PAPERS AND PANELS FOR THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE 19TH CENTURY PRESS, THE CIVIL WAR, AND FREE EXPRESSION
November 11th – 13th 2021

Thursday, November 11

President Lincoln's Assassination and the Hunt for John Wilkes Booth

Patricia G. McNeely, University of South Carolina (retired)

Threats and conspiracies to kidnap or assassinate Abraham Lincoln began soon after his election in November 1860, and continued until he was murdered at the end of the Civil War. After being warned of a credible kidnapping or assassination plot in Baltimore while en route by train to his inauguration, Lincoln agreed to disguise himself as an invalid and skip the stop in Baltimore on his way to Washington. Although Lincoln believed it was a serious threat, the press treated the episode with ridicule and erupted with humiliating stories and cartoons about his secret flight. Newspapers of all parties lampooned Lincoln. Images like the ones in Harper's Weekly of Lincoln fleeing in a Scottish plaid cap and long military cloak plagued Lincoln throughout his presidency as enemies and newspaper editors rehashed the story of his secret trip through Baltimore. Lincoln quickly regretted the midnight ride and frequently upbraided his old friend and escort Ward Hill Lamon for helping him "degrade himself" at a time when he thought his behavior should have "exhibited the utmost dignity and composure." The press reaction to his midnight ride changed his behavior, and even though he received almost daily threats, he resisted efforts by Lamon to provide more guards and to stop riding alone between the White House and the Old Soldiers Home.

Troy, New York Draft Riot

Brian Valimont, University of Southern Mississippi

This paper explores the complexity of issues that were underlying the Troy, New York draft riot that occurred on July 14th of 1863. It appeared to have rippled out from the New York City draft riot that had started the previous day. Opposition to the Union draft was clearly the trigger of the Troy riot. Nevertheless, it was not a result of protesting the draft riot alone. A close examination of the participants involved in the riot, their motivations and the places and victims that were targeted reveal additional social tensions in the working class, industrial, racially and ethnically charged city of Troy. By breaking down the events of the riot into distinct phases, the underlying labor tensions, political tensions, race and ethnic tensions become apparent. In the second year of a Civil War that appeared to have no end in sight produced a caldron of civic unrest in Troy. The pressures of Federal soldier manpower requirements, coupled with the difficulties citizens on the home front were undergoing, exploded in resentment, anger, violence and destruction on a hot summer day.

"The Recent Infamous Outrages": Newspapers, Sexual Violence, and the Rise of Lynch Mob in the early Reconstruction South

Cameron Sauers, University of Kentucky

This paper investigates Southern newspapers reportage of sexual violence during 1865 and 1866. As the institution of slavery collapsed and the Confederacy surrendered, white Southerners conflated black men's new political rights with alleged sexual misconduct against white women. Black men, both occupying USCTs and freedmen, were accused of sexual violation of white women throughout newspapers. Military occupation of the South by USCTs was a gendered and racial humiliation that shifted white Southern discourses about black male sexuality from antebellum docility to a dangerous hypersexuality. Newspapers used the mass media distribution of the Civil War to spread warnings to white Southerners about black men's sexuality. These discourses were always linked to attempts by former slaveholders to control the labor of freedpeople and resist the intervention of the Freedmen's Bureau. Paramilitary violence, including spontaneous community violence, lynch mobs, and "nightriders" became the main response to alleged black male sexual indiscretions in brutal public displays of white supremacist violence imbued with racial and gender meanings. Newspapers heroized these vigilante organizations for their brutal attacks on freedpeople. Focusing on South Carolina, these paper uses the documents of the Freedmen's Bureau and a deep reading of newspapers to examine discourses about race, gender, and sexual violence. By paying close attention to dynamics between power and the production of archival documents to recreate the cultural and material world of Occupied South Carolina. Inspired by the historiographical interventions of Martha Hodes, Hannah Rosen, Elaine Frantz-Parsons, this paper provides a new depth of understanding to Reconstruction by showcasing that the brutal, white supremacist violence more traditionally associated with the Jim Crow South was a constant present in the early days of Reconstruction.

Mainstream Periodicals on the Status of Freed Slaves and Emancipated Russian Serfs in the Reconstruction Era

Mariana Kellis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This paper will discuss Reconstruction-era Americans' perspectives on the former system of Russian serfdom by including American discourse on post-emancipation Russian reforms found through the analysis of reports and commentary in mainstream newspapers. White Americans and Russian nobles found themselves in a similar situation as they both debated the best ways to assimilate their newly freed peoples into their societies, and which political and civil rights to grant these men and women. As part of this ongoing discussion, mainstream American newspapers reporting on the educational and political reforms that shaped the years following Russian Emancipation reflected the partisan debates over the status of freed men and women in America. The Democratic papers often discussed Russian Emancipation negatively and reported its challenges to the Russian nobility, reflecting their parties' hostility toward Emancipation in the United States. In contrast, the Republican news sources viewed Russian reforms in a more positive light and saw their successes as an example for the United States to follow. Ultimately, the position of freed serfs in Russian society had little to do with the status of freed African

Americans in the United States; however, these news reports illuminate the transnational debate over freedom in the nineteenth century.

"Yankees of the Asiatic Continent": Japan through the Eyes of the U.S. Press during the Centennial Exhibition of 1876

James Mueller and Koji Fuse, University of North Texas

This paper examines a sample of American newspaper coverage of the Japanese exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Japan was seeking to enlarge its roll on the world stage and spent more on its exhibition than Great Britain, Australia, Canada, France, and Germany combined. The Japanese displays were among the most popular at the Centennial, which was the most well-attended international fair in the world up to that time. This paper examines American press coverage through the lens of Edward Said's "Orientalism" concept and seeks to shed light on how Japan was perceived in the United States and whether the Japanese promotional goals were achieved.

Relics From White Supremacy: Why Historians Need to Re-evaluate Their Use of the Word 'Riot' to Describe Racial Violence in the South During the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction Eras

Brett Kunkel, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Using the Memphis race riot of 1866 as a case study, this essay argues that historians need to re-evaluate their use of the word "riot" to describe the racial violence of the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction eras. Although most historians agree about the nature of the violence in Memphis and events like it, they continue to refer to them as "riots" rather than "massacres." This essay hones in on three qualities the word "riot" connotes: spontaneity, mutual aggression, and justification, while noting their inconsistency with the massacre in Memphis and suggesting that similar discrepancies may characterize analogous events during the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction eras in the south. Moreover, it suggests that use of the word "riot" to describe the massacre in Memphis likely found its origins with the white newspaper publishers who first covered the event and wanted to justify the killing of blacks. Therefore, historians need to reinvestigate events during this time period to ensure the mistaken histories of whites who aimed to stigmatize blacks and justify violence do not inform their own constructions of historical narratives. Recent polling shows that blacks' distrust of American institutions including public schools and law enforcement has grown over the last decade. For American democracy to function Americans have to trust one another as well as American institutions. Conversely, however, both American citizens and institutions must be worthy of trust, and America's history of misrepresenting its past with regard to racial conflict constitutes one area where it has failed to be trustworthy. For that reason, this essay argues that historians have a duty to speak about America's racial history with precision and accuracy, and that use of the word "riot" to describe the massacre in Memphis 1866 does not meet that standard.

Enormous, Dreadful Wickedness: The Transatlantic Slave Trade through American and British Newspapers, 1800-1808
Thomas C. Terry, Utah State University, Logan, and Donald L. Shaw, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This study examines the Atlantic slave trade – the so-called Middle Passage – from 1800-1807 through coverage in British and American newspapers and how editors covered and agitated for and against its abolition. The authors chart the opening salvos in legislative attempts, driven by William Wilberforce in Britain, that first involved a ban on the foreign slave trade in 1806. It eventually led to the complete ban of all slave trading throughout the British Empire nearly three decades later in 1833. In the U.S., the debates were driven by a constitutional provision allowing the ban of all slave trading into the U.S., whether on foreign or domestic vessels. Unlike Britain, debates around the ban in the U.S. were complicated and contaminated by the ideology and infrastructure that justified and supported the slavery of nearly 900,000 Blacks overwhelmingly located in the American South. "If villainy is to be attached to the characters of those who engage in this [slave] trade," the Charleston (SC) Courier declared in its July 10, 1806, issue, "Such fellows would set their country in a blaze for money." After decades of political furor and violence, the Courier's prediction came true, and the United States would be set ablaze in civil war.

Covering Our Boys: Introducing the Heroic Soldier in the Civil War Press, 1861-1862
Katrina J. Quinn, Slippery Rock University

This paper examines newspaper coverage of Civil War soldiers, North and South, during the first year of the war, April 1861 through April 1862, initially a time of eager enlistment, when communities faced departures, absence, and death. With special attention to newspapers serving smaller communities, where 80 percent of the nation's population resided, the research shows that editors recognized a duty to tell the soldier's story even while reporting on the war was often sweeping and impersonal, dealing in large numbers and faraway fields. Thus early reporting on the soldiers demonstrated rhetorical practices that would continue throughout the war: an interest of the press to deliver personal and proximal news to hometown readers; a recurrent affirmation of the soldiers' connections with their home communities; and, especially in absence, the emergence of heroic archetypes, framing the soldier as an "everyman" hero set off on an epic mission. Through these efforts, reporting on soldiers during the first year of the war responded intentionally to the readers by delivering news not only of great battles but also of the experiences and fate of those far more precious and noble: *our boys*.

Panel: 19th Century Environmentalism: Aesthetic Beauty and Religious Belief
Lee Jolliffe, Drake University (moderator)

"*Environmentalism in the 19th Century: Art, Photography, and the Garden of Eden*"

David B. Sachsman, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Environmentalism in the 19th Century involved appreciation of the beauty of nature and religious beliefs linked to the Garden of Eden much more than science. Landscape painting created by the artists of the Hudson River School linked natural beauty to religious concepts. Photographers also went out in the field to create images of the natural world. These artists and photographers played a significant role in raising interest among the public, the press, and congress in the creation of parks from Central Park in New York to Yosemite and Yellowstone.

Egan's Panorama of the Mississippi *as an Unintentional Allegory for European Claims to the American West*
Lee Jolliffe, Drake University

The *Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi*, commissioned by Montroville Dickeson and painted by J. J. Egan, provides one of the earliest mass media color representations made of the West that has survived to the present. A massive canvas, seven and a half feet tall and 350 feet long, the *Egan Panorama* unrolled to show a detailed, brightly painted, 25-scene vision of the wild Mississippi Valley, providing early views of the West to enthralled audiences of the 1850s. In the huge, boundary-free paintings that scrolled past, viewers saw first the "wild" native people in unfettered woods and meadows, but with numerous "Indian mounds" and huge native sculptures in the visuals. Gradually, as the panorama is unrolled, Europeans appear with their cabins and then their steamboats, until, in the final image, Dr. Dickeson himself oversees native Americans as they dissect a mound in Concordia Parish, Louisiana—the European thus taking control of the Native people and their monuments.

Yosemite Heaven and Yellowstone Hell—or the Power of Narratives to Erase Reality
Paulette Kilmer, Professor, University of Toledo

Language gives us the tools to choose words wisely, but because humans are flawed, we often select terms that divide instead of unite us. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the United States created national parks that thrilled white people and prompted poets, artists, ministers, journalists, and writers to consider Yosemite with its lofty mountains, enormous waterfalls, and huge rock formations heaven. The geysers, mud pots, hot springs, and Sulphur mounds inspired the artists to liken Yellowstone to hell. Newspapers, travel books, and magazines as well as art exhibitions, illustrations, stereopticon slides, sermons, and lectures diffused these images across the United States and abroad. Accompanying narratives celebrated the Garden of Eden, manifest destiny, and good white heroes outwitting evil Indian villains. Claims the Ahwahneechee were extinct and anecdotes about the Native Americans in Yellowstone fearing geysers erased these nations from public consciousness. This essay examines the process of words, stories, and images in solidifying feelings of white superiority.

Friday, November 12

"We are with the venerable Wesley in his views of slavery": The Antislavery Coverage of the True Wesleyan, 1843-1844
Matthew Arendt, Texas Christian University

This paper explores the newspaper coverage of slavery, abolition, and race in the True Wesleyan from January 1843 through November 1844 during the editorship of Rev. Orange Scott. Scott founded the True Wesleyan after seceding from the Methodist Episcopal Church to help promote what would become the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, the antislavery alternative to antebellum America's largest evangelical denomination. This study explores four major types of antislavery coverage in the True Wesleyan during Scott's tenure as editor to highlight the scope of its abolitionism and the extent to which it shaped the fledgling newspaper. These different forms of coverage broadly included religious articles, information about slavery and slaveholders, political news and essays, and reporting that touched on race relations. To highlight these four categories, the study specifically examines secession letters from former Methodists, stories of reformed slaveholders, coverage of the Liberty Party and the elections of 1843 and 1844, and articles that dealt explicitly with racism and discrimination. This led the True Wesleyan to discuss various issues, including the American presidency and the nature of human liberty, but filtered these discussions through an abolitionist and egalitarian lens. In this respect, the True Wesleyan did not limit itself exclusively to opposing slavery; it directly targeted the institutions and racism that sustained it. This study concludes that Orange Scott offered a broad array of news, articles, and reporting on the peculiar institution, and, more importantly, illustrates the ways in which the newspaper believed that slavery was inexorably linked with the religious, political, and social institutions throughout antebellum America. In promoting this antislavery vision for the True Wesleyan, Orange Scott, assistant editors Jotham Horton and Luther Lee, and the newspaper's correspondents exemplified the ways in which evangelical abolitionists grappled with their opposition to an institution that had permeated every aspect of society.

In Quest of a Denominationally Unifying Hymnbook: Three Baptist Hymnbooks Published in America Prior to the Formation of the Southern Baptist Convention

Kimberly Arnold, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Baptists in nineteenth-century America often found themselves in the middle of debates regarding a variety of issues. Whereas Baptists in the North argued particular views on slavery and liberty, their southern counterparts contended differently. The social issues that surrounded Baptists in America, especially in the 1840s, affected almost all areas of their lives, including their hymnody. It should come as no surprise that as strongly as northern and southern Baptists disagreed on many social and theological points, their arguments seeped into their support or repudiation of hymnals published for Baptists in America.

Beginning with research by Aaron Menikoff, Gregory Wills, and James Melvin Washington in nineteenth-century Baptist America, then transitioning to Baptist hymnological research in America conducted by David Music, William Reynolds, and Paul Richardson, this paper will explore how social and theological differences impacted the publication of three hymnals published for Baptists in America immediately preceding the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. Three hymnals have been chosen for explicit research: The Virginia Selection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs (1840), The Baptist Hymn Book (1842), and The Psalmist (1843). Specific research in associational papers from the 1840s reveals firsthand accounts of how Baptists responded to these individual publications, and sheds light on the deeper social issues that affected the distribution of Baptist hymnals between the North, South,

and West. Hymnals, like other documents, have the ability to document theological and doctrinal beliefs, as well as social and local ideas. Although each hymnal represented in this paper was created for the purpose of unifying all Baptists in America, differences proved too great for amalgamation over these specific publications.

Making Tracks: Naming and Framing the Underground Railroad
Richard Bell, University of Maryland

William Still's 1872 opus, The Underground Railroad, did much to popularize the metaphor of a clandestine iron road to describe the work to assist freedom-seekers before the Civil War. Yet the term's origins and early trajectory have sustained remarkably little scholarly attention, at least since the publication of Larry Gara's Liberty Line in 1961.

This paper re-examines this enduring mystery. Using digital history databases unavailable sixty years ago, it seeks to locate and track the emergence of the metaphor of an 'underground railroad' in the years immediately after 1840, when it quickly and decisively replaced pre-existing language in which activists in this community of conscience described themselves as forming a "chain or friends" or a "line of posts." The metaphor of an 'underground railroad' gained ground quickly thereafter and was the term of choice for many people in many towns and cities in the 1840s and 1850s that had no rail connection. Why, then, did activists like William Still embrace this new vocabulary so quickly and so completely?

This paper argues for the salience of several factors. Most immediately, the metaphor reminded those who encountered it that real railroads were quickly becoming important and highly effective pathways to freedom in this period. In addition, it brought to mind ideas about technological utopianism and progress that worked to disqualify slavery from any role in America's bright future. The metaphor of an 'underground railroad' also implied an intimidating scale, an impressive level of operational coordination, and a deep-pocketed set of financial backers—all valuable illusions that belied the network's material limitations. The metaphor summoned up, too, the possibility of safe and swift long-distance migration. Finally, its conceptual associations with the clandestine helped to cloak the network to freedom in the gown of clandestine yet righteous resistance to oppression.

The Partisan Leader: Press Reaction to the Book that Predicted the Civil War
James M. Scythes, West Chester University

This paper will analyze the coverage the novel received in Northern and Southern newspapers during this twenty-nine-year period and attempt to answer the following questions: Why did Tucker write The Partisan Leader and how was it received by the press after it was published? Did Tucker intend for his work to be used as a textbook for disunion? How much did the book influence the actions of Southern leaders in the years leading up to the Civil War? The answers to these questions will give us a better understanding of why this novel was so controversial in

the two and a half decades preceding the Civil War and why many people of that generation considered it "a prophetic book" after the secession winter of 1860-1861.

Patriotic Fervor, the Civil War Press, and the Execution of William B. Mumford
Andy Haugen, Valley Catholic High School

William Bruce Mumford is a name that most likely would have been forgotten to the annals of history. However, in 1862 with the invasion of Louisiana and New Orleans by Union forces led by General Benjamin Butler, Mumford sealed his fate and place in the Civil War saga. Union forces proclaimed victory and raised the American flag at the New Orleans Mint on April 25, 1862. Outraged, Mumford and a small band of followers descended on the New Orleans Mint on April 26, 1862 and removed the American flag amongst cheering crowds of New Orleans citizens. Mumford holds the distinction as being one of the only people arrested, tried, and hanged for treason during the Civil War for his actions. Upon his death by hanging at the New Orleans Mint on June 7, 1862, Mumford came to embody the struggle and varying perspectives of the Civil War itself, why Americans fought in the four year conflict, and what physical representations such as flags symbolized. The press immediately reported the controversial story of William Mumford throughout the United States and as far away as England. For Southerners, Mumford became a martyr for the Confederacy whose name evoked a rallying cry against the oppressive occupation by Union forces. In their fight to preserve the United States, the Northerners understood Mumford to be nothing more than a treasonous thug who received the punishment he deserved for tearing down the American flag, the Union's sacred symbol, and supporting the Confederate cause.

"An Amusin' Cuss That Will Bear Watchin": Artemus Ward and the Nineteenth Century Press
Crompton B. Burton, University of Maine

In various vignettes, historians and biographers alike have documented Abraham Lincoln's craving for diversion from the devastation of the Civil War and search for comfort in the nonsensical sketches of humorists such as Artemus Ward. Likewise the public's hunger for comic relief in print amidst all the death and destruction of the conflict is chronicled in journal articles, bibliographies and dissertations.

The purpose of this study is to build upon such established scholarship and familiar anecdotes for a fresh view of the origins and sources of humor's palliative powers during the national crisis. Seen through the lens of the nineteenth century press and its evolving role in delivering not only the news of the day, but relief from it, there emerges a compelling study complete with a cast of colorful characters decades in the making. Within that context, such a survey also makes it possible to gain appreciation for a worthy chapter in American journalism history, one that details the nature of the literary and popular press of the day with particular emphasis upon its nurture of a new class of newspapermen identified by Frank Luther Mott as "printer-humorists."

The journey of Artemus Ward provides a particularly illustrative account capturing the rise of these "troubadours of the printed word." By tracking his meteoric ascent from lowly printer's devil to the toast of London, it's possible to gain added perspective on how Ward's mastery of the press, pioneering syndication, and promotional techniques not only assisted him in finding his way to America's funny bone, but explains his transformational influence upon contemporaries destined to enjoy significantly longer runs both in print and on stage.

I Could Be a Better Soldier than He Would: Gender Fluidity in the Writings of Female Civil War Soldiers

Claire Affinito, Boston University

Modern scholars of the American Civil War contend that at least 400 women abandoned their homes, hoopskirts, and the traditional rigid gender norms of the Victorian era to don military uniforms, assume male personas, and fight for the Union and the Confederacy. Extensive work has been done to uncover the stories of these unconventional women. Their exploits in battle, their ability to mask their sex, and hypotheses for their decision to cross-dress have been fully investigated. My project pushes beyond simply recounting the details of these people's lives and seeks to understand them as individuals and to investigate how they portrayed themselves and others with respect to gender and gender identity. Using the letters, memoirs, and newspaper interviews of three female Civil War soldiers, this paper argues that these soldiers maintained a female identity while exhibiting both traditionally male and female characteristics. These women retained traits that were socially deemed feminine while also assuming more traditionally masculine traits. Their writings demonstrate that these women positively portrayed this hybrid gender identity, which I label as feminine masculinity. My analysis of these individuals' positive portrayals of feminine masculinity not only add to the historiography of female Civil War soldiers but provide historical context to our modern discussion of the dynamic and constructed nature of gender identity. These women can show modern audiences that, even in the height of the rigid Victorian era, people understood the constructed nature of gender and redefined for themselves what it meant to be a man or a woman.

Security, Economy, Society, and Complexity: White Newspaper Coverage of Race in the West During the 1860s

Glen Feighery and David J. Vergobbi, University of Utah

Modern scholars of the American Civil War contend that at least 400 women abandoned their homes, hoopskirts, and the traditional rigid gender norms of the Victorian era to don military uniforms, assume male personas, and fight for the Union and the Confederacy. Extensive work has been done to uncover the stories of these unconventional women. Their exploits in battle, their ability to mask their sex, and hypotheses for their decision to cross-dress have been fully investigated. My project pushes beyond simply recounting the details of these people's lives and seeks to understand them as individuals and to investigate how they portrayed themselves and others with respect to gender and gender identity. Using the letters, memoirs, and newspaper interviews of three female Civil War soldiers, this paper argues that these soldiers maintained a female identity while exhibiting both traditionally male and female characteristics. These women

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Ambrose Bierce's Bitter Thoughts on Life and Death
Joe Marren, SUNY Buffalo State

If anyone thinks of Ambrose Bierce today what likely first comes to mind is either his short story "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge," or the mystery surrounding his death in either 1913, 1914, or who-really-knows-when in Mexico. Not many talk about his journalism, which is a pity because "Bitter" Bierce railed against railroad monopolies and was a contrary voice against the jingoism of his boss, William Randolph Hearst, before, during and after the Spanish-American War. He cast a cold eye on that war and death due to his own experiences as a Civil War veteran who fought at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and was severely wounded at Kennesaw Mountain on June 23, 1864.
As one writer aptly put it:
In four years of fighting, Ambrose Bierce saw impossible things. And much to his regret, he remembered them. In time, he wrote some of them down.
This paper takes a historiographical look at Bierce's journalism and the hermeneutics involved as revisionists reconsidered and redefined Bierce's writing. The analytical pieces referenced here are not meant to be exhaustive of Bierce scholarship, but instead representative of eras that begin with the first studies a generation or so after Bierce's death—when scholars had the ability to conceptualize work written by the generation of Bierce's contemporaries—to the early years of the 21st century, roughly a span of about 50-60 years when the revisionists held sway.
It will also look at certain themes in Bierce's work, specifically war memoirs from his time serving the Union cause in the Civil War (rising from private to lieutenant) to the commentaries he wrote about the Spanish-American War for Hearst's San Francisco Examiner. That evaluation of Bierce's efforts will be analyzed and categorized and, therefore, dependent on secondary sources written by journalism historians. Also examined will be primary sources: his memoirs about Chickamauga and his commentaries about the Spanish-American War written for the Examiner in 1898.

The 'Ghost at Post 1': The National Tribune and the Supernatural in Civil War Memory
Amy Laurel Fluker, Youngstown State University

This paper argues that although historians have made great strides in understanding how nineteenth-century Americans dealt with, or deflected, the trauma of the Civil War, they have overlooked a significant body of evidence. Drawing from hundreds of Civil War ghost stories that appeared in popular newspapers between 1861-1910, this research suggests that these

ephemeral sources—printed to drive sales, satisfy curiosity, and fill pages—can provide new insight into how Americans gave meaning to their Civil War experiences.

Heretofore, historians of Civil War memory have focused on large-scale acts of commemoration: the preservation of historic sites and battlefield parks; the proliferation of monuments, statues, and cemeteries in public spaces; and the challenge of national reconciliation, especially its imperfections.

This paper, on the other hand, sheds light on how memory shaped the written record of the war. Beyond the official records, the Civil War was an intensely lived experience that produced an abundance of less than formal sources—particularly in the popular press. Anxious to sell, entertain, and inform, editors filled papers with items of general interest about the war—including sketches, anecdotes, jokes, and hundreds of ghost stories.

Historians have not generally recognized the importance of ghost stories or of the press as a means of Civil War commemoration. Yet, newspapers can reveal much about the attitudes and values of the Civil War generation. These stories become a useful way to decipher the ways Americans interpreted their wartime experiences. They illustrate how the members of the Civil War generation contested the meaning of the war according to their own regional and racial identities and how they struggled to reconcile in its aftermath. Even more poignantly, however, such stories demonstrate how Americans grappled with its consequences in their own private lives as well.

"the perfect truth of the facts we shall write": Two Newspapers, Two Stories about Colfax, Louisiana, Easter Sunday, 1873

Brian Gabrial, Northwestern State University

What's in a word like massacre or riot? On Easter Sunday, April 13, 1873, in Colfax, Louisiana, a desperate fight for political power ended with scores of Black men dying as they tried to retain the promise of the 15th Amendment and their post-Civil War voting rights. The events have been referred to as the Colfax Massacre or the Colfax Riots, often depending on political and racial attitudes. The day's deadly results eventually left Southern Black people losing what protections the 14th Amendment provided, and, perhaps, set the stage for later Jim Crow laws and "Separate but Equal." This paper explores what happened that Easter Sunday and how the maelstrom that was Reconstruction politics in Louisiana had two white editors vying for rhetorical power, using their newspapers, the Louisiana Democrat and the New Orleans Republican, to tell their "true" versions of events at Colfax.

Dreams Deferred: The Southwestern Christian Advocate and the Struggle against Segregation in the South, 1877-1892

Mike Feely, Missouri State University

The Advocate was a paper of strong opinion, and directly addressed segregation, Jim Crow and racial issues. The focus of this paper is to examine the attitudes and writing of several of these African-American Advocate editors, primarily the Rev. Aristides Albert, as they confronted the end of Reconstruction, the rise of Jim Crow, and the growing segregation within the MEC and larger society. How did they deal with the conflicts and changes within the church and society? How did they interpret the changing racial politics and emerging re-segregation in the church to their African-American readers? Where does the Advocate fit within the larger narrative of African-American print culture, and of black newspapers? One of the challenges (and opportunities) of the historiography for this paper is there has not been much substantive previous research on the Southwestern Christian Advocate, or on the editors of this important newspaper. This paper attempts to begin to fill in some of those gaps.

Panel: Journalism in the Civil War Era Redux

New Perspectives on Journalism in the Civil War Era
David W. Bulla, Augusta University

Professor Bulla's presentation will consist of new content and revisions he is preparing for the second edition of Journalism in the Civil War Era. These topics, derived from research conducted since publication of the first edition, include an analysis of advertisements in Civil War era newspapers, press coverage of naval conflicts, sources on the abolitionist press, international coverage of the war, and new interpretations of the Reconstruction press.

Revisiting Conclusions from Journalism in the Civil War Era
Gregory A. Borchard, University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV)

Professor Borchard will describe new primary and secondary source materials that have contributed to a revised historiography for Journalism in the Civil War Era. This approach features a review of literature published since 2010, along with revised interpretations of the subjects described in the first edition. These interpretations tie emergent perspectives on both domestic and international levels with primary source material integrated into the second edition.

Panel: Custer Myths, Media, and Monuments: Remembering the Northern Plains War
William E. Huntzicker, independent scholar, Minneapolis (moderator)

Introduction
William E. Huntzicker, independent scholar, Minneapolis

News from the Northern Plains disrupted the nation's July Fourth celebration at a Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Correspondents who approached the political and military leaders for comment heard responses of disbelief that George A. Custer and his immediate command could have been wiped out by indigenous fighters on the Northern Plains. Some criticized the source—a scout taking the news to Fort Ellis near Bozeman who was intercepted by a Helena correspondent. Some questioned the reliability of the source. Newspaper writers

almost immediately chose sides in who to blame for his defeat. Some celebrated Custer for his heroism, others attacked him for individualism, and many sought scapegoats to explain how a sophisticated cavalry and celebrated leader could be defeated by mere natives in Montana Territory.

Creating His Own Myth: George Armstrong Custer as the Author of His Last Stand
James E. Mueller, University of North Texas

This presentation will explain how George Armstrong Custer's artistic personality allowed him to create a character and circumstance that necessitated the Last Stand myth. Custer created a dashing, heroic persona through sporting unique uniforms, cultivating press relations, and writing newspaper and magazine articles and a book about his own adventures. This literary character, which was based on real experiences, was fearless, savvy in the ways of the wilderness, and a master in the art of warfare, yet was also self-deprecating, humble and solicitous of women and children. In short, he was a man whom men admired and women loved. This Custer character was so familiar among the American public that his death at the Little Bighorn turned a relatively small fight into one of the most famous battles in American history.

Photographing Custer's Battlefield
Warren E. "Sandy" Barnard

In the 145 years since the defeat of George Armstrong Custer and his troops at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, scholars and other visitors have combed the site of today's Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument for evidence that might clarify the controversies of June 25, 1876. Cameras record exactly what is in front of them, making photographs the most objective and literal of historical documents. Thus, one early modern picture of a battlefield ought to be worth a thousand words, but historians have paid scant attention to the photographic record.

U.S. Fish and Game agent Kenneth F. Roahen (1888–1976), who often freelanced for newspapers and magazines, became the site's most prolific photographer. His images provide valuable information for visitors to the monument as well as for historians, biologists, engineers, and other government employees who interpret, preserve, and protect the battlefield and its surrounding terrain.

Indians Real and Imagined: Picturing the War on the Northern Plains
John Coward, professor emeritus, The University of Tulsa

Writing in 1968, Western historian Don Russell boldly proclaimed, "No single event in United States history, or perhaps world history, has been the subject of more bad art and erroneous story than Custer's Last Stand at the Battle of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876." Russell's claim may be exaggerated, but he was certainly correct that the dramatic Sioux and Cheyenne victory over Custer's troops captured the public's imagination at the time and continues to do so today.

This study examines a range of popular images of Custer's final battle in the context of four decades of Indian–white violence on the northern plains. The investigation describes and critiques Native American news illustrations, cartoons and photographs that were produced during this period and asks the following questions: (1) Why and how did Indian images make the news? (2) What Indian ideas or themes were represented in these images? (3) How did the

public understand or interpret the meaning(s) of these pictures? The answers to these questions will illuminate the role of nineteen-century Indian imagery in creating and sustaining the racial ideology that informed Indian-white relations and shaped popular opinion and public policy about Native Americans for well over a century.

Panel: The Reconstruction of *Gone with the Wind*, Brian Gabrial, Northwestern State University of Louisiana (moderator)

Recent criticism of the movie "Gone with the Wind," long considered among the greatest of American films, rightly centers on its racist depictions of Black Americans and its apologist stances for slavery and the "Lost Cause" version of the Civil War. Notably, the book differs in this regard. This panel revisits the film, the book, and Margaret Mitchell through critical and feminist lenses to argue that GWTW, the book and the film, may or may not have the possibility of some redemption.

Scarlett's Web: Feminine Power, Place, and Purpose in Margaret Mitchell's Seminal Southern Saga
Dianne Bragg, University of Alabama

It is almost a truism that a best seller loses something in the translation to film. *Gone with the Wind* was no different. This presentation contrasts those differences, taking a particular focus on the main character Scarlett O'Hara and her relationships with other central female characters, both Black and White, in the book and film.

Two Thumbs Down: "Gone with the Wind" and "Birth of Nation" and Imagining a Nation that Never Was
la tonya thames-taylor, Westchester University

In years past, "Gone with the Wind" and "Birth of Nation" were considered cinematic triumphs, reflecting white "America's" history. This presentation examines the protests and social reactions by Black Americans to both *Birth of the Nation* and *Gone with the Wind*. In particular, this presentation examines the role of the Black press in countering false narratives these films expressed.

A Tense Past: Gone with the Wind, The Wind Done Gone, *Morehouse College, and the Quest for Redemption of Margaret Mitchell*
Clarissa Myrick-Harris, Morehouse College

Since the debut of *Gone with the Wind*, African Americans have protested Margaret Mitchell's portrayal of the enslaved as content within slavery. This presentation examines: 1) the idea that Mitchell's secret contributions to historically black Morehouse College and long term correspondence with the college's president, Benjamin Mays, represent her efforts to make amends for romanticizing a racist reality; and 2) the law suit by Mitchell's family against Alice Randall's 2001 alternative reality novel *The Wind Done Gone* as an attempt to redeem

Mitchell's depiction of the South *and, ironically,* continue her philanthropy to Morehouse, an institution with a social justice mission.

Rebel without a Lost Cause: Revisiting Scarlett O'Hara's Anti-Heroism
Brian Gabrial, Northwestern State University of Louisiana

Scarlett O'Hara was no advocate for any "Lost Cause" version of the Civil War. Instead, throughout *Gone with the Wind*, she repeatedly referred to it as a waste of money and human treasure. This presentation examines both her anti-war stance and pro-feminism, arguing that they reflect Margaret Mitchell's own feelings about war and a woman's place. It revisits the author's sources, arguing that the book, especially Scarlett O'Hara's detestation of the war, makes it, in reality, an anti-"Lost Cause" tract.

Panel: The Midwestern Press in the American Civil War
Debra Reddin van Tuyll, Augusta, GA (moderator)

This panel will provide a glimpse at the Civil War-era news industry in the American Midwest. It will begin with an analysis of the nature of the industry and the characteristics of those who ran it. Other topics covered will include the roles and functions of the Midwestern press, how the Midwestern press covered home front news, and the relationship between the press and political parties. Panel moderators will be Mary Lamonica and Debra Reddin van Tuyll.

The Midwestern Press by the Numbers
Debra Reddin van Tuyll, Augusta, Ga.

Nearly 800 newspapers and 1,800 editors and publishers served the information needs of the Midwest during the American Civil War. This paper will explore what statistics compiled from the 1860 census and other sources tell us about who those editors were and what the state of the newspaper industry was in 1860 when America was on the cusp of its bloodiest war to date. Journalist characteristics matter because, as we know from modern gatekeeping studies, editorial personalities and preferences shape news coverage. That coverage, in turn, builds communities that bind citizens and newspapers into a symbiotic relationship and contribute to the growth of nationalism. The analysis of the newspaper industry is primarily descriptive in nature. Its purpose is to establish the nature of the news business as it moved from its infancy toward maturity. Most American newspapers were still political and personal in nature and were the norm for journalism far more than the Northeastern metropolitan dailies that get far more attention from historians.

Worthy of the City and Age in which We Live: Roles and Functions of the Midwestern Civil War Press
Katrina J. Quinn, Slippery Rock University

This research interrogates the social roles and functions of the midwestern Civil War press. It argues that while editors maintained a commitment to journalistic values and standards of the era in pursuing timely, accurate and localized reporting, they articulated and often enacted an

ideological and social alignment—indeed a shared identity—with their midwestern communities. Though these communities and newspapers were often divided along political lines, the research shows, the press presented a narrative space that was inclusive and participatory, drawing communities together through shared values, shared experiences, and a shared viewpoint. The narrative incorporated the journalist authors, the faraway soldiers, the correspondents, civic organizers, farmers and merchants, and families and friends, who shared an epistemological position from which to observe the environment, to gauge the impact of the war, and to measure and stimulate community success.

"Reports Deemed Reliable": Newsgathering, Distribution, and Audiences
Mary M. Cronin**,** New Mexico State University

Midwestern editors, especially those located in growing urban communities, had the literate public and growing merchant class necessary for publications to prosper. Continued emigration during war years provided editors with a growing readership. The communication and transportation infrastructure necessary for newsgathering and distribution also was in place in much of the region. And, the telegraph—the electronic marvel of the age—had been in operation since the late 1840s. But external factors, including financial burdens and labor constraints, impeded news gathering and distribution. Both the Panic of 1857 and a second financial downturn in 1861 hit the upper Midwest and its editors particularly hard. The onset of hostilities delivered another financial blow when the upper portion of the Mississippi River was closed to trade in August 1861. The closure reduced the flow of information arriving from the South, as well. The financial crises led many publishers to trim their costs by reducing the size of their publications at a time when demand for news was immense. Other newspaper owners were forced to merge or suspend publication. Partisan politics also contributed to the financial hard times that the press was experiencing. The war's onset produced a wave of patriotism that decreased revenue for many long-standing Democratic newspapers,

In a region where competitive newsgathering had been the norm in urban areas since the 1840s, financial considerations led many editors to temper their desires to fill their publications with telegraphic news, choosing instead to rely heavily on two traditional sources of newsgathering—exchange newspapers and volunteer correspondents (including soldiers)—for a substantial portion of news. Although editors recognized their responsibility to keep their readers informed, tax burdens, a tremendous increase in the price of newsprint and ink, and a shortage of trained reporters, printers, and editors caused by patriotic enlistments made newsgathering and distribution burdensome. Editors also had to cope with sifting through rumors to determine what information was factually correct. Other external factors, including bad weather also put a strain on the newsgathering and distribution processes. Both winter and summer storms often halted the telegraph, the railroads, mail coaches, and river traffic, which, in turn, slowed the arrival of information to newspaper offices.

The Political Functions of Midwestern Newspapers during the Civil War
Michael Fuhlhage, Wayne State University

Newspapers and journalists across the Midwest fulfilled several functions—both publicly and behind the scenes—in the political discourse of the United States during the American Civil War. They tracked national developments and put news from afar into local context. They were

conveners of political debate within communities. They tracked developments in their own states and regions. And they sustained their party's stances about secession and the war. Although opposing party newspapers sparred fiercely during the transition from the Buchanan to the Lincoln administration, most closed ranks behind the new commander in chief after the firing on Fort Sumter. Still, several papers associated with national Democratic politicians sounded the cry for peace with the Confederates. This segment explores the variety of political roles that Midwest newspapers played during the war.

Shadowy & Vengeful Prowlers of the Woods: Bushwhackers & Other Guerrillas as Depicted in Midwestern Newspapers During the American Civil War
Simon Vodrey, Carleton University

During the American Civil War, a shadowy and vengeful figure prowled the woods and "adopted the tactics of hit-and-run and ambush for the purpose of suppressing Union loyalists or harassing U.S. Army operations" (C. Mountcastle, 2009). That figure was the Bushwhacker whose infamous exploits occupied a substantial amount of column space in the Midwest's newspapers throughout the war. This paper examines Midwesterners' thoughts about Bushwhackers and guerilla warfare in general through a thematic content analysis of the newspapers that they read.

More specifically, this paper analyzes how the unpredictable timing and location of the Bushwhackers' attacks, coupled with the predictable ferocity that characterized those attacks struck terror into the hearts of large swathes of the American populace—notably those living in the Midwest, the region where the Bushwhacker threat was most largely realized. Attention is also given to how Bushwhackers did not abide by the traditional, agreed upon rules—both formal and informal—of nineteenth century warfare. Instead, they exercised an irregular style of warfare that grew out of a long-standing familiarity with frontier combat—with Native Indians and others—which did not hold traditional rules of musketry and military tactics in high regard. Bushwhackers perfected the art of the ambush and were not averse to disguising themselves as Union combatants to lure in unwitting Union soldiers for the kill—all of which were tactics that were clear violations of the rules of warfare, even those arguably looser rules that existed in the mid-nineteenth century.

Saturday, November 13

Panel: Civil War in Minnesota: News of the Dakota Challenge to Settler Colonialism.

Introductions
William E. Huntzicker, independent scholar, Minneapolis

Because he was in Washington when rebels fired upon Fort Sumter, Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey signed up to become the first state to send state militia to support the Union in what was soon to become the Civil War. Ramsey, who had been appointed the first territorial governor by President Zachary Taylor who was grateful for Ramsey's support for the Whig president. By supporting fellow Republican Lincoln and the Union, Ramsay brought significant baggage with his support. Ramsey, the first territorial and second state governor, was tasked with removing the Dakota, Ojibwe and other native peoples from their homelands to make way for

settlement by European immigrants. By the time of the Civil War, settlers thought they were living peacefully with their Dakota neighbors until the violence of a couple of drunken teenagers brought seething resentment into the open with hundreds of deaths and atrocities as a result. The two fronts of Minnesota's civil war are illustrated by the statue of Josias R. King looming high above the Minnesota History Center and just downhill from the Cathedral of St. Paul. King, a member of the First Minnesota regiment, has been honored as the first volunteer to sign up for the Union cause. While his regiment became renowned for courage at Gettysburg, King served as the was the top aide to General Alfred Sully leading troops into Dakota Territory and attacking an apparently peaceful village at Whitestone Hill killing hundreds of innocent villagers and destroying as many as 500 teepees. Like many Civil War monuments, King's perch overlooking St. Paul now appears tenuous.

Minnesota's fledgling newspapers and political parties had no consistent and clear views on slavery, race, and other Civil War outside of the state. To guide us through the initial coverage of the conflict, we have scholars who have done extensive research on Minnesota's Dakota War and the trials that resulted in the largest official execution in U.S. history. John Haymond describes himself as a "conflict historian," having published books and academic articles on the Dakota War and the general history of soldiering. His *The Infamous Dakota War Trials of 1862: Revenge, Military Law and the Judgment of History* (Jefferson, N.C., 2016) provides a comprehensive look at the convictions of more than 300 indigenous men in war crimes tribunals for their part in the Dakota War. Haymond is also the author of two other books, *The American Soldier 1866-1916: The Enlisted Man and the Transformation of the United States Army* (2018) and *Soldiers: A Global History of the Fighting Man, 1800-1945* (2018).
George Dalbo and Joe Eggers have become steeped in the news coverage of the Dakota War and its legacy as they created a database for high school students to use primary sources in analyzing the conflict and related myths since the time it was known as the "Great Sioux Uprising." Dalbo, a doctoral candidate at the University of Minnesota, teaches high school in Clinton, Wisconsin, and Eggers is assistant director the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Minnesota. Carol Chomsky, who has been a law professor at the University of Minnesota since 1985, wrote a definitive exposition of the legal issues around the Dakota War trials for the *Stanford Law Review* 43I:13 (1990). Walt Bachman, a Rhodes Scholar and retired lawyer from Minnesota and New York, began his research with a family history that discovered an escaped slave who lived with the indigenous Dakota in Minnesota. In the process, Bachman began a major study and published several books showing the ways the U.S. military furthered slavery in the West by allowing officers to claim "servants" as official expenses.

Atrocities, Vengeance, and Justice: Newspaper Depictions of the US-Dakota War and Public Perceptions of a Tragedy
John A. Haymond, conflict historian

The US-Dakota War was brief—only six weeks of actual fighting. But in that limited time accounts of its worst tragedies, both factual and exaggerated, filled newspapers in Minnesota and across the nation. The most horrific stories of massacre and atrocity were depicted in breathless hyperbole by writers who seemed more interested in drama than accuracy, and were read by an agitated public that was far too often ready to believe the worst accusations of Dakota actions in the war. This had a direct impact on public opinion when the 303 death sentences handed down by Henry Sibley's military commission went to President Lincoln for his review. With many

newspapers demanding retributive vengeance rather than carefully considered justice, the loudest voices in the public forum seemed unwilling to accept any outcome other than the execution of every man convicted. But in 1865, when Medicine Bottle and Shakopee were tried before another incarnation of the military commission tribunal, editorial attitudes had begun to change. By then, however, the lasting damage of hysterical newspaper stories based on sensationalism rather than careful investigation was already done, and atrocity stories of dubious provenance were firmly embedded in the literature of the war. This presentation discusses how the war and its Dakota combatants were portrayed in the newspapers of the time, and the lasting impact of that reporting on the historical record.

From the "Sioux Massacres" to the "Dakota Genocide": Minnesota's "Forgotten War" in the State's Newspapers
George Dalbo and Joe Eggers, University of Minnesota

This paper addresses shifting public narratives of the 1862 U.S.-Dakota War and Dakota peoples in Minnesota newspapers through the latter half of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century. This research shows significant shifts in the representations of the Dakota from the to-be-removed or exterminated threat to an exoticized and absent other and finally to a victim group. This paper is part of a more extensive study examining newspaper coverage of the war across time (twenty-five-year intervals from 1862 to 2012) and space (the Minnesota River Valley where the war was fought and the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul). While the research shows that only recent newspaper coverage has begun to present the war and its legacy in more nuanced and inclusive ways, opening up its representations to multiple perspectives, we also see early signs that made the current developments possible. By focusing on the conflict itself and its subsequent commemorative anniversaries, this paper looks at (a) generational dynamics and shifts and (b) urban-rural differences regarding the reinterpretation of the war and the Dakota peoples.

Military Injustice and the Public Eye: The U.S. Dakota War Trials of 1862
Carol Chomsky, University of Minnesota Law School

In 1862, the brief set of battles between the United States and the Dakota in Minnesota was followed by an unusual event in our history: a series of military commission trials of Dakota who had fought in the war. Of the 392 men tried, the Commission convicted 323 and sentenced 303 to be hanged. But after review by President Lincoln, only 38 were executed, on December 26, 1862, in the largest mass execution in American history. From a legal perspective, the trials were unfair, the tribunal was biased, the jurisdiction of the court was unclear, and the authority of the commander to order the trials questionable. The trials and hangings were not just a legal proceeding, however. They were also a public statement of accountability, and they occurred in the midst of and in response to local and national statements by officials, members of the public, and journalists either condemning those who fought or expressing sympathy about their circumstances and urging clemency. This presentation will explore both the legal landscape of the trials and the public commentary that surrounded and affected the aftermath of the war.

One Black Dakota, Many Northern Slaves
Walt Bachman, lawyer and independent scholar

My fascination with the unique life of Joseph Godfrey, a rare Black slave in pre-statehood Minnesota, began with a trip to New Ulm's Brown County Historical Society to gather information about the killing of my great-great-grandfather, Ernst Dietrich, on the first day of the Dakota War. Documents there revealed that Dietrich had been slain by a Dakota group led by an unnamed Black man, later the first defendant of more than 400 tried after the summer violence in 1862. Research at the Minnesota History Center, revealed that Godfrey was born in Minnesota because his mother, Courtney, had been brought as a slave from Virginia by John Garland, a U.S. Army officer. Army pay records at the National Archives in Washington, include hundreds of slave-declaring vouchers from 1820 until 1861. (The Union Army kept identical records during the Civil War, but the Archives staff has no idea what happened to them.) Their most surprising feature is their revelation of the extent to which officers who later fought for the Union were slave-keepers. The hypocrisy involved is obvious, especially given that many officers posted in "free" states and territories chose not to reveal that their personal servants were enslaved.

In 2019, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point recognized the importance of the many thousands of Army pay records that Bachman found and copied at the National Archives that prove the substantial extent of slave-keeping by army officers prior to the Civil War. This research reveals both the incentive to keep slaves and, mostly later, the desire to cover up this activity. [The academy offered to house what will be called the Bachman Army Slavery Database, containing hundreds of thousands of army documents signed by officers who kept enslaved servants.]

Panel: Agency in the Margins: How Women Negotiated The Journalism Industry and Claimed Space to Affect Change At Century's Turn

Amber Roessner, University of Tennessee, Knoxville (moderator)

This panel will examine the agency that women in journalism found "in the margins." In particular, it will consider how, though marginalized, women in journalism, from Nelly Bly and Ida B. Wells-Barnett to Sarah Winnemucca, often given the assignment of documenting "the woman's angle," negotiated and claimed space in the journalism industry and ultimately gained agency "in reaching and elevating a people" through journalism that affected change at century's turn.

In Pursuit of "the Woman's Angle": Nelly Bly Documents the Lived Experiences of Women

Dianne Bragg, University of Alabama

Nellie Bly began her journalism career in the late 1800s and is best known for her famous investigation of Blackwell's Island and her trip around the world. Although she became a household name for those two stories, her journalism career was one that led her to interview factory girls, former First Ladies, and suffragettes, as she focused on the lives of women. In her later years, she found herself in Europe and began to report on World War I, making her one of the first female War correspondents. This presentation will cover these lesser known aspects of Bly's career, one that continues to inspire more than a century later.

"Side by Side": Native Women Negotiating Identity and Advocacy in a Changing World

Melissa Greene-Blye, University of Kansas

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of tumultuous change for the Indigenous sovereign nations that inhabited the land that came to be called the United States of America. Government-sponsored genocide and policies of forced removal, assimilation, and allotment forever altered the physical, political, and cultural landscape; Native leaders and communities had to define new rules of engagement in order to successfully navigate the Euro-American structures of power that sought to undermine their sovereign status. An important way these leaders engaged with those power structures was through the press; while we may already be familiar with names like Elias Boudinot of *Cherokee Phoenix* fame, we may not know names such as Zitkála-Sá, Sarah Winnemucca, and Susan La Flesche Picotte. These women cannot be found on lists of famous journalists, or even lists of famous Native journalists, but when we consider their work in the context of the limitations during which they advocated for their respective nations, publishing books and garnering press coverage of their respective causes, we can see that they were strategically using the platform provided by the press o strengthen their messages and their causes. Without access to the mechanics of publishing or a regular published platform, these women were still able employ strategies that ensured their voices were heard in the press of their day.

"Iola, the Princess of the Press": Ida B. Wells-Barnett and the Agency of Journalism
Amber Roessner, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Offering her own antecedent intersectional analysis in one of her regular sketches about Black women in journalism, fellow Black journalist and social justice activist Lucy W. Smith outlined the "double bind" that Ida B. Wells encountered as a Black woman in the predominantly white males sphere of journalism. "Miss Ida B. Wells, 'Iola' has been called the Princess of the Press, and she has well earned the title. No writer, the male fraternity not excepted, has been more extensively quoted, none struck harder blows at the wrongs and weaknesses of the race. Her readers are equally divided between the sexes. She reaches the men by dealing with the political aspect of the race question, and the women she meets around the fireside," Smith wrote in her entry to the book, *The College of Life or Practical Self Educator: A Manual of Self Improvement of the Colored Race* (Chicago: Chicago Publication and Lithograph Company, 1895). After her election as the assistant secretary of the Negro National Press Association in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1887, Wells had confided to Smith that, despite navigating in the journalism industry what late twentieth-century scholars would refer to as multiple jeopardies, she found "no agency so potent as the press in reaching and elevating a people," and Smith emphasized Wells's assertion in the sketch. This presentation will explore how Wells found agency through journalism to offer antecedent intersectional analyses that drove her social justice crusade.

Panel: Presidents and the Press

"Death is Near": The Last Days of James A Garfield and Ulysses S. Grant in the Gilded Age Press
Crompton B. Burton, University of Maine

In the young nation's first century, the American press had occasion to chronicle not one, but two agonizing presidential deathwatches. James Garfield's dramatic struggle to survive an assassin's bullet in 1881 and former chief executive Ulysses S. Grant's valiant battle against terminal cancer four years later so captured popular imagination, it was as if readers themselves were figuratively transported into the sick room through the immediacy of the telegraph and printing press.

Rarely studied in tandem, these twin tragedies and the unprecedented newspaper coverage devoted to each of them collectively offer an outstanding research opportunity, one that contributes to an explanation of why some journalism historians describe Garfield's and Grant's last days among the country's first true media events.

Lincoln's Triumph in the West: How California, Oregon and Nevada played a role in the 1864 election

Joe Marren, SUNY Buffalo State

On Aug. 23, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln wrote a private memorandum that pledged his administration would work with George McClellan, whom everyone believed would beat Lincoln in the upcoming election and become the president-elect: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reelected," Lincoln wrote. "Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards." Lincoln sealed the document and had each of his Cabinet members sign it (they did not know what they were signing), according to a Washington Post article from Dec. 5, 2020.

But the fortunes of war smiled—if that can be said about death—on Lincoln due to General William T. Sherman's "March to the Sea" in Georgia that autumn and Lincoln was re-elected to a second term on Nov. 8. Lincoln won the Electoral College 212 votes to 21 (McClellan only carried Kentucky with 11 votes, New Jersey's 7 and Delaware's 3); the popular vote was 2.2 million, 55 percent of the vote, for Lincoln and 1.8 million, or 45 percent, for McClellan. The Southern states in rebellion did not vote, although Tennessee's 10 Electoral College votes and Louisiana's 7 were awarded to Lincoln, though there was no popular vote in the recently captured states and those 17 votes are not officially counted in Lincoln's 212 total. The 1864 election was the second national election held in wartime (the 1812 election was the first), but the only presidential election held during the Civil War. And the race was relatively close because there were eight states that Lincoln won with less than 10 percent of the popular vote and those states combined for 133 EC votes. Lincoln won the prize of New York's 33 EC votes by 0.92 percent, or 6,749 total popular votes. Another one of those eight states, Oregon, also went to Lincoln with its 3 EC votes by 7.8 percent, or 1.431 popular votes.

This paper focuses on Oregon, California (5 EC votes) and the brand-new state of Nevada (2 EC votes) in the 1864 election. While Oregon may have played a more crucial role in Lincoln's success, this paper will examine newspaper coverage of the election out west. After all, the three states were a hard journey away that would take weeks or months in the best of times. They were also a continent away from the major battlefields, though they did see some regional action. So

how connected were people there to the East and what factors contributed to Lincoln's and the Union's success?

Breaking Up the Party: New York's Partisan Papers and the 1848 Presidential Election
Erika Pribanic-Smith, University of Texas Arlington

Anti-slavery politics figured prominently into the 1848 U.S. presidential election. In 1846, a segment of Democrats in Congress presented the Wilmot Proviso to eliminate slavery from lands acquired during the Mexican-American War. The proviso became a key issue in the next presidential campaign, which had a total of five unique nominees. Whigs nominated the victor, war general and slave owner Zachary Taylor, who did not support the proviso but promised not to veto it. Meanwhile, the Democratic nomination of Lewis Cass, a proponent of territories choosing for themselves whether to admit slavery, caused the anti-slavery "Barnburner" Democrats to defect and nominate Martin Van Buren. Though the abolitionist Liberty Party nominated John P. Hale late in 1847, most of the Liberty men joined with Barnburners and anti-slavery "Conscience Whigs" to nominate Van Buren as the candidate of the newly formed Free Soil Party, and Hale withdrew. A radical Liberty Party faction known as the Liberty League put up their own man, Gerrit Smith, who advocated for total abolition rather than just preventing the spread of slavery into new territories. This political chaos extended to the partisan press, as adherents to the Democratic, Whig, and Liberty parties were forced to choose sides when their parties divided. This paper will examine editorials about the 1848 election in newspapers throughout New York state—where the Barnburners, Free Soilers, and Liberty Party were headquartered—to explore how partisan editors responded to the splintering of their parties over anti-slavery politics.

Press Coverage of 19th Century Presidential Scandals: Jackson, Grant and Cleveland
Jack Breslin, Iona College

From the partisan press to the digital age, press coverage of presidential scandals has been constant watchdog of White House misconduct and corruption as a mainstay of American journalism. While the sensational elements and public desire for such coverage often distract from factual reporting of administration policies and accomplishments, the resulting historical record impacts a president's legacy. Presidential scandals involve personal misconduct or political corruption by a president or associates that attract media coverage and influence public opinion. This entry examines the contrasting press coverage presidential scandals from the 19th-century scandals that plagued Andrew Jackson, Ulysses S. Grant and Grover Cleveland during the transition in the American press from party-owned organs into the sensational independent press.

A.W. Campbell's Wheeling *Intelligencer* and the Loyal Rebellion of Western Virginia
Linda Lockhart, Marietta College

In May 1861, Wheeling, Virginia fully entered the War of the Rebellion, as the Civil War was referred to at the time. Throughout the duration of the war, the press—both national and regional—kept vigil over threats to the region from political enemies and armed troops. For

residents of the region and a national audience who were carefully watching what was happening in Western Virginia, one of the leading sources of information was the Wheeling Intelligencer, owned and edited by A.W. Campbell Jr. When studying the influence of "the press" on the loyal rebellion in Western Virginia, Campbell and the Intelligencer are inseparable. Campbell was referred to by an early twentieth century historian as "West Virginia's greatest journalist," a title that remains relevant. However, a tribute issue of the Intelligencer printed upon Campbell's death in 1899, better described his personal influence, stating his individuality was "impressed upon almost every page of West Virginia's first twenty years of history. . . .With voice and pen he was heard and felt, and largely followed during the early years." This essay examines Campbell's and the Intelligencer's contributions to the budding Union loyalty cause in 1861, focusing on April, May, and June of that year, when the concept of a movement coalesced into a plan of action.

Eliza Duffey
Loren Dann

Eliza Bisbee Duffey, who, in her relatively short life, leaving this realm at 60, became one of the first women on the board of the first art school in the United States, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, she was a respected artist, a lauded writer of five books. And written about as one of the first (if not the first) female editors of a newspaper, the Daily Times. She started her passions of writing and editing at the young age of 18, and continued to write and edit over a thousand daily papers, from Ohio to New Jersey. Eliza was also one of the first female librarians in New Jersey and she did this all while married, raising several children, and running a household (and mini-farm). Her influence in her community is well documented, as is her resistance to the rules that attempted to dictate women's rights at the time. Her dedication and devotion to her crafts and her ability to speak her mind at a time when women were not to be heard (let alone share opinions in print) is of significant note to the history of South Jersey and beyond.
My research of Eliza, with a grant from the Gloucester County Cultural and Heritage Commission, and the New Jersey Council for the Arts, included the reading of hundreds of the Daily Times papers, reading all of her books, and spending hours researching her family lineage, as well her era to help explain what a progressive and talented woman she is. Overlooked by history she is a significant contributor to the history of women in the media.

Reporting on the Risorgimento: The American Catholic Press and Italian Unification 1848-1870
William Kaiser, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Since the fall of the Roman Empire, external intrusions, entrenched regional sentiments, and powerful dynasties on the Italian Peninsula precluded a unified state. The rising tide of the French Revolution and enlightenment ideals of liberal republicanism ushered in a new age for the oppressed peoples of Europe. For Italians, Il Risorgimento, or "the Resurgence", is a lengthy and bloody tale of restoring Italy to its former glory. For contemporary scholars, a study on the clandestine relationship between American Catholics and Italian Unification represents an

opportunity to broaden an already growing conversation on the transnational nature of the United States Civil War. Nevertheless, this endeavor seeks to offer a new context for addressing the connections between the wars for Italian Unification and the Civil War in the United States by examining the American Catholic press and their response to il Risorgimento. Ultimately, advancing this discussion relies on redirecting the narrative towards emergent multilateral diplomatic processes and investigating how American religious communities influenced the United States political response to Italian Unification. Incorporating archival newsprints, a diversity of secondary research, and newly digitized media sources, this research seeks to improve our collective understanding of the relationship between American Catholic society and Italy's Unification.