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The Atlanta Review of Journalism History is particularly thankful for the expertise of the scholars of American media history listed below. Their devotion to the field of study and their generous donation of time and talent have been essential contributions to the quality of the essays in the *Review*.

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AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

This issue of the *Atlanta Review of Journalism History* focuses exclusively on the 19th century press in the United States and England. All of these essays were previously presented at academic conferences. Graduate student **Carolyn Bender** and undergraduate **Caitlin Leary**, both of Georgia State University, delivered their papers at the Southeast Colloquium of the American Journalism Historians Association. The study by **Thomas Terry**, associate professor, Idaho State University, **Donald Shaw**, Kenan Professor Emeritus, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and **Bradley Hamm**, professor and dean of the Indiana University School of Journalism, was presented at the Auburn University-Montgomery Third Annual Liberal Arts Conference on Southern Studies. **Beryl Diamond**, adjunct professor of history at Georgia State University, presented his essay at the Southern Conference on British Studies.

Terry, Shaw, and Hamm undertake a study of the representation of women during four decades of American history: the 1820-1860s. Doing both qualitative as well as quantitative analysis of newspapers of this period, they show the complexity of women's roles in American society and reveal that women were more than "pious, pure, submissive and domestic." The authors argue that although women's representation in newspapers was often limited and "mixed," it revealed women's active and important role as agents of social transformation.

Women also feature in Leary's essay on the Lowell Mill girls. Leary shows how a group of textile women workers began one of the country's first monthly periodicals written, edited, and published by women. Leary argues that the *Lowell Offering* (as the periodical was called), which ran from 1840 to 1845, played a role in developing the factory women's new identity and social consciousness. It reflected that their position was "not one of housewifery or silver spoons, but of independence and self-awareness, which was brought on by the increasing industrialization of the world around them."

Bender takes us to 19th century-New Orleans. By probing data from the period of the Reconstruction, she shows how the carnival city attempted to recover from the Civil War by promoting its tourism industry nationally. Bender argues that advertisement through the press, railroads, and other industries promoted Mardi Gras as a tourist attraction and drew Northern visitors who sought New Orleans as the place that promised them "an international experience."

Last, but not least, Diamond brings to light a prominent, yet

little remembered British columnist, Frederick Greenwood, who fiercely opposed the British Empire's actions in South Africa in the late 19th century. In exploring the "Looker-On", Greenwood's magazine column, Diamond reveals Greenwood's staunch criticism of Britain's war with the Boer Republics in defiance of his disapproving publisher, W.H. Blackwood, who ended up terminating his column from his publication.

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The editors of the Atlanta Review greatly appreciate the professional expertise of the members of its Editorial Board who devoted their time and talent to critiquing the essays we are publishing. For this issue, we thank Editorial Board members **Kathy Fuller-Seeley** of Georgia State University, **Deborah Van Tuyl** of Augusta State University, **James Aucoin** of the University of South Alabama, **Giovanna Dell'Orto** of the University of Michigan, **Kimberly Mangun** of the University of Utah, **Patrick Washburn** of Ohio University, **James D. Startt**, Senior Research Professor of Valparaiso University, and **David Spencer** of the University of Western Ontario.

We would also like to thank Atlanta Review's former editor, Dr. Farooq Kperogi. Dr. Kperogi, who presently teaches journalism and citizen media at Kennesaw State University, skillfully managed the journal for four years and increased its visibility by getting it indexed in EBSCO host and by getting an ISBN for it at the Library of Congress. We wish him the best in his future endeavors.

**Pious, Pure, Submissive, and Domestic?
The Transformation and Representation of Women
in American Newspapers, 1820-1860**

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In an influential 1966 American Quarterly article, scholar Barbara Welter famously looked at specialty women's magazines and books during the 1820-1860 years and discovered women were idolized in a clustering of values she called the Cult of True Womanhood. Women, she found, were portrayed as pure, pious, submissive, and domestic. A somewhat different view emerges through this study of general circulation newspapers across the nation of the same period. Women were not depicted solely on pedestals, but were participants in events as well as passive actors.

1. Introduction

In the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, the American nation took shape, a Constitution and Bill of Rights were written, and a nation slowly began dismantling itself over its cardinal sin, that of slavery. As many scholars have looked at this period, it has a decidedly, almost entirely, male appearance to it. The nation evolved and devolved, its institutions matured, and its culture established itself; all, seemingly, without female involvement. At least that's the view from nearly two centuries in the future looking at most contemporary evidence. Cities provided opportunities and perils new to the young nation's citizens. Among those citizens, of course, were men and women, young and old, black and white, and immigrants from all over the world: Asia, South America, Europe, Australia, and Africa. Certainly no one was more important than women, although women in most states could not vote and had few property rights compared to men. But women were emerging as singers, such as the

famous Jenny Lind, or as writers, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* first serialized in a magazine, became a best selling novel, perhaps the most important in our national history. This is one view of women.

Scholar Barbara Welter famously looked at women's magazines and books aimed at women during the 1820-1860 years and discovered that many people idealized women in a clustering of values she called the Cult of True Womanhood.¹ Such women were pure, pious, submissive, and domestic. At least women appeared that way in the magazine articles and books oriented to women in the 1820-1860 years that Welter examined.

But through newspapers of the same period, a different view emerged. Women appeared in news stories was reflective of their involvement in events. They attended meetings, died in steamship accidents, organized church affairs – just as did men. Rather than on a pedestal, they were on the dusty, teeming streets with men. This study uses a national sample of newspaper stories selected from newspapers in states and territories that became engaged in the Civil War, based on their status in 1860. The sample was selected to present a representative picture of news in the 1820-1860 period so that the political, economic, and social news period could be systematically examined. Of the 3,275 stories sampled across the four decades, 271 involved women either as passive actors in a story – such as a senator arriving for a visit with his wife – or active characters, such as singers performing a concert. Women appeared in 8% of the sampled news stories from the nation's press. This study's purpose is to see whether newspapers – aimed at general, rather than specialized audiences – conveyed a similar pattern of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity as Welter determined.

2. Three Views of Women

In 1859, in Lower South newspapers, one story observed,

Married ladies are doomed, in American life, to an early exclusion from all active participation in society. The fact is so obvious as to be the subject of frequent notice and criticism both by intelligent Americans and observant foreigners.²

Were women – married or not – in the mid 19th century doomed to be excluded from public life? Nearly a half century ago, Welter found that “proper” women in 1820-1860 were pious, pure, submissive, and domestic. At least that was an idealized picture. Men went forth to wrestle with the land, trade, business and political and military foes; women maintained the home and embodied the spiritual side of life. If you put pious, pure, submissive, and domestic together they:

¹ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 151-174.

² “Married Ladies Taking the Veil,” *Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig*, February 22, 1853.

...spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife — woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power.³

From a position of submissiveness, in fact, sprang women's special power, attached to their domestic life. In short, as Welter put it:

The American woman had her choice — she could define her rights in the way of the women's magazines and insure [sic] them by the practice of the requisite virtues, or she could go outside the home, seeking other rewards than love. It was a decision on which, she was told, everything in the world depended.⁴

Other scholars have studied the evolution of the role of women in the United States. Scholar Mary P. Ryan's *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity 1850-1860* devotes 18 pages to a summary of the literature inspired by Welter's work or by the topic of women's roles in society in general.⁵ But is this special view of women, evident in the magazines used by scholar Welter, reflected in newspaper stories of the 1820-1860 years? Were they, "The Invisible Woman," to adapt Ralph Ellison's vivid phrase referring to another marginalized group, African-Americans? Some women, this study discovered, were pious or pure, submissive or domestic or some combination of these characteristics. But they were much more and were unmistakably not separate from men at all.

Women, like men, fell off horses, got sick, accidentally drowned, taught school, attended political rallies, provided support to others in the community, and showed interest in social issues of the day. There were fewer women mentioned in leadership positions — sometimes women headed local groups and participated in the early abolition movement and other causes — but they were appearing on stage in their own right as acclaimed actresses. Many had become writers as well,

³ Ibid., 152.

⁴ Ibid., 173.

⁵ Mary P. Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity 1850-1860* (New York: The Haworth Press, Inc. 1982), 1-18. For intriguing looks at women in this period, see: Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Voices without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England* (Durham: University of New Hampshire by the University Press of New England, 2010); Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience Among Antebellum New Englanders* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006); Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Gender Slurs in Boston's Partisan Press During the 1840s," *Journal of American Studies*, 34 (December 2000), 413-445; and Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Whig Women, Politics, and Culture in the Campaign of 1840: Three Perspectives from Massachusetts," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 17 (Summer 1997), 279-314.

a few of them famous, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe. From the point of view of public life, they were performers, equal to any man. So, women, again like men, were part of the daily events of the nation. Women may have appeared in only about one story in 10, but they were half the population and they were certainly reflected in the day-to-day life of the 1820-1860 years.

This study examines a national sample of stories from newspapers representing six sections of the United States in the 1820-1860 period: New England, the Middle States, the Border States, the Upper South, the Lower South, and the West. This study was able to sort stories into three major categories. In one, they were special. These women were celebrated as wife and mothers or occupied a special place in family life. But women also were emerging in “performance” roles as actors, singers, and, on occasion, as community leaders, especially in church affairs. Women were also – like men – participating in a variety of public events as important parts of the emerging democratic audience.

In this study, women were examined in three general faces: women as special; as writers, actors and leaders; and, like men, caught up in life. But we also noted who wrote the stories about women because the 1820-1860 years saw the rise of reporters and wire stories – after the invention of the telegraph and the founding of the Associated Press – and the decline of stories clipped by editors from other newspapers, usually larger and national. It is plausible to suggest – though there is no way to ascertain for certain – that editors trying to fill space might reflect stereotyped views of women while reporters would be more oriented to events and facts. This study found some evidence of a romanticized view of women, mainly from editors. Reporters left romance out of their day-to-day coverage that concentrated on events and facts.

3. Method

In this study, we used a sample of microfilmed newspapers, some newspapers on microfilm that could be purchased (with a grant) or borrowed from the 1820 through 1860 period, a total of 41 years. Newspaper samples were divided by region. Obviously, where to assign the Border States was difficult and ultimately arbitrary. The 1820-1860 period was selected to correspond with the same period Welter examined. This study examined stories that mentioned or involved women in their lives as members of the family, community, church, social groups, and in other ways.⁶

The allocation of states (or territories) of the period were considered, and coding took into account how the states would align themselves in the coming Civil War since it was a convenient, comprehensible, and somewhat natural division, given the political and regional tensions of the time.

A list was made of all the available newspapers, using *Newspapers on*

⁶ Donald Shaw, “Some Notes on Methodology: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860,” *Journalism History* 8, no. 2 (1981): 52.

Microfilm, as well as other sources, and one newspaper was selected to represent each region for each year, 1820 through 1860. The aim was to obtain daily newspapers from capitals or major cities, but certain compromises had to be made due to newspaper availability and survival. Serendipity often decided which newspapers would survive the 19th Century and which would not as newspapers were founded and folded and archives were lost, discarded, or destroyed by fire. There was also no way to reconstruct the entire universe of newspapers available, since many left no archival trace. The challenge to achieve the randomness by historians was great. In all, there were 38 different daily newspapers and 29 non-daily newspapers that fell into the study. These 67 newspapers represented the nation's press during the aggregated 123 "newspaper years" reviewed (41 years, 1820 through 1860, multiplied by three regions). On average, each newspaper fell into the study's final sample about four times over the 41-year period, although a few were selected more or less often.⁷ A random date was selected for each month, except July 1, which was included for all the years sampled to examine coverage of the Independence Day holiday across the four decades of increasing schism between North and South preceding the Civil War.

This study will first look at the 1820-1860 period through a textual, qualitative approach. Then, the stories, origins, and writers will be analyzed quantitatively. The purpose of this paper is to examine the American newspapers during the period 1820-60, charting any changes in the newspaper's coverage of women and "sketch the frames of events," to use agenda setting pioneer Donald L. Shaw's words. "The content of the newspapers reflects the day-to-day judgments of the press and one level and the intrinsic values of a social system and culture at other levels," he explained.⁸ Each small decision accumulates, demonstrating and creating with considerable precision a picture of the opinions of a newspaper over four decades. Whatever a newspaper may *claim* its agenda is, a content analysis will lay bare what *is* that agenda and how it frames that agenda.⁹ Moreover, the exploration will be within the overall context of Welter's assignment of the roles of women as pious, pure, submissive, and domestic. The most important difference between Welter's work and this study: newspapers appealed to a general audience of men and women, while women's publications were directed almost exclusively to women – and women with more education and disposable income.

⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁸ Donald L. Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860," *Journalism History*, 8:2 (1981), 38-50, 43.

⁹ One southern publisher, for instance, was so concerned the message the content of his newspaper was conveying depicted African-Americans negatively he commissioned a scholar to do a content analysis of his newspaper to determine if criticisms leveled at him had a basis in his coverage See also: Guido H. Stempel III "Content Analysis," *Mass Communication Research and Theory*, Guido H. Stempel III, David H. Weaver, and G. C. Wilhoit, eds. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003), 209-219. Though it is beyond the scope of this research, *The Times* also reaches an influential audience of policy-makers in government and industry and affects their agendas.

The states were divided as follows:

Southern Newspapers: The Lower South (South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas) and the Upper South (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas).

Northern Newspapers: The Border States (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia); the Middle States (New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C., not a state, but a center of federal power); and New England (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont).

Western Newspapers: The West (California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin).

4. Women in Northern Newspapers

The 1820s: New England newspapers showed women in diverse roles. One woman was charged with murder,¹⁰ while others were interested in education,¹¹ and wrote fiction.¹² There was recognition of women's special burdens and one story even promised somewhat vaguely "relief for suckling mothers."¹³ But women were also victims of murder¹⁴ and seduction,¹⁵ part of a theme that ran like a consistent thread, along with roles on the stage, through virtually every region.

In the Middle States in the 1820s, newspapers depicted women as participants in political events¹⁶ and with an interest in acquiring knowledge.¹⁷ But women were also noted for great beauty.¹⁸ While newspapers carried clipped stories that seemed to place women on a pedestal, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* published a somewhat less flattering view:

If there is a qualification in which a female ought to excel, it is a thorough and practical acquaintance with the arts and duties of domestic life. She may be ignorant of other branches of human knowledge, and deficient in more refined attainments, with comparative impunity, but embellishments cannot supply her

¹⁰ "Domestic Intelligence," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 19, 1820.

¹¹ "For the Boston Daily Advertiser- Education No.VII," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 25, 1828.

¹² S. C. Hall, "From Sketches of Irish Character," *Providence Daily Journal and General Advertiser*, December 2, 1829.

¹³ "Relief for Suckling Mothers," *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 6, 1829.

¹⁴ "Supreme Judicial Court-April 12," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 13, 1821.

¹⁵ "Case of Seduction," *Providence Daily Journal and General Advertiser*, December 3, 1829.

¹⁶ "From Harrisburgh," *Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 19, 1823.

¹⁷ "For the Gazette," *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 28, 1823.

¹⁸ "Travels of the Honorable Fred. Fitzgerald De Roos, in the United States," *The New York Evening Post*, September 6, 1827.

deficiency in these.¹⁹

In the 1820s, Border State newspapers reflected strong interest in European royalty – a celebrity obsession that persists – and Britain’s Queen Victoria was a particular favorite. There were hints, often in reprinted stories, that women should be the light of the world²⁰ and be very strong, even heroic.²¹ The *Delaware Gazette* on March 18, 1825, wrote:

The female character, when life passes smooth, and tranquil, appears to be wholly made up of tenderness and dependence. It shrinks from the gaze of the rude, and recoils from the slightest touch of the impudent. But however it may appear in these circumstance [sic], certain it is, that when dangers impend, traits of heroism and intrepidity dart out amid this tenderness and dependence, like lightening [sic] from the soft fleecy clouds of a summer’s evening.²²

The 1830s: In New England newspapers, women appeared as writers,²³ as arrangers of social events,²⁴ and as participants in court judgments.²⁵ Like men, women were ill in hospitals²⁶ and in one dramatic story, in Bavaria, a two-year-old girl arose from her grave to the astonishment of her family assembled for the burial.²⁷ In the 1830s, Louis Antoine Godey, with his wife Maria and five daughters, published *Godey’s Lady’s Book* beginning in 1830. The magazine featured stories about style and women’s lives.

In the Middle States in the 1830s, women were barely referred to, appearing in only four articles in the sampled newspapers. European traveler Harriet Martineau was described by *The Newark Daily Advertiser* on September 6, 1834 as “...one of the shining names of English science and literature....”²⁸ Women, like others, certainly sustained serious and fatal injuries: two trains crashed near Suffolk, Virginia involving injuries or death to 150 women and men.²⁹

Articles in 1830s Border State newspapers reflected women who were

¹⁹ “Valuable Suggestion,” *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 3, 1829.

²⁰ Samuel Harker, “For the Delaware Gazette,” *Delaware Gazette*, May 24, 1825.

²¹ “Female Heroism Exemplified,” *Delaware Gazette*, March 18, 1825.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ “Society in America,” *Providence Daily Journal*, June 19, 1837.

²⁴ “Horn Pond,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1839.

²⁵ “Reported for the Journal and Herald,” *Providence Daily Journal*, January 16, 1834.

²⁶ “Annual Report,” *Providence Daily Journal*, March 18, 1834.

²⁷ *Boston Daily Advertiser & Patriot*, April 13, 1835.

²⁸ *Newark Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1834.

²⁹ “Correspondence of the Baltimore Patriot,” *The Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 16, 1837.

writing fiction,³⁰ participating in political marches,³¹ and managing businesses, such as a silk worm operation.³² The *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser* wondered in 1835 if women were superior to men in any way and answered its own question:

There is a great charm about females of good education, and they are justly celebrated for the sobriety of those qualities which render them good wives and mothers, as well as catch the intentions and command the respect of the stranger.³³

In Baltimore and a nearby city in a story that would not be unusual 170 years later, four married women were murdered within eight days with three of the husbands imprisoned for the crimes.³⁴ Women might be celebrated for being good wives and mothers, but they seemed undervalued in comparison with men. There seemed little evidence of a Welter-like pedestalizing of women.

The 1840s: In this decade, women were active in the work of the Liberty Party. More importantly long-term, in 1848, women activists gathered at Seneca Falls, New York for their first national meeting to promote women's rights. The meeting drew dismissive remarks from much of the press, when it was mentioned at all, with the exception of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, which commented favorably. Early human rights militant Margaret Fuller worked for a while with Greeley. She was editor in the early 1840s of *The Dial*, a journal of transcendentalist literature. Her 1845 *History of Women in the 19th Century* was published with the encouragement of Greeley and was an intellectual impetus for the Seneca Falls Convention that eventually led to women's suffrage in 1920 and the feminist movement of the 1960s.

In New England, in the 1840s, the sensual side of women was referred to, though in relation to men: they were kissed³⁵ and appeared in men's dreams.³⁶ Five women drowned in a New England town in 1840.³⁷ New England women were active, attending a reception for women,³⁸ celebrating, with men, on July 4,³⁹ and again writing fiction.⁴⁰ Women also were emerging as individuals of

³⁰ *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, April 14, 1834.

³¹ "Sunday School Union," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, May 16, 1835.

³² *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, November 25, 1831.

³³ "Women of the United States," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, December 19, 1835.

³⁴ *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, July 4, 1831.

³⁵ "Patience," *Eastern Argus*, March 18, 1841.

³⁶ "Power of the Imagination," *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 19, 1843.

³⁷ "Five Young Ladies Drowned," *Hartford Daily Courant*, September 7, 1840.

³⁸ "Dedication of the Log Cabin," *Hartford Daily Courant*, July 6, 1840.

³⁹ "The Fourth of July," *Eastern Argus*, July 5, 1844.

⁴⁰ "A Good Story," *Eastern Argus*, October 30, 1841.

ability, even when blind,⁴¹ as participants in public life,⁴² and again as authors, a pursuit connected with women so frequently it almost seemed a gender specific role at mid-century.⁴³

Women made difficult choices, such as turning down freedom if enslaved. On August 14, 1846, the family of C.J. Faulkner, of Virginia, vacationing in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, discovered a group of abolitionists had convinced their young female slave to escape, appealing to a love of liberty, combined with the added inducement of money. The young slave, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* reported, inexplicably did not like her new status and returned to her mistress, begging forgiveness, which was promptly granted.⁴⁴

In the Middle States of the 1840s, a man was arrested for dressing as a woman, a violation of women's special territory,⁴⁵ while another man was fined for kissing a married woman who was not his wife.⁴⁶ A church in New York raised \$2,000 to buy the freedom of two slave sisters who escaped from New Orleans. In another story, women were involved in incorporating an orphanage.⁴⁷ In Newark, "...a large number of ladies assembled yesterday afternoon in the Bethel Church, for the purpose of forming an Association to aid in sustaining that Missionary enterprise."⁴⁸ Women were evident as writers, here as in many other places.⁴⁹ But women also received newspaper attention by being robbed⁵⁰ and beaten to death.⁵¹

In Border State newspapers in the 1840s, women were evident in stories borrowed from other newspapers, journals, or books. Women published journals for themselves⁵² and entertained audiences with brilliant piano playing, according to a newspaper account.⁵³ Certainly, women also sought divorce,⁵⁴ owned cotton factories,⁵⁵ sought and won damages after being run down by horses,⁵⁶ and

⁴¹ "Remarkable Human Phenomenon," *Hartford Daily Courant*, April 13, 1840.

⁴² "The Fourth of July," *Eastern Argus*, July 5, 1844.

⁴³ "A Good Story," *Eastern Argus*, October 30, 1841. See Also: Mary Howitt, "Night Scene in a Poor Man's House," *Eastern Argus*, January 16, 1844.

⁴⁴ "An Incident at Bedford Springs," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1846.

⁴⁵ "Police," *New York Daily Tribune*, July 5, 1847.

⁴⁶ "News Items, &c.," *Public Ledger*, December 19, 1842.

⁴⁷ "Correspondence of the Newark Daily Advertiser," *Newark Daily Advertiser*, January 16, 1849.

⁴⁸ *Newark Daily Advertiser*, June 19, 1849.

⁴⁹ "Masaniello" *Pittsburgh Morning Post*, October 30, 1843. See Also: "Miss Bremer to Her American Readers," *Newark Daily Advertiser*, November 26, 1849.

⁵⁰ "Local Affairs," *Public Ledger*, August 15, 1842.

⁵¹ "A Most Brutal and Inhuman Murder," *Public Ledger*, November 25, 1842.

⁵² "Young Ladies' Journal of Literature and Science," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, December 19, 1840.

⁵³ "Musical," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, February 16, 1849.

⁵⁴ "Maryland Legislature," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, February 17, 1840.

⁵⁵ "Cotton Factory Burnt," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, March 18, 1844.

⁵⁶ "Circuit Court," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, November 25, 1846.

pursued opportunities to start businesses.⁵⁷ Newspapers of the Border States likewise portrayed women in public roles as actresses or musical performers⁵⁸ and writers.⁵⁹ As in other regions, women drowned, one while sleepwalking,⁶⁰ or were murdered.⁶¹ Newspapers variously described women as both active and passive in their personal lives.

The 1850s: New England sample newspapers in the 1850s showed women, like men, marrying,⁶² dying,⁶³ participating in July 4 celebrations,⁶⁴ and seducing others.⁶⁵ Women emerged as singers or actors.⁶⁶ In New England, newspapers also carried articles from women's magazines – perhaps the same ones that Welter consulted – about how to make the right choice of men.⁶⁷ If a man decided not to marry, was it worth a story? The *Hartford Daily Courant* thought so without similar references to women.⁶⁸ In England, *The Rhode Island Country Journal* reported that Lady Franklin was trying to find her missing husband lost on an expedition:

...[And] does not cease in her efforts to induce the British government to send out another Arctic expedition to search for more satisfactory evidence than has yet been adduced of the fate of Sir John Franklin.⁶⁹

In the Middle States in the 1850s, there was a hint of the special role of women. One woman-run school promised to care for displaced children of the Hungarian conflict. "...[T]he school will receive them and protect them, watch over and train them with all the tenderness of paternal care, not excepting even a mother's love."⁷⁰ One young woman, apparently mentally disturbed, drowned in

⁵⁷ "The Louisville Theatre," *Louisville Morning Courier*, March 18, 1847.

⁵⁸ *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, August 14, 1841. See Also: "Musical," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, February 26, 1849.

⁵⁹ "Books," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, June 19, 1844.

⁶⁰ "Melancholy Accident," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, July 4, 1843.

⁶¹ "Adam Horn," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, November 25, 1843.

⁶² "Marriage in High Life," *Hartford Daily Courant*, October 30, 1850.

⁶³ "Deaths," *Hartford Daily Courant*, September 6, 1851.

⁶⁴ "The Fourth at South Kingstown," *Rhode Island Country Journal*, July 10, 1857.

⁶⁵ "From the Springfield Republican: The Case of Monagan vs. Doherty," *Hartford Daily Courant*, June 16, 1851.

⁶⁶ "Anecdote of Jenny Lind," *Hartford Daily Courant*, July 4, 1851. See Also: "Theatre," *Providence Daily Journal*, July 4, 1860.

⁶⁷ "From Peterson's Ladies' Magazine: Margaret Nesbitt's Stratagem," *The Eastern Argus*, April 13, 1854.

⁶⁸ *Hartford Daily Courant*, May 17, 1858.

⁶⁹ "Lady Franklin's Appeal for a New Arctic Expedition," *Rhode Island Country Journal*, February 20, 1857.

⁷⁰ "Letters to Kossuth," *New York Tribune*, December 19, 1851.

a river.⁷¹ There are reflections of women active as teachers.⁷² President Franklin Pierce did not embark on a trip because his wife became ill.⁷³ Newspapers in the Middle States in the 1850s represented women as active in theater,⁷⁴ as witnesses in court,⁷⁵ and as participants in community affairs.⁷⁶

Border State newspapers in the 1850s did not reflect women in a special role as much as engaged in public life. There was a love story translated from German by a woman⁷⁷ and a story about a man who deceived a woman about marriage.⁷⁸ There were stories that revealed women, like men, dying in steamer ship accidents⁷⁹ or of illness.⁸⁰ The picture here was one of women more engaged with life than protected or set apart from it. In the Border States, as elsewhere, women conquered the stage. In 1850, as the *Louisville Morning Courier* pointed out, "Mrs. C. Howard as the 'Daughter of the Regiment,' won new applause. Her vocal powers are of the highest order, and she is the best general actress we have ever had in Louisville."⁸¹

5. Women in Southern Newspapers

The 1820s: Traces of Sir Walter Scott's dramatic life and romantic fiction appeared in the 1820s sample of newspapers from the Upper South, for example when Sir Walter Scott's wife died in 1826.⁸² From this example, a reader might expect the view of women to reflect a slightly more romantic tone in Southern newspapers. And yet, other Southern stories did reflect women in more ordinary, less romantic settings such as receiving a pension or settling a property case in court.⁸³

Lower South newspapers in the 1820s demonstrated women in more emergent rather than passive roles. For instance, a woman was arrested in Sweden

⁷¹ "Things in Philadelphia," *New York Tribune*, September 6, 1853.

⁷² "Gov. Slade's Teachers," *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1852. See Also: "Educational Anniversaries," *New York Tribune*, July 4, 1854.

⁷³ "From Washington," *New York Tribune*, June 19, 1855.

⁷⁴ "Amusements—Wallack's Theater," *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1858.

⁷⁵ "The Courts," *The Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, October 30, 1857.

⁷⁶ "The Fair," *The Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 6, 1860.

⁷⁷ "Marie of Moysel, "Or: The Suicide!" Translated from the German by Mrs. C. D'A.K. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, November 25, 1856.

⁷⁸ "Lyons, the Matrimonial Swindler," *Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 19, 1856.

⁷⁹ "Cheap Postage," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, April 14, 1851.

⁸⁰ "Health of the City," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, May 16, 1854.

⁸¹ "The Theatre," *Louisville Morning Courier*, August 14, 1850.

⁸² "Foreign. London, May 17," *The Patriot*, July 5, 1826. See also: "Woodstock," *The Patriot*, June 21, 1826.

⁸³ "Gen. Arnold," *The Arkansas Gazette*, July 6, 1824. See also: "Important-The Astor Claim," *The Arkansas Gazette*, July 9, 1828.

for conspiracy,⁸⁴ a major actress made her first appearance,⁸⁵ and women gathered for a steamboat launching.⁸⁶ Also, in Mobile, Alabama a bill was proposed to secure wives against the debts acquired by their husbands before marriage *and* to secure men against the debts of wives under the same circumstances. *The Mobile Commercial Register* reported the law aimed “to secure families against . . . profligate expenditure.”⁸⁷

The 1830s: As in other areas in the 1830s, Upper South newspapers portrayed women, who conducted active lives and also felt romantic impulses, sometimes reciprocated. For example, the *Southern Telescope* in Greensboro, North Carolina (then spelled Greensborough) on September 29, 1837 carried a story clipped from another newspaper about the nature of women, observing: “In all the diversity of human feelings and passions, there is none so pure, so deep, and devoted, as woman’s love.”⁸⁸ There were stories about “knights” pursuing beautiful women⁸⁹ and stories for women from writer Washington Irving.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, the *Greensborough Patriot* in 1830 published a letter in which English women chided American women:

How many associations have they formed to promote the emancipation of our Southern slaves? -- and with shame and grief we must acknowledge how few have enlisted themselves on the side of humanity—how little have (sic) been done for the relief of those who are bondmen in the house of their brethren! And why is it thus? Has their passiveness arisen from a contented selfishness?⁹¹

This surely must have been one of the few Southern newspaper voices to speak out publicly (albeit indirectly) against slavery in the 1830 period as Southern attitudes hardened against any divergent views over slavery. This may attributed to the long-standing Quaker presence in the Greensboro area. Women also participated in the Liberty Party as it arose in this as well as other parts of the nation.

In Lower South newspapers, there was less emphasis on women than in the Upper South, based on the sample from the 1830s. But women and their

⁸⁴ “Copenhagen, April 5,” *The Mobile Commercial Register*, June 19, 1823.

⁸⁵ “Miss Foot—Theatre Royal Edinburgh,” *The Charleston Courier*, November 25, 1825.

See also: “Theatrical,” *The Mobile Commercial Register*, February 20, 1829.

⁸⁶ “From The Charleston Mercury, May 11,” *The Mobile Commercial Register*, May 25, 1829.

⁸⁷ “For The Register,” *The Mobile Commercial Register*, May 22, 1829.

⁸⁸ “From the Capt Giradeau Patriot,” *Southern Telescope*, September 29, 1837.

⁸⁹ Alfred Crowquill, “The Blue Knight,” *Southern Telescope*, September 29, 1837.

⁹⁰ “A Libel,” *Arkansas Gazette*, Oct 27, 1835.

⁹¹ “American Females,” *Greensborough Patriot*, July 7, 1830.

entire families died in a major house fire in Charleston⁹² and as in other regions the Lower South celebrated its female authors. The *New Orleans Bee*, in 1834, quoting from the *Southern Argus*, apparently about poet Felicia Hemans, noted:

High sublimity and deep pathos she seldom attains; but she evinces much judgment in the selection of her subjects, and infuses into them a degree of sincerity and maternal tenderness, which cannot fail to engage the best and noblest feeling of the heart! Hers is not the poetry of a day: its immortality is allied to the cause of virtue and morality, and that spirit of Christian benevolence, of which she is such amiable and eloquent advocate.⁹³

This suggests that whatever it is that makes women special in their personal and family lives is also likely to make them special as writers. This feeling grows stronger in the 1840s and 1850s. This did not mean that women were like men; women were emerging as themselves separate from men, though they did not merit equal attention in the newspapers, according to the results of this study.

The 1840s: In the 1840s in the Upper South, there was also strong interest in Queen Victoria and other European leaders and affairs.⁹⁴ There were numerous stories about the special contributions of women to family life.⁹⁵ The *West Tennessee Whig* quoted the *Cincinnati Chronicle* and spoke of a passing wagon train in which a woman was glimpsed:

On looking out at the passing train, we see among the foremost, a very comfortable covered wagon one of the sheets is drawn aside, there is an extremely nice looking lady seated inside, very quietly sewing; the bottom of the wagon is carpeted; there are two or three chairs, and at one end there is a bureau, surmounted with a mirror; various articles of convenience and ornament hang the sides (sic)—a perfect prairie boudoir. Blessed be woman! Shedding light and happiness wher'er she goes; with her, the wild

⁹² "Distressing Fire, with Loss of Lives," *The Charleston Courier*, May 16, 1831.

⁹³ "From the Southern Argus, Mrs. Hemans," *New Orleans Bee*, May 16, 1834.

⁹⁴ "Foreign," *The Greensborough Patriot*, March 24, 1840. See Also: "Sovereigns of the World," *The Greensborough Patriot*, March 23, 1841; "Correspondence Between the Secretary of State and the Minister of Great Britain, concerning the case of Alexander McLeod," *The Greensborough Patriot*, June 22, 1849; "Federal Exchequer, Speech of Mr. Benton, of Missouri, In Senate, January 13, 1842—On the Cabinet Plan for a Fed. Exchequer," *Richmond Enquirer*, January 18, 1842; "From the New York Sun, Extra, Sept. 4: Arrival of the Caledonia. Fifteen days later from Europe," *Richmond Enquirer*, September 7, 1845.

⁹⁵ "Our Jessie, Or, the Exclusives," *The Greensborough Patriot*, August 18, 1840. See Also: "Want of Courtesy a Fault in American Women," *The Greensborough Patriot*, October 27, 1840 and "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lecture," *West Tennessee Whig*, June 13, 1845.

prairie will be a paradise! That fine manly fellow riding along by the side of the wagon, looking in so pleasantly, is doubtless the lady's husband; we almost envy him.⁹⁶

Although there is newspaper evidence that women in the Upper South sometimes participated in political party life,⁹⁷ worked as informal journalists,⁹⁸ and were murder victims,⁹⁹ there was an impression of women as somewhat set apart from men, with a special contribution to make as women. The South was different than the other regions, and it was reflected in the newspapers studied.

Lower South newspapers approached women as actresses and reported on the popular romance stories of the 1840s. One newspaper published a literary story about how a woman was wooed,¹⁰⁰ and in another, a man tricked a young woman's father in order to secure his daughter's hand.¹⁰¹ But women also won praise on the stage¹⁰² and as performers, especially the famous Swedish singer Jenny Lind.¹⁰³ There was a bill introduced to protect the property rights of women when they married and at least two Georgia newspapers endorsed the bill.¹⁰⁴ As was true in the Upper South in the 1840s, there was a hint that women were something special, not necessarily because women were pious, pure, submissive and domestic, but because those characteristics made women central to family life and attractive to men.

The 1850s: As opposed to the Border States, Upper South newspapers in the 1850s revealed women as more special than in any emerging public role. The *Richmond Enquirer* published a story in 1851 that urged women to make up their minds about marriage,¹⁰⁵ emphasizing that every man should have a wife and every woman should be "blessed with a husband."¹⁰⁶ The *Flag and Patriot* of Greensboro, North Carolina urged men to treasure women.¹⁰⁷ Even in newspapers in this region, women engaged in family and community life, while like men, they were burned in fires,¹⁰⁸ attended graduation exercises,¹⁰⁹ and accompanied their

⁹⁶ "March of Civilization — Oregon," *West Tennessee Whig*, June 13, 1845.

⁹⁷ "For the Patriot, Mr. Saunders at Rockingham — the 'Standing Arm,'" *The Greensborough Patriot*, July 7, 1840.

⁹⁸ "California, Charges, Panama," *Arkansas State Gazette*, May 17, 1849.

⁹⁹ "Murdered!" *West Tennessee Whig*, June 13, 1845.

¹⁰⁰ "Wooing Extraordinary," *Vicksburg Daily Whig*, October 31, 1842.

¹⁰¹ "A Good Anecdote," *Houston Telegraph*, April 17, 1844.

¹⁰² "Blackwood's Opinion of Theatrical Dancers," *Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot*, September 7, 1840. See also: "Theatrical," *Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot*, March 18, 1840.

¹⁰³ "The Ambassador's Son and the Chanteuse," *The Columbus Enquirer*, June 25, 1845.

¹⁰⁴ "The Bill," *The Columbus Enquirer*, December 3, 1845.

¹⁰⁵ "Origin of Newspapers," *Richmond Enquirer*, January 28, 1851.

¹⁰⁶ "Short Patent Sermon. By Dow, Jr.," *The Daily Journal*, March 18, 1852.

¹⁰⁷ "An Indignant Woman," *The Flag and Patriot*, December 24, 1858.

¹⁰⁸ "Shocking Accident from a Camphine Lamp," *The Daily Journal*, July 5, 1852.

¹⁰⁹ "Correspondence of the Dispatch," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 4, 1854. See Also: "The

spouses on trips.¹¹⁰ Women also contributed to public life, as in this story about the . . .

. . . Inauguration of the Clay Marble Statue. Thursday was a great day in Richmond, and one that will long be remembered by her citizens. It was the anniversary of the birthday of Henry Clay, and the appointed time for the inauguration of the beautiful marble statue, which the ladies of Virginia had had prepared, and to witness which the people had assembled in masse.¹¹¹

In the 1850s, the *Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig* explained, “No relation of women to society is so advantageous to its intellectual and moral interests as that of married ladies.”¹¹² This observation presents a dilemma: Married women are excluded from public life and that *enables* them to bolster society’s intellectual and moral interests? Why was the writer seemingly disturbed by the exclusion? Or *was* the writer disturbed? Divining author intent over a 170-year divide is problematic, though it does highlight the contradictions inherent in the period.

6. Women in Western Newspapers

There are fewer references to women in Western Newspapers simply because there were few newspapers in what was defined as the West in the four-decade run-up to the Civil War.

The 1820s: Western newspapers of the 1820s mentioned women only in passing. One story reported English women constructed a monument to the Duke of Wellington, victor of the Battle of Waterloo.¹¹³ One story admonished husbands to provide for their wives¹¹⁴ and another gave a fictional account of how women related to each other,¹¹⁵ perhaps particularly important in the more male-populated West.

The 1830s: In Western newspapers in the 1830s, women appeared in diverse roles that were certainly not always pious, pure, submissive, or domestic. According to the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Harriet Stoakes worked as a man (Henry Stoakes) in England as a master bricklayer for 25 years before being discovered.¹¹⁶ The *Ohio State Journal* on April 19, 1834 reprinted a story from the *Ohio Temperance Advocate* encouraging women’s public efforts:

University of Virginia,” *Richmond Enquirer*, July 4, 1854.

¹¹⁰ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 6, 1859.

¹¹¹ “Inauguration of the Clay Marble Statue,” *The Daily Richmond Enquirer*, April 14, 1860.

¹¹² “Married Ladies Taking the Veil,” *Vicksburg Tri-Weekly Whig*, February 22, 1853.

¹¹³ “Great Britain, & c.,” *Columbus Gazette*, June 20, 1822.

¹¹⁴ “Domestic Troubles,” *Columbus Gazette*, November 4, 1819.

¹¹⁵ “The Lovers Late Visit,” *Columbus Gazette*, September 26, 1822.

¹¹⁶ “From the Manchester Guardian: The Female Husband!” *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, September 8, 1838.

“They earnestly solicit every female of Ohio, not only to give to this good cause the sanction of her name, but to enlist all her energies and influence, in its advancement.¹¹⁷ The story continued, “We are aware, that females have often declined becoming members of Temperance Societies, because they feel that they are in no danger, from the temptations....”¹¹⁸ In territorial Iowa, it was evident every man had a central point in his life, “that spot which is consecrated by the name of wife, and children, and home.”¹¹⁹

The 1840s: In the 1840s, newspapers of the West portrayed women as participants in life, although there were fewer women than men in the frontier regions (in that period). One fictional account stressed the importance of the sacrifice of women for others¹²⁰ and that a man should have a devoted woman at his side around the hearth.¹²¹ One story insisted that if a man drove out his wife, he still needed to support her,¹²² while at least one woman was willing to run away with a man who was attempting to evade his creditors.¹²³ Women also met at benevolence societies in a public charity role.¹²⁴

The 1850s: In the 1850s, newspapers in the Western states or territories published accounts of women who underwent operations to remove cancerous growths the size of eggs,¹²⁵ died in house fires,¹²⁶ raised money for the Presbyterian Relief Society,¹²⁷ and participated in fairs¹²⁸ and parades.¹²⁹ At least one woman attracted attention for her boldness wearing bloomer trousers in Baltimore, a Western newspaper told its readers.¹³⁰ Women were resilient, as seen in an 1857 story of a female survivor of a scalping.¹³¹ One newspaper argued:

Whatever be a man's station in life, whether higher or lower,
public or private, he will become a better man, and escape many a

¹¹⁷ “From the Ohio Temperance Advocate: To the Ladies of Ohio,” *The Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette*, April 19, 1834.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Orville Dewey, “Free Nobility of Labour,” *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, August 19, 1838.

¹²⁰ *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, August 14, 1847.

¹²¹ George Lippard, “The Footstep in the Snow—A Tradition of Christmas Night,” *Chicago Daily Journal*, November 25, 1846.

¹²² “Decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio at Bank,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 20, 1841.

¹²³ “Arrival of the Hibernia,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 18, 1849.

¹²⁴ “For The Sentinel & Gazette,” *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, November 25, 1847.

¹²⁵ “Power of Mind over Body,” *The Columbus Enquirer*, July 8, 1856.

¹²⁶ “Fire,” *The Columbus Enquirer*, November 25, 1856.

¹²⁷ “Ladies’ Efforts,” *San Francisco Daily Herald*, December 19, 1850.

¹²⁸ “Fair This Afternoon,” *San Francisco Daily Herald*, December 20, 1850.

¹²⁹ “St. Patrick’s Anniversary,” *Detroit Daily Free Press*, March 18, 1857.

¹³⁰ “The Bloomer Costume Outdone,” *The Columbus Enquirer*, May 20, 1856.

¹³¹ “Scalping a Woman on the Plains—Her Extraordinary Fortitude,” *Detroit Daily Free Press*, October 30, 1857.

disaster, if he will listen in due season to the voice of the intelligent and the refined among the other sex.¹³²

Women still thought about men,¹³³ continued to marry,¹³⁴ and at least one wronged, abandoned woman was killed jumping onto a moving train returning home, broke and unable to pay the fare.¹³⁵

But women also insisted on their right to their own individuality and autonomy. The *Columbus Enquirer* published an 1856 story called "Woman's Right to Shawls." The story commented grumpily, "A Western lady thus vigorously asserts the exclusive right of the sex to wear shawls. The next innovation (for men) will be to don . . . petticoats and shifts."¹³⁶

7. A Quantitative Comparison

So, what, in sum, was the picture of women reflected in newspapers? They were to a far lesser extent than Welter saw it, pious, pure, submissive, and domestic. Women, like men, were also clearly caught up in life's events and if newspapers are indeed the first draft of history, women were certainly prominent. They were clearly part of wider society and intimately involved in greater events and broader pursuits than a look only at women's magazines and books would suggest. Something else is at work in newspapers, given that they try to chronicle with some reasonable degree of accuracy the warp-and-weft of a culture in the midst of it. For nearly 90 years, historians have acknowledged the value of newspapers in documenting events. Historian Lucy M. Salmon in 1923 recognized the importance of newspapers as historical sources¹³⁷ as did James Ford Rhode in his 1966 *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*.¹³⁸ Political scientist Richard Merritt sampled colonial newspapers to see if he could detect the emergence of an American community.¹³⁹ Social scientist and historian Donald L. Shaw pioneered the use of newspaper content analysis as a powerful primary source for scholars.¹⁴⁰

If true and if this 41-year study is accurate, a certain reconsidering and reordering of previous views is demanded. Women starred on the stage,

¹³² "The Society of Ladies," *San Francisco Evening News*, November 8, 1853.

¹³³ "A Woman's Thoughts about Men," *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, January 15, 1860.

¹³⁴ "A Wedding," *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 19, 1860.

¹³⁵ "The Greencastle Railroad Accident," *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 26, 1860.

¹³⁶ "Woman's Right to Shawls," *The Columbus Enquirer*, January 22, 1856.

¹³⁷ Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923).

¹³⁸ James Ford Rhode, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York: MacMillan, 1966).

¹³⁹ Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community 1735-1775* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

¹⁴⁰ Shaw, "At the Crossroads."

participated in church life, and helped organize community events, all in a sphere well outside the traditional roles Welter identified, though her observations are plainly still valid, given her source material. The current study adds nuance and expands the popular view of women during the 1820-1860 era. Women were not always victims, passively participating in life, but they were not usually leaders either. Often they did not have first names of their own, but based on their relationships with men and even as appendages of their husbands: "Mr. and Mrs. Edward Smith" or "Edward Smith and wife." They were not exactly invisible, but they were certainly blurry. The newspaper evidence suggests a more complex picture of women's roles in American history, culture, and events. The newspaper articles reflect nuances, so a content analysis was conducted to compare the stories about women quantitatively.

The 271 stories involving women were divided into three categories for the 1820-1860 decades. Briefly, stories that seemed to reflect women, at least indirectly, as pious, pure, submissive, or domestic were designated as "Special" as in the following excerpt:

His only daughter, the incomparably beautiful Elvina, was the sole object of his love and fear; her filial tenderness was the cause of the first, her wit and beauty of the latter; for, as the fairest flowers attract the bees...¹⁴¹

Stories that mentioned women as part of a larger event, such as attending a country fair or as victims of events, such as being injured in an accident or fire, were sorted as an "Event." The following article was considered an Event: "The building, which was a large three story stone one, was the property of Mrs. Ann Hall, and we understand was not insured."¹⁴²

Stories about women as actors, writers, singers, or as organizers of events that showed community leadership or enterprise were coded as "Active" as in this example:

Holliday Street Theatre. Miss Julia Dean. The accomplished lady whose name forms the caption of this article commenced an engagement at Holliday St. Theatre last evening- as Mrs. Haller, in the celebrated play of "The Strangers". We never saw this unrivalled actress perform to better advantage, or with more spirit.¹⁴³

For an intercoder reliability check, 30 stories, or 11% of the sampled 271, were selected randomly and two coders sorted them independently. The percentage of

¹⁴¹ Alfred Crowquill, "The Blue Knight," *Southern Telescope*, September 29, 1837.

¹⁴² "Cotton Factory Burnt," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, March 18, 1844.

¹⁴³ "Holliday Street Theatre," *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, March 18, 1851.

agreement was 86.6%.

Who wrote these stories? This study looked at three types of stories about women by regions and by journalistic sources. The source of the news stories for 245 of the 271 stories could be determined with fair confidence. Twenty-six stories were dropped for which the journalistic source could not be determined. Those stories that were clipped were identified in the sample paper as having a source in another newspaper usually listed by title. The words were often “from” with the newspaper mentioned. Sometimes editors commented a great deal on a clipping, so much so that it seemed more editor than clipping. In that case, the source was considered the editor. Sometimes the editor just mentioned the clipping with a line or two and was coded as a clipping.

Reporters of a sort were evident because the events had occurred very recently and focused on facts with almost no opinion. There were occasionally correspondents who sent in stories and were considered as reporters in our analysis. Generally editors were easy to identify because they comment on events, provide opinion, and make their point of view very clear. Bylines were seldom, if ever, used. Perhaps one of the unanticipated and significant findings of this study – and something content analysis is powerful at uncovering – is that reporters seemed to be emerging decades before historians currently believe.

Letters about news events or containing comment ran in 18th century newspapers, something evident in the 19th century as well as in our national sample. After the formation of the Associated Press in 1846, a few wire stories began to appear. Wire stories are nearly always short and indicated as being from a wire service.

Figure 1
Sources by News about Women

	North	South	West	Total	Percentages	Total %
1820-1860						
Editors						
Women as active	3	4	0	7	0.27	
Women in events	5	5	0	10	0.38	
Women as special	1	7	1	9	0.35	
Total				26		0.11
Clippings						
Women as active	2	6	1	9	0.07	
Women in events	32	27	6	65	0.54	
Women as special	18	23	6	47	0.39	
Total				121		0.49
Letters						
Women as active	2	2	0	4	0.22	
Women in events	2	5	3	10	0.55	
Women as special	3	1	0	4	0.22	
Total				18		0.07
Handouts						
Women as active	1	0	0	1	0.25	
Women in events	2	0	1	3	0.75	
Women as special	0	0	0	0	0	
Total				4		0.02
Reporters						
Women as active	8	0	0	8	0.12	
Women in events	40	7	7	54	0.79	
Women as special	4	0	2	6	0.09	
Total				68		0.28
Wires						
Women as active	0	0	0	0	0	
Women in events	5	0	3	8	1	
Women as special	0	0	0	0	0	
Total				8		0.03
Column Total	128	87	30	245		

Sources of stories about women are evident in Figure 1 in which stories from New England, the Middle States, and the Border States are grouped. For the national sample as a whole, 29 stories (12%) of the 245 showed women on stage as writers or in other ways in leadership roles. A total of 156 stories (61%) mentioned women in connection with Events. In 66 articles (27%), women were coded as Special. So, more than half of the time women were part of Events, though close to one-third of stories did treat women as Special. Women were featured as artists or leaders in one of every 10 story. These 1820-1860 newspapers stories suggest women were at least at the start line of the race to equality with men, a race many regard as ongoing.

Taking Figure 1 as a whole, editors accounted for about one story of ten (11%) about women, while clippings selected by editors account for nearly half (49%). This was a standard procedure in the 19th Century and enabled readers to benefit from other perspectives. But reporters, who became much more numerous in the American press after the 1820-1860 years, did account for one story of every four (28%) as defined by the study, and reporters were much more focused on women in events than in any other dimension of their lives. Of course, women in theater or women as authors could sometimes be Events.

8. Conclusions

This research argues that while women did not take up very much of newspaper coverage in the 1820-1860 years, the coverage of women presented them in the many complex roles of their lives. Women were mothers, sisters, wives, and grandmothers and were members and organizers of church groups. Women were helpful to all members of the family and community at times, but also were injured when they fell off horses, drowned when steamboats exploded, were honored by funerals if they were prominent, and were active in community and even political life at times. Women were important contributors to culture in their own right. This study indicates the most prominent roles for women were as actresses, authors, and singers and in other ways that engaged the larger culture. Women were far more than the Cult of True Womanhood limits them.

In many stories, women were Special if not always pious, pure, submissive and domestic. But women were obviously more than that as reflected in the newspapers of the four decades studied. And in the years after the Civil War, women came to play important roles in the fight for reproductive rights and the suffrage and temperance movements. This study looked at women in an early part of their struggle for a fair and integral place in American society – and women could be seen assuming those roles. While the picture is mixed in terms of portrayals of women, the stories of reporters suggest that the changes coming partly reflected a more professional style of journalism, although that is for future studies of this topic. Editors – and the clippings they selected for publication – did reflect a softer side of women than did reporters. Reporters focused more on events. Regional differences give a slight suggestion that women are treated a bit

more special in Southern newspapers than in their Northern counterparts. But Southern newspapers were less often in urban environments with fewer financial resources and smaller subscriber bases and were probably forced to use more clippings, perhaps affecting the results. The sheer lack of numbers in Western states undoubtedly skewed those results as well. Figure 1 does show that women treated as Special is more often associated with editors (35%) and clippings (39%) than any other source.

Figure 2
Sources

<u>Sources</u>	<u>Percent News from source</u>	<u>Percent women as "Special" from source</u>	<u>Percent Difference</u>
Editor	11%	35%	24%
Clippings	49%	39%	10%
Letters	7%	22%	15%
Handouts	2%	0%	2%
Reporters	28%	9%	19%
Wires	3%	0%	3%

Sources played a key role. Figure 2 shows that while editors accounted for 11% of all the stories, their stories treated women as Special in more than one third of the articles (35%). At the same time, editors clipped other newspapers in nearly half the instances. Many of the stories (39%) treated women as Special. This is also true of letters to the editor. Reporters did not write about women as Special very often and neither did wire services. It can be argued that women were occasionally treated as pure and pious, but such views apparently lingered in the minds of editors who wrote about women and wire editors who selected stories touching on women.

Women themselves were leaving the safety and/or familiarity of those special perceptions to participate in life as community activists, actresses, and writers. Perhaps impressions of women and how newspapers described them were colored by Victorian values and Dickensian images of them, both then and during the intervening years down to the present.

A transformation of women and their roles can be observed in these newspaper stories, when considered as a whole. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that the developing profession of journalism with its emphasis on fact-gathering and events transformed women as well (or at least the perception and representation of women).¹⁴⁴ Editors especially, regardless of region, reflected a more romantic

¹⁴⁴ Women also were journalists and journalism historians Marion Marzolf and Maurine H. Beasley, among others, have contributed greatly to our understanding of women as journalists in the United States. See: Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977) and Maurine Hoffman Beasley, Sheila Silver, and Maurine Hoffman, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History*

view of the role women played, a role that women were already altering by actions they took while being frequently – even invariably – neglected or condescended to by the overwhelmingly male reporters and editors. Newspaper stories from 1820-1860 reflected women, when they were mentioned, as mostly caught up in news events, but decidedly not in the limited and constrained roles that Welter assigned them through their representation in magazines, books, and other periodicals devoted to women, rather than general circulation newspapers aimed at wider, more general audiences. These consistent findings do not necessarily contradict the view from specialized women's publications of women as pious, pure, submissive, and domestic, but it undeniably broadens and contextualizes modern perceptions of women of the early to mid-19th Century in the United States.

The overall impression gained from this study is of women, not as simply pious, pure, submissive, and domestic, but as part of a tapestry of general life: ordinary, boring, normal. The image of women taken away is one of active participants in life and events beyond the home. Unquestionably, women were referred to in traditional ways, and they were represented through the prism of a societal lens as the weaker and subservient sex. Yet, women transcended these roles and became partners – perhaps not equal ones – in general culture and society. Newspapers sketched a picture of women, collectively, who *were* pious and *purposeful*, pure as well as *involved*, submissive but sometimes *assertive*, and domestic while *determined*. Women were editors, activists, wives, criminals, victims, society doyens, prostitutes, laundry workers, mothers, slaves, business owners, farmers, and pioneers – practically the entire range of professions outside government, religion, and big business. In general audience newspapers, women transcended the facade Welter identified in the specialized magazines catering to them, that of women reinforcing their own self images. Newspapers provide a more unvarnished and encompassing perception and what can be seen is a more complete and complex picture of women, not at the periphery but in the heart of events.

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Gold Watches and Old Maids: The Lowell Offering's Role in the Emerging Social Consciousness of 19th Century Factory Girls, 1840-1845

Caitlin Leary

In this paper, the development of class and gender consciousness among the Lowell Mill Girls female textile workers living and working in Lowell, Massachusetts at the rise of U.S. industrialism is examined through the pages of the Lowell Offering, one of the first literary magazines written, edited, and published by working class women from 1840-1845. The monthly periodical featured a variety of content, including essays, poetry, and fiction. It ultimately served as an earnest reflection and voice of the Lowell Mill Girls' unique political and social identity.

In the early 19th century, the proliferation of well-paid, women-dominated jobs in New England textile mills was considered a novel development that corresponded with the rise of industrialism in the United States. The female textile workers of Lowell, Massachusetts, often called the Lowell Mill Girls, represented an even more extraordinary example of the way a woman's place in society was socially and economically changing. This group of textile workers began one of the first literary magazines written, edited, and eventually published by women. Running from 1840-1845, the monthly periodical was called the *Lowell Offering*.

The *Offering* featured a variety of content, including essays, poetry, and fiction, and its constituency of readers included not only fellow factory workers, but even famous contemporary figures such as Charles Dickens¹ and Harriet Martineau.² The periodical ultimately served as an earnest reflection of the Lowell Mill Girls' unique place in the world, and it played a role in the development of their new identity and social consciousness.

As it was one of the first of its kind, the *Offering* prompted countless musings of wonder, support, and skepticism in the press, and also produced spirited defenses written in the periodical by women experiencing rapidly changing times caused by the rise of capitalism in the United States. Through their editorial pursuits and their interactions with the press, the female writers and editors behind the *Offering* solidified themselves as a powerful voice that

¹ Bernice Selden, *The Mill Girls: Lucy Larcom, Harriet Hanson Robinson, Sarah G. Bagley* (New York: Atheneum, 1983), 5.

² Maria Frawley, "Behind the Scenes of History: Harriet Martineau and The Lowell Offering," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, 2 (Summer 2005): 141-157.

represented the growing class of 19th century working women.

Out of the Farms, into the Factories

The founding of the *Offering* came at a time when American women were first dipping their toes in the waters of industrial labor. In the first half of the 19th century, the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts not only revolutionized manufacturing, but also shifted the dynamics of family labor.³ The family unit considered standard for the majority of Americans living in pre-industrial New England was an insular, agricultural one; women usually spent their entire lives on farms (first their parents', then their husband's) and eventually gave birth to children who were also destined to become farmers.

This changed in 1815 when Francis Cabot Lowell developed the first American power loom for his cotton mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, allowing for fast, efficient production of textiles.⁴ With this new development came an urgent need for cheap workers, and since mill owners could pay women half as much as men, it was not long before the mill workforce was comprised of 75% female operatives.⁵ By the 1820s, the percentage of people working outside an agricultural setting hovered around 28%, but with the rapid development and domination of the cotton textile industry as a major employer, this percentage had shot up to 41% by 1860.⁶

As descendants of Puritan settlers, many New England families believed the factory towns and cities were less-than-desirable places for young women to reside and work in because it meant that they would no longer be under the protection of their paternal home.⁷ Without patriarchal protection, these women were considered to be especially "prone to depravity."⁸

In order to convince the women and their families that it was safe to work in these cities, the mill owners went out of their way to dispel the negative appearance through acts of corporate paternalism. One conscious effort to "protect the virtue of American woman workers"⁹ on behalf of the mill company directors was to enforce strict regulations and restraints on the moral conduct of the women residing in the company boardinghouses. These rules, which were generally written into each worker's contract, typically included stipulations involving compulsory church attendance, a nightly curfew, strictly scheduled

³ Thomas Dublin, *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1850-1860* (New York, 1993), 7.

⁴ Benita Eisler, *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women, 1840-1845* (Philadelphia, 1977), 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶ Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (New York, 1979), 77.

⁷ Eisler, *The Lowell Offering*, 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (New York, 1979), 77.

meals, limited visitors, and complete sexual abstinence on company property.¹⁰

The boardinghouse keepers were regarded as surrogate parents to the women and carried out surveillance and enforcement by reporting any improper conduct to the mill agents. If a worker did not live up to the moral standards set forth by the company, the mill not only fired them, but also blacklisted them to ensure a difficult search for work in other textile factories.¹¹

Another strategy to encourage young women to move to mill towns was to pay excellent wages. Mill companies offered female employees wages ranging anywhere from \$1.85 to \$3.00 a week – the highest wages available to women anywhere in America at that time.¹² Due to these impressive wages, many parents sent their daughters to factories for the sole purpose of sending money back home to support the entire family. This wasn't always the case, though. Often times, just the mere fact that their parents no longer had another mouth to feed in their household was a lifted burden, enabling some women to embrace their economic independence and spend their money as they chose.¹³

In addition to the tempting wages, amenities such as large circulating libraries and free lyceum lectures were very attractive for many women who received little or no formal education while being brought up on family farms.¹⁴ The educational opportunities available in mill towns such as Lowell fostered women's writing and laid the groundwork for the beginnings of the *Lowell Offering*.

The Rise of the *Lowell Offering*

In the fall of 1840, a young Universalist minister named Reverend Abel C. Thomas began soliciting stories, poems, sketches, and essays from female operatives. This collection of original work was published in a new periodical named the *Lowell Offering*. Sold at six and one-quarter cents per issue,¹⁵ it became an instant success.

The women contributors came from a wide range of backgrounds and some went on to become famous writers and activists. There was Sarah G. Bagley, who spent nearly two decades working in textile factories, and eventually became an organizer for Lowell's Female Labor Reform Association and the editor for the radical labor newspaper, *Voices of Industry*.¹⁶ Another contributor to the *Offering* who later became involved in political organizing was Harriet Hanson Robinson, an abolitionist and suffragette with a penchant for the written word.¹⁷

¹⁰ Eisler, *The Lowell Offering*, 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹² Eisler, *The Lowell Offering*, 15

¹³ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 38.

¹⁴ "The Lowell Offering," *New-Hampshire Statesmen and State Journal* (August 1944): 1210.

¹⁵ Eisler, *The Lowell Offering*, 33.

¹⁶ Selden, *The Mill Girls*, 119.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103

The famous poet, Lucy Larcom, was also a regular contributor, making her one of the publication's most famous alumni.¹⁸

Over its five year run, the magazine underwent several changes. In the first few years of the *Offering*, it had a local competitor called the *Operatives' Magazine*. The magazine was more religious in tone than the *Offering*, and actually managed to garner the nickname, "the orthodox magazine." In 1842, Rev. Thomas sold the *Offering* to William Schouler, who merged it with the *Operatives' Magazine*.¹⁹

Although Reverend Thomas was the editor of the *Offering* for the first two years, Harriet F. Farley and Harriott Curtis – decade-long mill workers – became the editors in 1842 following the merger. This change in editorship was significant because factory magazines were usually edited and written by men for the women operatives, and "the new *Offering* was reborn female and grass roots."²⁰

In 1843, the *Offering* almost ceased publication, but Farley, longtime contributor and editor, prevented this by buying the will and title of the magazine. From then on, the magazine laid claim to not only being entirely written and edited by women, but also being published by entirely women.²¹

The items published in the *Offering* ranged in topics, mediums, and tones. Although there was plenty of amateur poetry and stories of the sentimental and fanciful variety, many contributors chose to write about that which they were most familiar: the experience of women living and working in a buzzing mill city.

This dry, yet hopeful account of the working schedule of a typical factory girl comes from "Letters from Susan, Letter Second," written by Farley in 1844:

You wish to know minutely of our hours of labor. We go in at five o'clock; at seven we come out to breakfast; at half-past seven we return to our work, and stay until half-past twelve. At one, or quarter-past one four months in the year, we return to our work, and stay until seven at night. Then the evening is all our own, which is more than some laboring girls can say, who think nothing is more tedious than a factory life.²²

As much as many of the writers spoke positively of the mill-worker experience, it was difficult to ignore the stress of their working and living conditions in the wake of company austerity measures. In another edition of the *Offering* published in the same year as "Letters from Susan," Farley comments on two suicides of mill girls that shook the entire community.

She rose at early dawn, and toiled till night. Day after day brought

¹⁸ Ibid., 108.

¹⁹ Eisler, *The Lowell Offering*, 34.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "Lowell Offering, Written, Edited, and Published by Female Operatives Employed in the Mills," *Dover Gazette & Strafford Advertiser* (November 1843): 2.

²² Harriet Farley, "Letters from Susan, Letter Second," *The Lowell Offering* (1844).

the same wearisome round of duties; and, as she looked forward, she saw no prospect of a brighter future. It would take long years to procure an independence by her slight savings, and mayhap, with her sinking energies, she hardly gained a maintenance. Her spirits were gone, but life remained; and vitality seemed fixed upon her as a curse. The physical laws of her nature had not been violated, and nature still resisted the spirit's call for death. Perhaps it was frenzy, perhaps despondency, but -- the rest is a short item in the common newspaper.²³

These two writings by Farley provide insight into the complex life of how women were simultaneously trying to exalt their choice of employment in the name of their own pride while also recognizing the hardships and alienation they must go through as laborers.

Conscious Development as a Class and a Gender

Understanding that their place in the increasingly industrialized world was one of unprecedent for women, the Lowell Mill Girls who wrote for the *Offering* often made a point to distinguish themselves from middle class "ladies," who were generally considered to be the main audience for periodicals like Sarah Hale's *Ladies' Book*. This subtle distinction represented a class tension that stemmed from the increasing self-fashioning and self-education of women working the factories.

The prominence and democratization of literacy among working-class women in Lowell challenged the dominance that middle class women held over reading and writing, thus loosening the grip of distinctions in class.²⁴ Before there was an abundance of literate working-class women produced by the textile factories, literacy and fashionable dress was a mark of refinement and values indicative of the middle and upper classes. In other words, it was easy to pick out the poor woman and the rich woman in a crowd through differences in the way they dressed, wore their hair, or spoke.

In "Gold Watches," an essay written by "A Factory Girl" and published in the *Offering*, the class tension between working-class women and middle class ladies is brought to light. In an 1841 article of *Ladies' Book*, Sarah Hale, the editor, wrote an article to address the topic of the "folly of extravagance in dress" of the contemporary society. One particular line struck a nerve with one factory girl: "How stands the difference now? Many of the factory girls wear gold watches, and an imitation, at least, of all the ornaments which grace the daughters of our most opulent citizens." The intent of Hale's line was to lament a changing 19th century world. While it was once easier and more obvious to distinguish a class

²³ Harriet Farley, "Editorial: Two Suicides," *The Lowell Offering* (1844).

²⁴ Sylvia Jenkins Cook, "Oh Dear! How the Factory Girls Do Rig Up!': Lowell's Self Fashioning Workingwomen," *New England Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (June 2010): 219-249.

difference between women according on their dress, it became much more difficult to do so as more and more women began working in factories and earning their own money. The factory girl responds to the classist remark by pointing out its ridiculousness:

I pity the girl who cannot take pleasure in wearing the new and beautiful bonnet which her father has presented her, because, forsooth, she sees that some factory girl has, with her hard-won earning, procured one just like it.²⁵

In addition to issues of class, some of the selections in the *Offering* contain blatant efforts to subvert sexism. There is a substantial amount of defense and support for old maids, who were regarded with disdain for their failure to marry and have children, on behalf of the contributors to the *Lowell Offering*.

Two such examples of this kind of defense are present in “A Letter About Old Maids,” written by Betsey Chamberlain for the October 1840 volume, and “Old Maids and Old Bachelors,” also written by Chamberlain (though signed with the name ‘Tabitha’) for the December 1840 volume.

In Chamberlain’s first piece, it is argued that Old Maids shouldn’t be despised or regarded in a negative light because society has a great need of them and probably would not function very well without them.²⁶ In her second piece, Chamberlain discusses the relative value of old maids and old bachelors, and through an anecdote, it is concluded, “old maids exert a much better influence on society than do the old bachelors.”²⁷

Chamberlain was a notable writer not just for her gender, but also for the fact that, as a feminist woman of mixed English and Algonkian roots, she plays a pivotal role in the history of native women’s literature.²⁸ An enthusiastic writer, Chamberlain managed to “[write] by hand the equivalent of 170 typed, double-spaced pages” for the *Offering* over the course of four years.²⁹ Fellow mill worker and contributor Harriet Hanson Robinson wrote in her memoir, “Mrs. Chamberlain was the most original, the most prolific, and most noted of all the early story-writers.”³⁰

Positive reviews of the *Lowell Offering* were commonly accompanied by initial surprise. One writer for the *Boston Courier* was especially flabbergasted when describing the periodical, stating in amazement that the *Offering* was “written wholly by FEMALES [emphasis theirs] employed in the manufactories

²⁵ A Factory Girl, “Gold Watches,” *The Lowell Offering* (February 1841): 44.

²⁶ Betsey, “A Letter About Old Maids,” *The Lowell Offering* (October 1840): 4.

²⁷ Tabitha, “Old Maids and Old Bachelors,” *The Lowell Offering* (December 1840): 30.

²⁸ Judith A. Ranta, *The Life and Writings of Betsey Chamberlain: Native American Mill Worker*. (Boston 2003): 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

at Lowell! A feat which may well cause a blush on the faces of some."³¹ The shock the periodical produced was not only because the writers and editors were women, but also because it was produced in a New England factory city, which generally had bad reputations for being havens for sin and vulgarity.

Because of the fact that a woman working in a factory was such a new idea at this time, it produced skepticism in some communities. In July 1840, New England writer Orestes A. Brownson commented on the mill life of girls in an article published in the *Boston Quarterly Review*. Within the piece, he lamented that although these women employed at textile mills appeared well-dressed, well-paid, well-fed, and content in general, they led inevitably doomed lives after employment, blighted by an irreparable, damaged reputation and permanent spinsterhood.³²

Several of the Lowell Mill Girls who contributed to the *Lowell Offering* resented Brownson's words, particularly his infamous, insulting line, "'She has worked in a Factory,' is almost enough to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl."³³ This referred to the idea held by many observers that alumnae of the mills were doomed to an unmarried life upon leaving. In actuality, this generalization was untrue. For most women workers, employment within a textile mill simply represented a stage before marriage in which they could enjoy a degree of social and economic independence.³⁴ In fact, approximately 85% of the women employed within the Lowell textile mill eventually married, usually around the age of 26.³⁵

Now equipped with the ability to speak their minds through a printing press, the Lowell Mill Girls decided to use the second volume of the *Lowell Offering*, published in December 1840, as their platform to respond to Brownson's statements. In a bold article titled "Factory Girls," an unnamed author states that "[Brownson] may now see what will probably appear to him quite marvelous; and that is, that a *factory girl* is not afraid to oppose herself to the *Editor of the Boston Quarterly Review*," and that while Brownson has fame, education, and talent, she has "what is better than either of these, or all combined, and that is *truth*."³⁶ The writer continues on by describing what it is like to work at the mills and why it is problematic that Brownson is making assumptions about their lives for the sake of his own rhetoric.³⁷

In 1844, a few years after the Brownson incident, a short article about the Lowell Mill Girls appeared in the *New-Hampshire Statesmen and State Journal* that essentially discredited any prior concerns people may have had about factory

³¹ "The Lowell Offering," *Boston Courier* (November 1840): 1727.

³² Orestes A. Brownson, "Chartism," *The Boston Quarterly Review* 3, no. 3 (July 1840): 358.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁶ A Factory Girl, "Factory Girls," *The Lowell Offering* (December 1840): 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

work for women. These assurances were reinforced by a quote by one male Concord citizen who said, "There, Sir, if I had daughters who were going abroad for employment, I would sooner recommend them to a factory, than most other employments for which females seek."³⁸ This represents the beginning of a shift in how women's work became viewed. Although the idea of women working outside the home was almost unheard of just a decade or two before this, it eventually became less unreasonable as society became more comfortable with it.

High Praise and Recognition

Despite their confrontation with Brownson, the women at the *Offering* were generally well received by the press. In an April 1841 review of the publication in the *North American Review*, the reviewer states that he was not "entirely prepared for the evidence of taste, talent, and acquisition, on the part of [the] fair authors."³⁹ The reviewer also briefly mentions the Brownson/Factory Girl conflict, concluding that the women working in the textile mills, especially those contributing to the *Lowell Offering*, will force Brownson to think more carefully about what he says of women employed in the profession.

Harriet Martineau, an English writer and sociologist, became a fan of the Lowell Mill Girls for their "idealism," and their work in the *Offering*.⁴⁰ While traveling and observing the United States, she made a visit to Lowell to see the factories and the women who worked there. Upon reading the *Offering*, she subsequently made efforts to circulate their periodical overseas with the help of Charles Knight, publisher of the English Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.⁴¹

Martineau was also interested in the stark contrasts between working conditions in the American mills and the deplorable working conditions in the British mills. To her, the *Lowell Offering* provided a shining example. In an effort to encourage Queen Victoria to think about what women laborers could accomplish under amicable working conditions in Britain, Martineau sent several volumes of the *Offering* to London's Athenaeum Club's library.⁴²

Martineau was not the only famous figure to visit the female textile workers. On a tour of America in 1842, Charles Dickens paid the Lowell Mill Girls a visit. The famed writer was impressed with their way of life, and he boldly stated that the *Offering* compares "advantageously with a great many English annuals."⁴³ He marveled at their circulating library, their pianos, their well-dressed demeanor, and especially their high level of literacy. Like Martineau,

³⁸ "The Lowell Offering," *New-Hampshire Statesmen and State Journal* (August 1844): 1210.

³⁹ "The Lowell Offering," *The North American Review* 52, no. 111. (April 1841): 537.

⁴⁰ Frawley, "Behind the Scenes of History," 141-157.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Selden, *The Mill Girls*, 38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Dickens was very familiar with the oppressed female workers who labored in the English manufacturing slums of Manchester and Birmingham. When compared to these deplorable slums and factories that harbored disease and depression, Lowell proved to be a breath of fresh air.

Crisis, Austerity, and Resistance

Despite the rave reviews of the Lowell mills when compared to mills in England, Lowell was not immune to the fluctuations of the early U.S. economy, and it was the textile workers that were often forced to take up the slack. The Panic of 1837, a financial crisis that occurred during the presidency of Andrew Jackson as a result of speculative fever, threw the country into a depression that lasted five years. Out of 729 chartered banks, 194 of them were forced to close, and prices in the early stock market rapidly plummeted.⁴⁴

The Panic hit the cotton and textile industry especially hard. Demand for the U.S. cotton crop plummeted in 1836 and 1837, causing a dramatic drop in its price in the spring that followed.⁴⁵ This, in turn, affected the labor force that worked in industries that involved cotton. Over the five-year depression, Lowell mill workers were forced to work part-time schedules and hundreds of operatives were laid off. It was difficult for the workers to push back against the onset of draconian and disenfranchising industry practices in such bleak and sour economic times. These imposed slashes “seemed inevitable given the national economic scene, and operatives acquiesced.”⁴⁶

The Lowell workers did not always stand by silently while their working livelihoods were threatened. Many of the Lowell Mill Girls were very self-aware of their working conditions, and they proved to be a valuable influence on the early labor movement.

For example, in the mid 1830s, the textile workers fought in labor disputes against their employers on two different occasions. In February 1834, nearly 800 women participated in a work stoppage and a mass outdoor rally to oppose looming wage cuts. The unprecedented actions on behalf of the women workers was reported in the *Boston Evening Transcript*:

The number soon increased to nearly eight hundred. A procession was formed and they marched about town. We are told that one of the leaders mounted a pump and made a Mary Woolstonecroft [sic] speech on the rights of women and the iniquities of the “monied aristocracy,” which produced a powerful effect on her auditors, and they determined “to have their own way if they died

⁴⁴ Peter L. Rousseau, “Jacksonian Monetary Policy, Specie Flows, and the Panic of 1837,” *Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 2 (June 2002): 457.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 462.

⁴⁶ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 108.

for it.⁴⁷

The Lowell women turned out to protest again in October 1836 when management attempted to raise the cost of room and board within the company boardinghouses. "Since women generally quoted their wages exclusive of the cost of room and board this action was viewed by women as a wage cut, not very different from that of February 1834."⁴⁸

Although the 1830s protests in Lowell represented a significant part of "the larger response to the demands imposed by a maturing industrial capitalism on the working-class at this time,"⁴⁹ the campaigns did not leave a huge mark on material conditions of the Lowell workers. One thing that the events did produce was a ripple in the fabric of early 19th century social norms. Turning out for these protests was "decidedly unfeminine" in the eyes of the mill managers, and one agent went so far as to describe the rally as an "amazonian [sic] display."⁵⁰ It paved the way for more organized involvement of women in the subsequent ten hours campaign in the 1840s.

In December 1844, the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (LFLRA) was created. Despite the rather toothless title, it was more or less a trade union that focused on legislative efforts, and, in line with many other labor movements of that time, they primarily focused on gaining the 10-hour workday.⁵¹ Out of the LFLRA sprung the *Voices of Industry*, a labor newspaper that was based in Lowell. Sarah G. Bagley, a mill worker-turned-labor organizer who had incidentally contributed fond words describing factory life to the *Offering* just a few years prior, held the position of LFLRA president and editor of the labor paper. Her abrupt change from commending the mills to condemning the mills was in conjunction with the steadily falling quality of living offered in the factory town. "It was as if, once the mill owners had lured the young people from the countryside, they no longer had to make the situation attractive."⁵²

The female textile workers of Lowell had already carved out their own place in labor history, but this did not mean that all of the operatives were on the same page concerning labor activism. A good number of women in the mills were involved in the early labor movement, but not all of the Lowell workers endorsed the radical sentiments that challenged the status quo and ruling structures of capital and industry.

Historians Alan Dawley and Paul Faler reflected on these differentiations by formulating a typology of workers living in the U.S. under early industrial capitalism. The workers are divided into three groups based on their feelings about industrial morality and political economy: Traditionalists, loyalists, and

⁴⁷ Boston Evening Transcript, Feb. 17, 1834.

⁴⁸ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 98.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁵² Selden, *The Mill Girls*, 121-123.

rebels.⁵³

In the context of the textile mills in Lowell, Traditionalists are defined as those who did not embrace the ever-expanding industrial society (such as the women who did not leave their paternal homes for factory life in a city). Loyalists and rebels, on the other hand, are those who *did* engage with industry in an effort to disregard preindustrial values. The difference between loyalists and rebels lay within their attitudes concerning class relations. Rebels paved the way for the U.S. labor movement with direct action and a focus on the idea that the interests of workers and their employers were opposed. Loyalists generally “held aloof from the labor movement”⁵⁴ because they viewed the interests of the worker and the employer as congruent. It was only in times of an extreme crisis that the loyalists would join with the rebels in a protest. Otherwise, they made a concerted effort to wear their staidness and literacy as badges of respectability among their community.⁵⁵

When applying the rebel/loyalist formula to the situation in Lowell, Massachusetts in the early to mid 1840s, one discovers that the editors, contributors, and supporters representing both the *Lowell Offering* and the *Voices of Industry* fit nicely into the categorizations. The people who ran and followed the *Voices* can be easily placed within the rebel category, as they were actively campaigning and rallying to shake up the status quo in the favor of the working-class. On the other hand, the women of the *Offering* would be classified as loyalists because, despite their reputation as headstrong, literary-inclined protofeminists, they didn’t stray far outside the expectations of the dominant ideology of the time. Instead, the focus of their efforts mostly lay in abolishing the prejudice against females working manufacturing jobs in New England. When trying to dispel the myths that surrounded their occupation, they often eschewed criticisms concerning the conditions of the mills, thus separating themselves from the efforts of economic justice causes such as the Ten Hour Movement.⁵⁶ In fact, many of the words used to counteract the prejudices were in direct opposition to the interests of those who might subscribe to a newspaper like the *Voices*.

In “The Spirit of Discontent,” a piece of fiction published in the *Offering* in 1840, the author illustrates her reasoning for putting up with all the negatives of her employment instead of leaving or protesting:

There are advantages, as well as disadvantages, in this employment, as in ever other. If we expect to find all sun-shine and flowers in any station in life, we shall most surely be disappointed.⁵⁷

⁵³ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 122.

⁵⁴ Alan Dawley, and Paul Faler, “Working-Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalism and Rebellion,” *Journal of Social History* 9, no. 4 (Summer 1976), 469.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Dublin, *Women at Work*, 122-124.

⁵⁷ Author unknown. “The Spirit of Discontent,” *The Lowell Offering* (1841): 111.

Although the women associated with the *Offering* weren't the most militant or radical when it came to workers' rights, they were by no means ashamed of their status as workers. For example, in "Dignity of Labor," a short essay published in January 1842, the writer insists that the ability to work for a living should be considered a positive accomplishment for women instead of being looked down upon:

From whence originated the idea, that it was derogatory to a lady's dignity, or a blot upon the female character, to labor? And who was the first to say, sneeringly, "Oh, she works for a living?" Surely, such ideas and expression ought not to grow on republican soil.⁵⁸

The author even declares a foreshadowing, protofeminist statement of hope that "the time is not far distant when none of [her] countrywomen will be ashamed to have it known that they are bettered verses in useful, than they are in ornamental accomplishments."⁵⁹ The women weren't alone in these calls to respect working women. In an editorial article from the *Dover Gazette & Strafford Advertiser*, the writer not only commended the women behind the *Offering* for their literary pursuits, but also condemned the commonly held notion that these women are "an inferior order of beings, fit only to drudge and drivel amidst the eternal clatter of looms, and mules, and spinning jennies in a cotton mill."⁶⁰

One way to abolish this negative perception of factory life, the author suggests, was partly in the hands and interests of the superintendents and agents who oversee the women working inside the mill. If these authorities encourage the women of the *Offering* in their publication efforts, it might "elevate the character of factory establishments, and remove, in some measure, the prejudice existing in community."⁶¹ This ties back in with the loyalist belief that workers and their employers possess the same interests; what is good for the employer must be good for the worker.

The author continues in his review of the publication by acknowledging the Lowell Mill Girls as a "neglected class of citizens" who deserve more attention and encouragement in the future.⁶² This is significant because it recognizes the importance of the fact that these female textile workers belong to a new economic class of people who begin to emerge at the onset of the industrial revolution and early capitalism in the United States.

⁵⁸ Caroline Bean, "Dignity of Labor," *The Lowell Offering* (January 1842): 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ "The Lowell Offering," *Dover Gazette & Strafford Advertiser* (April 1841): 23.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

The Decline of the *Lowell Offering*

By the mid-1840s, the *Offering*, for various reasons, began losing readers. First, the general prosperity of the textile industry in Lowell was waning. The quality of working conditions and wages began to diminish, causing many of the working people that the periodical attracted to leave the city in droves.⁶³ Second, more kinds of work were becoming available to women. Many of the mill girls packed up, and moved to the west, some becoming schoolteachers. Third, they lost some readers to more political periodicals, such as the labor newspaper, the *Voices of the Industry*.⁶⁴

In addition to losing readers, the *Offering* also had issues of capacity among the editors and contributors – less people had the time or incentive to work on the publication. Many of these key figures of the *Offering* – including Lucy Larcom and her family – were moving away along with their readers for the same reasons. The periodical finally folded in 1845, though it did emerge briefly as the *New England Offering* three years later.⁶⁵

Conclusion

The Lowell Mill Girls were among the first working-class women in the United States. Although the women behind the publication were by no means radical or heavily involved within the heightening labor movement of that time, through the writing, editing, and publishing of the *Offering* over the course of five years in the early 1840s, they managed to represent their classes' unique position in life. In doing this, they managed to catch the attention of the world around them, which was confronted with the genuine accounts of factory girl experiences. Their position was not one of housewifery or silver spoons, but of independence and self-awareness, which was brought on by the increasing industrialization of the world around them.

⁶³ Wendy Gordon, *Mill Girls and Strangers: Single Women's Independent Migration in England, Scotland, and the United States, 1850-1881*. (Albany, 2002): 61.

⁶⁴ Selden, *The Mill Girls*, 42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

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All Board to Mardi Gras! Railroad Travel Advertising, Press Coverage, and Tourism in New Orleans After Reconstruction

Carolyn Bender

New Orleans sought to recover from the Civil War through the development of tourism. Railroads and newspapers attracted visitors to the city for Mardi Gras. The railroads advertised special travel rates along with news of their technological advances. Elite groups of businessmen in New Orleans helped by organizing elaborate parades and tableau balls. The press provided extensive coverage of the festivities along with the advertisements for travel excursions. While not as clearly organized as other cities in their efforts, New Orleans attempted to recover from the war and participate in the New South through the promotion of Mardi Gras.

The literature on the American railroads in the late 19th century focused primarily on the economic, political, and engineering development of the railroad but very little on passenger travel. While the press covered these elements, it also gave attention to travelers, especially since they benefited from the increased railroad advertising. Some of the ads merely presented basic rate tables, but others promoted grand travel excursions. With the rise of industrialization in the 1880s and 1890s, Americans found themselves with more time and more money for leisure travel. The advertising found in newspapers from the 1870s to 1890s offered exciting destinations and events – notably New Orleans-- for Mardi Gras.

Newspapers contained very little coverage of Mardi Gras before the 1820s. The first news account of an organized parade appeared on February 8 1837 in the *New Orleans Picayune*. The *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* gave another one a year later. Then the Civil War intervened and the true organized parades did not pick back up until the Reconstruction years. The railroads had a part in promoting Mardi Gras and “by the 1880s and 1890s, the local celebrations had become nationally popular.”¹ This paper focuses on the railroad newspaper advertisements running in the years at the end of Reconstruction, but only during the Mardi Gras, or Carnival, time period of festivities - just before Lent in the traditional Christian religious calendar.

Part of the allure of Mardi Gras was New Orleans itself. The city promised something close to an international experience because of the prevalence of the

¹ Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 23.

French language and of Catholicism and the mix of African and Caribbean ethnic groups among with European settlers, so “dramatically different” from other U.S. cities at the time.² The press and various publications drew on the interest to increase their circulation as well.

The print media, including the national magazine *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, remarked on the impossible task of describing the event: “For lavish expenditure of money, exquisite taste and correctness in costume and scenic effect, this pageant is unequalled in America, and unexcelled by anything of the sort on the European Continent. Every tourist should witness a New Orleans ‘Mardi Gras’ celebration; for no pen could adequately describe its grandeur.”³

The parades and masked balls also contained an element of freedom from Victorian convention. The revelers could exhibit reckless and overtly sexual behavior and still feel that what happened at Mardi Gras stayed there.⁴

Following the Civil War, the resurgence of Carnival, or Mardi Gras, in New Orleans was done mainly by wealthy men who wanted to show off their membership among the city’s elite. The parades and the tableau balls put on by these elite were often arranged around themes and the pageantry provided by these elite groups known as “krewes.” These organized parades and krewes were being formed by the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie rising to power over the more traditional Francophone culture. Newspaper coverage of the time reflected this shift in political power. The English language publications lauded the emergence of the new krewes while the French language papers expressed dismay.⁵

With the presence of these businessmen in the celebrations, the focus turned to tourism and profit. By the 1870s the newspapers noted that Mardi Gras was definitely an economic matter not just a fun local tradition. In 1872, the papers talked of tourism and how it helped the city’s economy. “By the end of the century, American and European travel writers advised readers that Mardi Gras in New Orleans was a lavish festival.” They were not just targeting domestic tourists anymore; the celebration was for everyone - local, national, and international.⁶

In America, travel by boat gained more importance than it ever did in Europe because here we had an abundance of rivers and waterways to use. At the beginning of the 19th century, the only roads that were really well-traveled were

² Gotham, 26.

³ Anthony Stanonis, “Through a Purple (Green and Gold) Haze,” *Southern Cultures*, Summer 2008, 112.

⁴ Stanonis, 120.

⁵ Gotham, 33-34.

⁶ Gotham, 23, 35.

located in New England. The rest of the roads led to the rivers for boat travel. The railroads became an extension of those boat routes not the competition.⁷

The newspaper ads in St. Louis around 1878 featured steamboat excursions for Mardi Gras. However, the railroad rates were published right along side the ads for river travel, so taking the train to New Orleans was certainly an option. With the inclusion of logos and large bold type, the boat excursions did have a better chance of capturing a reader's attention.⁸

As the number of railroad passengers increased, so did the demand for better accommodations. This began the need for and the popularity of the Pullman car.⁹ The rising demand for luxury train cars also came from the perception fostered by the railroad companies themselves that traveling by rail was an extension of the previously more familiar mode of travel by water. The railcars were made to resemble rooms on the steamboats.¹⁰

The luxury of the Pullman cars appeared after the end of the Civil War along with the separation of first and second class passenger cars.¹¹ These class distinctions on trains were already found in Europe, but the system in America was somewhat different and the names sounded a bit less harsh. Part of the desire for a first class came from the rather sensitive Victorian sensibilities about ladies traveling and the men surrounding them on those journeys.¹² Later it also became the working-class tourists who wanted the fancy accommodations similar to the more wealthy passengers.¹³

In addition to the special rates offered by the railroads, another aid in access to New Orleans was the standardization of the railroad tracks in the South in 1886. The Pennsylvania Railroad was one of the most heavily used to reach the south, but it was not the only railroad coming in from the north. Since it did have a lot of traffic, it makes sense that it was the gauge that many used as the model when it was time to change to a standard size. It also was one of the railroads that frequently offered special rates on excursions that included a stay in New Orleans for Mardi Gras. Whether the high volume of use was the cause of the discounted trips or the result is not known at this point, but there probably is a connection.¹⁴ Not only did the railroad make travel faster; the four time zones set up in 1884 "encouraged the growth of tourism by standardizing travel schedules."¹⁵ Also prior to the gauge standardization, the addition of the

⁷ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 93-95.

⁸ Classified ads, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 23 February 1878, 7.

⁹ Amy Richter, *Home on the Rail* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 68.

¹⁰ Schivelbusch, 107-109.

¹¹ Schivelbusch, 110.

¹² Richter, 23-25.

¹³ Richter, 80-82.

¹⁴ "The Standard Gauge," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 June 1886, 364-365.

¹⁵ Gotham, 50.

Southern Pacific line from California to New Orleans in 1883 opened more long-range transport and trade.¹⁶

Some of the notices in the newspapers appeared as classified ads for the special rates being offered by the railroads such as the ones in Atlanta running almost every day in the month of February in 1873. The ads emphasized the luxury Pullman cars and the special fare of \$24.25 for a quick trip from Atlanta to New Orleans. In fact, on some days that month, the newspapers showed competing offers placed on the same page but in different columns for Mardi Gras excursions.¹⁷ Various other routes offered special fares to New Orleans at the end of the 19th century. To get to Mardi Gras in February of 1882 cost \$35 from Raleigh, \$33 from Charlotte, \$42 from Richmond, \$38 from Lynchburg, and \$42 from Charlottesville.¹⁸ That same year one railroad offered a special excursion rate of \$22 “to enable everyone to visit, The Paris of America” by traveling from Little Rock, Arkansas to New Orleans.¹⁹ In February 1892, the rate from Chicago to New Orleans for Carnival was \$25 and there were many more deals to be found over the years one wished to attend Mardi Gras.²⁰ In 1883, the railroad excursion tickets departing from Jackson, MS cost \$6.50 and the advertisement specifically mentioned going to see Rex on February 5th and then being there in New Orleans for Mardi Gras day on the 6th.²¹

Newspaper articles about Mardi Gras celebrations were placed in the local paper of New Orleans as well as many other cities around the country. Often these articles include mention of the railroads’ role in bringing people to the city. For example there are notices in the papers in Galveston, Chicago and Milwaukee. For all of these newspapers, the ideas of Mardi Gras and railroads were certainly linked together often because of the railroads offering special rates.²²

The travel writers and the parade organizers were trying to expand tourism to New Orleans, and so were the railroads. They advertised railway excursions in newspapers and publishing tourist guides.²³ In addition to the festivities of Mardi

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Classified ads, *Atlanta Daily Sun*, 2 February 1873, col. E; Classified ads, *Atlanta Daily Sun*, 4 February 1873, col. B and col. D; Classified ads, *Atlanta Daily Sun*, 12 February 1873, col. A and col. C.

¹⁸ Classified ads, *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC) 12 February 1882, col. D; Classified ads, *Richmond Daily Whig*, 15 February 1882, col. F.

¹⁹ Classified ads, *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock) 12 February 1882, col. E.

²⁰ “Illinois Central Railroad; Last Chance for Mardi Gras Rate,” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago) 27 February 1892, 13.

²¹ Classified ads, *The New Mississippian* (Jackson) 30 January 1883, col. E.

²² “Railroad News; Off for Mardi Gras,” *Galveston Daily News* (Houston) 13 February 1893, 2; “Illinois Central Railroad; Last Chance for Mardi Gras Rate,” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago) 27 February 1892, 13; “Railroad Companies Whose Roads Lead to New Orleans,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 1 February 1877, col. A.

²³ Gotham, 36.

Gras, there was the promise of the city's famously good food to entice travelers to come to New Orleans. The restaurants were written up in the *New York Times* and became known in the national media even before the city hosted the 1884 World Exhibition.²⁴ Growing competition drove many of the railroad companies to develop faster trains and to provide more luxurious accommodations. These elements of the trip were advertised both on posters and in magazines such as *McClure's* and *Harpers*.

Much of the earliest advertising for railroads was in the form of posters. They borrowed from the styles of advertising done by the circus and used lots of bold color and pictures to show the scenery to a passenger on a railroad journey. Railroad companies often published their own guidebooks to elaborate on what could be seen on a particular route as well as the amenities on board.²⁵ The 1884 World Exhibition brought even more opportunities to promote the New South, New Orleans and Mardi Gras:

To generate sales and build mass support for their emerging industries, railroads, steamboats, and hotels published visitors guides containing detailed instructions educating people on why they should travel, what they should see, and how they should sightsee.²⁶

Rand, McNally and Company, the Illinois Central Railroad and the Richmond and Danville Railroad all had very flattering descriptions of Mardi Gras in their guidebooks:

Railroad companies, hotels, and guidebook publishers cultivated an organized alliance, using print media and other technologies to construct New Orleans as a unique place with an individuality and authenticity of its own.²⁷

These publications blended together many images of New Orleans' diverse culture and rich history. When talking of Mardi Gras, they emphasized the grand spectacle of the famous Carnival festivities.²⁸

By the turn of the century, there was also a backlash against the use of art poster advertising. So many posters had been put on display everywhere that people were sick of seeing them. This prompted railroads to put more and more ads in mass media publications. It was also around this time that companies

²⁴ Anthony Stanonis, "The Triumph of Epicure: A Global History of New Orleans Culinary Tourism," *Southern Quarterly*, vol. 46 issue 3 (2009), 145-161.

²⁵ Michael E. Vega and John E. Gruber, *Travel by Train: the American railroad poster, 1870-1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 1-2.

²⁶ Gotham, 59.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

realized that they needed to reach a larger number of potential passengers. They increased their use of mass circulation media like magazines and newspapers to reach a wider, more national, audience.²⁹

There were many advertisements in various newspapers for railway trips from the East Coast out to California which featured stops in New Orleans for Mardi Gras. They were often offered by the Pennsylvania Railroad at the turn of the century as well as a few other railroad companies. While New Orleans was not the primary destination, Mardi Gras was the place to stop and visit for a few days before continuing the journey westward. These ads explained the rates and all the extras included on the trip as well as emphasized the speed of the train itself.³⁰

In addition to advertising the special rates and the comfort of the train cars, some railroad advertisements played up the party aspect and popularity of the event itself:

Where could you find a more delightful place to visit than New Orleans during Mardi Gras, which takes place Feb. 15? The carnival this year will eclipse anything heretofore held in the Crescent City.³¹

This was the ad to entice people to leave New York and travel southward. The warmth and fun of New Orleans would sound attractive during a cold New York winter. Another ad for trips leaving from New York played up the national popularity of Mardi Gras:

As usual great preparations are being made for the Mardi Gras festivities in the Crescent City. The occasion attracts people from all parts of the United States.

The advertisement goes on to list the special fares offered, the time it

²⁹ Vega and Gruber, 18-22.

³⁰ "Advertisement 5 -- No Title," *New York Evangelist (1850-1902)*, 4 February 1897, 31, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009); "Advertisement 28 -- No Title." *Congregationalist (1891-1901)*, 9 February 1901, 237, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009); "Advertisement 21 -- No Title," *Town and Country (1902-1915)*, 16 January 1904, 52, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009); "Advertisement 37 -- No Title," *Life (1885-1956)*, 19 February 1903, 166, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009); "LEGISLATIVE: Doubles the Pleasure of a Drive. Tour to California via Pennsylvania Railroad. Mardi Gras--New Orleans," *New York Observer and Chronicle (1855-1912)*, 11 February 1897, 232, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009).

³¹ "Advertisement 21 -- No Title," *Town and Country (1902-1915)*, 16 January 1904, 52, <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009).

would take to travel that distance, and the availability of the nicer Pullman Drawing Room Sleeping Car and first-class coach.³²

There were even advertisements to lure the outdoorsmen to come to Mardi Gras such as special shooting events:

The program of the Grand Carnival shoot, under the auspices of the Mississippi Valley Trapshooters' and Game Protective Association, to be held by the City Park Gun Club, at New Orleans, La. Feb 20, 21 and 22, provides ten events.... Mardi Gras or Carnival rates will prevail on all railroads entering New Orleans, so be sure to ask for them.

Even if not taking part in the excursions advertised by the railroads, travelers could get the reduced rate because they were going to New Orleans for the Mardi Gras festivities.³³

During the festival season, *The Daily Picayune* included mentions of notable people in town for the celebrations. These often included the management of various railroads and even the editors or various out-of-state newspapers along with other dignitaries and socialites of the time. The tone of these general notes was not that of a tabloid reporting negative comments about well-known figures; instead, it was positive and complimentary.³⁴ The society page of *The Daily Picayune* also featured many items about the debutante season and which of the young ladies had been selected as queen or maid at the Carnival balls. These articles described the luxurious gowns worn by all the women involved, and this sort of article often appeared in newspapers in other cities as well.³⁵ For example, the *Milwaukee* carried a story about the pageantry of Mardi Gras and included information on who had been named queen.³⁶ The society page of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* named which high-society ladies and debutantes would be going to New Orleans to attend Mardi Gras in 1898, and the *Boston Daily Advertiser* ran a similar column but in another year.³⁷ This newspaper information helped spread

³² "WASHINGTON :Ideal Three-Day Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad. Mardi Gras, New Orleans. Superb Service to Brunswick and Jekyl Island," *New York Observer and Chronicle (1855-1912)*, 27 January 1898, 116. <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009).

³³ "Article 14 -- No Title," *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting (1875-1950)*, 14 February 1903, 139. <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2582/> (accessed November 21, 2009).

³⁴ "Personal and General Notes," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 13 February 1888, 4; "Personal and General Notes," *The Daily Picayune*, 14 February 1888, 4; "The Railroads. Going Home," *The Daily Picayune*, 16 February 1888, 2.

³⁵ "Society," *The Daily Picayune*, 13 February 1898, col. B.

³⁶ "Mardi Gras Carnival Opening of the Festivities at New Orleans," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, 10 February 1891, pg. 2, col. D

³⁷ "Society News," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 6 February 1887, pg. 20, col. A; "At the

the word of the fun that awaited people in New Orleans, especially since it was associated with fashion, high society, and debutantes.

It was not just the reporters, advertisers, and tourists who wrote about visiting New Orleans. An article in the *New York Evangelist* features the reminiscing of a Confederate soldier on his experiences in the Civil War, specifically his memories of New Orleans and Mardi Gras. Although the author's first impressions on New Orleans were not so favorable, he apparently came to appreciate the diversity of the city's culture. He compared New Orleans to Quebec and noted the European influences in the French neighborhoods:

In walking about the old town, which is occupied chiefly by the French, one might believe himself in one of the provinces of France – in the medieval city of Normandy or Brittany. He would recognize the faces as French, even if he did not hear the French language. Thus New Orleans revives impressions of the old world renewed in a very delightful way.

The soldier also gave a quick description of some of the events that took place during Mardi Gras and the King of the Carnival. Overall, he and his friends were impressed with the festivities:

The French element has given a French gaiety even to the American population. Nowhere this side of the ocean is the Carnival observed with so much spirit.... Some of our party who had had the opportunity to make the comparison said they were much more effective than what they saw in Rome at the Carnival two years ago.

Not all of the articles about New Orleans and Mardi Gras were entirely focused on the celebrations. In *Harper's Weekly*, Lafcadio Hearn urged visitors to Mardi Gras to see more of the city beyond the parades and parties. He recommended a visit during "St. Martin's summer" to be able to see the buildings without the scaffolding needed along the parade routes:

The romantic charm of the old city is not readily observed at such a time [Mardi Gras]; the curious cosmopolitan characteristics that offer themselves to artistic eyes in other seasons are lost in the afflux of American visitors, and the true color is fairly drowned out by the colors of Rex.

Hearn felt that the true New Orleans was missed by most of the Mardi Gras

Breakfast Table," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 2 February 1894; pg.2, col A.

revelers in the rush and noise of the crowds.³⁸ He himself was a well-known literary figure in New Orleans, having lived in the city for 11 years and having worked as a writer and journalist for the *Daily Item*. He wrote what Henri Schindler considered to be “some of the most poetic descriptions of New Orleans or Mardi Gras ever written”. Hearn also translated French works into English and wrote columns for newspapers in the city.

Some articles in the news took note of the economics of the Mardi Gras celebrations. On his way to New Orleans, Reverend Strieby noticed the competition between the various railroads for passengers. Mobile was advertising its own Mardi Gras and trying to get residents and tourists to celebrate. The city dwellers wanted to keep residents and their money in town to promote the local economy and keep businesses open to take advantage of the travelers who might arrive.

Arriving in New Orleans, Strieby was impressed by the amount of coverage of Mardi Gras that was found in the local paper there. He was also struck by how peaceful and pleasant the crowds were when gathering at the Carnival events despite the diversity of the people attending.

As the Mardi Gras traditions evolved, more and more elements of royalty were added. The crowning of a queen for each krewe began in 1870 with the first appearance of the Twelfth Night Revelers on January 6 to open the Carnival season. The young ladies attending the ball were presented with pieces of cake, one of which contained a golden bean. Whoever received the golden bean was to be crowned queen of the ball. However, on that first night, no queen came forward to acknowledge her prize so the first Queen of the Ball was not crowned until the next ball in 1871.³⁹

Following the Twelfth Night Revelers lead, nearly every major krewe had a queen of their ball. Rex first crowned a queen in 1874; Momus began to have one in 1881, and finally Comus had one in 1890.⁴⁰ These queens were chosen from the debutantes of New Orleans and assumed some of the few early official roles available to women within the Mardi Gras proceedings:

Almost all the young ladies in the first Carnival courts were American debutantes, but by the mid-1880s Creole names began to appear with frequency. The memberships of the mystic societies of the 1890s reflected three decades of inter-marriage, genealogical and cultural, between the old and new elite. The press, which had reported lists of committeemen and details of tableaux balls for decades, could not get enough.⁴¹

³⁸ Lafcadio Hearn, “New Orleans in Carnival Garb,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 24 February 1883, 122.

³⁹ Henri Schindler, *Mardi Gras; New Orleans* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), 46.

⁴⁰ Schindler, 102.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

The membership of the clubs and krewes behind the parades and tableaux balls was generally kept secret and the invitations to the balls were private and exclusive. The parades were public, but the balls were not.⁴² The press coverage of the debutantes and stories about the details of what they wore to the ball were extensive:

Carnival royalty was front page news, and while the identities of the krewe members impersonating Comus, Momus and Proteus remained state secrets, their queens had become celebrities. *Collier's*, *Harper's* and other illustrated magazines showed early and enduring interest in New Orleans Mardi Gras parades, balls, and royalty.⁴³

The coverage of Carnival in the *Daily Picayune* included items in the society page regarding which ladies were in town visiting and the events held for them:

The royal colors are floating to the breeze, proclaiming the fact the Mardi Gras is near. Entertainments are numerous and the gay whirl will continue until the gray dawn of Ash Wednesday marks a season of rest.... The luncheons, dinners, card parties and several cotillions completed the week's round of gayeties, which was on of the busiest of the season.⁴⁴

The newspaper even published narrative short stories, such as "The Carnival Roses" about the balls and parties of Mardi Gras.⁴⁵ An article in *Harper's Weekly* featured the famous Darwin parade and tableaux displayed by the "Mystick Krewe" of Comus in 1873. The author of the article described the characters in the satirical tableaux, and the magazine also had an illustration of the scene.⁴⁶

The beginning of Rex in 1872 was a major event for the city of New Orleans. The true impetus for the start of the new parade is unclear, but his royal stamp had tremendous influence. Some claimed that Rex was inspired by the visit of Grand Duke Alexis of Russia to New Orleans during Mardi Gras. It was also in 1872 that the Mardi Gras theme song, "If Ever I Cease to Love," first appeared:

If ever I cease to love, If ever I cease to love,

⁴² Schindler, 97.

⁴³ Schindler, 102.

⁴⁴ "Society" *The Daily Picayune*, (New Orleans), 5 February 1899, col B.

⁴⁵ Emma Longmire, "The Carnival Roses. Written for the New Orleans Sunday Picayune," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 21 February 1897, col. D.

⁴⁶ "The Mystick Krewe," *Harper's Weekly*, March 29, 1873, 247; Illustration, *Harper's Weekly*, 244.

May oysters have legs – And cows lay eggs,
If ever I cease to love.

If ever I cease to love, If ever I cease to love,
May the Grand Duke Alexis – Ride a buffalo through Texas, If
ever I cease to love.⁴⁷

The song was taken from a popular musical comedy, but the reports that it was sung to Alexis complete with these verses have been questioned. Instead, the song may have been sung as written for the stage since it was known to be one that he liked.⁴⁸ It is much more probable that the band played the Russian national anthem for him when the parade passed under his balcony.⁴⁹

While the royal visit may have been the opportunity to begin Rex, the real reason behind it was promotion of New Orleans and of Mardi Gras. Many of the founders of the krewe stated that Rex was started to revitalize the city, the carnival, and the South following the Civil War:

When Lewis J. Salomon, the first Rex, discussed the parade's origins in 1921, he did not even mention Alexis. According to him, the purpose behind the first Rex parade was to "put some life into" Carnival, something particularly needed in the post-war era.⁵⁰

The managing editor of the *New Orleans Times*, E.C. Hancock, first brought up the idea of the Rex parade and chose Solomon to help.⁵¹

Another one of the founders of Rex, J. Curtis Waldo, supported the idea that Rex was started entirely to promote New Orleans and Mardi Gras for tourism, and not as a celebration of the Grand Duke's visit. He wrote a book, *History of the Carnival in New Orleans*, which was published by the Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans Railroad as a form of extended advertisement:

According to Waldo, the reason was that more and more Mardi Gras visitors had been returning home disappointed, not having obtained cards to the evening's tableaux balls....The Rex ball was open to "strangers," that is, to elite nonresidents of New Orleans. The device satisfied the tourists' voyeurism, the old elite's self-satisfied exclusiveness, and a new, more youthful business elite's

⁴⁷ Samuel Kinser, *Carnival, American Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 102.

⁴⁸ Kinser, 102.

⁴⁹ Reid Mitchell, *All on a Mardi Gras Day* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 54.

⁵⁰ Mitchell, 57.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

ambitions.⁵²

The businessmen who founded Rex knew that the possibility of attending the ball that evening would draw in tourists.

The royal trapping surrounding Rex also held large appeal for the crowds. Many of the Mardi Gras symbols and traditions grew out of the Rex parade. Rex was considered King of the Carnival, and his royal colors were displayed everywhere; they became the colors of Mardi Gras by his royal edict.⁵³ The figure of Boeuf Gras, often seen as a fat ox, was a symbol for “the last meat permitted before the fasting of Lent appeared, decorated with flowers and garlands” in the parade.⁵⁴

Apparently, the ideas of Rex revitalizing Mardi Gras and preventing visitor disappointment worked. An article that appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* in February of 1874 gave the festivities a glowing review:

Only those who have participated in the merriment which seems to infect old and young on Mardi Gras can appreciate the excess of enjoyment it affords. Everybody sallies forth fully expecting to be amused, nor are such expectations in vain.⁵⁵

As the interest in going to Mardi Gras grew, so did the desire for information about the parades and pageants as well as souvenirs of them.

Carnival Editions or Bulletins became larger, and in the early 1880s they were being printed in tones of sepia or indigo.... Newspapers vied with one another for rights to publish them, and would print as many as 30,000 copies; on the evening of the parade they were sold on busy streets for ten cents.⁵⁶

Each day, newspapers published the descriptions of the parades with details about each float and explanations of the figures in the tableaux, but without pictures.⁵⁷

In the late 1880s, the *Daily Picayune* sold illustrations of the Mardi Gras festivities. Eliza Nicholson, the publisher of the newspaper, was promoting more tourism by offering visitors a way to commemorate their stay in pictures. The ad was addressed to “persons living outside the city who desire copies of the illustrated papers can secure them by remitting by postal note or in postage stamps.”⁵⁸

⁵² Kinser, 103.

⁵³ Mitchell, 63.

⁵⁴ Schindler, 67.

⁵⁵ K.H. “Mardi Gras,” *Godey's Lady's Book*, February 1874, 158.

⁵⁶ Schindler, 86.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Classified ads, *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 27 February 1887, col A; Classified

Around this same time, the promotion of Mardi Gras was aimed at attracting tourists, particularly from the North, to New Orleans “as a means of sectional reconciliation.”⁵⁹ In 1876, the *New Orleans Bulletin* carried a “special editorial for visitors, explaining that they were seeing New Orleans in hard times, in part because of the Reconstruction.”⁶⁰ The concept of reconciliation continued for the next few decades:

Civic leaders presented Carnival as a solution to a national dilemma – how to reunite North and South emotionally now that the legal framework had been established....In New Orleans they would leave not only understanding but capital as well, helping rebuild the South. This was the New Orleans version of the New South movement that arose throughout the region during the last third of the nineteenth century.⁶¹

In Georgia in the 1880s, Henry Grady of the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Ring* worked to build the New South, but in New Orleans, those efforts were made through the promotion of Mardi Gras. Even before Grady, E.C Hancock of the *New Orleans Times* and his fellow founders of Rex had begun their work when the parade started in 1872.

Historian Henri Schindler credits Hancock as one of the “top ten people in New Orleans’ carnival history” due to his involvement in the famous Comus theme of 1873 “The Missing Links to Darwin’s Origin of Species,” his writing of some early Rex proclamations, as well as his role at the newspaper.⁶²

At least one parade krewe featured reconciliation and looked to attract northern tourists by displaying a military theme in 1877.⁶³ In 1881, the krewe of Rex invited the New York 71st Infantry National Guard to Mardi Gras, being the battalion that had fought troops from Louisiana during the Civil War.⁶⁴ The “successful” journey to and from New Orleans as well as the festivities were covered in detail by the *New York*.⁶⁵

After the war, the population of New Orleans did not grow at the same rates as many of other cities in the country. To counteract the slip in national

ads, *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 15 February 1888, col A.

⁵⁹ Mitchell, 83.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Mitchell, 85.

⁶² Henri Schindler, “The Top 10 People in New Orleans’ Carnival History,” *New Orleans Magazine*, February 1999, 45.

⁶³ Kinser (137) states that theme of Comus 1877 was “Military Progress of the World” but Mitchell (84) credits Rex for the same theme. Both authors attribute the choice of the military as the focus of the parade to being a conciliatory effort towards the North and a means of attracting tourism.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, 82.

⁶⁵ “Back from New Orleans,” *New York Times*, March 8 1881, 2.

ranking, the leaders of New Orleans used tourism to promote the city and support it financially:

A role which the city's writers furthered with alacrity: culture replaced economic power.... Precisely because New Orleans' leisurely way of life accorded so ill with the nation's late nineteenth-century exuberant capitalism, it was infinitely attractive as a place of cultural consumption for people from elsewhere.⁶⁶

The elite groups who organized the krewes with their parades and tableaux balls were full of prominent businessmen who had much to gain from making the city attractive to tourists.⁶⁷ The railroads and steamboat companies used Mardi Gras to lure more passengers, and the press increased revenue from advertising as well as from readers who desired more news about the Carnival.⁶⁸

There is copious literature on race and its role in Mardi Gras traditions and the formation of parade krewes that represented minority citizens of New Orleans. However, during the Reconstruction period and the years following it, Mardi Gras festivities were still dominated by white citizens. The later inclusion of Zulu and the Mardi Gras Indians and even the emergence of the modern so-called "super-krewes" is reflective of the evolution of the Carnival events. These developments, however, occurred after the close of the 19th century and fall outside the scope of this essay.

Many industries, as well as individual citizens, worked to promote New Orleans as a tourist destination after the Civil War through the end of Reconstruction and up to the end of the 19th century. They used the appeal of such a distinctive place to draw visitors since "New Orleans was as close to Europe, or the tropics, as many American travelers ever got."⁶⁹ The krewes, for the most part run by elite groups of businessmen in this time period, provided the spectacle of Carnival and Mardi Gras traditions. Royalty, the press, and the railroads used advertising to inform people about how to get to New Orleans and the wonderful experiences awaited them there.

⁶⁶ Kinser, 137.

⁶⁷ Gotham, 33; Stanonis, 114.

⁶⁸ Stanonis, 112.

⁶⁹ Schindler, 65.

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**The “Looker-On” Observes Disaster on the Veldt:
Frederick Greenwood’s Pro-Boer Correspondence
With W. H. Blackwood, 1899-1900.**

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In 1898, Britain embarked on its final colonial battle taking on the African Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The enterprise, however, was not universally popular in the press, and the conflict’s proponents – primarily the South African entrepreneur and imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, and the Salisbury government’s Colonial Secretary, Sir Alfred Milner – were especially lambasted. Among the so-called pro-Boer journalists was the esteemed Tory editor, Frederick Greenwood. Today, Greenwood is little remembered, but from 1898 until 1902, he boldly condemned Milner, derided Rhodes, and criticized British intervention in South Africa in his column “The Looker-On,” which was published monthly in Blackwood’s Magazine. More significantly, Greenwood continuously pressed his opinion of the war and its proponents in correspondence with his publisher, W. H. Blackwood. The irony of Greenwood’s view was that Blackwood was a staunch pro-Government supporter and repeatedly took issue with his contributor’s stance. This study looks at the correspondence between Greenwood and Blackwood in an attempt to reveal why the old editor held such a strong conviction that war with the Boer Republics was “contrived” and show his publisher’s frustration with that view.

The Boer War, Britain’s final little war of Empire at the end of the 19th century, was marked by military blunders on the South African veldt and by dissension at home which, in some ways, were similar to anti-war feelings in the United States during the Vietnam War and emotions prior to America and Britain’s invasion of Iraq in 2002.

Some 5,000 miles away from the heat of colonial Africa, a very vocal group of activists, many in the Liberal Party, the intelligentsia, and a few staunch Tories, warned the Unionist government of Lord Salisbury that a war with the Boer Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics would devastate the Empire. It would, they maintained, involve the British Empire in a struggle that could only win by sacrificing the lives of thousands on both sides and vast expenditures of the nation’s wealth and resources. Few recent works chronicle the British pro-Boers. Those available such as Arthur Davey’s, *The British Pro-Boers, 1877-1902* (1978) and more current works such as Paula Krebs’, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War* (1999), generally treat the pro-Boer

movement more broadly. Works, including Dr. Patricia Ann Shaw Ashman's "Anti-War Sentiment in Britain during the Boer War," examine party opposition to the war or prominent journalists such as W. T. Stead (1849-1912), who laid bare his pro-Boer ideas while at the *Review of Reviews*. Professor Virginia Hein's eloquent work, "British Literary Figures and the Boer War," also provides insight into pro-Boer as well as pro-Government writers ranging from the jingoist Alfred Austin to the pro-Boer, H. G. Wells. Some may also attempt to explain the psychology behind the movement, such as the late Stephen Koss' work, *The Pro-Boers* (1973).¹ In this study, however, I attempt to chronicle one prominent contemporary, but little-remembered, voice -- that of the venerable British journalist, Frederick Greenwood. He barely merits a mention in most accounts of the British pro-Boers -- yet he emerges here, in both print and in private correspondence, as a strong pro-Boer, whose concern for South African polices dated to the 1870s, and who was unafraid to push his views despite his publisher's bitter anti-Boer outlook.

By 1898, Greenwood had been a leading figure in British Tory journalism for more than three decades. From 1865 through the spring of 1880, Greenwood edited the renowned Conservative London daily *Pall Mall Gazette*, but following a change in ownership and politics (the new owners were Liberal) Greenwood resigned his post and founded the Conservative daily, *The St. James's Gazette*, which he helmed until his resignation there -- thanks to some chicanery by its German proprietor -- in 1888.² While editor of the influential *Pall Mall*, however,

¹ Perhaps the best source is still Arthur Davey, *The British Pro-Boers, 1877-1902* (Cape Town: Teafelberg, 1978), hereafter cited as Davey, *British Pro-Boers*. Newer works include Paula Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1999) as well as a plethora of articles which include among others, David Nash, "The Boer War and Its Humanitarian Critics." *History Today*, 49, No. 6 (June 1999) pp. 42-50; or, Fransjohan Pretorius, "Boer Propaganda During the South African War of 1899 – 1902," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 399 – 419, which looks at the Boer governments (Transvaal and Orange Free State) attempts to motivate its militia to stay in the field though the use of newspapers and other propaganda devices. See also J. O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead's Controversial Trip Through South Africa, 1904," *History Today*, 5, No. 30, pp. 5-11.

² See [Frederick Greenwood] "To the Readers of the Pall Mall Gazette," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1, 1880, p. 8. See also J. W. Robertson Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, and its First Editor Frederick Greenwood, and of its Founder George Murray Smith*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), *passim*. Hereafter cited as Robertson Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette*. Also see Beryl I. Diamond, "Tory Journalist: The Life and Work of Frederick Greenwood (1830-1909)" unpublished MA thesis, Georgia State University, 1984, pp. 387-397. Following Greenwood's resignation, all but Hyndman resigned from the paper. The Socialist declined to leave saying he "had never been a Tory or a Conservative and...I did not see my way to following Greenwood." Henry M. Hyndman, *The Record of An Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 149. Hereafter cited as Hyndman, *Adventurous Life*. At the *St. James'*

Greenwood's reach extended into government circles, and his work in assisting the Conservative Disraeli government in acquiring the shares to the Suez Canal in 1865 was significant. The literary lights that suffered and flourished under his pen included Leslie Stephen, George Henry Lewes, J. M. Barrie, and the socialist Henry M. Hyndman, among many others.³

Greenwood's activism against the war, though less heralded than others, was somewhat surprising given his life-long Tory bent. From 1898 to 1902, Greenwood incessantly bombarded his equally Tory-leaning Scottish benefactor, W. H. Blackwood, (for whom he wrote the monthly "Looker-On" column for the popular periodical *Blackwood's Magazine*) with scores of notes and columns decrying government action in Africa as greed, avarice and empire.⁴

His fear of a "terrible war" in South Africa was in large part the result of his long-standing interest in the relationship between the British Cape Colony and the mineral-rich Boer Republics that had been deteriorating since the 1870s. Indeed, Greenwood had first taken an interest in African affairs while editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, declaring in an 1878 front page leader that the expansionist "forward policy" of the then Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Bartle Frere, would ultimately bring Natal and the Cape Colony to the brink of war with the Zulu nation; which in fact it did with the eruption of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.⁵

The difficulties between the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and the British government became dire during

Greenwood resigned after learning that Edward Steinkopf, "a Pomeranian Jew from Glasgow," the proprietor of the periodical after 1887, wanted him to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward Germany; and, learned that the newspaper proprietor was corresponding with, and accepting funds from, Otto von Bismarck to assure the paper's support.

³Hyndman, *Adventurous Life*, p. 162.

⁴Little remains of correspondence between Greenwood and his contributors. Several letters between Greenwood late in life may be found in the papers of David Hannay; several are part of the published papers of Coventry Patmore and George Meredith among others, but his own, possibly vast collection, was last seen by his initial biographer, Robertson Scott, who quotes from them liberally in his *Story of The Pall Mall Gazette*, 1950. They have since disappeared and my own efforts to locate them at the law office entrusted to keep them have proven fruitless. Therefore, the most extensive private collection still extant is the Blackwood Archive in National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh.

⁵See for example [Frederick Greenwood] "Affairs in South Africa," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 19, 1878. For a discussion of the Frere's "forward policy" and the Anglo Zulu war, see Donald Morris, *The Washing of the Spears; The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and its fall in the Zulu War of 1879* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1965); Robert B. Edgerton, *Like Lions They Fought; the Zulu War and the Last Black Empire in South Africa* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988) and Michael Barthorp, *The Zulu War; A Pictorial History*, (London: Blandford Press, 1980). For a discussion of Chamberlain and Milner's policy, see Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (New York: Random House, 1979), pp. 3-28. Hereafter cited as Pakenham, *Boer War*.

the mid-1880s when the Boers refused to concede the franchise and equal citizenship to *outlanders* (foreigners who resided and worked the gold mines in the Transvaal) despite the fact that they paid five-sixths of taxes collected by the Transvaal government. As importantly, they also provided a major source of revenue through the purchase of dynamite and liquor from the Transvaal monopolies.⁶ Since most *outlanders* were British, they turned to the British government for assistance and redress of grievances. In London, both the Liberal Gladstone (1892-1894) and ensuing Rosebery ministries (1894-1895) essentially disregarded the South African “problem.” This attitude changed quickly on the ascension of Lord Salisbury’s Unionist Government in 1895 and the appointment of Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary. Chamberlain’s part especially concerned Greenwood, who had a long-standing distrust of the Birmingham native who had risen from the middle-class to the heights of government power, changing his ideological color – chameleon like – along the way. Chamberlain’s radical ideas included social reforms such as free education or income tax. Later he opposed W. E. Gladstone and the Liberal Party’s push for Irish Home Rule, which split the Party and catapulted him into power of the new Liberal Unionist Party. In fact, the ascendancy of Chamberlain so troubled Greenwood that in a letter to Blackwood in July 1892, he declared that, “I know him thoroughly. He is as ‘Red’ today as ever he was in his life. He has never molted a feather of his Birmingham Radicalism, or ever whitewashed one; . . . On none did ever I feel more strongly in my life.”⁷

By 1895, Chamberlain, now Colonial Secretary, was at the seat of colonial issues, and as Greenwood feared, at the center of mischief in South Africa. In December of that year, Chamberlain’s covert connivances assisted the imperialist magnate, Cecil Rhodes, in the latter’s quest to realize his ambition of a united South Africa under British rule. Rhodes sponsored the bungled “raid” by his close associate, Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, and six hundred mercenaries to overthrow President Paul Kruger’s Transvaal Government.⁸

⁶ Patricia Ann Shaw Ashman, “Anti-War Sentiment in Britain During the Boer War” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1972), p. 11.

⁷ Greenwood to Blackwood, July 31, 1892, Blackwood Archives, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Hereafter cited as Blackwood Archives.

⁸ See Elizabeth Longford, *Jameson’s Raid: A Prelude to the Boer War* 2nd revised ed. (Granada Publishing Ltd: 1984), See also Martin Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), pp. 323-334 and *passim*. Cited hereafter as Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold and War*. For commentary on the “Raid” by various authors see Donal Lowry, ed., *The South African War Reappraised* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); anyone seeking general information on the Boer War and the Jameson Raid should also see Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xxv-xxix.

As for deteriorating relations between the Boer Republics and Britain, Greenwood initially approached the subject of South Africa with Blackwood as early as April 1897, and again in September noting "my foreign politics you don't agree with,"⁹ but he insisted that:

The Boer affair is troubling me most. I can't at all believe that this govt. proposes to force things to [the] ultimatum-point there: it is in too ticklish a position everywhere out of England. The likelihood that [Colonial Secretary Joseph] Chamberlain still remains rather too dramatically inclined to pose as first figure in an Govt. that he belongs to should not be neglected, I think in some respects he is still what he ever was [a Radical].¹⁰

Now, a year later (1898), relations between the British government and the Boer Republics were strained further as the new British High Commissioner in South Africa, the imperialist Sir Alfred Milner, demanded that the Boer nations accept a settlement which violated their sovereignty and subjected them to the hegemony of the British. Greenwood viewed Milner's high-handed diplomacy with great disquiet. Ironically, Milner had worked as a journalist at the *Pall Mall* under Greenwood's successor, John Morley, and was assistant editor under Stead at that same periodical and hence knew what could stir, and how to win, the public's interest.¹¹

It was clear to Greenwood that the renewed "forward" policy of Chamberlain and Milner was a return to the policy of expansionism employed two decades earlier, and was, this time, leading to war with the Boer Republics.

His misgivings became most acute in May 1899, when, in an interview with Greenwood, Rhodes – who once famously wrote "If there be a God, I think that what he would like me to do is paint as much of the map of Africa British Red as possible" – declared that the only resolution to the impasse in South Africa was

⁹ Greenwood to Blackwood, Sept. 4, 1897, Blackwood Archives. Interestingly, Greenwood's successor at *The Pall Mall*, the Liberal John Morley published a pamphlet in July 1897, relating the idea of Machiavellism to contemporary politics and drawing on the morality of the state. Morley used the deterioration of affairs in South Africa to point out that Machiavelism was a strong contemporary and abiding influence, "because energy, force, will, violence, still keep alive in the world their existence to the control of justice and conscience, humanity and right." See John Viscount Morley, *Recollections* (London: Macmillan, 1917), II, pp. 56-59, 63. Greenwood described Morley's piece as "the most stirring political pamphlet that has dropped from the English press for ... many a year." And, he concluded, based on Morley's reasoning, that "anything done... to avert dangerous conflict [by a ruler]... is justified." Frederick Greenwood, "Machiavelli in Modern Politics," *Cosmopolis*, X (Aug. 1897), pp. 307, 319, 322.

¹⁰ Greenwood to Blackwood, April 16, April 19, 1897, Blackwood Archives.

¹¹ For a discussion of Milner and the press see A. N. Porter, "Sir Alfred Milner and the Press, 1897-1899," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June, 1973), pp. 323-339.

the use of force against the obstinate Boer Republics.¹² Writing to Blackwood, the “Looker-On” averred:

I put to him [Rhodes] this question: whether the demands now made upon the Boers would not, if conceded, sweep them all clean out of all share of Government in the Transvaal in a very few years; & whether the knowledge that that would be the certain & quick result did not account for their desperate resistance. He answered, with instant emphasis, that beyond a doubt the Boers would be “absolutely annihilated – out altogether” – wh[ich] he went on to say, was just what the country needed.

I dare say he is right, but we can't be surprised if knowledge that their complete suppression is meant *does* make them desperate. Like the rest of us, Boers are humans, & of the fighting sort. Not that I think Kruger will fight if he can possibly help it. He is wise enough to give in as soon as the last moment for choice has come: the only question is whether he can persuade the ordinary ‘old Boer’ to do so, he being more stubborn than wise.¹³

For all his apprehension on the situation in South Africa, an issue he termed “*so* important,” Greenwood was still a realist who depended on the publication of his *Looker-On* series for a substantial part of his income. Hence, he continued to express his views to the Conservative-leaning Blackwood, coyly writing that he was “not . . . sure . . . whether [Blackwood] had any strong opinion about it.”¹⁴ Still Greenwood was convinced, no matter Blackwood's view, that “the Transvaal Affair [would] come to a head” by the end of June 1899. So he continued to supply Blackwood with lengthy analyses and some privileged information which the Edinburgh publisher probably read with increasing exasperation.

In South Africa, the situation continued to deteriorate as Milner sent a sharp dispatch to London outlining the case for British intervention in the Boer Republics on behalf of the *outlanders*. This so-called “Helot Despatch,” which essentially compared British miners working in the Transvaal gold mines to the serfs of ancient Sparta, urged Government action to protect the defenseless outlanders. “The case for intervention is overwhelming,” wrote Milner from South Africa, “the spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots, constantly chafing under undoubted grievances, and calling vainly to Her Majesty's government for redress, does steadily undermine the influence and reputation of Great Britain and the respect for the British

¹² W. T. Stead, ed., “The Topic of the Month: The Death of Mr. Rhodes: His Political Will and Testament” *Review of Reviews*, XXV, (London: William Clowes and Son, Ltd., 1902), p. 363.

¹³ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, April 3, 1899. Blackwood Archives.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

government within the queen's dominions."¹⁵

In London, Milner's communique was the major focus of a "little symposium" on the South African problem attended by Greenwood in the Strangers' Room of the Reform Club. Dining at the club with Chamberlain and the Liberal Party leaders, Sir William Harcourt and John Morley, Chamberlain declared, "If . . . I could be sure of public opinion behind me, I would have war [in South Africa] in a fortnight."¹⁶

According to Greenwood, he joined Harcourt and Morley in expressing

"their disapproval of such a view of the matter, and . . . [that] . . . a war in South Africa against the Boers [is] a very dangerous and doubtful enterprise." At this point, wrote Greenwood, Chamberlain sought to assure his companions that a war with the Boers would incur little danger for the British Empire. In fact, said Chamberlain, "the whole thing would be a matter of three months, and would cost about £12,000,000." To his long-time friend Hyndman, and to Blackwood, Greenwood sounded optimistic, writing that although "Chamberlain said that the latest Colonial Office news of & from Kruger was not good. . . . I [Greenwood] feel pretty confident there will be no 'row' . . . and . . . Kruger will make . . . concessions."¹⁷

Meanwhile, the week-long May 1899 meeting between Kruger and Milner at Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State failed to settle outstanding issues between the governments of Britain and the Boer Republics largely because Milner rejected every concession made by the wily Kruger. By June 1899, it became apparent that the Boer Republics and the British government were on the brink of serious uncertainties about the situation in South Africa. Confiding that he was "a little behind the scenes," Greenwood told Blackwood in mid-June that "a war that would make rebels of the Afrikaner subjects of the Queen (not Transvaalers only) all over South Africa — that must be avoided; and can be, with solid gains to the Outlanders." Observing Chamberlain's belligerent attitude at the Colonial Office and Milner's unyielding performance at Bloemfontein, Greenwood declared "the disturbing thing is that Chamberlain talks as if England had been placed under an unendurable snub by Kruger. The *fact* is that the Govt. has been placed by him and his Milner in a very awkward situation."¹⁸

¹⁵ G. M. Young, ed., *English Historical Documents*, Vol. 12, No. 113, "Milner's Helot dispatch on the situation in South Africa, 4 May 1899," (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1977) pp. 402-406.

¹⁶ Quoted in Henry M. Hyndman, *Adventurous Life*, p. 384.

¹⁷ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, May 13, 1899, Blackwood Archives. See also Hyndman's, *Adventurous Life*, p. 352.

¹⁸ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, June 16, and 19, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

Later that same week, Greenwood advised the Scottish publisher that

Transvaal affairs give me some worry . . . [I] tried to be very discreet when I might have been sensational by letting out a little of the true inwardness of the business. All that is kept—not to cross minsters (or this minister) in any but the gentlest way, and putting the thing more upon Milner where management went wrong. If you have any doubt now as to whether this is the right, correct, I have perfect confidence that the doubt will be removed by the end of [the] month. War on the franchise point would be illegal—no *casus belli* supportable. . . . Besides wh. It would be monstrously impolitic.

I know that, weeks before the Milner report [the Helot dispatch] came out, Jameson [Alfred] Beit, and other men of that fraternity, knew of the franchise campaign, and were working together to push it on as ‘the way of doing the trick’: these same people who were in the raid were then organizing support for the franchise campaign.¹⁹

Decidedly worried by events in South Africa, and convinced that affairs there were being manipulated in the Colonial Office, Greenwood informed Blackwood in a lengthy July communique that “Chamberlain *wished* to bring the Transvaal Govt. to the point of war before the Bloemfontein conference took place. . . . I tell you confidently that what Chamberlain wished and wishes, and what Rhodes calculates, I heard from their own mouths, in terms most explicit.” Moreover, he explained that

Chamberlain’s course is marked out to commit his colleagues, of whose ‘weakness’ he complains, from step to step. The publication of Milner’s report (undoubtedly written for the public & not the Colonial office, & certainly known to the Rhodes, Jamesons & Beits, here before it was received in Downing-Street) was the first of those steps; his speech was another.” What the next will be, if any, is in his own breast. Meanwhile he says that he would have preferred a less pushing way of going to work if the weakness of his colleagues aforesaid did not oblige him to push *them*. Whether they like it or not doesn’t matter, of course: they cannot publicly confess to being pushed, though they are.

My apprehension is that the Johannesburgers, or some moving

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

spirits there, will be so set up Chamberlain's speech²⁰ (how 'clever' he was!) & by the recent cry of no compromise here, that they may reject what wisdom would all a fair and sufficient franchise concession. Against that apprehension, however, there is one rather telling thing. The mine-owners are in great fear that, were war to break out, their mines would be destroyed. Their own belief is that that would be done before British troops could be brought up to protect the mines: the Boer Govt. having instant command of the rails.²¹

With this last Greenwood "communiqué," Blackwood's frustration with Greenwood's pro-Boer view emerged full-out, as he advised Greenwood that "Silence is the most judicious view & were it not for the gold mines no one *w*d care one fry[?] for it [the Transvaal]."²²

Greenwood, however, would not be silent and instead pronounced in mid-July that "the spirit of evil war is aflame all over South Africa. . . . I don't believe in war for England, . . . it would be too monstrous." Apparently, Blackwood had read enough of Greenwood's opinions and asked him not to prepare a "Looker-On" commentary for the August issue of the magazine. Feeling the force of Blackwood's sting, Greenwood was careful to commend in his next letter the alleged peace efforts of the Salisbury Government. "The Govt. as a whole," he wrote, "hold the prospect of war in something like horror, & is most unhappy at the present situation."²³

Still those "Looker-On" columns that warned of war were having an impact. Thus the novelist, George Meredith, praised Greenwood's analysis as the "exposition of a statesman. Good for the country if the writer were publicly that [a statesman] and carried authority! It [the Looker-On] should be shot abroad in form of pamphlets."²⁴

War, however, was not a debatable point for Milner or Chamberlain. In fact, Milner had convinced Chamberlain that only a display of "firmness" (the dispatch of troops by the British Government would persuade the Boer Republics to make concessions on *outlander* rights and British suzerainty and avert war. Without concessions from Kruger, declared Chamberlain on a Saturday in August,

²⁰ In his speech on the South African situation at the Conservative Party's annual meeting in Birmingham on June 26, 1899, Chamberlain praised Milner as a man of "great ability . . . cool judgment . . . [and] . . . unflinching tact . . ." Quoted in Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 76.

²¹ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, July 2, 1899.

²² Blackwood's note is appended to the end of Greenwood's letter of July 2, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

²³ Greenwood to Blackwood, July 14, 15, and Aug. 8, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 15, 15, 1899; George Meredith to Frederick Greenwood, Aug. 8, 1899. *The Letters of George Meredith*, ed. C. L. Cline (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), III, p. 1334. Hereafter cited as Cline, *Letters*.

Britain must assume that the Boers did not want peace and tensions were strained almost to a breaking point between the Salisbury and Kruger governments.²⁵

Greenwood, who now believed that Chamberlain was suppressing news from South Africa that might keep Britain out of war, wrote his Scottish publisher in late August 1899 that

Lord Salisbury hasn't the least intention of going to war for any reason now known to the Govt.; quite sure that there will be no such war unless some fool or deeply interested person throws a spark into the gunpowder so liberally spread abroad on all sides. And it happens that Mr. Chamberlain's speech on Saturday . . . had a sharp effect on public opinion; & I shall be surprised if there is not henceforth much less talk of war in newspapers, & much more of making the best of Transvaal terms as good as Milner asked for. If Mr. Chamberlain published today despatches lately received, instead of keeping them dark, there would be a further change in the public mind tomorrow.²⁶

Greenwood also reminded the staunch government supporter, Blackwood, that his opinion was “merely from F. G. to W. B., & not at all to suggest a line of writing for Maga[zine]. I've not the least wish to push my opinions, & only care that Maga shall stand safe out of error: her present situation in this matter.”²⁷ Greenwood's strong conclusion was, however, that Chamberlain and Milner stood with lighted matches prepared to ignite a South African War. This view was borne out within a week.

On September 8, 1899, the Government approved Chamberlain's request for the dispatch of 10,000 troops to South Africa, although this approval was not with complete unanimity in the Cabinet. The Chancellor the Exchequer and former Colonial Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks Beach opposed intervention; Arthur Balfour expressed misgivings, and even Lord Salisbury had some reservations concerning the forward policy of Chamberlain and Milner in South Africa. For his part, Lord Lansdowne at the War Office also had misgivings largely because the War Office did not know where 10,000 men could be found to dispatch to South Africa.²⁸

The Government's action incensed Greenwood, who dashed off an indignant letter to Blackwood flaying Chamberlain's role in these proceedings in which he asserted:

It *did* look as if we were at variance with the Govt. policy; all the

²⁵ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 90.

²⁶ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, Aug. 22, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

²⁸ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 91-95.

ministerial papers going strongly & even violently other way. But the mistake was theirs. They forgot that the Colonial Secretaries cannot make war at will. They failed to distinguish between a Chamberlain course of action wh. could not end well however it might end, & action wh. the Govt. was bound to follow. . . . Like Mr. C. himself, they lost sight of the Queen & her certain views & feelings in the matter . . . as well as the various facts & arguments wh. must determine Lord S. , as Foreign Minister , to avoid a South African war by every possible means. I write, of course, before publication of that last dispatch to [the] Transvaal. No doubt, it is stiff – possibly minatory; for Chamberlain’s face must be saved for one thing.²⁹

Several days later, thinking that his strong letter might have unduly irritated his friend Blackwood, Greenwood penned a more conciliatory note, this time praising the Salisbury Government for dispatching to Pretoria terms for “non-intervention.” This attempt, according to Greenwood, was “a despatch making for peace in every line,” though he still sought to distinguish the peace overture from Chamberlain’s policy. “This [dispatch]” Greenwood pronounced, “is Government policy, not Mr. Chamberlain’s, wh. it corrects and redeems from mischief.” Indeed, he later mused “departmental secretaries have often got their govt. into bad trouble before now. That is the present case; & the Govt. would be glad to be helped out of it.”³⁰

Moreover, in his “Looker-On” commentary for October, Greenwood lauded the Government for not pressing the “suzerainty claim” that would have granted Britain the right to dominate the foreign relations of the Boer Republics. Instead, he castigated the *London press* for its belligerence. He was convinced that “one of its [the Government’s] greatest embarrassments is the [members of the] Press [who] clamour for a fight.”³¹

²⁹ Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, Sept. 11, 1899, Blackwood Archives. It is interesting to note that Stead was also no fan of Chamberlain and who described the Colonial Secretary as “the Jonah whose presence on board the ship of State is the cause of all this commotion . . . [with] Lord Milner at the helm.” See William T. Stead, “Preface to the Second Edition, *Joseph Chamberlain: Conspirator or Statesman: An Examination of the Evidence as to his complicity in the Jameson Conspiracy together with the Newly Published Letters of the Hawksley Dossier*. 2nd ed. (London: January 1900), p. 3; and, *Review of Reviews*, 1906, pp. 143-144. Stead also published a penny weekly entitled *War Against War in South Africa*, from October 20, 1899 to January 26, 1900. The periodical featured a weekly column listing dead and wounded and, in one issue, Stead accused the Queen of failing to prevent the war on the Veldt. Stead, *War Against War in in South Africa*, Dec. 8, 1899, p. 120. For a brief discussion of Stead’s weekly, see Virginia Hein, “British Literary Figures and the Boer War,” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University), 72-75.

³⁰ Greenwood to Blackwood, Sept 20, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

³¹ [Frederick Greenwood], The Looker-On, “Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine,”

Several days later he appended to the proofs of this article a note to Blackwood emphasizing that he had “tried to carry out your wish as to outlander rights — wh. are thoroughly secured by the [London] Convention itself: all but franchise, wh. in ever ‘foreign state’ belong strictly to internal government. It is impossible to exaggerate the badness of the suzerain claim, as (whether legal or not) a claim to be enforced. . . . If what I have written at end [of his article] about Outlanders’ rights doesn’t answer your question, you will cut it out.”³²

The proofs that Greenwood returned undoubtedly arrived in Edinburgh at about the same time that the crisis in South Africa had reached a crucial stage. On September 25, 1899, Major General Sir W. Penn Symons, commander of forces in Natal, advanced a brigade of troops toward Dundee, dangerously dividing the small British force (15,000) in South Africa. Three days later, President Kruger, without waiting for his ally, President M. W. Steyn of the Orange Free State, mobilized 15,000 burghers and began an invasion of Natal. Symons’ force at Dundee was thus outnumbered by two to one even before the first shot was fired. Meanwhile, Steyn’s mobilization of the Orange Free State force made the position of the British force even more perilous, though Symons and his British force were confident of “walking over” the Boers.

This military maneuvering was not mentioned in Greenwood’s early October letter to Blackwood, although he made clear his disdain for both Chamberlain — whom he accused of making a “frightful mess of the whole business” — and the British daily press, which he condemned for fabricating a crisis “inspired from the Colonial Office and the City Rhodesians.”³³ The conservative Greenwood was joined in his condemnation of Chamberlain and the government’s handling of the situation by Liberal “pro-Boer” adherents such as Stead, or M. D. O’Brien in the *Westminster Review*, who continuously flayed the government in print as war erupted on the Velt on October 4. The match was struck after President Kruger presented the British Agent at Pretoria with an ultimatum that demanded, in part, the withdrawal of British troops presently stationed on the borders of the Boers Republics, and those landed since June 1.³⁴

In addition, Kruger demanded the recall of transports then on the high seas bringing British troops to South Africa and that all issues of concern to both nations be submitted to international arbitration. The elderly Kruger set a forty-eight-hour deadline for British acceptance of his ultimatum, lest “with great regret [the Transvaal Republic] be compelled to regard the action a formal declaration of war.”³⁵

MVIII, (Edinburgh: October 1899), CLXVI, p. 556 and passim. Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Blackwood, Sept. 14, and 20, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

³² Greenwood to Blackwood, Sept. 22, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

³³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

³⁴ A narrative of the Liberal O’Brien’s commentaries in the *Westminster Review*, which lashed out at Britain’s imperial policies may be found in Ashman, pp. 174-176.

³⁵ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 104.

In Britain, the prospect of an arduous conflict was taken lightly, with the government and the public deriding the conflict as a "tea-time" war.³⁶ Moreover, Greenwood was positive that "this [Boer crisis] is a newspaper-made campaign, inspired from the Colonial Office and the City Rhodesians."³⁷ He likewise condemned the Boer ultimatum as "stupid,"³⁸ and discerned that the Boers would prove to be a formidable opponent for the British Army. The Boers, he warned Blackwood, "are not delicate & chivalrous fighters...at any time; and now they will make a virtue of their desperation." In view of the war fever, Greenwood assured Blackwood that he would "go very carefully" on the South African crisis and war in the "Looker-On," but he wanted it "well understood to be the Colonial Secretary's [war]."³⁹

With war erupting in South Africa, Greenwood looked for a wider venue for his opinions and approached J. A. Spender, editor of the staunchly anti-war *Westminster Gazette*, on the possibility of contributing a series of articles to that publication. Later, Spender described Greenwood as a journalist who, "holding strong views about the unwisdom of Unionist policy in South Africa, . . . [and] . . . courageously . . . intimated to me that he was ready to write, if I would give him the word." Greenwood was "given the word at once, and for four years or more he wrote steadily on South Africa" for the *Gazette*.

Spender also recalled that "in spite of his advanced age [Greenwood was sixty-nine] he wrote as well as ever, and seemed to have lost none of the skill and subtlety with which he had held the previous generation of serious readers."⁴⁰ But although Greenwood had signed on with the Liberal Party stalwart, Spender, he did not (or could he financially afford to) abandon Blackwood and his periodical. Throughout October 1899, Greenwood wrote to Blackwood, imploring him not to abandon him because of his pro-Boer views, and pointing out that his view "has more novelty and originality than throwing up our hats with the rest." And, said Greenwood, Blackwood could count on a string of letters from the "Looker-On" condemning the "needless" or "contrived war." Feeling that he might upset Blackwood, Greenwood proposed that he "shelve" his anti-Government, Pro-Boer bent, but believed that Blackwood would welcome a proposed portion of a Looker-On commentary mentioning the Chancellor of the Exchequer's "reported determination that all classes shall contribute to the cost of this very popular

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104; *The Times* mockingly referred to war with the Boer Republics as a "tea time" war. *The [London]Times*, October 11, 1899, p. 1.

³⁷ Greenwood to Blackwood, Oct. 3, 1899, Blackwood Archive.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, [mid] October, 1899, quoted in Robertson Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 323.

³⁹ Greenwood to Blackwood, Oct. 3, 1899, Blackwood Archive; J. W. Robertson Scott, *Life and Death of a Newspaper; an account of the temperaments, perturbations and achievements of John Morely, W. T. Stead, E. T. Cook, Harry Cust, J.L. Garvin, and three other editors of the Pall Mall Gazette* (London: Methuen, 1952), p. 322; Davey, *The British Pro-Boers*, p. 49.

⁴⁰ J. A. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics* (London: Cassell and Co., 1927), I, pp. 96-97.

war."⁴¹

But Greenwood, who felt so strongly about the Boer War, could not keep his vow and by the end of October, as events in South Africa turned against the British, the old editor lamented that he could "find no satisfaction of any sort in this deplorable war, except, of course, as it brings out once more the fine fighting qualities of our men." He was by this time absolutely convinced that "it is a needless war, a war that no sooner begins than it takes importance wh. its abettors had no idea of at the beginning of their labours, a war that can bring no honour. . . [a war that] *must* have a long trail of untoward consequences." In mid-November, Greenwood remarked to Blackwood that the British commander in South Africa, Sir Redvers Buller, was "as hard, as inflexible . . . a commander as Cromwell himself."⁴²

With the tempers of both men frayed by their view of the war, Greenwood offered Blackwood the idea of suspending his column until the war was over, though he concluded that

I don't believe that the war operations will be as tedious as many people thing. But in a few days we must have strong forces smashing away in several directions toward Pretoria, &, if our difficulties are confined to South Africa, we ought soon to see the end of the fighting part of them --- according to present prospects. You are very likely of the same mind.⁴³

The fact that Greenwood could not refrain from expressing his strong feelings on the war and that Blackwood was unable to share his views, prompted Greenwood to again suggest to the publisher in early December that he (Greenwood) "suspend these contributions till the war is over," which Greenwood felt might occur within two months. Blackwood initially seemed inclined to drop the "Looker-On" commentary, but demurred when he realized that Greenwood's column attracted much support among intellectuals. Nevertheless, Blackwood, "a diehard Tory," was unable to tolerate Greenwood's strong pro-Boer rhetoric and terminated the "Looker-On" commentary in his journal.⁴⁴

Relieved of his responsibilities to *Blackwood's Magazine*, Greenwood concentrated on writing for Spender, even editing the *Westminster Gazette* during Spender's illness in January 1900. As the new century dawned Greenwood had the satisfaction of seeing that the war in South Africa was "developing great difficulties and troubles," for, he wrote Spender, "behold the beauty of a war when [it is] the work of a Chamberlain. If it is to last six months more. . . the

⁴¹ Greenwood to Blackwood, Oct. 20, 21, 22 and 31, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1899, Blackwood Archives.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Blackwood Archives; George Meredith to Henry M. Hyndman, Oct. 31, 1899, Cline, p. 1338.

smashing of the Boers will not piece them together again; & that, we agree will be some consolation, though probably the only one."⁴⁵

Throughout his work with Spender, Greenwood continued to press for a peaceful settlement of the war in his articles for the *Gazette*. But as his relationship with Spender was strengthened, his association with Blackwood was weakening. Their differences over the war had greatly strained their relationship and communications between the two became ever more infrequent during the first years of the twentieth century, only resuming to a considerable level following the war's end in 1902.

By 1902, Greenwood was seventy-one and suffering from recurring episodes of gout. Hence he had decided to spend his remaining years quietly corresponding with such old friends as Meredith and Hyndman. The politics of the Boer War had taken its toll on Greenwood, and friends noted that by the end of the war, his fine sense of humor had faded, his health was in decline, and that his pessimism had increased, so much so that George Meredith remarked that a Greenwood visit meant "a feast of forebodings."⁴⁶

Gout-ridden and tired, Greenwood faded from the mainstream of British journalism by 1905. Still, a festive banquet in his honor in April 1905 brought out many British political, literary and journalism luminaires of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; though his opposition to the Boer War convinced his initial biographer J. W. Robertson Scott that "no minister of the [Conservative Arthur] Balfour Government attended . . . because of the editor's strong opposition to the Boer War and in particular his severe criticism of Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain." Afterward, a commentator in the British weekly, *The Speaker*, lauded Greenwood "as a staunch Tory . . . [but] he was before all things an Englishman, and the policy of Chamberlain did not appear to him English. It may be for that reason the Government boycotted the Trocadero [the club where the banquet was held]."⁴⁷

Frederick Greenwood's courage in sounding the alarm against the "horrible war" in South Africa between the Boer commandos and hard pressed British forces certainly elevated him above the din of many late 19th century jingoistic journalists.⁴⁸ He heard from Chamberlain and Rhodes their thoughts on the annihilation of the "nuisance" Boers and freely expressed his contempt for their complacency and sense of superiority. He strained friendships and strengthened others. He ruined his disposition and wore out his health, hanging only until 1909, when at 79 he succumbed. Remembered at the time as a "journalist of genius" or "unflinching honesty," Greenwood would probably have smiled broadly at the *Athenaeum's* obituary that recounted his Boer War opposition and then noted that,

⁴⁵ Greenwood to J. A. Spender, Jan 1, [1900], Sir James A. Spender Papers, B.L. Add. Ms. 46391, fol. 29.

⁴⁶ Meredith to Lady Ulrica Duncombe, June 10, 1902, Cline, iii, pp. 1450-51.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Diamond, "Tory Journalist: The Life and Work of Frederick Greenwood (1830-1909)," p. 587, and Robertson Scott, *The Story of The Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 435.

⁴⁸ Greenwood to Spender, Jan. 1, [1900], Spender Papers, B.L. Add. Ms. 46391, fol. 29.

“With the help of strong cigar and a cup of black coffee, Greenwood dashed off his articles at the last moment.” His vigorous stand was overall a victory for a man who was a large voice in the history of nineteenth-century British journalism.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Times*, Dec. 17, 1900, p. 11; “Mr. Frederick Greenwood,” *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1909, p. 2; “Frederick Greenwood,” *The Athenaeum*, No. 4287, Dec. 25, 1909, pp. 789-790.

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