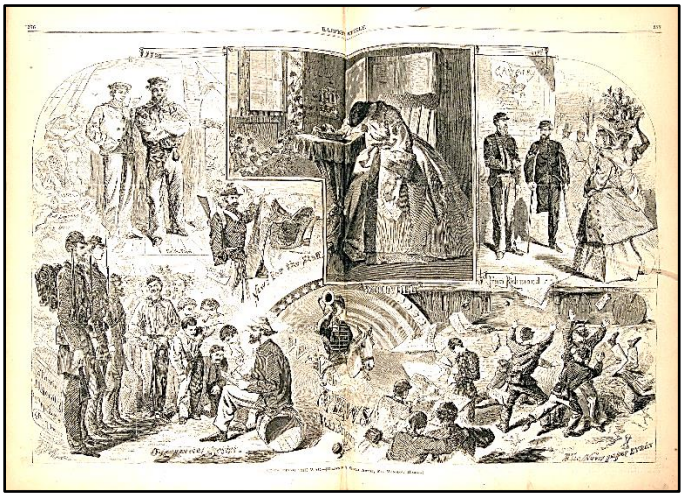
“Bringing the War Home: Chapel Hill’s Print Culture, 1861-1865”

The chapters that follow are from an undergraduate media history course I taught at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In late spring and early summer, 2010, the search was on for a group project that would involve real historical research from primary sources and a product that would go well beyond the traditional term paper. Rather than a report that would be read only by me, I hoped to find a work that would be seen by others and that would advance knowledge, indeed, create new knowledge.



Harper’s Weekly … “News from the War” …. Winslow Homer

By happy chance, the folks at the North Carolina Collection of Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were putting together their 150th commemoration of the Civil War, “Home Front on the Hill: Chapel Hill and the University During the Civil War.” They asked me if I could tell them something about news transmission in the South during the war. Out of that conversation emerged a real-life history project for the students: “Bringing the War Home: Chapel Hill’s Print Culture, 1861-1865,” a cultural history of Chapel Hill and environs focusing on news and newspapers in the community at that time. Using primary resources available in the North Carolina and Southern collections, University Archives, and the Library of Congress’ “Chronicling America” online collection of historical newspapers, the students looked for topics and themes that made news and what daily life was like during the war. Out of that came a four-chapter account of news and people 1861-1865 and the project took off. Working in teams, the students wrote their findings in four chapters of presentation – an overview of the community’s print culture during that time; a look at what the newspaper business was like; a study of how readers learned of a specific battle, Fredericksburg, and what that said of national and local newspapering in the North and South; and a study of the undercurrents of dissent and opposition on the home front as seen through the newspapers. We posted the “book” online as a WordPress website, putting their work out for permanent public access. Besides that, students presented their research at the university’s annual Celebration of Undergraduate Research; two students talked about the project on Frank Stasio’s “The State of Things” on North Carolina Public WUNC; and the class mounted a semester-long exhibit as part of Wilson Library’s Civil War commemoration. The project also resulted in a Gallery Talk about their research at the opening of the library’s exhibit and talks about the study at the Chapel Hill and Wayne County historical societies.

The following is an edited version of the four chapters that made up “Bringing the War Home: Chapel Hill’s Print Culture, 1861-1865.”

– Frank E. Fee Jr.

1.

"Chapel Hill Is Mourning Now": Home Front, 1861-1865

By Megan Kennedy, Emily Lucas, Jake Klein, Brittney Ormond, Rachel Coleman

The Civil War brought about changes in technology, social relationships and economics in Orange County. The forces of the war caused the people to break from the status quo. Evidence of this change is reflected in newspapers, letters and personal documents. Orange County faced many hardships during the Civil War, but, in the end, the war created a more progressive community socially and economically. Examining the different aspects of the lives of Orange County citizens through print culture reveals a more detailed picture of the changing society.

Orange County: Social and Demographic Scene

With the onset of the Civil War the South experienced the sudden need for young men to join in the war effort and participate in defending the Confederacy. This abrupt loss caused vast changes in the social and demographic aspects of the entire South, and Orange County was no exception. With nearly every aspect of their lives affected, Orange County residents were forced to undergo changes involving everything from their religious beliefs and practices to their educational systems. The print culture from this time period reflects the tumultuous nature of daily life as the war progressed. The people of Orange County were forced to change their manner of thinking and interacting, and work together in a less traditional way to make their society function.

As the Civil War loomed, Orange County was beginning to expand in population as more people moved to the small agricultural community. The 1860 United States Census reported

11,311 white residents living in the county. The census also reported 528 free colored residents and 5,108 slaves.[1] The population of Chapel Hill reached 1,000 residents for the first time in 1850 and in 1859 the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill achieved its highest enrollment ever with 456 students,[2] making it the second most populous college in the country at the time.[3] The county as a whole was a largely agriculture-based society. Flour and meal were the most commonly manufactured products, followed by cotton goods, leather and tobacco.[4] The front page of each issue of the *Hillsborough Recorder*, a local newspaper circulated in Orange County, featured an extensive article containing advice and tips on a different aspect of farm life, and many of the advertisements were promoting locally grown and produced products.

However, the newspaper provided a view of the general political atmosphere of Orange County during the time period as well. One issue contained an article expressing the increasingly secessionist views in North Carolina, and specifically Orange County, as the war drew closer.[5] Religion played a central part in the print media as well, with religious stories printed along with accounts of the work being done by local religious organizations. The *Hillsborough Recorder* provides a description of the UNC-CH Young Men's Christian Association and the Tract Society, which donated books to institutions such as asylums, poor houses and prisons.[6]

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[1] United States Census Bureau, s.v. "Population of the United States in 1860," http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1860a-01.pdf (accessed November 20, 2010).

[2] UNC University Library, s.v. "A Nursery of Patriotism: The University at War, 1861-1945," http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/exhibits/patriotism/index.php?page=CivilWar&size=small (accessed November 21, 2010).

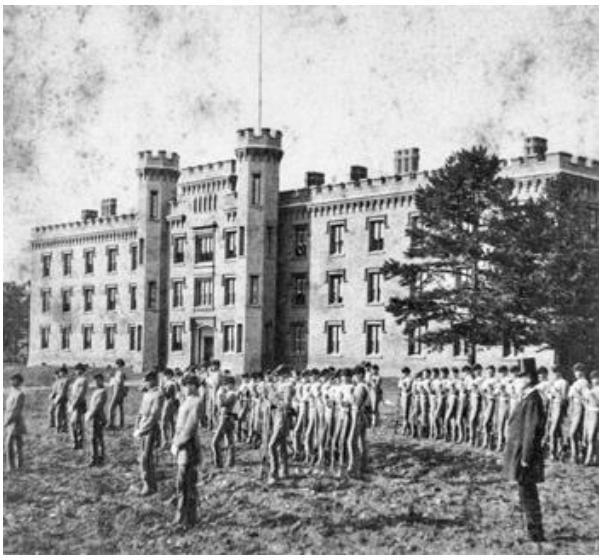
[3] H.H. Price, R.B. Peebles and W.F. Avery to Charles Manly, April 27, 1861, http://docsouth.unc.edu.

[4] United States Census Bureau, "Population of the United States in 1860."

[5] "The Convention," *The Hillsborough Recorder*, Hillsborough, N.C., March 20, 1861.

[6] "Tract Work at Chapel Hill," *The Hillsborough Recorder*, Hillsborough, N.C., March 27, 1861.

Once the war began, massive changes began to develop in the demographics and social lives of Orange County residents, and evidence of the changing society can be seen in the print culture as content began to evolve. The University felt an exceptionally strong impact as the young men left school to participate in the war effort. The *North Carolina University Magazine* was forced to halt production since virtually its entire staff was depleted because of the war.[7] Some of the students circulated a petition in April, 1861, urging the secretary of the board of trustees to close the University itself for a semester so that their studies would not be affected by the chaotic atmosphere that accompanied the Civil War.[8] The authors of the petition claimed that eight to ten young men abandoned their studies to go to war each day.[9] However, the students' of the war despite the massive decline in students. David L. Swain, President of the University from 1836 to 1868 wrote a letter in July, 1861, saying that despite the diminishing number of students, the University would remain in session and continue to strive for success.[10] In 1863, the



Hillsborough Military Academy, c. 1870

[7] Michael Thomas Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[8] H.H. Price, R.B. Peebles and W.F. Avery to Charles Manly, April 27, 1861, http://docsouth.unc.edu.

[9] Ibid.

[10] David Lowry Swain to the University of North Carolina, July 31, 1861, http://docsouth.unc.edu.

Hillsborough Recorder ran an article on the commencement ceremony of the University. Eight students were graduating, and despite hard times, the author of the article urged people in the community to attend commencement "for one is likely to see there many good people, to hear many good things and eat many good dinners (especially in scarce times)."[11]

The University was not the only area of the community that experienced changes as the war waged. While the front page still often featured the traditional agricultural article, it was also sometimes substituted with uplifting religious articles or war updates. Religious stories were printed even more frequently than before, and were often specifically geared toward soldiers.[12] Prayers from home were sent out, prayer groups were advertised and requests for ministerial help were also extended. There is even a reference to the creation of a new religious magazine, the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, which emerged with the high price tag of $3 a year subscriptions because of the inflated prices of the time period.[13] Political articles and opinions were present in almost every issue of the *Hillsborough Recorder*, further emphasizing the ubiquitous nature of the war.

The Civil War affected the religious, political and educational aspects of the lives of Orange County residents, making their day-to-day lives far different from before. The county that was steadily growing and expanding at the beginning was forced to cope with sharp decreases in population and labor. Religion and politics changed with the times, as people sought

[11] "The Commencement at Chapel Hill," *The Hillsborough Recorder*, Hillsborough, N.C., June 17, 1863.

[12] "Religious Reading for the Soldiers," *The Hillsborough Recorder*, Hillsborough, N.C., February 11, 1863.

[13] "North Carolina and the Christian Advocate," *The Hillsborough Recorder*, Hillsborough, N.C., January 14, 1863.

comfort and communication through these means. Almost no facet of daily life was left untouched by the Civil War, forcing Orange County residents to develop accordingly.

Gender Roles in Orange County

The Civil War altered the patriarchal society of Orange County as well. The war pushed the women out of their stereotypical reliant roles and forced them to take action. It prevented them from living up to the antebellum standards of femininity, making them become resourceful and assertive.

On the eve of the Civil War, there was a clear gender hierarchy in Orange County. Southern patriarchal views were entrenched in society and reinforced through laws and customs.[14] The men were independent and the women were dependent. The men controlled the public sphere: business and politics, while the women were confined to the private sphere: lacking opportunities outside of the home.[15] Unlike the North, the South had not experienced a feminist movement, and still held onto its old hierarchies of race, gender and class.[16] Husbands had authority over their wives[17] and society's assumptions of gender roles provided Southern women limited alternatives to domesticity.[18] The few women who had jobs were seamstresses

[14] Drew Gilpin, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4.

[15] Ibid, 3.

[16] Ibid, 4.

[17] George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989) 22.

[18] Ibid, 10.

and teachers,[19] and the only available option for women to participate in public activities was the church.[20]

When the Southern states seceded, women began to have a voice. They were able to participate in discussions and started expressing their opinions about the secession. The severity of the controversy in society allowed women to become part of the political discussion.[21] When the fighting began, women's domestic skills were looked at in a new light.[22] Sewing especially, became much more valued by the community. Women's domestic skills were necessary for the community to clothe and feed their soldiers. The skills of a housewife became vital to the war time effort.

Women's participation in the community increased as the Civil War drew in more men, land and resources. Women's societies were formed, which was very empowering.[23] Chapel Hill was a rural area, and this was the first opportunity for a lot of the women to gather in large numbers.[24] In Orange County, the Ladies Aid Society was founded, and led by Mrs. William Graham (the wife of a North Carolina senator).[25] They met weekly at the courthouse and worked for the soldiers. Within this society, Mrs. William Cameron organized a group to send food for the troop trains as they passed through the Hillsborough Depot. This support was so strong that

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[19] Ibid, 27.

[20] Ibid, 13.

[21] Gilpin, *Mothers of Invention*, 11.

[22] Rable, *Civil War*, 47.

[23] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 24.

[24] Ibid., 23.

[25] Mrs. John Huske Anderson, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy* (Fayetteville, NC: United Daughters of the Confederacy) 29.

Hillsborough became known at the "feeding station."[26] Lucy Robertson, a resident of Orange County during the Civil War, claimed, "Hillsborough was intensely southern in its sympathies and every woman seemed to be doing all in her power to help the beloved cause."[27] Cornelia Phillips Spencer, a Chapel Hill resident, commented on women's support of Wheeler's Confederate troops at the end of the war, writing, "the streets were lined with girls, offering smiles, food, and flowers."[28]

"The streets were lined with girls …"

There was a great contrast between antebellum expectations of women, and the role the war demanded. By being proactive, women could no longer fit in their stereotyped roles. They had been exposed to suffering and tragedy, and had to learn how to solve problems on their own.[29] The belief that the female mind was inferior to the male[30] had to be put aside, and women were given more responsibility and expected to do un-lady like chores.[31] Women proved that they performed well outside the domestic sphere. In addition to this, the Civil War broke the traditional opinion that men were the sole supporters of their family.[32]

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Anderson, *North Carolina Women*, 30.

[28] Hope Summerell Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill: Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926) 84.

[29] Rable, *Civil War*, 124.

[30] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 84.

[31] Rable, *Civil War*, 114.

[32] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 242.

As the war went on, the feeling of desperation increased at home. More and more men were dying, the food shortages were getting worse, morale was getting low, and support for the war weakened. Some women wrote to President Davis, begging him to let their men come home.[33] Cornelia Phillips Spencer expressed her concern in a diary entry on July 23, 1863, "Chapel Hill is mourning now for the results of the great battle at Gettysburg. A number of the best boys of this place were killed there. Vicksburgh [sic] gone and Charleston will soon follow. Prospects look dark for the Confederacy—God help us!"[34] She also described the division amongst the North Carolinians, "one parties [sic] clamorous for peace… led by Holden and the *Raleigh Standard*, the other party as bitterly opposed to such views."[35] Holden would go on to become governor during the post-war occupation and then, in 1871, became the first governor in the nation to be impeached and removed from office. The state legislature pardoned him on April 12, 2011.

At the end of the war, Orange County, as well as the rest of the Confederacy, fell to Union control. Governor Swain perhaps saved the village of Chapel Hill from complete destruction, by visiting Sherman's army himself, and directly surrendering the city to him.[36] Cornelia Phillips Spencer wrote in her diary on April 16, 1865, "a dozen Yankee blue-jackets dashed in from the Raleigh Rd and we were captured."[37] However, it was not all bad. General

[33] Rable, *Civil War*, 81.

[34] Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill*, 75.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, 86.

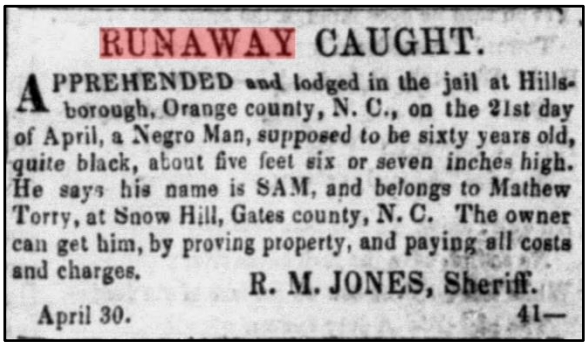
[37] Ibid, 85.

Atkins, the leader of the federal troops, fell in love with Governor Swain's daughter, Eleanor, while occupying Chapel Hill and they were married.[38]

By the spring of 1865, the fighting had ended, but the opinion of women had permanently been changed. Women's contributions to society were greater appreciated, and more education opportunities had arisen.[39] The Civil War proved that the "weaker sex" was much stronger, both mentally and physically, than society had expected. They had been forced to become more independent, and through the war came to a new understanding of themselves.

Slavery in Orange County

The issue of slavery during the Civil War was accompanied by a great deal of emotion amongst the citizens of 19th century Orange County. Letters, newspaper articles, public records, and other empirical evidence show that North Carolinians were split on the issue of slavery. As whispers of the dissolution of the Union turned into roars, some people were in favor of slavery, some were against it, and some avoided discussing the subject at all. Economics, politics and morality all played a role as citizens began to align themselves on their views regarding slavery. Their writings were there to record these thoughts.



RUNAWAY CAUGHT.

APPREHENDED and lodged in the jail at Hillsborough, Orange county, N. C., on the 21st day of April, a Negro Man, *supposed to be sixty years old, quite black, about five feet six or seven inches high.* He says his name is SAM, and *belongs to Mathew Terry, at Snow Hill, Gates county, N. C.* The owner can get him, by proving property, and paying all costs and charges.

R. M. JONES, Sheriff.

April 30. 41—

Hillsborough Recorder, July 30, 1862

In 1860, the population of the United States of America was 31,183,582 people. The population of the state of North Carolina was 992,622 people. Three hundred and thirty-one

[38] Chamberlain, *Old Days*, 94.

[39] Rable, *Civil War*, 265.

thousand fifty-nine of those people were registered slaves.[40] More than 33 percent of all people in North Carolina were slaves. These numbers and percentages ranked in the top half of all of the states of the Union in 1860. Early inferences may determine that slavery was an extremely significant institution throughout the state. However, further research proves this untrue.

Additional inquiry into census tables shows that agricultural slavery existed to a limited extent west of the mountainous regions in Southern states, as compared to the eastern portion. Author Daniel R. Goodloe notes that the tables show that in the years leading up to the end of the Atlantic slave trade in 1850, population growth in the southern states began to stagnate. During these years the western half of North Carolina was the only half of the state that showed growth in population, in spite of the fact that the tobacco regions and the majority of slaveholding regions were chiefly confined in the eastern part of the state.[41] At this time in North Carolina history it appears that economic opportunity was more likely to be found in regions not heavily invested in slavery.

The research process has helped reveal what many different North Carolina citizens thought about the issue of slavery leading up to the Civil War, as their opinions are notably documented in antebellum newspapers such as the *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *Raleigh Register*. These opinions reflected in writing illuminate the fact that Orange County did not have a unified voice regarding abolishing or maintaining slavery.

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[40] United States Census Bureau, "Population of the United States in 1860."

[41] Daniel R. Goodloe, Inquiry into the Causes Which Have Retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern States: in Which the Question of Slavery is Considered in a Politico-Economical Point of View. By a Carolinian. (Washington D.C.: W. Blanchard Printer, 1846) 17-18.

A letter written by Benjamin S. Hedrick, an employee of the University of North Carolina was published in the *North Carolina Standard* on October 4, 1856. Hedrick's opinion can be summed in the sentence, "I *cannot* believe that slavery is preferable to freedom, or that slavery extension is one of the constitutional rights of the South."[42] The objective of the letter however, was not to simply express his opinion. In his letter, Hedrick was adamant about disassociating his opinions with that of the University that employed him. Interestingly, another piece of evidence regarding this same disassociation exists. In a letter by Hedrick to the secretary of the board of trustees of UNC-CH, Hedrick again defends his opinion. This time however, he excessively apologizes for the attention that it brought to the University. So incensed was the board of trustees that Hedrick's letter was essentially one pleading to retain his job. Hedrick writes, "For my own part I am very sorry that I have been the occasion of trouble to the committed. But I hope that when they come to know me better they will find me to be one not deserving to be driven from the state by hue and cry."[43]

The Dialectic Society at UNC-CH has records that are available for viewing via microfilm at Wilson Library. The contrast in opinion on slavery between generations within the University is illuminated in one of the society's meetings. On October 22, 1844, the society posed the question to its members, "Ought slavery to be abolished?"[44] Surprisingly, the majority

[42] Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, s.v. "Slavery and the Making of the University: Professor Hedrick's Defence," http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/exhibits/slavery/documents/hedrickletter_1.html (accessed December 1, 2010). See also, https://catalog.lib.unc.edu/catalog/UNCb6256805.

[43] Benjamin S. Hedrick to Charles Manly, October 14, 1856, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/exhibits/slavery/documents/14oct1856.html.

[44] University Archives at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, s.v. "Dialetic Society of the North Carolina Records," http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/uars/ead/40152.html#d1e98 (accessed November 20, 2010).

of the students answered affirmatively, saying that slavery should be abolished. UNC-CH students, who were relatively withdrawn from the pros or cons of abolishing slavery, determined righteously that slavery should be abolished.

Orange County Economy

In the midst of the Civil War, Orange County's economy changed drastically. Through an examination of sources like the *Hillsborough Recorder*, books, and archives about this period, it is seen that the farm-based economy suffered from the absence of soldiers who were off fighting the war rather than tending to their farms. This agricultural community shifted to one based more on factories due to the strong demand for war materials such as gun powder and the advancement in production of agricultural goods. Some issues that hit the economy were marked by factors like inflation and the shortage of goods.

During the beginning of the Civil War, the economy in Orange County was largely based on farming. People in this area made a living by producing crops such as corn, wheat, cotton and tobacco. [45] People also raised livestock and sold the meat these animals produced to make a living. This activity was exemplified from a letter from the wife of William Horn Battle, an Orange County resident, who requested money from her husband to buy pork from a local resident. [46] At the beginning of the Civil War, food stuffs were not the only items people were selling to make a living. The selling of slaves was another aspect that contributed to the economy of Orange County. Slaves were often sold outside of the Hillsborough Courthouse and the

[45] Robert C. Kenzer. Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987): 35.

[46] Lucy Martin Plummer to William Horn Battle, January 27, 1861, Battle Family papers. Southern Historical Collection of Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

advertisements for these events were often placed in the *Hillsborough Recorder*.[47] Due to the demands of the war and the fact that many farmers were now soldiers, this agricultural based economy began to transform and became more industrialized with the increased demand for war goods and materials.

The economic structure in Orange County changed during the Civil War because many men who were farmers prior to war were now soldiers. This idea was exemplified through the sons of James Bennett. James Bennett was the owner of Bennett Farm, a farm in Orange County, and during the Civil War his two sons left to become soldiers, leaving the rest of the Bennett family behind to manage the farm.[48] Soldiers leaving their farms for war often put a strain on those who were left behind. [49] The total number of farms in Orange County decreased by fifty percent between 1860 and 1870.[50] The decrease in farms also brought along problems including inflation and a shortage of goods.[51]

With the decrease in farms came an increase in the industrial factories of Orange County. Among these factories were mills, some of which produced war goods like gun powder. This is evident through an article in the *Hillsborough Recorder* that describes the explosion of a local powder mill, the North Carolina Powder Manufacturing Company, in May of 1863.[52] Another

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[47] Thomas Webb. "Negroes for Sale". *The Hillsborough Recorder*, December 17, 1862.

[48] "Bennett Place". North Carolina Historic Sites. Accessed at www.nchistoricsites.org/bennett/main.htm., November 29, 2010.

[49] Robert C. Kenzer. *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881*. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987): 84.

[50]Robert C. Kenzer. *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881*. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987): 102.

[51]Ibid. 86.

[52] "Explosion of a Powder Mill". *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 27, 1863.

factory located in Orange County was Alexander Kennedy's rifle manufacturing company that moved there in 1863.[53] Evidence of Orange County's industrialized economy, with the advancement of the Civil War, can also be seen in the Battle Family papers. In a letter dated December 15, 1862, the writer asks Governor Zebulon Vance if the wheat that was ground in the mills of A.B. Hawkins and shipped to the South to sell had come under his order.[54] This shows that even where a system of farming remained, like in the production of wheat, there was now a factory based sector used to actually grind this wheat. The Hillsborough Military Academy, which was previously used to educate young men and prepare them for life in service, was transformed into a manufacturing and storage facility for a short period of time in 1862.[55] This shows the importance and need for manufacturing facilities in the area during this period.

Factory Growth

The increase in factories can also be seen by the call for more labor in order to enhance the production of war materials and goods. This concept is displayed in an article in the *Hillsborough Recorder* on April 9, 1962. In the article there is a plea for the people to labor and join together in unity to make clothes, gunboats and ships because there was not enough money to buy them from foreign countries. It reads "In the meantime, however, we must manufacture for ourselves and raise our own provision."[56] This letter shows that during the Civil War there

[53] William Morris. "The History of Place: Histories of the 1800's People, Places, & Things-Southern Cultures, Lifestyles, and Folk Life," Historic Explorer On-line Magazine. Accessed at http://historic-explorer.com/civil_war_in_florence_ala., November 29, 2010.

[54] John Milton to Governor Vance, December 15, 1862, Battle Family Paper. Southern Historical Collection of Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel.

[55] "The Hillsborough Military Academy", Ancestry.com. Accessed at http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~orangecountync/places/hma/hma.html, November 29, 2010.

[56] "Variety of Labor- Unity of Design," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 9, 1862.

was a strong emphasis on laboring and manufacturing, even though Orange County residents had to produce goods for themselves as well. Prior to the war people mostly relied on farm life to produce the necessities for living, but now they also had to contribute to an industrialized sector to produce the goods and war materials for the Civil War.

Printing Press Technology in Orange County

The printing press during the Civil War allowed for rapid production of newspapers in both the North and South. Newspapers were delivered by wagons, but the railroad allowed for them to be more widely distributed across the country.[57] Developments in printing allowed for the publishing of magazines, like *Carolina and the Southern Cross*, a Confederate magazine based in North Carolina.[58] Until the late 1860s, paper was manufactured from linen or cotton rags, which allowed for the newspapers to hold up well over time.[59] In the later years of the war, the paper supply had sufficiently diminished, and printers had to make do with wallpaper, flour sacks, or anything else they could find that would be able to hold printed text. By the end of the war, wood pulp paper had become more popular with newspaper owners as it was cheap and easy to acquire.[60]

On the battlefield, soldiers on both sides began to use a portable printing press that was designed especially for the Army and Navy. Called the Adams Cottage Press, the small machine

[57] Betty Winfield and Chad Painter, "'We Have No Newspapers -Dull, Dull!' American Civil War Media Dependency." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Denver, CO, Aug 4, 2010.

[58] Gordon B McKinney. "Women's Role in Civil War Western North Carolina,"

North Carolina Historical Review 69, no. 1.

[59] "Robert A. Bates Memorial Print Shop." Welcome To Sharlot Hall Museum. Accessed at www.sharlot.org.

[60] Ibid.

did not include a self-inking system or a frisket, which served to hold the paper in place while printing.[61] In an advertisement for the Adams printing press, the text reads: "To the army and navy . . . they will be found very useful. They can be packed within the compass of a common traveling trunk, and transported any distance without injury."[62] This shows that there was just as much importance on the battlefield for getting the news as there was on the home front.

The developments in printing and the low price of paper in the beginning of the war also made daily newspapers more readily available. In a December 1862 issue of the *Hillsborough Recorder*, an advertisement for a Raleigh daily newspaper, the *Daily State Journal*, reported that the telegraph could provide them with news from all parts of the Confederacy two times a day.[63] The editor, John Spelman, also promised that reliable correspondents would be placed in the battlefields and with civilians to allow for better reporting around the state, and legislative proceedings in the Confederacy would be reported on daily by the newspaper.[64] The *Daily State Journal* was active from 1862 to 1864.[65]

Newspaper editors also allowed their reporters to travel to the places where the news was happening. In an 1861 issue of the *Charleston Mercury,* an article said, "Raleigh, North Carolina is alive with soldiers…16 companies comprising 1,200 men, rank and file, are encamped at the

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[61] "Civil War Field Printing." Smithsonian National Museum of American History. Accessed at www.americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/index.cfm.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Prospectus of the *Daily State Journal*," *Hillsborough Recorder.* December 17, 1862.

[64] Ibid.

[65] "About This Newspaper: *The Daily State Journal*." Chronicling America - The Library of Congress. Accessed at www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020754/.

fairgrounds."[66] This shows that reporters were getting their news from the places where it occurred and were able to report back to their headquarters so they could share it with the rest of the world. This more hands-on approach to journalism is evidence of the new techniques reporters were using to give responsible, accurate news to their readers.

By the end of the war, print technology had advanced so much that almost everyone could both afford and maintain a printing press. Machines were able to print larger quantities of newspapers in a faster time period, and with improvements such as self-inking and self-feeding apparatuses, there was not as much need for men to aid in the labor of putting together the newspapers.[67] Even young amateur writers were taking part in the revolution by using smaller presses that were less than a third of the size of some of the original machines. The Civil War was just the beginning of the technological revolution that was to come in later years.

Conclusion

The Civil War provoked a change in all aspects of the Orange County society. The issues of the war had a lasting effect on the citizens in the areas of politics and education. Women from the area changed by relieving themselves from their status quo roles and stepping up to assist their soldiers. The issue of slavery in Orange County came to light when some were willing to stand up and voice their abolitionist views. With farmers off in the war, the Orange County economy transitioned in to one that was just as centered on the production of war goods and materials as it had previously been on farming. Technological advances in the production of paper, the printing press, and the methods of acquiring news sparked an innovation in the press

[66] Brayton Harris. Newspapers in the Civil War 1861-1865: History, and an Essay. Accessed at www.civil-war-newspapers.com.

[67] "Civil War Field Printing."

during the Civil War. All elements of the Orange County Society were able to evolve and change during the Civil War, an event that not only altered the aspects of this community but the nation as a whole.

2.

A Broken Business: Newspapering in the American Civil War

By Caitie Forde-Smith, Jeremy Gerlach, Jessica Hayes, Rachel Lewis, Christina Serrano, and Kate Sievers

"I was very much pleased to hear of the soldier making a raid upon old Holden's office. It undoubtedly would have been the primary step towards promoting the honor of North Carolina had they pitched old Holden into the streets and broke his neck instead of the press."

— NC Private Jacob Hanes, 1863[68]

In 1863, William Woods Holden, then-editor of the *North Carolina Standard*, was fighting a losing battle. Just two years earlier, his home state had seceded from the Union, despite his desperate attempts in both his writing and appearances to convince readers to vote to do otherwise. His words would quickly make him an enemy of the larger Confederacy. He had lost his official state printing license and countless subscribers. Like most editors in the region, he was fighting to keep his publication alive despite the challenges brought on by the war: unpaid subscriptions and little advertising, getting the news from the frontlines and supply shortages of every kind. Now, he was losing any remaining public support he had managed to keep thus far.[69]

Although arguably Holden brought a lot of his woes on himself, the faltering editor's story describes struggles most Southern newspapers endured in one form or another throughout

[68] Betty Winfield and Chad Painter, "'We Have No Newspapers – Dull, Dull!' American Civil War Media Dependency." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Denver, CO, Aug 4, 2010.

[69] Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970).

the war, whether loyal to the South or not. The business of newspapering was already a rough and tumble one, but the divisional conflict only doubled the industry's former problems. Each new issue off the Southern presses was a stretch in patience and public opinion. America's bloodiest war would change the practice and products of journalism forever. Nearly every aspect of publication was affected: the relationship between editors and their readers, regional competition, supply shortages, newsworthy content, advertisements, and attribution. But, newspapers and editors survived. As a result, so did the business.

An item from the *Newbern (NC) Progress* that was reprinted in its in-state fellow *Hillsborough Recorder* summed up the plight faced by most Southern editors almost from the outbreak of hostilities. "No town of any consequence at all would like to be without a newspaper in these exciting times," the papers told their readers, "and hence it is the duty of every community to see, first, that a living patronage is secured for its own local publications." In an appeal that sought to enlist the community in a partnership to provide the news residents wanted, the item continued:

> In our own case, as with others, the two main items of our business, heretofore – job work and advertising – has [sic] almost entirely ceased, and hence we are left to rely almost entirely with expenses undiminished, upon the money received for subscriptions to keep up the business. Of course, this is a matter of *self-interest* with us. But then would not the community, as such, suffer greatly by being deprived of the only paper they have at this time? We think so; and if they would ensure its continuance during these trying times they must exert themselves to increase its circulation. We hope those who are not willing to see this town without a paper will think of this.[70]

The *Recorder* dropped a concluding paragraph from the *Progress*, in which yet another North Carolina paper, the *Wilmington Journal*, expanded on the theme of dire consequences to

[70] "Look to Your Home Papers," *Newbern (NC) Weekly Progress*. May 14, 1861. *Hillsborough (NC) Recorder*, May 22, 1861.

both newspaper and reader without a more collaborative support. The entire item offers a glimpse into the fragile economics of newspapering, particularly during the Civil War, and underscores that even "these exciting times," newspaper subscribers were there for the advertising as well as news. Losing the advertising meant an immediate loss of income to the paper, but it also devalued the paper and made it less dear to the reader:

> The following from the Wilmington *Journal* shows that this prostration in newspaper business is general, and others as well as ourself [sic] are feeling it:
>
> ["]Owing to the great falling off in advertising business, the *Petersburg (VA) Express* has been forced to raise its subscription price from $4 to $5. These are very hard times on newspapers. They must telegraph, [sic] if they would hope to be taken at all, for people to take papers only for the news, and the latest that the lightning can flash. And while expenses are increased, business in the way of advertising and jobbing – and these are the great stand-bys – is almost at a stand-still. To enable the papers here and elsewhere to be sustained and to keep up with the requirements of their readers, a largely increased [subscriber] list, paid in cash, is absolutely necessary. Unlike other kinds of business, we cannot curtail or suspend for the time being – not even for a day. In these times the people cannot do without the papers – to have them as they ought to be, they must sustain them A word to the wise is sufficient.["][71]

Their belief in the absolute of uninterrupted service notwithstanding, as the war went on the newspapers did end up curtailing the size of their sheets and the frequency of circulation until more than one suspended publication or went out of business altogether.[72]

Newspapers like the *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *North Carolina Standard* were read by everyone from Chapel Hill's intellectuals, Hillsborough's military cadets, local farmers,

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[71] Ibid.

[72] See, for instance, "Newspaper Establishment for Sale," *Daily Confederate*, Raleigh, NC, February 26, 1864.

clergymen and industrial workmen, and the women of the region.[73] Their demand for news from the battle and personal opinions are reflected in their published, public letters to various editors.

In the South, editors more often than not used their power as journalists to set agendas and persuade the public. Several papers from Raleigh and Orange County's *Recorder* are evidence of this local competition and politically charged printing.

Wartime newspapers had difficulty staying in business, keeping employees and distributing the news – especially in the South. Not all these changes were negative. Overwhelming interest and public demand for expedient and efficient information from the battlefields changed the way journalists received and wrote of the news. As the industry developed, so did things like today's newspaper styling and an inverted pyramid structure.

Advertisements during the Civil War were nearly the only source of revenue after subscriptions for newspapers.[74] They also served as another vehicle of public opinion — conveying what was important to the readers and creating a sense of normalcy and community connection despite total turmoil.

Unlike modern papers, newspapers in the Civil War did not receive the bulk of their stories from reporters. Instead, they used correspondents in the field, travelers, other newspapers in the exchange press and telegraph reports to gather news during the war. Each source of information had its advantages and disadvantages. Newspapers in the Orange County area during the Civil War used third-party reports heavily to gather their news.

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[73] Jim Wise, *On Sherman's Trail; the Civil War's North Carolina Climax*. Charleston, S.C. The History Press. 2008.

[74] During a class lecture on October 1, 2010, Dr. Frank Fee noted that advertisements were integral to the business of Civil War newspapering because they allowed publications to become less reliant on subscriptions for revenue, and therefore more affordable.

A New *Standard* in the Business

Born near Hillsborough on November 2, 1818, Holden was the illegitimate son of Thomas Holden and Priscilla Woods. After the age of six, he was raised by his stepmother, Sally Nichols Holden. Four years later, he would begin work in the newspaper business under the watchful eye and apprenticeship of Dennis Heartt, then-editor of the *Hillsborough Recorder*.[75]

Heartt was already an established name in the industry before moving south from Philadelphia. After an early apprenticeship under Ezra Read and Abel Morse, printers in New Haven, CT, Heartt would establish the *Philadelphia Repertory* in May 1810. The publication would remain in operation for two years. The *Repertory*'s content was mostly defined by discussions and reviews of literary significance. In 1812, Heartt would pioneer another venue, a magazine known as *The Bureau*, or *Repository of Literature Politics*, and *Intelligence.* Sometime before February 1820, Heartt contracted smallpox and was advised by his physician to seek a permanent home with warmer temperatures and milder weather.[76]

Thus were the circumstances of his arrival in Hillsborough. The reasons for his decision to choose the small North Carolina town remain unknown, though the ramifications of this action would forever change the print culture of Orange County. The *Hillsborough Recorder* would become the first paper published west of the state's capital. For fifty years, Heartt's newspaper was the dominant source for news and public opinion in the region.

[75] "William Woods Holden, 24 Nov. 1818-2 Nov. 1892." In the *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996).

[76] "Dennis Heartt, 6 Nov. 1783-13 May 1870." In the *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996).

The *Recorder* devoted much of its content to the politics of the day, and Heartt was publically recognized as a powerful supporter of the Whig party. The *Recorder*'s political undertones are believed to have had at least some effect on the ten-year-old, printer's devil Holden. During their six-year relationship, Heartt is credited with providing Holden not only with his earliest education, but also his personal political ideology as well.[77]

In 1842, Holden would buy the publishing rights to Raleigh's financially weak *North Carolina Standard*. Under his guidance, the paper would become one of the most widely read in the state. It was considered a solid vehicle for Democratic Party support. Not much would change as Holden soon became a well-known figure in North Carolina. Though he was named a state printer, he failed to garner enough party support to be nominated for governor or United States senator. His resentment over the lack of Democratic support would lead him to switch ideological sides and wholeheartedly support the Union in the secessionist crisis.[78]

As a leader of the North Carolina peace movement, he would face bitter opposition during the war. In September 1863, all of his personal papers and type were destroyed in a sacking of the *Standard*'s office by Confederate troops. He was publically hated by many of his former readers, including the zealous Private Hanes. But he remained fiercely loyal to his publication. After the war and the South's defeat, he was offered a once-prized position: a seat in the United States Senate. Ultimately, he refused in order to continue his editorial work.[79]

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[77] Powell, "William Woods Holden" in *Dictionary of North Carolina*.

[78] Ibid. Many historians speculate that Holden was not supported for these higher political positions because of his illegitimate birth and humble beginnings.

[79] Ibid.

Readers' Responses: Letters to the Editor

Though often generalized with the rest of the South as working primarily in agriculture, the men and women of Orange County and their occupations were surprisingly varied.[80] While mostly farmers, there were also intellectuals and college students in Chapel Hill; military cadets in Hillsborough; a growing contingent of industrial workers in textile and weapons industries moving in from Union County and outer Fayetteville; and a relatively large network of clergymen and religious leaders.[81]

As citizens of the "Old North State," the inhabitants of Chapel Hill, Hillsborough and Raleigh were also defined by their conflicted politics. Even in the midst of Confederate supremacy, regional anti-secessionist sentiment not only existed, but thrived. As newspapers became more widely available to an ever-growing audience, that audience had a greater ability to affect the contents of publication – most notably in the form of letters to the editors.[82]

By the latter stages of the war, desertion was a huge problem for Confederate forces opposing General William T. Sherman's march through the Carolinas. On March 22, 1865, Heartt's *Recorder* published letters written directly by Confederate General Robert E. Lee. His correspondence encouraged these runaway soldiers to rejoin their comrades with promises of reprieves, reinstatements, and full pardons. Lee's letter reads: "A last opportunity is offered [deserters] to wipe out the disgrace and escape the punishment of their crimes. ... A pardon is

[80] Wise, *On Sherman's Trail*, 123.

[81] Ibid., 51.

[82] While published pieces of print culture, like this can be very revealing, they have the potential to be quite *concealing*. These letters do reveal a great deal about the men and women who wrote them, but they perhaps may have overshadowed letters others wrote to the editor which were never printed. This may be due to the phenomenon known as agenda setting on behalf of the editors and printers themselves. Or perhaps, letters were never even written due to either a lack of time, resources, or interest.

announced to such deserters and men improperly absent as shall return to the commands to which they belong within the shortest possible time."[83] The deeper motives of Lee and those of Heartt as well, may have been driven by the known fact of North Carolina's earlier dissent from secessionist ideology. As the conflict began to draw toward an unfavorable close for the Confederacy, Lee needed the Southern press to spread word of his clemency and willingness to make uncommon concessions to men who would have otherwise been shot.[84]

Aside from opinions of the developing economy and the war, letters to the editor proved an effective means by which politicians and their constituencies could interact. William A. Graham, arguably one of Hillsborough's most influential inhabitants ever, exchanged letters with his supporters through the *Standard* in 1865 regarding his decision to withdraw from contention for election to the United States Senate.[85] Graham stated in his initial announcement of withdrawal that his exclusion from government was akin to the "banishment of non-assenters," and against the very intentions of democracy. His followers replied in a letter published September 20, 1865: "The privilege of voting loses half its value and all its dignity when the elector is forbidden to cast his vote for the person of his choice."[86] Graham, in response to this letter, actually decided to protest his ineligibility, but was again denied — this time because North Carolina would not be re-admitted to the Union until 1866.[87]

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[83] Robert E. Lee, *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 22, 1865.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Graham ironically had refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederacy but was still allowed to serve in the state Senate. At the conclusion of the Civil War, despite taking an oath of loyalty to the Union, he was not granted amnesty due to his previous service in the Confederate government.

[86] Lemuel Lynch, *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 20, 1865.

[87] "Graham, William Alexander," in the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. Accessed at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=G000362 November 15, 2010.

Isolated from its historical background, this series of letters on Graham's dilemma seems to be a simple, yet poignant discourse on the nature of democracy. In context with Orange County's print culture in the years during the Civil War, however, the correspondence reveals the interdependency of the press, readership and government. More importantly, the letters reveal the conflicted choices some North Carolinians were asked to make amid the changing political tides of war, secession and reconstruction.

Springtime Switch: Political Plays by Local Press

The *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *North Carolina Standard* were weekly publications, printed every Wednesday. Each featured four pages of news, announcements and advertisements, and the two often reported the same things each week in dramatically different ways.

The *Standard*'s political leanings were blatant, overstated and right on the front page. Holden's name was found in large type and fully capitalized in the *Standard* masthead. Politically charged articles were normally placed just below this banner, and these articles were almost always written subjectively from Holden's point of view.

Until the state's secession in May 1861, the *Standard* had not favored abolition or newly elected President Abraham Lincoln, yet it did not endorse destroying the Union either. More accurately, the *Standard* was essentially pro-*Standard* and pro-Holden. The publication frequently featured Holden's political commentary and ideology. The *Standard* was so widely read in North Carolina that for many readers of the 1860s it was perhaps their single source of news.

The *Hillsborough Recorder* also had a political bias and agenda similar to that of the *Standard*. Yet, the *Recorder*'s political voice was markedly weaker than the voices of its Raleigh competition. The paper rarely printed political articles on the first page, even before the war

began. Heartt chose to put the masthead at the bottom of the last page. Front-page articles usually revolved around farming and agriculture, a fiction piece of prose or poetry, health-related issues or advertisements and community announcements. It was on the paper's two inner pages that political news was found. Even still, these texts were written from a different ideological standpoint and were less imposing and forceful.

Like the *Standard*, Heartt's publication was pro-slavery, anti-Lincoln, and anti-war. Before secession, the *Recorder* appeared to favor the Confederacy more than the *Standard*, though it continued to feature pointed articles scrutinizing the impending war and its effect on the unified states. Indeed, on February 27, 1861, Heartt published a speech delivered by Lincoln called "The Havoc of War." Lincoln's presentation urged the South to consider the future chaos that would be caused be the decision to secede from the Union and end in war.

Almost immediately after Lincoln made a call for troops to quell South Carolina's secession, the *Recorder* and *Standard* switched ideological sides. Both publications officially announced their support for a war on the same day, April 24, 1861. Lost were their old arguments that secession was a direct violation of the Constitution and an act of treason. The *Recorder* wrote: "North Carolina, of course, will co-operate earnestly with the Southern States in opposition to the encroachments of Lincoln."[88] Similarly, the *Standard* wrote: "We must unite and command the peace, if possible; if we fail in that, we must fight. This is the duty of the border States. They will prove equal to the crisis."[89]

[88] "Our Position," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 24, 1861.

[89] "The Border States Must Unite and Act!," *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, April 24, 1861.

In the first week of May 1860, both publications began closely following the war's growth and speed. Each printed front-page advertisement calling for soldiers and supplies for the Confederate effort. Sure enough, North Carolina officially seceded later that month.

Throughout the war, the opinions of both publications changed and varied. Many historians often refer to Holden as the Talleyrand of North Carolina politics because he changed his position, and that of the *Standard's* position, so often. [90] "Talleyrand" is a nod to the French revolutionist who famously changed sides routinely over the course of France's own civil war.[91]

A Raid Read Round the Region

On October 2, 1863, Holden addressed the North Carolina public on the entire front page of his *Standard*, revealing his frustration with the pressures and tensions he faced now because of the Civil War.[92] In his editorial, he demanded justification for a violent attack on his office, one which had prohibited him from publishing any response in rebuke until nearly an entire month after its occurrence.

On the night of September 9, 1863, a Georgia brigade came to Holden's home in search of the location of the *Standard*'s office. It being so late, Holden refused to allow the Confederate troops to search his office and turned them away, after providing them, of course, with copies of his publication.

Under specific orders of the commanding officer, the Georgia brigade broke into the *Standard*'s print room anyway, where they poured all the type into the street, damaged paper,

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[90] Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966).

[91] "Charles Maurice de Talleyrand." Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition (July 2010): 1-2. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCO*host*. Accessed December 10, 2010.

[92] William Woods Holden, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, October 2, 1863, 1.

and even attempted to pull down the power press. It was not until Governor Zebulon B. Vance arrived on the scene that the soldiers desisted from the raid.[93] Afterward, Holden blamed other rival papers in the area such as the *North Carolina State Journal* and the *Raleigh Register*. He declared: "My enemies may destroy my property, and even take my life, but they cannot break my spirit."[94] The next morning, upon hearing of the disturbance, a mob of citizens in support of Holden gathered at the *Journal*'s print room in retaliation and broke its presses, cases and windows, poured out the type and "left the whole concern a complete wreck."[95] Although Holden had previously "threatened Syme and Spelman (of the *Journal*) with mob violence and hanging if any harm came to him or his printing shop,"[96] he vehemently denounced the public's aggressive actions in his October notice. He even claimed to have helped save the *Register* from the same ill fate.[97] Over the next few weeks, one Alabama brigade and 25 armed South Carolinians unsuccessfully set out with the same intentions of the earlier Georgians.[98]

This chain reaction of mob violence was only one culmination of the internal woes facing Orange county papers during the Civil War. The *Standard* alone recorded 154 direct and indirect threats throughout the course of the war, 119 of those in 1863 and 1864. The *Register* only recorded 43 similar cases.[99]

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 16, 1863.

[96] Editorial, *Raleigh Register*, August 19, 1863, 2.

[97] William Woods Holden, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, October 2, 1863, 1.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Stephen W. Brauer, "Testing Siebert's proposition II: A Civil War Case Study," (Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1968), 35.

This was a time where the actions of many, readers and editors alike, were based on fear: fear of the Union; of opposing ideology; and of imprisonment. Newspapers became a "powerful weapon wielded by those whose prime interest was self-interest,"[100] and it was the often the reining general or government's fear of these papers that caused difficulty in getting them published and distributed. The *Standard* was one of the most controversial newspapers around,[101] and one of many Southern papers that stopped publishing on several different occasions either from forced suspension or to prevent government action. Heartt and his *Recorder* often reported on the condition of the *Standard* and Heartt wrote of his former apprentice's silence that there were "no reasons for the Raleigh *Standard* suspension."[102] Holden personally claimed that he stopped publishing upon the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1863 — out of fear of getting arrested.[103]

Another form of censorship for controversial papers came from the Confederate government. In order to edit military reports, the government took over the telegraph system and tried to control the distribution to subscribers in the military.[104] Holden predicted this government censorship of distribution, writing of military despotism: "We have a large number

[100] Lorman A. Ratner, and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., *Fanatics & Fire-Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 33.

[101] Brauer, "A Civil War Case Study," 35.

[102] *Hillsborough Recorder,* March 2, 1864.

[103] Letter, William Woods Holden to Calvin J. Cowles, March 18, 1864, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, Holden Collection, (from Brauer, "A Civil War Case Study," 25.)

[104] Brauer, "A Civil War Case Study," 24.

of subscribers in the army, but we think it probable... that our paper is detained... and not permitted to reach our troops."[105]

Another external threat that affected all newspapers and other businesses throughout the war was inflation. The most consistent method of staying in business, as seen in all the papers, was raising the prices and reducing printing space. The *Recorder* explained why it was forced to raise the price of its subscriptions: "The rise in the price of paper, and as great, if not greater increase in the price of provisions and everything we use, has compelled us to put up the price of the *Recorder*."[106] By the end of the war, paper cost "nine times as much as [they] paid before the war."[107] These restrictions caused papers to become less lenient in collecting money from their subscribers. Southern newspapers often shortened the length of time of the subscriptions, "owing to the condition of the currency and the uncertainty of the times."[108] They were consistent in explicating the reason for price increases and asking its consumers to support the new terms: "We regret to have to make this advance, but our readers will see that we cannot continue the *Standard* at former prices without falling in debt."[109] On February 10, 1864, the *Recorder* explained to the public its current state of paper shortage: "Although our space is considerably reduced, we can still make room for all important intelligence, and many political and

[105] William Woods Holden, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, Jan 2, 1863.

[106] Editorial, *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 10, 1864, 1.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, October 2, 1863, 1.

[109] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, December 1, 1863.

miscellaneous articles, and we shall, as far as our ability and means will admit, continue our efforts to make the recorder useful, reliable and interesting."[110]

Some papers were so reduced in supplies that they were forced to completely alter the paper in order to fit the news. Only a month after the *Recorder's* announcement, the paper was reduced to a half sheet, and it promised to "render the half sheet as compact and interesting as possible."[111] The *Standard* wrote a notice to its correspondents assuring them that it had received many lengthy communications, but can only publish what its space allowed. It then proceeded to kindly tell them: "Our friends will oblige us by condensing their thoughts as much as possible. The price of paper rigidly requires this."[112]

Conscription laws in 1862 served as a direct external impact from the war because it "took away most of the able-bodied young men,"[113] and caused a loss of workers to run the business. The Military Exemption Act in 1863 allowed "one editor of each newspaper now being published and such employees as the editor or proprietor"[114] could certify upon oath and be discharged from fighting. This gave assurance that press rooms would not be completely abandoned, but papers were still in need of help. On February 6, 1863, the *Standard* issued an advertisement with a tone of urgency: "Wanted – immediately at the *Standard* office two or three No. 1 journeymen printers, with a prospect of steady work for several months."[115]

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[110] Editorial, *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 10, 1864.

[111] Editorial, *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 29, 1865.

[112] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, August 26, 1862.

[113] Bauer, "A Civil War Case Study," 15.

[114] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, January 16, 1863.

[115] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, February 6, 1863.

Not all the effects of the war were negative. Although Orange County papers struggled publishing and distributing the news and getting subscribers to pay, there was no problem in creating a demand for the news. The *Standard* issued an article concurring with the *Fayetteville Observer* in 1863, how it had more than doubled in subscriptions over the past year.[116] More than 15 towns, including Durham, Chapel Hill, Hillsborough and Greensboro received subscriptions from the *Standard*.[117] In order to quickly answer the high demand, the press dramatically changed the way it told the news. Perhaps the most beneficial effect of the Civil War on journalism is the creation of the modern inverted pyramid style.[118] When Holden reported the attack on his office, he wrote, "On Wednesday night the 9th of September, 1863, my printing office was mobbed by a portion of Gen. Benning's Georgia brigade."[119] There was not a single promise or hint of surprise in his tone or structure. He merely provides, quickly, the information which was most important – the news his readers wished to know.

Death and Taxes: *Recorder* Advertising and War

The *Hillsborough Recorder* offers a rich look into the culture of newspaper advertisements in Orange County and reflects some of the community's values during that time. In the years just before the war, most advertisements were for common goods like groceries, shoes and sewing machines. In other cases, there was no limit to the variation or concentration of

[116] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, January 6, 1863.

[117] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, September 3, 1862, 3.

[118] David B. Sachsman, S. Kittrell Rushing, and Debra Reddin van Tuyll, eds. *The Civil War and the Press* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000),181.

[119] Editorial, *North Carolina Weekly Standard*, October 2, 1863, 1.

these ads. Schools were advertised, including all-girls schools, military academies, and private institutions. The sales of raw materials such as iron and lumber were announced.

Very few of the advertisements were accompanied by graphics. The ones fortunate enough to do so, also seemed able to afford lengthy running times. In one instance, an advertisement for the Orange County Hotel ran for months at a time with a simple shield graphic, perhaps as a means to emphasize prestige.[120] Another, this one for Pepsin, a medicine represented by a pig, ran for more than a year.[121] Frequently, an advertisement running under the headline "For the Ladies," described the benefits of Phalon's Paphian Lotion for "removing freckles, tan, sunburn and pimples and making the skin smooth and soft."[122]

In 1861, a prankster of some sort at the *Recorder* appears to successfully commandeer one particular advertisement. As many of the advertisements ran for weeks at a time, so did an advertisement for wool in May of that year. The headline for the advertisement ran several times as "Wool! Wool! Wool!"[123] After running for several weeks, the headline suddenly changed to "Wool! Wool! Fool!" on May 1.[124] This joke continued for several weeks before it was spotted and changed back to its original form. It is likely the tomfoolery was the work of restless

[120] "Orange County Hotel," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 20, 1858.

[121] "Pepsin," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 20, 1858.

[122] "For the Ladies," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 23, 1861.

[123] See, for instance, "Wool! Wool! Wool!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 1, 1861, a heading found at least as far back as 18959. This particular advertisement is styled in the same fashion as many other 1860s advertisements. It was believed that the combination of repetition and exclamation marks was considered a good way to get readers' attention. See, for instance, "Vinegar! Vinegar!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, August 24, 1859; "Salt! Salt! Salt!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, June 4, 1862.

[124] "Wool! Wool! Fool!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 8, 15, 22, 1861.

apprentices. Samuel Clemens, aka Mark Twain, talks of similar tricks during his days as an apprentice in his brother's print office.[125]

Many of the longer, three and four line, advertisements were classified ads. They showed local residents wanting to buy or sell various items like land and houses. One important type of classified advertisement was that for the buying and selling of 'Negroes.' The placement of these advertisements for slaves was not special. They were placed among the other advertisements without any special attention — they were for all intents and purposes, normal, starkly reflecting the pro-slavery sentiment of the majority of the South during that time. Negeroes were described as "likely,"[126] "valuable,"[127] or "young."[128] One such advertisement read: "Sale of Negroes: Eight or Ten likely Negroes. The Negroes will be sold to pay debts, and not for any fault."[129] Other slave-related classified advertisements included notices of runaway slaves that had been either lost or found.

Some abolitionist sentiment did manage to make it onto the pages of the paper through advertisements. In 1863, notices regarding the *hire* of Negeroes began to appear. Rather than advertising for open job positions, they were announcements that a subscriber had already hired Negeroes. Because these announcements were strictly informative, but still appeared in the same format and oftentimes placed near the more traditional slave advertisements, they serve to inform

[125] See, for instance, Alice D. Schreyer, ed., "Mark Twain and 'The Old-Fashioned Printer,'" *Printing History* 3, no. 2 (1981): 33-36.

[126] "Negroes for Sale," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 8, 1860.

[127] "Negroes for Sale," *Hillsborough Recorder*, October 16, 1861.

[128] "Negroes for Sale," *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 10, 1862.

[129] "Sale of Negroes," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 23, 1861.

the entire community that a few Orange County citizens were challenging the slavery status quo. Another change in advertisements that occurred during the war was the introduction and frequent inclusion of out-of-business announcements. Rather than product promotion, these announcements served the purpose of debt settlement. One classified *Recorder* announcement by a businessman named D.C. Parks was headlined "Do Not All Come At Once!" and read:

> The subscriber having sold out his entire stock of goods, would say to his customers that he will turn his attention to the settlement of his books. You will find his room up stairs in the same house in which he did his business. All persons indebted to him are requested to come forward and pay, as Taxes are bound to be paid there are two things in this world that are certain — Death and Taxes; and he would like to be prepared for both. All persons having open accounts if they cannot settle by note, will please come forward and settle with money.[130]

This particular type of advertisement reflects the poor economic conditions brought on by the lengthy, lead-ridden war. Many notices of business dissolution and credit problems were reported in the normal advertising section of the paper. Other advertisements that signaled the impact of the war included those that called for volunteer soldiers and guards and for the donation of goods for sick soldiers. The Ladies' Aid Society submitted such an advertisement in which they offered to trade any kind of good for woolen socks to be sent off to soldiers in need.[131]

Attribution in Action

[130] "Do Not All Come at Once!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 4, 1861.

[131] "Woolen Socks!," *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 4, 1861.

The *Recorder* and the *Standard* exhibited similar story sources and methods of attribution. Because both papers were read by a relatively local audience, neither paper had the resources to maintain full-time reporters and correspondents in the field to provide first-hand war reports. Instead, they used accounts from travelers, letters from soldiers and reports from other newspapers to provide their readers with news of the war.[132]

The use of the "exchange press" by clipping and republishing material from other newspapers was the main source of war news for the *Recorder*.[133] It was the fastest and most efficient method of information gathering because of limited resources. The *Recorder* featured stories from both neighboring papers and national papers. Some local papers from which the *Recorder* clipped stories from were the *North Carolina Journal*, the *Standard*, and the *Richmond Whig*.[134] A few distant newspapers the *Recorder* received stories from included the *New York Herald*, the *Chicago Times*, and the *Cincinnati Gazette*.[135] The variance of the newspapers used for this type of article reprinting could be attributed to the convenience and availability of these papers, especially since Hillsborough was a railroad stop.

One of the more direct methods upon which the *Recorder* and *Standard* received news from the battlefield was through letters to the editor written from soldiers. Both papers featured letters to the editor from multiple soldiers throughout the Civil War period.[136] While some issues

[132] *Hillsborough Recorder, North Carolina Weekly Standard*.

[133] *Hillsborough Recorder*.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

[136] *Hillsborough Recorder, North Carolina Weekly Standard*.

of the *Recorder* featured letters from multiple soldiers, other issues were devoid of them.[137] Correspondence with soldiers was sporadic because of mail delays, battles, and troop movements. The letters would usually be dated approximately a week and a half prior to the publication date. The soldiers who wrote to the *Recorder* wrote about daily life in military camp, commentary on battles, and expressions of gratitude to the women of Hillsborough for sending supplies. In one letter, the soldier who signed his letters simply as "F.," expressed his thanks to these ladies in multiple paragraphs, concluding by writing: "we believe that the ladies of Hillsborough are the most considerate and kind."[138] This sentiment was echoed in subsequent letters from "F" as well as letters from other soldiers.

The style of attribution of stories varied widely among issues, and variation also occurred within the same issue. In all instances, the *Recorder* and *Standard* gave credit to the source of the story; however, the location of the attribution continually changed. For the most part, the *Recorder* named the paper from which it clipped at the beginning of the story. But the name of the paper would also appear within and beneath the story as well.[139] The lack of attribution uniformity could be because the newspaper type was set by hand. The attribution contained within stories ranged from short phrases to long sentences such as, "We are indebted to our friend A.E. Crutchfield of the Petersburg Express for the following highly interesting news by telegraph."[140] In this one sentence, the paper has named the source in three different ways, by name, by news outlet, and by news type.

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[137] *Hillsborough Recorder.*

[138] *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 9, 1862.

[139] *Hillsborough Recorder*.

[140] Ibid., September 18, 1861.

Another common occurrence in the *Recorder* was the multiple updates of stories that were taken from other newspapers. The *Recorder* would take the initial story from a paper, and then print additional information. For example, the *Recorder* reprinted a story about a Maryland regiment's desertion from the *Lynchburg Republican*.[141] The story included a caveat that the report had not been confirmed by other papers. Then, further down in the story, it is said that another source corroborated the story. This kind of updating of stories was possible because the *Recorder* was a weekly paper and had time to find out further information, but the fact that the original type was still used reflects economizing of time in effort by not resetting the entire story. It was a common practice during the period. Stories contained these separate updates because the type was set by hand and for time's sake, it was more efficient to not incorporate the changes into the original story.

Broken, Not Buried

The business of newspapering during the American Civil War was far from easy. The changes to the industry brought on by the conflict were abrupt and accosting. Readers and editors alike continued to demand excellence from their publications, even when faced with several problems: local, heated competition with rival neighboring papers; mob violence; a shortage of supplies and resources of every kind; and forced adjustments in advertising and attribution. But the business was only broken, not buried. Holden, Hearttt, and their fellow North Carolina publishers ultimately survived, alongside their bruised nation. The country and the business of newspapering collected themselves and carried on. Things would never be the same, not for the business of newspapering. But that is a different story.

[141] Ibid., December 18, 1861.

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"The Rebellion is now virtually at an end":
Facts and Fiction from the Fredericksburg Battlefield

**By Will Bocholis, Nicole Brosan, Will Futrell,
McKay Glasgow, and Alex Linder**

Abstract

This chapter examines how the Battle of Fredericksburg was portrayed to readers in the Chapel Hill area. The coverage of two Northern newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; and three Southern newspapers, the *Raleigh Register*, the *North Carolina Standard*, and *The Richmond Enquirer*, were compared to that of the *Hillsborough Recorder*, an Orange County newspaper. Reports of the Union's defeat at Fredericksburg included factual inaccuracies within all of the newspapers studied. When compared to Northern papers, the North Carolina papers lacked the frequency of coverage, identifiable correspondents, and illustrations. The *Hillsborough Recorder* published articles over a month after the battle, and left errors uncorrected. The North Carolina papers tended to rely on letters and excerpts from other newspapers, such as the *Richmond Enquirer*, which was highly pro-South. The Northern papers, however, provided personalized accounts from correspondents in the field. Overall, while coverage in these newspapers tended to lack reliability, it appeared that Chapel Hill residents received fragmented information about Fredericksburg.

Introduction

Although North Carolina was the last Southern state to secede from the Union, Chapel Hill would make a valuable contribution to the Confederate army.[142] Many of the university students and men in the town joined in the war effort, leaving Chapel Hill without many

[142] Jennifer Larson, *A Free and Independent State*, 2004, http://docsouth.unc.edu/highlights/secession.html (accessed on November 13, 2010).

prospects for its own newspaper.[143] Townspeople received news of battles from the neighboring weekly or semi-weekly publications, such as the *Hillsborough Recorder* and possibly the *Raleigh Register* or *North Carolina Standard*. This chapter looks at the news from the Battle of Fredericksburg that reached Chapel Hill and examines the following questions: Where did this news come from? How reliable was it? How timely was it? Was the reporting affected by distance, local bias, or partisan undertones? Fredericksburg was a shocking loss for the Union army, and the way newspapers reported the battle holds key information into the journalistic practices of the Civil War era.

President Lincoln's first news from the Battle of Fredericksburg came by telegraph from General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Army of the Potomac, who reported a Union victory.[144] Unfortunately for the Union, the information was terribly false. Each day the news became more serious as telegrams arrived suggesting that there was still a fight to be fought and that the Confederates were putting up a good defense. Burnside had stationed troops at nearby Falmouth since November 14.[145] The Confederates responded by mounting their soldiers on the higher terrain around the area. On December 11, the Union army placed five pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock River.[146] The battle began December 13, 1862, with Burnside attacking Confederate forces using frontal attacks on Prospect Hill, resulting in many casualties. Burnside remained in his futile offensive until he finally called it off on December 15 and retreated back

[143] Elizabeth Ryan, *Orange County Trio: Histories and Tour Guides of Hillsborough, Chapel Hill and the University of North Carolina, and Carrboro* (The Chapel Hill Press, 2004) http://www.ibiblio.org/chhistsoc/.

[144] George Rable, *News from Fredericksburg* (Marquette University Press, 2000).

[145]The American Battlefield Protection Program, Battlefield Summary, http://www.nps.gov/hps/abpp/battles/va028.htm (accessed November 15, 2010).

[146] Ibid.

across the river.[147] However, Burnside attempted to cross the Rappahannock once again in January, resulting in another embarrassing retreat nicknamed the "Mud March" because of the overwhelming amount of winter mud in the area.[148] It was already too late for Lincoln to hide his early belief of victory, as he had already been quoted by *The New York Times* as declaring, "The Rebellion is now virtually at an end."[149] The quote, however, was incorrect; Lincoln never said anything resembling what *The New York Times* reported.[150] In the end, the Union's last feeble attempts finally succumbed to the Confederate army. An estimated 13,353 Union soldiers were killed or injured in the battle, nearly three times the number of Confederate casualties.[151] This incredible loss for the Union not only caused a change in war tactics, but also in leadership. Major General Joseph Hooker replaced Burnside shortly after his failed counterattack.

The research for this chapter focuses on how reliably the Battle of Fredericksburg was portrayed to the people of the Chapel Hill area. Primarily, news about Fredericksburg is studied according to how content was presented, or framed, in Northern and Southern papers. Framing ultimately takes a certain tone or message when relating the news. Studying content helps ascertain whether the people of Chapel Hill received biased, highly partisan or incomplete information when compared to other news sources, such as *The New York Times* or *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The research establishes whether news of the battle was localized and

[147] The American Battlefield Protection Program, Battlefield Summary.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Rable, *News from Fredericksburg.*

[151] Douglas W. Bostick, *The Confederacy's Secret Weapon: The Civil War Illustrations of Frank Vizetelly* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009).

how coverage varied in relation to different location. Newspaper content was examined to determine how news of the battle evolved and whether efforts were made to correct errors previously published. Analyzing the sources of the articles, such as accounts from soldiers, correspondents, and excerpts from other newspapers gave insight into the reliability of content. The timeliness of coverage, the frequency with which the newspapers were published, the way in which local events affected coverage, the presence of illustrations, and the placement of articles within the newspaper were also taken into account.

To answer the research questions, newspapers of the period were analyzed and compared. Southern newspapers that were studied included the *Hillsborough Recorder, Raleigh Register,* and the *North Carolina Standard,* and have been preserved on microfilm as part of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. These were compared with another Southern newspaper, the *Richmond Enquirer*, as well as Northern metropolitan newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *Philadelphia Inquirer* that all have archives accessible on the Internet.

This research is significant because it gives readers insight into how media functioned in a much earlier and different era. This offers a source of comparison for how media have changed and evolved to what they are today. This research furthers understanding of how the Civil War press functioned and advances knowledge by showing what information reached Chapel Hill about the Battle of Fredericksburg, how long it took for information to get there, and how reliable this information was. The battle coverage in Chapel Hill area newspapers has never been analyzed or compared in this manner so this research breaks new ground in the study of the role of the press during the Civil War.

Hillsborough Recorder

Founded in 1820 by Dennis Heartt, the *Hillsborough Recorder* was the only newspaper published west of Raleigh at that time.[152] Among many news topics, the *Hillsborough Recorder* "became a staple in the lives of readers in Orange and adjacent counties … a source of news and opinions for and about the political leaders of North Carolina."[153] The *Recorder* was a four-page weekly newspaper, and its coverage of the Civil War was often dependent upon excerpts from other Southern newspapers. None of the stories had illustrations, and articles often lacked headlines and attribution. Although early articles about Fredericksburg appeared subjective, later accounts used third-party sources and were not necessarily biased in justifying the outcome of the battle.

On December 17, 1862, four days after Fredericksburg, the *Recorder* published a front-page column titled "General Robert E. Lee" taken from the *Savannah Republican*. Dated November 27, 1862, the article briefly mentioned the events leading up to the battle. The author was identified as P.W.A., or Peter W. Alexander, a "preeminent southern correspondent."[154] Alexander praised General Robert E. Lee's superiority, describing him as, "one of the greatest living masters of the act of war."[155] Initially, Alexander wrote how Lee had outmatched General McClellan[156] at Winchester and that "Burnside was amazed upon [Lee's] arrival at

[152] Documenting the American South, s.v. "Dennis Heartt," http://docsouth.unc.edu/browse/bios/pn0000706_bio.html (accessed October 2010).

[153] Ibid.

[154] Jean Folkerts, Dwight L. Teeter, and Edward Caudill, *Voices of a Nation*: *A History of Mass Media in the United States* (Boston: Pearson Press, 2009).

[155] Peter W. Alexander, "General Robert E. Lee," *Hillsborough Recorder,* December 17, 1862.

[156] After Antietam, McClellan was replaced by Burnside on November 7. Alan T. Nolan, "Confederate Leadership," in *The Fredericksburg Campaign*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (University of North Carolina Press, 1995): 26-47.

Fredericksburg to learn that the sagacious Confederate commander had … completely blocked the passage of the Rappahannock."[157] Alexander ascertained that "Gen. Lee by his superior genius and penetration was enabled to fathom his adversaries designs."[158] In fact, Lee concentrated his forces in Fredericksburg after realizing Burnside's intention to cross the Rappahannock, which forced Burnside "to change his designs … at the beginning of the campaign."[159] The article mainly focused on General Lee's character. Alexander compared Lee to George Washington and described Lee as "a good man [who] possesses in an eminent degree those qualities which are indispensible [sic] in the great leader and champion upon whom the country rests its hopes of present success and future independence."[160]

Three other articles were published the same day. Under the title "The Battle of Fredericksburg," the newspaper stated that the battle began at 9 a.m. on Saturday, after the fog lifted, and ended about 6 p.m. with the enemy repulsed at all points.[161] It also published that Confederate Generals Maxcy [sic] Gregg, Joseph B. Kershaw, Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb and John B. Hood had been killed.[162] In fact, Hood died in 1879 and Kershaw died in 1894.[163] Beneath the article an excerpt titled "Terrible Slaughter of the Yankees," dated December 14 and

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[157] Alexander, "General Robert E. Lee," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 17, 1862.

[158] Ibid.

[159] The American Civil War Research Database, s.v. "Battle Data," http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/cwdb/cwdb.object.details.aspx?handle=battle&id=2336 (accessed November 20, 2010).

[160] Alexander, "General Robert E. Lee," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 17, 1862.

[161] "The Battle of Fredericksburg," *Hillsborough Recorder*. December 17, 1862.

[162] Ibid.

[163] The American Civil War Research Database, s.v. "Soldiers," http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/cwdb/cwdb.browse.soldiers.aspx (accessed November 21, 2010).

"received at 1 o'clock this morning,"[164] incorrectly stated that the Union General Joseph Hooker had been killed – it initially published that the loss of Confederate soldiers would not exceed 500 killed and 2,500 wounded, and more than 1,000 Yankees were believed dead.[165] In reality, "Union casualties totaled 13,353 compared to only 4,576 for the Confederates."[166] The other article published December 17 was taken from the *Richmond Whig,* giving a geographical description of the town of Fredericksburg.[167] It described the area as "pleasantly situated in a fertile valley in Spotsylvania county on the South bank of the Rappahannock … the population in 1860 was 5,080."[168]

An article on December 24, 1862, titled "From Fredericksburg" estimated that 4,000 to 6,000 Union troops had been killed or wounded, Union General Conrad F. Jackson had been killed, and 1,500 prisoners had been taken.[169] The account appeared to estimate Confederate casualties at 1,500 and said a South Carolina brigade had suffered heavily.[170] General Jackson of the Union army was actually listed to have died at Fredericksburg, according to *US Civil War Generals*.[171] The article also mentioned that Brigadier General Gregg of South Carolina "was

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[164] "Terrible Slaughter," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 17, 1862.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Douglas W. Bostick, *The Confederacy's Secret Weapon: The Civil War Illustrations of Frank Vizetelly* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009).

[167]"Fredericksburg – The Town," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 17, 1862.

[168] Ibid.

[169] "From Fredericksburg," *Hillsborough Recorder*, December 24, 1862.

[170] Ibid.

[171] US Civil War Generals. http://sunsite.utk.edu/civil-war/generals.html (accessed November 19, 2010).

killed by a minie ball which struck him … and penetrated the spine."[172] Although the December 24 article does not reference it, Gregg died of his injuries the following day and was praised by General Lee for his patriotism and devotion.[173] Unlike the articles on December 17, this account provided more information about the outcome of the battle. It reported that "one of Burnside's staff…says that the reason the fight was not renewed on Sunday was serious discontent among Yankee officers."[174]

On January 7, 1863, the *Recorder* celebrated the victory by focusing on Northern coverage of Fredericksburg. Although the *Recorder* did not say how it obtained its Northern coverage, it focused on two New York newspapers. Under the heading "Late Northern News," it stated, "everywhere discouragement and disappointment are observed in the tone of the Northern press."[175] The article said that "The New York Herald warmly advocates a convention of all the States in order to close the war."[176] Using the *New York World* as another example, the article stated that the Northern press claimed Fredericksburg was the worst battle of the war; the *World* estimated a Union loss of more than 15,000 and also feared that France would interfere to end the war.[177] Another brief excerpt taken from the *Richmond Enquirer* revealed that 200,000 cartridges, 7,000-8,000 small arms and supplies, including "barrels of salt pork and pickled beef"

[172] "From Fredericksburg," *Hillsborough Recorder,* December 24, 1862.

[173]George C. Rable, "The Carnage," in *The Fredericksburg Campaign*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995): 48-79.

[174] "From Fredericksburg," *Hillsborough Recorder,* December 24, 1862.

[175] "Late Northern News," *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 7, 1863.

[176] Ibid. The *Herald* under James Gordon Bennett Sr. supported southern causes before the war and remained an actively pro-southern through much of the war.

[177] "The Northern Papers," *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 7, 1863.

were abandoned by the Union army after the battle.[178] The *Recorder* also provided a Yankee soldier's account of the battle by publishing a letter about the 9th Regiment of New York. In it, the unnamed soldier described the efforts of General Tyler, whose first name is never specified,[179] to aid the 9th Regiment in order to dislodge the Confederates, but "the fire of the rebels was so withering in its effect that our brave fellows were unable to gain any advantage."[180] Although the soldier focused on the chaos of the battle and several failures to overtake the Confederates, it is never made clear whether he was actually a soldier within the 9th Regiment of New York. That unit, however, sustained few losses at Fredericksburg, with one killed, eight wounded and six missing.[181] The letter stated that, "No troops, however disciplined and brave could withstand the shock and after suffering terribly our soldiers were thrown into disorder … until dark the roar of cannons was incessant."[182] Including the Union perspective of Fredericksburg appeared to be a less biased way of reporting the battle; however, the *Recorder* published at the end of the soldier's letter that "the Yankees acknowledge themselves badly whipped."[183]

On January 14, the *Recorder* published a letter from a Confederate soldier dated December 20. The letter had many similarities to previous articles, including a descriptive

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[178] "Spoils Captured," *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 7, 1863.

[179] Presumably General Robert O. Tyler, commander of the artillery reserve whose guns played a significant role in the battle and whose troops, fighting as infantry, held off Confederate infantry.

[180] "Northern Account," *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 7, 1863.

[181] The Civil War in the East, s.v. "9th New York Infantry Regiment "Hawkins' Zouaves," http://civilwarintheeast.com/USA/NY/NY009.php (accessed November 15, 2010).

[182] "Northern Account," *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 7, 1863.

[183] Ibid.

account of the geographic surroundings of Fredericksburg. As with the Union soldier's letter, the Confederate soldier's name and regiment were never mentioned. The letter, however, was intended for the soldier's friends and family in the neighborhood.[184] He wrote that "the Yankees charged us four different times after we got behind the wall and were repulsed every time with great slaughter."[185] This soldier appeared to enjoy the fighting. The Confederate soldier wrote how he counted 125 dead Union soldiers on about a half acre of land, and boasted that he "never enjoyed shooting rabbits running than I did those flying blue coats."[186] He was withdrawn from battle at 9 p.m. and took position at the rear of the batteries until 1 in the morning, when he resumed shooting at the Yankees.[187]

The battle of Fredericksburg was also mentioned on January 21, in a column without a headline written to the editor. The author is identified only as J.B., who described the battle briefly and stated that "had [Burnside] carried out his plan of advancing on us on Sunday, he would have suffered total annihilation and the army of the Potomac would have been a thing of the past."[188]

While the letters may not be considered entirely balanced or objective, they did have validity, providing eyewitness accounts of what actually happened during the battle. Including both Confederate and Union viewpoints made the news of Fredericksburg less biased or pro-South. While the battle appeared to be a story of continuing interest, none of the articles after

[184] "Battle of Fredericksburg," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 14, 1863.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid.

[188] "Since the Great Battle," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 21, 1863.

December 17 were placed on the front page. A main issue with the information was the timeliness of news and the correction of inaccuracies. More than a month after the battle, information was still being provided to readers that sometimes differed from earlier accounts. The fact that inaccurate reports remained uncorrected challenges the *Recorder's* overall reliability.

Raleigh Register and *North Carolina Standard*

Located less than 30 miles from Chapel Hill, Raleigh possessed a strong print culture that was focused mostly on politics within the state capital. Raleigh supported multiple newspapers, but two of the more important were the *Raleigh Register* and the *North Carolina Standard*, both of which ran as semi-weekly and weekly papers. The *Register* was the most influential newspaper in the state during the antebellum period, but struggled to keep afloat during the war due to rising prices and shortages of paper.[189] The paper's editor, John W. Syme, was a ready defender of the Confederacy. His views conflicted with those of the editor and owner of the *Standard*, William Woods Holden, who was a unionist and a leader of the peace movement.[190]

Even with these political differences the newspapers had many similarities and shared many of the typical characteristics of the Southern press detailed by researcher Debra Reddin van Tuyll in her book *The Southern Press in the Civil War: American Wars and the Media in Primary Documents*.[191] Both depended heavily on articles taken from other Southern newspapers. This practice, Van Tuyll found, was the norm where postal law and editorial custom

[189] Robert Neal Elliott Jr., *The Raleigh Register1799-1863* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 107.

[190] Elliott, *The Raleigh Register*, 106.

[191] Debra Reddin van Tuyll, *The Southern Press in the Civil War: American Wars and the Media in Primary Documents* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005).

allowed a newspaper to send for free one copy of each edition to other newspapers.[192] A considerable amount of battlefront news circulated through these exchanges in the South.[193] The Raleigh papers typically attributed the source of their information, though this was not always the case. Battle coverage was being introduced to the front pages, replacing advertisements, showing the importance Southern readers saw in this function of the press. Also, as was typical of Southern papers, there were no illustrations or elaborate headlines.

The first news of Fredericksburg was printed on the front page of the December 17, 1862, edition of the *Raleigh Register*. It was a short column printed two days previously in the *Richmond Enquirer*, which had a special correspondent in the field.[194] The article mentioned some Confederate generals who had been killed or wounded in the fighting, then went on to estimate the total casualties stating that "Our loss in the battle of Saturday is variously stated at from six hundred to one thousand killed and wounded. The slaughter of the enemy was very great vastly exceedingly ours."[195]

The inside pages of the newspaper looked back at how Union soldiers had crossed the Rappahannock River two days prior to the main battle. One account taken from the *Richmond Dispatch* printed on December 12 actually seemed to celebrate Union forces crossing the river and marching into Fredericksburg, saying "that so far from having secured any advantage by the passage of the river, they have placed themselves in exactly the position that our commanding

[192] Van Tuyll, *The Southern Press*.

[193] Ibid.

[194] "The Fighting in Front of Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December, 17, 1862.

[195] Ibid.

General wishes them."[196] Another article below, published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, echoed the same sentiment saying, "The occupation of Fredericksburg, obtained with merely nominal opposition on our part, gives a questionable advantage to the enemy – we believe the Rappahannock will yet be more to our advantage *behind* the enemy than when it was in their front."[197] This tactical reasoning actually foresaw General Lee's explanation in his official report of the battle days later.[198] Still, the Union army's occupation of the town was taken as an outrage by the Southern press. The article described how Fredericksburg had "fallen victim to Yankee deviltry," especially playing up the artillery shelling of the town and the fleeing of its citizens."[199]

The *North Carolina Standard* also published its first information about the main battle on December 17.[200] Little was known about the battle to this point, but the paper was confident enough to say that "our loss is said to be heavy – that of the enemy is far greater than ours."[201] Like the *Hillsborough Recorder*, the *Standard* proclaimed the deaths of Generals Hood and Kershaw, despite their both surviving the war. [202]

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[196] "From Fredericksburg-The Battle Commenced-Repulse of the Enemy-Probable Continuation of the Engagement," *Raleigh Register*, December 17, 1862.

[197] "From Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 17, 1862.

[198] "Gen. Lee's Official Report," *Raleigh Register*, December 20, 1862.

[199] "From Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 17, 1862.

[200] "The News-The Battle of Fredericksburg," *North Carolina Standard*, December 17, 1862.

[201] Ibid.

[202] The American Civil War Research Database, s.v. "Soldiers," http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/cwdb/cwdb.browse.soldiers.aspx (accessed November 21, 2010).

The next issue of the *Raleigh Register*, on December 20, gave more details of the victory of the Confederate army. A short article on the front page was especially confident and even caustic toward Union troops.[203] The article began by stating that "the Yankee forces left large numbers of guns, knapsacks, and ammunition in Fredericksburg as well as 600 of their dead."[204] It continued by decrying the cruelty of the Union soldiers, saying that "nearly every house was sacked and contents entirely destroyed," and that "every conceivable injury that malice could suggest was resorted to."[205] It even went so far to state that "in their retreat across the river, they propped up dead bodies of their soldiers to represent pickets."[206]

Inside the newspaper there was a longer description of the battle taken from the *Richmond Dispatch* of December 16 that discussed the battle formations, troop movements, and outcomes.[207] The reporter wrote that at no time since the war began had there been a more despondent feeling among the Union troops.[208] Confederate losses were estimated at 1,200 killed and wounded, which was still thousands off.

The *Register* didn't just use other newspapers, it also drew from official reports from the War Office, like General Lee's official report of the battle.[209] Lee revealed his strategy in allowing the Union army to cross the river and take Fredericksburg and described the main

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[203] "From Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 20, 1862.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid.

[207] "The Battle at Fredericksburg-Description of the Fight-Incidents," *Raleigh Register*, December 20, 1862.

[208] Ibid.

[209] "Gen. Lee's Official Report," *Raleigh Register*, December 20, 1862.

battle. Lee counted the Confederate losses at 1,800 killed or wounded, closer than what was reported just a page before, but still a significant underestimation.[210] This report ran on the same page as an article claiming that the Union losses might be as many as 20,000.[211] Here the assertion was made by "a lady arrived at Petersburg, who left Norfolk on Monday" and was corroborated by a gentleman who had been at Fredericksburg.[212]

The *North Carolina Standard* weekly edition of December 24 gave further insight into the battle.[213] The article praised Lee for his sagacity and skill. Interestingly, the newspaper did not merely reprint an article from a Richmond newspaper, but synthesized information and commented on the fight itself. More than a week after the battle, though, some information remained unclear as the article commented that "Our limits forbid a detailed account of the great battle of Saturday last."[214] The article did not mention what these limits were, but the comment probably pointed to the paper not having a special reporter on the battlefield. At the end of the article, the *Standard* printed some early casualty figures for the North Carolina divisions of troops.

With the news of victory reported, next came one of the most important functions of the Civil War press: reporting the casualties. The December 30 edition of the *Raleigh Register* gave a more complete list of casualties among the North Carolina troops, taking up a whole column.[215]

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[210] Ibid.

[211] "The Enemy's Loss at Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 20, 1862.

[212] Ibid.

[213] "The Fight at Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 24, 1862.

[214] Ibid.

[215] "Casualties Among the North Carolina Troops at Fredericksburg," *Raleigh Register*, December 30, 1862.

This function of newspapers was something that Van Tuyll said Southerners saw as indispensible. Getting battlefield reports was more than national news; it became local for those trying to find out the fate of their loved ones.[216]

The Raleigh papers showed the importance of battlefield reporting in Southern communities. War coverage took up a significant amount of the paper, with multiple stories about Fredericksburg being printed on the same issue more than a week after the battle ended. The timeliness, while obviously not as good as the Richmond papers, was still impressive with information reaching readers within three or four days. The accuracy and reliability of battlefield coverage was more problematic, with massive miscalculations in casualty numbers and troop strengths, which varied wildly by day and even by article in the same newspaper. The great public interest in immediate information drove Raleigh editors to choose which battle reports to use before reliable information could be discerned, creating a far from perfect flow of information to readers.

Richmond Enquirer

The *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, being in the heart of the Confederate capital, was a prime of a pro-Southern newspaper. The newspaper published a tri-weekly edition and was founded by Thomas Ritchie in 1804.[217] Ritchie, like the editors of the *Richmond Whig* and *Richmond Dispatch*, took on an incredibly strong "rebel" voice and greatly benefited from being at the heart of the Confederacy. The newspaper had an excellent means of getting news firsthand. The paper

[216] Van Tuyll, *The Southern Press*, xxvi. Families in the North likewise relied on the battlefield casualty reports printed in their local newspapers.

[217] "Napoleon of the Press: Thomas Ritchie and the Richmond Enquirer, 1804-1845." http://oneweb.utc.edu/~commdept/conference/97Abs/97schaffer.html (accessed November 30, 2010).

proved to be a valuable source in the Chapel Hill area, because some of its accounts on Fredericksburg were reprinted in the *Hillsborough Recorder*. The *Enquirer* proved to be one of the more successful Southern papers of the era and flaunted all the typical characteristics of the Southern press, such as the use of dispatches and motive of boosting morale among their rebel readers.

The *Enquirer*, like many other papers—both Northern and Southern—prematurely deemed the Battle of Fredericksburg a quick victory for the Union army. The paper consistently posted reports regarding Fredericksburg the week of the publication. Reports were published as early as the first day of battle, December 11, 1862. The first article, labeled "Heavy Fighting at Fredericksburg," showed the intensity of the accounts of these Confederate dispatches. The article visually put the reader on the battlefield, describing in detail the Union's first attempts at building a pontoon bridge over the Rappahannock River. Terms like "sharpshooters" and "skirmishers" opened readers' eyes and defined some of the military jargon.[218] This particular article did not indicate exactly who was winning the battle at the time, but it did infer that the Union's crossing of the Rappahannock would not necessarily determine the Confederacy's loss of Fredericksburg. It reported that "The plateau on which the enemy's troops would appear on ascending the bluff would be swept by our batteries, if they should venture to cross, as it was hoped they would."[219] No issue of the *Richmond Enquirer* in the archives had a map of

[218] "Heavy Fighting at Fredericksburg," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 11, 1862, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=WHNPX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=O56B61LUMTI5MTI1MjA3NS45MDM5NDU6MToxNDoxNTIuMjMuMTI3LjE3NQ&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=22&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=22&p_docnum=1&toc=true&p_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA22824D19538@2401486-119EA2285A013618@2 (accessed November 25, 2010).

[219] Ibid.

Fredericksburg, so it was up to the correspondents to put as much imagery as possible into their reports.

The December 11 article detailed exactly where the Union soldiers placed their pontoon bridges and the geographic area that eventually caused Burnside's loss. Even this first report of Fredericksburg contained some foreshadowing of what was to come. When describing the Confederacy's advantage over the Union – the geography of the environment – it described the area as " … of horseshoe shape, and sufficient, perhaps, to contain ten thousand men."[220] The paper reported the early destruction of the battle, including William H. Vaughan's house on the river road and the death of Jacob Grotz, a Fredericksburg citizen.[221] The *Enquirer* remained vague in details regarding the town's destruction and deaths, perhaps an attempt to shield the reader from the full magnitude of Confederate losses or simply because such detail could not be obtained that early in the reporting. The first statements on the battle did anything but lift the rebels' spirits. On December 13, 1862, the paper published its evaluation of the events at Fredericksburg, saying, "The condition of affairs in and about the 'old 'Burg,' begins truly to wear a sad aspect."[222] The first news regarding Fredericksburg was a mere paragraph pessimistic of the Confederate attempts. At the end, the *Enquirer* thanked Richmond readers who

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid.

[222] "Fredericksburg," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 13, 1862, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=WHNPX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=O56B61LUMTI5MTI1MjA3NS45MDM5NDU6MToxNDoxNTIuMjMuMTI3LjE3NQ&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=22&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=22&p_docnum=1&toc=true&p_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA22824D19538@2401486-119EA22837363B48@0 (accessed November 25, 2010).

contributed a total of $9,360 and ensured the money would be "… given in a proper direction,"[223] although it never specified exactly where the money was given.

Even though the *Enquirer* was prematurely certain that the Yankees had attained Fredericksburg, its reports still had a critical purpose. Because of their details, from paragraphs depicting the geographic layout of Fredericksburg to reporting heavy fighting near J.B. Timberlake's store, gave readers great description of the battle. The *Enquirer* humanized Confederate supporters and demonized anyone associated with the Union. One article's vivid report had the potential to rally more support for the rebel forces.

The flight of the few citizens who had remained is described as very distressing. Old women, laden with heavy bundles – all that was left them – struggling under the weight of the little left them, and flying as best they could from the remorseless enemy.[224]

The paper greatly played off its readers' feelings when reporting the battle. The paper also manipulated the inherent worries of its readers as well. Despite reporting a loss for the Confederate army, the *Enquirer* began to end its reports of Fredericksburg with comments of hope or anything that would boost morale. As the *Enquirer* at first reported Fredericksburg an easy win for the Union, its later accounts never explicitly retracted that statement. Instead, it reported as if the Confederate army never intended to stop Union soldiers from crossing the Rappahannock. Knowing its readers would be disheartened that Burnside had succeeded in crossing the Rappahannock, the *Enquirer* affirmed, "… the Rappahannock will yet be more to

[223] Ibid.

[224] Ibid.

our advantage *behind* the enemy than when it was in their front."[225] Because the paper was reprinted in papers throughout the Confederate states, like the *Register*, which used this same excerpt, this assurance of General Lee's military expertise had a great impact on the morale of the South.

As the week passed, and the Confederacy became more confident about its prospects in Fredericksburg, the *Enquirer* continued to publish reports from their correspondents, all providing a clear picture of the scene. By December 15, the paper began to have a very confident attitude regarding Fredericksburg. The paper began reporting the battle using the inverted pyramid style, putting the most recent news above a previous account or a short summary of what had already happened. A follow-up report suggested that the only reason the Burnside was successful in constructing the bridges was simply because the Confederate forces "permitted" them to before attacking.[226]

The *Richmond Enquirer* was well practiced in the art of attribution. The paper ensured its readers that "every rumor is listened to with avidity, and every bulletin is the topic of a thousand tongues."[227] All of their reports are dotted with authoritative sources, however wrong their

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[225] Ibid.

[226] "From Fredericksburg," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 15, 1862, http://iw.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive?p_theme=ahnpdoc&p_action=doc&p_product=WHNPX&p_nbid=M4CU57FKMTI5MTI1NzEwOS42MTU1NDE6MToxMDoxNTIuMTkuMC4w&f_docref=image/v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA283D69E11D0-119EA283F3CA25F0-119EA2846A453290&p_docref=image/v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA283D69E11D0-119EA283F3CA25F0-119EA2846A453290&p_docnum=-1 (accessed November 25, 2010).

[227] "The News of the Fighting in Front of Fredericksburg Dispatches from General Lee," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 15, 1862, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/HistArchive?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&p_nbid=G52O5CRPMTI5MTMwNjI5OC4xNjAwNzk6MToxNDoxNTIuMjMuMTI3LjE3NQ&f_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA283D69E11D0@2401490-119EA283F3CA25F0@0&p_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA283D69E11D0@2401490-119EA283F3CA25F0@0 (accessed November 19, 2010).

information might have been. An early casualty list was received from Dr. J.C. Herndon, a "… polite surgeon on General Lee's staff."[228] The attribution implied accuracy, as was not always the case with the *Enquirer*.

The *Richmond Enquirer* was one of the Civil War's more innovative papers. After being cut off from the Associated Press' wire service, Ritchie, along with the editors of the Richmond-based *Dispatch, Examiner,* and *Whig* newspapers, decided to set up their own system of news-gathering called the Richmond Associated Press.[229] The organization, although more timely in news reports, still provided incomplete information and remained very dependent on Northern newspapers.[230] However, it was the forefather of the much more successful Confederate Press Association, which formed just after the battle of Fredericksburg.

New York Times

In contrast to the Chapel Hill area papers, Northern papers circulating in cities like New York and Philadelphia had daily and extensive coverage of the Battle of Fredericksburg. They received information from dispatches as well as their own war correspondents. These publications were also able to print maps showing troop positions, battle movements, and the physical layout of the city.

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[228] "From Fredericksburg Summit 3 Miles Below," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 17, 1862, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/HistArchive?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&p_nbid=G52O5CRPMTI5MTMwNjI5OC4xNjAwNzk6MToxNDoxNTIuMjMuMTI3LjE3NQ&f_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA2B179088E30@2401492-119EA2B18E3B2C58@0&p_docref=v2:10CE11449F49C7E8@WHNPX-119EA2B18E3B2C58@0 (accessed November 19, 2010).

[229] Ford Risley, "The Confederate Press Association: Cooperative News Reporting of the War," *Civil War History* 47, no. 3 (2001): 222-239.

[230] Ibid.

News of Fredericksburg filled the front pages of the *New York Times* during and for days after the battle. On December 12, 1862, the front-page headline read "HIGHLY IMPORTANT" and below "Capture of Fredericksburg by Gen. Burnside."[231] Multiple anonymous dispatches from the Army of the Potomac headquarters reported the crossing of the pontoons, dated Thursday morning, December 11. A dispatch from Washington reported, "All other topics, of course, lose their interest tonight, beside that of our military operations on the Rappahannock."[232] It described the surprise of all in Washington at this "instant success" in taking the city and called it "one of the most momentous enterprises of the war."[233] Three of the other dispatches reported that around 100 Union soldiers were selected to cross and secure the opposing shoreline. The first dispatch read, "with fixed bayonets they rushed upon the enemy, killing several and taking one hundred and one prisoners."[234] All three dispatches reported 143 artillery guns covering troops as they moved across the pontoons at the beginning of the day, which increased to 176 by the end.[235] All three also predicted that a great battle would commence early the following morning. In later reports, details began to conflict as troops moved further into the

[231] "Great Battle Expected To-day," *New York Times,* December 12, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=great+battle+expected&date=ON&onDate=12%2F12%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[232] "Our Special Washington Dispatches," *New York Times,* December 12, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=our+special+washington&date=ON&onDate=12%2F12%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[233] Ibid.

[234] "Great Battle Expected To-day," *New York Times*.

[235] Ibid.

city and the artillery explosions covered the battle in a haze. The dispatches tended to be less reliable but timelier than reports written by the *Times* correspondents, likely because the dispatches going to Washington took priority.

On the front page of the December 13 edition, the first dispatch, dated the morning of December 12, stated, "Much will depend on the result of to-day. All feel of sanguine success."[236] Another, with the sub-heading "Anxiety for the News," describes New York City as being in a "state of feverish anxiety for news from Fredericksburg," caused by "rumors put in circulation by secesh sympathizers, of successes by the rebels."[237] There is an article dated December 10 and signed by "WHIT," a *Times* correspondent with the Centre Grand Division, which predicts that a "bold and vigorous effort will be made to enter the rebel capital. Who knows but that ere the ushering of 1863 the doom of the rebellion will be sealed, and our army exulting in triumph over a fallen foe?"[238] These bold, editorial projections of Union successes were common in *Times* reports during the opening days of the battle. The lengthy account of *Times* correspondent William Swinton described his crossing of the river with troops.[239] He reported speaking with

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[236] "From the Army of the Potomac," *New York Times*, December 13, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=from+the+army+of+the+potomac&date=ON&onDate=12%2F13%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[237] "Our Special Washington Dispatches," *New York Times*, December 13, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=our+special+washington&date=ON&onDate=12%2F13%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed December 10, 2010).

[238] "The Day Preceding," *New York Times*, December 13, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+day+preceding&date=ON&onDate=12%2F13%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[239] "The Operations of Thursday," *New York Times*, December 13, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+operations+of+thursday&date=ON&

three white women in the city and inquired as to the date when most residents had evacuated the city.[240] They replied that it had been "a fortnight", but some had returned because of the Union delay in attacking.[241] Swinton wrote, "I took as a trophy a rifle, still loaded, out of the grasp of a hand belonging to a headless trunk."[242] Firsthand, anecdotal reports like this were much more common in Northern coverage.[243]

On December 14 the front page reported "A GREAT BATTLE" for which "no results are known."[244] Elias Smith, a *Times* correspondent assigned to Burnside's staff, described the "cowardly miscreants" hiding behind their fortifications and predicted that the Rebels would "continue to contest every inch."[245] The dispatches from this day were marked by misinformation, propaganda or both. The Union suffered most of its casualties trying to dislodge the rebels from Marye's Heights, but the huge losses were not mentioned.[246] A dispatch sent to Washington the night of December 13 reported that "the troops are in good spirits and not the

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onDate=12%2F13%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid.

[242] "The Operations of Thursday," *New York Times*, December 13, 1862.

[243] Edward Colimore, *Eyewitness Reports* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Newspapers Inc., 2004): 27.

[244] "A GREAT BATTLE," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+great+battle&date=ON&onDate=12%2F14%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[245] "The Preparations for Action," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+preparations+for+action&date=ON&onDate=12%2F14%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[246] Rable, George, "Battle of Fredericksburg," *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/info/battle-of-fredericksburg/ (accessed on December 10, 2010).

least disheartened" when in reality the cries of Union soldiers dying on the field resulted in the pity of the Rebel soldiers.[247] Confederate soldier Richard Rowland Kirkland brought water to dying and injured troops on both sides after hearing their cries.[248] He was called "The Angel of Marye's Heights" and a statue on the field commemorates his compassionate acts.[249]

On December 15 the *Times* published Elias Smith's account under the title, "Our Special Army Correspondence." He wrote that, "with town and river behind we must fight—there is no backing out."[250] A dispatch dated December 13 reported, "It is impossible to form an accurate idea of the loss on either side, as the firing is still going on, rendering it extremely difficult to remove the killed and wounded."[251] On December 15 a dispatch from Washington dated December 14 reported, "the accounts which are permitted to reach the public are meager and confused, and the result is differently estimated, as witnesses differ in temper and desire."[252] It

[247] "Gen. Gibbons wounded in the head," *New York Times,* Dec. 14, 1862,

[248]"Marye's Heights." Ohio State University. http://ehistory.osu.edu/uscw/features/regimental/south_carolina/confederate/KershawsBrigade/MHs.cfm. (accessed December 2, 2010).

[249] Ibid.

[250] "Details of the Operation Saturday Morning," *New York Times,* December 15, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=details+of+the+operation&date=ON&onDate=12%2F15%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[251] "The Operations of Saturday," *New York Times,* December 15, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+operations+of+saturday&date=ON&onDate=12%2F15%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[252] "The Character of Saturday's Battle," *New York Times,* Dec. 15, 1862. http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=operation+of+saturday&date=ON&onDate=12%2F15%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

reported the retreat of Union troops back across the pontoons, but added that the troops are still "confident of success when the battle shall be renewed."[253] The dispatcher wrote, "it cannot be doubted that the list of casualties is very large" and that Union troops fought "with all odds immensely against them."[254] The first Southern news, a clip from the "Richmond Dispatch" dated December 11 and 12, reported that the carnage was "frightful" and that it "filled that air with legs, arms and disjointed member of the Yankees."[255]

On December 17 the true result of the battle and the Union defeat was reported with the headlines, "Evacuation of Fredericksburg by Our Forces" and "Our Losses from Ten to Fifteen Thousand." A full report written by William Swinton, dated midnight December 13 and accompanied by a map of the battlefield, reported that "the Nation will stand aghast at the terrible price which has been paid for its life when the realities of Fredericksburg are spread before it."[256] Swinton wrote that the Union effort "failed to accomplish the object sought" with "ten to fifteen thousand men, and absolutely nothing gained."[257] He then added, "In spite of all the glosses of official telegrams you might receive, it seems here tonight that we have suffered a

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[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid.

[255] "Rebel Reports from Fredericksburg," *New York Times*, December 16, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=rebel+reports&date=ON&onDate=12%2F16%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[256] "The Battle of Fredericksburg," *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=the+Battle+of+Fredericksburg&date=ON&onDate=12%2F17%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[257] Ibid.

defeat."[258] He went on to critique Burnside's battle plan and said the Confederates purposefully withheld fire on the pontoons and that they "did well to let us so easily into Fredericksburg", making the city, "the veriest trap that ever was laid."[259] Swinton wrote that Burnside planned to renew the fight the following morning but that "there is little probability that this will be done, or can be done" seeing as the army is "huddled" and in "broken and shattered condition."[260] He conjectured that it would be wise to "withdraw the army as soon as possible."[261]

The reporting on the battle after Swinton's article is miniscule. On December 21 a *Times* correspondent who signed "J." included General Lee's official report on the war and wrote that he was "very careful not to say anything of the 700 prisoners we took, and of which 460 we paroled in one batch."[262] He added that upon reflection, the crossing of the pontoons was not a failure but, "the most brilliant exploit of modern warfare, equal, in itself, to a grand victory. It has given the troops a confidence in their new leader which nothing save a most egregious blunder will neutralize."[263] This is clearly editorial. He added that the Rebel losses "will not fall short of 6,000 at the lowest figure."[264] A headline on December 23 reported, "Our Losses in Killed 1,192; in Wounded, 9,000; in Prisoners, 700." There is also a letter from Burnside

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[258] Ibid.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Ibid.

[261] Ibid.

[262] "Our Special Army Correspondence," *New York Times,* Dec. 21, 1862. http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=Our+Special+army&date=ON&onDate=12%2F21%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[263] Ibid.

[264] "Our Special Army Correspondence," *New York Times,* Dec. 21, 1862.

addressed to General-in-Chief H.W. Halleck. He wrote, "For the failure in the attack, I am responsible."[265] He said that he ordered the troops to cross earlier than planned and at a different location because the enemy had moved the bulk of its forces elsewhere. He wrote, "I also thought I discovered that he did not anticipate the attack."[266] He estimated the number of dead at 1,152, forty less than the headline, which may be the error of whoever laid out the headline.[267] He added that the surgeons reported that 1,632 of the soldiers injured suffered only "slight wounds."[268]

Philadelphia Inquirer

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* became the city's eighth daily newspaper when it was founded on June 1, 1829.[269] In 1859, William White Harding became the newspaper's publisher and cut the price, helping to increase circulation dramatically. From 1859 to 1869 circulation rose from 7,000 to 70,000 due significantly to the American Civil War.[270] The *Inquirer* was often distributed among the Union troops, and Confederate generals sought copies of the newspaper,

[265] "From the Army of the Potomac," *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1862, http://proquest.umi.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/pqdweb?TS=1292013063&clientId=15094&RQT=305&SSM=OFF&querySyntax=PQ&searchInterface=1&VName=HNP&pmid=113715&SQ=from+the+army+of+the+potomac&date=ON&onDate=12%2F23%2F1862&beforeDate=&fromDate=&toDate=&FT=1&sortby=CHRON (accessed on December 10, 2010).

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Gerry Wilkinson, "The History of the Philadelphia Inquirer," The Philadelphia Press Association, http://www.phillyppa.com/inquirer.html (accessed November 12, 2010).

[270] Ibid.

believing the information to be reliable and, they hoped, a source of information on Union movements.[271] The *Inquirer* was pro-Union but Harding claimed to have attempted to remain as neutral as possible. However, the newspaper was remembered as a radical pro-Republican publication.[272] During the Battle of Fredericksburg and the immediate days following it the front page of the *Inquirer* was dominated by news about the battle.

"Highly Important News! The City in Flames! Fredericksburg Occupied!"[273] These headlines appeared on the front page of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on December 12, 1862, along with a long article describing the crossing of the Rappahannock River complete with a diagram of the affair. The article acted as a recap; it gave the state of events at 11 a.m., 12 p.m., and at particular times in the evening that are only described as "Later from Headquarters," and "Still later and highly important."[274] This article was dominated by the idea that "A great battle was impending"[275] and would occur the next day. This thorough style was consistent throughout the *Inquirer*'s coverage of Fredericksburg. The *Inquirer*'s in-depth summaries stemmed from its usage of "Special Correspondents" that were basically on the battlefield, writing down first-hand experiences. As useful as these correspondents were, they were limited in perspective by what

[271] Charles Fox, "A History of the Inquirer," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 20, 2003, http://web.archive.org/web/20070219044935/http://www.philly.com/mld/inquirer/news/local/6135296.htm?1c (accessed November 12, 2010).

[272] Ibid.

[273] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 12, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 28, 2010).

[274] Ibid.

[275]Ibid.

the journalists saw and heard. As well, many of the correspondents' articles added notable bias to the coverage resulting in a skewed interpretation of fact.

The December 13 edition of the *Inquirer* displayed a typical example of a correspondent story, listing no name or initials to designate an author or source. It began with casualty figures claiming the Confederates losses to be at one thousand compared to a mere one hundred for the Union forces.[276] The correspondent then detailed how the city of Fredericksburg was won for the Union, detailing the destruction of homes and churches.[277] Anecdotal inserts were common in the *Inquirer*, much like in the *New York Times*. For instance, the correspondent noted how a British flag was torn down by the Union troops, who believed it was a Confederate flag; officers realized what the flag was and immediately had it returned to its owner.[278] The conclusion stated "There are no indications of the enemy making any movements toward evacuating his position. If he remains, a battle must immediately ensue."[279]

The December 13 edition of the *Inquirer* also gave information directly relevant to the people of Philadelphia. One of the headlines stated, "Pennsylvania Reserves in the Advance!"[280] Many later articles also gave information such as casualty counts and movement information relevant to the soldiers from Pennsylvania in the battle. This local news concept reemerged on

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[276]"Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 13, 1862,,http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 28, 2010).

[277] "The Latest," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 13, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 28, 2010).

[278]Ibid.

[279] "Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac," *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

[280] Ibid.

December 15 when a correspondent's article described "Owen's Philadelphia Brigade in Action" as well as the success of the "Philadelphia Lancers."[281] Again the December 16 issue listed known casualties from the Pennsylvania battalion.[282] A major reason why citizens read the newspaper during the Civil War was to gain information on loved ones in the fight. The *Inquirer* attempted to cater to this need and could be another reason why the *Inquirer*'s circulation sky-rocketed during the Civil War.

The December 15 edition was dominated by information from Fredericksburg. It did not publish on December 14 because it was a Sunday. Therefore, there was twice as much coverage from Fredericksburg on Monday. Much like at the start of the conflict, the newspaper still claimed the Union troops were winning decisively. It also inaccurately listed the Confederate troop strength at 200,000.[283] The tone of the *Inquirer*'s reporting December 15 was optimistic but with a degree of caution. A special correspondent described the affair as being, "fierce all day, with great loss to both sides…It is impossible to form an accurate idea of the loss on either side."[284] Notably, there were no attempts at a sum for casualties. A casualty list did appear, but it was relatively short and only listed officers. Significantly, the *Inquirer* never made any mention

[281] "The Fight in Fredericksburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 15, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 29, 2010).

[282] "On the Battlefield-Fourth Day," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 29, 2010).

[283] "The Fight from Saturday," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 15, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November28, 2010).

[284] "Latest From the Seat of War," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 15, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 28, 2010).

of a Union retreat across back the Rappahannock on December 15. Unlike *The New York Times*, the *Inquirer* either withheld this information or perhaps was not able to get those newsworthy facts into the edition.

On December 16, the *Inquirer* made corrections to previous errors in their reporting. In a special dispatch, located directly below the headlines it stated clearly, "The report that the Rebels have two hundred thousand men at Fredericksburg is known to be false. Evidence of the most positive kind makes their numbers under 80,000."[285] Instead of writing an article about the retreat, the *Inquirer* instead discussed how reinforcements would come forward into the fray.[286] The *Inquirer* typically attempted to put a positive spin on news stories.

"Evacuation at Fredericksburg!"[287] dominated the December 17 edition, with the words, "Our Losses-Very Heavy-The Great Proportion Wounded."[288] At this point, there was significant change in the coverage of Fredericksburg. News from the "War in Tennessee" crept back onto the front page and Fredericksburg failed to command as much news attention.

General Lee's official report was printed in the *Inquirer* on December 20, one day before *The New York Times*.[289] This was one of the only examples of the *Inquirer* publishing a

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[285] "Latest From Fredericksburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed November 28, 2010).

[286] Ibid.

[287] "Evacuation at Fredericksburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 17, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed December 1, 2010).

[288] Ibid.

[289] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 20, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed December 1, 2010).

document from the Confederacy during Fredericksburg. Another example came on December 24 when it published a Confederate soldier's brief account of Fredericksburg.[290]

The final significant coverage of the Battle of Fredericksburg appeared on December 27. A large map of the terrain and positions at Fredericksburg spanned half of the entire front page.[291] It detailed the positions of each general involved, showed where hospitals were, and even gave the location of General Bayard's death. The *Inquirer* never hypothesized a final number for casualties. Following December 27, news from the Army of the Potomac was still published almost daily but typically focused on the topics of weather, morale and food and strayed away from covering news of battle until the army's next engagement.

News gathered by the *Inquirer* was disseminated with urgency but at times lacked accuracy. It was very thorough but was biased by correspondents. News of battle in the newspaper also tended to be fairly intricate, using some dispatches and letters but primarily focusing on first-hand correspondent reports complete with illustrations, local news, and anecdotal pieces.

Conclusion

News of Fredericksburg that reached the Chapel Hill area shared several similarities with reports published in other Southern and Northern newspapers. Notably, many factual inaccuracies were published in all of the newspapers analyzed. Chapel Hill readers received

[290] "Rebel Account of the Fredericksburg Battle," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 24, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed December 1, 2010).

[291] "The Battle of Fredericksburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 27, 1862, http://archive.olivesoftware.com/Default/Skins/CivilWarNB/Client.asp?Skin=CivilWarNB&GZ=T&AppName=2&AW=1291990185671 (accessed December 1, 2010).

information in a relatively timely manner when compared to the frequency of publication. The North Carolina papers that were studied published news less than a week after the battle took place. The Northern papers, however, published reports during and prior to the battle. The relevance of information, however, was a different issue. The *Recorder* continued to publish articles about Fredericksburg over a month after the battle. All accounts within the newspapers studied were not free of bias. The *Enquirer* had a much stronger pro-South tone than those of the North Carolina papers.

News was not as abundant in the Chapel Hill area papers compared to the Northern and Richmond papers. There may have been as much desire for news of battle in Chapel Hill as in the North, but not the means to provide it. The *Register, Standard,* and *Recorder* did not have identifiable war correspondents, and their access to information was likely limited because of their proximity to the battle. While the *Enquirer* was a part of the Richmond Associated Press, it could not be ascertained whether any of the North Carolina papers studied were members of a press association and whether they were able to receive news by telegraph. News was not even reported on the front page in the *Recorder*, likely because news was received sporadically and type was already set before news arrived. For the reports printed weeks after, news of Fredericksburg may simply have not taken precedent over local news.

Unlike the *Inquirer* and the *Times,* the Southern papers lacked illustrations and maps of Fredericksburg. Readers were therefore more dependent upon the writer's ability to accurately describe the surrounding area. The fact that the *Enquirer,* the *Times* and the *Inquirer* had correspondents in the field, and their articles were more anecdotal or localized, also differed from the articles in the *Recorder, Register* and *Standard*. The North Carolina papers tended to rely upon excerpts from other papers, specifically those from Richmond. Overall, the reports

were not fully reliable, and it could be discerned that the people of Chapel Hill received fragmented information about the Battle of Fredericksburg.

4.

Dissent and News on the Home Front

**By Inaki Borda, Maria Harrigan, Jennifer Joyner,
Robert Grimmett-Norris, and Lisa Pepin**

Any notion of a unified, homogeneous South before and during the Civil War is quickly put aside when one examines the arguments and ideologies found in the South's newspapers of the time. This chapter examines dissent and other topics on the home front news agenda in Chapel Hill and Orange County, North Carolina, during the Civil War era.

Primary sources such as local newspapers, magazines, and letters, as well as some secondary sources, reveal that secession, slavery, and prolonged warfare were not issues on which all North Carolinians agreed. At times the protagonists seem close to a civil war within the

Civil War. This chapter analyzes how newspapers and other media portrayed and covered dissent and other news items from 1860 to 1865.

The *Hillsborough Recorder*,[292] *Carolina Magazine*,[293] the *North Carolina Standard*,[294] and the *Spirit of the Age*,[295] though not an exhaustive list of the media available to Chapel Hill residents during the war, offer interesting contrasts because they were not uniform in their coverage of dissent and allowed for biases and differences of opinion. Though it may be surprising that the published opinion in the South was not always pro-Confederacy, it is arguable that these differences in media coverage represent differences among North Carolinians.

This chapter focuses on how different media sources covered five specific topics: the pre-war debate over secession; the lack of resources in Chapel Hill; dissent amongst soldiers; how certain segments of the population, including women and non-slaveholders, influenced the Confederate war effort; and how editorial bias in Unionist and Confederate newspapers affected the coverage of major events during the war.

Locally, the debate over whether to secede played out in two papers: the *North Carolina Standard*, a Unionist paper, and the *Hillsborough Recorder*, a pro-secession paper. These newspapers communicated very different messages and varied greatly in their coverage of secession. An analysis of this debate reflects how both the editors and the readers were affected

[292] *The Hillsborough Recorder* was published weekly in Hillsborough, N.C. by Dennis Heartt and was one of Chapel Hill's closest sources of news during the Civil War.

[293] *Carolina Magazine*, also called the *North Carolina University Magazine*, was a student-run monthly journal published in Chapel Hill, N.C. It ran out of money and stopped publishing in May of 1861.

[294] The *North Carolina Standard* was published weekly in Raleigh, N.C., by William H. Holden.

[295] The *Spirit of the Age* was published weekly in Raleigh, N.C. by Alexander M. Gorman.

by the language and coverage. While these papers took strong stances on secession, *Carolina Magazine* shows the diversity of opinions in the university community.

Lack of Resources

The general lack of resources plagued the entire Confederacy and weakened the will to fight and remained an important home front news item.[296] Like the rest of the Confederacy, Chapel Hill suffered from a shortage of medicine, food and clothing,[297] which was reflected in the *Hillsborough Recorder*. The *Recorder* published articles encouraging farmers to grow corn and potatoes and printed recipes for home remedies for illnesses.[298] Some farmers showed their opposition to Confederate rule by refusing to grow war-supporting food crops, favoring the cash crop cotton instead,[299] even as the *Recorder* acted its part as cheerleader and pleaded with them to contribute to the war effort.[300] Overall, it seems that Chapel Hill was better off than some parts of the Confederacy; printers continued to print,[301] and Chapel Hill was one of few Southern towns that had an outlet through the Union's sometimes porous naval blockade in Wilmington, which remained open until 1865.[302] Nonetheless, the lack of resources was a constant news item during the war.

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[296] Mobley, Joe A., *Weary of War: Life on the Confederate Home Front* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2008): 143.

[297] Mobley, *Weary of War*.

[298] "A Cure for Cancer," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 3, 1864.

[299] Mobley, *Weary of War*, 21.

[300] "Stock—Grass, &c.," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 18, 1863.

[301] Mobley, Weary of War, 109; John H. Wheeler, "The History of North Carolina," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 13, 1864. This advertisement, which ran for three months, asked for corrections to a past edition of *The History of North Carolina* so its upcoming second edition would be more accurate.

[302] Mobley, Weary of War, 95.

Another way dissent was manifested in the Civil War era was the lack of interest and enthusiasm for secession from a portion of soldiers who ignored the call to arms and did not fight until they were forced to by the Confederacy. Some soldiers only fought once they were conscripted or faced threats to personal property or family. Even then, many soldiers deserted the war effort once they began fighting in the army.[303] The late-registering or deserting soldiers' disinterest in fighting in the war is an example of Southerners' dissent toward the Confederacy. Also, over the course of the war many major events and policies enacted by both the Confederacy and the Union contributed to dissent in the Confederacy.

Media read in Chapel Hill showed that certain groups of the Confederate population played an enormous role in either fostering support for or dissent toward the Confederate war effort. These newspapers within the Confederacy portrayed the views of certain groups of the population such as non-slaveholders and women. Non-slaveholders comprised roughly 75 percent of the population in the South and often felt alienated from the war effort to preserve the institution of slavery.[304] Non-slaveholders comprised even more of the population in North Carolina and Orange County. In North Carolina slaveholders made up 3.49 percent of the population and in Orange County slaveholders comprised 3.92 percent of the population.[305] Women also played a key and transformative role in the war, at first encouraging men to fight in the war, placing emphasis on bravery and courage, but then later cultivating growing disdain for

[303] Kenneth W. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861*(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[304] Paul D. Escott, *The Confederacy: The Slaveholders' Failed Venture* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010).

[305] "Historical Census Browser." 2004. http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html (accessed 12/5/10).

the war.[306] The media used personal stories from non-slaveholding civilians and women to appeal to the emotions of their readership.[307] In addition, these two groups were also greatly affected by the lack of resources, which became another prominent topic on the home front news agenda.

The last portion of the chapter examines how specific events like the introduction of conscription laws and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* were portrayed in pro-Union and pro-Confederacy newspapers. In North Carolina, people reacted to the enactment of these policies in a number of ways, as represented in the columns of the *North Carolina Standard* and the *State Journal*.

The Debate over Secession

The ambivalence over secession can be seen by comparing two newspapers in the Orange County area, the *Hillsborough Recorder*, which was pro-secession, and the *North Carolina Standard* of Raleigh, which was anti-war. The language used and the topics covered in the *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *North Carolina Standard* reflect a battle between a secessionist paper and an anti-war paper during the months leading up to the secession of North Carolina on May 20, 1861.

The topics covered within each newspaper are a direct reflection of the attitudes of both their readers as well as their editors. Within the *Recorder*, topics leading up to secession revolved around President Lincoln and his subversion of the Constitution, specifically focusing

[306] Escott, *The Confederacy: The Slaveholders' Failed Venture*, 35.

[307] Ibid.

on the seizure of public lands and the raising of an army. These topics were used to question Abraham Lincoln's legitimacy as president throughout May 1861. Both were seen as threats to the personal rights and liberties held by the readers of the *Recorder*, and their solution was secession.

While the *Recorder* focused on Lincoln's attack on citizens' personal liberties, the *Standard* reflected a much different attitude toward secession and civil war. In a personal letter to President Lincoln printed in the pro-Union *Standard*, Georgia resident Bill Arp pleaded with Lincoln to postpone the proclamation of war. While the language was hard to read because of misspellings and bad grammar, Arp argued his case that not all within the South was fully committed to the cause. In his letter, Arp wrote, "Mr. Linkhorn, sir, privately speeking, [sic] I'm afraid I'll git in a tite [sic] place here among these bloods."[308] [sic] Even though Arp was not a native of North Carolina, the *Standard* may have published his letter to Lincoln because it reflected the views of its readership.

In another article in the *Standard*, "Is Peace Impossible?" the author depicted a scene in which there was no good to emerge from a civil war. "But we find in every thinking man, everywhere, North and South manifesting the same heartfelt sorrow at the prospect of civil war…because it is sure to be profitless as it is vindictive and bloody" [309] This doleful, anxious tone was conveyed throughout the month of May. And so, while the *Standard's* language and choice of topics may not have been pro-Union, many of its articles were certainly anti-war.

[308] "Mr. Bill Arp to Abe Linkhorn," *North Carolina Standard*, May 8, 1861.

[309] "Is Peace Impossible," *North Carolina Standard*, May 1, 1861.

While the *Recorder* and *Standard* both showed visible editorial bias, the university's *Carolina Magazine* reflected a variety of opinions, both secessionist and Unionist, in the months before North Carolina's May 1861 secession. The magazine functioned largely as a literary journal, but much of its content turned to the theme of war before it stopped printing in May 1861. The April 1861 issue contained the "Martial Song of the South," calling upon readers to:

> Sound your bugles – mount your horses,
> Hasten to the battle field,
> There to strew a thousand cor[p]ses,
> Ere our dearest rights we yield."[310]

The same issue printed a biography praising Judge Hugh L. White, a Tennessee senator who had kept the nation together when "disunion on one hand and civil war on the other were the consequence" of an 1832 debate over a tariff.[311] A month earlier, the magazine had printed that all of the university's students "from the smallest Freshman to the gravest Senior" were enlisted in a university company.[312] That same issue also printed a Unionist poem, reading "Our glorious Union – let it stand."[313] The magazine showed a surprising balance of views in contrast to the *Hillsborough Recorder*'s secessionist and the *Standard*'s anti-war biases.

Cotton, Corn and the Lack of Resources

The lack of resources, especially food, was of huge concern on the home front and became a common news item. The flowery philosophical discussions on the right to secede that

[310] "Song of the South," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861.

[311] "Hugh L. White," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861.

[312] "The Military," *North Carolina University Magazine*, March 1861.

[313] C.A.W., "Song to the New Year," *North Carolina University Magazine*, March 1861.

were prevalent before North Carolina's secession[314] changed to include serious concerns about feeding a population. Newspapers printed columns with advice and encouragement to planters to raise all sorts of food, including hogs,[315] potatoes,[316] bees,[317] and other livestock and food crops in general.[318] The newspapers did not mince words; the crops grown were extremely important for the army as well as the home population, as "wasting, desolating, devastating war still go on."[319] Though newspapers were sometimes overly optimistic about the outcome of the war,[320] they were realistic about the food situation. "Let every planter feel that to a certain extent, our success rests upon his shoulders. … Every planter … will then have a certainty of there being no danger of starvation in any part of the country next autumn," the *Hillsborough Recorder* declared.[321] The *Recorder* even went so far as to tell its readers that they were eating too much: "far too much food is taken by those whose means allow them to indulge their palates and overload their stomachs," an 1864 article opined.[322]

[314] W.F. Leak letter, *Standard*, January 1, 1861.

[315] "Hog Raising," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 18, 1863.

[316] "The Irish Potato," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 6, 1864.

[317] "Bees," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 27, 1864.

[318] "A Talk with the Planters," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 10, 1864.

[319] "Peace and Provisions," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 6, 1864.

[320] "Good News from Our Armies," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 3, 1864.

[321] "A Talk with the Planters," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 10, 1864.

[322] "National Peculiarities," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 10, 1864.

Papers read in Chapel Hill especially focused on the production of corn, a staple food.[323] Throughout the Confederacy, farmers favored growing the lucrative crop of cotton over corn.[324] The Confederate government tried to outlaw growing cotton and discouraged growing tobacco in favor of food crops, especially corn.[325]

A correspondent from western North Carolina wrote to the *Weekly Standard* to say that farmers were withholding corn because they would not take Confederate currency. "We know of several of this class. They have corn to sell, but they say, I will not take the Confederate notes for my corn, I want Bank notes, I can get 35 per cent for Bank notes; yet they say they are friends to the Southern cause. What are the poor soldiers' wives to do?"[326]

The writer pointed out that the soldiers were being paid in Confederate money and sending support home to their families. Confederate currency was all the home front had to spend. The hardships created by the currency problem were sure to redound to the front. "Who will be content to stay in the army and fight the battles of his country," the writer reasoned, "when he knows that his wife and children are suffering for bread?"[327]

But many farmers did not listen to the entreaties over crop selection and the evils of speculation, and hunger. Citing their individual rights guaranteed as a cornerstone of the Confederate government, many continued to grow cotton.[328] The *Hillsborough Recorder* and the

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[323] "Put in all the magistrates," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 20, 1864.

[324] Mobley, *Weary of War,* 21.

[325] Ibid., 20-21.

[326] "How are the Soldiers' Wives to Get Bread?" *Weekly Standard*, Raleigh, NC, March 11, 1863.

[327] Ibid.

[328] Mobley, *Weary of War*, 21.

Standard showed that this was also a problem in Chapel Hill; advertisements showed the high value of tobacco[329] and cotton,[330] but the papers printed editorials urging farmers to grow more corn and other food crops. "'Cotton is King.' you know – so we thought once – but grass is King *now*,"[331] wrote one contributor, who saw the Southern future in growing corn and hay for livestock, exclusive of cotton. There seemed to be no evidence that papers read in Chapel Hill supported farmers' rights to choose what to plant. Rather, they viewed the growing of food crops as best for the Confederacy and necessary to the survival of the Southern cause, and their pages reflected that.[332]

Depending on their politics – or their misogyny; either or both guided some their decisions – editors were sometimes more, sometimes less sympathetic to the women who – facing shortages of bread and other staples – took to the streets in protest. A bread riot in Richmond – which drew Northern attention that included a highly circulated, highly unflattering cartoon[333] – was widely reported, although the government initially tried to cover it up. As with riots then and now, windows were smashed, stores were broken into, and merchandise unrelated to the initial cause was stolen, facts that every newspaper account brought up in one way or another. One account available to Raleigh area readers that made its way around the exchange press circuit was brief and unsympathetic:

> Under the plea of a "bread riot," a mob of women, mostly of the baser sort, made a demonstration in Richmond, recently. But they stole more men's shoes and clothing

[329] "Wholesale or Retail," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 4, 1863.

[330] "Cotton Exchange," *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 4, 1863.

[331] "Stock—Grass, &c.," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 18, 1863.

[332] "The Cry for Corn," *Spirit of the Age*, January 26, 1863.

[333] "Sowing and Reaping," *Leslie's Illustrated News*, New York, May 23, 1863.

> than they took something to eat Indeed robbery and theft was the object of the mob, and nothing else. They have mostly been turned over to the courts for trial, and the pains and penalties for their misconduct will no doubt be very severe. The mob was composed almost entirely of women from the north and European countries. This manner of disposing of "women mobs" will, it is hoped, put a stop to them.[334]

Even briefer was another exchange-press version that drew on the trope of the ridiculous female: "The Chattanooga *Rebel* says, certain women in Atlanta, Ga., and Salisbury, N.C., have engaged recently in Bread Riots. If they had been 'well-bread' women they would not have done so."[335]

In Richmond, however, the *Whig* used the bread riots as text for a sermon lambasting the authorities – "who are scarcely less afraid to acknowledge a disagreeable truth than the despotism at Washington" – for trying to suppress the news of major consequence and interest to readers and citizens. "When Fort Donelson fell, the news was kept back from the people for nearly a week, and to repeated enquiries made at the War Office, the answer was given that the government was in possession of no intelligence."[336] "The people," the *Whig* insisted "had a right to expect, and did expect, courage and common sense."

Instead of trying to orchestrate a news blackout, the *Whig* declared, that same common sense ought to have seen that a major incident like the bread riot would be of such moment that,

> … to suppose that in a city containing nearly a hundred thousand people, every tongue and every pen would be checked, in obedience to the request of any human being whatever, and because the newspapers were silent – to believe, for an instant, that the throng of "special correspondents" would pass over the most precious item that has fallen into their nets since the war began – to hope that the courts would close their doors and investigate crime in secret session – to dream that passengers leaving by the cars, farmers going out on horseback, women in buggies and hucksters in chicken carts, would refuse

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[334] "Under the Plea," *Spirit of the Age*, Raleigh, NC, April 13, 1863.

[335] "General Items," *Semi-Weekly Standard*, Raleigh, April 10, 1863.

[336] "The Late Riot in Richmond, VA, *Weekly Standard,* Raleigh, NC, April 15, 1863.

> to tell their wives, children, friends, neighbors, and gossips the marvelous story of the great "bread" riot – the breaking open of stores – the calling out of the military – the appeals of old citizens – the repeated reading of the riot act by the Mayor – the eloquent harangue of the President in a furniture wagon to a crowd of innocent men, squares away from the scene of female burglarism [sic] in broad daylight – *to suppose that all this could be suppressed by any agency conceivable, much less the mere silencing of the papers, is, to say the very least of it, the silliest expectation that ever entered the brains of men outside of strait jackets.*[337]

The indictment continued:

> This timidity, or want of common sense, or whatever else it may be called, must be regarded as by far the worst part of the business. The riot itself is as nothing compared to it. If the authorities who rule this Confederacy are so pusillanimous as to fear the truth, whatever it may be, or so deficient in intellect as to suppose that such a thing as a female riot could occur in Richmond, at any time of the day or night, and not be known outside of the city limits, then we are just as badly off as if we were starving.[338]

The *Whig* had little sympathy for the rioters, however. "That there was any just ground for the shameful disturbance of Thursday, no one believes. The more it is looked into the more causeless it appears," the account continued, adding:

> Doubtless there is much suffering in the city. But the fund voted the poor was by no means exhausted; the churches were willing and abundantly able to relieve distress; private benevolence had not once been appealed to. No petition, no remonstrance had been made; yet, on a sudden, a hundred or a hundred and fifty well-dressed, plump-cheeked women, led by a virago, who is known to have made a fortune by market-gardening, and cheered on by a rabble of gamblers and ruffians, who are protected here by the special toleration of the Confederate, State and Municipal governments, that misrule this unhappy city – all of a sudden this throng of courtesans and thieves assembles in the Capitol Square, organizes and proceeds to break open stores, to get what forsooth? Not meat and bread but boots, shoes, silk dresses, tobacco, jewelry, brooms, and the like.[339]

Riots of one sort or another broke out within North Carolina as well. A women's demonstration in Salisbury, as reported by the Salisbury *Bulletin* and republished in the

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[337] Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

[338] Ibid.

[339] Ibid.

Southerner of Tarboro, told of "a mob raised here yesterday, consisting mostly of soldier's [sic] wives and led on by hunger I suppose, and hatred against speculators, armed themselves with hatchets and congregated at the depot, for the purpose of breaking in, if necessary, for the purpose of getting some flour stowed away by some speculator."[340]

The report, not altogether unsympathetic, related how "the idea struck them that Mr. M. Brown, who has bought more flour than any one else in the place, and perhaps has been the means through which flour has taken such a rise in the last few days, had a good deal on hand."[341]

Marching on Brown's store, they were at first refused entry, but then, "Mr. Brown, to satisfy them, told them that he would give them ten barrels if they would leave and let him alone," which they did.[342] Emboldened, though, the mob continued to make various stops around the town to demand more flour, molasses, and salt, at times threatening the owners with their hatchets until they got what they wanted. "I do not think that they proceeded right," the correspondent submitted, but he also criticized town officials, who "ought to have taken the $50,000 that were appropriated and bought up corn, and flour, and meat, and have rented a house to put it in, and have hired some one to sell it at an [sic] uniform price, that to be at cost." He added, "Another thing I think ought to be stopped , and that immediately – that is, all speculations in the necessaries of life, and let persons who have things to sell divide and sell to all alike."[343]

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[340] "Female Bread Riot in Salisbury," *Southerner*, Tarboro, NC, April 4, 1863.

[341] Ibid.

[342] Ibid.

[343] Ibid.

Southern editors understood that the scarcities in part stemmed from stockpiling by speculators, and they fairly regularly spoke out against the practice. “Let those who have provisions to sell, not hold on to their stuff for a higher price, and in that way give occasion for bread riots,” read a *Charlotte Democrat* item reprinted in the *Hillsborough Recorder*. “The man who refuses to sell the necessaries of life now, or is striving to advance the price, is an extortioner and a miser, and is doing the Confederate cause great injury.”[344]

“Speculation, extortion, and villainy are doing their work and yielding their fruits,” warned Raleigh’s *Weekly Standard*. “Bread riots have commenced, and where they will end God only knows.”[345]

It is beyond the scope of this work to identify all the sites of bread riots and other demonstrations against scarcity, but it is relevant to note that local readers were being advised that their unrequited needs were a phenomenon experienced throughout the Confederacy. Besides the specific bread riots in Richmond and Salisbury, NC, readers in the Chapel Hill-Raleigh area were told that such riots were occurring in Atlanta, and “in all our principal cities,”[346] and editors invariably pointed out that victimage at home would have repercussions at the front.

Medical Supply Shorages

Another widespread problem in the Confederacy was the lack of medicine, which was largely manufactured in the North before the war.[347] Yellow fever, malaria, and respiratory

[344] “The Way to Help the Cause,” *Hillsborough Recorder,* September 23, 1863.

[345] “Bread Riots Commenced,” *Weekly Standard*, Raleigh, March 24, 1863.

[346] “Patriotic and Just Reflections, *Weekly Standard*, Raleigh, June 10, 1863.

[347] Mobley, *Weary of War*, 11-12.

diseases hit the Southern population, including coastal regions of North Carolina. But papers read in Chapel Hill did not focus as much on lack of medicine as this information may suggest, perhaps because Chapel Hill was better off than some parts of the Confederacy. Blockade-runners supplied North Carolina through the port of Wilmington, which remained open until January 1865.[348] The *Hillsborough Recorder* suggested that Chapel Hill saw these benefits; the paper printed news of two English ships arriving in Wilmington with full cargoes,[349] and a week later a local advertisement publicized English goods, including quinine, camphor, soap, tooth brushes and other goods.[350] But the papers also showed that shortages existed by printing home remedies for illnesses,[351] and obituaries told stories the papers overlooked. One obituary told the sad story of an Orange County man who went to Virginia to visit a sick son, who died before his father arrived. The father then died of exhaustion and illness upon his return.[352] Another week's obituaries told of the Woods brothers, ages two, four and seven, who died within three days of each other of scarlet fever,[353] and two other local children who died of diphtheria.[354]

Disease and lack of medicine were undoubtedly a problem in Chapel Hill, but they were reported upon far less than food shortages. Perhaps this is because newspapers saw fewer solutions to this problem whereas solving food shortages was something Chapel Hill farmers

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[348] Ibid., 86, 95.

[349] "Two English steamers," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 4, 1863.

[350] "Keep Cool, and strike while the iron is hot," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 11, 1863.

[351] "Cure for Colds," *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 6, 1864.

[352] Thomas D. Faucett obituary, *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 4, 1863.

[353] "Obituary," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 11, 1863.

[354] "Obituary," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 11, 1863.

could contribute to. This comports with the *Recorder*'s role of encouraging and motivating its readers, but it means the papers may have missed stories. Henry Armand London, a UNC sophomore from Pittsboro, recorded in his diary deaths he had heard of, including those of a Chapel Hill black man[355] and an acquaintance[356] who died of yellow fever. The entries showed the same war-caused tension that the Chapel Hill papers reflected, such as in one instance when "the students had a mutiny in the chapell" [sic] after a yellow fever scare.[357]

Soldiers' Dissent

Though there was avid support for the Confederate troops in North Carolina papers, a closer look at the articles revealed a form of resistance in which Southerners expressed dissent through enlisting late in the Confederate army. Southern men conveyed disapproval of the war by hesitating to fight for the Confederacy, denying the initial call to arms in the first year of the war until they were conscripted or volunteered years after the war had begun. Hillsborough and Raleigh papers frequently reached out to reluctant soldiers in Orange County, though they referenced the larger state-wide efforts to rally troops for the defense of North Carolina and the Confederacy rather than localities.[358]

[355] Henry Armand London papers, October 5, 1862. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.

[356] Henry Armand London papers, October 18, 1862. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C. London does not specify where this person was from, but he usually writes "heard of death of…" if the news came in a letter, so the news is likely first-hand.

[357] Henry Armand London papers, October 5, 1862, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.

[358] Because there were no Chapel Hill publications, the *Hillsborough Recorder* and the *North Carolina Standard* were two publications used as news sources in Chapel Hill.

The initial hesitance of a large portion of Southern men to enlist in the Confederate army was demonstrated in the media with articles calling attention to the need for more recruits. An article in the *Standard* showed how late-enlisters were uninterested in defending the home front and attempted to re-ignite the call to arms by reminding its audience of civic responsibilities. Rather than emphasizing the Confederacy's need for more man-power, papers hoped to encourage enlistment by circulating the ideological reasons that drove enlisters in 1861 to action. The article spoke to the honor and nobility of troops already serving in the war: "We beg the attention of North Carolinians to [Col. Ransom's] card in to-day's issue, calling for recruits for his noble regiment. … This regiment affords our strong young men the very best opportunity for doing their country a service, and of obtaining honorable distinction. Rally, then, to the call of your country."[359]

Though tactics to motivate soldiers through newspaper articles started discussion of civic duty, they did little to motivate hesitant Southerners. In comparison to those who enlisted at the start of war, non-volunteers were unconcerned with Confederate nationalism, liberty, states' rights or honor and duty.[360] Larger monetary incentives offered by the army were then reported, attracting late-enlisters by showing how "recruits will amply be provided for by the Confederate government."[361] Papers reported monetary rewards for enlisting in addition to regular income and bounties already offered to soldiers. Even the *Standard*, which would eventually adopt a more pro-Unionist stance as the war progressed, used these same techniques to encourage North

[359] "First N.C. Cavalry," *North Carolina Standard*, February 18, 1862.

[360] Kenneth W. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861*(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010). 10.

[361] "First N.C. Cavalry," *North Carolina Standard*, February 18, 1862.

Carolinians to join the Confederate war effort. In an article entitled, "Stand to Your Post, Boys," the *Standard* offered hope to discouraged soldiers by focusing on the payoffs of serving their country. The article said, "you will then return to your homes, hang up your bruised arms for monuments and under the mild sway of blessed peace you and your children after you will enjoy the thanks and gratitude of millions."[362] Bounties were criticized for the way in which they served as encouragement and in essence rewarded late-enlisters for initially ignoring the call to arms and fulfillment of civic duty. The *Standard* printed an article that said, "The State convention has passed an ordinance giving $50 bounty to all North Carolina volunteers for the war… Are not those who have heretofore enlisted for the war, who entered at the outset, justly entitled to the same bounty as the new volunteers?"[363]

Newspapers in 1862 dealt with the hesitance and disinterest in the war effort from the soldiers by frequently incorporating articles meant to continually encourage the troops. Both the *Recorder* and the *Standard* featured a news story entitled, "Patriotic Example," which described a young man, Yancey Nichols, who, on his way to meet with a recruiting officer, was approached by another man who offered him money to take the place of a soldier currently serving in the army. Nichols denied the man's request to engage in substitution,[364] arguing that the Confederate army needed them both and that "money could never prompt me to take this step."[365] This article was printed in May 1862 and is representative of the many different articles

[362] "Stand to Your Post, Boys," *North Carolina Standard*, July 26, 1862.

[363] "The State convention…," *North Carolina Standard*, February 22, 1862.

[364] See, for example, James Martin, "Civil War Conscription Laws," *In Custodia Legis*, Library of Congress. Accessed at https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2012/11/civil-war-conscription-laws/.

[365] "Patriotic Example," *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 7, 1862.

that were initially printed in both the *Recorder* and the *Standard* which encouraged men to volunteer in the Confederate Army, appealing to their sense of bravery, courage, patriotism, and Christian duty.

Recruiting and substitution polices were plagued recruiters for the Union army as well. Historian Peter Levine writes that "Most [Union] men who were drafted avoided military service by legal means. Over 160,000 individuals who did not avail themselves of such outlets also escaped the call to arms by refusing to report to their draft boards for examination. These men were illegal draft evaders by choice and deserters by law."[366]

Articles raising soldiers' morale were necessary in the middle of the war as many soldiers began resorting to deserting the army during their service.[367] Government sources put the rate of North Carolina Confederates' desertions at about 23,000, "nearly one-quarter of the total for the entire Confederacy and significantly more than for any other state," although some historians have revised the number to about 14,000 desertions.[368] In any event, even General Robert E. Lee complained that desertions reduced the reliability of North Carolina troops.[369]

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[366] The Confederate draft, with its provision for hiring substitutes to serve in the Army proved no more acceptable in the South than it did in the North. "Substitution quickly proved to be unpopular since it allowed for wealthy men to escape military service while leaving men of lesser resources exposed to the draft. The individuals who served as substitutes also were viewed with suspicion since it was felt they were mercenaries and would desert at the earliest possible moment. In late 1863, substitution was abolished by an act of Congress." Peter Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North during the Civil War, 1863-1865," *Journal of American History* 67, no. 4 (1981): 816-34.

[367] Richard Reid "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil': Desertion among North Carolina Troops during the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (July 1981): 234-262.

[368] Michael Thomas Smith, "Civil War Desertion," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, ed., William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006). Accessed at NCpedia, https://www.ncpedia.org/desertion-civil-war.

[369] Ibid.

The *Standard* republished an article found in another North Carolina newspaper, the *Charlotte Democrat*, focusing on an excerpt that highlighted the necessity that Southern men remain optimistic and continue fighting. "The Western Democrat says: Let no Southern man think of giving up."[370] Soldiers against the Confederacy resorted to desertion, abandoning their posts within their regiments without a proper discharge. The *Hillsborough Recorder* published a declaration by North Carolina governor Zebulon Vance, who addressed desertion by expressing his disappointment with the soldiers who abandoned the Confederate army. "Whereas it had been made known to me that a large number of soldiers from our armies are absent from their colors without proper leave, in this hour of our greatest need."[371] By publishing the proclamation in the local paper, Vance and the editors of the *Recorder* may have been attempting to reach the soldiers who had deserted the army, reminding the soldiers who abandoned the war effort that all volunteers were necessary for success of the Confederacy. The article similarly addressed North Carolina soldiers directly by offering them amnesty through the proclamation, in which soldiers who returned before a certain date would not be punished but would otherwise be sentenced to death. "I, Zebulon Vance, Governor of North Carolina, do issue my proclamation to soldiers from this state…exhorting them to avail themselves of this opportunity … from a felon's death."[372]

As the regiments and volunteers for the Confederate army were portrayed as noble and courageous by the papers, deserters were portrayed as disgraceful and lowly. "Soldiers from this

[370] "Never Give Up," *North Carolina Standard*, February 22, 1862.

[371] "A Proclamation by Zebulon B. Vance," *Hillsborough Recorder*, November 2, 1863.

[372] Ibid.

state, serving in the armies of the Confederacy, who are now illegally absent from their colors … [should] return to duty … saving their friends from the disgrace and infamy which will cling forever to the name of a deserter."[373] Emphasizing the negative views against deserters was meant to discourage future soldiers from deserting as well as encourage soldiers who had resorted to desertion to return, in order to spare their regiment from the shame and notoriety of desertion.

Some also suggest that Holden's 1864 peace movement undercut morale and stimulated desertions.[374] Auman writes that:

> The peace movement emboldened deserters, draft dodgers, and militant Unionists, hundreds of whom congregated and organized into bands in the central Piedmont in the summer of 1863. By August, these armed bands roamed the central counties at will, defying both state and national authorities. Faced with an insurrection, Vance sought aid from Richmond, and Gen. Robert E. Lee ordered a brigade of Confederate troops led by Brig. Gen. Robert F. Hoke into central North Carolina. On 8 Sept. 1863 Hoke's troops arrived by train at High Point, a railhead in southwestern Guilford County, the heart of "deserter country." What followed was one of the largest deserter hunts carried out in the Confederacy. Vance ordered out hundreds of state Home Guard and militia troops to support Hoke's force. For five months these Confederate and state troops scoured the central Piedmont from Wilkes County in the west to Chatham County in the east. Thousands of deserters and draft dodgers were captured and forced into the ranks.[375]

Personal Property Concerns

Personal property played a role as men forfeited the monetary and ideological incentives provided in order to protect their own property rather than the home front. Men who had not

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[373] Ibid.

[374] William T Auman, "Peace Movement (Civil War)," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, ed., William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006). Accessed at NCpedia, https://www.ncpedia.org/peace-movement-civil-war.

[375] William T Auman, "Peace Movement (Civil War)," "Part 3: The Peace Party, William W. Holden, and the Election of 1864" Encyclopedia of North Carolina, ed., William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006). Accessed at NCpedia, https://www.ncpedia.org/peace-movement-civil-war-part-3-pea.

enlisted were criticized for ignoring the needs of the state to protect personal property and families, whereas the volunteers at the start of the war had willingly sacrificed future personal benefits and the security of their homes and families. The *Standard* openly condemned those who had not yet made any sort of personal sacrifice for the armed cause, possibly in an attempt to guilt those who avoided enlistment by comparing them to the volunteers at the start of the war:

> "We think it better that men of means should sacrifice all their property for the defence [sic] of their homes and their fights, than submit to the humiliation of defeat and subjugation. But there are thousands who talk, talk, about carrying it on who have hardly sacrificed a *red* yet for the cause. … Some men will risk life, character, friends, and country for their money or property."[376]

Personal property and families also played a role in causing dissent from the Confederacy in soldiers as motivation for desertion. The *Recorder* in one article speculated that "a large majority of … [deserters] were impelled to this course by a natural and … irresistible desire to see their homes and families."[377]

Impact of Non-Slaveholders and Women

The tendency of the non-slaveholding majority to postpone enlistment was very similar to that of non-volunteers, as policies like conscription and the granting of bounties and furloughs for enlisting seemingly advantaged wealthy slaveholders at the expense of non-slaveholders. In the early years of the war, requests to increase the number of volunteers in North Carolina ran for weeks and sometimes months at a time. For example, in March 1862, the *Recorder* printed an appeal from Governor Henry T. Clark, calling "upon the brave and patriotic men of our state to

[376] "Never Give Up," *North Carolina Standard*, February 22, 1862.

[377] Vance, "A Proclamation."

volunteer, from the mountains to the sea."[378] These attempts by Confederate leaders and pro-Confederate newspapers to garner troops for the war undoubtedly glorified the war effort in terms of courage and patriotism to appeal to those soldiers of the non-slaveholding majority who initially felt alienated from the war effort.

While newspapers and Confederate leaders helped cultivate the idea of the courageous Confederate soldier, women also played a key role in encouraging men to join the army. Women played an integral role in harnessing support for the Confederate war effort by encouraging men to take up arms. Women also contributed to the war effort by providing troops with supplies and sending loved ones letters of encouragement and care packages. The *Recorder* printed an appeal from the governor to the women of Orange County for several months, encouraging local women to furnish soldiers with socks, blankets, and other clothing items. Much like the appeals geared toward North Carolina men to volunteer, these requests appealed to many women's sense of patriotism and loyalty to their "courageous soldiers." For example, the appeal that ran in the *Recorder* said, "imitate the example of your mothers of the revolution, and allow not the soldiers who have taken up arms in defense of your liberties, your lives, and what is still dearer, your honor to go unprovided for."[379] Local newspapers even included thank you letters from the troops that highlighted specific contributions given by friends and neighbors.[380] These mentions of contributions of the troops hoped to increase contributions from women and were a symbol of patriotism and elevated social rank.[381] The *Recorder* printed one letter from Captain William K.

[378] "By the Governor of North Carolina. A Proclamation," *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 12, 1862.

[379] "To the Ladies of Orange County," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 15, 1862.

[380] "Letter to Mr. Heartt from William J. Freeland," *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 29, 1862.

[381] Mobley, *Weary of War*.

Parish that read, "Can any soldier whose heart beats under one of these shirts refuse to fight for his country and his home?"[382]

Yet, newspapers framing the Confederate war effort in terms of bravery, courage, patriotism, and Christian duty would only last so long, as policies enacted by the Confederacy like the conscription act which disadvantaged non-slaveholders and women through its exemption and substitution policies, spawned growing dissent in North Carolina. Conscription acts passed by the Confederate army granted exceptions to slaveholders who owned or over saw twenty or more slaves.[383] The act also provided for substitution, as mentioned earlier, where wealthy individuals could pay poorer men to take their place in the army.[384] These policies that seemingly favored wealthy slaveholders outraged non-slaveholders, especially women who were left behind on the home front with increased labor as their men were called away to war. One woman wrote, "slaveholders … are shielding themselves and their sons and nephews from service, under the exemption law, by buying or hiring a few more negroes, so they can stay at home, and sell their produce at high prices to the wives and children of our soldiers."[385]

In addition to the seemingly unfair application of these policies, the growing impact of the absence of men on the home front also changed how women viewed the war effort. A letter to the editor of the *Standard* by an unidentified North Carolina woman represented the impact of families who were feeling the loss of their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers on the home

[382] "Letter to Mr. Heartt from William K. Parish" *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 29, 1862.

[383] Paul D. Escott, The Confederacy: The Slaveholders' Failed Venture (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010).

[384] Ibid.

[385] "A True Southern Woman," *North Carolina Standard*, November 11, 1862.

front. The letter said, "they [women] have sent their husbands, and sons, and brothers to the war; and during their absence, they have freely given of their diminished means to clothe and render comfortable those who are fighting our battles."[386] Initially, bounties and furloughs were granted to privates and non-commissioned officers in the provisional army to encourage enlistment. However, as the war progressed monetary rewards and furloughs became the center of much discussion in letters to soldiers from their families left on the home front.[387] Women were faced with new pressures to maintain farms and business affairs alone and bounties and furloughs became a way to alleviate some of these pressures. The *Standard* printed an article suggesting that bounties should be increased from $50 to $100 "to leave a snug little sum at home, as some security against want in their families, while they are away bearing the burdens of war."[388]

Women also worried about the prospect of a "negro uprising." In a letter to Governor Vance, one woman expressed her concern arguing that "the Negros are making every effort in their power to murder the people and their intention is to carry it out Christmas."[389] [sic] The woman also expressed her belief that black men planned to make young white women their companions and argued that there were not enough men on the home front to ensure their protection. As women began to place less emphasis on the courageous and patriotic achievements of their loved ones in the army and more emphasis on their hardships on the home

[386] "A True Southern Woman," *North Carolina Standard*, November 11, 1862.

[387] Christopher M. Watford, *The Civil War in North Carolina: Soldiers' and Civilians' Letters and Diaries* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003): 36.

[388] "Troops for the War," *North Carolina Standard*, January 11, 1862.

[389] Watford, *The Civil War in North Carolina*, 186.

front, many regiments in North Carolina began to see a steady increase in desertion and dissent within their troops.

Conscription Laws, Habeas Corpus and Editorial Bias

On April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed an act suggested by President Jefferson Davis requiring military service for three years from all males aged 18 to 35 who were not legally exempt. Congress later extended the requirement to serve until the end of the war.[390] Consequently, conscription laws led to desertion, which was highly criticized by both governors and the press.

In 1863 the *Recorder* published a proclamation signed by Governor Vance, expressing his disappointment and anger about all the soldiers who were "absent from their colors without proper leave, in this hour of our greatest need."[391] In order to combat desertion Vance suggested that if all the soldiers would come back to the front by February 10 of that year, they would not be punished for the time they were absent. However, if soldiers did not return by the specified date, they would be "tried for desertion, and upon conviction, be made to suffer death." [392]

As the *Spirit of the Age* published in 1862, after the passage of the conscription law, the drafted soldier was sometimes considered "less loyal, less patriotic and less courageous" in contrast to the volunteer soldier, who decided to go to the front by himself.[393] However, this same newspaper stated conscripted soldiers "are true at heart. They are as willing to fight as

[390] "A Proclamation by Zebulon B. Vance ," *Hillsborough Recorder*, November 2, 1863.

[391] Ibid.

[392] Ibid.

[393] "The conscript soldier," *Spirit of the Age*, March 26, 1862.

others and now that the situation requires them, they strike as noble blows and bear as heroic acts as others." [394]

The *Standard* published an article on April 12, 1862, originally found in the *Macon (GA)Telegraph*. The *Telegraph's* editor compared the conscription laws of the Civil War to those of the War of 1812, arguing that while conscription was necessary in the War of 1812, it was not applicable to the Confederate war effort. He said there was a compelling reason to establish a conscription law to make soldiers go to war in 1812, since "it was with difficulty that troops could be raised in some of the States. Such is by no means the case in this war. The people generally are in favor of it. There is, therefore, no good reason for urging a levy en masse on the people."[395] Additionally, William Holden, the editor of the *Standard,* argued that conscription is "a tremendous engine of military despotism" and said it was the "devil's own invention." Holden characterized conscription as "wicked" and "dangerous" and believed that it was an attempt to "force" free men to do what they have been doing, and would continue to do voluntarily.[396]

When it came to controversial issues, such as the conscription law, newspapers often criticized one another. For example, on May 28 Raleigh's *State Journal*[397] expressed its anger with the *Standard's* criticism of Jefferson Davis for signing the conscription law:

> The incessant croaking which the *Standard* keeps up about the Conscription … is trying to create opposition in this State … but subsequent events have declared its wisdom. Its adoption is considered absolutely necessary to save the army from ruinous

[394] Ibid.

[395] "Military Conscription," *North Carolina Standard,* April 12, 1862.

[396] Ibid.

[397] The *State Journal* was published weekly in Raleigh, N.C. by John Spelman.

> reduction, at a time when the drilled cohorts of the enemy were pouring down upon the South in countless myriads, and with revengeful fury.[398]

The editor of the *State Journal* also stated that if the law had not been accepted, it would have signified the surrender of the Confederacy. [399]

Like conscription, the suspension of habeas corpus was polarizing. The suspension was issued by President Jefferson Davis on February 27, 1862. *Habeas corpus* literally means "you have the body" and it is a writ issued by the court in order to inquire whether a person is lawfully detained or imprisoned.[400] President Davis originally feared imposing martial law and consequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus because Abraham Lincoln had previously suspended the writ in the Union and had received overwhelming criticism in the Confederacy.

For example, the *Standard* published an article on March 26, 1862, that said, "some months ago, Mr. Lincoln was vehemently denounced for suspending the writ of habeas corpus and putting the people of Maryland under martial law; shall we, in the absence of the strongest necessity for such a course, follow his example?."[401] The *Standard*, on January 20, 1862, called President Davis "a Dictator."[402] This law "will silence our judiciary, the press and close the

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[398] "The Conscription Act," *State Journal,* May 28, 1862.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Cary Ferderman, *The Body and the State: Habeas Corpus and American Jurisprudence* (Albany, New York): 5.

[401] "Martial Law, What it is," *North Carolina Standard,* March 26, 1862.

[402] "Proposition to Suspend Habeas Corpus," *North Carolina Standard,* January 20, 1862.

mouths of our people, with the exception of those who may laud the administration," the *Standard* said. "God save the Confederacy from such madness!"[403]

On the other hand, the *State Journal* supported the Confederate government's decision to suspend the writ of habeas corpus: "We are glad to see that Congress has given the power to the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, and to proclaim towns and cities under martial law, under certain circumstances."[404] The *State Journal* argued that the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended because the South is "full of Yankee and native traitors, who by means of a cypher and other devices, are doubtless keeping the enemy fully posted in our movements." [405] In another article published by the *State Journal*, it argued that suspending the writ guarantees the safety of the South and "better, a thousand times, that a few well-meaning and innocent persons should suffer for a time, than that the great cause which involves the lives, property and freedom of millions should be imperiled." [406]

According to the *Standard* and the *State Journal*, in March 1862, a few citizens requested that President Davis extend martial law to Raleigh and the surrounding county for the space of ten miles despite that martial law would bring with it the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Their request was rejected in the senate but both newspapers had different perspectives of that decision. According to the *Standard*, the martial law "suspends all constitutions and all laws of civil nature. It should never be declared, except when *indispensably* necessary to the safety of the

[403] Ibid.

[404] "Confederate Congress," *State Journal*, March 5, 1862.

[405] Ibid.

[406] Ibid.

community or State." [407] However, the *State Journal* had a very different point of view. On April 2, 1862, they published a story of a respectable citizen of the county, who was in Raleigh when the news of the fall of Roanoke Island reached the place and heard a man proclaim that the Union should win the war.[408]After that, the editor of the *State Journal* "calls the attention of the editor of the *Standard* to these things, and ask him if is not time for martial law or some sort of law to be enforced against Lincoln sympathizers and those who are waiting for an opportunity to injure the Southern cause. Prompt and vigorous action is what we need now".[409]

After the war, the *North Carolina Standard's* irascible editor, William Woods Holden, would become governor under the federal occupation. In 1871 he became the first governor in the nation to be both impeached and removed from office, after forming a state militia that dealt roughly with citizens as it enforced civil rights legislation.

On April 12, 2011, North Carolina state senators pardoned Holden after convening a special session in the old Capitol Building – the location of Holden's conviction 140 years earlier.

Conclusion

Studying Chapel Hill's media history during the Civil War yields a great deal of information but also leaves holes. What the papers that were read in Chapel Hill did not cover is

[407] "Martial Law, What It Is," *North Carolina Standard,* March 26, 1862.

[408] "Martial Law," *State Journal,* April 2, 1862.

[409] Ibid.

just as important as what they did, the proverbial strategic silences. A question that newspapers did not answer is how the university was affected by the war. *Carolina Magazine* shows a side of Chapel Hill the other newspapers missed. It printed multiple love poems in each issue,[410] as well as flowery, pretentious essays that cite scholars, Greeks, Romans and other classical figures[411] to reflect their writers' education. After the *University Magazine* ran out of money[412] and stopped printing in May of 1861, there was a gap in reporting university news. The *Recorder* focused on the home population but rarely mentioned the university. Students were not exempted from any conscription law,[413] and a draft in early 1864 expanded the age range to include 17-year-olds.[414] Professors were originally exempt,[415] and although UNC was one of a handful of Southern universities to remain open throughout the war, its student population was reduced when the war came.[416]

However, the diary of Pittsboro native Henry Armand London, who studied at UNC from 1861 until he was drafted in November of 1864, showed that UNC life may have remained relatively normal compared to the picture that local newspapers gave. London's daily diary entries recorded things like classes, church services, interactions with women, getting drunk with

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[410] "To Miss Jennie," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861, and "Stanzas—to Miss Estelle," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861, and "Sallie Maxwell," *North Carolina University Magazine*, March 1861.

[411] "Concerning Courage," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861, and "Novel Reading," *North Carolina University Magazine*, March 1861.

[412] David L. Swain, "University Magazine," *North Carolina University Magazine*, April 1861.

[413] Ibid., 50.

[414] Ibid., 52.

[415] Ibid., 50.

[416] Ibid., 110-111.

friends, and other common things that seem unaffected by the war.[417] He seems to always have had enough to eat; he wrote of many dinners at his aunt's house as well as dinners with friends and recorded expenses of treating his friends to food like apples, watermelon and peaches, even in late 1864 as the Confederacy was on its last legs.[418] But London also confirmed some of the newspapers' reports. He was constantly looking for new shoes and getting his shoes re-soled when he could not find new ones,[419] and his fellow students seemed to be afraid of the draft. London was finally drafted in late 1864, and when a professor went to Raleigh to try to get his students excused, "the seniors await[ed] with fear and trembling the result of Bunk's mission, some hoping, and others given up [in] despair."[420]

Media history gives insight into what communities considered important. A study of newspapers read in Chapel Hill during the Civil War reveals that residents considered the pre-war debate over secession; the lack of resources; soldiers' dissent; the influence of women and non-slaveholders; and the conscription laws and suspension of habeas corpus as newsworthy topics. Editorial bias, letters to the editor, and how newspapers treated different topics all played a part in Orange County's and Chapel Hill's news culture. A community's use of newspapers and those papers' treatment of the news provides insight but leaves out the mundane, non-

[417] Henry Armand London papers, 1862-1863, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.

[418] "Expenses," Henry Armand London papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.

[419] "Expenses," Henry Armand London papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C., and entry on October 21, 1864 and October 28, 1864.

[420] Henry Armand London papers. October 31, 1864.

newsworthy aspects of life. The *Recorder, Standard, Spirit of the Age, Carolina Magazine* and other papers are only one part of Chapel Hill's rich history and culture during the Civil War.