

Symposium on the 19th Century Press, the Civil War, and Free Expression

November 12–14, 2020

“Slay Them Right and Left!': The Unionist Press, Eastern Cherokees, and the Question of Genocide,” Stuart H. Marshall, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Press coverage of Eastern Cherokee soldiers in the Civil War offers one prolific avenue for exploring how Americans debated questions of just war and the racial parameters of nationhood. Many Civil War historians make little to no mention of indigenous people, with some contending that western Indian conflicts occurred in isolation from the Civil War. However, Cherokees in the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee drew attention on a national and international scale, and they were never isolated from the larger context and debate over nonwhite combatants. Sensationalized propaganda about Cherokee Confederates in Tennessee was often brought into dialogue with issues of western Indian conflicts and the role of black soldiers in the war. Unionist journalists came to regard these Cherokees as illegitimate combatants and racial inferiors, deserving of eradication. By scrutinizing American and British newspapers, other wartime publications, soldiers' accounts, and pension records, this genocidal attitude comes to light, illustrating how western events such as the Dakota War and Sand Creek Massacre had their paralleled microcosms in the East. Newspapers involved include smaller publications from all corners of America, as well as ones with major influence such as the *New York Times*, *New York Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Sacramento Union*, *Knoxville Whig*, and *London Chronicle*. Particular attention is given to Unionist journalists, pundits, and officials from Tennessee including Andrew Johnson, William Brownlow, N.G. Taylor, and S.C. Mercer. Their rhetoric exposes how anti-Indian prejudice and genocidal attitudes connected East to West, affecting not only debates in the press but the course of the war, its outcomes, and its legacies.

“With malice toward none, with charity for all': A Brief Look at the Newspaper Career of William B. Scott, Jr. of the 'Maryville Republican,’” Michael L. Feely, Missouri State University

William B. Scott, Sr. was the first African-American publisher of a newspaper in Tennessee, beginning with the *Colored American* in Nashville in 1865, and then the *Maryville Republican* from 1867-1877. He also served as mayor of Maryville, Tennessee and was active in local politics and education in Blount county and east Tennessee. This paper briefly explores some of the Mr. Scott's history as an editor and journalist, as well as the political and cultural contexts in which he worked. It also briefly takes a look at some of the other Republican newspapers that operated during this period of Reconstruction in Tennessee.

“Debating Slavery in the Dorms: The Politics of Catholic-American Patriotism at Georgetown College in the Civil War Era,” Jonathan Marrow, The Baylor School

This paper explores the public construction of nationalism among Catholic-Americans in the Civil War era, especially as it relates to the contentious issues of abolition, secession, and reconciliation. By analyzing the printed speeches, political debates, and public festivals conducted by a literary society at Georgetown, a leading Catholic university, I argue that Catholics at Georgetown sought to create a distinctive and purposeful

form of patriotism. The members of this literary society opposed any kind of constitutional change before the war (such as abolition) or a radical reconstruction in its aftermath. Although scholars have studied collegiate literary societies in the context of a university renaissance in the 19th century, they have not placed those societies in the larger context of a new civic nationalism that involved public dedication to the values of the American Revolution. Fewer still have studied the unique place of Catholics in forging particular political ideologies. I demonstrate how Georgetown College's Philodemic Society opposed abolition in the antebellum period, ceased discussion of political issues during the Civil War for fear of government censorship, and favored a novel form of sentimental reconciliation after the war that involved the public declaration of moral equivalence between North and South. Many historians have suggested that this trend—a forerunner to the infamous “Lost Cause” mythology—began only in the 1880s. In contrast, I suggest that a Catholic literary society at Georgetown provided an important context for the creation of a notably early form of the rhetorical healing of war wounds. I show how the efforts of a minority religious group to publicly demonstrate its political fidelity resulted in its commitment to upholding status-quo political values at all costs.

“An Undecided Experiment: Newspaper Coverage of Abraham Lincoln—Slavery, Secession, and a Predictive Historical Model,” Thomas C. Terry, Utah State University, Logan, and Donald L. Shaw, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This highly speculative study yokes history, political science, and journalism to present an initial and provocative theory of historical prediction based on content analysis and big data and Isaac Asimov's fictional theory of psychohistory. It is from his assumptions and assertions that this study springs, as ludicrous as that may sound. It is the purpose of this study to explain how something as seemingly impossible as *perceiving* and then even *predicting* history and the Civil War can be seen through the charting of newspaper references to Abraham Lincoln and the term secession from 1820-1860. The point of any parlor trick – and critics may well dismiss this modeling as just that – is that the audience must not see what is going on. But to truly use these historical anomalies, someone has to be alert. It was not until the invention of scholarly content analysis in the 1960s that this was practicable. The role newspapers played in the past could now be filled by analysis of massive collections of social media in the 21st Century.

And there are actual psychohistorians in the mold of Asimov's Dr. Hari Seldon: Dr. Boleslaw Szymanski, who studies how societies change their minds; Dr. Song Chaoming, a statistical physicist, who looks at location predicting; and Dr. Alessandro Vespignani, who maps the spread of disease. Most impressively – and unexpectedly – is the opinion of Dr. Paul Krugman, 2008 Nobel Prize winner in Economics on this subject, who thought economics was as close to psychohistory as he could find when he was picking his career. He concluded, “[i]t's possible to have social science with the power to predict events and, maybe, to lead to a better future.” Moreover, he believes, we may be at “the very early dawn of Hari Seldon's psychohistory.”

“Civil War Americans as Potential Customers: Newspaper Advertisements and the Battlefield and Homefront,” Lawrence Kreiser, Stillman College

My paper analyzes newspaper advertisements during the Civil War, and argues that merchants often blurred the distinctions between the battlefield and homefront. To soldiers, they sold artillery pieces, muskets, and other arms and equipment. For families and friends at home, they announced war-themed entertainments, such as dioramas and board games. As the fighting continued, advertisers also marketed a gendered health that played upon readers' insecurities. Yankees and Rebels perused notices for curing “seminal weakness,” a malady that threatened to make them less of a man, while their wives and sisters might purchase pills and potions to supposedly prevent “female hysteria.” In the advertisements, the fighting that raged between 1861 and 1865 seemed less a divide between soldiers and civilians, and men and women, than a shared experience among potential customers.

The paper is drawn from research in Union and Confederate newspapers. Running amid a swirl of important-sounding headlines and editorials, the notices often receive only passing mention from Civil War scholars. Yet, to Frederic Hudson, the managing editor of *New York Herald*, the advertisements offered insight into the daily realities of mid-nineteenth-century Americans. To his way of thinking, the words and images revealed “the hopes, the thoughts, the joys, the plans, the shames, the losses, the mishaps, the fortunes, the pleasures, the misery, the politics of the people.” The announcements are a treasure-trove of primary source material into, among other wartime topics, the attempts of merchants to find profit in soldiers and their families.

“Contesting the Visual Power of Graphic News,” Amanda Frisken, SUNY College at Old Westbury

Between 1870 and 1900, sensational line drawings in weekly and daily newspapers distorted the way people saw the news. During this period, commercial papers imported iconography that story papers, dime novels, captivity narratives, gothic literature, and crime weeklies had popularized over decades. Newspaper illustrators incapsulated the racism and colonialism of these older representations in concise images for mass production, and in the process, constructed villainous racial others in ways that appeared to justify their violent suppression. Groups marginalized by such imagery – African Americans, Chinese Americans, Native Americans, women – experimented with creative ways to challenge or transcend the misrepresentations of visual journalism.

Panel: “Framing the Soldier’s Experience,” Katrina J. Quinn, Slippery Rock University (moderator)

“Duty, Honor, Manhood, and Country: Texas Editors’ Wartime Portrayals of Soldiers and the Nascent Confederate Nation,” Mary Cronin, New Mexico State University

When the US Civil War broke out, at least twenty-four editors and former editors from Texas donned uniforms. Five editors studied in this research did more than fight; they also served as correspondents, sending home letters for publication from camp, while on the march, and after battles to an anxious public eager for news. The letters did more than pass along news, however. The correspondence attempted to shape the public’s perception of soldiers on both sides of the conflict and bolster morale through nationalistic rhetoric that was designed to encourage readers’ participation in and belonging to a broader political and socio-cultural Southern Confederate community. This purposeful communication engaged readers in the process of ideological nation-building. The letters portrayed the ideal Confederate soldier, defined why men should fight as morale and enlistments declined, justified the sacrifices made by soldiers and offered carefully constructed portrayals of the enemy for propaganda effect. Union soldiers were represented as a barbarous foe whose socio-cultural values were so diametrically opposed to Southerners’ beliefs that victory must be achieved for the price of failure was untenable: the subjugation of the South.

“Army letters of general interest will always find a place in our columns’: The Social Functions of Soldiers’ Letters to Ohio Newspapers during the Civil War,” Stephen E. Towne, IUPUI Special Collections and Archives

During the Civil War, thousands of soldiers, sailors, and marines sent letters intended for publication to Ohio newspapers. They wrote of their experiences in battle, in camp, and on ships at sea and on inland rivers. Newspaper editors were happy to receive the letters, which provided copious information and first-hand accounts of battles, campaigns, and camp life to avid readers at home. Editors also filled their columns with private letters supplied by family members who received letters from husbands, sons, and brothers. Both soldiers and family members who forwarded letters to editors for publication were keen to maintain social and emotional connections between combatants and the home front. Many soldiers were especially intent on impressing their political views of the war on readers at home, filling their letters for publication with threats

against those they perceived to be disloyal to the Union war effort. This essay examines thousands of soldiers' letters taken from a sample of forty-six daily and weekly Ohio newspapers published in 1863—the critical year of the war in Ohio—to explore how newspapers communicated soldiers' views to readers.

“Black Newspapers During the Civil War: Sources of Information and Activism,” Valerie Kasper, Saint Leo University

Before the Civil War, a dozen or so African American newspapers existed, and their function was to fight for the liberty and rights of their free and enslaved brethren, to demonstrate their racial pride, and to act as a public sphere that not only informed their readership of news that affected their community, but provided a forum for discussion. So even though African American men were not allowed to serve in the Union Army at the beginning of the Civil War, the black press nevertheless focused on their community's involvement in the war effort. They continued to be a collective voice for the black community, a community disregarded by the dominant white community, and use their newspapers as an outlet of public expression and activism. They not only covered newsworthy issues pertaining to the war, such as racial tension and pay inequality between black and white soldiers, but they maintained the public forum for the black community to debate major disagreements, such as whether participating in the Civil War was even worthwhile. And in the end, through their coverage of the black regiments, and the soldiers within them, they answered the “black soldier question.” Black newspapers presented the actions of the collective black soldier as the most visible evidence to America that not only would African Americans fight for their country, but that they were worthy of citizenship and equality because of it, and through their military service the black community hoped to elicit change in the country.

“The Image of Mexican American Combatants in the American Civil War Press,” Michael Fuhlhage, Wayne State University

About 10,000 Spanish-surnamed Americans served during the Civil War. When the war came, the people of the states and territories that the United States had captured and bargained for in Florida, California, Arizona, and New Mexico were still far from being knitted into the national fabric. Hispanic soldiers and sailors from these places demonstrated their loyalty by fighting for their adopted country, choosing sides with either the Union or the Confederacy. More than 2,500 Tejanos joined the Confederates, while more than 7,000 Hispanos from New Mexico sided with the Union, and two full regiments and one battalion of “native cavalry” consisting of California Mexican horsemen maintained Union control of Southern California and California's Central Coast. Much smaller numbers of Cubans and Puerto Ricans served in the war. One Hispanic American rose to the rank of admiral, and three won the Medal of Honor. While the story of these Mexican American soldiers and sailors is told in a handful of monographs, no study has been done of their representation in the Civil War press. This presentation examines their depiction in English and Spanish-language newspapers. Research questions include: What characteristics of Hispanic soldiers were emphasized? Which battles and other events featured them prominently? Based on the secondary literature, what does a reading of newspaper articles reveal about significant events in which their contributions were overlooked? Was the overall picture of Hispanic soldiers positive or negative?

“From Blushing to Brave: Changing Roles of Women, the Press, and the U.S. Civil War,” Jennifer Moore, University of Minnesota, Duluth

Women's suffrage was put on hold during the U.S. Civil War, but contributions by women during wartime were nonetheless far reaching. With many men away from the home and the workplace to serve in the military, women stepped in to take over their responsibilities. In addition to their usual duties, women added new tasks such as running households and factory work. They also served as nurses and hospital

administrators. Scholars have revealed that several women impersonated men in order to join the war effort – sometimes to fight alongside their husbands. Some women even worked as spies on both sides of the conflict. With the many roles that women performed during the U.S. Civil War, this research asks how the popular press reported on this shift in women’s duties – shifts that often took them out of the home and into new public roles. Using selected newspapers from both the North and South, how did the press report on the changing role of women in a country at war? The Civil War thrust many women into the public sphere in large numbers. How did the press report on how women negotiated working within a space that was otherwise reserved for men?

Panel: “Commemorating the Soldier,” Katrina J. Quinn, Slippery Rock University (moderator)

“Picturing Civil War Soldiers,” William E. Huntzicker, Independent Scholar

Artist Winslow Homer witnessed Civil War action as part of his work as a “special artist” covering battles for *Harper’s Weekly*. Many of his illustrations during the war stemmed from only a few visits to the front – experiences his mother said changed him forever – and others came from his memories of places and action. In the era before the halftone made photographic reproduction possible in print publications, special artists created most of the images the public received of the Civil War – the nation’s major traumatic event of the 19th century. The nation’s knowledge and memory were built upon these images and reports from journalists just learning how to cover war. *Harper’s Weekly*, *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* and a few other publications hired staff artists to cover battles, life in camp and other scenes. They also borrowed images from photographs, amateur artists and verbal descriptions from soldiers. Two of their special artists – Theodore R. Davis and Alfred R. Waud – covered soldiers and battles for *Harper’s*. Thomas Nast may have visited the field for a few illustrations but he graduated into an eminently successful career as a cartoonist creating metaphorical images that included ordinary soldiers, leaders, ghosts and other spiritual references. Images of leaders, including generals and politicians, dominated most coverage, while the soldiers were often shown in action.

“The Disabled Civil War Soldier in the 19th Century American Press,” Ieva Padgett, Independent Scholar

The American Civil War and improvements in warfare brought on an unprecedented carnage, with hundreds of thousands soldiers dead, temporarily wounded, or permanently disabled due to amputation or otherwise. Multiple scholars, notably Drew Gilpin Faust and David Blight, have shown how the Civil War legacy was employed to foster reconciliation between the North and the South in the decades following the War. For example, processes of grieving for the War’s dead and caring for the Civil War graves fostered cross-sectional unity. In my paper I focus on a somewhat less-explored aspect of the aftermath of the Civil War: the lives of disabled veterans, or veterans in need of public assistance. The sectional difference in eligibility for federal pensions (no Confederate veteran qualified for such a pension) generated a variety of sentiments—resentment, outrage, pride—on both sides of the reunified nation. Using Albion Tourgee’s 1880 novel *Bricks of Straw*, which features a disabled Confederate veteran, as a point of departure, this study sketches an argument that the figure of the disabled Civil War veteran in postwar newspapers, especially when not-attired in military gear and ready to be photographed, posed serious obstacles for the national reconciliation project. Drawing partly upon recent scholarship in disability studies, I speculate that the polarizing effect of the figure of the ailing veteran arose both out of financial concerns and cultural anxieties about less-than-whole bodies.

“‘Sacrificed Upon the Altar of His Country’: A Study of Civil War Soldiers’ Obituaries,” James M. Scythes, West Chester University

A study of Civil War soldiers' obituaries demonstrates that the press gave loved ones an opportunity to commemorate the life, and death, of a man who made the ultimate sacrifice for his nation during the war. Written by journalists or the deceased's family or friends and drawing upon information written in condolence letters, obituaries typically included basic information about the fallen soldier, but the obituaries consulted for this study reveal that their authors regularly concentrated on broad themes, such as religion, character, and patriotism, to describe the virtues of the deceased. Oftentimes, though, obituary writers focused on subtopics within these broader themes, such as aspects of the Good Death or describing the soldier as a Christian Gentleman or "soldier of the Cross," to assure readers that the deceased gained entrance into heaven and depict the ideal soldier and man. An analysis of these subtopics gives us a more detailed understanding of what these larger themes meant to the people of the Civil War generation and how the writers of obituaries tried to make sense of the soldier's death.

**"We Keep in Glorious Spirits': The Popular Press and the Personal Experiences of Civil War Prisoners,"
Angela Zombek, University of North Carolina at Wilmington**

Civilians on the home front and soldiers on the front lines craved information about the true experience of prisoners of war. The wartime press and modern scholars have highlighted the crowded, horrid conditions in Union and Confederate prisons, but wartime newspapers also paid considerable attention to the stories of individual POWs, which chronicled prisoners' struggle for freedom – either ideologically or practically through escape or exchange. By printing POW narratives and correspondence, newspapers provided a significant window into the experience of captivity and revealed how the war continued to rage behind bars in distinctive ways.

**"Memorializing the Fight for the Union: Civil War Monuments in the North," Debra Reddin van Tuyl,
Augusta University**

Confederate monuments are a flash-point in the culture wars of the twenty-first century. News footage of demonstrators toppling statues and cities whisking monuments away in the wee hours of the morning for storage in undisclosed locations is almost as common as the president's tweets. While Confederate monuments have been at the center of the contemporary debates over systemic racism and related issues, other memorials have quietly stood guard over their communities, just as they have done for 100 or more years. Those are the Civil War monuments erected in the states that fought for the Union--and they include at least one monument to Confederate soldiers who died in a Chicago prisoner of war camp. While Confederate monuments are generally assumed to be memorials to a slave republic, the purpose of those in the Union states is often less clear. Many of the Union monuments, like many in the former Confederate states, on the surface, commemorate the common soldier. Others commemorate particular officers or units, but the subtext of the Union monuments has not become part of the larger cultural dialog on the meaning of Civil War monuments. This paper will examine how American newspapers covered the erection and dedications of those statues and memorials, the groups that funded and oversaw their creation, and the emotions that motivated those groups in order to draw some conclusions about the various meanings embedded in the Union monuments.

**"Who Supported America's 'First Professional Racist'? Uncovering John Van Evrie's Popular Audience,"
Michael E. Woods, University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

Scholars working on the histories of journalism, writing, and publishing grapple with questions about readership: Who read the newspapers, books, and pamphlets we study? Why did readers embrace certain texts, and what meanings did they extract from what they read? In the case of John Van Evrie, New York City's

most notorious proslavery propagandist, answering these questions would tell us much about the popular appeal of some of the Civil War era's most virulent racist texts. As a prolific author, editor, and publisher, and as the popularizer of the phrase "white supremacy," Van Evrie regularly appears in historical studies as the proponent of an intensely racist brand of American nationalism. Yet we know little about his readers.

This paper, drawn from a book-length project about Van Evrie's life and career, offers preliminary findings about readers who embraced Van Evrie's publications. After reviewing circulation statistics and scattered anecdotal evidence, it focuses on a potentially revealing approach to studying Van Evrie's staunchest supporters: child-naming practices. Between 1859 and 1881 (closely parallel to Van Evrie's tenure as editor of the *New York Day Book* from 1857 to 1879), at least thirty-eight children were named for him. Biographical and genealogical research into the parents and grandparents of these namesakes reveals intriguing patterns and clarifies the geographic, class, partisan, and other factors that shaped the reception of Van Evrie's message.

"More Than Meets the Eye: An Introduction to Propaganda in Illustrated Newspapers During the American Civil War," Simon Vodrey, Carleton University

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States of America was a country undergoing great social and political change. During this era, the forces of urbanization, industrialization and immigration were each playing a role in creating the foundation for the modern America that we know today. America's newspapers were not immune to the effects of these changes — even the less well-known illustrated newspapers which are examined in this paper.

Taking a theoretical approach that utilizes the work of Jacques Ellul (1973) and Bruno Latour (1988), this paper examines how, with their large readership and often proactive owners, American illustrated newspapers became forums for the creation and dissemination of propaganda during the American Civil War (Brown, 2002; Thompson, 1989; Huntzicker, 2017; Vinson, 1957). In both Northern and Southern illustrated papers, images were often manipulated and drawn explicitly to create support for the war effort (Brown, 2002; Thompson, 1989; Vinson, 1957). In order to examine how those images were created and used for propagandistic purposes, the following analysis will look at two connected case studies in the context of the Civil War. The first will examine how certain images were used to craft a predetermined image of the enemy. The second will analyze the use of images to mold the desired behavior on the home front.

Panel: "Newspaper Coverage of Epidemics"

"Viral Newspaper Poems and Cholera Epidemics in C19 New York City," Ayendy Bonifacio, University of Toledo

Covid-19 isn't the first deadly disease to run rampant in New York City. When cholera arrived on the shores of New York City in 1832, the disease had already ravaged parts of Asia and Europe. Some saw cholera as divine retribution, only inflicted on the sinners of the city. In the 1830s, approximately 250,000 people lived in New York City. Many of them were craftsmen, canal-diggers, traders, merchants and bankers. This diverse labor force carved out socioeconomic rifts which, in some cases, slowed down the city's response to impending epidemics. As fears and concerns about Cholera spread, the disease became the subject of news, serials, and poems. In this talk, I will discuss newspaper poems about cholera that went, as it were, viral during cholera outbreaks. We often think of nineteenth-century newspaper poems as genteel filler devoid of cultural import. Yet cholera poems drew from popular and relevant discourses of their cultural landscape. Given that these are poems, their rhetorical purpose in newspapers wavered between entertainment and information.

"'The Yellow Plume of Death': Newspapers, North and South, Report the 1878 Yellow Fever Epidemic," Deanne Stephens, University of Southern Mississippi

When yellow fever first appeared in New Orleans in July, 1878, the outbreak was not a surprise. Annually, the disease struck the South, and citizens of that region both expected and dreaded the contagion. Southerners knew that the hot summer months heralded its onset. It would not be until the end of the nineteenth century that science would discover and prove the mosquito as the vector of yellow fever, so until that discovery, people lived in fear of the potentially horrific disease. Newspapers across the nation grappled with how best to report epidemics, particularly the 1878 one that was occurring in a turbulent period of American history. Political, racial, and societal prejudices often shaded the news stories, depending on the location of the newspaper. This presentation will explore the various viewpoints expressed in local and national newspapers regarding the 1878 yellow fever epidemic.

**“Disinfecting the Mail: Disease, Panic, and the Post Office Department in Nineteenth-Century America,”
Ryan Ellis, Northeastern University**

The 1878 Mississippi Valley yellow fever outbreak was one of the worst disasters in US history. During the epidemic, quarantines attempted to thwart the spread of the disease. Quarantines, however, not only limited the movement of people and goods but also threatened the flow of information. This presentation draws on recently published research and explores the epidemic’s impact on postal communication. The outbreak highlights the ongoing importance of postal communication in the United States during the late 19th century, and it foregrounds the importance of a set of overlooked informational practices—“postal disinfection”—that were essential to maintaining complex communication networks during epidemics.

“On Ideas as Actors: Yellow Fever, Disease Causation, and Public Health Policy in 19th century U.S.,” Daniel Goldberg, Center for Bioethics and Humanities, University of Colorado Anschutz Medical Campus

When embedded in larger political economies, ideas are actors. They can have enormous material effects on people, events, and conditions. Historians of public health have documented how different ideas about the causes of infectious disease outbreaks shape different policy responses to epidemic response. This presentation will use yellow fever in the 19th c. U.S. as a lens, demonstrating how tensions and convergences between contagionists and anticontagionists shaped public health policy responses to yellow fever outbreaks.

"Press, public anxiety, and the 1918 influenza pandemic," Janice Hume, University of Georgia

The 1918 influenza pandemic ranks among the worst epidemics in history, right alongside the Black Death and the Plague of Justinian. It killed, in gruesome fashion, 675,000 Americans and 50 million people worldwide, striking hardest adults between 20 and 40 years old, “the young and healthy who had never been sick.” It arrived as World War I ended, claiming more people than did the war. If that weren’t enough, industrial expansion and ideological movements of the era added still more worries to a beleaguered American public. Magazines and large urban newspapers offered up daily confirmation of those worries. This presentation considers press coverage of the influenza epidemic in 1918, 1919 and 1920, noting in particular its remarkable similarity to coverage a century later of COVID-19.

“Preventing Yellow Jack and Yellow Journalism: The Tension in Mississippi Valley News Coverage of the 1878 Yellow Fever Epidemic,” Kathryn Montalbano, Appalachian State University

This article argues that three key themes pervaded the discourse in news coverage of the 1878 yellow fever epidemic in the Mississippi Valley: (1) prevention, (2) misinformation, and (3) tensions between cities and their respective newspapers. While newspapers centered in the major cities in the region committed

themselves to preventing and mitigating the ramifications of the disease for their populations, tensions between the cities and accusations of either sensationalizing or understating the impact of the epidemic undermined their abilities to protect those populations from affronts to their public health, economic stability, and regional or even national reputations. The case study provides an important lesson about the significance of local news and cooperation between citizens and journalists alike for confronting contemporary health crises. Without a robust foundation for covering epidemics from the source, broader journalistic networks would be far less equipped to fulfill their essential roles in mitigating outbreaks.

Panel: "Ethnic and Immigrant Soldiers"

"German-American Soldiers and the German-language Press," Christian B. Keller, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College

"Pride and Scorn: The Irish-American Northern Press during the Civil War," Craig A. Warren, Penn State Erie, The Behrend College

This presentation will consider the complex and, at times, volatile role of the Irish-American press during the Civil War. In particular, I will explore how Irish newspapers in the North reacted to the military appointments, recruitments, battlefield actions, and sacrifices of Irish and Irish-American soldiers in the Union armies. I will conclude by charting how the postwar narratives authored by veterans of Irish units often sought to revise memory of Irish wartime sentiment on the home front. These works dulled memory of an Irish-American press that had condemned Irish losses, the Emancipation Proclamation, and a discriminatory Federal draft.

"Men of Color, To Arms!": Frederick Douglass on Black Soldiers," Earl Mulderink, Southern Utah University

As detailed in David Blight's recent magisterial biography of Frederick Douglass, Douglass was a multitalented "prophet of freedom" and crusading journalist. Through the first half of the Civil War, *Douglass' Monthly* was the nation's leading Black newspaper and unrelenting in its call for the enlistment of Black soldiers. Douglass ceased publication in August 1863 after his two sons enlisted in the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry, and when Douglass devoted his immense skills to recruiting African American soldiers for the Union cause. Through a close reading of *Douglass' Monthly*, this presentation explores Douglass' advocacy of Black military enlistment that was sustained by his conceptions of "manhood," emancipation, citizenship, and assimilation.

"Stirring Times': The Coming of the American Civil War in the Western Press," Crompton B. Burton, University of Maine

"Lincoln!"

For newspaper editors and their readers across the nation, the word was as electric as the telegraph lines that delivered it. Nowhere was this anymore the case than at Ft. Kearny, Nebraska Territory, the morning of November 7, 1860. The outcome of the presidential election the day before had long been anticipated by journalists and voters alike, but just as anxiously awaited by management of the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, known simply as the Pony Express.

One of the firm's partners, the entrepreneurial William H. Russell, was so certain of the commercial value of rushing even abbreviated news West and into print, he authorized a special fifteen hundred-mile run cross-country to the outer telegraph office at the Utah Territory's Fort Churchill. Russell's genius lay in understanding rapidly unfolding developments in the East such as Lincoln's victory and, later, the secession of the cotton states, and fall of Fort Sumter placed a premium upon the speed with which such information could come to hand for frontier publishers and their anxious audiences.

Indeed, thanks to the Pony and the telegraph dispatches it carried, the growing populations of the region's three states and five organized territories were far more attuned to the sectional crisis threatening the Union in the autumn of 1860 than might have been supposed. While settlers risked much seeking their destiny on the frontier, they did not abandon all. Carried with them were provincial politics, parochial interests and, not coincidentally, printing presses to publish highly partisan perspectives on momentous events drawing the country and their new home inexorably toward civil war.

The purpose of this study is to lend balance to the writing of journalism history of the American west documenting the transformation of modest community journals into dynamic forums for national discourse thanks to bulletins and correspondence that rendered treatment of current events more current. Literature enough captures the exploits of overland express riders during the Pony's brief existence before it was rendered obsolete by completion of the transcontinental telegraph. However, romanticized tales of daring deliveries are but a single element in the equally important narrative of entrepreneurial and enterprising dissemination of news enabling frontier readers to become more than mere bystanders to the young nation's moment of truth.

“A Midwestern Martin Luther? How a Former Priest brought Southern Aid to Illinois on the Eve of the Civil War,” Scott Stephan, Ball State University

In 1859 and 1860, a surprising run of columns in a North Carolina newspaper asked readers to donate money to a group of struggling farmers on the Illinois prairie in 1859 and 1860. Why? And why did the appeal succeed in an era when sectional fury seemed the order of the day? At the heart of this story is Charles Chiniquy, a Catholic priest turned Presbyterian minister in 1859, whose 5,000 or more French Canadian followers faced starvation when their crops in Illinois failed. To save his “Colony,” Chiniquy enlisted the aid of Presbyterians from across the nation. Through a close examination of the *North Carolina Presbyterian*, a weekly religious newspaper that typified the genre in the South, this paper explores how North Carolina Presbyterians came to support this charismatic ex-priest. This paper arrives at two primary findings. First, Chiniquy expertly leveraged the media—and his Protestant supporters—to offer a compelling narrative of the transformation of himself and his followers. Through a mix of empathy and espousals of purportedly American values, all confirmed by Protestant observers, Chiniquy crafted a conversion narrative that was simultaneously sensational and convincing. This was no small feat, particularly given that anti-Catholicism literature in this era repeatedly stressed the seemingly trance-like power of the priesthood over followers steeped in blind obedience. Secondly, Chiniquy, and many North Carolinians who read about his efforts, viewed his work not in isolation, but rather as part of a global drama that extended back to Europe's Protestant Reformation. After a decade of claiming that Catholicism had been on the defensive in the United States, Canada, and Europe, these southern evangelicals imagined that Chiniquy's work might be a part of some larger, providential plan to roll back Catholicism across the continent and perhaps, even the world.

Panel: “The Far Western Press and the Civil War,” Debra Reddin van Tuyl, Augusta University

Americans treat the Civil War and westward expansion as two separate events. That thinking obscures the history of the West and the Western press during the war years. Americans are used to thinking of the war as a North/South matter centered on the regions touching the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico. They forget that the conflict did, in fact, span from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific. New Mexico Territory, including what is now Arizona, was the site of two major battles and several lesser ones, and the Texas Gulf Coast saw its share of action as well. The Confederate Navy waged war on civilian whaling vessels and convinced San Franciscans that Confederate raiders might confiscate their gold. The West contributed men to regiments that would travel to the theatres of war in Virginia and Tennessee, including volunteers from Indian Territory (Oklahoma), though far more westerners would stay home and take up the Indian-fighting duties of the Army regulars called into action back east. Further, Westerners debated the causes and conduct of the war as hotly

as their brethren in Massachusetts or South Carolina. This presentation will offer an introduction to the panel and to the topic of the Western press as a social, economic, educational, and political institution and how it performed all these roles during the American Civil War.

“Partisanship in the Western Press,” Erika Pribanic-Smith, University of Texas at Arlington

This research examines political editorials in newspapers throughout the West during the Civil War years and explores the differing extent to which editors held traditional party ties. Where traditional partisan divisions of Democrat and Republican remained entrenched, editors largely equated the Republican Party with Unionism and the Democratic Party with Secession—even though many Democrats were avowed Unionists and others repeatedly declared that they abhorred the abolitionist and secessionist extremes, advocating instead for peace and compromise. Where party lines blurred, partisanship in the traditional sense mattered little; candidates’ position on the most crucial issue facing the nation was paramount. Western editors who espoused Unionist or Secessionist principles above all advocated for the candidates they believed best upheld those principles, regardless of current or former party allegiances.

“Press Roles and Functions: Building Communities in the West,” Glen Feighery, University of Utah, and David J. Vergobbi, University of Utah

This study examines the functions of the Western press during the Civil War and investigates how fulfilling those roles helped coalesce readers into communities. For example, editors sought to exert a civilizing influence over frontier settlements, articulating values such as education, refinement, and moral character. Papers engaged people with news and entertainment, offered practical help through farming tips, and consoled local residents amid the sufferings of war. Boosterism was never far from editors’ minds. They enthusiastically encouraged immigration to build up budding towns and used their columns to define what those towns should be. Western newspapers universally celebrated July 4, but they did so in divergent ways. Some marshaled people to the Union, while others rallied readers around the idea that the Confederacy, not the Union, hewed true to the Constitution.

“Give Us the War News!': Western Press News Gathering, Distribution, and Audiences,” Mary Cronin, New Mexico State University

The election of 1860, secession and the commencement of civil war proved all-absorbing topics throughout the far western states and territories. Westerners were highly interested in the nation’s great struggle. The increased demand for war news posed problems for the region’s journals, especially those produced in small communities. Small staffs, few reporters and uncertain finances were impediments to war coverage. Rural westerners experienced a distinctly different print culture during wartime than did their urban counterparts. Technology, infrastructure, finances, and the communities’ physical locations all impacted the type and amount of war news that western readers received. But those residents weren’t passive when seeking war news; they actively sought information. By reading news from multiple publications, as well as from letter from friends and relatives, and talking with visitors, western residents stayed reasonably well informed during a period when information often traveled more slowly.

“The Western Press and the Fighting,” Hubert van Tuyl, Augusta University

The road to the American Civil War went straight through the West. Already during the Mexican War (1846-47), disputes exploded in Congress about whether slavery should be tolerated in territories acquired during the war. The California Gold Rush (1849) triggered massive settlement there as well as on the Great Plains,

leading to the Compromise of 1850, which led to the division of the West into slave and free territories and the admission of California as a state, among other things. Only four years later, the Kansas-Nebraska Act cut a whole in this line, leading to the formation of a new party (Republican) based on a platform of excluding slavery from the Western territories. It also led to a mini-civil war in Kansas (“Bleeding Kansas”); in a sense, here in the West, the first shots of the greater war were fired. The political conflict over slavery in Kansas would not be settled for some years. Then, the victory of the Republican Party in 1860 triggered secession, and soon after, the Civil War.

Yet the West would see nothing like the Homeric combats fought in Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. It was not that the rival governments did not care. There were simply no major strategic targets far west of the Mississippi, and the harsh terrain and primitive communications made the region unsuitable for movements of large armies. The Confederacy simply lacked the resources to make a significant military challenge to Union domination, although it was able to hang on to Texas until the very end of the war. This placed Western newspapers in a peculiar position. Westerners knew perfectly well that their fate was being decided far away. This did not limit their information, but they were dependent on telegraph reports and the mail, and not in a good position to assess the accuracy of the reports being received.

Several themes emerge. With the exception of Texas, western papers were well informed and their analysis was surprisingly accurate. On the other hand, Civil War campaigns in far flung portions of the West received little attention. Even the California press paid relatively little attention to fighting in neighboring Mexico. This was probably because Westerners recognized that their ultimate fate was not affected by these actions. The only interest occurred when local soldiers were involved. The only regional solidarity concerned local security issues such as improved communications and fighting the American Indians. The overwhelmingly Unionist papers were intensely nationalistic but very conscious of their isolation.

“Lincoln's Ghost and South Carolina Legends,” Patricia G. McNeely, University of South Carolina (retired)

Almost every state has its share of reported ghosts and apparitions as well as hauntings that include lights or orbs, cold spots, strange noises and odors, displacement of objects and bells that ring spontaneously.

One of the most frequently reported apparitions in America in main stream media has been the ghost—or at least the presence—of Abraham Lincoln. First Lady Grace Coolidge was one of the first known persons to admit that she had actually seen Lincoln’s ghost. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands fainted in 1942 when she opened her bedroom door at the White House and saw Abraham Lincoln. Winston Churchill had just finished taking a bath when he encountered Lincoln’s ghost. A photo in the Library of Congress of Mary Todd Lincoln taken after his assassination shows his ghost over her shoulder that some claim is the real thing and others call a double exposure.

Like other states, tales of ghosts and haunted places have found their way into South Carolina’s mainstream media. One of the best known is the Gray Man of Pawley’s Island who warns people to leave before major storms, while Charleston and Columbia have numerous sightings and unexplained phenomena—most having their origins in the 19th century.

Panel: “Presidents and the Press”

“Civil War Generals for President: Impact of Military Heroism on Elections of Rutherford B. Hayes and James A. Garfield – 1876 and 1880,” Jack Breslin, Iona College

Were the 19th Century American presidents who served as Army generals thrust into the White House due to their Civil War military heroism? Lacking strong national political credentials before their election, Jackson, Harrison, Taylor and Grant certainly benefited from their war records. Both Ohio natives and Republican

nominees Rutherford B. Hayes and James A. Garfield became Union generals before leaving the service to start their political careers in Congress.

While helped by their public-service resumes, what impact did that military service have on the narrow elections of Hayes and Garfield to the White House more than a decade after the Civil War?

By analyzing news stories and editorials of the Elections of 1876 and 1880 in selected New York City newspapers, this study explores the press coverage of the military heroism of Hayes and Garfield, who ran against Winfield Scott Hancock, another Civil War general. This study builds on the author's study of Harrison and Taylor, "'Military Chieftains'" for President, No Experience Necessary: The Elections of 1840 and 1848."

"His Accidency: President John Tyler's Image," William E. Huntzicker, Independent Scholar

Like party leaders in a public conversation dominated by the partisan press, newspaper editors didn't know what to do with John Tyler, the first president to succeed a president who died in office. Some argued that he should be considered an "acting president." The messages included here are from popular cartoons distributed outside of newspapers, and some journalism selected by searching databases, like the Gale database of nineteenth-century newspapers. Tyler became vice president as a supporting player in one of the first modern presidential campaigns: the 1840 log cabin campaign. As you know, Tyler then became president within months of William Henry Harrison's long inaugural address in the rain. Tyler proceeded to alienate leaders of both the Democrats and Whigs, consider creating his own political party, and ultimately join the Confederacy shortly before his death.

"Press Coverage of U.S. Grant's Tour of Britain," David Bulla, Augusta University

In May 1877, former President Ulysses S. Grant embarked on a tour of the world. It began in Philadelphia, and the first stop was in England. This research paper will examine how the American and British press covered the former general and president's tour of Europe, using two databases: The British Newspaper Archive and the Library of Congress' Chronicle America archive. Grant traveled to England aboard the *U.S.S. Indiana*. The Wilmington, Delaware, *Daily Gazette* described the sendoff from New Castle, Delaware (just down river from Philadelphia) on May 18 as follows: "as the steamer [the *Indiana*] passed here the whistles of all the factories and mills were blown." Grant would arrive in Liverpool ten days later. There, as well as in the Midlands, the North East, London, and Scotland, large crowds gathered to meet Grant and his wife Julia. Accompanying them were their nineteen-year-old son Jesse Grant and *New York Herald* correspondent John Russell Young. In Liverpool, Grant gave a speech that could have been spoken in the next century by Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill. Grant stated that Americans and Britons shared "one blood, one language, and one civilization." The former president also gave a powerful speech on human rights to laborers in Manchester. In London, he would have breakfast with authors Matthew Arnold, Anthony Trollope, and Robert Browning, as well as meeting with Queen Victoria. The *New York Herald* covered Grant's tour with great detail, including a large map of London in its June 16, 1877, edition that showed readers the route Grant had taken on the day when he was given the Freedom of the City of London by the Lord Mayor. That day's story, sent over the Transatlantic cable, took up one whole page (Page Three), indicative of the importance the press gave the tour. That same day, the story in the *Times of London* took up two columns on Page Thirteen—not as weighty as the *Herald's* coverage, but nonetheless a few thousand words of type.