

Works of Indiscretion

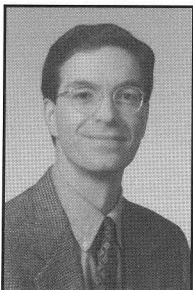
Violence Against the Democratic Press in Indiana during the Civil War

A systematic survey based on extensive research in Indiana newspapers and archival sources reveals that violence against the newspaper press, both Democratic and Republican, was widespread during the Civil War. Most violence was directed at Democratic newspapers and editors with Union soldiers perpetrating the violence and threats of violence in the majority of cases. Ideologically driven troops, disgusted by what they perceived to be "fire in the rear" disloyalty by Democrats, took violent steps to punish "treasonable" speech; and civilian authority was often powerless to stop soldiers, who were rarely called to account for their deeds. This article finds far more instances of violence, coercion, threats, and arrest than previous studies and points to the partisan nature of the press as a key factor in understanding why and how violence occurred.

At 7 p.m. on October 21, 1861, newly recruited enlisted men of the 43rd Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment, under the command of several of their officers, marched from their rendezvous camp, Camp Vigo, which was north of Terre Haute, through the town. Following a plan conceived earlier in the day by both officers and enlisted men, the soldiers halted in front of the office of the *Terre Haute Daily Journal*, a newspaper published in the town and aligned with the Democratic Party. Officers posted guards "at several points of access to the office, and formed a line in front of it, in the street, so as to prevent any interference" with their plan. Then, they entered the newspaper and smashed the printing presses, throwing the type and other portable items into the street. As one of the soldiers proudly stated, "it was a well-planned mili-

tary movement executed in a soldierly like-manner [sic] worthy of veterans. . . . The job was done with neatness, order, and dispatch, without any confusion or noise, more than the falling type, presses, etc." Their work completed, the troops "proceeded to several houses of ill-fame in the city and drove all the inmates [out] and threw all the furniture into the streets," according to a report of the incident. Having wiped out what they believed were the sources of moral corruption in town, the soldiers retreated to camp.¹

This was only one of many Indiana newspapers that were violently attacked and destroyed during the Civil War. Some were attacked by groups of soldiers, and others were "mobbed" by civilian crowds. Several newspaper editors were physically assaulted or beaten by individuals, both military and civilian. Newspapers were shut down and kept from publishing editions, their editors arrested by official order. Moreover, many newspapermen operated under threat of violence to themselves, their staff, and their presses. Historians have known about many of these incidents, especially those involving newspapers supporting the Democratic Party; several such events have been recounted in the historical literature.² However, many more incidents have been unknown and overlooked, and indeed, only a fraction of the incidents involving violence or threats of violence against the Indiana press have been noted. This article will show that there were a large number of violent attacks on the press, many more than previously noted.



STEPHEN E. TOWNE is assistant university archivist at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis. A version of this paper was presented to the *Symposium on the Nineteenth Century Press, the Civil War, and Free Expression at the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga in October 2003.*

Until recent years little attention has been paid to analyzing the phenomenon of violence against the press. Historians quite rightly have used accounts of attacks on the press as evidence of the ultra-partisan, highly charged political atmosphere in Indiana and elsewhere during the Civil War. Indiana was sharply divided during the war between two political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, that espoused radically different ideologies and solutions to the nation's ills. Rebellion and war greatly exacerbated the partisan differences between the two groups, and the war of words and ideas fought in the Indiana newspapers reflected political sentiments held by the wartime population. The many acts of politically motivated violence committed in the state during the war—murder, assault, riot, arson, and property destruction—illustrated the passions engendered by the conflict. A closer look at one type of violence—violence against the press—provides important insights into life in a war-torn northern state. A comprehensive catalog of acts of violence to Indiana papers will demonstrate the scope of the phenomenon.

Historian John Nerone's far-reaching work on the role of violent acts against the press and, more recently, mass media in the United States focused on the recurrence of such acts through the years. American history is replete with waves of violence towards the newspaper press and the subsequent mass communications media, which have often corresponded with periods of intense political division, wartime being among them. He has posited popular attitudes towards the role of the press as keys to understanding the sources for violent acts. In the past, a citizenry attuned and attentive to political speech often took action when community-imposed political boundaries were violated. Violent acts, he wrote, "might all be usefully considered as statements, often in dead languages, about the commonly agreed upon proprieties and boundaries of public discourse." In the period of the early Republic and the Civil War-era, the newspaper press acted as political mouthpieces, directing partisan political attacks on both political opponents and their ideas. Violent assaults on editors and their press were relatively common manifestations of public displeasure at utterances of "dangerous" ideas within the gamut of acceptable, albeit often furiously vituperative, partisan exchange, and the Civil War witnessed many such events. He has argued that the violence perpetrated during the war on the press was but part of the continuum of achieving a working relationship between the press and the public on acceptable speech.³

However, Nerone's contentions concerning press violence during the Civil War were based on imperfect data. In his study he counted 111 "mobbings" or acts of violence in the northern states that remained in the Union. He relied on Jon Paul Dilts' 1986 study of press violence in Indiana that concluded there were fourteen incidents in the Indiana. As this study demonstrates, that number is significantly low. Many more examples of mobbings, suppressions, assaults, and other forms of violence against the press occurred in Indiana during the Civil War. Dilts noted that he examined only thirty-seven Indiana newspapers in

1861-65 to arrive at his figure, admitting his was only a "limited historical test."⁴ Considering that more than 200 newspapers were published in Indiana during the war years, and that nearly half of them survive either in complete runs of issues down to one or two issues for a title, his sample is inadequate for documenting the scope of press violence.⁵ Moreover, while newspapers are the best sources for accounts of violence against the press, government archives, manuscript collections, and other records also yield important evidence of incidents. Thus, this comprehensive survey of Indiana sources reveals much more violence against newspaper expression than has been known previously.

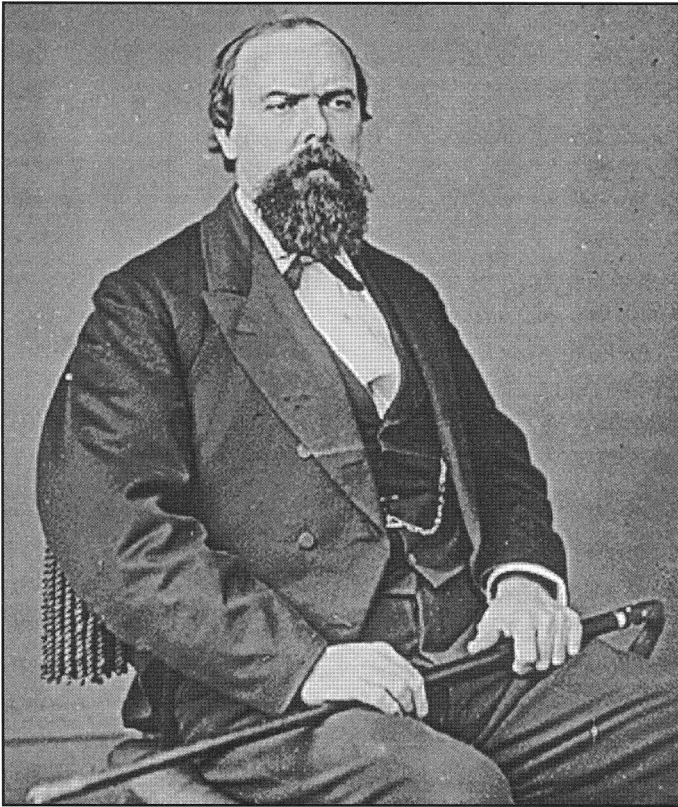
An analysis of the violent incidents also will challenge a number of assumptions held by journalism historians regarding the press during the Civil War. Journalism historians have for years portrayed the newspaper press in mid-nineteenth century America as exhibiting growing independence from partisan political organizations and leadership. Typically charting a path of increasing financial independence fostered by innovative news-collection techniques, the "penny press" pricing model, and the commodification of content, these scholars have attempted to anticipate contemporary journalism practices. They portray a continuous path of progress in journalistic practices up to the present day.⁶ Thus, they have often characterized nineteenth-century newspaper practices in terms that best apply to those of twentieth-century and now twenty first-century

professional journalism. However, this path of progress often distorts the historical picture, smoothing over the rough places of "unprofessional" conduct and practice that existed in the past. As this article demonstrates, the Indiana press operated fully in a roiling cauldron of partisan political activity, and its newspapermen were fully immersed and willing actors in the political affairs of the day. Violent manifestations of political conflict were merely the concomitant outgrowths of the press' full participation in politics.

This study of violence against the Indiana press is based on an examination of a wide variety of archival materials. Nearly all surviving Indiana newspapers from the Civil War years were consulted, as were archival records in the Indiana State Archives and the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Most notably, the records of Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton, who served throughout the war, and his administration provided references to several instances of violence. Likewise, U.S. Army records of the various military commands in Indiana offered information on military efforts to suppress press utterance. Manuscript collections, found in a variety of repositories, of soldiers, politicians, and other first-hand observers also provided useful evidence.

Thus, this article analyzes the phenomenon of violence against the Indiana press by identifying and enumerating the various types of violence committed. Civilian targeting of Democratic newspapers will be explored first. Soldiers' violence against Democratic presses and newspapermen will be taken up next, showing it was the main source of threats and attacks on the Democratic press. Attacks on the Republican and "War Democrat" press will be examined, too. Possible explanations for some of these violent inci-

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Indiana Governor Oliver Morton disliked the army's heavy-handed methods with citizens and lobbied to have several of the military leaders removed from their commands. He made several trips to Washington, which resulted in one general being demoted and another chastened. (National Archives and Records Administration photograph)

dents will be suggested.

Threats of violence, both overt and veiled, to Indiana newspaper editors who advocated a peaceful resolution to the conflict began almost immediately after the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861. Indiana erupted with martial ardor and indignation at the South's rebellious effrontery with the Republicans and the pro-war Democrats rallying to the flag and calling for a military solution to end the rebellion and bring the miscreants to submission. Some Democrats supported negotiation with the southern rebels to end the sectional conflict. On April 17, 1861, the *Goshen Democrat* echoed the call of local Democratic leaders for calm and moderation before embarking on war. On the next day, the cross-town Republican *Elkhart County Times* published an editorial saying it would not tolerate the tone of its neighbor. "The time for party strife has gone by, and he who failed to witness its departure is more than a fool, and not less than a traitor. . . . Everywhere the people are rallying for their country—traitorous sheets are either put down, silenced, or their tune turned." The editorial concluded with a hint to its readers: "How shall it be in Goshen?" Similarly, the *Weekly Democratic Herald* of Franklin reported that it had been "menaced with destruction" by local Republican "belligerents" who were incensed at its opposition to the policies of Lincoln.⁷ Democratic newspaper editors received anonymous threats in the first months of the war with some being hanged in effigy at Union meetings and rallies and denounced as traitors.

After a Union rally in Anderson in June 1861, a group of twenty or more enthusiastic Unionists went to the houses of persons considered to be sympathetic to the rebel cause and warned them to leave the county. In one case, they tied a rope around a man's neck and hanged him until his nose bled. The "mob" then attempted to sack the office of the *Anderson Standard*, the Democratic newspaper in town. However, cooler heads prevailed, and the newspaper survived.⁸

The first major military setback for Union forces—the rout of General Irvin McDowell's army at Bull Run in Virginia on July 21, 1861—prompted vows of redoubled earnestness and vengeance from Unionists and renewed calls for a negotiated peace settlement from Democrats. The hardened Unionist attitude also precipitated the first violent acts against Democratic newspapers in Indiana. The *Morgan County Clarion*, the Democratic newspaper in Martinsville, was the first such newspaper to be sacked by local citizens when, during the night of August 10, a "pack of men worse than thieves gutted" the office. Another Democratic newspaper, the *People's Friend* of Covington, was destroyed on August 30 by a "mob" led by a Republican hothead, Lyman Guinnip of nearby Danville, Illinois. A Republican paper in nearby Williamsport had shortly before highlighted the "moral putridity" and "intellectual rottenness" of recent columns in the *People's Friend* that had called for compromise and peace.⁹

While many Republican newspapers decried violence against their neighboring Democrats and Democratic papers at this time in the war, some newspapers attempted to plant the seed of suppressing Democratic newspapers in the minds of their pro-Union readers. In August 1861, the Republican *Delphi Journal* published an anonymous letter, signed "Vox Populi," denouncing its cross-town rival, the Democratic *Delphi Weekly Times*, for treason and sympathizing with the rebel cause. "The greatest mistake which we have made," wrote the author, "is in supposing that forbearance is the proper method of dealing with these home traitors. . . . [I]t has proved a failure [and] has only taught these traitors to be more bold and defiant than ever." *Vox Populi* blamed the *Times* for causing the "growth of disunion sentiment" in the community. "Fellow citizens," the writer concluded, "we must awake—our danger consists not in being too vigilant but in being too careless. . . . Self-preservation knows no regulations; it is our highest duty, and in it we are not bound to stop and inquire as to the propriety of this or that—the how and the why." The editor of the *Times* took these words to be a call to violence, but he taunted the *Journal* and indignant Carroll County Unionists in subsequent weeks when the paper had not been sacked.¹⁰ Another Republican editor wrote a private letter to the adjutant general of Indiana to complain of a neighboring Democratic paper. "[T]he *Blackford Democrat* [is] a sheet which is as traitorous in its tone as any in the Southern Confederacy," he said. "[I]t will be demolished as sure as fate, unless there is a change in its tone." The Republican editor asked the state official to call out the militia to put down "secession meetings" and, by implication, traitorous newspapers, rather than let local Unionists resort to "mob violence," which would create an "unhealthy muss."¹¹

Notwithstanding the threats of mob violence, Indiana civilians appear to have been reticent about taking violent action against the Democratic newspaper press. Civilian threats against Democratic newspapers were frequent, but most failed to follow through with their threats. Besides the two examples of the *Clarion* and the *People's Friend*, only nine other incidents of civilian violence against the Democratic press have been found, adding up to eleven incidents in the course of the war.

In late August, 1861, the *Connersville Telegraph* was “taken up short” by Unionist citizens, angered by its publication of “reasonable” resolutions produced at a local Democratic rally. A committee of local citizens called on the editor and “advised” him to suspend publication or see his newspaper destroyed. The editor shut the paper down. In that same month, a large crowd—part of a pro-Union political rally—gathered outside the house of the editor of the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*, J.J. Bingham, and demanded that he swear an oath of allegiance to the United States, which he did. In April 1862, on township election day, editor Samuel F. Winter of the *Huntington Democrat* was knocked out by a blow to the head from an axe-handle wielded by a local man, Cyrus Nave. In June, the editor of the *Bluffton Banner*, James G. Smith, was “thrashed” by a local Unionist, John Studabaker, for characterizing the war as a “d - - d abolition war.” In the following month, the former editor of the *Rushville Jacksonian*, E.C. Hibben, was menaced by a crowd at Shelbyville’s railroad depot, where he had gone to deliver a speech at a Democratic rally. He was forced to take an oath of allegiance to the national government or suffer dire consequences. On June 27, 1863, the editor of the *Richmond Jeffersonian*, James Elder, was clubbed over the head with a wrench by a railroad worker, John F. Beard, who months before had threatened leading anti-war Democratic congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. Later, on presidential election day in November 1864, the *Jeffersonian* was broken into by a crowd, which destroyed Democratic party election ballots printed there. Early in 1864, the editor of the *Petersburg Reporter* shot and wounded a local “abolitionist” in a duel for calling his paper a “filthy sheet.” The editor fled town, and the newspaper office was burned and destroyed. And in July 1864, the former editor of the *Starke County Press*, now working as a reporter for the *Chicago Times*, the leading Democratic paper in the Midwest, had scalding hot water dumped on him by a Valparaiso landlady incensed by his anti-war sentiments.¹²

Rather than take action themselves, however, civilians usually left the dirty work of attacking the Democratic press to the men in uniform. Soldiers were involved in numerous politically motivated violent incidents against newspapers in Indiana. The first documented incident was the beating up of the editor of the *Lafayette Argus* in early September 1861. A recruiting officer, who ascribed the loss of two recruits to anti-war editorials in the *Argus*, encountered the newspaperman on the street, knocked him down, and gave him a “terrible beating” with “his face battered to a jelly and both eyes in eclipse,” according to the *Lafayette Daily Courier*.¹³ Similarly, in the next month soldiers of the newly recruited 47th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment entered the office of the *Huntington Democrat* and gave its editor a “sound thrashing.”¹⁴ In August of that year the editor of the Democratic *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun* had visited the rendezvous camp of the 24th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment in that town, and while there his identity had been pointed out to the soldiers. A junior officer of the regiment approached the editor to warn him to leave the camp because there was “a great deal of feeling in the camp against” him. En route to the tent of the regimental commander, a group of seventy five to

100 soldiers descended on him. The interposition of the commander, Colonel Alvin P. Hovey, a former state Supreme Court justice and War Democrat, however, prevented an assault. Still, as the editor was leaving the camp the soldiers made another “rush” at him, but again they were restrained by their officers.¹⁵

While civilians did not participate in many instances of violence to Democratic newspapers and newspapermen, many pro-Union supporters actively encouraged the soldiers to take steps to punish their political opponents. In fact, many Republican, pro-Union papers called for the suppression of neighboring Democratic sheets when their editorial positions became too defiant and anti-war for their taste. The Republican editor of the *Randolph Journal* denounced the neighboring *Blackford Democrat* in August 1862 of being a member of a pro-rebel secret society known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. He wrote it was full of treason and should be suppressed, and its editor “ought to be strung up.” In response to a boldly defiant call not to submit to the draft, which was published in the Democratic *Decatur Eagle* in August 1864, the Republican *Daily Evening Gazette* of Indianapolis announced that such papers should not be permitted to be published. Commenting on an editorial published in the *Rushville Jacksonian* in May 1863, David S. Gooding, the pro-Union editor of the *Hancock Democrat*, wrote that

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the tone was “openly and unmistakably anti-war. . . . Whether General [Milo S.] Hascall will feel it his duty to notice this editorial, we have no means of knowing, but the Editor has certainly bid high for an arrest.” If military authorities had overlooked the *Jacksonian’s* editorial, the pro-war editor certainly tried to bring it to their attention. While Gooding merely complained about his rival’s perceived disloyalty, another pro-Union newspaperman followed a more decisive policy. Isaac Mattingly, editor of Plymouth’s *Marshall County Republican*, gloated over the arrest of the editor of the *Plymouth Weekly Democrat* in May 1863 for mocking the military district of Indiana commander Brigadier General Milo S. Hascall, and he revealed that he had sent a copy of the *Democrat* to Hascall’s headquarters. “It cost us one cent [postage] and no more, to have him arrested,” wrote Mattingly.¹⁶

Several Democratic newspaper editors believed that local Union supporters tried to incite soldiers to sack their offices and destroy their papers. Union troops had been sent to Fulton County in June 1863 to put down an outbreak of draft resistance. According to the editor of the *Rochester Sentinel*, the Democratic paper there, Union supporters in the town approached the soldiers and tried to induce them to attack the *Sentinel’s* office. Similarly, Logansport’s *Democratic Pharos* complained in January 1864 that pro-Union citizens of the town had asked troops home on furlough to “clean out” the paper. Two months later the *Sullivan Democrat* reported “a few of the infernal Abolitionists in this town have plotted the mobbing of our office” and attempted to incite soldiers to do the job. No violence occurred against these Democratic papers in these incidents, and local Union leaders adamantly denied any such attempts were made in all three cases.¹⁷

Civilian incitement of soldiers may have resulted in the de-

Table 1

Incidents in which Indiana Democratic newspapers and their staffs were threatened, attacked, arrested, or destroyed

Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel, April 15, 1861, threatened for perceived disloyal editorial.

Goshen Democrat, April 18, 1861, threatened by the *Goshen Elkhart County Times*.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, April 1861, threatened.

Plymouth Weekly Democrat, April 1861, received anonymous threatening letters.

Brookville Franklin Democrat, May 3, 1861, received anonymous threats.

Rochester Sentinel, May 1861, received threats from Winamac men.

Anderson Standard, June 1861, threatened by a Union rally crowd.

Lebanon Boone County Pioneer, July 1861, tar and feathers smeared on a door; threatened.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, July 1861, editor burned in effigy.

Martinsville Morgan County Clarion, Aug. 10, 1861, office sacked during the night.

Weekly Vincennes Western Sun, Aug. 17, 1861, editor menaced by soldiers at the camp of the 24th Indiana.

Delphi Weekly Times, Aug. 28, 1861. The *Delphi Journal* suggested it should be sacked.

Covington People's Friend, Aug. 30, 1861, sacked by a Union crowd.

Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel, Aug. 31, 1861. A Union crowd forced the editor to take an oath.

Columbia City News, August 1861, threatened by a crowd.

Connersville Telegraph, August 1861, suspended publication due to threats made by Unionists.

Hartford City Blackford Democrat, August 1861, threatened.

Evansville Daily Journal, August 1861, former editor threatened by a German crowd.

Lafayette Argus, Sept. 2, 1861, editor assaulted by a recruiting officer.

Huntington Democrat, September 1861, editor assaulted by troops of the 47th Indiana.

Terre Haute Daily Journal, Oct. 21, 1861, office sacked by troops of the 43rd Indiana.

Sullivan Democrat, Oct. 21, 1861, office threatened by troops of the 43rd Indiana.

Logansport Democratic Pharos, January 1862, threatened.

Huntington Democrat, April 7, 1862, editor assaulted.

Bluffton Banner, June 1862, editor assaulted.

Rushville Jacksonian, July 1862, former editor forced to take an oath of allegiance.

Hartford City Blackford Democrat, Aug. 15, 1862. A Republican newspaper urged that it should be suppressed.

Hartford City Blackford Democrat, October 1862, threatened by troops.

Rockport Democrat, Jan. 28, 1863, sacked by troops of the 5th Indiana Cavalry.

Mount Vernon Democrat, February 1863, sacked by troops of the 5th Indiana Cavalry.

Weekly Vincennes Western Sun, Feb. 15, 1863, editor verbally abused by troops of the 65th Indiana.

Richmond Jeffersonian, March 15, 1863, sacked by soldiers at the instigation of local citizens.

Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel, March 15, 1863, threatened by soldiers who sacked the *Richmond Jeffersonian*.

Columbia City News, March 1863, threatened by troops.

Plymouth Weekly Democrat, May 5, 1863, editor arrested by military authority and the paper suppressed.

Huntington Democrat, May 15, 1863. A Democratic crowd prevented the military arrest of an editor.

Columbia City News, May 19, 1863, suppressed by military.

Rushville Jacksonian, May 20, 1863, editor threatened with arrest after making a speech at the Indianapolis Democratic rally.

Bluffton Banner, May 1863, threatened with arrest and suppression by military authority.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, May 1863, threatened and possibly suppressed by military authority.

Hartford City Blackford Democrat, May 1863, threatened and possibly suppressed by military authority.

Knox Starke County Press, May 1863, threatened by military.

South Bend Forum, May 1863, threatened by military authority; suspended publication.

Warsaw Union, May 1863, threatened by military authority.

Winamac Pulaski Democrat, May 1863, threatened and suppressed by military authority.

Warsaw Union, May 1863, publisher assaulted by county provost marshal.

Rochester Sentinel, June 20, 1863, civilians attempted to incite the 71st Indiana to sack it.

Richmond Jeffersonian, June 27, 1863, editor assaulted by civilian.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, June 1863, sacked by the 71st Indiana.

Winamac Pulaski Democrat, Dec. 25, 1863, editor assaulted by a recruiting officer of the 128th Indiana.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, Jan. 21, 1864, office burned (sacked?).

Petersburg Reporter, January 1864, newspaper burned after the editor's duel and flight.

Logansport Democratic Pharos, January 1864, civilians tried to incite soldiers to sack it.

LaPorte Democrat, Feb. 15, 1864, sacked by soldiers of the 29th Indiana.

Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel, Feb. 24, 1864, attacked by soldiers.

Warsaw Union, February 1864, threatened by soldiers.

Weekly Vincennes Western Sun, March 1, 1864, sacked by soldiers of the 24th Indiana.

Princeton Union Democrat, March 1, 1864, threatened by soldiers of the 24th Indiana.

Evansville Times, March 1, 1864, attacked by soldiers of the 24th Indiana.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, March 26, 1864, sacked by soldiers of the 29th Pennsylvania.

Sullivan Democrat, March 1864, civilians tried to incite soldiers to sack it.

Brookville Franklin Democrat, April 16, 1864, attacked by soldiers.

Delphi Weekly Times, May, 1864, editor assaulted by soldiers from the 60th Indiana.

Warsaw Union, July 4, 1864, editor hung in effigy.

Chicago Times (reporter was the ex-editor of the *Starke County Press*), July 21, 1864, deliberately burned.

Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald, July 1864, sacked by civilians.

Decatur Eagle, August 1864. The *Indianapolis Gazette* suggested it should be suppressed.

Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel, Oct. 5, 1864, editor arrested by the military for complicity in conspiracy.

Lawrenceburg Register, Oct. 11, 1864, editor assaulted by soldiers on election day.

Lafayette Democrat, October 1864, editor arrested for draft evasion.

Decatur Eagle, Dec. 19, 1864, editor arrested by military authority for draft evasion.

Hartford City Blackford Democrat, January 1865, ex-editor arrested for draft evasion.

Bluffton Banner, April 1865, sacked by soldiers.

struction of the *Richmond Jeffersonian*. On the afternoon of March 15, 1863, a troop train loaded with 800 soldiers from Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, all paroled prisoners, stopped in the eastern Indiana town to await a connecting train. That night, 300 soldiers marched quietly to the newspaper's office and smashed it. Elder, the editor, afterwards lashed out at the three Republican, pro-Union newspapers published in Richmond, which he called the "Abolition press," blaming them for the destruction. He accused locals of mingling with the soldiers, plying them with whiskey, and inciting them to violence.¹⁸ In a similar incident, soldiers of the 29th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry regiment smashed the *Weekly Democratic Herald* at Franklin in March 1864 while their train was stopped in the town. The regiment also caused a riot at the Indianapolis railroad depot.¹⁹

Soldiers targeted Democratic newspapers for abuse and violence. Soldiers of the 65th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment, following officers' orders, hurled verbal abuse at the editor of the *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun* when he visited the regiment in Kentucky in early 1863. The *Decatur Eagle* was threatened by a mixed crowd of civilians and soldiers during a Union rally in August 1863, whipped up into a fury by the county provost marshal. J. Preston Foulke, publisher of the *Warsaw Union* and its poet-in-residence, received a "sound thrashing" from the Kosciusko County provost marshal in the spring of 1863 for writing poetical abuse about the officer. During an expedition to suppress resistance to the draft in Johnson County in June 1863, soldiers sacked the *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*. Rufus Magee, the editor of the *Winamac Pulaski Democrat*, had an altercation with an army recruiter on Christmas day in 1863.²⁰

Unlike most incidents, the sacking of the *Rockport Democrat* was widely reported and the circumstances surrounding it well documented. On the cold and snowy night of January 28, 1863, troopers from Company B of the 5th Cavalry, Indiana Volunteer regiment, who were stationed along the Ohio River to guard the state from guerrilla incursions, left their camp a mile from the Spencer County town and proceeded to demolish the *Democrat*, which was deemed by troopers of the regiment "a [Senator Thomas A.] Hendricks organ, full of treason." The cavalymen "broke the press all to pieces and scattered the types to the four winds in the street." A 5th Cavalry trooper wrote that the *Democrat's* "highest ambition was to malign and vilify the administration and government, and to extol to the skies the present Butternut [Democratic Party-controlled] Legislature." The soldiers "had stood the nuisance as long as they could, took it into their head to abate it . . . and entered the office and knocked it into pi."²¹

The presence of soldiers in Indiana during the war led to a number of violent attacks on newspapers perceived to be opposed to the war and the Lincoln administration. In both their private and public correspondence, soldiers frequently voiced their disgust at the so-called "fire in the rear," which was a reference to the anti-war, anti-administration sentiments of many northerners during the rebellion. One soldier wrote, "[T]here are few soldiers in the field who has [*sic*] not learned to hate butternuts."²² Believing such northern "Butternut" or "Copperhead" sentiments aided the southern cause by undermining northern confidence in victory and steeling the rebels' hopes of success, many soldiers believed eradication of the sources of what they viewed as pestilence and corruption was the only course to take. Thus, as the chief mouthpieces of the anti-war position, Democratic newspapers often were the primary targets for abuse and violence.

Table 2

Incidents in which Indiana Republican or pro-Union Democratic newspapers and their staffs were threatened, attacked, or destroyed

- Greenfield Hancock Democrat*, May 1861, office broken into by angry Democrat
- Rockville Parke County Republican*, July 13, 1861, Democratic demonstration outside the office.
- Centreville Indiana True Republican*, September 1861, received anonymous threats.
- Richmond Broad Axe of Freedom*, November 1861, editor assaulted by angry Republicans.
- Logansport Journal*, April 2, 1862, tornado damaged office.
- Kokomo Tribune*, June 22, 1862, tornado destroyed office.
- Worthington White River Gazette*, July 1862, received anonymous threats.
- Worthington White River Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1862, post office riot led by a soldier.
- New Albany Daily Ledger*, Nov. 28, 1862, editor arrested by the military for publishing troop movements.
- Liberty Weekly Herald*, April 1863, received anonymous threats.
- Connersville Union*, June 1863, editor assaulted by a Democrat.
- Bluffton Wells County Union*, Aug. 24, 1863, editor and his wife arrested for theft.
- Delphi Journal*, Sept. 5, 1863, editor fought a Democratic ex-army officer.
- Attica Ledger*, Jan. 16, 1864, fire destroyed office.
- Lafayette Daily Journal*, February 1864, building fire damaged office.
- Muncie Delaware Free Press*, March 19, 1864, threatened by Gen. Solomon Meredith.
- Winchester Journal*, March 1864, threatened by Gen. Solomon Meredith.
- Vevay Indiana Reveille*, July 1864, received anonymous threats.
- Lafayette Daily Courier*, Sept. 20, 1864, editor assaulted by a Democratic ex-army officer.
- Plymouth Marshall County Republican*, September 1864, Democratic crowd threatened office.
- Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 1864, editor ordered arrested by the military for publishing troop movements.
- Richmond Indiana True Republican*, April 6, 1865, editor assaulted by an ex-army officer.

Throughout the Civil War, several thousand Union soldiers remained in Indiana. Raw recruits, recruiting parties, details sent home to capture deserters, invalids, paroled former prisoners of war languishing in camps awaiting official exchange, prison camp guards, transient soldiers awaiting transport to the front or a camp, and the Indiana Legion (state militia) found themselves in the cities, towns, and countryside.²³ Collisions with anti-war Democrats were frequent and bloody. The most dangerous soldiers were veteran volunteers who had been furloughed home to rest and recuperate. In the winter of 1863-64, a concerted effort was made to reenlist the many thousands of volunteers whose three-year enlistments were soon to expire. These veterans, who were experienced, hardened, radicalized, and motivated to see the war through to victory, were desperately needed for the upcoming spring and summer offensives of 1864. As an added inducement to reenlist, volunteer regiments that "veteranized" were granted one month's furlough at home, and most Indiana regiments reenlisted and took advantage of the furlough to go home. As a result, in the first months of 1864, thousands of veterans boarded trains to travel to their Indiana homes.

While in the state, amid the reception festivities, political ral-

lies, family reunions, and weddings, groups of veteranized soldiers vented their anger and frustration on Democratic newspapers. Newspapers such as the *Sullivan Democrat*, the *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, the *Warsaw Union*, and the *Huntington Democrat* received threats of violence. The *LaPorte Democrat* in northern Indiana was the first to be attacked and destroyed during this phase when soldiers from the 29th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment, returning to the front, entered the office on February 15, 1864, and smashed its contents. Two days previous to the attack the *Democrat* had published an editorial, "Our Platform," which outlined editor Platt McDonald's stridently anti-Lincoln views.²⁴ Two weeks later on March 1, veterans of the 24th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment, gathering by rail after the completion of their furlough, went on a southern Indiana rampage, smashing the *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, attacking the *Evansville Times*, and attempting to sack the *Princeton Union Democrat*. In April, two furloughed soldiers attacked the office of the *Franklin Democrat* in Brookville, a newspaper that, in the view of a local Legion commander, "had abused them and their cause."

In the LaPorte and Vincennes incidents, the troops were leaving the state to return to the front and expected to avoid punishment. Curiously, other soldiers intervened to restrain the marauders. Troops stationed in Vincennes posted a guard around the newspaper office after the attack, and in Princeton soldiers of the 17th and 42nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiments (also on furlough) drove off the 24th Indiana before the men were able to enter the newspaper office. At Brookville, the local Legion battalion was drilling at the nearby fairgrounds because it was Saturday when gunshots were heard; the editor of the *Franklin Democrat* had shot and wounded one of the attacking soldiers. The Legion commander reported the Legion men, following his orders, "interposed, restored order and protected the property from destruction, to accomplish which we had to guard the property all night."²⁵

The most significant episode of military efforts to suppress Democratic newspapers in Indiana, and arguably in the North during the war, occurred in the spring of 1863. Instead of random and uncoordinated attacks on newspapers and editors by crowds and groups of soldiers, an official military policy of suppression of anti-administration speech and publication was promulgated by Brigadier General Milo S. Hascall during this period.²⁶ A West Point graduate and veteran commander, he had been appointed commander of the military district of Indiana on April 22, 1863, by Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Department of the Ohio. Burnside had instituted a military order, General Orders number 38, on April 13 announcing strict military punishment for anyone in his department (including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and parts of Kentucky) who voiced opposition to the government and sympathy for the rebels. "Treason

expressed or implied will not be tolerated," he announced. In a well-known episode, he suppressed the publication of the *Chicago Times* on June 1 for violating his order. On April 25, Hascall issued his own order, General Orders number 9, to amplify Burnside's order specifically for Indiana. He promised that speakers and newspapers counseling violations of laws and resistance to government authority, including General Orders number 38, would be held accountable by military authority.²⁷

Hascall's and Burnside's orders brought strong protests and ridicule from Democratic speakers and newspapers, noting the orders' sweeping scope and vagueness. Hascall acted promptly to demonstrate examples of what he considered to be unacceptable publications by arresting several Indiana newspaper editors, suspending publication of their newspapers, and threatening arrest of other editors. He first sent a detachment of soldiers on May 5 to arrest Daniel E. Van Valkenburgh, editor of the *Plymouth Weekly Democrat*, who had ridiculed General Orders number 9 and questioned his authority in civil matters. The editor was taken to Indianapolis, confined in the prisoner of war camp, Camp Morton, and sent to General Burnside's headquarters in Cincinnati, where he was interviewed by the general. He gave an oath of allegiance and promised "to conduct his paper on proper principles."²⁸

Other arrests of Democratic editors followed, including those of the *Pulaski Democrat* and the *Columbia City News*. Editors were ordered to retract statements published in their papers or suspend publication. The editors of the *South Bend Forum* chose the latter course and closed down. Other newspapers notified by Hascall by letter or telegram were the *Starke County Press*, the *Bluffton Banner*, the *Blackford Democrat*, the *Warsaw Union*, and the *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*. It is not known if these papers were forced to suspend publication. Hascall also sent a squad of soldiers to arrest the editors of

the *Huntington Democrat*. However, a crowd of armed Democrats, estimated to be between fifty and 200 men, gathered around the newspaper office and prevented the arrests.²⁹

Hascall's policy of arrests and threats of arrest succeeded temporarily in intimidating Democratic newspaper editors and public speakers. Outspoken editors backed away from their usually acidic attacks on the Lincoln administration and its policies and trod carefully with some counseling their readers to measure their words before speaking. Public speakers at Democratic Party rallies also toned down their rhetoric. The conspicuous display of federal troops in Indianapolis during the May 20 Democratic mass meeting achieved a dampening effect on partisan rhetoric at the event. When attendees departing on chartered trains fired their pistols and revolvers in the air in a display of defiance and anger, Hascall ordered troops to stop the trains and surround them, and hundreds of firearms were seized.³⁰

But Hascall's preeminence was short-lived. Indiana Republi-

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can Governor Morton was incensed by the heavy-handed methods of the army that usurped his authority in his state and lobbied to have both Burnside and Hascall removed from power. He understood that the army's policies of military arrests of civilians and ham-fisted measures only energized the Democrats and gave them more ammunition to criticize Republican management and policies. He traveled to Washington several times and succeeded in having Hascall removed from command in Indiana and Burnside chastened by his War Department superiors.³¹

Table 1 lists the known incidents of violence and threats of violence directed at Democratic newspapers in Indiana during the Civil War. At least seventy-four incidents occurred, of which at least thirty eight were acts of violence, arrest, coercion, or suppression. A total of thirty-four Democratic newspapers faced threats, and twenty-eight newspapers, representing 30 per cent of the total number of Democratic newspapers published in Indiana during the war, experienced violent attacks.³² Significantly, soldiers committed twenty eight of the thirty-eight acts of violence against the Democratic press, which was 74 per cent of the total number of violent assaults. It is likely that more incidents of violence against Indiana presses and editors occurred; some newspapers may have refrained from reporting attacks on themselves or their staff. An example is the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*. Indianapolis attorney (and future federal judge) David McDonald recorded in his diary what he saw looking out his office window on February 24, 1864: "A mob of soldiers attacked the Sentinel office; but I believe no harm was done." Neither the *Sentinel*, nor the Republican *Indiana State Journal* and the *Indianapolis Daily Evening Gazette*, which were the three main daily newspapers in the city, reported the incident. The Republican papers may have been embarrassed by the incident because it was more evidence for Democratic claims of military tyranny, and the Democratic paper may have wished to ignore the episode rather than draw further attention to itself and provoke additional ire from the troops in the city.³³

Many attacks occurred at times of great stress for northern Republicans and Unionists.³⁴ These included the humiliation of the defeat of the first battle of Bull Run in July 1861, the political battles of the spring of 1863, and again in the spring of 1864 amidst the lead-up to the summer offensives. During these periods many Democrats, including both speakers and newspaper editors, renewed calls for negotiated compromise and settlement with the southern rebels, a sentiment which was detested by ardent Unionists and especially the soldiers in the federal ranks.

1862 and 1865 saw less violence against Indiana's Democratic newspapers. This may be explained by the optimism felt in much of 1862 that the Union war effort was succeeding. Up to July, George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac was advancing on Richmond with great promise of success, and Union forces in the West under Henry W. Halleck, Ulysses S. Grant, Don Carlos Buell, David G. Farragut, and Samuel Curtis were cutting deep into Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas. Many Northerners,

both Democrats and Republicans, as well as leading political and military figures, believed the war would soon end. Similarly, in early 1865 northern sentiment was buoyed by the prospect of imminent victory.

Several Democratic newspapers received threats of violence and suffered actual violence on multiple occasions. The *Richmond Jeffersonian* was attacked three times, and the *Terre Haute Daily Journal* was threatened several times before it was sacked.³⁵ The *Columbia City News* was threatened twice and was suspended by military order on a third occasion, and the *Huntington Democrat* experienced four episodes of threats and violence. The *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*, however, appears to have been the newspaper that was most frequently targeted, facing perhaps seven episodes of open threats and actual violence. Other newspapers also received multiple threats and acts of violence. It is clear that many editors, their staffs, and the newspaper offices and presses operated under a constant threat of violence and destruction, and some Democratic editors carried re-volvers to protect themselves and were involved in shootings.³⁶

Why certain newspapers were frequently targeted for violence may be understood by noting the contexts in which the events occurred. Some were located near military camps and railroad stations where troops congregated; others operated in communities where Republicans made strong electoral showings; and heated political rivalries and personal animosities of long standing may have been factors in some incidents. In all cases, however, Democratic editors attracted the violent hostility of Republicans, Unionists, and soldiers for their outspoken, fiery rhetoric in opposition to government and military policies. Newspapers attracted retaliation for political speech deemed unacceptable by a segment of the community.

Given the ubiquitous and almost constant threat to themselves and their personal property, it is striking that Democratic editors continued to voice opinions that could touch off violent reactions. Undaunted newspaper vituperation in Indiana during the Civil War can best be explained by understanding that the editors in question were devoted partisan politicians, who were committed to the Democratic Party and its ideological positions. A study of Democratic editors who encountered violence and arrest during the war shows that many held political office, ran for office, campaigned on the stump for other Democratic candidates, or received appointments from political leaders as rewards for service to the party. Some served as state legislators, judges, or county officers; one was appointed by a Democratic governor to serve as director of a state prison; and another, Rufus Magee, served as minister to Sweden from 1885 to 1889 as a reward by Democratic President Grover Cleveland for decades of faithful party service.³⁷

Editors regularly proclaimed that they would not be overawed by threats of mobbings, assaults, or arrest by their partisan opponents. Beyond mere boasts and braggadocio, these pronouncements served as reassuring statements and rallying cries to the party faithful in their communities. Threats of violence and arrest served as badges of honor for good service to the party, and assault and

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arrest made martyrs of these ambitious partisan heroes. The editors, most of whom were young men in their twenties, published partisan newspapers for a partisan audience and were supported by a sharply party-divided readership, printing contracts from county and state government based on the political spoils system, and direct infusions of party cash. They were committed party men, and their newspapers served as party organs. J.J. Bingham, editor and publisher of the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*, came closest to the notion of the newspaper businessman and capitalist enterprise freed from party influence and control. He was the richest Democratic newspaperman in the state,³⁸ operated an efficient steam-powered press operation in the largest city, and enjoyed a wide daily circulation and large printing contracts. He also served actively as the state chairman of the Democratic Party during the war, and his newspaper proudly trumpeted its status as the chief organ of the state party and fought fiercely in the partisan trenches during the rebellion. The *Sentinel* was threatened several times by partisan crowds and ideologically-driven soldiers, and Bingham was arrested by military authorities in October 1864 for treasonable complicity in the secret plots to overthrow the government in the Midwest.³⁹

In sum, Democratic newspapers and their editors were not targeted for violence by soldiers and civilians alike because of their independence from party organizations and leaders. Rather, they were targets precisely because they were understood at the time by their contemporaries to be political tools, fully immersed in the political scene and essential to the dissemination of political opinion and ideology to the party rank and file.

Even Republican and pro-Union newspapers in Indiana were threatened with violence during the Civil War. Table 2 shows those newspapers that suffered threats, actual violence, and destruction. Twenty two such incidents have been identified. In several cases, Republican or pro-Union "War Democrat" papers and their editors were threatened by Democrats for expressing their political sentiments, but there are only two known cases when civilian Democrats took violent action against pro-Union newspapers. In May 1861, a local Democrat, angered by an account of his political activities in the *Hancock Democrat* (a "War Democrat" paper), broke into the newspaper office. Then, in June 1863, a Democrat assaulted the editor of the *Connersville Union* for an untoward characterization of him in the newspaper.⁴⁰

Curiously and ironically, soldiers and military authorities were the greatest threat to Republican and pro-Union presses. Nine incidents involving soldiers, ex-soldiers, or military authorities have been found. Two editors were ordered arrested by military commanders in the field for divulging military secrets in their newspapers. John B. Norman, editor of the "War Democrat"

New Albany Daily Ledger, was arrested in November 1862 and briefly held by order of Major General William S. Rosecrans for publishing information about troops movements. Similarly, W.R. Holloway, editor of the *Indianapolis Daily State Journal* (and not co-incidentally brother-in-law of Governor Morton) was ordered arrested by Major General William T. Sherman on a similar charge, but he avoided being detained by the military.⁴¹ An editor of the *Delphi Journal* became embroiled in a saloon brawl with a discharged army officer, a Democrat, over an unkind characterization of the latter in the paper. The editor pulled a gun and accidentally shot himself in the tussle. In November 1861, the editor of Richmond's *Broad Axe of*

Freedom was assaulted by a man who had been ridiculed in the paper for trying to purchase a commission in a military unit that was being recruited for service in the West. Also in Richmond, the editor of the *Indiana True Republican* was struck by an ex-officer for an unfavorable characterization.⁴² Finally, during the hotly contested Republican nomination battle between incumbent Congressman George W. Julian and challenger Brigadier General Solomon Meredith, the general in March 1864 threatened two pro-Julian papers, the *Winchester Journal* and *Muncie Delaware Free Press*, with destruction for opposing his candidacy. In campaign speeches in the two towns, Meredith threatened to send his old regiment, the 19th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment, to clean them out. The general did not follow through with his threat, and the newspapers survived.⁴³

Only four Republican newspapers suffered damage to their presses and plants, but none was damaged by human action. The *Kokomo Tribune* was destroyed by a tornado on June 22, 1862, and the *Logansport Journal* suffered damage from a tornado on April 2, 1862. The *Attica Ledger* was destroyed by an office fire in January 1864, and the *Lafayette Daily Journal* suffered the same accident a month later.⁴⁴

Thus, while in a few cases soldiers may have acted at the prompting of civilians of a community, none of the known incidents of military violence to Demo-

cratic newspapers involved civilian participation in the destruction or assaults. Instead, soldiers acted alone. When the troops of the 43rd Indiana regiment formed a cordon around the block where the *Terre Haute Daily Journal* office was located, they effectively blocked out participation by Republican citizenry as much as they prevented interference from angered Democrats. As a soldier who participated in the sacking noted, it was a military job done in a soldierly way. Though he confessed it was "to some extent a work of indiscretion," it was in his view an act of courage for which the thanks of the community, which had foolishly allowed the anti-government newspaper's presence, was due.⁴⁵ If, as Nerone argued, violent acts against the press served as attempts to "police" speech and establish community standards of expression, commu-

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nity members typically were not the ones to commit them in Indiana during the war. Seventy four percent of the violent acts committed against both Democratic and Republican newspapers involved soldiers, who were the agents of punishment, supplanting civilian action. While in some cases the soldiers resided in the communities where affected newspapers were published and circulated, soldiers functioned outside the realm of legal community standards of behavior by which most civilians abided. In the Indiana cases under study, soldiers acted in groups large enough to overwhelm civilians who kept law and order—sheriffs, town marshals, and constables—if ever these policemen made attempts to restrain soldier violence.⁴⁶ Civilians were typically powerless against these armed bands, and the soldiers were effectively above the law and rarely called to account for violations of civil order.⁴⁷

Indeed, with actions based on military orders such as General Orders 38 and 9 and the military commission trials of civilians in 1864, the army had created its own law for civilians and acted on it. Moreover, during the war the only authority that possessed enough power to contain and discipline an unruly soldiery was the army. While, as has been shown, soldiers restrained other soldiers from committing violence against civilian targets in a small number of cases, the large majority of cases saw no restraining influence exerted over military violence. Because soldiers were not disciplined for their actions, it is not unreasonable to conclude that higher military and political leadership was not opposed to violent retribution for anti-administration editorials. General Orders 38 and 9 were representative of the attitudes of the army, from generals to privates, who in the course of the war became increasingly alienated from civilian society and ascribed military setbacks to the weakness of northern civilians back home. The army's cry of "fire in the rear" signified a broad-based distrust of civilian resolve and commitment to putting down the rebels.⁴⁸ Such military efforts to suppress political speech critical of the administration's and the army's performance received encouragement from a large portion of the Republican populace in the North. Though they understood the political cost of legitimating Democratic cries of military oppression and government tyranny, many Republicans, including Republican newspaper editors, reveled in the suppression of Democratic speech.⁴⁹ Perhaps the visceral satisfaction of halting, even temporarily, the litany of newspaper abuse from their partisan opponents was too tempting to resist.

Union soldiers were conditioned to take violent steps to eliminate a perceived foe. As volunteer soldiers, they accepted violence as a proper means to bring about political change, and the war hardened them to the horrors of violence, destruction, and bloodshed. Men, who as civilians may have been reticent about breaking the law, seemed to feel no compunction when in uniform about smashing property and assaulting people, sometimes acquaintances, whom they viewed as the enemy. Hascall likened the suppression of Democratic newspapers to killing a threatening snake or eradicating a disease before it spread through a community.⁵⁰ It was a necessary act of self-defense.

In his study of the relationship between the press and President Lincoln, Robert Harper characterized his list of Democratic newspapers in Indiana that were sacked or destroyed—it totaled seventeen incidents—as imposing.⁵¹ Nonetheless, his list contained only a fraction of the number of Democratic newspapers that were threatened, sacked, or destroyed in the state. Similarly, Nerone's and Dilts' enumerations of press violence are rendered inadequate by this study. Analyses based on samples and partial

examinations of the archival sources do not reveal the serious scope of press violence during the Civil War, nor do they assist our understanding of the political culture that existed during the period.

Beyond merely counting the number of violent incidents, it is imperative to challenge basic historical assumptions about the press, how it functioned, and its role in the community and political culture.⁵² Was Indiana's wartime experience of widespread violence against the press an anomaly? Did attacks on the Democratic press in other states reach similar proportions? Judging from the Indiana experience, Nerone's totals for press violence in other northern states during the Civil War were undoubtedly undercounted.⁵³ Systematic examinations of press violence in other northern states during the war, employing the full range of available archival sources, are needed to reevaluate our understanding of the phenomenon of violent attack on political speech in United States history.

NOTES

¹ This is taken from the report of the investigating committee, which was published in the *Terre Haute Daily Wabash Express* on Oct. 28, 1861, and the word "job" was in italics in the original. A vivid eyewitness account of the sacking of the *Journal* by an anonymous soldier appeared in the *Greencastle Putnam Republican Banner* on Oct. 31, 1861. In researching this article the author did not record headlines to articles or news items that appeared in Indiana newspapers. However, in many cases in Indiana newspapers of the period, headlines were not employed for all news items. Many local news items appeared without a headline or title.

² Works that touch on the suppression of the Democratic press in Indiana during the Civil War include Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War* (1949; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978); Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880: The History of Indiana*, vol. III (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1965); Gilbert R. Tredway, *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana*, vol. XLVIII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1973); Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Frank L. Klement, *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984); Lorna Lutes Sylvester, "Oliver P. Morton and Hoosier Politics During the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1968); Craig D. Tenney, "Major General A.E. Burnside and the First Amendment: A Case Study of Civil War Freedom of Expression" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1977); and Jon Paul Dilts, "Testing Siebert's Proposition in Civil War Indiana," *Journalism Quarterly* 63 (1986): 365-68. Works that cover the suppression of the press in the United States during the war generally include James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," *American Historical Review* 23 (January 1918): 303-23; James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln*, rev. ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951); Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951); Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Jeffery A. Smith, *War and Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); John F. Marzalek, *Sherman's Other War: The General and the Civil War Press* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1999); William E. Huntziker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865* (Westport, Conn. Greenwood, 1999); and Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004). Two important works on specific cases of suppression of the press are Craig D. Tenney, "To Suppress or Not to Suppress: Abraham Lincoln and the *Chicago Times*," *Civil War History* xvii, 3 (1981): 248-59; and Menahem Blondheim, "Public Sentiment is Everything: The Union's Public Communications Strategy and the Bogus Proclamation of 1864," *Journal of American History* 89, 3 (December 2002): 869-99.

³ John Nerone, *Violence Against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 111-27, 214. Violence in United States history generally has received increased attention in recent years. Important works on the subject include Paul A. Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); David Grimsted, *American Mobbing, 1828-1861: Toward Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford Univer-

sity Press, 1975); Richard Maxwell Brown, *No Duty to Retreat: Violence and Values in American History and Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

⁴ Dilts, "Testing Siebert's Proposition in Civil War Indiana," 365-66.

⁵ John W. Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1982), identifies 226 Indiana newspapers that were published during the Civil War. This number takes into account the numerous name changes, sales, and removals of newspapers that occurred during the war. For example, the *Newton Chronotype*, published at Kentland, became the *Newton County Union* and later the *Newton County Gazette* within the space of three years, 1863-1865. I count this as one newspaper in the total of 226. In many cases, however, newspapers existed only briefly, succumbing to poor circulation, loss of subsidies, rising paper costs, and war fever on the part of editors and staff who closed shop to enlist in the war.

⁶ See, for example, Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962); Bernard Weisberger, *The American Newspaperman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955); Huntziker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865*; Lorman Ratner and Dwight L. Teeter, Jr., *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Hazel Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); and Stephen V. Bird, "Heralding Economic and Political Independence: Danville, Virginia's Newspaper Editors Adopt James Gordon Bennett's Penny Press Model During the Civil War," *American Journalism* 20 (Fall, 2003): 55-82.

⁷ See *Goshen Democrat*, April 17, 1861; *Goshen Elkhart County Times*, April 18, 1861; and *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*, April 25 and 18, 1861.

⁸ For examples of threats, see *Plymouth Weekly Democrat*, April 25, 1861; *Rochester Mercury*, May 23, 1861; and *Lebanon Boone County Pioneer*, July 5, 1861. Examples of newspapers whose editors were burned in effigy were the *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*, the *New Albany Daily Ledger*, and the *Warsaw Union*. For the *Anderson Standard* account, see the *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald* of July 4, 1861.

⁹ See *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald*, Aug. 15, 1861; *Lafayette Daily Courier*, Aug. 31, 1861; *Lafayette Weekly Argus*, Sept. 5, 1861; *Lafayette Daily Journal*, Sept. 4, 1861; and *Williamsport Warren Republican*, Aug. 1, 1861. Nerone, in *Violence Against the Press*, 227, erroneously stated the *People's Friend* was sacked on Aug. 20, 1861. The *People's Friend* of Nov. 29, 1862, confirmed the paper had been destroyed in the previous year by a "mob" led by Guinnip. He later played a prominent part in a deadly riot in Danville, Ill., in August 1863, in which he shot a man for wearing a butternut pin, a political symbol of opposition and defiance against the Lincoln administration. For an account of the riot, see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 3, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 722-23.

¹⁰ See *Delphi Journal*, Aug. 28, 1861; and *Delphi Weekly Times*, Aug. 31 and Sept. 14, 1861.

¹¹ J.F. Duckwall to Lazarus Noble, Aug. 3, 1861, in Adjutant General of Indiana records, box A4017 024596, folder 11, Indiana State Archives, Indiana Commission on Public Records, Indianapolis.

¹² See *Centreville Indiana True Republican*, Sept. 5, 1861; *Brookville Franklin Democrat*, Sept. 6, 1861; *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*, Sept. 2, 1861; and *Huntington Democrat*, April 10, 1862. Nave's assault may have been the product of intra-party feuding. See *Huntington Indiana Herald*, July 10, 1862. Smith had Studabaker arrested but he was released by a justice of the peace. Studabaker later sued Smith in the Kosciusko County circuit court for "several grossly libelous articles" and won a judgment of \$3,000. See the *Warsaw Northern Indianian*, March 10, 1864; *Rushville Jacksonian*, July 30, 1862; *Brookville Franklin Democrat*, July 3, 1863; *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, Feb. 6, 1864; Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography*, 360; *Crown Point Register*, Aug. 11, 1864; and *Huntington Democrat*, Nov. 17, 1864. The spelling of Centreville in this article is correct. The town did not officially adopt the current spelling of Centerville until 1893.

¹³ *Lafayette Daily Courier*, Sept. 2, 1861. See the *Lafayette Weekly Argus*, Sept. 5, 1861, for another version of the incident.

¹⁴ *Terre Haute Daily Wabash Express*, Oct. 15, 1861. The report suggested that the commander of the regiment, Col. James R. Slack, accompanied the troops in their assault on Winter.

¹⁵ See *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, Aug. 24, Aug. 31, and Sept. 7, 1861.

¹⁶ See *Winchester Randolph Journal*, Aug. 12, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Gazette*, Aug. 31, 1864; and *Decatur Eagle*, Aug. 30, Oct. 6, Dec. 23, 1864, and Jan. 6, 1865. The *Eagle's* editor, Daniel J. Callen, announced he had been listed on draft enrollment lists in three different counties and drafted in two of them by Union officials who disliked his editorial stance. He was eventually arrested by military authorities for draft evasion but escaped to Windsor, Ontario, where a U.S. government spy reported that he mingled with anti-government plotters. See [illegible name] to Col. B.H. Hill, Jan. 6, 1865, Record Group 110, E5903, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Also see *Greenfield Hancock Democrat*, May 14, 1863; and *Plymouth Marshall County Republican*, May 21, 1863.

¹⁷ See *Rochester Chronicle*, June 25, 1863; *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, and Feb. 10, 1864; and *Sullivan Democrat*, March 10, 1864. See denials in *Logansport Journal*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, 1864.

¹⁸ *Richmond Jeffersonian*, March 20, 1863. Elder's claim that the soldiers were incited to attack the paper was bolstered by a letter published in the *Terre Haute Daily Journal* purportedly written by a participating soldier. For that account, see the *Covington People's Friend*, April 8, 1863. See also the *Centreville Indiana True Republican*, March 19, 1863, the editor of which believed that the soldiers had been incited to violence. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* pointedly denied a rumor that the same soldiers had planned to sack the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel* as the train passed through the city. See the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 17, 1863.

¹⁹ See Harper, *Lincoln and the Press*, 231. He quoted the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel* as saying the *Franklin Weekly Democratic Herald* had been sacked by soldiers a few weeks prior to this incident. The *Shelbyville Shelby Volunteer* on Jan. 28, 1864, reported only that the *Democratic Herald* burned on Jan. 21, 1864, suffering \$900 in damages.

²⁰ See *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, Feb. 28 and March 21, 1863; *Columbia City News*, March 24, 1863; and *Decatur Eagle*, Aug. 15 and 22, 1863. For records pertaining to the assault on Rufus Magee, editor of the *Winamac Pulaski Democrat*, see 128th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment Correspondence, Indiana State Archives; *Warsaw Northern Indianian*, May 7, 1863; and *Shelbyville Shelby Volunteer*, June 18, 1863.

²¹ See George Cox to Thomas B. Redding, Feb. 6, 1863, in Thomas B. Redding Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. See also *Centreville Indiana True Republican*, Feb. 5 and 12, 1863. Pi was a term, often used by printers, describing mixed or disordered type. Troops of the 5th Indiana Cavalry, stationed in Posey County, also destroyed the *Mount Vernon Democrat* at night in February 1863. See *Sullivan Democrat*, Feb. 26, 1863, quoting the *Princeton Union Democrat*. Thomas A. Hendricks, who earlier that month had been selected a U.S. senator by the newly Democratic-controlled Indiana General Assembly, was the leading Democratic critic in Indiana of the Lincoln administration's war policies.

²² Donald F. Carmony, ed., "Jacob W. Bartmess Civil War Letters," *Indiana Magazine of History* LII (March 1956): 67.

²³ For example, troop strength statements for the military district of Indiana for April and May, 1863, showed nearly 3,000 and 3,400 troops respectively in the state, exclusive of the Indiana Legion. See *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 23, part 2, 299, 379-80. In an editorial, the *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel* of April 24, 1863, questioned the need for 3,000 to 5,000 troops in the state. It suggested the governor could call out the Legion in case of an emergency, but there was no need for military power to aid civil authorities.

²⁴ See Harper, *Lincoln and the Press*, 230; and *LaPorte Democrat*, Feb. 13, 1864.

²⁵ See Harper, *Lincoln and the Press*, 230; and *Brookville National Defender*, April 22, 1864. See the report of Wilson Morrow to Laz Noble, Dec. 5, 1864, in Franklin County Correspondence file, Indiana Legion Records, box 3, Indiana State Archives.

²⁶ For a longer and more detailed treatment of the Hascall episode, see Stephen E. Towne, "Killing the Serpent Speedily: Governor Morton, General Hascall, and the Suppression of the Democratic Press in Indiana, 1863," *Civil War History* (forthcoming issue). For biographical information on Hascall, see Stephen E. Towne, ed., "West Point Letters of Milo S. Hascall, 1848-1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XC (September 1994): 278-94.

²⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 27, 1863. See also Tenney, "To Suppress or Not to Suppress."

²⁸ See *Plymouth Weekly Democrat*, April 30, 1863; Hascall to Editor of *Plymouth Weekly Democrat*, May 4, 1863, Record Group 94, General's Papers, General Ambrose E. Burnside Papers, box 7, National Archives; and Burnside to Hascall, May 6, 1863, in Record Group 393, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Part III, E 223, volume 87D, National Archives.

²⁹ See *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, June 3, 1863, quoting the *Pulaski Democrat*,

Columbia City News, May 26, 1863; and *South Bend Forum*, May 2, May 9, and May 23, 1863. See also *The War of the Rebellion*, series 2, vol. 5, 723-26; *Columbia City News*, June 2 and 9, 1863; *Huntington Democrat*, May 28 and June 4, 1863; *Fort Wayne Dawson's Daily Times and Union*, May 7, 1863; and *Huntington Indiana Herald*, June 10, 1863.

³⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Evening Gazette*, May 20 and 21, 1863. See three telegrams from Hascall to Burnside, May 20, 1863, box 7, Burnside Papers, National Archives.

³¹ See *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 23, part 2, 369; Morton to Lincoln, May 30, 1863, in Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, microfilm roll 53, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See also *The War of the Rebellion*, series 2, vol. 5, 723-26; and Stanton to Morton, June 3, 1863, in Governor Oliver P. Morton Telegraphic Correspondence, vol. 16, 209, Indiana State Archives.

³² Ninety-three Democratic newspapers were published in Indiana during the Civil War. See Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography*.

³³ See Donald O. Dewey, ed., "Hoosier Justice: The Journal of David McDonald, 1864-1868," *Indiana Magazine of History* LXII (September 1966): 181.

³⁴ See Frederick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952). See also Dilts, "Testing Siebert's Proposition in Civil War Indiana," 365-68.

³⁵ The *Terre Haute Daily Journal's* "existence had been threatened frequently by the citizens of Terre Haute and by the other regiments which formed in Camp Vigo. The 43rd, alone, had the courage to put in execution, what all other good citizens desired." See the anonymous letter in the *Greencastle Putnam Republican Banner* of Oct. 31, 1861.

³⁶ See *Delphi Weekly Times*, Sept. 10, 1864; *Delphi Journal*, Sept. 14, 1864; and *Brookville National Defender*, April 22, 1864.

³⁷ See Bruce Bigelow and Stephen E. Towne, "Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana: The Polls and the Press," *Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences* v (2001): 71-82. Perhaps as an indicator of partisan devotion, one former editor of an Indiana newspaper, Stephen R. Smith of the *Jackson Union* of Brownstown, fought as a Missouri guerrilla. He was captured, tried, and executed by federal military authorities in 1864. See *Seymour Times*, Oct. 27, 1864; and Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 145, 290-91.

³⁸ Bigelow and Towne, "Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana," 76.

³⁹ Stamp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War*, 249.

⁴⁰ See *Greenfield Hancock Democrat*, Aug. 21, 1861; and *Richmond Quaker City Telegram*, June 20, 1863.

⁴¹ See *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Nov. 29 and Dec. 2, 1862; and Harper, *Lincoln and the Press*, 331-32. The military commander in Indiana assured the War Department that an effort to trace the soldier, whose comments appeared in the *Journal* that revealed troop movements, was unavailing, effectively shielding Holloway. See telegram, Gen. Alvin P. Hovey to Charles A. Dana, Nov. 14, 1864, Record Group 393, Part III, E218, vol. 2, 96, National Archives.

⁴² See *Delphi Weekly Times*, Sept. 12, 1863; *Delphi Journal*, Sept. 9 and 16, and Oct. 7, 1863; *Richmond Broad Axe of Freedom*, Nov. 9, 1861; *Centreville Indiana True Republican*, Nov. 14, 1861; and *Richmond Indiana True Republican*, April 6, 1865. The *Indiana True Republican* moved from Centreville to Richmond in 1865.

⁴³ See *Winchester Journal*, April 1, 1864; and *Muncie Delaware Free Press*, March 24, 1864.

⁴⁴ See *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, June 25, 1862; *Logansport Journal*, April 5,

1862 and Feb. 27, 1864; and Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography*, 111.

⁴⁵ *Greencastle Putnam Republican Banner*, Oct. 31, 1861.

⁴⁶ As noted above, when a crowd of armed Democrats prevented the suppression of the *Huntington Democrat* in May 1863, this was the only example of civilian action preventing military action against a Democratic newspaper. Large groups of armed men assembled and threatened troops in Indiana on several occasions. Notable examples were the hundreds of Democrats assembled in Sullivan County in June 1863 to block the arrest of deserters, and the assembly of hundreds that surrounded Rensselaer to prevent the arrest of a Democratic political speaker in September 1863. However, in most cases military force met with little opposition. See Robert Churchill, "Liberty, Conscription, and a Party Divided: The Sons of Liberty Conspiracy," *Prologue* 30 (Winter, 1998): 297.

⁴⁷ The soldiers of the 43rd Indiana regiment had part of their first month's pay docked to defray repair costs for the *Terre Haute Daily Journal*. See *Terre Haute Daily Wabash Express*, Oct. 24, 1861. After the Democratic-controlled Indiana General Assembly made it a prominent issue, the 5th Indiana Cavalry regiment was forced to leave Indiana's Ohio River border counties and was shipped to the southern front as punishment for their destruction of the *Rockport Democrat* and *Mount Vernon Democrat*. See *Brevier Legislative Report*, vol. VI (South Bend, Ind.: W.H. and Ariel E. Drapier, 1863), 119, 149, 163, 200. The 5th Cavalry's actions greatly embarrassed Governor Morton. See an undated document in his handwriting in the John Brayton papers, Manuscript Section, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. See also 90th Indiana Volunteers, 5th Cavalry Regiment Correspondence, Indiana State Archives.

⁴⁸ Several studies of Northern soldiers' ideological formation have emerged in recent years. See Joseph Allan Frank, *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998); James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 222-23.

⁴⁹ For examples of Republican calls for military action against Democratic newspapers, see the letter by "J.H.P." in the *New Castle Courier*, May 14, 1863; *Lafayette Daily Journal*, May 25, 1863; *Marshall County Republican*, May 21 and June 11, 1863; *Kokomo Howard Tribune*, March 26, 1863; *Logansport Journal*, Feb. 28, 1863; *Delphi Journal*, Feb. 11, 1863; and *Angola Steuben Republican*, March 7, 1863. This evidence runs counter to assertions by some scholars that Republicans protested military repression against Democratic newspapers. See Donna Lee Dickerson, *The Course of Tolerance: Freedom of the Press in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1990), 179; and Michael Kent Curtis, *Free Speech, 'The People's Darling Privilege': Struggles for Freedom of Expression in American History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000), 6, 316.

⁵⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 6, 1863.

⁵¹ Harper, *Lincoln and the Press*, 229.

⁵² For an important study of the role of newspapers in partisan political culture, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).

⁵³ Nerone's list of "mobbed" newspapers omitted several in other northern states that were attacked or suppressed by Indiana troops. For example, the *Delphi Journal* on Dec. 23, 1863, printed a soldier's letter telling of the 3rd Indiana Light Artillery Battery's attack on the *DuQuion (Ill.) Mining Journal* on Dec. 15. While passing through the town by rail, soldiers happened to read the paper, condemned it, and attacked the office, assaulted the editor, threw the type into the street, collected the half-printed sheets, and returned to the train. This title did not appear on Nerone's list. Likewise, newspapers suppressed by Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1862 and Maj. Gen. Robert H. Milroy in Wheeling, W.Va., in 1863 were omitted.