Buildings/Capitols." And scenes showing seemingly unrelated portraits of children, Indians, design medallions, and stylized monetary values, which are labeled "Worth/Whimsy/Other" vignettes.[15] (See Table 1).[16]

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.[17] 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 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

[12] Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money* (Port Clinton, OH: BNR Press, 1996), 38.
[13] Ibid. Neither one of these notes depicts a slave scene.
[14] 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.
[15] Christian M. Lengyel "Confederate Vignette Classification System."
[16] Lengyel Classification using Criswell notes: 1-70.
[17] Tschachler, *The Greenback,* 88-9.

	# Of Central Images:	# Of Peripheral Images:	# Of Total Images:
"Slaves/Blacks" 1861-1862:	6	1	7
"Industrial/Commercial" 1861-1862:	12	13	25
"Allegorical/Mythical" 1861-1862:	16	23	39
"(White) Heroes/Officials" 1861-1865:	17	41	58
"Buildings/Capitols" 1862-1865:	8	0	8
"Worth/Whimsy/Other" 1861-1865:	12	4	16
Totals:	71	82	153

Table 1: The Numbers of Categorized Vignettes[18]

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.[19]

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 of cotton were grown each year, which was 80% of the world's supply."[20] 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.[21] It would, therefore, be reasonable to represent this industry on Treasury notes since they were originally used for the crops' purchase.[22] 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?

[18] Christian M. Lengyel. "Number of Categorized Vignettes."
[19] 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.
[20] Arlie Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper Money: Civil War Currency from the South* (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 2012), 15.
[21] Eugene Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 159.
[22] See Raphael P. Thian, *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.

Perhaps, but that has not stopped scholars from speculating that a more negative set of interpretations can be drawn from these bills. In recent years, these authors have set out to prove that Confederate currency contains "coded" support for the system of slavery – literally, economically and allegorically.

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."[23] 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."[24] 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 justification for keeping him in bondage?"[25] 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 *contentmen*t and *satisfaction* with his work.[26] 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.[27]

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

[23] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 122.
[24] 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. See *Pictures from a Different Country*, 122.
[25] Ibid., 30.
[26] Ibid., 33. Emphasis added by the author.
[27] Ibid. Emphasis in original.

follow "free banking" regulations, and circulated scrip simultaneously.[28] 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. 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 factories because a white proletariat would represent the greatest possible threat to the regime."[29]

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.[30] 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. [31] 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.[32] 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."[33] 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.[34]

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 commonalities that ultimately led to the latter's immortalization on currency. [35] Slaves not only had worth as labor, they also "had value in capital […which] allowed Americans to speculate and experiment with money."[36] 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.[37] This bond was only strengthened during the Free Banking Era, when, "in

[28] Christopher Memminger, quoted in Arlie Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper Money,* 13.
[29] Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, 231.
[30] Doty, *America's Money, America's Story,* 126.
[31] See Douglas B. Ball, *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinoise Press, 1991) and *Banking in the American South: From the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).
[32] Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, 22.
[33] Tschachler, *The Greenback*, 35. The term "Greenback" refers to Northern scrip.
[34] Ibid., 35
[35] For a more abbreviated account, see Michael O'Malley, "Specie and Species: Race and the Money Question in Nineteenth-Century America," *The American Historical Review* 99:2 (1994): 369-95.
[36] Michael O'Malley, *Face Value: The Entwined Histories of Money & Race in America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 45.
[37] Ibid., 11.

the absence of a central bank, slaves served in place of gold," sometimes being used as "black flesh coins."[38] O'Malley reasons that this was perhaps the greatest motivating factor for putting African Americans on notes, as it symbolized the economic importance of "negro bodies."[39] 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.[40]

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."[41] 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.[42] After all, "bankers put images […] on their notes not simply from sentiment," but rather because they were important components to the proliferation of the Southern way of life.[43] 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."[44] Schweikart's claim can be verified by simply perusing Raphael Thian'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.[45]

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-year career as a curator at the Smithsonian Institute, Dr. Doty investigated countless currency specimens, and he admits

[38] O'Malley, *Face Value*, 44.
[39] Ibid., 27.
[40] Ibid., 68.
[41] Ibid., 73.
[42] Ibid., 72.
[43] Ibid., 73.
[44] Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American South: From the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 286.
[45] The more persistent problem was counterfeiting and thus the majority of bankers wanted notes with higher security features rather than slave vignettes. See Raphael P. Thian, *Correspondences with the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America*, 1880.

"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."[46] 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."[47] 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.[48]

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."[49]

> 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.[50]

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.[51]

Dr. d'Hemecourt seems to be suggesting 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."[52] The use of mythological goddesses

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[46] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country,* 122. Emphasis added by the author.
[47] Ibid., 28
[48] Doty, *America's Money, America's Story,* 133.
[49] Jules d'Hemecourt, "Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency," Beyond Face Value Website, accessed July 1, 2012. http://exhibitions.blogs.lib.lsu.edu?page_id=707.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

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.[53]

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 will be addressed later in this essay, 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 note.[54] So although one picture might have been used in conjunction with several others, that placement does not indicate an ulterior motive on the part of Confederate officials.

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 d'Hemecourt's lead is followed then there is no problem accepting the statement that "issuers of paper money in the Confederacy openly sought validation for slavery;" however, this is not the case.[55] While the Confederate government was certainly guilty of enacting numerous ploys to see the slave system continued, 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."[56]

Instead, statistics indicate that "Slave/Black" scenes represent one of the smallest groups of vignettes on Confederate currency (See Table 2). With regard to the "total images studied" sample, Slaves and Blacks make up 4.6% of the 153 aggregate vignettes examined, placing them sixth among the other six sections.[57] Turning to the "total central images" sample, Slaves and Blacks come in last place at a mere 8.4% of 71 central vignettes appraised.[58] Finally, in the "total peripheral images" sample, Slaves and Blacks 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, with six showing centralized scenes and one showing a peripheral tableau. [59] 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.

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[53] d'Hemecourt, "Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency."
[54] Doty, *America's Money, America's Story,* 139.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics of Confederate Treasury Notes."
[58] Ibid.
[59] 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.

	# Of Central Images:	# Of Peripheral Images:	# Of Total Images:	% Of Central Images:	% Of Peripheral Images:	% All Images Studied:
"Slaves/Blacks" 1861-1862:	6	1	7	8.4%	1.2%	4.6%
"Industrial/Commercial" 1861-1862:	12	13	25	16.9%	15.8%	16.3%
"Allegorical/Mythical" 1861-1862:	16	23	39	22.5%	28.0%	25.5%
"(White) Heroes/Officials" 1861-1865:	17	41	58	23.9%	50.0%	37.9%
"Buildings/Capitols" 1862-1865:	8	0	8	11.3%	0%	5.2%
"Worth/Whimsy/Other" 1861-1865:	12	4	16	16.9%	4.9%	10.4%
Totals:	71	82	153	Approx. 100%	Approx. 100%	Approx. 100%

Table 2: The Numbers and Percentages of Categorized Vignettes[60]

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 depicting Blacks and 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 per cent of the 32,285,409 bills issued between 1861 and 1862, leaving 89 per cent that could potentially promote causes *other than* slavery. [61] Since all of these notes were printed when the assortment of images was at its most diverse, it is quite improbable that an 11 per cent 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.[62] At the wars' close these images amounted to only four per cent of the aggregate, and thus would have been quite rarely seen in daily transactions.[63]

[60] Christian M. Lengyel. "Number and Percentage of Categorized Vignettes."
[61] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics," using Criswell notes: 1-55.
[62] Ibid., Using Criswell notes: 1-72.
[63] 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 per cent) were "ethnic," and shown in two issues.[64] 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.[65] 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.[66] 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."[67] 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.[68] 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 per cent) portrayed a slave, and were shown in just one issue.[69] A similar situation is witnessed with the $5 series, where of the 7,982,701 bills printed, 7,160 (0.009 per cent) depicted chattel workers.[70] 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.[71] 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 just 27.9% of the total $10 issues.[72] 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 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.

While this essay has 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

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[64] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics."
[65] Thian, *Correspondences with the Treasury Department*, 1881: 482.
[66] $22 million were redeemed, but $130 million remained in circulation.
[67] Albert A. Nofi, *A Civil War Treasury: Being a Miscellany of Arms and Artillery, Facts and Figures, Legends and Lore, Muses and Minstrels, Personalities and People* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, Inc., 1992), 383.
[68] Marc D. Weidenmier, "Turning Points in the U.S. Civil War: Views from the Grayback Maket," *Southern Economic Journal* 68 (2002): 886-9.
[69] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics."
[70] Ibid.
[71] 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.
[72] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics," using Criswell notes: 4, 23, 29, 30, 35, and 41.

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 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.[73] 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."[74] 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."[75] 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.[76]

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.[77] 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.[78] Unfortunately, this partnership came to an abrupt end on April 19, 1861 when President Abraham Lincoln declared an official blockade between the Northern and the Southern regions. A few weeks later, authorities raided NBNCo's New York office, and ordered them to cease their Southern dealings.[79] 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

[73] d'Hemecourt, "Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency."
[74] Mark Neely, Harold Holzer, and Gabor Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 6.
[75] d'Hemecourt, "Beyond Face Value: Slavery Iconography in Confederate Currency."
[76] Tschachler, *The Greenback*, 34.
[77] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, 39.
[78] See William H. Griffiths, *The Story of the American Bank Note Company* (New York: The American Bank Note Company Press, 1959).
[79] This included the first four Confederate notes (known as the Montgomery Issue), which was authorized by the Act of March 9, 1861. This series happened to include one slave scene. See Ibid.

alias of the Southern Bank Note Company.[80] However, this too was short-lived. The Union's capture of New Orleans on April 24, 1862 officially brought an end to SBNCo's wartime involvement.[81] 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.[82]

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 produced stock certificates, sheet music, and maps.[83] 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)."[84] While companies like Keating & 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.[85]

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.[86] When the Civil War began, paintings like this one provided convenient sources of imagery for Southern printmakers, such as Blanton Duncan, who wished to illustrate a sense of peace and harmony through the lens of a more bucolic past.[87] Of course other "Southern printers simply lifted by offset […] scenes that had been used on bank notes they had access to."[88] Indeed, "many notes did not even picture Southern scenes, but were vignettes used before in the North."[89] By the end of 1862 these "recycled" pictures accounted for over half the vignettes in circulation.[90]

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[80] 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. See Ibid.
[81] 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. See Raphael P. Thian, *Correspondences*.
[82] See Ibid.
[83] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 113.
[84] Doty, *America's Money, America's Story,* 129. Parenthesis in original.
[85] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 123.
[86] See Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money.*
[87] Tschachler, *The Greenback*, 89.
[88] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, 39.
[89] Slabaugh, *Confederate States Paper Money*, 23.
[90] 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."[91] The outcomes were images that had a "cut and paste" appearance, resembling stock certificates rather than currency.[92] So what types of iconography were featured on Confederate *bonds*? Typically they matched the product of the company for whom the certificate was issued.[93] 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, it stands to reason that the cotton – not the slaves – was probably the primary focus of these vignettes, due to its significant role in the Southern economy.[94]

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.[95] 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, 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.[96] 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.[97]

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."[98] This left the door wide open for any able-bodied counterfeiter to reproduce the Treasury's notes with relative ease, which they usually did without hesitation.[99] Further, the printing houses' crude presentations 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.

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[91] Doty, *America's Money, America's Story,* 129.
[92] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 123.
[93] Neely Jr., Holzer, and Boritt. *The Confederate Image; Prints of the Lost Cause*, 33.
[94] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 54-72.
[95] Marc D. Weidenmier, "Turning Points in the U.S. Civil War: Views from the Grayback Market," *Southern Economic Journal* 68:4 (2002). July 1-3, 1863 was the date of the infamous Gettysburg campaign.
[96] See Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, 53.
[97] See Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American South,* 296.
[98] Doty, *Pictures from a Distant Country*, 123.
[99] See Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

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.[100] Doing so wasted valuable energy and artistic manpower that neither the engravers nor the Treasury had at their disposals. Slave vignettes (and other tableaus in place on earlier notes) were quite detailed and required a great deal of skill to create.[101] 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.[102] 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 it also represents several turning points in the Civil War. 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.'"[103] 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."[104] 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.[105] 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 noted that, "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.[106] 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

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[100] Philip H. Chase, *Confederate Treasury Notes: The Paper Money of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865* (Philadelphia, PA, 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 – thus creating a relief copy of the original image.
[101] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*.
[102] Thian, *Correspondences*, 676.
[103] Robert Francis Engs, "Emancipation Proclamation," *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 2:530.
[104] Ibid., 532
[105] Ibid.
[106] Richard N. Current, "Slavery during the Civil War," *Encyclopedia*, 4:1441.

possible.[107] 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.

Still, it is important not to sell paper money short. It is, after all, one of the greatest sources of publicity and could potentially be an excellent means of propaganda. As Heinz Tschachler reminds us, "a national currency may foster a sense of nationhood only […] in accordance with the wishes of the nation."[108] If this is correct, perhaps the Confederate government wished to foster a sense of nationhood through its notes, but placed the emphasis on a subject *other than* slavery. Indeed, slavery was a major component of the Civil War; however, historians often lose sight of the Southerner's mindset and assume that every element of their lives revolved around this institution. Maybe so, but it does seem rather unrealistic that something *that* important would not appear on more than a small percentage of the government's bills. So what did appear?

Of the all the categories studied, two stand out as being unusually high in representation on Confederate notes (See Table 3): "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" 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.[109] So why did these shifts take place? This essay suggests that the Confederacy initially utilized their paper money to depict their cause as just, blessed by God, Nature, and Industry 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 Sharpsburg (Antietam).[110]

Representational figures account for one of the largest samples of image-types utilized by the Confederacy during the early Civil War. These scenes, which this essay labels as Allegorical/Mythical, account for 25.5 per cent of the 153 aggregate vignettes issued between 1861 and 1864, with 22.5 per cent placed centrally and 28.0 per cent placed peripherally. Of all the allegorical and mythical images, the dominant depictions are of Ceres, the goddess of agriculture and grain, Proserpine/a, her daughter as well as the goddess of corn, Columbia, the goddess of justice, and Minerva, the patron goddess of war, liberty, hope, and also the Confederacy.[111] In total, such scenes account for 55.3 per cent of the Confederate vignettes issued between 1861 and 1862, with none being produced after those years. Even more pronounced are the portraits of white heroes and officials, which make up 37.9 per cent of the

[107] Richard N. Current, "Emancipation Proclamation," *Encyclopedia*, 2:532.
[108] Ibid., 97.
[109] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money.*
[110] This event took place in September of 1862, only a month before the vignettes changed.
[111] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art,* Second Ed., (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008).

vignettes issued from 1861 through 1864 and 69 per cent of the vignettes issued from 1861 through 1862. [112] They mainly include those persons who were influential to the South and Confederate government, such as John Calhoun, Clement Clay, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, Jefferson Davis, George Washington, Alexander Stephens, Lucy Pickens, and Christopher Memminger.[113]

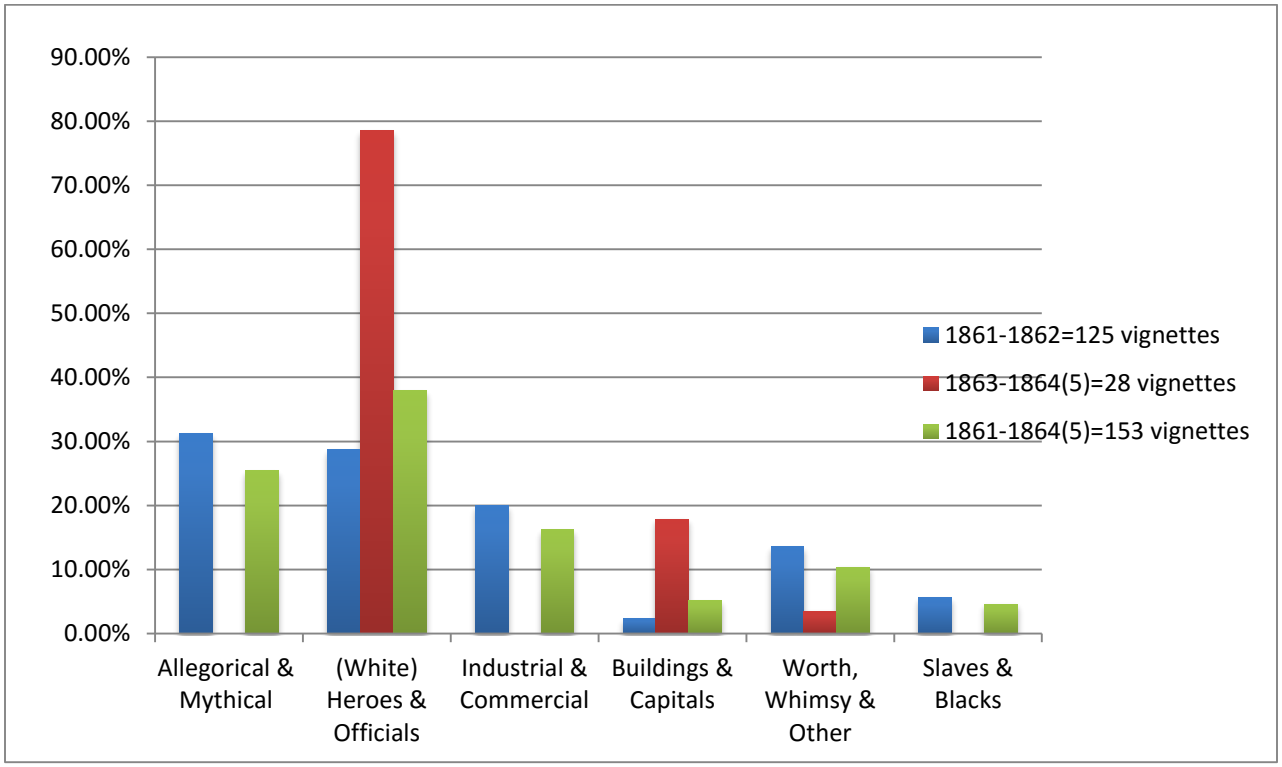

Table 3: Bar Chart of "Totals" of Categorized Vignettes (1861-2 & 1863-4)[114]

Considering those percentages, definite "godly" accentuations on agriculture, prosperity, and victory are apparent during the first two years of the war; however, these images ceased to exist by 1863. This disappearance might be explained by several reasons: either, as stated above, the ornate plates bearing allegorical scenes wore out after 1862 and were unable to be replaced; or, as the South began experiencing significant loses, the concept of a "divine right of nationhood" started to fade. Beginning in late-1862, Southern troops were dealt major blows to their campaign. With Confederate defeats at Sharpsburg (Antietam) in October of that year and Gettysburg nine months later, the CSA found itself on a downward spiritual (and monetary) spiral.[115] However, though the notion of triumph may have dissipated, reverence towards the

[112] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics." See Grover Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, Types 1-55.
[113] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, 41-3.
[114] Christian M. Lengyel. "Bar Chart of "Totals" of Categorized Vignettes (1861-2 & 1863-4)."
[115] See Marc D. Weidenmier, "Turning Points in the U.S. Civil War," 880-2.

Confederacy never diminished. Esteemed figures logically found their way onto Confederate currency, especially following these disasters, since it was in their leadership that the people were invested. Therefore, throughout the war, these individuals had their likenesses widely promoted among the public, allowing all to see who *actually* determined their futures.

Given the large numbers in both of these categories, the Confederate States of America may have initially utilized their paper money to market themselves as a "blessed" nation, under the watchful eye of several protective beings. Goddesses of agriculture, justice, and hope all point to a venerable "Southern cause" sanctified as "righteous" and "good." Further, "by choosing a figure representing Plenty or Agriculture they could successfully advertise the prosperity of local trade" as well as that of their nation.[116] These early tableaus indicate the items that *really* were of highest concern to the government: successful crops, victory, and, most importantly, the preservation of the Confederacy. But as the North started to take the upper hand, destroying the South's plantations and aspirations for dominion, the idea of metaphoric symbols may have lost their appeal. Southerners conceivably wanted more concrete evidence that their cause was justified and turned their attention to realistic heroes instead of emblematic ones. This could account for why, during the last two years of the war, Confederate currency became noticeably inundated with vignettes of government officials, former (Southern) generals, and other distinguished individuals, all who provided the public with *tangible* sources of inspiration.

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 and capitols. Yet, for the first two years of the war, idyllic recreations of industry and commerce held their own and comingled with the other types of iconography. In sum, 16.3 per cent of the entire vignette catalogue was comprised of Industrial/Commercial subjects, including 12 (16.9 per cent) central and 13 (15.8 per cent) peripheral pictures.[117] In all, 61.9 per cent 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.[118] Moreover, of the 22 total Industrial/Commercial notes, 18 display rail or maritime items, and over half (11) showcase these scenes in a centralized location.[119]A similar statistical trend is noticeable: 12,482,422 out of a total 20,000,354 (62.4 per cent) 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.

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[116] Tschachler, *The Greenback*, 79.
[117] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics." See Table 1.
[118] Ibid. 20,000,354 notes (out of 32,285,409) have at least one I/C scene featured somewhere. See also Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*. See 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.
[119] Ibid. Types 2, 3, 5, 9, 15, 18, 37, 39, 40, 44, and 45.

That being said, 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 per cent of the total wartime image-inventory, Buildings/Capitols were placed on 8 of the 23 (34.8 per cent) bills that made up the fifth, sixth and seventh acts.[120] Unlike any other kind of pictorial vignette, these tableaus occupied exclusively central places on "Blueback" currency and were printed on only low-denomination bills. While just 11.3 per cent of the total central pictures were capitol buildings, over 34 per cent of the notes produced between the Act of October 13, 1862 and the Act of February 17, 1864 used such portraits.[121] This points to the same trend as outlined above: like scenes of allegory and mythology, representations of industry and commerce die out by 1862, and are replaced by realistic subjects. Thus, it is highly likely that 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.

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."[122] 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."[123] From 1861 through 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."[124] 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 Allegorical/Mythical iconography, 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

[120] Christian M. Lengyel, "Statistics." The Act of October 13, 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.
[121] Ibid. This percentage is taken from *all* notes issued between 1861 and 1864.
[122] Tschachler, *The Greenback*, 69.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., 72.

industrial or commercial base.[125] In response to this predicament, 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 CSA 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 a trustworthy instrument of value.

Whether or not these trends mean that the Confederacy manipulated its money as a form of indoctrination is unclear. It is impossible to know for sure since there exist few written records other than a body of battered bills. Be that as it may, one question can be addressed: was Confederate paper money used as pro-slavery propaganda? From the nearest this essay can determine, it appears the answer is no. By allowing the notes to speak for themselves through a series of statistical analyses, their statements agree with the hypothesis that while bills may have been used to promote several "Southern causes," slavery was not on the forefront of these endeavors. If anything, these notes functioned as more of a "morale booster" for people who wanted to preserve their nation and their national identity. Although such concepts most likely included maintaining the slave system, that specific tenet is not a noticeable trait on more than 5.6 per cent of the 162 vignettes printed.[126]

With that information it can be concluded with relative certainty that the notes produced by the Confederate government did not promote slavery; however, that issue was not addressed with regards to other Southern currencies. The sample investigated was limited only to those bills bearing the motto: "The Confederate States of America," detailed in Grover Criswell's catalogue. 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 1865.[127] Ironically, these bills seem to present a much higher percentage of slave vignettes than those produced under the actual Confederacy! What remains to be seen is a project that examines these "unaccounted currencies" and determines why slave scenes were more regularly depicted on state and private-issue notes. In doing so one stands to gain a more detailed understanding of the differences between the Southern states and their governing body, and hopefully shed additional light on this compelling, but ultimately under-researched, topic.

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[125] On April 19, 1861, President Lincoln ordered the blockade of Southern ports. By the summer of 1863, the North had seized control of the Mississippi River.
[126] Lengyel, "Statistics."
[127] Criswell, *Comprehensive Catalog of Confederate Paper Money*, 38.

"A Revolution in the Public Mind": American Anxiety and German-Americans in New York State during the First World War

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Abstract

The pressures of the First World War contributed to a renegotiation of citizenship within the United States as many citizens sought to reinforce and often to prove their loyalty to the state. Wartime developments and political rhetoric exacerbated ethnic tensions, leading many Americans to voluntary vigilant organizations like the American Protective League, an auxiliary organization of the Department of Justice aimed at public surveillance of German-Americans or anyone not contributing to the war effort. Vigilant organizations targeted German ethnicity in New York. Many desired to end Germanic influences by varying means that included abolishing German language education in public schools. Vigilant voluntarism left its mark on the social, cultural, and political lives of German-Americans in New York. Americans of German ethnicity navigated wartime anxiety in differing, often personal, ways, varying from overt expression of loyalty, to voluntary suppression of their heritage. This paper focuses on the culture of vigilance in New York State and provides specific individual German-American responses in New York City. What emerges is a picture of social and cultural adaptation in wartime New York, along with a new understanding of obligations of citizenship during war.

"A single allegiance to one flag, one hope, one government, one protection, and one set of ideals which make of him a man and an American."[1]
-Office of the Adjutant General, Division of Aliens, New York State

A small envelope found its way into the mailbox of Brett Page of New York with the inscription "Department of Justice" in the corner. Page was instantly overcome with excitement as it presented him with his first orders to investigate an alleged case of disloyalty. The suspect's name was Martha Martin and she resided in a small residence on East Sixty-Sixth St. in Brooklyn, New York. The initial letter read:

> It is reported to this office that this person has openly declared she believes the sinking of the Lusitania was right and proper, that she hopes every United States transport will meet the same fate

[1] On what Americanization means for the foreign born. *Adjutant General's Office Records* (Albany, New York, 1917-1918), New York State Archives.

> and that she only wishes she were a man back in Germany, so she could fight for the fatherland. Furthermore, she has said that anything she can do to aid Germany in this country, she will do gladly… Please determine the subject's real sentiments, and report to this office whether or not in your opinion, the subject is detrimental to the interests of this country.[2]

Page proceeded with caution to complete a thorough investigation. He wanted to uncover the truth to either protect the country from disloyalty, or protect Miss Martin from unwarranted gossip. Like a classic spy novel, Page tailed Miss Martin as she went on her morning stroll. He watched her every move. When they finally met and questioning commenced, she showed her birth certificate and even found it necessary to reveal that her family history dated back to the American Revolution. Martha Martin was willing and eager to help with the investigation, equating it to serving her country. Having concluded the investigation, Page recorded that Miss Martin was apparently the object of slander due to her friendship with a local man of German descent. Page recalled, "As I walked down the street a curious thought came to me. Not once in all the interviews had I been asked for my credentials. Everyone had been eager to aid."[3]

Brett Page was not an agent of the Department of Justice. He was a member of the American Protective League, an auxiliary of the Department of Justice. Originally founded in Chicago, the League grew to over 200,000 agents nationwide. The New York Division of this national organization of volunteer, untrained investigators was initiated on March 22, 1917.[4] This episode is revealing of a transformation of American society in peacetime to a culture of voluntary vigilant community surveillance.

The pressures of war at home, including state obligation and sacrifice, prompted a society to allow and enforce changes within their communities. New ideals allowed many to view German-Americans as potential enemies and contributed to imposed and willing suppression within education and the arts. The Federal Government felt it necessary to authorize ordinary Americans to investigate other Americans. American citizens felt it necessary, as their obligation to the state during war, to volunteer their time in large numbers to combat disloyalty and espionage. In this case, Martha Martin felt no need to ask for credentials, but rather felt it her duty to help. The interaction between Page and Martin, and the experiences of German-Americans in New York, reveal the essence of the transformation of American society during the First World War that allowed certain infringements.

Page embodied the ideals of American vigilant voluntarism during the war, specific to the work or fight community engagement mentality.[5] The situation of Martha Martin, and German-Americans more specifically during the war, exemplifies the broader ethnic tensions in early twentieth-century America as the pursuit of nation encompassed both racial and civic meanings

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[2] *American Protective League New York Division Papers*, (University of Rochester, 1917-1919), D.419, Rare Books, Special Collections & Preservation.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Emerson Hough, *The Web* (Chicago: The Reilly & Lee Co., 1919), 36.
[5] On wartime voluntarism and engagement, see Gerald E. Shenk, *"Work or Fight!"*; *Race, Gender, and the Draft In World War One* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). See also Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

which were often contradictory to one another.[6] The promise of such a nation allowed the chance for liberty for many, but also fear and intimidation for some.[7] Indeed, at the turn of the century much of the basis for civic obligation rested on voluntarism, and during the war vigilant voluntarism. Any threat to the cohesion and power of the state proved reason enough for state sponsored investigations like the one evidenced through Page's testimony as he and others readily investigated the lives of their neighbors.

The wartime culture of acceptance represented through Page had its roots in wartime anxiety and xenophobia. Xenophobia not only contributed to the formation of the American Protective League (APL), but also to lobbying institutions like the American Defense Society (ADS), who pressured the government and citizens of the United States to remain steadfast through the war. The efforts of these organizations, along with rhetoric from government officials, helped craft what it meant to be an American during the war. The culture of organizations like the ADS and APL, and government rhetoric had debilitating effects on the German-American community. German-Americans were increasingly seen as un-American, as were their cultural institutions.

United States domestic wartime developments and the general culture of progressivism contributed to the rise in exclusivity. The Progressive Era American often believed that cooperation and teamwork and the ability of well-organized institutions led to progress both socially and economically.[8] Wartime vigilant voluntarism allows for a case study in Progressive Era action and thought along the lines of community engagement during war, and what elements were deemed a threat to society. Though there was a relatively small group of German spies and saboteurs in the United States prior to the U.S. entry into the war, most German-Americans sought neutrality or supported the war effort. The anti-German fervor had debilitating effects, specifically in New York, on German-American literature, educational pursuits, and German-American cultural institutions. The German-American experience forced Americans "to understand how cultural practices meshed with political obligations".[9] The war experience transformed American ideas about culture and political obligations, especially with regards to Americans engaged in the APL. What is missing is how deep this cultural transformation was in New York, and what the implications were for certain groups of Americans. How did German-Americans come to terms with their shifting obligations to the state in light of growing animosity toward their heritage?

The primary purpose of this study is to highlight various and complex ways Americans addressed issues of citizenship and obligation in New York at a time of changing obligations to the nation. Specifically, between 1916 and 1919, many in American society accepted new forms of citizenship and obligation based on wartime needs that rested on subjugating others like the American Protective League's "slacker raids" that sought to root out those who did not

[6] Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 5.
[7] Ibid., 12.
[8] Shenk, *"Work or Fight!,"* 11.
[9] Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, 20.

contribute to the war effort. Similarly, the head of the Iowa Council of Defense said that every person should join a patriotic society, similar to the APL, and denounce anyone who speaks of peace.[10] The First World War contributed to a re-negotiation of cultural, social, and political obligations within New York. Similar circumstances surrounded German communities in other major cities. Many German-Americans in Philadelphia retracted from ethnic affiliations and toward new formulations of identity.[11] German-Americans largely felt it their obligation and duty to willingly self-suppress and adhere to the new standards of wartime Americanism.

A second aim of this paper is to add to the historical understanding of assimilation and citizenship during war more generally and contribute to the historiography on the United States home front within this context during the war. An advocate of the wartime draft saw military service as a way to "yank the hyphen" out of imperfectly assimilated immigrants.[12] Indeed, to be American in the early twentieth century was to assimilate and not reveal any ethnic cultural differences that would not mesh with the Progressive Era community. German-Americans and their fellow New Yorkers renegotiated what it meant to be American through the altering of the moral obligations of citizenship through vigilance societies, and the elimination of certain cultural institutions within the German-American community along with willing self-suppression. The myriad responses from the German-American community are evidence of the volatility of American wartime culture. War transforms notions of society and citizen regardless of time and place. The experience of German-Americans is not singular in American history. Wars have allowed unique circumstances to arise that have had significant consequences for ethnic groups. Exploring the history of war and xenophobia and the rhetoric that has fueled it may help one understand American nativism as a whole. This study is centered on the years 1916 to 1919. It aims to highlight anti-German nativism and the U.S. wartime experience during the First World War, bring the stories of German Americans in New York to life, and shed light on the long history of wartime anxiety.

The Roots of Wartime Anxiety

Wartime anxiety in the United States during the First World War had its roots in American nativism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Xenophobia was not a novel circumstance in 1917.[13] The revolutions in Europe in 1848 brought many refugees to the United States from Germany. The influx of Europeans rekindled the largely anti-Catholic, anti-radical, Anglo-Saxon nativism.[14] Right wing extremism largely achieved political pre-eminence with the emergence of the Know Nothing party in the mid-nineteenth century. According to the

[10] David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 68.
[11] Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 5.
[12] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 17.
[13] Ibid., 24.
[14] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 8–9.

Know Nothings, "A sense of danger" had struck the nation.[15] Though the dangers at the time were Irish-Catholics, the primary ideas would permeate through the turn of the century. Nativism subsided, though not entirely, at the turn of the century. The resurgent xenophobia occurred around 1906 when immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe began settling in predominantly urban areas.[16]

To be sure, the nativism of the mid- to late-nineteenth century did not directly contribute to the anti-alienism of the First World War.[17] It did however provide context to the rhetoric employed. What emerged during the war years was a militantly defensive nationalism. This is where wartime nativism differed from previous anti-alienism directed at German-Americans. Anti-alienism in the late nineteenth century focused primarily on anti-Catholicism, whereas the new brand of nativism during the war was directed at "an arm of the official enemy."[18]

The arguments against German-Americans were very much steeped in terms of race and ethnicity. Progressive Era social experimentation heavily influenced new ways of conceptualizing race, especially in war, largely thinking in new terms of nationality rather than primarily the color of one's skin.[19] Combined with this new way of conceptualizing race was a messianic form of American nationalism and emergence of "100 percent Americanism."[20] The First World War was also the height of progressivism as President Woodrow Wilson worked to create a model peacetime environment for returning veterans.[21] Racial thinking and state progressive reform allowed many Americans a new way of thinking toward German-American institutions at a time when the war put Germans within the United States in the spotlight. The shift and escalation of public sentiment against German-American identity from 1914 to the outbreak of war in 1917 deserves attention.

The First World War had devastating consequences for the European population by 1917. The German offensive at Verdun, an attempt to bleed the French dry at a pivotal and symbolic location, culminated in five months of bitter fighting and casualties of over 600,000 French and German soldiers. The British offensive in the valley of the Somme River in 1916 ground to a halt after three months and claimed more than one million dead.[22] Food shortages brought protesters, often across class lines, into the streets of Berlin.[23] The war made refugees of millions of citizens

[15] David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 1.
[16] Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 158–159.
[17] Ibid., 6-7.
[18] Ibid., 184.
[19] Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America: 1900-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 5.
[20] Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003) 109-110.
[21] Michael McGerr, *The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), xvi.
[22] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 4.
[23] Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

of the Russian Empire.[24] While Europe endured the harsh realities of war, German submarines continued to target American vessels crossing the Atlantic Ocean.[25] By 1917, Americans had been well aware of German submarine warfare. To add fuel to the flame, American newspapers published a telegram sent by German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmerman to the Mexican government proposing an alliance in a war against the United States. Though the question of war was divisive in the United States, Wilson successfully asked Congress for a declaration of war with Germany. German submarine warfare and the actions of Arthur Zimmerman were the catalysts for American entry into the war, though they were not the only contributing factors to wartime anxiety.

Wartime anxiety and vigilance in the United States during the First World War stemmed from real threats within American society. The threat within the borders was the German agent. Tracy Provost, in her study on German sabotage, outlines the two German espionage rings in the United States during the war. One was based in Washington under Franz von Papen and German Ambassador Graf von Bernstorff. The other centered on Franz von Rintelen, a German officer living in the United States. Funded by the German government, the espionage rings established fake companies to purchase and tie up war matérial from getting into the hands of the allies.[26] Other subversive activities included armed sabotage at the hands of a few agents. Primarily economic disasters, the explosions in New York Harbor and Kingsland, NY in 1916 and 1917 caused damage to war matérial in the millions of dollars. Investigations into the explosions found that German spies worked at the factory prior to the explosion, and the German government funded the sabotage.[27] The subversive activities on American soil contributed to growing anxiety toward German-Americans and provided the cognitive basis for American vigilance.

A Culture of Vigilance

A culture of vigilance emerged during the war years and was cultivated through official rhetoric and activities of public figures and organizations. These wartime political foundations had revealing implications for German-Americans. In his third State of the Union Address to a joint session of Congress on December 7, 1915, President Wilson brought official attention to the issue of disloyalty, encompassing enemy aliens and other supposedly subversive elements in society. In his address he stated, "There are citizens of the United States… born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws… who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life." He continued that though "Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts… it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us." Wilson urged Congress to enact laws to deal with disloyalty. He

[24] Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia During World War I* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).
[25] Kennedy, *Over Here*, 6.
[26] Tracie Lynn Provost, "The Great Game: Imperial German Sabotage and Espionage against the United States, 1914-1917" (PhD diss., The University of Toledo, 2003), iv.
[27] "Find German Agents In Munition Works: Report Says Teutons Were Employed in Kingsland Plant Before Explosion," *New York Times*, November 18, 1917; Provost, "The Great Game," 16.

explained, "I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out." [28] Other prominent Americans lent their support against disloyalty. Deploring the use of hyphens to describe nationality, Theodore Roosevelt stated, "Some Americans need hyphens in their names because only part of them have come over. But when the whole man has come over, heart and thought and all, the hyphen drops of its own weight out of his name."[29]

Wilson and Roosevelt saw the activities surrounding German espionage as issues of national honor. Self-preservation of honor was a continued theme among official rhetoric and was also a predominant feature of right wing nativism that emphasized national superiority.[30] Speeches like Wilson's State of the Union addressed this civic nationalism that resonated with Americans. In an effort to turn public opinion toward the war, the Wilson administration responded with an aggressive campaign of intimidation to root out opposition.[31] Wilson's campaign successfully alienated many Americans of German ancestry, providing context to a contested presidential election in 1916.

Correspondence records between New York resident Arthur von Briesen and Horace Brand, President of Illinois Publishing Company, reveal ethnic tensions already evident in 1916. Von Briesen was born in Germany in 1843 and settled in the United States in 1858. After serving in the First New York Volunteers during the Civil War, he studied law at New York University. Having founded the Legal Aid Society in 1876, he advocated for the poor and immigrant populations of New York providing free legal services.[32] Von Briesen was of ailing health, suffering from old age, and was nearly blind at the outbreak of war.

Brand's letters illustrate his unceasing efforts to urge von Briesen to take a firm political stance.[33] One letter largely deals with the Presidential election of 1916 between Republican Charles Evans Hughes and Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Through his speeches Wilson had alienated much of the German-American community. Support among German-Americans for Wilson was problematic. In contrast, Hughes's platform called for strict neutrality.[34] German-Americans supported Hughes in large numbers in 1916. Subsequently, supporters of Wilson used this as an attack. An article in *The World* newspaper, one of Wilson's largest supporters, read, "The followers of the Kaiser in the United States have set out to destroy President Wilson politically for the crime of being an American President instead of a German President. They have adopted Mr. Hughes as their candidate and made his cause their cause."[35] Political support

[28] Woodrow Wilson, "Third Annual Message," December 7, 1915, *Public Papers of the Presidents,* accessed March 28, 2015, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29556.
[29] Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 69.
[30] Bennett, *The Paper of Fear,* 8.
[31] Alan Brinkley, "Civil Liberties in Times of Crisis," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 59, no. 2 (January 1, 2006): 27.
[32] NYC Parks, "Von Briesen Park," *Official Website of the New York City Department of Parks & Recreation*, accessed March 10, 2015, http://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/von-briesen-park/history.
[33] Illinois Publishing Company was responsible for publishing various German-language newspapers.
[34] S.D. Lovell, *The Presidential Election of 1916* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 64.
[35] Lovell, *The Presidential Election of 1916*, 65.

from Americans of German descent was politically suspect and led to negative attention for Hughes.

Horace Brand appealed to Arthur von Briesen to garner support for Hughes in the election in New York. Von Briesen's response to Brand is revealing of the political implications on German-Americans because of the war. Von Briesen replied, "I apprehend, that if you put upon your campaign committee one or more German-Americans, that such an act will give the Democrats and their newspapers the chance they are looking for, namely, the opportunity of crying out that Mr. Hughes favors the German side."[36] Von Briesen had apprehensions about supporting a Presidential nominee. Still, many German-Americans actively supported Hughes in his Presidential run, which brought negative attacks against Hughes and revealed a stigma attached to the German-American community for openly voicing their political beliefs. In this instance the pressures of the First World War already had direct consequences for German-American political and social life. As the war and Wilson's rhetoric continued, American nativist groups organized and left their mark on the American population.

The American Protective League and the American Defense Society were established during the war and had direct implications for those they targeted. In a presidential cabinet discussion about German-American subversion on March 30, 1917, Attorney General Thomas Gregory gained support for a plan to use an organization of volunteers to gather information on suspected disloyalty for the Department of Justice. The result of this cabinet meeting was official approval to form the League.[37] The APL was active in multiple cities across the country. The Philadelphia Division examined 18,275 suspects between December 1917 and November 1918.[38] The New York Division incorporated over 4,500 "substantial business and professional men" and investigated "disloyal" agents in the state.[39]

As the Department of Justice began supplying the League, other organizations looked to exploit the alleged disloyalty of German-Americans. Among the most powerful was the American Defense Society with Theodore Roosevelt serving as honorary president. The activities and publications of the American Defense Society are emblematic of a publication titled, "Throw out the German Language and All Disloyal Teachers." The publication read, "Any language which produces a people of ruthless conquistadors such as now exists in Germany, is not a fit language to teach clean and pure American boys and girls".[40] In a published appeal to the United States Government, the American Defense Society asked to "forbid the compulsory study of German in Public Schools" and to "forbid the publication of newspapers and magazines in the German language during the war." It concluded, "The American Defense Society is

[36] Arthur von Briesen, Letter to Horace Brand, July 24, 1916, Box 1, Folder 9, "Arthur von Briesen Papers; 1895-1929," Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library (Princeton University, 1929 1895).
[37] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 211–212.
[38] Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock,* 175.
[39] "American Protective League New York Division Report."
[40] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 215–216.

waging war against the enemy within our gates."[41] The rhetoric of the ADS played into existing anxieties brought about by the war. The printed by-laws of the Vigilance Corps of the American Defense Society reveals the importance placed upon public sentiment and its contribution to winning the war. The object of the group was to "arouse and organize all loyal Americans; to discover and expose every form of disloyalty; to promote the spirit of constructive patriotism and every enterprise that will assist in winning the war."[42] The undisclosed efforts of the American Protective League and the public campaigns of the American Defense Society combined to form a dual effort against disloyalty.

How widespread was this sentiment and how influential were the vigilant organizations during the war? Letters from ordinary Americans may lend answers to these questions. A letter from a New York librarian, Ms. Helen Hemmingway, to the Council of National Defense on September 16, 1918, questions the existence of the American Protective League, revealing the awareness of their investigative efforts. Her letter states, "We know so little about this organization that we are holding these communications until the question has been properly answered and by authorities." She continues, "Will you kindly write me what you know about this league and what application one must make to enter it. This is one of the many questions we have been asked."[43] There is no evidence whether the inquiries were based on suspicion of the APL or motivated by personal hopes of vigilant service. It is clear however that this semi-secretive organization had begun to be noticed by the public and some may have been looking for ways to join. The culture of vigilance during the First World War was evident and is revealed in the public pressures placed on various German institutions. Examination of the effects on German institutions clearly reveals the transformation of American society under the pressures of war and what it meant for an immigrant population.

Dropping the "Hun tongue"

On a slightly discolored piece of loose-leaf paper titled "Germanism of the City of New York and the Surrounding Area" dated June 12, 1912, Gustav Scholer, a prominent German-American resident and doctor in New York City, wrote down the names of the German-American societies of New York along with their various representatives. There were around 160 societies listed, which indicates that German-American cultural self-awareness in New York was very important and visible prior to the First World War.[44] The societies and their members, along with those in chapters in other cities, were targets of wartime vigilance and felt the pressures of wartime anxiety. Their various cultural pursuits, including German language newspapers and German language education among others, suffered during a time when being American had

[41] "State Council of Defense Records: Correspondence Files" (Albany, New York, 1918 1917), A4234, New York State Archives.
[42] "American Protective League New York Division Papers."
[43] Letter to the Council of National Defense New York State Division, "State Council of Defense Records: Correspondence Files.", New York State Archives.
[44] Gustav Scholer papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

little to do with anything German. The responses from German-Americans reveal a shift in how and why the German community either remained visible or did not. War, and wartime anxiety and vigilantism, directly impacted what it meant to be of German ancestry in the United States.

Individuals and organizations targeted German language publications. Before the war, there were 522 of such publications in the United States. According to Frederick Luebke, about forty-seven per cent disappeared by the end of 1919.[45] The American Defense Society was very active against newspapers it deemed un-American. The lobbying efforts against these newspapers are revealed in the multitude of letters exchanged between the ADS and the State Defense Council in Albany, NY. A typical letter read, "Thank you very much for your letter… in the matter of investigating newspapers and periodicals shown on the bulletin of the New York Public Library." Not only were members of the ADS appealing to the government to suppress certain newspapers, but the library was also making the controversial nature of the newspapers public.[46] With the library being a public arena for discourse, the publicity of controversial newspapers contributed to negativity towards German-Americans.

Much of the animosity in New York was targeted at George Sylvester Viereck, editor and publisher of the *Fatherland* newspaper.[47] The *Fatherland* was marked by members of the ADS at the NYPL as a publication that contained "seditious articles".[48] Many German-American newspapers were not as overtly nationalistic as Viereck's periodical. Most encouraged neutrality and some editors chose to use their papers to encourage German-Americans to buy German war bonds or send money to the German Red Cross for civilian relief and relief for war widows and orphans.[49] With some exceptions, German language publications served as a cultural gathering of ideas and issues for an immigrant community looking to preserve heritage and navigate a new environment.

The spirit of war vigilance created hostile circumstances for German language education as well. The "Educational News and Editorial Comment," published in the academic journal *The School Review,* shared contemporary debates in public education throughout the country. The June 1918 issue dealt with the question of German language education in public schools. The article referred to the position of the *North American Review*. It read, "It would be foolish to exclude German from the curriculum simply because we are at war with Germany. But in so far as German is retained, it should be regarded, treated, and taught as a foreign language, on par with other foreign languages."[50] Not all publications were as judicious. The "Editorial Comment" also included a quote from the president of the American Defense Society as regarding most of the German newspapers in the U.S. as "insidiously disloyal."[51] The "Editorial Comment" explained the partial discontent with the attack on German language instruction,

[45] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 271.
[46] *New York State Defense Council*, Roll 3, "State Council of Defense Records: Correspondence Files," New York State Archives, Albany, NY.
[47] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty,* 91.
[48] *New York State Defense Council*, Roll 3.
[49] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 93–94.
[50] "Educational News and Editorial Comment," *The School Review* 26, no. 6 (June 1, 1918): 457.
[51] Ibid., 458.

though also justified it. The issue stated, "Unquestionably the order prohibiting German as a foreign language in higher institutions is hysterical. It may be, however, difficult to discriminate, and for the period of the war, even if some schools and some teachers suffer, the less German, both press and instruction, the better."[52]

A German language instructor's testimony is especially revealing of anti-German sentiment. The pressures of wartime anxiety directly affected the instructor. He fostered a strong German department at a Methodist college. Once the war came he felt that the "Germans had robbed me of something good and beautiful." The article also refers to the efforts of the American Defense Society and how public influence played a role. The society had placed fourteen states on the "honor roll" for abolishing German language lessons, while sixteen other states "deliberated the subject." To demonstrate how volatile the views of this subject were in New York, the author quotes Mr. L.A. Wilkins, the director of foreign language education in New York high schools. In June 1918, in an essay titled "Spanish in the High Schools" he wrote, "I would not for a moment disparage the study of French or German, nor belittle the treasures which a knowledge of these languages unfolds." Only one month later, in July 1918, in a speech in Pittsburgh he changed his position. Wilkins said:

> The German language, the German literature, German art, German universities, German science, German culture, and the entire German civilization have been vastly overrated here… We have had far too much teaching of German in our schools… and I personally believe that it was taught chiefly for the purpose of furthering propaganda originating in Berlin.[53]

The Federal Government provided a symbolic safeguard against German language. The Smith Towner Act of 1918 established that no state could share in federal funds unless their official school instruction was in English.[54] The public pressure that encompassed the issue of German language instruction can be seen in a publication distributed by the ADS titled *Awake! America.* The rhetoric remains clear that anything to do with the German language was looked down upon. The section on teaching German read, "New York has voted to drop German from 52 elementary schools… Buffalo has not yet had the courage to drop the Hun tongue."[55] German language education came under immense pressure and in many cases simply could not continue. In the spirit of the war, Progressive Era publicists held particular influence over the population, which helps explain the sudden shifts in sentiment toward the German language and press.[56] Wartime vigilance and anxiety as seen through the rhetoric of the ADS, the Smith Towner Act, and the language used by Wilkins, painted German language instruction as a threat to the

[52] "Educational News and Editorial Comment," 459.
[53] "Umschau," *Monatshefte Für Deutsche Sprache Und Pädagogik* 19, no. 10 (December 1, 1918): 274. The article was printed in German and is produced in this paper from my own translation.
[54] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty,* 312.
[55] William T. Hornaday and American Defense Society, *Awake! America. Object Lessons and Warnings* (New York, Moffat, Yard & company, 1918), 81.
[56] For more on Progressive Era publicists, see John A. Thompson. *Reformers and War: American Progressive Publicists and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

upbringing of American children. To be American was not to speak or read German in any context.

Wartime culture proved detrimental to other cultural institutions in New York City as well. An article in the *New York Tribune* in March 1918 quoted the American Defense Society stating that German music is "one of the most dangerous forms of German propaganda because it appeals to the emotions and has power to sway an audience as nothing else can." That fall the Metropolitan Opera in New York dropped composers and operas because they were of German origin, "Including several Americans singing only Wagner." The opera replaced these acts with performers from other countries like "a French star of rising reputation and three Italians." [57] The public pressure exemplified in the efforts of the ADS rippled through German-American institutions and assaulted various cultural establishments including language education, publications, and the arts. Americans faced new notions of obligation to the state and the German-American community had to reconcile their position in the vastly changing circumstances of public life.

"A Revolution in the Public Mind:" German-Americans of New York

Despite animosity and vigilant activity towards their institutions, many German-Americans responded by adapting their cultural and civic practices to meet Americanized wartime standards. For example, the National German-American Alliance (NGAA) asked for their members to express patriotism and meet every responsibility imposed by citizenship. Most other ethnic German organizations tried to remain unnoticed. One German-American society in New York offered its shooting range to the War Department.[58] Some German-American churches expressed their loyalty by severing ties to Germany, but refused to stop service in German.[59] They did not equate patriotic service with modifying their use of the German language. The varying responses from the German-American community are revealing of how volatile the wartime culture was and how individuals adapted to new obligations to the state.

Henry Weismann, President of the New York Chapter of the German-American Alliance, shared in the eagerness of the NGAA to prove German-American loyalty to the United States. The September 1917 edition of the *New York Times Magazine* featured a plea regarding ethnic and national loyalties. He explained that during the course of this war, language must be employed to "reiterate the splendid Americanism of the citizenship of German stock."[60] The employment of loyal rhetoric in a national magazine must not have been sufficient. Only months later Weismann proposed, and it was unanimously agreed upon by the eighty-six societies represented, that there would be no state convention for the German-American Alliance in New

[57] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty,* 249.
[58] Ibid., 231.
[59] Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 233.
[60] "Henry Weismann on German-American's Duty: When the United States Went Into War, He Says, It Was Time to Forget the Fatherland," *New York Times*, September 16, 1917, sec. The New York Times Magazine.

York in 1918. Weismann's reasoning was revealing. He stated, "In ordinary times our contributions were welcomed by all, but the war has caused a revolution in the public mind."[61]

If Weissman hints at the anxieties of the German-American community, Gustav Scholer offers a glimpse of the effects on the individual. Scholer was a prominent American citizen of New York City. Born in Germany, he immigrated to the United States in the 1880s. He was a doctor and served on the board at Manhattan State Hospital where he practiced psychiatry. When the war began, Scholer volunteered his medical expertise. He was also very active in German-American societies and civic organizations. Examination into Scholer's life is important because he spent most of his time on matters relating to the hospital, yet the effects of wartime anxiety are still evident in his letters. He was an unbiased observer of the changing climate of war.

Correspondence records to and from Scholer and his contemporaries reveal German-American anxieties that stemmed from wartime xenophobia and attempts to negotiate wartime nativism. One letter, dated April 20, 1917, explains the decision made for German societies to refrain from certain activities. It read:

> By request from the police department in order that there may be no trouble at gatherings of Germans in this city the following motion was adopted: To ask German societies and organizations of this city to refrain from outings in a body; to avoid singing in public places of such songs which may cause trouble and disorder… No signs and banners which may cause irritation should be displayed. The Public Committee be requested to spread the above resolutions in German daily papers.[62]

Many German societies willingly suppressed their daily activities to avoid conflict. There were various responses to situations like the one in which Scholer found himself. Like Scholer, Professor Kuno Francke of Harvard sympathized with Germany's efforts, but found it dangerous to organize on any ethnic basis because it may foster "hatred instead of sympathy."[63]

German-Americans consciously tried to prove their loyalty to the United States. A letter from Ludwig Nissen to Scholer explains this dynamic. The letter explains an appeal to all German-American societies to take part in the Independence Day parade on July 4, 1918. He stressed the importance of participation and "cooperation of every true-hearted American, man or woman, of German blood… It is particularly desired that practically every organization of former Germans shall be represented." Nissen expressed his desire for the American press to read on the day after July 4, "There is no longer such thing as a German slacker, shirker or doubter; their Americanism is of the purest."[64] The Americanism of German-Americans was only going to be proven by the attendance of "practically every organization." Nissen's letter

[61] "New York Alliance Quits: Henry Weismann Says German Americans Will Be Patriots," *New York Times*, April 13, 1918.
[62] Gustav Scholer papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. Many of Scholer's letters are my own translations from German, however some were also written in English. The letters are a significant picture of the personal feelings and anxieties of the German-American community.
[63] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 123–124.
[64] Letter from Ludwig Nissen to Gustav Scholer, "Gustav Scholer papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library."

was particularly telling because he referred to those in the German-American organizations as "former Germans" rather than German-Americans. Nissen intended for his ethnic community to reveal their connection to the state and the war effort. Explaining his motives to Scholer, he potentially attempted to reaffirm the assimilation of Germans by referring to them as "former Germans." Not only was the American mind revolutionized during war, but the German-American mind was as well.

The First World War substantially transformed German-American identity. Immense pressure was put on German-American institutions forcing Americans of German descent to alter and question their activities, while consciously expressing their patriotism. This state of being had indirect social and political implications for the German-American community.

Conclusion: "A Kaleidoscopic Pageant"

The First World War affected the German-American community in many ways that reveal implications of ethnicity, obligations to the state, and citizenship during war. The experiences of individual German-Americans like Gustav Scholer and Arthur von Briesen are emblematic of the German community as a whole, as wartime circumstances slowly disintegrated German social and cultural institutions, specifically in New York City. Wartime anxiety, brought on by a relatively small German espionage effort along with official rhetoric, produced a new culture of vigilance. This wartime culture of vigilance produced organizations like the American Protective League and the American Defense Society, which investigated the lives of ordinary Americans of German descent and put enormous public pressure on German-American institutions. The government authorization of the APL and the public campaigns of the ADS were important actions that contributed to the overall war culture in New York State in particular, and the United States as a whole.

The public pressure inflicted by wartime vigilance and anxiety, along with official anti-German rhetoric, reverberated through the German-American community. Cultural institutions like German language newspapers, German language programs, and German cultural societies were marked as insidiously disloyal and vastly diminished in numbers after the war. German-Americans were increasingly reluctant to engage in ethnic activities and outings. The NGAA held a meeting on April 11, 1918. The executive council voted to disband the organization.[65] Two days later, Henry Weismann dissolved the New York Chapter of the Alliance. Weismann wrote in a statement to members:

> Letters will be sent tomorrow to all local branches urging them to go [sic] of our existence as German-American organizations and to become patriotic societies, working for the Liberty Loan and educating

[65] Charles Thomas Johnson, *Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 157.

> people to justice of America's cause… We felt that the name of the organization laid it open to unjust charges that it lacked patriotism and favored our enemies.[66]

The last order by the council of the National German-American Alliance was a vote to turn over the remaining $30,000 in the treasury to the American Red Cross to aid U.S. soldiers in the final months of war against Germany.[67]

German-American responses to the culture of wartime anxiety and vigilance varied. The letters of Arthur von Briesen reveal the political implications of wartime anxiety on Americans of German descent. The NGAA expressed American patriotism while offering their shooting range for government use. Groups of German-Americans put their patriotism on display at the July 4 parade in New York City. The parade that took place was reported in the *New York Times* as a "kaleidoscopic pageant" and a "land of many bloods but of one ideal."[68] The article referred to many nationalities who took part including descendants from Italy, France, Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Belgium. Germany, though well represented, was not mentioned in the article. Many Germans remained dismayed, as was the case with Theodore Ladenburger, the German merchant who had been living in the United States for twenty-five years and, when the war came, dealt with "hurtful and pernicious ostracism as a traitor." Gustav Scholer explained that some German societies were pressured to refrain from singing certain songs or from outings in a large body.

The war at home revealed vulnerability within American society, but also crafted what it meant to be American in time of war. Vigilance as an obligation of citizenship has been a political practice in which groups like the American Protective League utilize collective policing for community defense.[69] The wartime experience forced Americans to understand how cultural practices meshed with political obligations, specifically regarding race and ethnicity.[70] In particular, New Yorkers negotiated political obligations through community defense and self-censorship.

This study conveys one geographical image of social and cultural change in wartime America. It gives voice to Americans of German descent who came face to face with a changing and anxious American public steeped in Progressive Era notions of race, ethnicity, and nationality. It reveals how German-Americans re-created their own obligations to the state in return. Henry Weismann perceived a revolution in the public mind of the modern American. Perhaps the German-American mind was revolutionized as well, leading to a growing acceptance of lost liberties for the sake of community defense. The circumstances of the First World War made it possible for the public to conceive of subjugating minorities for the security of the state, and made it probable that it could happen again. War transformed notions of citizenship and

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[66] "New York Alliance Quits: Henry Weismann Says German-Americans Will Be Patriots," *New York Times,* April 13, 1918.
[67] Johnson, *Twilight,* 157.
[68] "Day-Long Pageant Pictures America United For War," *New York Times,* July 5, 1918.
[69] Christopher Capozzola, "The Only Badge Needed Is Your Patriotic Fervor: Vigilance, Coercion, and the Law in World War I America," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (March 2002): 1356.
[70] Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You,* 20.

obligation, and would do so again in twenty years, forcing Americans to renegotiate once again the terms of their relationship to the state and to one another.

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Sir Herbert Meredith Marler: The Life and Lineage of a Montreal Patrician[1]

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Abstract

Adopting the 'patrician' model as recently applied by Brian Young and John Irvine Little, this paper examines a family's ascendancy across three generations. This process propelled Montreal born lawyer-turned-diplomat Sir Herbert Meredith Marler (1867-1940) into the upper echelons of Quebec and Canadian society. An archetypical patrician, Marler imbued an emergent Canadian-national identity. Through a contextualization of lineage, the author assesses aspects of Herbert Meredith's identity – considerations that together illuminate the developments of a life in the public and private spheres of early-century Montreal. Not only was Herbert Meredith Marler a well-educated and wealthy Anglophone lawyer, Member of Parliament, diplomat, and head of Canada's third foreign legation, he provides a multi-facet vantage point into Montreal society during a formative period of Canadian history. This article is based on contemporary press reports, Liberal party publications, the memoirs of colleagues, Canadian and Japanese diplomatic cables, and privately penned and published family histories. In addition, portraits and images from the McCord Museum's Notman collection reveal the Marler's self-perceptions and image-shaping habits. Concluding in late-inter-war period, the author's analysis thus exhibits a parallel between the closing stages of the life of Sir Herbert Meredith Marler and the end of an era dominated by the ascendant patrician.

In early September 1929, Herbert Meredith and Beatrice Isabel Marler arrived at the port of Yokohama outside Tokyo where Herbert Meredith worked for the next seven years as the first Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, head of Canada's third foreign legation. The couple's son, Howard, recalled that Herbert Meredith was "quite at home in the patrician environment in which diplomacy was conducted during that period when it was still the métier of gentlemen who were expected to have the appropriate educational and social background."[2] Indeed his character and standing exceeded such requisite qualifications. The son of a prosperous Montreal notary and professor of law, Herbert Meredith Marler graduated from the Montreal High School,

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Peter Gossage for his guidance and comments during the research and drafting stages of this paper. Additionally, many thanks go to my colleagues in the Department of History at Concordia University, to the archivists at the McCord Museum in Montreal, and to the peer-review and editorial staff at Past Tense for their assistance.

[2] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations of a Quebec Family* (Montreal, QC: Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Price-Patterson Ltd., 1987), 109.

received a degree in civil law from McGill University, and partnered a practice with his father. He later sat as a Liberal Member of Parliament where he established a personal relationship with William Lyon Mackenzie King. In addition to his professional achievements, Marler wed a descendant of Andrew Allan and Mathew Hamilton Gault, two of nineteenth-century Canada's most eminent elites; he purchased and constructed a number of impressive estates around southern Quebec, meanwhile enjoying memberships to the exclusive Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club and the Mount Royal Club.

Herbert Meredith Marler exuded an identity shaped by the life of his grandfather, who endowed his privilege to subsequent generations of Marlers. Innate to this patrician identity was a gendered and authoritative nature profoundly influenced by the public and private experiences of the Marler men. Recent scholarship in the field of Quebec history has led to a developed and nuanced understanding of the patrician elite as a primarily nineteenth-century construct. However, as the life and lineage of Herbert Meredith demonstrates, these processes of identification were as significant a factor as privilege was in English Quebec and Canadian society until at least the start of the Second World War. In fact, it was during the late-interwar period that nationalist global politics combined with the then long-established structures of patrician privilege to deliver men like Herbert Meredith to high-ranking civil servant positions as representatives of nations on the global stage. Whereas Quebec patricians had long since ascended to the pinnacles of urban and provincial society, as Canadian Minister to Japan (and later to Washington), Herbert Meredith Marler was one of the first to eclipse the hitherto regional authority of the patrician by entering the international society of high diplomacy. His life thus represents the high-water mark of the classically patrician Quebecker, despite observations suggesting their declining influence in the wake of the Great War.

George Leonard Marler, Herbert Meredith's grandfather and steward to the ascension of the Marler family, entered a patrician society in Quebec established by members of the top industrial, merchant, social, and religious circles. These men, centred in the early nineteenth-century at both Quebec City and, in increasing numbers, Montreal, were, to borrow and synthesize the frameworks of certain social historians of these regions, a landed class of interconnected and respectable heads of families able to exercise power across social spheres. In analyses of the McCord, Taschereau, and, in a fashion less evident, Cartier families, Quebec historian Brian Young has developed and refined a definition of patrician identity that is distinct to both the province and period at hand.[3] Young has convincingly shown how prior tendencies to conflate patricians with classes of capitalists and bourgeois "promoters," in attempts to pinpoint the defining features of the provincial urban history, ignored social factors essential to this group's identity.[4] Consideration of "birth, marriage, estates, place in the established church,

[3] Brian Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec: The Taschereaus and McCords* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Brian Young, *George-Etienne Cartier: Montreal Bourgeois* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981).

[4] Brian Young, "Patrician Elites and Power in Nineteenth-Century Montreal and Quebec City," in *Who Ran the Cities? City Elites and Urban Power Structures in Europe and North America, 1750-1940,* ed. Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 231-2.

appointed position, and traditional forms of respectability" led Young to the identification of a Quebec patrician model whose "rank in the city,…visibility in the legal, medical, and military professions" and their established "roots in local, associational life" placed them at the helm of emergent Canadian "identity and institutions."[5] The gendered characteristics inherent to the patrician individual are of special importance to Young.[6] His attention to such characteristics has illuminated a persistent dominance of the "rights of the father," through and from which "name, profession, and legal priority" – all defining characteristics of a patrician identity – passed.[7] The lineage upon which Herbert Meredith Marler made his public and private accomplishments in the last decade before the Second World War bears important resemblance to Young's formulations, beginning with the life of his grandfather, George Leonard.

Following the analytical framework of Brian Young, Quebec historian Jack Irvine Little has further demonstrated how "noblesse oblige," along with appropriate "skills in diplomacy" and the ever-important "family pedigree," placed his subject of biography, Henri-Gustave Joly, amongst this same patrician class.[8] Like Young, Little ascribes the very creation of a Canadian national identity to this group of eminent male patricians.[9] Together, the work of these historians comprises a framework of understanding which accounts for material wealth and public activity, in addition to intra-societal family structures. This new brand of historical biography allows for a comprehensive look at both the individual as well as the society in which they enjoyed ascension. Analysis of the life of Herbert Meredith Marler – whose experiences span a period later than the subjects of either Young or Little's studies and thus contain characteristics unique to the period – corresponds with such conceptualization, benefitting from its application.

The traditional sources of authority Young describes necessary to the status of his subjects, considered in concert with the additional sources particular to early-twentieth-century society, reveal in the life and lineage of Herbert Meredith Marler privileges archetypal of the Quebec patrician. Inheriting his status, just as the Taschereau and McCord men Young has studied did, Herbert Meredith used a similar "institutional authority" derived from "property, profession, official appointment, and high culture" to lead a life as revelatory of inter-war Anglo-elite society as those of earlier studies.[10] The patrician framework thus lends itself to an examination of the life of Montreal notary, politician, and foreign diplomat Herbert Meredith Marler, as well as the societies he inhabited. Observers are thus offered a glimpse into a world of social and political ascendency made extinct by the upheavals of the Second World War. Meanwhile, the processes of an emergent Canadian foreign policy in East Asia are contextualized through an examination of Marler's appointment to Tokyo in 1929.

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[5] Brian Young, "Death, Burial, and Protestant Identity in an Elite Family: The Montreal McCords," in *Negotiating Identities in 19th- and 20th-Century Montreal: A Collection of Essays by the Montreal History Group,* ed. Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 105.
[6] Young, "Patrician Elites and Power in Montreal and Quebec," 234.
[7] Young, *Patrician Families,* 6.
[8] Jack Irving Little, *Patrician Liberal: The Public and Private Life of Sir Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, 1829-1906* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013), xiii.
[9] Little, *Patrician Liberal*, xiii.
[10] Young, *Patrician Families,* 3-5, 142.

The first Marler to achieve ascendancy must have appeared an unlikely candidate early in his life to inaugurate the chain of increasingly patrician figures that culminated with the decorated Herbert Meredith. George Leonard Marler was born in 1813 in Nicolet, Quebec to retired British Officer Leonard Marler and the granddaughter of Anglican priest David Francis de Montmollin, Charlotte Marguerite.[11] Leonard's military pension, equalling half the salary received as a Clerk of Stores attached to a Royal Artillery regiment sent to Quebec in 1808, provided modest if not insufficient means of sustenance for the family. Later, as financial woes and unsuccessful petitions for the land grant entitled to him as a retired officer piled up, the family began to struggle.[12] Leonard Marler died in 1824 and his widow, forced to auction off the couple's estate, saw the entirety of her possessions sold for a sum sizably less than her late husband's debts. George Leonard, still only a child, matured watching his mother struggle to provide for him and his five sisters. Despite these struggles, the family remained in Nicolet where George Leonard was educated in the seminary, becoming fluent in both French and English.[13]

The turning point in Marler family history occurred when twenty-year-old George Leonard moved to Drummondville, hired as assistant to the registrar.[14] Within five years of relocating, he had established a home in Grantham Township and had been elevated to the position of deputy registrar.[15] Soon thereafter, the notarial skills learned on the job paid dividends; George Leonard successfully petitioned the Lower Canadian government for the lands owed to his deceased father. Quickly selling it off in parcels, George Leonard began a seven-year period of profitable land dealings. These developments, a descendant proudly explained in a 1987 family history, marked George Leonard's decision to become "responsible for the welfare of his whole family."[16] Remembering the patrician status men of the family enjoyed from this moment onward, Howard Marler, son of Herbert Meredith and author of *Marler: Four Generations of a Quebec Family*, lauded his great-grandfather for insuring that the widowed Charlotte and her daughters "were never again to be allowed to be threatened by poverty."[17] George Leonard Marler thus had laid the foundation upon which coming generations of Marler men were to build their success and prestige (See 'Appendix A').

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[11] George C. Marler, *Leonard Marler and Charlotte: Founders of the Marler Family in Canada* (Montreal, QC: Private Publication, 1979), 17, 26.
[12] Ibid., 45.
[13] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 25.
[14] Howard Marler describes the role of the registrar: "In 1830 the Legislature [Legislative Assembly] of Lower Canada had passed its first statute dealing with the registration of deeds relating to land and houses (immovable property in legal parlance). One of the new Registry Offices was established at Drummondville. George Leonard's early responsibilities included "the transcribing of deeds of mortgage and conveyances in the registers" quick mastery of which saw him become deputy registrar in charge of "the drafting of the necessary deeds when property was bought, sold or mortgaged, or when settlers wished to make wills or required marriage contracts." Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 27-28.
[15] George C. Marler, *Leonard Marler and Charlotte*, 87.
[16] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 32.
[17] Ibid.

If professional and personal involvement in steering change in one's society was inherent to the characteristics of a patrician, by the latter half of the nineteenth century George Leonard Marler was within reach of such status. Hired as an accountant, George Leonard worked for the Sulpician Seminary at their Hôtel Seigneurial in Montreal from 1860, remaining its highest paid employee until his retirement in 1878.[18] Likely offered the job as result of the experience gained while employed for two years at the Seigneurial Tenure Office of Montreal from 1858, his lengthy tenure in central Montreal marked the beginning of the Marlers' urban ascension. Assisting the Sulpicians with the commutation of their massive holdings as seigniors of the island of Montreal, George Leonard played a central role in one of the most marked shifts of secularization and professionalization within nineteenth century Montreal economic society. As Brian Young demonstrates, the seminary had transformed from a primarily ecclesiastical institution into a "model corporate citizen;" notarial business at the seminary offices tripled between 1839 and 1840, and was indeed booming throughout the George Leonard's time there.[19] The coming generations of Marlers continued such involvement in the dynamically changing economic and social structures of Montreal – doing so in increasingly diverse, modern, and patrician ways.

William de Montmollin Marler, father of Herbert Meredith and the first Marler educated in Montreal, was born to the privileges his self-made father had not enjoyed as a child. Graduating *Dux* from the Montreal High School, William de Montmollin received an Arts honours degree with distinction from McGill before continuing on to study law.[20] He practiced at a number of locations in the city before settling into the Standard Life Building at 157 St. James Street (now Rue Saint-Jacques) in the historic business district of Montreal (See 'Appendix B'). Meanwhile, the death of his first wife and his later re-marriage provided the Marler family its two most accomplished and prestigious members in the form of half-brothers George Carlyle and Herbert Meredith. While teaching civil law at McGill part-time, William de Montmollin wrote a lengthy manuscript before his death. His two sons later managed its publication as a book, splitting the roles of editor and financier respectively. Howard Marler, beneficiary of his great-grandfather's wealth and status, later wrote that students reverentially referred to his book, *The Law of Real Property: Quebec* (1932), as "Marler on Property."[21]

Born to William de Montmollin and his first wife Josephine Howard in 1867, Herbert Meredith enjoyed the fruits of his father and grandfather's accomplishments from a young age. A childhood portrait, taken at the Notman & Sandham photography studio in Montreal in 1881, shows five-year-old Herbert Meredith, designated "Master H. Marler," posing as if in the deep contemplation of a man four times his age (See 'Appendix C'). From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the men of the family sat for portraits at the Notman studio numerous times. Marlers

[18] Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 32, 236n96; Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations*, 50.
[19] Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*, 173.
[20] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 58.
[21] William de Montmollin Marler and George C. Marler, ed., *The Law of Real Property: Quebec* (Toronto, ON: Burroughs and Company [Eastern] Limited, 1932); Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 63.

were photographed when graduating, posing with siblings, in costume for upcoming parties, and in military uniform. The desire to present a clean and notably English image is visible across these shots. Photographs of the Marler men, especially those of Herbert Meredith, represent the clearest examples of a decidedly cultivated identity and appearance. Herbert Meredith Marler was photographed at the Notman studio on at least five occasions before his twenty-second birthday. Even as a young boy he appears as rigid, determined, and professional as he did when he graduated from McGill University (See Appendices 'D' through 'F').

As members of the Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club, Herbert Meredith and his father regularly engaged English-Montreal's most elite families. The Marlers established a summer home on Allan Point next to an estate of James Bryce Allan, son and nephew of steamship magnates Andrew and Hugh Allan, and only a short distance from the yacht club clubhouse. The structure later became part of the club's facilities; known as "Marler House," it offered members some of the first mixed-gender lounging spots.[22] Before being absorbed into the club, however, the summer home served as place for young Herbert Meredith to meet the sons and daughters of nineteenth century Montreal's Anglo-elite. Founded in 1888, according to an official history published during its centennial celebrations, the club's "small and exclusive membership" comprised of the "captains of industry, the adventurers, [and] the movers and shakers… instrumental in creating the economic greatness of Montreal in Canada."[23] An important part of urban ascendancy and patrician life, the social connections facilitated by the Marlers' membership to the St. Lawrence Yacht Club undoubtedly benefitted the future of Herbert Meredith. The author of the club's commemorative history astutely attributes the exclusivity of its membership to a combination of both the "clique syndrome" of Montreal at the turn of the century, as well as the privilege inherent to recreational activities such as sailing. As a past time, sailing at a private club "was the preserve of a relatively few well-to-do gentlemen."[24] Herbert Meredith remained a member of exclusive clubs of this type for the duration of his life. Later, while living and working in the city, he spent his free time at the prestigious Mount Royal Club, cultivating a number of political as well as financial relationships.[25] At Allan Point, Herbert Meredith met his future wife Beatrice Isabel Allan, daughter of James Bryce Allan, forming his most enduring relationship.[26]

Herbert Meredith's first professional venture began shortly after graduation from McGill in 1898 when he joined his father at the Standard Life Building on St. James Street to form the firm of W. de M. Marler and H.M. Marler, or, "Marler and Marler" (See 'Appendix G').[27] His personal reputation and status thereby secured, Herbert Meredith soon wed Beatrice Isabel in an elaborate ceremony on 9 April 1902. At the ceremony, *The Quebec Mercury* noted the presence

[22] George Hanson, *The Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club, 1888-1988* (Montreal, QC: Centennial Book Committee, 1988), 11.
[23] Hanson, *The Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club,* 10.
[24] Ibid.
[25] William Fong, *J.W. McConnell: Financier, Philanthropist, Patriot* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 281.
[26] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 67.
[27] Ibid., 73.

of only "relatives and intimate friends." [28] Nevertheless, a long list of the province's Anglo-elite attended, bearing an array of expensive gifts. That the couple's 'intimate friends' were comprised of Allans, Molsons, Redpaths, and Skeltons, is telling of their already elevated status amongst the upper tiers of society. Both the *Montreal Star* and *Montreal Gazette* provided additional coverage, respecting the status of the father of the groom, William de Montmollin Marler, by appending to his name his preferred title: "esquire."[29] Typifying the couple's ascendency alongside their extensive network of family and acquaintances, in 1907 Herbert Meredith began his pursuit of the first of several impressive estates.

The acquisition and subsequent renovations of the Grantham Hall estate in Drummondville by Herbert Meredith Marler marked one of the pinnacles of material achievement across both his own lifetime and the larger arc of Marler family history. Just as the homes and gardens of the Taschereau and McCord families served as "patrician skylines" for their worlds, Marler meticulously cultivated his real estate to reflect his refined sensibility and prestige.[30] The town in which his self-made grandfather had inaugurated the family's ascension, Drummondville, was a doubly appropriate setting as it was also the birthplace of comparatively successful William de Montmollin. As the purchaser of Grantham Hall, Herbert Meredith became the third in a series of Marler men to proclaim some level of wealth in Drummondville (See 'Appendix H'). Formerly in the possession of General Frederick George Heriot, founder of Drummondville and friend and colleague of Herbert Meredith's grandfather George Leonard Marler, the grounds at Grantham Hall included elaborate gardens, a private nine-hole golf course, and a number of structures of various usages separate from the house.[31] Remembering his time as a young boy at the estate, Howard Marler explains how the property represented a "base" from which his father desired future generations of Marler men, now each a part of what he called a "dynasty," to "continue to build the family fortunes."[32] The estate at Drummondville, according to its cultivator's son, was "England transported to a remote corner of a new land," and "probably the most beautiful estate in the whole of Canada" in 1910. It was at Grantham Hall that Herbert Meredith's patrician identity flourished as host to some of Canada's most important individuals.[33] In the first decade of the twentieth century, Herbert Meredith tended to the establishment of his family's prestige with determination.

Soon after acquiring the estate, Herbert Meredith began a process of renovation and redecoration with the help of Montreal architect and close friend Kenneth Rea (See 'Appendix I'). This personal and professional relationship continued for many years as Marler repeatedly commissioned Rea to design or re-design subsequent acquisitions or constructions. Only a few years after acquiring Grantham Hall, construction began on an impressive home located on

[28] *The Quebec Mercury,* April 10, 1902, 3.
[29] *Montreal Star,* April 10, 1902; *Montreal Gazette,* April 10, 1902, 3; Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 191-2.
[30] Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec*, 19.
[31] Ernestine Charland Rajotte, *Drummondville: 150 ans de vie quotidienne au Coeur de Québec* (Drummondville: Editions des Cantons, 1972), 19; Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 81-2.
[32] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 82.
[33] Ibid., 85-6.

Montreal's exclusive Redpath Crescent; the building still stands today and the secluded neighbourhood's exclusivity and wealth remain visible (See Appendices 'J' through 'K'). Further additions to the Marler holdings occurred in the early 1920s when Herbert Meredith constructed another estate on the west end of the island of Montreal. Again, the family employed Kenneth Rea to this time build a "colonial style house" at Senneville. Furnishing their newest estate with wares bought while vacationing in England, Beatrice Isabel, thereafter so decided in her tastes, began a life-long habit of doing much of her shipping across the Atlantic (See 'Appendix L').[34]

Herbert Meredith's land purchases reflected an appreciation for the English traditions of a landed gentry and its related prestige. Enshrining his family heritage in the imposing architecture of his weekend homes, Marler cultivated his patrician image in physical form. Furthermore, his dynastic motivations, exemplified by his continuous estate-building efforts as well as his active role within high, Montreal society, reflect a two-parted framework of self-identification. Herbert Meredith invested the wealth he accumulated in the public spaces of downtown Montreal into coveted and manicured real estate – the most visible signpost of achievement in the period. The family thereafter played host to guests throughout the holiday months, their private lives becoming increasingly public as they embraced their social responsibilities as members of Montreal's elite society. After a fire destroyed much of the main structures in 1922, however, Marler sold the Grantham Hall property and adopted the recently constructed Senneville estate as the family's primary keep. What remained of Grantham Hall and its surrounding grounds later became part of the Drummondville Gold and Country Club.[35] For a time, the Marler manors represented the importance of family heritage, the English value and prestige of landed gentry, imposing architecture, and the cultivation of a patrician image. He had solidified social and material wealth through marriage and real estate.

While working in the city, Herbert Meredith Marler complimented his acquisition of material wealth, bolstering his patrician identity and further elevating his influence in Quebec society. During the Great War, he was a Field Officer before later becoming a Major. While the army did not send him overseas, his decision to enlist represented a sense of voluntarism typical of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth patrician values. In 1921, this continued sense of responsibility to his nation led to him to run for federal election. He was elected Liberal Member of Parliament for the west-central Montreal riding of St. Lawrence-St. George, receiving just over 57 per cent of the electorate's vote. Marler became part of William Lyon Mackenzie King's first Parliament.[36] During this time Marler and King began the friendship that saw them in near-constant correspondence for Herbert Meredith's remaining years. As a Member of Parliament, Herbert Meredith dutifully presented the views of his female Presbyterian constituents who

[34] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 105.
[35] Martin Bergevin, "Le Club de golf de Drummondville," *La Société D'Histoire de Drummond Défraie la Chronique*, May 29, 2014, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.histoiredrummond.com/Chroniques/le-club-de-golf-de-drummondville.
[36] "History of Federal Ridings Since 1867," Parliament of Canada, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=648.

opposed the incorporation of the United Church of Canada.[37] In addition to being named to His Majesty's Privy Council in late 1924, he was also Minister without Portfolio for four months before the formation of the 15th Parliament, a position to which he was not returned.[38]

Before his slim defeat in the 1925 election to fellow future diplomat Charles Hazlitt Cahan, Herbert Meredith authored and published a short tract for dissemination in his riding titled "Liberal Policy: 1925."[39] In the document, Herbert Meredith responded to claims made by his electoral opponents. Addressing their claims against the riding's incumbent MP, Marler critically summarized his opponents' recent public appearances. His imperialist tendencies are clear throughout the 76-page publication. He espoused recognition of regional economic and cultural differences in order to ensure effective national policy, meanwhile convincingly demonstrating the fiscal successes of the past Liberal government. Carefully balancing his national perspective, Herbert Meredith reminds the industrialists of Montreal that it is "of no value to the success of th[e] Dominion to consider only the local viewpoint of what a particular part requires to be done."[40]

Appealing to the historic personae of George-Etienne Cartier and Sir John A. MacDonald, both of whom he argued were sources of inspiration, Marler also attempted to please his modernist contemporaries by selling himself as a candidate prepared to deal with the new issues facing Canadians in 1925.[41] Regarding the "financial position of the dominion," as well as the biting attacks of his opponent C.H. Cahan, Marler provided economic evidence to demonstrate the consistent trade and budget surpluses the Liberals had achieved since 1921.[42] "Liberal Policy" is also revealing about his later career as a Canadian diplomat: guiding his understanding of Canada's role and identity was a recognition of the many regional discrepancies within its political society, as well as a sense of its place within the British Empire. Despite his efforts that year, Herbert Meredith was one of only three members of his party defeated in Quebec in 1925.[43] Marler in fact devoted much of "Liberal Policy" to addressing

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[37] 14th Parl. Deb., H.C. (3rd session, Vol. 1) (1924) 726; Sara Knight, "Voices United? The House of Commons' Role in the Creation of the United Church of Canada," in *Dalhousie Journal of Legal Studies* Vol. 13(2004): 118.

[38] "History of Federal Ridings Since 1867," Parliament of Canada, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=648; "Marler, The Hon. Sir Herbert Meredith, P.C.," Parliament of Canada, accessed December 2, 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/parlinfo/Files/Parliamentarian.aspx?Item=D532DE86-AD09-46E3-A8C4-9E590CDD3F60&Language=E.

[39] The Honourable Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy: 1925," (Quebec, 1925), at the Bibliothéque et Archives Nationales du Québec, Grande Bibliothéque Collection Nationale, 215471 CON, accessed November 12, 2014, http://iris.banq.qc.ca/alswww2.dll/APS_ZONES?fn=ViewNotice&Style=Portal3&q=490593&Lang=FRE.

[40] The Hon. Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy," 2

[41] While praising the legacies of Cartier and MacDonald, Marler was also careful to explain that their politics were no longer applicable to the ever-changing modernity of the 1920s. The two were to be respected but not emulated; this was a statement Marler aimed toward Conservative Quebec-lieutenant Esioff-Léon Patenaude who had brandished the the Fathers of Confederation's names earlier that year. The Hon. Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy," 7.

[42] The Hon. Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy," 14, 21.

[43] The Hon. Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy," 21; "History of Federal Ridings Since 1867," Parliament of Canada, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=648.

Cahan's claims that he had committed election fraud by manipulating ballots during his initial election in 1921. It is possible that these rumours, together with his own inability to resist his opponent's invitations to mudslinging, influenced the voters in Marler's riding. Interestingly, while writing of his father's failure to be re-elected in 1925, Howard Marler takes time to note the deployment of a "damaging trick" by C.H. Cahan who is described as a "lawyer of Irish extraction" with a "chequered career."[44] The alleged trick involved a pamphlet Cahan produced in Marler's name that proposed that the Liberal candidate's "social position" made him deserved of votes.[45] Marler's own "Liberal Policy" pamphlet reflects a level of self-consciousness and concern when it warns voters about "the election of members by deception."[46] The relations remained chilled between Marler and Cahan throughout this period; Cahan again caused trouble for Marler some seven years following the election while the two represented Canada abroad.[47]

Although he was defeated in the 1925 general election, Herbert Meredith Marler retained his patrician identity and position atop Montreal society. Enjoying their sizeable estates on Redpath Crescent and in Senneville, the Marlers continued to host parties attended by leading political and economic figures. After local officials in Stanstead asked him to run, Herbert Meredith was preparing a 1928 return to federal politics. He quickly purchased a large home in the area of his future riding.[48] His friendly relationship with Mackenzie King provided an alternative path however, when the Prime Minister wrote personally to ask him to head the Canadian legation in Japan scheduled to open in mid-1929. A career in diplomacy proved an attractive venture for Herbert Meredith; he accepted the offer and immediately began planning in detail the inauguration of Canada's third foreign legation. He never again sought election in Canada, instead spending the rest of his life representing the dominion abroad, posted first to Tokyo before travelling to Washington, DC.

Herbert Meredith's appointment as First Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Japan began a portion of his life of which nearly every aspect is exemplary of the prestige, tradition, and responsibility inherent to patrician identity. Writing to the head of the Ministry of External Affairs O.D. Skelton while preparing for his departure for Tokyo, Herbert

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[44] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 106.
[45] Ibid.
[46] The Hon. Herbert Marler, "Liberal Policy," 1.
[47] Following a series of Japanese advances in occupied Manchuria, some individuals within the Canadian government were seeking an official position from Bennett's Conservative leadership. Discord amongst Marler's team at Tokyo, where Herbert Meredith was by 1932 the head of the Canadian legation, and Members of Parliament resulted in a delayed and hesitant reaction from Ottawa. Speaking at the League of Nations, Canadian delegate C.H. Cahan caused a notable diplomatic embarrassment when he appeared to adopt the interpretation of events proposed by British officials, suggesting Japan acted justifiably in response to Chinese aggression. Such a stance ran contradictory to the observations and communiqués provided to Ottawa by Marler and his team at Tokyo. Moreover, it contradicted the stance of most other western nations in a time when unity within the League was of dire importance. The Department of External Affairs, together with the Prime Minister, attempted damage control with a flurry of official statements. For academic examinations of the incident, along with interpretations of its causes and repercussions, see: F.H. Soward, "Forty Years On: The Cahan Blunder Re-examined," *BC Studies* xxxii (1976-7): 126-38; and Donald C. Story, "Canada, the League of Nations and the Far East, 1931-3: The Cahan Incident," *The International History Review,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1981): 236-255.
[48] Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations,* 107.

Marler expressed a belief that "Canada will do well to cultivate the people of Japan," demonstrating a colonialist view of his imminent duties in Japan.[49] With the help of his wife, Marler proceeded to purchase extravagant furnishings for the legation in Tokyo, which, together with the elaborate uniforms he required for his staff, transposed both his patrician identity and his continued predilection for appearances to his new home in East Asia.[50] The public and private spheres of the Marlers' lives continued to converge as Herbert Meredith went beyond the responsibilities asked of him by the Canadian government; during those first years the Marler's were generous philanthropists as well as tireless socialites.[51] With the help of his amassed wealth and privilege, Marler had fully embraced his role as a representative of Canada, personally pursuing the Legation's mandate to "foster goodwill between the Canadians and Japanese" well beyond the sphere of international politics.[52] His refusal of modesty as a representative of the Dominion to a rapidly expanding and increasingly authoritative imperial power allowed him to skirt inferiority in favour of pride and formalities; in Tokyo, Herbert Meredith's paternalistic character remained indefatigable.

An official directive to represent his nation on the international stage only increased Herbert Meredith's love of rigid etiquette and traditions inherited from late-Victorian society. Charged with establishing an arm of government in a part of the world yet untouched by Canadian diplomatic structures, Herbert Meredith ensured that the Japanese saw the Dominion as a professional and efficient entity distinct amidst England's empire. In Tokyo his team was free from precedence and enjoyed large freedoms in their management of day-to-day operations. Mackenzie King had hoped the legation to be up and running as quickly as possible after offering the position in January 1929, so Herbert Meredith enjoyed plenty of leeway in his management of its opening. The limits of communication technologies during this period, along with 1930 election of the comparatively inward-focused R.B. Bennett, increased the freedom and authority of the legation staff at Tokyo. To the dismay of some lesser officials representing Canadian interests in China, under Herbert Meredith Marler this authority expanded informally over much of the Far East. As his letter to Mackenzie King regarding his imminent posting to Tokyo reveals, Marler had wanted to direct Canadian policy throughout the region since at least 1928: "do not hesitate on appointing me [to China]," writes Marler, "I believe if I have to travel in

[49] Herbert Meredith Marler to Undersecretary of State for External Affairs O.D. Skelton, 19-20 June 1929, RG25, D1, vol. 794, file 469, quoted in John David Meehan, "From Ally to Menace: Canadian Attitudes and Policies Toward Japanese Imperialism, 1929-39," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2000), 38.

[50] Skelton voiced his concern to Marler as the costs began to pile up – Marler, however, was ever-ready to insure that any undesirable or unauthorized overages he would happily cover himself. This was to be a reoccurring theme throughout his tenure at Tokyo, especially as budgetary limits became increasingly stringent during the Depression era. Marler to Skelton, 30 January 1929; Skelton to Marler, 25 March 1929, both in Library and Archives Canada ((hereinafter cited as LAC), RG25-D1, vol. 794, file 469 pt1-2.

[51] In a letter to Skelton, Marler describes how he and his wife's donation to the "Isu Peninsula Earthquake Relief Fund" garnered "wide publicity," the announcement of which he had heard to be "broadcasted over the whole of the Japanese Empire." Marler to Skelton, 1 December 1930, LAC, RG25, vol. 1538, file 150-J-29.

[52] "Report on the Activities of the Canadian Legation in Japan, for the year ending 31st of December 1930," Canadian Legation to Tokyo, 2 January 1931, LAC, RG25, vol. 1538, file 150-J-29.

China as I think I should it would increase my prestige being accredited to that country [as well]."[53]

Herbert Meredith Marler's efforts to ensure an impressive first showing of Canadian diplomatic representation in East Asia saw him lobbying the Prime Minister in regards to the legation's location, the uniforms of its staff, and even the type of men he wished to see employed beneath him (See Appendices 'M' through 'N'). Micromanagement of this type resulted in a number of conflicting opinions amongst his staff, and, as first secretary Hugh L. Keenleyside notes in his journal, some considered the role Herbert Meredith imagined for Canada in Japan "a horrid negation of the whole principle of the service." Marler, appeared convinced "that only a man of wealth can ever become a minister," and seemed to ignore the value of personal merit and ability, instead obsessing over pompous presentation and formalities.[54] The 1933 construction of a new legation building – one designed in collaboration with his old Montreal friend Kenneth Rea and initially paid for by Marler himself – further exemplified this preoccupation with appearances.

After reading memoranda sent by Herbert Meredith to O.D. Skelton regarding preparations for the opening of the legation, Keenleyside could hardly resist criticisms of his superior: to the trained historian and career diplomat, Marler "was largely ignorant of history and economics, had travelled little, and was innocent of experience in foreign relations."[55] Of the minister's wife, Keenleyside was polite yet dismissive. He admittedly appreciated her "running a good house, making calls on the proper people," and possessing qualities "valuable in a diplomat's wife."[56] Nevertheless, the pair's obsession with formalities – perhaps best exemplified by Isabel Beatrice's numerous memos to sternly reminding them to use the titles 'His Excellency,' 'Her Excellency,' and 'Young Excellency' for Herbert Meredith, herself, and their son Howard, respectively – bothered the staff, allegedly becoming the "subject of jest" in Ottawa as well as Tokyo.[57]

As the 1930s progressed, it became increasingly apparent to international observers that the world was again slipping toward war. The League of Nations proved impotent in arbitrating the increasing discord amongst its dwindling members, Herbert Meredith's role in Tokyo became less certain. Yet it was at this time that the most 'patrician' of all Herbert Meredith's accomplishments occurred. On June 3, 1935, by recommendation of Prime Minister Bennett, King George V knighted the Canadian foreign minister. The honour was of course a source of exceptional pride for Marler and his wife. Isabel Beatrice's requests on his behalf for formal salutations and titles were no longer to be limited to those sent to subordinates within legation. When her husband's recently awarded title was missing from the memoranda sent by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Isabel Beatrice was quick to point out their mistake: "I

[53] Herbert Meredith Marler to W.L. Mackenzie King, 18 January 1929, RG 25, D1, vil. 794, file 469, quoted in Meehan, "From Ally to Menace," 34, n.75.
[54] Hugh L. Keenleyside, *Memoirs of Hugh L. Keenleyside: Volume 1, Hammer the Golden Day* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1981), 257.
[55] Keenleyside, *Hammer the Golden Day*, 253.
[56] Ibid., 287.
[57] Ibid.

shall be very grateful if appropriate steps may be taken to ensure that further communications from the various Departments of His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Government to the Canadian Minister shall be addressed as follows," she wrote, proceeding to demonstrate the four lines of titles preferred by her husband (See 'Appendix O').[58]

In relation to the various positions of authority he occupied, Herbert Meredith Marler's simultaneous love of empire and dominion was evident in his insistences of formalities and tradition. During late-career speeches, made while working as head of the Canadian legation at Washington, Marler continued to espouse the importance of Anglo-Canadian relations – at the same time vocalizing his preference of intra-imperial bonds over Canadian-American or otherwise external relationships.[59] As a family, the Marlers valued the prestige amongst Quebec and Canadian society that three generations of upward mobility and accomplishment had provided them. They were proud to demonstrate this identity at any chance, often in ways that appeared quite antiquated by 1935; while several noted their old-fashionedness, the Marlers, led by the figure of Herbert Meredith, retained the values and trappings of a traditional, patrician ideal.

The family's ascension, begun by George Leonard Marler's successful sale of his father's 800 acres in rural Quebec nearly a century prior, culminated in 1935 with the highest personal honour a British subject could receive: inclusion into the order of St. Michael and St. George through knighthood. Herbert Meredith's life, however, was soon after cut-short when, following a six-month battle with illness and fatigue from overwork, he died on 31 January 1940 in Montreal. The press, describing him as a "prominent figure in the life of the Dominion" while noting the inclusion in his lineage of "two of the oldest English-speaking families of Canada," celebrated his achievements and professional record.[60] The Honourable Sir Herbert Meredith Marler was buried that spring in appropriate fashion, amongst the city's most affluent and patrician Protestant figures, at the Mount Royal Cemetery in Montreal. With him, the position and privilege of the Quebec patrician largely died. The upheavals of the Second World War finalized an already ongoing process of curtailment of the capacities of the patrician in society. Never again did hereditary wealth and prestige alone allow men to direct so many aspects of public and private life in Quebec or Canada.

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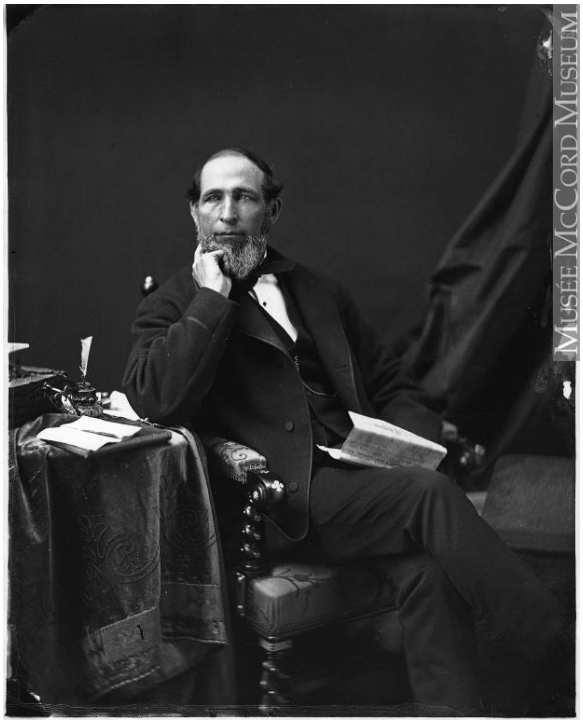
[58] JACAR (Japan Center of Asian Historical Records) Ref.B12080809300, "Title to be used for Minister of Canade [sic] stationing in Japan November 1925," Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo, Japan: Vol. 6, BN1219006), pp. 4-5, accessed September 30, 2014, http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/MetaOutServlet?GRP_ID=G0000101&DB_ID=G0000101EXTERNAL&IS_STYLE=eng&IS_TYPE=meta&XSLT_NAME=MetaTop.xsl.

[59] "Urges Canadians to Do Share in Peace Efforts," *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 27, 1937, 6; "English-Speaking Alliance Proposed," *The Montreal Gazette,* February 3, 1938, 10.

[60] "Sir H.M. Marler, Noted Diplomat, Dies at 63 Years," *The Ottawa Citizen,* February 1, 1940, pp3; "Sir H. Marler, Former Envoy, Is Dead at 63," *The Globe and Mail*, February 1, 1940, 7.

Appendix A



"George Leonard Marler, Montreal, QC, 1870," William Notman, 1870, McCord Museum, I-45079.

Appendix B

"Standard Life Assurance building, Montreal, QC, 1898," Wm. Notman & Son, 1898, McCord Museum, VIEW-3256.1.

Appendix C

"Master H. Marler, Montreal, QC, 1881," Notman & Sandham, 1881, McCord Museum, II-62876.1.

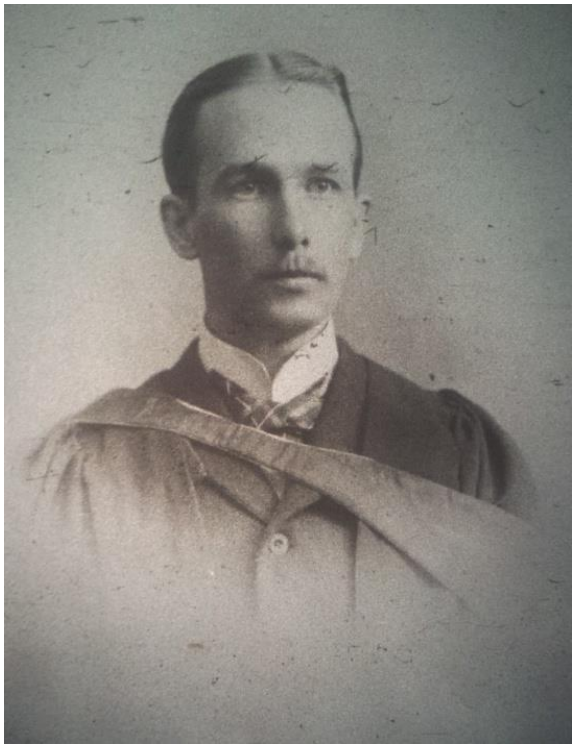
Appendix D

“Master H. Marler,” Notman & Sandham, 1888, McCord Museum, 88,387-BII.

Appendix E

"H.M. Marler, Montreal, QC, 1896," Wm. Notman & Son, McCord Museum, II117080.1.

Appendix F



“H.M. Marler, Montreal, QC, 1898,” Wm. Notman & Son, McCord Museum, II-123770.1.

Appendix G

"Standard Life Assurance Company, Standard Building, Montreal, QC, 1912," Wm. Notman & Son, 1912, McCord Museum, VIEW-12615.

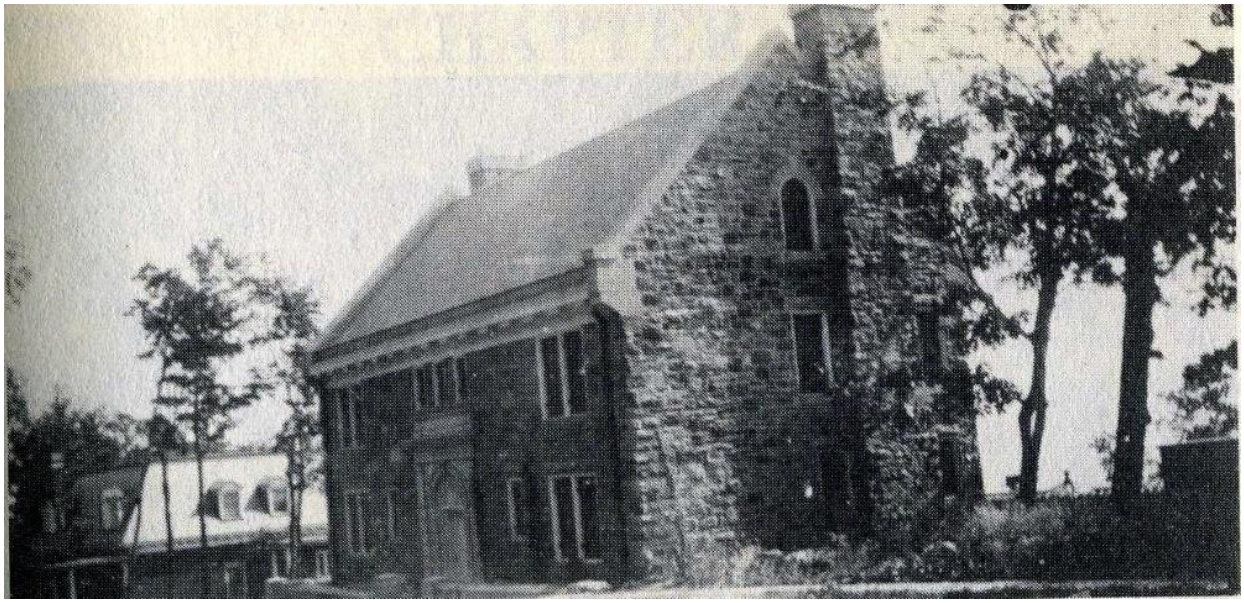
Appendix H

"Grantham Hall, Drummondville, QC, about 1910," Anonymous, gift of Mr. Stanley G. Triggs, McCord Museum, MP-0000.1123.4.

Appendix I

"Mr. Marler's house and garden, 'Grantham Hall,' Drummondville, QC, 1910," Wm. Notman & Son, 1910, McCord Museum, II1822359.

Appendix J

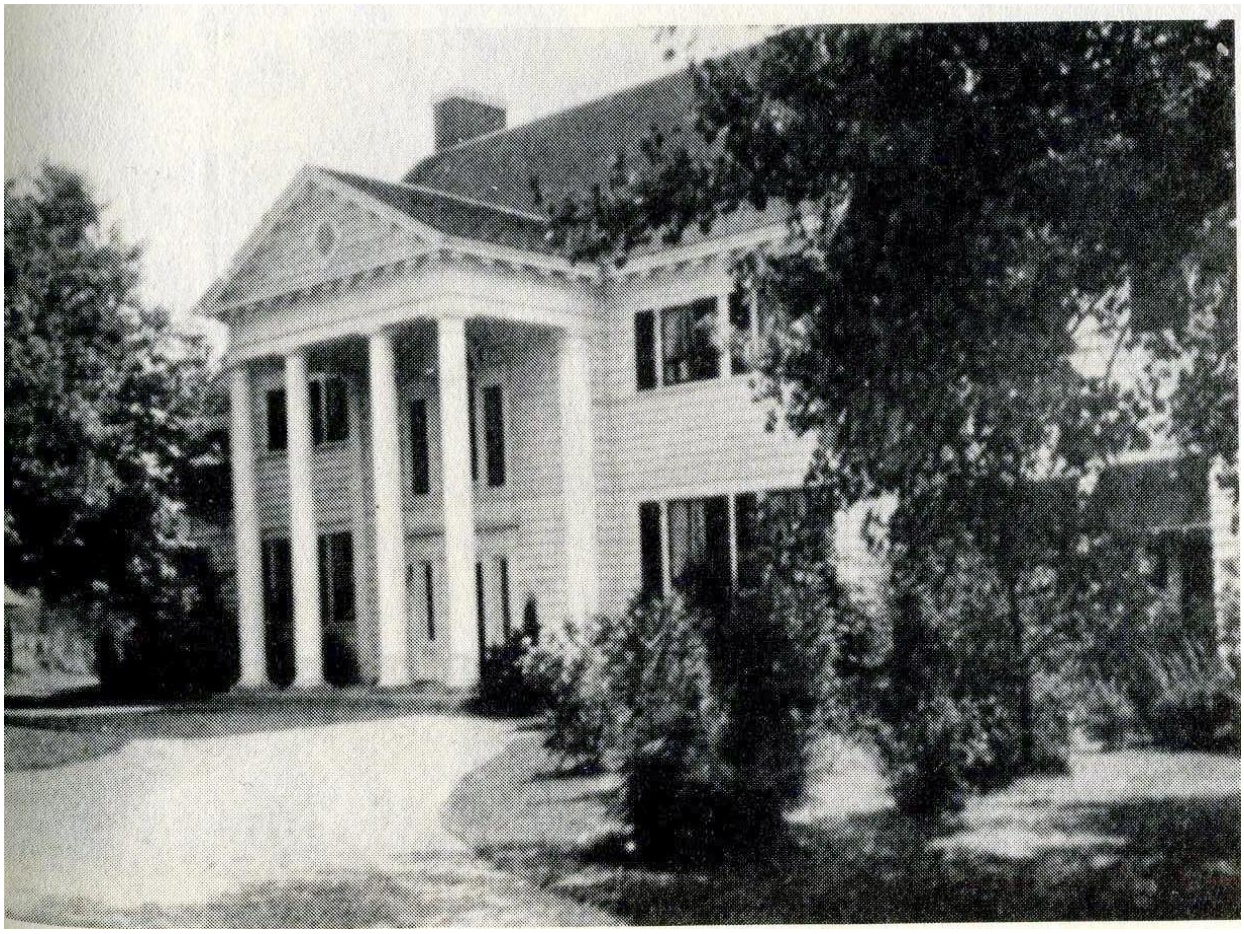


"The Redpath Crescent House," in Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations of a Quebec Family* (Montreal: Price-Patterson Ltd., 1987), 91.

Appendix K

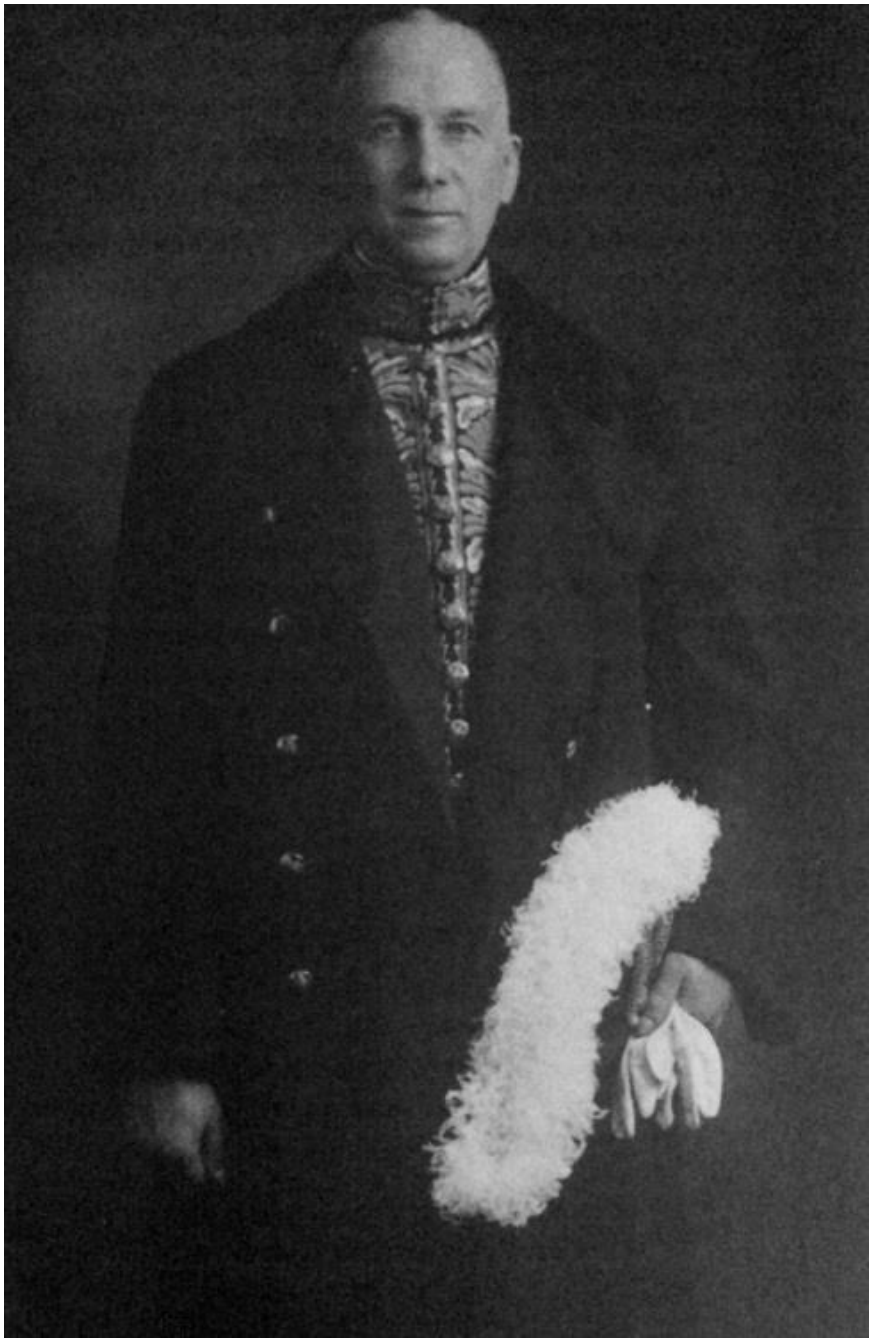
"1277 Redpath Crescent," Google Maps Street View, 2011, accessed September 25, 2014, https://goo.gl/maps/NFiJz.

Appendix L



"The Senneville House," in Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations of a Quebec Family* (Montreal: Price-Patterson Ltd., 1987), 91.

Appendix M

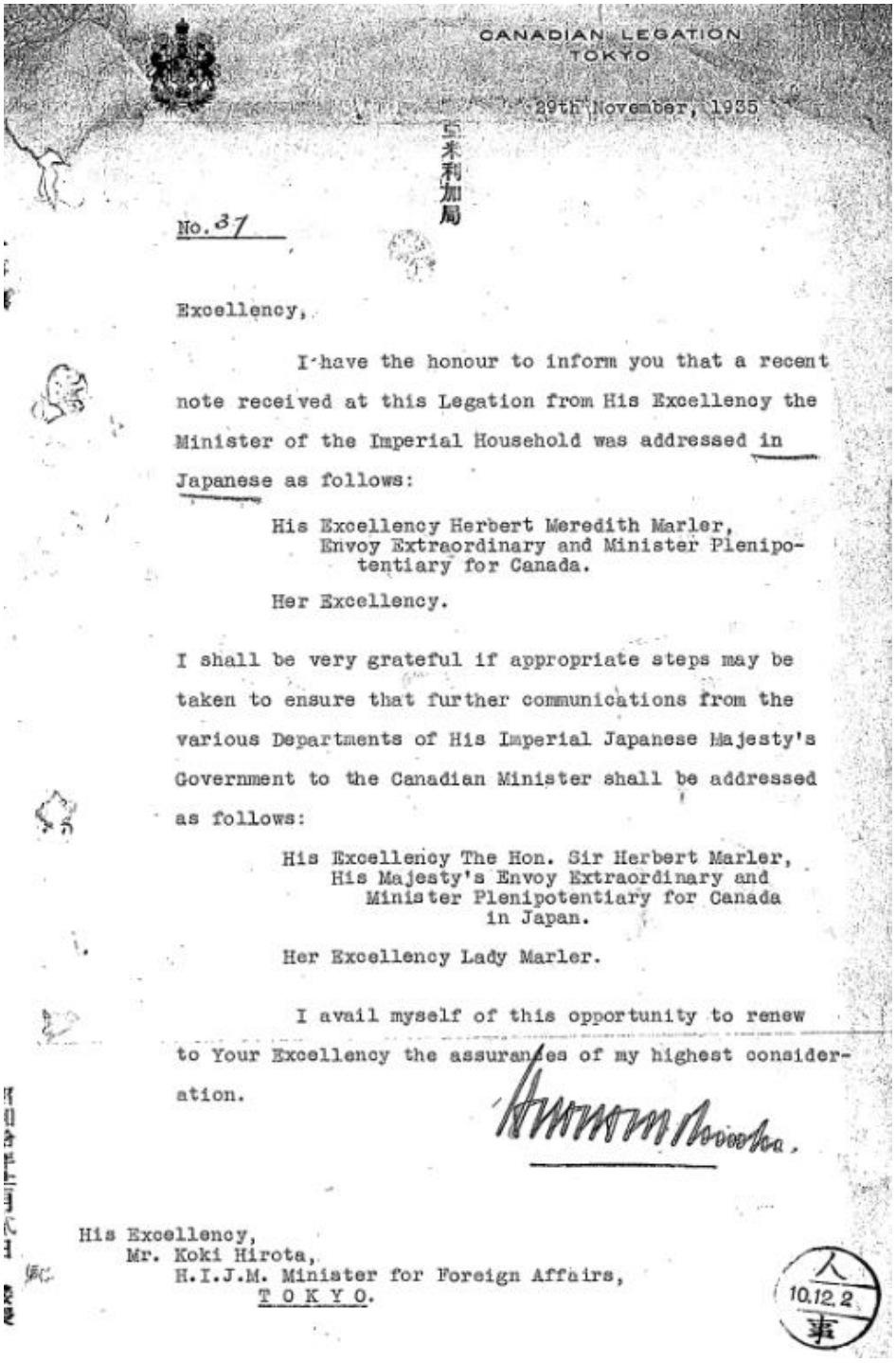


"Herbert Meredith Marler," in Howard Marler, *Marler: Four Generations of a Quebec Family* (Montreal: Price-Patterson Ltd., 1987), 65.

Appendix N

"The Staff of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo," Ueno Makita Kogabo, Library and Archives Canada, PA-12407, reprinted in *Architects and Innovators: Building the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1909-2009,* eds. Greg Donaghy and Kim Richard Nossal (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

Appendix O



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

29th November, 1935

米利加局

No. 37

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that a recent note received at this Legation from His Excellency the Minister of the Imperial Household was addressed in Japanese as follows:

His Excellency Herbert Meredith Marler,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Canada.

Her Excellency.

I shall be very grateful if appropriate steps may be taken to ensure that further communications from the various Departments of His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Government to the Canadian Minister shall be addressed as follows:

His Excellency The Hon. Sir Herbert Marler,
His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary for Canada
in Japan.

Her Excellency Lady Marler.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Herbert Marler.

His Excellency,
Mr. Koki Hirota,
H.I.J.M. Minister for Foreign Affairs,
TOKYO.

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JACAR (Japan Center of Asian Historical Records) Ref.B12080809300, "Title to be used for Minister of Canade [sic] stationing in Japan November 1925," Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo, Japan: Vol. 6, BN1219006), pp. 4-5, accessed September 30, 2014,

http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/MetaOutServlet?GRP_ID=G0000101&DB_ID=G0000101EXTERNAL&IS_STYLE=eng&IS_TYPE=meta&XSLT_NAME=MetaTop.xsl.

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Brian A. Catlos. *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors: Faith, Power and Violence in the Age of Crusades and Jihad*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Despite the abundance of literature on holy war, *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors* serves as an important monograph to understand the complex interactions between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the age of the Crusades. With an unusual and very appealing title, Brian A. Catlos proposes a dramatic review of the Mediterranean world – from Spain and North Africa, to southern Italy and Egypt, and to Byzantium and the Crusader states – between 1050 and 1200. He analyzes the nature of religious identity and the diverse synergy between the three religious communities in the Middle Ages by narrating the achievements of individuals who exercised great power in the region. The author deviates from previous works on the age of the Crusades by starting a half a century prior to Urban II's appeal at Clermont and by focusing on the entire Mediterranean region as a disparate, but at the same time interconnected, region, demystifying the clash of the civilizations paradigm in which the period is cast by classical historiography. He aptly sustains that the Crusades and *jihad* were not mainly religious phenomena and were not defined by religious extremism, but rather they represented the interest of a competing group.

Brian A. Catlos moves from west to east as he investigates the complex Mediterranean world through the stories of several powerful individuals, focusing on their political and religious confrontations. He commences in Spain, where he dissects the tumultuous political milieu of al-Andalus, in the first half of the eleventh century, and the Jewish-Muslim interactions, by tracing the career of Abu Ibrahim Isma'il, a Jewish prime-minister in the kingdom of Muslim Granada, who aspired to be the future king of the state. Still in Spain, Catlos outlines the enigmatic and legendary figure of Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, better known as El Cid, a symbol of the Christian Reconquista. The next stop in his Mediterranean journey is Sicily, where the author analyses the attempts of King Roger II to manage his multicultural realm and the multiplicity of Christian-Muslim interactions after the Norman conquest of the island. Moving to Egypt, we are introduced to Bahram Pahlavuni, an Armenian Christian who ruled an Islamic empire. Finally, Catlos examines Reynaud of Châtillon, a French knight, who remained in the Holy Land after the failure of the Second Crusade. Thanks to Catlos' unique and energetic literary style enriched with anecdotes and poetry, we learn a lot about the social and cultural life of these warrior elites.

Additionally, we learn that politics were the result of a mix of self-interest, personality, and ideology. Also, we acquire information about the importance of siege tactics and power: "the true lingua franca of the Mediterranean politics" (109). To better understand this, Catlos constantly makes connections with our contemporary world and explains the conflicts that we find ourselves involved in today. He argues that "the ethnic and religious diversity of the Mediterranean in the era of Crusade and *jihad* was perhaps the factor that most directly prefigured the emergence of our modern globalized world" (324). However, he insists that violence in the Mediterranean region cannot be blamed mainly on religion, and that the notions of crusade and *jihad* were the justifications for wars and not the causes of them. True motives were more nuanced: desire for power and commercial gains. In fact, he writes that "the greatest tensions and the worst violence

tended to take place among people of the same faith…holy war was waged among members of the two religions as often as between them: Latin (Catholic) Christians crusaded against the Greek (Orthodox) Christians, while Sunni Muslim rulers proclaimed *jihad* against Shi'a Muslim rulers" (8).

In spite of this a few critiques are required. While the author aptly demonstrates that politics in the Mediterranean were driven by power, lust, greed, and fear, the work is less effective in its attempt to describe the dynamic of holy war. For example Catlos asserts that "Jihad was not so different from the self-professed duty of many people in the West today to bring democracy and the free market to those parts of the world that do not have them." (224). While this is an interesting analogy, the commentary is incomplete and it requires a more convincing explanation, as the comparison of religious duty and economic ideology is not entirely persuasive at first sight. Also, he argues that wars could erupt without warning, driven by ideology, greed, or panic, but it is unclear what specific role ideology played in these equations. Clearly, the author uses a modern word (ideology) to recreate a medieval reality, without fully explaining its role and definition in the context of the medieval Mediterranean.

In sum, the book is well researched both in terms of local studies and broader themes, although they are not referenced, because it is meant for a general audience. Brian A. Catlos is well versed in the history of Christian-Jewish-Muslim interactions in the Mediterranean region. This is an accessible book with an original development regarding the Crusades in the Mediterranean world and establishes certain guidelines that are impossible to ignore. One might think that it will be especially appreciated by greater public, eager to find in a single book a fairly comprehensive overview of the main facets of the Mediterranean between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

Cornel Bontea
Université de Montréal

Daniel Immerwahr. *Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Daniel Immerwahr's book, *Thinking Small*, adds significantly to the literature on modernization and development by including communitarian visions and impulses. It does much to undermine the idea that the urge to modernize dominated the mid-twentieth century. Focusing on community development, Immerwahr challenges prevailing monolithic representations of development projects as synonymous with big dams, hegemonic highway projects, and steel cities. In contrast to modernizers, communitarian developers focused on facilitating local, political, agricultural, and artisanal improvement projects designed by communities themselves. Their development projects focused on social development and the "quest for community" while downplaying economics.

They critiqued modernization projects as paternalist and abhorred the bureaucratic centralization that accompanied many large-scale projects.

Thinking Small impressively follows social scientists, developers, and their ideas across national borders from the United States to India, the Philippines, Vietnam, and back to "take seriously the communitarian strain within contemporary thought and politics" (7). Immerwahr finds a communitarian ethos and policies of community empowerment in New Deal programs, Japanese internment camps, and Gandhian villages; in the Vietnamese dam dubbed "the TVA on the Mekong;" and in the economic development office that spawned the Black Panther Party. The reach of such community development was far from marginal. In India alone, community development projects affected about 250 million villagers, making up ten per cent of the global population in 1965. Indeed, the breadth of this localist, communitarian impulse is the book's main contribution.

On one hand, Immerwahr defines communitarianism in opposition to modernization. This is best exemplified in the rivalry between the first two chairmen of the Board of Directors for the Tennessee Valley Authority. The modernizer, David Lilienthal, vilified and ousted his communitarian predecessor, Arthur Morgan, who "sought to create a cooperative economic system featuring local currencies and based on small and self-sufficient towns" (43). However, Immerwahr warns against proposing a strict binary between modernization and communitarianism. They were not "warring camps. They were rival impulses, felt sometimes by the same people simultaneously, coiled tightly around each other, often tangled together" (8). For instance, Nehru simultaneously pursued modernization in the form of large dams while embarking on a "revolutionary" communitarian program of democratic decentralization and empowerment of village councils (10).

Chapters on India as well as the American War on Poverty provide the most nuanced treatment of community development. In the Philippines and Vietnam, community development was primarily a tactic of counterinsurgency. Thus, guerrilla warfare and imperial agendas imposed severe bounds on the scope and purpose of those projects. In both India and the United States, however, community-based projects set in motion forces they could not control. In India, instead of empowering poor villagers into local units of economic and political autonomy, community development often empowered village elites to further dominate lower-castes, the poor, and women. In turn, the communitarian program perverted its original Gandhian, communitarian ideal into a tool for state-administered pesticides and a forum for holding Republic Day rallies. Despite these apparent difficulties, Immerwahr refuses to simply indict community development as a cynical ruse to centralize power, to blame bureaucracy for its failure, or to overestimate the power of opponents. Instead, he stresses that in India the negative repercussions of idealizing the village community was "hardwired into the program" and "proved to be its Achilles' heel" (99).

In the United States, the dynamics of community development differed considerably from those in India, but Lyndon Johnson's Community Action Programs (CAP) proved even more ephemeral. CAPs empowered the poor and black power activists in ways the government was not prepared to support. The programs' opponents griped that the administration was "using taxpayers'

dollars to bankroll a domestic revolution" (160). In turn, the American government restructured the community development programs so that their authority — and dollars — funneled through "new Brahmins" that "served a similar purpose" to what was observed in India. Relying on local hierarchies, the re-structured programs "prevented participation from leading to social revolution" (161). This restructuring destroyed the popular appeal of the programs and led to their demise.

Thinking Small thus adds important layers of nuance to existing narratives of development. We can no longer think of development projects simply as big government modernizing local populations and landscapes. The history of community development stretches our understanding of the last century's political imagination.

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Gregory P. Downs. *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

After Appomattox opens with Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee agreeing to the Confederates' surrender, but leaving a full peace agreement for the government to resolve. Gregory Downs uses this anecdote to establish his book's key motif — tension between civilian and military authority during Reconstruction. Extending the Civil War's periodization, Downs defines 1865-71 as post-surrender wartime, with peacetime returning in 1871 when the last Confederate states were seated in Congress. Downs argues that the long occupation of the South was a necessity. To achieve peacetime rights for black Americans, the Union army paradoxically had to exercise martial law.

By stressing Reconstruction's achievements in civil rights while acknowledging the extent of Confederate violence, Downs takes the approach of Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* (1988) and Steven Hahn's *A Nation Under Our Feet* (2003). These authors stand apart from the pessimistic view of Reconstruction advanced by David Blight's *Race and Reunion* (2001) and Andrew F. Lang's recent paper, "Republicanism, Race, and Reconstruction: The Ethos of Occupation in Civil War America" (2014).[1] Reflecting the counter-revisionist approach of 1970s Reconstruction historians, Blight and Lang emphasize the limits of Reconstruction — continuities of racial violence and conservative white politics — instead of black Americans' victories. These two historiographic approaches are not mutually exclusive, but they differ about which factor — Reconstruction's achievements or failures — receives the greatest emphasis. By highlighting freedmen's achievements, Downs sides with Foner and Hahn, yet surpasses those authors in explaining the military's role. Still, Downs, like Lang, shows the reluctance of white soldiers to intervene in civilian politics, and the authors share an interest in common soldiers' experiences, reflecting the new military history tradition.

[1] Andrew F. Lang, "Republicanism, Race, and Reconstruction: The Ethos of Military Occupation in Civil War America," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4 (December 2014): 559–589.

The narrative illuminates previously ignored aspects of Reconstruction, keeping discussion of historiography to a minimum. Downs stresses the key role of the United States Army — especially black soldiers — in fighting paramilitary groups, supervising free elections, and overthrowing state governments dominated by ex-Confederates. President Andrew Johnson fares better than in most histories of this period, as Downs highlights the racist president's uncharacteristic support for occupation during Reconstruction's first year. Indeed, Downs excels at analyzing complex motivations, such as Generals Grant and Sherman's reluctance to support occupation despite their enmity toward Confederates, Charles Sumner's vote to cut military funding even as he supported Reconstruction, and John Bingham's shift from supporting peace to supporting continued occupation. The text also features a meticulous explanation of how Senate Republicans replaced House Republicans as the foremost defenders of Reconstruction. Downs concludes by defending interventionist government, asserting that the state is necessary to protect freedom, even if extralegal actions are necessary to do so.

Downs' major source is a new dataset of the army's geographic distribution during occupation, based on records from the U.S. National Archives. The full dataset is available online, making *After Appomattox* a multi-media project like Edward Ayers' *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* (2003) and its accompanying website, *The Valley of the Shadow*. Like Ayers, Downs designs his book to stand on its own, but provides supplemental material online for curious readers. The two projects differ substantially, however. Ayers' website includes social history material such as battle maps, tax records, and census data, but also letters and photographs. Conversely, Downs' website focuses on quantitative data, allowing readers to track troops across the South, with separate categories for black soldiers and cavalry. Additionally, Downs' G.I.S. software is more advanced than the now-decade-old G.I.S. powering Ayers' maps.

Downs' book is a valuable contribution to the field, but Downs revisits so many points from Hahn's *Nation* that *Appomattox* sometimes reads like a synthesis, not a monograph. The congressional chapters, while thorough, are difficult to follow, but this reflects the fragmented politics of that period, rather than Downs' writing style. Downs argues that a fear of standing armies, stemming from the American Revolution, motivated opposition to Reconstruction, but he does not explore this continuity in depth. While not directly related to Reconstruction, such ideas merit further research. Furthermore, Downs discusses the conclusion of Reconstruction (1871–77) only in passing because he defines Military Reconstruction as ending in 1871 and because members of the Ku Klux Klan, while arrested by soldiers, were not subject to courts martial. However, Grant's anti-Klan army actions could be construed as a resurrection of Military Reconstruction, so this period deserves greater attention.

Readers intrigued by the Civil War or nineteenth century American history will appreciate *After Appomattox*, but the book's nuanced treatment of congressional politics may not engage casual readers. This book likely will find its audience among advanced undergraduates and graduate students.

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George Faithful. *Mothering the Fatherland: A Protestant Sisterhood Repents for the Holocaust*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Germans in a post-Second World War world are forced to reckon with their nation's collective past, a process referred to in German as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. This term has found new life in German media in recent years following the release of the 2013 miniseries *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* (Our Mothers, our Fathers), which tells the story of five German friends and their varied experiences in the Third Reich. George Faithful's *Mothering the Fatherland: A Protestant Sisterhood Repents for the Holocaust* introduces a little-known narrative into this national struggle with the past: the story of a Protestant sisterhood's attempts at coming to terms with the past. He does so through a study of Mother Basilea Schlink and the Ecumenical Sisterhood of Mary. Klara Schlink and Erika Madauss founded the Ecumenical Sisterhood of Mary in 1947 in the midst of the devastation of postwar Darmstadt, with Schlink serving as the primary theological voice. Schlink taught that Germans bore a collective national guilt for the Holocaust, and she led the Sisterhood to pursue intercessory repentance to save Germany from God's righteous judgment. Faithful situates Schlink's teachings within the postwar German Protestant context, including the Stuttgart Confession of Guilt (1945) and the Darmstadt Statement (1947), but he argues that Schlink's proclamation of collective national guilt far exceeds these confessions. In so doing, Faithful challenges the accepted timeline of German Protestant acknowledgement of complicity in the Holocaust, as the aforementioned statements acknowledged *Kriegsschuld* (war guilt), but ignored the destruction of European Jewry. Initial steps of Protestant acknowledgement of the Holocaust would not come until 1950, whereas Schlink called for Germany's repentance in 1949.

Faithful utilizes discourse analysis influenced by Norman Fairclough to place Schlink's texts within the discursive and social practice of German Protestant confessions. He demonstrates how Schlink's idiosyncratic views of sin and guilt dominated the Sisterhood's identity as a group of intercessors for Germany and supporters of Israel. He also discusses how German conceptions of the *Volk* (An untranslatable term used to refer to the German people as a whole with national, racial, and spiritual connotations) and a simplistic interpretation of the Hebrew Bible influenced Schlink's interpretations of German guilt and Jewish identity, saying "The German *Volk* had sinned against the Jewish *Volk*, a group synonymous, in her mind, with the people of Israel in the Hebrew Bible, with the Jewish citizens of the new State of Israel" (114). Thus, Schlink transferred the covenant promises of the Hebrew Bible to the modern state of Israel, placing herself alongside the most committed Zionists. Faithful's analysis of the Sisterhood's attempts to come to terms with Germany's Nazi past is built upon these two central themes of intercessory repentance and *völkisch* conceptions of national identity. Faithful examines Schlink's theology of repentance, the Sisterhood's practices of intercessory repentance and memorialization of the Holocaust, and an analysis of gendered language in Schlink's teachings. Schlink challenged gender roles in touting

the sisters as national priests, arguing that women were distinctively suited to suffer for others. In so doing, Faithful highlights a feminine, pro-Zionist, and repentant German Protestant voice calling for national penance and direct support of Israel.

George Faithful persuasively argues that Basilea Schlink and the Ecumenical Sisterhood of Mary drew upon conceptions of collective national identity from German nationalism and the Hebrew Bible in their formulation of the practice of intercessory repentance. Schlink drew from German conceptions of the *Volk* in which "The *Volk* possessed a shared moral agency and spiritual destiny," and, as such, the German *Volk* needed to repent for its treatment of the Jewish *Volk* (113). He uses Schlink's writings extensively, as well as secondary sources including recorded interviews of former members of the Sisterhood. He also cites broader Protestant and Catholic sources in his discussion of the Sisterhood's reception by other Christians. He effectively engages Schlink's teachings on priesthood with the Lutheran tradition, as well as New Testament passages that challenge Schlink's elitist interpretation of Christian priesthood.

Although Faithful does well to contextualize Schlink's confession of national guilt with other Protestant confessions, this work is limited in its scope. The reader learns a great deal about the Sisterhood of Mary, its theology, and its practices of repentance and memorialization; however, little links the Sisterhood's practices of intercessory repentance and memorialization to broader German developments of memory, and more could be made regarding their gendered approach to memorialization. This work would be strengthened by an analysis of the larger context of German Holocaust remembrance, especially following the *Historikerstreit* (historians' dispute). Faithful astutely relates Schlink's conflation of the Jewish people with modern Israel to the influence of dispensational premillennialism. His analysis of premillennialism, however, relegates historical premillennialism to the periphery of Protestantism alongside the more obscure dispensationalism. Despite these shortcomings, this work is a well-crafted examination of a noteworthy minority Protestant group that challenges narratives of German Protestant postwar identity. This work adds to a voluminous historiography on German Protestantism and the Holocaust that lacks much analysis concerning the voices of Protestant women, much less the role of Protestant convents.

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Frank Zelko. *Make It a Green Peace: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

In anticipation of Newfoundland's 1977 seal hunt, Greenpeace member Paul Watson promised that he and his crew would save the lives of a significant number of seal pups or die trying. Undeterred by threats of violence and the *hakapiks* (clubs with both hook and hammer heads used for killing seals) with which *swilers* (seal hunters) killed seals, Watson proved his sincerity. He challenged the *swilers* by handcuffing himself to a cable used to reel in seal pelts onto a *swiler*

ship. Steadfastly, the ship's captain paid no consideration to Watson's cause and opted to dunk the protestor in the Arctic Sea before allowing him to free himself instead (263-269). Nonetheless, Watson's seeming fearlessness represents more than Greenpeace ideology; it also reveals the organization's precarious evolution. Frank Zelko's *Make It a Green Peace: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* illuminates the challenges faced by a burgeoning environmental organization in the midst of clashing countercultural ideals. Zelko sets out to answer how the organization's tumultuous origins shaped its development, whether or not it lived up to the hopes of its founders, and how its growth proved both inspiring and problematic to Greenpeace in its contemporary form. Ultimately, *Make It a Green Peace* cogently succeeds in demonstrating the organization's fragmentation as conflicting ideals vied for leadership, consequently resulting in a well-managed international NGO unperceived by the eclectic group of Vancouverites who fashioned Greenpeace in 1969. More significantly, however, Zelko's writing presents Greenpeace as a microcosm of international environmentalism's dynamic evolution.

Drawing upon internal correspondence, meeting minutes, manifestos, philosophical writings, and interviews with former members of Greenpeace, Zelko exposes the way in which Greenpeace sprouted from the ideologically conflicting protest movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Inspired by Quakerism, Greenpeace's founding couples, Irving and Dorothy Stowe and Jim and Marie Bohlen, began the organization with an emphasis on promoting peace through bearing witness to environmentally destructive violence they condemned. While these members represented an archetypal anti-war and nonviolent element, other members associated their activism with ancient spiritualism and placed less weight on Quaker ideology. The distinction between the "mystics and mechanics" provides a juxtaposition central to Zelko's assertion that factions from within Greenpeace created a disorganized structure that threatened its survival. Zelko further argues that ideological unification necessitated centralized leadership. Accordingly, by the late 1970s, David McTaggart took advantage of Greenpeace's disordered condition through an intricate series of deals that consolidated power in the organization's European offices. McTaggart's leadership, Zelko argues, not only helped reconcile the organization's splintering state; it also welcomed a move away from Greenpeace's spirited Quaker and countercultural roots in exchange for more popular appeal. Nonetheless, answering the final two questions that drive *Make it a Green Peace,* Zelko contends that by the 1980s, Greenpeace's restructuring did not mark a revision of the organization's intentions. While McTaggart's leadership displayed a degree of opportunism and hierarchical order that ran contrary to Greenpeace's earlier form, the organization maintained its most important legacy: its ability to impel environmental advocacy through nonviolent direct action.

By focusing on a subject previously overlooked by historians, *Make It a Green Peace* plays the role of placing the organization within the context of the larger environmental movement's evolution throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Although Zelko emphasizes the organization's Quaker and countercultural roots, Greenpeace clearly symbolizes more than a transitory condition of environmentalism from conservationist organizations, such as the Sierra Club, to the galvanizing influence of the first Earth Day in 1970. By addressing the organization's

business-like structure, mainstream appeal, and marketability under the leadership of McTaggart, Zelko further illuminates the evolution of environmentalism in the 1980s and 1990s as it became a movement defined by its international and market presence. As Zelko contends, McTaggart's consolidation of power introduced the organization to a more popular audience and "bore a remarkable similarity to the mainstream environmental organizations from which Greenpeace differentiated itself in the early 1970s" (316). Like contemporary popular culture's defanging of environmentalism's radical elements, McTaggart's mainstream approach, while it continued to promote direct action, limited the voice of the organization's militant wing.

Ultimately, through its cultural contextualization, *Make It a Greenpeace* stands as a powerful addition to environmental historiography. Zelko escapes placing Greenpeace within an ideologically uniform era of environmentalism by recognizing the organization as a microcosm of a larger movement. Thus, rather than confine environmental history to a pre- or post-1960s periodization, Zelko offers a form of cohesion, or at least overlap, between Sierra Club members and radical, young "mystics" that coalesced with the formation of Greenpeace. Zelko, furthermore, weaves together the ecological urgency that characterizes environmental history's first wave with a social emphasis that typifies the field's recent literature. His writing, subsequently, impels reflection on Greenpeace and the environmental movement's contemporary form while providing a model for further investigation into the links and impacts of diverse environmentalist ideologies throughout the movement's evolution.

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Brett Rushforth. *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Brett Rushforth's *Bonds of Alliance* is a compelling analysis of indigenous slavery in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New France, focusing on the St. Lawrence River Valley and the Pays d'en Haut (Upper Great Lakes region). But he extends his scope to consider other Atlantic world influences, including cultural and economic influences within the Caribbean, the U.S., and Europe. He also considers the influence of the Catholic Church, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and French law.

Rushforth begins with an examination of early indigenous captivity and slavery within the Pays d'en Haut region. He then goes on to describe French slavery in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Caribbean, including the enslavement of both Africans and indigenous Americans. The book then examines the collision of slave cultures between the French and indigenous societies in New France. Rushforth explores the ways that these societies interacted and evolved, with each society bringing to bear important economic, legal, diplomatic, familial, gender, sexual, moral and spiritual, or religious, influences. Rushforth argues that the practice of

indigenous captivity and slavery evolved over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to accommodate French customs, indigenous-French alliances, and broader Atlantic world influences. For example, during the eighteenth century, all blacks in New France were legally classified as slaves, regardless of their actual status, while an indigenous person in French society might hold the status of either free or slave. Rather than incorporating captive slaves into their own families, as was their tradition, indigenous people altered their habits to include the giving or selling of their slaves to the French as a part of the alliance relationship (380-1). But Rushforth also argues that the French understanding and writing of indigenous history was sometimes inaccurate or misunderstood, such as the French misinterpretation of indigenous child slave adoption (47-8, 66). Rushforth introduces new sources to clarify these early mistakes. He demonstrates how widely-varied influences altered both the ways that indigenous captivity and slavery were practiced, and how slavery came to be practiced by Europeans in New France.

Rushforth draws upon a notable array of novel sources and analytical approaches to make his case. These include a detailed analysis of the indigenous Illinois language. He uses a seventeenth-century Jesuit dictionary and phrase book that translated Illinois into French. By sorting the dictionary by the phonetic spelling of the Illinois words, for instance, Rushforth is able to group words that sound alike. He uses these groupings to try to discern the meaning of captivity and slavery to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Illinois people.

Rushforth also conducts detailed research on the results of archeologists' findings of pre-contact indigenous skeletal remains, providing a window into battle, torture, captivity, and slavery practices. But he cautions that, while these artifacts are evidence of certain kinds of violent activity, they are not conclusive regarding the cultural meanings attached to those practices. Moreover, such artifacts also provide evidence of extensive peaceful trade and familial mixing.

Rushforth rarely draws from modern oral histories, and when he does, it is for the purpose of reinforcing other historical evidence. His use of oral histories can be seen in his analysis of Fox Nation movements in the seventeenth century. He makes reference to "an overly literal reading of twentieth-century-origin stories" and scholarly interpretations "conflict[ing] with other evidence" (27). While his view in this case may be valid, his overall limited use of oral histories begs additional study. For example, historian Susan Greene speaks of the value of analyzing the "whispers and silences" and the "hidden transcripts" within oral histories.[2] A comparison of Rushforth's archeological finds to his related oral histories could serve to confirm the oral histories or, alternatively, reveal gaps for further analysis.

Rushforth's arguments respond to Allan Greer's ideas about the way modern nation-states slant their historical narratives to complement the prevalent point of view of that nation.[3] While Greer focuses on the influence of modern nation-states, Rushforth's work focuses on the power of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New France to privilege a French interpretation of indigenous captivity and slavery. He draws attention to this type of overlaying of European onto indigenous

[2] Sandra E. Greene, "Whispers and Silences: Explorations in African Oral History," *Africa Today* 50 (2003): 41–53.
[3] Allan Greer, "National, Transnational, and Hypernational Historiographies: New France Meets Early American History," *The Canadian Historical Review* 91 (2010): 695–724.

interpretations and reveals its problems. This clash of interpretations is evident in his discussion about the French misunderstanding of indigenous slave adoption. He describes how the French conflated indigenous slave adoption with French ideas of child adoption, and missed indigenous distinctions between blood-related sons and adopted slave sons (47-8). Similarly, Rushforth shows how the seventeenth-century words of French Baron de Lahontan indicate the way his knowledge of European "hereditary status" coloured his interpretation of indigenous treatment of the children of slaves (66). Regarding the slave trade, Rushforth says: "In the contours of the Indian slave trade, then, we can read an indigenous counter-narrative to the French story of ethnic shattering in the Pays d'en Haut" (12). In these examples, Rushforth shows how the French of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New France privileged their interpretations of indigenous life in an early-colonial period, reflecting Greer's ideas about national histories. Interestingly, Rushforth also exposes a narrative that runs counter to the traditional Canadian national narrative of Canada as a refuge for slaves. According to Rushforth early French Canada not only had slavery but, indeed, had its own *slave trade* of indigenous slaves sold to Caribbean nations (108, 252).

Rushforth combines his detailed research and analysis with illustrative stories of individuals from the period, thus honouring the memory of this often tragic narrative. This feature makes his book eminently readable and brings to life this 300-year-old part of history. Through his wide-ranging research, careful analysis, and brilliant story-telling, Rushforth reveals the complex and changing nature of indigenous slavery in New France.

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Ciaran O'Neill. *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Ciaran O'Neill's *Catholics of Consequence* offers a helpful and stimulating reexamination of Irish society during the second half of the nineteenth century. Focused on the educational patterns of Ireland's Catholic elite, O'Neill's study effectively challenges assumptions about Irish life under the Union. While he acknowledges "theories of power and elites, and related concepts such as cultural capital," O'Neill tackles his subject with a prosopographical approach (5). This approach highlights the common experiences amongst approximately 2,700 elite Irish Catholic students in order to illustrate a larger picture of Irish education. Despite O'Neill's thorough in-depth analysis, he maintains an eye toward the wider significance of his study.

Since the nineteenth century, education has been a deeply entrenched political issue in Ireland. Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 rising, dubbed the educational system the "murder machine" for its role in destroying Irish culture. Historical works on education in nineteenth century Ireland almost invariably read like political histories focused on legislative movements, commissions, and church-state relations. As a result, most works on Irish educational

history cover the politically contentious issues of the National School System, or the "University Question." *Catholics of Consequence* addresses both of these weaknesses by focusing on the much ignored area of secondary education, emphasizing not politics but the experiences of the students and their families. O'Neill argues that these "Catholics of consequence" sought out an elite education to advance their own lives and those of their families. Their motivation was essentially apolitical. Focused neither on advancing the Irish nation, nor on becoming "West Britons," O'Neill argues that elite Catholics were largely "people who thought of advancing their ambitions slowly and in generational terms" (16). Secondary education was a tool for that advancement whether it was sought in Ireland or across the Irish Sea.

Catholics of Consequence follows the growing trend of locating Irish history within a transnational context. O'Neill takes his readers through the possible options for elite Catholic education moving ever further from a study of education in Ireland to opportunities in England and beyond. After a thorough introduction in chapter one, chapter two focuses on key institutions in Ireland itself, including Clongowes, Tullabeg and Castleknock. These schools admittedly modeled themselves on their English counterparts, but O'Neill demonstrates that "the Anglocentrism was mostly surface level" (65). Part two of the text shifts the focus to the English options available to the Irish Catholic elite. While chapter three outlines the options these elites had in Catholic English schools, chapter four does the important work of tracing the lives of the graduates of the English institutions. In both cases O'Neill effectively demonstrates that the central concern of the families and the graduates was the "continuance or consolidation of elite status by accepted norms" (156). The final two chapters expand to tell the story of continental options for Catholic elites. While boys' continental education was in decline during the second half of the nineteenth century in favor of an English education, O'Neill demonstrates that a continental education for girls "became even more fashionable" (203).

The final two chapters of *Catholics of Consequence* also leave the most to be desired. O'Neill makes the case that the story of elite Irish Catholic education is a transnational one, but for boys an imperial model seems to fit more neatly. The continent offered a much less valuable educational commodity than the metropole. How different, or similar, was this educational pattern from that of other partially marginalized elites in colonial settings? Perhaps most intriguing is O'Neill's fifth chapter on the education of elite Irish Catholic girls. While the author admits that the chapter is an attempt to "point out where the work lies and what might come out of more extensive investigation," one cannot help but wish the girls in this story could get the same extensive and effective treatment as the boys (162).

Both of these minor critiques merely ask for more from a text, which already has startling density for its relatively succinct two hundred and fifty pages (including notes, bibliography, and index). O'Neill's book, thanks in part to the author's eloquence, should inspire future work on the complexities of Irish society in the nineteenth century. Moreover his text raises intriguing questions about the future direction of scholarship on education in Ireland, above all disrupting the simple placement of education as a merely political issue. *Catholics of Consequence* is a breath of

fresh air that hopefully foretells more excellent work on the social history of Ireland by both the author and those inspired by his work.

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About the Contributors

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Jason Butters is currently researching and writing his Master's Thesis at Concordia University on Canadian foreign policy in East Asia, with a focus on the Canadian legation at Tokyo from 1929 to 1933. His interest in the subject stems from prior studies of Canadian identity and political history, in addition to a background in Japanese language and history. Upon completion of his Master's degree, Jason will be moving to Kobe to conduct further research on the history of Canadian-Japanese relations – this time, getting the "other-side" of the story.