MOONLIGHT AND MAGNOLIAS, CONFEDERATES, AND KLANSMEN: A STUDY OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE SOUTH IN *HARPER'S WEEKLY, GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK,* AND THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* FROM 1857 TO 1870

by

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(Under the Direction of Janice Hume)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the representations of the South and the southern people in northern based magazines *Harper's Weekly*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, and *Saturday Evening Post* from 1857 to 1870. Two hundred thirty-seven articles from all three publications as well as seventy-eight illustrations from *Harper's Weekly* were examined to find common themes and representations of the South. The representations of the South were analyzed using the theoretical perspective of internal orientalism. This study found that the representations of the South changed during the Civil War era. In addition, the representations of the South revolved around political issues, namely slavery and secession. The study found that during the years of 1857 to 1870 the South was represented as the other and these representations were an example of internal orientalism.

INDEX WORDS: South, Southern, Southerners, Confederacy, Slavery, African-Americans, Ku Klux Klan, Civil War, Secession, Emancipation, Rebels, Freedmen, Reconstruction, Representation, Magazines, *Harper's Weekly*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Saturday Evening Post*, Press, Orientalism

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Tom and Linda Myers who supported me throughout graduate school and helped me to realize my goals as a student and a person. Without their advice and encouragement I would be where I am today academically, professionally, or personally, and I truly thank them for their love and support.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For generations the South has been characterized as being a unique region within the United States. However, this southern distinction has at times been hard for scholars to grasp. James McBride Dabbs comments on this difficulty of defining the South. He writes, "We can sense things we cannot define, and it may be that no one can define satisfactorily the Southern type."[1] This limitation withstanding, scholars have noted the South is a region markedly different from the rest of the United States. James Cobb writes there is "a well established tendency among northern whites to see the South as a primitive and exotic land distinctly apart from the rest of America." [2] As Cobb suggests, the South has long been understood to be its own entity.[3] John Egerton argues the idea persists, even in academic circles, that the South is a truly unique region:

> Nobody convenes New North conferences, or symposiums on the Contemporary Midwest, or seminars on the Mind of the East; it is only Southerners who seem to have

[1] James McBride Dabbs, *Who Speaks for the South?* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company Inc., 1964), viii.
[2] James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1.
[3] Ibid., 1-2.

> something elusive and indefinable in the psyche that compels them to think of themselves as different from other Americans.[4]

Cobb characterizes southern studies as focusing on the "un-American historical experience of the South."[5] This study seeks the historical origins of this concept by exploring changing press representations of this "un-American" region known as the American South in years surrounding the Civil War.

Defining the Region

While this study defines the South as the eleven states of the old Confederacy (Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas), a broader question of when the South began must be asked. The answer is not merely geographic location, because the South's geography is intertwined with the politics of the region. Scholars argue that the South's origins are not rooted in the Civil War, but in the colonial era. Alan Gallay even argues the American South began well before the colonial period.[6] He writes, "When can we speak of a southern voice, and who can be defined as southern?...It is my contention that the South existed long before the arrival of Europeans."[7] Cobb argues the birth of the South occurred before the Revolutionary years. He writes:

> This process of North-South divergence had actually gotten under way by the midpoint of the seventeenth century, as institutionalized reliance on slave labor and plantation-based production of tobacco for export combined to send the South 'down a path never followed in temperate colonies in the North.'[8]

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[4] John Egerton, *The Americanization of Dixie: The Southernization of America* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1974), 14.
[5] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 2.
[6] Alan Gallay, *Voices of the Old South: Eyewitness Accounts 1528-1861*, (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press), xxvi.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 9.

John Boles argues the beginning of clearly distinct North-South ideologies and politics began around 1820 when the question of slavery expansion was seriously contested.[9] He writes prior to the 1820s the sectional conflict in America was not as pronounced. Charles S. Sydnor argues 1819 serves as an important year in which the South was distinctive regionally but national in its politics.[10] He writes, "Though the South was at peace with the nation on political issues, it was unlike it in many phases of its economic and social life."[11] However, by the end of the first two decades of the nineteenth century the definition of the South changed. It was in this era that the North and South had major conflicts over tariffs, states' rights, and slavery, further defining the South as a different region.[12]

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s the United States government was able to keep the Union together through a series of compromises over the expansion of slavery, but this willingness to compromise began to erode.[13] The expansion of slavery into the West, particularly California, placed the nation in a precarious situation, but this, too, was eased by the Compromise of 1850.[14] "Across the country the decreasing tension was audible; most Americans, North and South, rejoiced," according to William Cooper and Thomas E. Terrill.[15] However, the peace was short lived. The breakdown between the North and South accelerated during the 1850s due in part to the dissolution of the Whigs, a major political party.[16] Boles writes, "The national political parties, with candidates and supporters from all regions, had

[9] John Boles, *The South Through Time* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1955), 271-288.
[10] Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism 1819*-1848, vol. V of *The History of the South*, eds Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louiseiana State University Press, 1948).
[11] Ibid., 2.
[12] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 271-288.
[13] William J. Cooper and Thomas E. Terrill, *The American South*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc., 1996).
[14] Ibid., 293-294
[15] Ibid., 295
[16] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 294.

served an essential unifying role in the decades before 1850."[17] This dissolution of the Whig Party coupled with the sectional tensions over slavery drew the North and South further apart.

Regional distinctiveness has long been associated with the South's unique racial composition. Historian Ulrich B. Philips wrote in 1928 the South was:

> A land with a unity despite its diversity, with a people having common joys and common sorrows, and, above all, as to the white folk a people with a common resolve indomitably maintained—that it shall be and remain a white man's country.[18]

Scholars have maintained that southern racial conflicts are deeply rooted in antebellum slavery. Carl N. Degler writes, "It was the South, after all, that provided a firm beginning for slavery."[19] He writes in the South slavery became "a seminal ingredient in the evolution of American cultural life."[20] David L. Carlton goes further in his analysis of why slavery was integrally tied to southern identity.[21] He writes:

> The southern states of the American union were those for which Negro slavery was central to both economy and society and that after emancipation preserved white supremacy in its most elaborate American forms.[22]

Cobb suggests the institution of slavery mobilized non-southerners to view the South as different from the rest of the United States.[23] He argues this characterization of the slaveholding South as being different was clearly evident in northern diaries and letters in the early nineteenth

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Ulrich B. Philips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *The American Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (1928), 31., JSTOR, via, www.jstor.org.
[19] Carl N. Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis: The South, the North, and the Nation," *Journal of Southern History* 54, no.1 (1987), 6, JSTOR, via, www.jstor.org.
[20] Ibid., 12.
[21] David L. Carlton, "How American is the American South?," in *The South as an American Problem*, eds. Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995).
[22] Ibid., 33.
[23] James Cobb, *Away Down South*, 14-16.

century.[24] He writes of one New Englander who "attribute[d] his extreme discomfiture in the slave South to 'a certain staple of New England which I had with me, called conscience.'"[25] C. Vann Woodward writes abolitionists took a hardened stance toward slavery that had religious overtones.[26] He writes, "To the incorrigible radical [abolitionists]…slavery was a sin and that was that, and the only thing to do about sin was to stop sinning."[27]

Soon this debate over slavery encapsulated the conceptualization of the South as a whole. The idea of slavery as uniquely intertwined with southern identity gained salience in the North among abolitionists. Don H. Doyle writes, "The crusade against slavery gained force in the North as a moral attack on the evil of slaveholding and later broadened into a general condemnation of the whole South because it rested on the flawed foundation of slavery." [28] Vice President of the Confederacy Alexander Stephens stated this in the nineteenth century.[29] Cobb writes, "Alexander Stephens seemed to concede as much when he pointed out on numerous occasions that the Confederacy's real claim to distinctiveness lay in making slavery 'the chief corner-stone [sic] of the Southern [sic] Republic.'"[30]

Defining the People

The uniqueness of the South derived not only from its politics and geography, but also with its unique people. One of the most enduring representations of the South became southern cavaliers.[31] In *The Mind of the South,* W.J. Cash points out southern whites tried to present

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 15
[26] C. Vann Woodward, *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialog* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).
[27] Ibid., 142.
[28] Don H. Doyle, "Slavery, Secession, and Reconstruction as American Problems," in *The South as an American Problem*, eds. Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle, 102.
[29] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 56.
[30]Ibid.
[31] The cavalier myth is understood to be the romantic view of the old South in which white plantation society was a part of a noble tradition. Oftentimes, this included presenting southerners as descendants of nobility with prescribed

themselves as aristocratic.[32] David Jenssen, a later interpreter of Cash, writes that he "stresses the ancestry of white Southerners as a way to distinguish white Southerners as a people from the rest of the American people."[33] Cobb writes the southern gentlemen had great appeal to northerners, and that popular magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book* "featured stories of women smitten by even the mere fantasy of a Virginia man 'who belongs to one of the noblest Cavalier families.'" [34] Cobb writes Americans "regarded the laid-back planter-aristocrat as an appealing symbol of a bygone era when idealism and respect for tradition had supposedly triumphed the lust for money and quest for luxuries."[35] Cobb argues Northerners had a "long-standing sense of the South as not simply a distinct subset of American society, but a world and a way of life not only apart but behind."[36] Cash notes this depiction of the southern cavalier created gross misconceptions about southerners. He writes:

> The glorification of the Southern heritage…had certain considerable consequences, all moving more or less, in the current of unreality…it involved the further inflation of the tendency to the ascription of every act to the noblest motives.[37]

Cash writes this strengthened the "old ruling class" of the South, and also allowed for the perpetuation of inequality.[38]

There were historical explanations for the gentility of southern culture, according to Cobb.[39] He writes, "The northern states were populated…by the middle class Puritan

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roles in society. W.J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and Cobb's *Away Down South* explores this myth extensively, and traces its evolution through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[32] Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Knopf, 1946), 4-5, 59-60.

[33] David R. Jensson, "Internal Orientalism in America: W.J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and the Spatial Construction of American National Identity," *Political Geography* 22 (2003), 302.

[34] Cobb, *Away Down South,* 22.

[35] Ibid., 24.

[36] Ibid., 26.

[37] Cash, *The Mind of the South*, 126.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Cobb, *Away Down South,* 22.

'Roundheads' who had routed the defenders of the monarchy, the aristocratic Cavaliers…who had then settled in the southern states."[40] The idea of cavalier ideals of honor was associated with white southern men. Cobb writes:

> Perhaps the most crucial difference between North and South was not reflected in economic or social statistics but in the white South's retention of a masculine behavioral code rooted in an older European tradition of 'honor' in which a man's actions must be 'ratified by community consensus.'[41]

This type of characterization of an aristocratic South did not always have positive connotations, however. Northern characterizations of the South also presented southerners as lazy and "of little use in real crisis."[42] Cobb suggests northern writers "tempered their critical remarks with expressions of sympathy for the gracious, kindly planter-Cavalier victimized by his own admirable, though archaic, personal values."[43]

Part of the reasoning behind this depiction of the lazy southern planter was the economic system that brought him his wealth—slavery.[44] This slave economy and southern gentlemen epitomized the notion that the South was an area in decline even before the Civil War.[45] Cobb writes, "For all its romance, as the rest of the nation moved ahead, the image of the planter-Cavalier presiding grandly over his semi-feudal subtropical fiefdom also symbolized not just a society rooted in the past but one sinking into stagnation and decline."[46]

Southern gentry were not the only group represented in the nineteenth-century South. John Shelton Reed argues representations of lower class nineteenth century southern whites are

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[40]Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 41, Cobb uses this theory of southern honor from Bertram Wyatt-Brown.
[42]Ibid., 25.
[43] Ibid., 27.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 26.
[46] Ibid.

precursors to modern stereotypes of "the good old boy, the redneck, and the hillbilly."[47] Cash describes these poor whites as being "The relatively and absolutely unsuccessful, the less industrious and thrifty, the less ambitious and pushing, the less cunning and lucky."[48] In fact it is these poor southerners that Cash's *The Mind of the South* primarily concerns.[49] C. Vann Woodward writes through Cash's examination of the attitudes of these southerners, it is revealed the South "has no mind."[50]

Racism has been clearly identified as the primary mindset of southern life, particularly in the post-bellum period. Don H. Griffin and Larry J. Doyle write the aftermath of Civil War left "the South and the nation with a legacy of new problems, most of them revolving around the place of free African Americans in the new order."[51] Woodward writes even though freed slaves had new political rights they still adhered to old social norms and customs: "The new electorate of freedmen proved on the whole remarkably modest in their demands, unaggressive in their conduct, and deferential in their attitude." [52] Although southern blacks may have acted "deferential" with their new rights, southern whites still felt great animosity toward them.[53] David W. Blight writes how one nineteenth century northern writer John R. Dennett saw the racial hostility of ex-Confederates while traveling through the South:

> Dennett encountered a steady stream of white Southerners obsessed with the relationship of race to reunion. Virtually all acknowledged their 'subjugation by war, but warned the

[47] John Shelton Reed, *Southern Folk, Plain & Fancy* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 34.
[48] Cash, *The Mind of the South*, 21.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Woodward, *American Counterpoint*, 264.
[51] Griffin and Doyle, *The South as an American Problem*, 5.
[52] C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1993), 100.
[53] Ibid.

Yankee observer that they would never submit to 'Negro suffrage' or 'nigger regiments…put over them.'"[54]

Merle and Earl Black suggest these antebellum attitudes toward blacks permeated southern society throughout the nineteenth century. They write, "The system of race relations that emerged in the aftermath of emancipation was the closest functional approximation to the outlawed institution of slavery that white southerners could conceive, impose, and sustain."[55] These racial attitudes transcended the immediate post-Reconstruction era. Phillips's "white man's country" became the standard goal of the post-war South.[56] Black and Black write, "White southerners were commonly presented as monolithically supportive of white supremacy."[57]

Despite this racism and adherence to white supremacy, according to Cash, the South rejected the negative aspects of the legacy of slavery and its racist attitudes towards blacks.[58] He writes the post-bellum South not only used biblical justification for slavery, but also romanticized slavery in the Old South.[59] He writes, "To have heard them talk, indeed, you would have thought that the sole reason some of these planters held to slavery was love and duty to the black man."[60] George B. Tindell writes southern white's characterization of slavery was a "euphoric pattern of kindly old marseter [sic] with his mint julep; happy darkies singing in fields perpetually white."[61]

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[54] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 37.
[55] Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 75.
[56] Philips, "Central Theme in Southern History," 31.
[57] Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, 196.
[58] Cash, *The Mind of the South*, 83.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] George B. Tindell, "Southern Mythology," in *The South and the Sectional Image*, ed. Dewey W. Grantham Jr. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 10.

While Cash's *The Mind of the South* primarily deals with post-bellum issues, he makes a clear connection between the New and the Old South.[62] For Cash southern history is a continuum with the same themes and attitudes emerging generation after generation— namely racism, support for an agrarian economy, and the rejection of progress and reforms.[63] To divorce the New South from the Old South is not justifiable, since he argues the modern southern mindset is deeply rooted in antebellum philosophies.[64] Cobb reiterates this, arguing southern identity was based upon antebellum history and cavalier myth in order to provide a "seamless historical justification of the actions of southern whites before and during the war."[65]

There is much literature on southern representations and identity in the modern era, providing insights into how modern southerners identify with the label of being southern and with their past. Tony Horwitz's *Confederates in the Attic* shows the modern-day South's commemoration and understanding of its antebellum history, which includes Civil War re-enactors, Confederate commemoration clubs, and local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan.[66] Through his book the South is shown to be a region in conflict with modernity and its historical, and often politically incorrect, past.[67]

Jack Kirby's *Media-Made Dixie* directly addresses how the South is portrayed in films and television throughout the twentieth century.[68] Kirby's juxtaposition of the Old and New South presents a classic representation of southern stereotyping in the media. He writes, "There is no reasoning in such a weird bifurgation of Dixies, with the Old mellowing and becoming

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[62] Cash, *The Mind of the South.*
[63]Ibid., 106-107, 29, 179.
[64] Ibid., 380-381. The Old South is defined as the South before the Civil War. The New South is defined as the period in history after the Civil War when the South no longer had a slave economy.
[65] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 62.
[66] Tony Horowitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 64.

even more entrenched in legend, the New wallowing in misery and yankee [sic] pity."[69] Reed's *Southern Folk Plain and Fancy* also deals with the media's stereotypical representations of the South.[70] Rather than focusing exclusively on the presentation of the Old South, Reed looks at overall stereotypes of white southern classes, particularly lower-class southern whites and argues the media is instrumental in presenting stereotypical southerners.[71] He quotes Jonathan Daniels when he writes, "Southerners have become 'a mythological people, created half out of dream and half out of slander, who live in a still legendary land.'"[72]

In contrast southerners created their own "legendary" depictions of the South.[73] Gary W. Gallagher and Alan Nolan's edited *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* examines how the South created its own romanticized past, focusing in particular on the construction of the Confederate perspective of events of the Civil War, and on how participants of the war came to be venerated as heroes after Reconstruction.[74] Lloyd A. Hunter writes southerners after the Civil War changed the symbolic imagery of the war to take on new meaning.[75] He argues, "The components of the culture religion…provided Southerners with genuine vehicles of religious self-understanding. Postwar Confederates…chose to elevate their wartime symbols to sacred status, thus beginning the process of sacralization."[76] Hunter shows the reinvention of the southern past was intrinsically tied to the creation of identity for the region and for southerners themselves.

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[69] Ibid.
[70] John Shelton Reed, *Southern Folk Plain and Fancy*.
[71] Ibid., 8-14
[72] Ibid., 1.
[73] Ibid.
[74]Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
[75] Lloyd A. Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy: Another Look at Lost Cause Religion," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, 185-218.
[76] Ibid., 186. Hunter uses the term culture religion to mean "a faith centered on the late Confederacy and…creating an image of their beloved South as a sacred land." See Hunter, 185.

The South's created identity separated it from the rest of the United States. Published in 1930, *I'll Take My Stand* discusses at length southern separateness, and the fear of encroaching northern economic and social forces.[77] The Twelve Southerners who authored *I'll Take My Stand* write, "The South is a minority section that has hitherto been jealous of its minority right to live its own kind of life."[78] It is the South's "own kind of life" that has preoccupied scholars for decades. Degler, a non-southerner who was once president of the Southern Historical Association, said as a young man he:

> Thought of the South as almost a foreign country, outside the mainstream of American social and political life, a place where farmers dominated the social scene, political conservatism prevailed, and blacks were kept apart from whites by law as well as by custom.[79]

In *The Mind of the South,* Cash speaks directly about a cognitive southern distinctiveness:

> It is easy to trace throughout the region…a fairly definite mental pattern, associated with a fairly definite social pattern—a complex of established relationships and habits of thought, sentiments, prejudices, standards and values, and associations of ideas.[80]

Historians like Degler argue the South's distinctiveness comes from its unique history.[81] While the history of the United States is characterized by success "the South had repeatedly met with frustration and failure."[82] This failure is a byproduct of the fact that the South held onto a different philosophy economically, socially, and racially.[83] Degler writes, "The problem [of

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[77] Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930 reprint New York: Harper and Row 1962), xx.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Carl N. Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis," 3.
[80] Cash, *The Mind of the South*, viii.
[81] Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis," 5.
[82] C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," *The Journal of Southern History* 19, no. 1 (1953), 5, JSTOR, via, www.jstor.org.
[83] Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis," 5.

southern separateness] to be sure is compounded when one reflects on those ways in which the South has indeed stood outside the nation's history."[84] He further writes:

> The South retained slavery while the rest of the nation abandoned it; the South ruptured the national Union; the South stayed agricultural as the nation industrialized; the South expanded legal segregation as the nation relinquished it; the South remained rural as the nation became urban; the South remained poor while the nation grew rich.[85]

Woodward also writes the South's "unique historical experiences as Americans" created a distinct southern identity.[86] In fact, Cobb notes this distinction of the South from the United States could be found in the language of northern publications as early as the nineteenth century.[87] He writes, "In the literature and popular press of this era, northern writers consistently employed a first person/third person 'we'/'they' dichotomy in describing southerners."[88]

By separating southern philosophies and lifestyles from that of the North, the South became un-American, according to Cobb who writes, "Hence the process of 'Americanizing' or bringing a backward Dixie up to national standards was essentially a matter of 'northernizing' the South by making it…'in character and culture, identical with the North.'"[89]

Nineteenth Century Media and the South

Studies concerning northern print media's depictions of the South do exist, but have been limited in scope to mainly the Civil War years. For example, Cobb provides analysis of how northern reporters and foreign travelers to the South depicted southerners and slavery.[90] In particular he makes the point that most of these non-southerners viewed or represented the South

[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] C. Vann Woodward, "The Search for Southern Identity," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 34, no. 3 (1958), 331.
[87] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 14.
[88] Ibid.
[89] James C. Cobb, "An Epitaph for the North: Reflections on the Politics of Regional and National Identity at the Mellennium," *The Journal of Southern History* 66, no. 1 (2000): JSTOR, via www.jstor.org, 5.
[90] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 15-16, 20.

as a region outside the norms of American society, and that these perceptions were enhanced by the anti-slavery attitudes of these northerners who associated slavery with the southern lifestyle.[91]

Brayton Harris' *Blue and Gray in Black and White* examines journalistic depictions of the Civil War and focuses on reporter's lives and reporting skills.[92] He also includes some juxtaposing accounts of battles from northern and southern papers.[93] The most important aspect of this work is Harris' analysis of censorship in both Union and Confederate newspapers.[94] His book, however, does not focus on identity or descriptions of southerners, the Confederacy, or the South beyond military issues.

Lorman Ratner and Dwight Teeter Jr.'s *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters* explores how newspapers influenced southern sympathizers during the 1850s particularly during the Dred Scott decision.[95] In addition, other scholarly works focus on reporting by the Confederates or northern newspapers on particular battles.[96] These studies on the power of editors, the role the media played in portraying battles, dissent during the conflict, and how the Civil War transformed journalism itself.

Other works on print media during the Civil War focus on the press as a mechanism for supporting the war. Donald E. Reynolds makes the argument that editors and reporters in the South were instrumental in turning southern public opinion in favor of secession.[97] J. Cutler

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[91] Ibid.
[92] Brayton Harris, *Blue and Grady in Black and White* (Washington D.C.: Brassey's, 1999).
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Lorman A Ratner and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., *Fanatics and Fire Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
[96] Emmet Crozier, *Yankee Reporters 1861-65* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
Louis M. Starr, *Reporting the Civil War: The Bohemian Brigade in Action, 1861-65* (New York: Collier Books, 1962).
[97] Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970).

Andrews provides scholarship on southern newspapers that includes how these papers portrayed generals and political figures after the South began to lose the Civil War.[98]

Although newspaper analysis dominates scholarship, studies on magazines do exist. James Marten edited *Lessons of War* which is a collection of articles published in children's magazines during 1861 to 1865 with some scholarly commentary by Marten.[99] In this collection it is clear children's magazines emphasized themes of support, sacrifice, and loyalty to their respective sides in the Civil War.[100]

Identity and Orientalism

Although this study examines the representation of southerners in the press the term representation cannot be divorced from identity. While the two words are not interchangeable they are oftentimes discussed and analyzed together, and in older works identity is often used in place of the word representation. It is in part through press representations that identities are formed.[101] Philip Schlesinger argues this point when he writes, "It has been almost an article of faith that mass media must play a crucial role in the construction, articulation and maintenance of various forms of collective identity."[102] Thus Schlesinger argues media representations and cultural identities have a symbiotic relationship.[103]

While there is much literature on different types of identity a few scholars provide a basic defintion of what identity is. Cobb presents a broad definition.[104] He writes, "Traditionally, 'identity' has been defined as the condition of being simultaneously both 'one's self or itself and

[98] J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970).
[99] James Marten, *Lessons of War: The Civil War in Children's Magazines* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1999).
[100] Ibid.
[101] Philip Schlesinger, "Media, the Political order and National Identity," *Media Culture and Society* 13 (1991), 297-308.
[102] Ibid., 303.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 3.

not another.'"[105] In this definition Cobb argues that identity is created through a person recognizing they are not a member of another counter group or individual. Philip Gleason offers a semantic history of identity as a term.[106] For him identity is:

> an interaction between the interior development of the individual personality, understood in terms derived from the Freudian id-ego-superego model, and the growth of a sense of selfhood that arises from participating in society, internalizing its cultural norms, acquiring different statuses, and playing different roles.[107]

He writes there are two distinct theories on identity: primorialists and interactionists.[108] These two groups disagree over the malleability of identity and whether identity is internal or external. Gleason writes primordialists view identity as "deep, internal and permanent" while interactionists believe identity is "external, and evanescent."[109] His study also makes an important point about race and identity. Gleason writes increasingly identity has taken on an "ethnic consciousness" that "forged an even more intimate bond between the concepts of ethnicity and identity."[110]

The idea of racially or ethnically based representation is analyzed through Edward Said's *Orientalism*.[111] He argues racial and cultural differences help create a nation's own identity.[112] Said uses the example of East-West relations when he writes, "the Orient has helped define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience."[113] Said argues

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[105] Ibid.
[106] Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *The Journal of American History* 69, no.1 (1983), JSTOR, via, www.jstor.org.
[107] Ibid., 914.
[108] Ibid., 920.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 929.
[111] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
[112] Ibid., 1-2.
[113] Ibid.

describing the Orient was vital in showing what Europe was not.[114] This orientalizing of a culture allows a dominant culture to create an identity for itself. David Jensson more succinctly argues, "Orientalism is directly implicated in the creation of national identities."[115]

Said states orientalism is strictly a human creation.[116] He writes, "I emphasize in it accordingly that neither the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability; each is made up of human effort."[117] This artificiality of creating an "other," or those who are not a part of the dominant culture, is important to the power structure that is associated with orientalism.[118] Orientalizing a culture lends itself to "hegemonic ideology [that] appears natural and displaces competing interpretations of experience."[119] Through this orientalizing, a nation-state can define itself and create its own identity based off of what another state is or is not. Jensson writes, "Negative portrayals of a region outside the state's borders allow the people of that state to incorporate the opposite, positive values into their national identity."[120]

While Said's *Orientalism* does provide an overarching theoretical framework for understanding identity and power struggles, his analysis deals exclusively with the interaction of nation-states and diverse regions throughout the world. Jennson's work uses a modification of Said's original concept of orientalism that includes a nation orientalizing a region within itself. Jensson writes, "internal orientalism represents a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful

[114] Ibid.
[115] David R. Jensson, "Internal Orientalism in America: W.J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and the Spatial Construction of American National Identity," 295.
[116] Said, *Orientalism*, xvii.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Jennson, "Internal Orientalism In America," 295.
[120] Ibid., 296.

region (or regions) within the state."[121] He further explains how this orientalizing is achieved writing:

> The people of the subordinate region might even be characterized as a different 'race,'…this region would certainly be construed as different, so as to set it apart from the rest of the state and allow it to serve as an other against which a positive national identity may be derived.[122]

In examining the uniqueness of the South, the region stood out from the rest of the United States. This study seeks to use this idea of orientalism to explore if northern magazines presented the South in the nineteenth century as exceptionally different from the United States, and if this presentation orientalized the South.

Objective and Justification

This study seeks to answer two questions:

Research Question 1: How was the South represented in northern based magazines *Harper's Weekly*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Godey's Lady's Book* during 1857 to 1870?

Research Question 2: How did this representation change over time in relation to political conflicts of this era?

This study explores how southerners were depicted as holistically distinct from the rest of the United States. It seeks to answer how the South was depicted prior to, during, and after the Civil War, considered the watershed event in southern and American history. By looking at the depictions of the South in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870 in northern based magazines the South's representation and characterization will be analyzed against the backdrop of the sectional political controversies of the time.

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., 297.

This study will provide new scholarship on the representation of southerners during the nineteenth century. In addition to this analysis this study will examine the transformation of representations of southerners through the conflicts over slavery from the Civil War through Reconstruction. As is evident, many historical works on print media and the South focus primarily on the Civil War, but do not focus on a longer time period which would include events that surrounded the secession crisis and Reconstruction. By including this longer time frame, this study will bring a richer and more in-depth analysis that might show change over time in the attitudes and perception of northern magazines.

This cross section of literature about southern identity, print media, and representations of the South shows there is little literature about representations of southerners in Civil War era magazines. It is this gap in the literature that this study wishes to fill. Not only will this study fill the void concerning depictions of southerners as enemies and fellow Americans, but it will expand the existing literature on the importance and role magazines played during the middle to late nineteenth century America.

Chapter Two will examine magazines' representations of the South from 1857 to 1860. These years begin the first sectional conflict in the United States, but do not include the level of division during the Civil War. This also will provide an analysis of an era in which the North and South were actively compromising to save the Union, but still arguing over regional conflicts concerning slavery.

John Boles describes the Civil War as the "second epochal rupture in American history."[123] From this characterization it is clear the American Civil War serves as the zenith of southern sectionalism in the United States. Because of the political sentiments of the South and the magnitude of the Civil War's effect on American society, Chapter Three will cover a span

[123] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 292.

from 1861 to 1865. These years are important because they represent a time when northerners and southerners ceased to be a part of the same country. However, these hostile relations were between two regions that shared cultural, social, and historical similarities. Because of this dichotomy this analysis of northern magazines' representations of southerners is instrumental for this study because it shows both the South as a region politically apart and culturally similar to the United States.

The last period of this portion of the study will be the years 1866 to 1870, explored in Chapter Four. The years of 1865 to 1877 mark the years from the end of the Civil War to the end of Reconstruction. This is an important period to study southern identity particularly because the South at this time was not fully included in the United States. In addition, this era gave birth to the cavalier myth and many racist stereotypes of the South.

Magazines are the primary sources examined here, because they represent "the first truly mass medium in the United States."[124] The mid nineteenth century saw heavy growth in the magazine industry.[125] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zukerman write from 1825 to 1850 a "veritable magazine tsunami" occurred in America with almost one hundred magazines being produced in America by 1825.[126] Frank Luther Mott writes this period was particularly good for "weekly miscellany" represented by magazines like *Harper's Weekly*.[127] The magazines used in this study are *Harper's Weekly*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. The magazines selected for this study represent mainstream widely read publications for the nineteenth century. The circulation of *Harper's Weekly* was 120,000 in 1861, *Godey's Lady's*

[124] Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 4.
[125] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1850-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).
[126] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 8.
[127] Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1850-1865*, 3.

Book had 150,000 subscribers in 1860, and *Saturday Evening Post*, the oldest of the three magazines, had a circulation of 42,000 in 1850.[128]

Even though each publication represents a high circulating magazine each has its own distinguishable characteristics. Started in 1857 by Fletcher Harper, *Harper's Weekly* was known for its woodcut illustrations which made it popular among readers.[129] *Harper's Weekly* emphasized politics and took a political position during the Civil War.[130] Mott writes, "A new epoch opened for *Harper's Weekly* in 1862, not only did it find its true position in relation to the war about that time, but it brought to its support the two men who were to connect their names with its history most prominently—George William Curtis and Thomas Nast."[131] Both of these men who were supporters of the Lincoln administration would shape *Harper's* political standpoint.[132]

Nast was an extremely important figure in the political cartoons in *Harper's Weekly*. Albert Bigelow Paine wrote in 1904 that Nast's illustrations in the Civil War era were "always filled with a spirit of patriotic fervor."[133] Morton Keller included Nast as one of the illustrators and journalists who was "the most important organ of information and opinion in the wartime North."[134] Nast also was known for political caricature, and further developed this skill particularly in the Reconstruction era.[135] Keller wrote "Caricature had become [by the time of Reconstruction] a major weapon in Nast's artistic arsenal….He created a political world peopled by lampooned statesmen."[136]

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[128] Ibid., 10-11, 36.
[129] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America*, 469-471.
[130]Ibid., 22-23.
[131] Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1850-1865*, 474.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Th. Nast: His Period and His Pictures* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 81.
[134] Morton Keller, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 12.
[135] Ibid., 44
[136] Ibid.

Begun in 1821 *Saturday Evening Post* is the oldest magazine in this study.[137] Tebbel and Zuckerman write, "The *Saturday Evening Post*, evolved in a circuitous way from Franklin's old newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, thus providing the *Post* of our time with the claim, however dubious, that it had begun with Ben and so was the oldest magazine in America of continuous publication."[138] Unlike, *Harper's* in the *Saturday Evening Post* "all political controversy was avoided."[139]

Godey's Lady's Book is the only woman's magazine in this study. Patricia Okker writes, "*Godey's Lady's Book* consisted of an amazingly diverse collection of material, including poems, stories, serialized novels, fashion plates, sewing patterns, advertisements for sewing machines, book reviews, and even architectural designs."[140] *Godey's* is described as "a lighthouse rising from a sea of mediocrity" by Tebbel and Zuckerman.[141] *Godey's* also stands out among these three magazines politically. Sarah Hale, the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, "refused to acknowledge in the magazine the Confederacy's existence."[142] However, this magazine is important for this study, because it presents the South in a way that purposefully avoided political commentary, which provides a contrast to the political articles seen in *Harper's* and *Saturday Evening Post*.

Methodology

For manageability this study examined every fourth issue of *Harper's Weekly* beginning with its first publication in 1857 until the last issue of 1870. The sample size of *Harper's Weekly*

[137] "Title Information, Periodical Description," in American Periodical Series, http://proquest.umi.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu:2048/pqdweb?RQT=316&titleId=1370, (accessed April 5, 2006).
[138] Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America 1741-1990*, 9
[139] Title Information, Periodical Description," in American Periodical Series, http://proquest.umi.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu:2048/pqdweb?RQT=316&titleId=1370, (accessed April 5, 2006).
[140] Particia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 31-32.
[141] Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America 1790-1990*, 27.
[142] Ibid., 53.

was further reduced by analyzing every fifth article about the South within each time frame of the study. All pictorial representations found within the original sample of every fourth publication of *Harper's* were analyzed.

In order to determine whether these common themes were represented in other magazines from this era, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Godey's Lady's Book* were included. For manageability each magazine's articles were studied in three different years using a keyword search. The three years were chosen so they would represent one year in each of the three eras of the study. *Saturday Evening Post* was keyword searched for 1857, 1864, and 1870, and *Godey's Lady's Book* was keyword searched in 1858, 1864, and 1870.[143] The keywords were carefully selected to find articles about the South while not biasing the search. The keywords used were: South, southern, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Florida, and Arkansas.

This study will use textual analysis to examine these portrayals and characterizations of southerners and the South. Densin and Lincoln write textual analysis allows for an exploration of texts as "self contained systems" while making use of particular theoretical or historical lenses.[144] This type of analysis also allows for a thorough examination of subtextual themes.[145] Stuart Hall writes:

> Literary critical, linguistic and stylistic methods of analysis are, by contrast, more useful in penetrating the latent meanings of a text, and they preserve something of the

[143] *Saturday Evening Post* could not be keyword searched for 1858. Neither microfilm nor online databases contain issues for this year.
[144] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 7.
[145] Stuart Hall, Introduction, in *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-1965*, ed. A.C.H. Smith (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), 15.

> complexity of language and connotation which has to be sacrificed in content analysis in order to achieve high validation.[146]

Hall spells out the process a researcher must go through when conducting a textual analysis. He writes textual analysis beings with "a long preliminary soak, a submission by the analyst to the mass of his material."[147] Through this "soak" the researcher gains a better understanding of the texts, and allows them to analyze a text thoroughly in order to find "latent meanings."[148]

Hall further writes textual analysis does not need to evaluate all materials available. Rather, textual analysis "uses preliminary reading to select representative examples which can be more intensively analyzed."[149] This in-depth analysis is instrumental for this approach, because it allows for reoccurring themes and subtextual analysis. However, this does not mean textual analysis is left up entirely to the researcher's objectives. Textual analysis must be supported by evidence within the text. Hall writes:

> Literary/linguistic types of analysis also employ evidence: they point, in detail to the text on which an interpretation of latent meaning is based; they indicate more briefly the fuller supporting or contextual evidence which lies to hand; they take into account material which modifies or disproves the hypotheses which are emerging.[150]

Hall points out, however, these reoccurring patterns or themes do not need to be quantified, but rather represent the "latent meaning from which inferences as to the source can be drawn."[151] In addition, rather than quantifying reoccurring themes or ideas Hall states textual analysis allows for examining "emphasis" on certain aspects of a text.[152] Textual analysis creates a better

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

understanding of text because individual researchers must advocate why one reading is better than another. Hall thinks this ability to have multiple readings of a text is beneficial to research.

Textual analysis is also not limited to printed texts. Carolyn Kitch uses this approach in exploring the reoccurring portrayals of women on magazine covers in the twentieth century.[153] Defining her methodology Kitch writes, "Methodologically, it is less a 'content analysis' than what journalism historian Marion Marzolf called 'content assessment'—a process of 'reading, sifting, weighing, comparing and analyzing the evidence in order to tell the story.'"[154] She writes that "mass media make meaning in patterns that develop in response to particular cultural tensions but have the potential to recur as those tensions resurface over time."[155] Kitch examines her magazines "in terms of its institution setting…and its historical moment."[156] For this reason textual analysis as defined by Hall and used by Kitch will be used in analyzing the reoccurring images and representations of southerners in northern magazines.

[153] Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*.
[154] Ibid., 13.
[155] Ibid., 16.
[156] Ibid., 13.

CHAPTER 2

RISING TENSIONS: PORTRAYAL OF SOUTHERNERS 1857-1860

The issue of slavery dominated American politics from 1857 to 1860. 1857 began with the landmark Dred Scott decision which ruled African-Americans were not United States citizens and a "slave's status was determined by the laws of the state to which he returned, not the laws of the state in which he had been only a sojourner."[1] The westward expansion of slavery created tense North-South relations during the 1850s.[2] The expansion of slavery into the new states of Kansas and Nebraska in 1854 was a hot button issue for many southerners.[3] Boles writes, "Several southern politicians, fearful of the safety of slavery in Missouri if a free state developed directly to its west, allowed as to how they had rather see Nebraska 'sink in hell' than be organized as free."[4]

By the time the slavery question had been settled in Kansas and Nebraska, another anti-slavery movement occurred, this time through an insurrection.[5] In 1859 John Brown, along with a small group of men, planned an "invasion of the South" in which they would seize arms and rouse slaves into revolt in Harper's Ferry, Virginia.[6] Although Brown's attempt was thwarted by the American Army, southerners saw Brown's raid as emblematic of anti-slavery forces.[7] Boles

[1] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 301.
[2] Ibid., 295.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 305.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

writes, "For most southerners, John Brown represented the logical outcome of abolitionism and the principles of the Republican Party."[8] By 1860 "the principles of the Republican Party" and their presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln would lead to the ultimate fissure in North-South relations—the Civil War.[9]

It was during this time period that the South began to see its interests as different from those of the rest of the United States. Emory Thomas writes, "The South's political alienation from the nation as a whole was a progressive movement which gathered converts and intensity with the passage of time."[10] Southerners prepared the fight to preserve slavery during the late 1850s.[11] With the nomination of Lincoln for president at the Republican Convention in Chicago southerners were convinced slavery was in jeopardy.[12] Seeing Lincoln as a "John Brown in a stovepipe hat" southerners began the movement toward secession and the beginning of the Civil War.[13] This chapter examines the representation of the South during this tumultuous period.

Representations of the South

This chapter examined sixty-nine articles from *Saturday Evening Post*, eleven articles and seven pictorials from *Harper's Weekly*, and six articles from *Godey's Lady's Book*. For most of these articles the South was included in stories in a way that suggested regional tensions were not high. Most of the articles were not political in nature, but rather encompassed a wide array of topics ranging from crop growth to miscellaneous anecdotes. Political stories mainly took the form of biographical essays on southern politicians of the day. In addition, fictional stories did appear with the South as a backdrop for romantic tales. Five themes emerged in the

[8] Ibid., 310.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation 1861-1865* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 33.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 310-311.
[13] Ibid., 312.

articles and illustrations examined in this chapter. They were: slavery, southern refinement, the wild and unrefined South, unionists and secessionists, and southern culture and commerce.

Slavery

Foremost among the themes in the articles and illustrations examined was slavery. The notion that slavery was exclusively southern and intertwined in the southern lifestyle was shown in an article in *Harper's Weekly* entitled "The Future of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North."[14] This article spoke directly to the fissure between northern and southern views on slavery. The article reported the northern sect of the Methodist Episcopal Church, being the majority, wanted to ban all members who were slaveholders. These northern church leaders not only identified slavery as something their church did not condone, but identified those southerners who practice slavery as sinful. The article declared this affront to slavery represented an "insult on their [Methodist Episcopal Church] Southern brethren."[15]

North-South divisions were portrayed again in a *Saturday Evening Post* article about the new South Carolina bride of anti-slavery advocate John Van Buren.[16] The article said the bride had to sell all of her slaves, "preparing herself for companionship with a [anti-slavery] free-soiler [sic]."[17] Other articles discussed slavery as a political issue. One article from *Saturday Evening Post* reported how the state of Arkansas unsuccessfully tried to pass legislation banning free African-Americans from the state.[18] Another article from the same publication promoted a new book from Reverend Dr. Ross of Alabama entitled *Slavery Ordained By God*.[19]

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[14] "The Future of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North," *Harper's Weekly*,10 September 1859, 578.
[15] Ibid.
[16] "News Items," *Saturday Evening Post*, 31 January 1857, 3, American Periodical Series, via GALIEO, http://www.galileo.usg.edu. All of the *Saturday Evening Post* articles were obtained using this database. Because of space limitation all further citations of *Saturday Evening Post* will not contain the database information.
[17] Ibid.
[18] "Free Negroes in Arkansas," *Saturday Evening Post*, 31 January 1857, 6.
[19] "Slavery Ordained By God," *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 July 1857, 3.

Illustrations depicted slave's attitudes toward freedom. In Figure 2.1 titled "At The South," a slave mother scolded her child saying, "Now den Julius! If yer ain't a good little nigger, mudder'l call de big ole Bobolitionist and let un run away wid yer [sic]."[20] This article showed the white upper class northern conception of the mindset of southern slaves. There were two main political themes in this cartoon. First, the slave mother said she would punish the child by giving him freedom and secondly it was implied abolition had been presented as negative, or a punishment, for slaves.[21]

Figure 2.2 depicted a Charleston convention, and showed almost equal numbers of African-Americans and whites gathered at the Charleston Custom House. [22] However, this illustration clearly showed distinct differences in the depictions of both African-Americans and whites. The illustration depicted African-Americans working and tending to the white men's horses and carriages, while whites leisurely talked with each other. This pictorial also illustrated African-Americans doing chores and working for these whites, but these African-Americans and whites had no interaction. In addition, unlike the white men, African-Americans in this illustration had no distinguishing features, were all dressed similarly, and did not interact with each other.

Both Figures 2.1 and 2.2 depicted slaves as docile or neutral figures. However, other articles from this era reported violence committed by slaves, and the fear this inspired in the southern white community. An 1860 article in *Harper's Weekly* discussed a slave insurrection in Alabama.[23] This article, reprinted from the *Montgomery Advertiser*, said this slave uprising was orchestrated by two white men who were described as "scoundrels," and their plot as "fiendish."

[20]Ben Day, "At the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 January 1860, 64.
[21] Ibid.
[22] "Palmetto-Tree, and Old Custom-House, At Charleston, South Carolina, *Harper's Weekly*, 1 December 1860, 753.
[23] "Negro Insurrections in Alabama," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 December 1860, 823.

In addition, the article related this idea of a slave insurrections to a nation-wide problem. The article said, "We have found out a deep-laid plan among the negroes of our neighborhood, and from what we can find out from our negroes, it is general all over the country."[24] This idea of slave insurrections was related to the national abolitionist movement. The article said, "They [the slave insurrectionists] look for aid from Lincoln and the Northern people."[25]

Other slave insurrections in the South were portrayed differently and with various degrees of severity in the *Saturday Evening Post*. In one case the suspected slaves were set free by a judge in Nashville after he could "find no evidence" for a planned revolt.[26] Another slave insurrection was concluded by the whipping of several slaves.[27] Yet another unusual presentation was the denial of a slave insurrection plot by a Mississippi mayor, which demonstrated how slave uprisings were both a political and social reality feared in the South.[28]

Articles also depicted southern slavery in a humorous fashion. *Saturday Evening Post* published several articles about slave's comical or witty actions. In one such article from 1857 a slave girl was to have interrupted a preacher, who asked his congregation if they heard the rapture coming.[29] The young slave girl, holding a white baby, not understanding this was a rhetorical question replied, "'I don'no, sa I spec' it is dis here chile; but indeed, sa, I has been a doin' all I could to keep him from 'sturbin you [sic].'"[30]

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] "The Slave Excitement," *Saturday Evening Post*, 10 January 1857, 7.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] "Wit and Humor: Pulpit Gravity," *Saturday Evening Post*, 24 January 1857, 8.
[30] Ibid.

Southern Refinement

Articles of this era showed the refined genteel planter aristocracy. A book review from *Godey's Lady's Book* demonstrated the level of interest in the South.[31] It promoted a book entitled *The Belle of Washington: A True Story of the Affections*.[32] The book was described as showing the distinctive aspect "of Southern life and manners."[33] The articles in this era often equated southern manners with European courtly behavior. *Harper's Weekly* addressed this southern relationship to the Old World in an article about horse racing: "The Race [sic] is not an American institution. It does not take kindly to our soil except in South Carolina, where the races are synonymous with the culminating moments of a fashionable season." [34] This theme of racing as refinement in the South was shown again in Figure 2.3.[35] Figure 2.3 showed a scene from a fair with blacks, presumably slaves, located only in the orchestra.[36] The riders were all performing English riding styles, such as dressage, while the southern onlookers mingled in this grand social atmosphere.[37]

Godey's Lady's Book contained three short stories that took place in or involved the South. Each story was concerned with romance, but each article portrayed a genteel southern society in which manners and cultivation were of the utmost importance. In "Nellie's Diary" one of the female characters discussed the well-mannered southern men she met while on a vacation and of her infatuation with their attention.[38] Another short story entitled "Blanche Brandon" a

[31] "From Peterson & Brothers," *Godey's Ladies Book*, May 1858, vol. LVI, 469 (http://www.acessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii/00000018/00001886.htm) (accessed March 6, 2006).
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] "The Prioress and the Belle," *Harper's Weekly*,7 November 1857, 707.
[35] "The Alabama State Fair-The Amphitheater," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 November 1858, 756.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38]Birdie Rae, "Nellie's Diary," *Godey's Lady's Book*, November 1858, vol LVII, 397 (http://www.acessible.com/acessible/text/godeysiii/00000022/00002240.htm) (accessed March 6, 2006).

southern character's property and material wealth were emphasized, and the protagonist was enamored by these "wealthy planter[s]."[39]

The most descriptive of the short stories found in *Godey's* was "Adelaide Chetwood: A Sketch of Southern Life."[40] In this story the South was described as aristocratic and evoking images of Europe. In describing the personality and future home of one of the main characters Loudine Pauline Forsyth wrote:

> He was an admirer of England, and all its institutions and modes of living, and had intended to build for himself a stately mansion, as much like an old baronial castle as possible in this degenerate age and country—to inclose [sic] a park, and have deer; fountains, and even ruins within it.[41]

This story built on other themes of southern aristocracy. Many of the characters were English transplants who were trying to bring cultivation and manners to the "wilds of Mississippi."[42] In addition, great wealth and status were emphasized and "aristocratic" manners and behaviors were underscored. This theme of stately behavior was shown in articles from *Saturday Evening Post*. One article addressed the southern aristocracy with the "old families of Virginia."[43]

Many articles in *Harper's* showed the theme of cultivated and educated southern leaders. Oftentimes these articles focused on the self-education of men such as then Congressman Alexander Stephens from Georgia and Postmaster General A.V. Brown from Virginia.[44] In an article about the Speaker of the House James Orr from South Carolina *Harper's Weekly* wrote:

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[39] "Blanche Brandon," *Godey's Lady's Book*, April 1858, vol. LVI, p. 306 (http://www.accessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii/00000017/00001780.htm) (accessed March 6, 2006).
[40] Loudine Pauline Forsythe, "Adelaide Chetwood: A Sketch of Southern Life," *Godey's Ladies Book* July 1858, vol. LVII, 48 (http://www.acessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii/00000022/00002240.htm), (accessed March 6, 2006).
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] "A Dirty Shilling," *Saturday Evening Post*, 31 January 1857, 5.
[44] "Presidential Candidates," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 April 1860, 250.

> In his eighteenth year he was sent to the University of Virginia, where, by constant application, he acquired great proficiently in the higher branches of learning, laying deep the foundation of future knowledge and usefulness, while at the same time he won an enviable reputation among his fellow-students by his manly, generous and honorable deportment.[45]

The Wild and Unrefined South

In contrast to the aristocratic and mannered South, the magazines in this sample also depicted the South as rugged, untamed, uneducated, and at times ignorant. A *Saturday Evening Post* article from 1857 told of a politician from Virginia who was too ashamed to keep his elected office because he did not understand the meaning of the word "microscopic."[46] Another article from that year told of a rich Tennessee planter so drunk he gave inordinate amounts of money away on a trip to New Orleans.[47]

Figure 2.4 depicted a late night "fire hunt" in which showed Georgia as exotic and wild.[48] Overgrowth of trees coupled with the darkness surrounding the two hunters suggested a foreboding and dangerous area.[49] This type of scene was again in Figure 2.5 of Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia.[50] Although this scene had more people it still showed a scene from a major southern city that suggested a rural setting with the lack of buildings and large amount of trees.[51]

While these two illustrations depicted the South as isolated and desolate, other articles characterized the South as wild. The language used in two articles in this study spoke of the

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"The Late Postmaster-General, Hon. A.V. Brown," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 March 1859, 188.
[45] "Hon. James L. Orr, Speaker of the House," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 February 1858, 129-130.
[46] "A Politician of the Olden Time," *Saturday Evening Post*, 18 January 1857, 5.
[47] "In Town with a Pocket Full of Rocks," *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 September 1857, 7.
[48] "A Fire Hunt in Georgia," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 February 1859, 116.
[49] Ibid.
[50]"Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 December 1860, 756.
[51] Ibid.

"Virginia wilds" and "wilds of Mississippi."[52] One article from *Saturday Evening Post* discussed the rugged nature of Revolutionary War hero and Virginian Daniel Morgan who "was fond of adventure, famed for intense daring and hairbreath escapes."[53]

Other depictions of the South involved animals. An article from the *Saturday Evening Post* discussed a "wild woman" who lived in the forest and possibly was raised in the woods with her pet lamb.[54] One of the most exotic presentations of the South came from an article from the *Saturday Evening Post* that told of a Louisiana woman who had milk sucked out of her breasts by snakes.[55] This theme of wildness was also shown with southerner's behavior. A *Saturday Evening Post* article from 1857 told of two drunken men fighting in an Atlanta hotel with one man thought to have been killed.[56]

Several articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* portrayed a folksy South. Each article represented the South as being backwoods and unsophisticated, yet these presentations of rural life contained humor. One article told of a man who fell in ditch drunk, while his wife extracted a promise of sobriety from him, before she helped him up.[57] Another article reported about an arrogant though uneducated North Carolina man who returned a verdict to a judge about a hog theft.[58] The verdict read, "We, the jeury [sic], pusillanimously, find the defendant gilty [sic] in the sum of 1 dollar and 1-2 *in favor of the hog* [Original emphasis]."[59]

Other aspects of the wild and untamed South were more serious in nature. A *Saturday Evening Post* article told of widespread famine caused by the lack of food and the "cotton

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[52] "Daniel Morgan, The Rifleman," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 July 1857, 4.
"Adelaide Chetwood: A Sketch of Southern Life," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
[53] "Daniel Morgan, The Rifleman," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 July 1857, 4.
[54] "Wild Woman in Merango County, Ala.," *Saturday Evening Post*, 21 March 1857, 6.
[55] "Snakes at the Breast," *Saturday Evening Post*, 9 May 1857, 5
[56] "Killed his Man," *Saturday Evening Post*, 21 February 1857, 8.
[57] "Getting Used to it By Degrees," *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 April 1857, 8.
[58] "In Favor of the Hog," *Saturday Evening Post*, 16 May 1857, 8.
[59] Ibid.

culture."[60] Other fictionalized stories of the era told of the war in Texas. These accounts give a completely different presentation of the South that did not involve slavery and cotton economies, but rather Mexican and Indian fighters.[61] These stories concentrated more on the ruggedness of Texas and the trials and challenges of war and romance.[62]

Unionists and Secessionists

A reoccurring theme in articles was individual southerners and their loyalty to the Union. *Harper's Weekly* published two articles that emphasized the Unionist sentiment of two major southern politicians. An 1858 article about the Speaker of the House James Orr from South Carolina reported Orr's support of the Constitution.[63] The article stated Orr gave "all of his energies and self-sacrificing devotion" for the preservation of the Union.[64] The article said Orr's speech over the concerns of slavery was of "high tone, calm, cogent reasoning, and sound constitutional doctrine."[65] The same adulation was shown in the remembrance of A.V. Brown, a Virginian who was the former Postmaster-General.[66] The article said, "In politics he was a strong Southern man, warmly opposed to the doctrines known as Northern; but he was equally opposed to the schemes of the Southern disunionists."[67]

Even southerners who appeared to be secessionists were portrayed as supportive of the Union. In an 1860 article about Jefferson Davis *Harper's Weekly* said, "In the North Colonel Davis is regarded—somewhat unjustly, perhaps—as a type of the Southern fire eater. Many

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[60] "Famine in the South" *Saturday Evening Post*, 13 January 1857, 7.
[61] Captain Mayne Reid, "The War-Trial: A Romance of the War with Mexico," *Saturday Evening Post*, 18 April 1857, 1-2.
Captain Mayne Reid, The War Trail, *Saturday Evening Post*, April 25, 1857, 1-2.
Captain Mayne Reid, The War Trail: A Romance of the War With Mexico, *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 July 1857, 5-6.
[62] Ibid.
[63] "Hon. James L. Orr, Speaker of the House," *Harper's Weekly*.
[64] Ibid., 129.
[65] Ibid.
[66] "The Late Postmaster-General Brown," *Harper's Weekly*.
[67] Ibid., 188.

persons who have never seen him fancy him quarrelsome, petulant, hot-headed, turbulent."[68] However, the article did not agree with this assessment of Davis. It said, "He is the last person a spectator would pick out as 'the fire eater.' In his own country he is intensely beloved—chiefly from his kind and gentle disposition."[69]

This depiction of southerners as supporters of the Union was not universal. Figure 2.6 depicted the xenophobic nature of southern government toward northerners.[70] The cartoon showed a solitary traveling salesman being attacked by regiment from Virginia. The absurdity of the event was emphasized with the depiction of the disheveled salesman being attacked by a regiment with their swords drawn.[71] The idea of southern fear of the North was heightened with the caption that said "a dealer in rat-traps, jew's [sic] harps, patent corkscrews, and other Yankee notions, had invaded our territory."[72]

Southern Culture and Commerce

Many of the articles about the South in this sample did not directly discuss political or societal issues. Rather they suggested the South was a section of the country that was unique with its own cultural differences. For instance, *Godey's Lady's Book* gave the recipe for "Gruel Batter-Cakes-a Southern Recipe" and for "Southern Biscuit[s]."[73] Other articles gave humorous anecdotes with no racial or political undertones about happenings in the South. These articles ranged from a southern man winning a suit of Quaker clothes in a bet, to the bodies of suicide

[68] "Presidential Candidates, Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 April 1860, 250.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "Dispatch from the Commanding Officer at Thunderville, VA., to Governor Wise," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 December 1859, 784.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Contributed Recipes," *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1858, vol. LVI, 78 http:www.accessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii/00000015/00001593.htm (accessed March 3, 2006).

patients being devoted to medical research in Athens, Georgia.[74] What many of these articles did, however, was use the label of southern to describe people or events.

Agricultural articles about the South were also found in *Harper's Weekly* and *Saturday Evening Post*. These articles ranged from the failure of growing tea in the South, to the southern origins of the potato.[75] Other articles discussed the southern cotton economy reporting on the rise and fall of cotton prices.[76] Another unusual article pointed to the failure of factories in the South.[77]

Analysis

Certain themes appeared in these eighty-six articles and seven illustrations that were telling about southern society. First, many of the articles that did not have political or social implications used the term southerner as an adjective for individuals. The overall theme in each of these magazines was that the South was something different from the remainder of the United States. Furthermore, this separateness was seen through political commentary, depictions of slavery, and stereotypes of cultured and unrefined southern whites.

One of the largest number of articles from this era described manners and society in the South. From these articles and illustrations two Souths emerged. First, articles from *Godey's Lady's Book* showed a refined and genteel South that was both moneyed and educated.[78] *Harper's Weekly* reiterated this notion in its profiles of politicians from the era. The imagery used to describe the southern way of life was presented in a manner that suggested the South was

[74] Untitled, "A tailor of this city," *Saturday Evening Post*, 10 January 1857, 7.
"Suicides to be subjects," *Saturday Evening Post*, 28 March 1857, 6.
[75]"American Tea a Failure," *Saturday Evening Post*, 18 April 1857, 7.
"Who Gave us the Potato?" *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 September 1857, 8.
[76] "News Items," *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 December 1857, 3.
"Thriving Southern States," *Saturday Evening Post*, 10 October 1857, 7.
[77] "Factories in Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina, *Saturday Evening Post*, 17 October 1857, 7.
[78] Birdie Rae, "Nellie's Diary," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
"Blanche Brandon," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
Forsythe, "Adelaide Chetwood: A Sketch of Southern Life," *Godey's Lady's Book*.

connected to Old World European aristocratic ideals.[79] Juxtaposed to this presentation of white southerners was the backwoods, uneducated men seen in *Saturday Evening Post*. They presented lower class whites as not even aware of their stupidity and uneducated ways.

These two presentations of southern whites were early examples of the modern stereotypes of southerners. The refined and genteel whites shown in this sample are a part of the cavalier mythology, and were characterized as different from most of American society in their manners and attitude. This presentation of the upper class related to those depictions mentioned by Cobb.[80] Like Cobb's discussion of upper class antebellum whites, the depictions found in this sample not only emphasized these men's manners, but also their leisurely lifestyles that were supported by their great wealth.

Lower-class southerners related more to Cash's depiction of poor whites.[81] These men and women lacked education and refinement, and in some cases had crude behavior. Unlike Cash's presentation this sample showed lower class whites as cunning, and anecdotes about them depicted them in a humorous and lighthearted manner. What was telling about these depictions was these whites were never presented in a serious way. Issues and concerns associated with lower class southerners were omitted in this sample, which presented the South as being entirely content with the status-quo.

These depictions of upper and lower class whites hinted at a dichotomy in the South between the rich and the poor. These two groups of whites seemed to have very little in common with their lifestyles, attitudes, and behavior. Furthermore, these presentations suggested the South was a highly stratified society with a polarized class system. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact these articles never mentioned upper and lower class whites interacting with each

[79] Ibid.
[80] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 22-26.
[81] Cash, *The Mind of the South*.

other. In addition, articles about southern politicians only mentioned their support by all their constituents, and the fact that through their innate abilities they were able to keep southern dissention under control.

Slavery was another large theme in these presentations of the South. Slaves were presented as either stupid and harmless or violent and dangerous. No commentary was made about the harsh realities of slavery, or the role whites played in the subjugation of African-Americans. Figure 2.1 demonstrated how northerners may have seen slavery in the South. The slave woman threatened to send her son to the "bobolitionist" if he misbehaved, which suggested *Harper's* thought that slaves were mentally manipulated and controlled by southern whites.[82] However, this depiction showed something else about slaves in the South. Slaves were depicted as content with their slave status. Even when slave revolts were mentioned, whites and northern agitators were shown as the provocateurs.[83]

The final and perhaps most important portrayal of the South showed southerners' level of commitment to the preservation of the Union. This presentation of southern loyalty highlighted an important aspect of northern sentiment toward the South. While southerners were characterized as potential rebels, these magazines showed that this was not the mindset of the most responsible and powerful southerners. In doing this these magazines presented the South as being a part of American values and attitudes. Even though some southerners may have supported the more radical action of separating themselves from the Union, the majority of the South was shown to be American.

Another important element in this sample was the different types of coverage in different magazines. *Harper's Weekly* presented the most political and social commentary on the

[82]Day, "At The South," *Harper's Weekly*, 64.
[83] "Negro Insurrections in Alabama," *Harper's Weekly*.

South through illustrations and articles. *Harper's* was also the only magazine that discussed the southern secessionist and abolitionist movements in the United States. This was perhaps a result of *Harper's Weekly* being published in New York and the fact it was a political magazine. *Saturday Evening Post's* coverage of the South was less political and showed more of a cultural commentary on the South.

Godey's Lady's Book provided the most romantic view of the South with the least amount of political or social commentary. Slavery was only mentioned in passing, and southern whites were portrayed in a stereotypical cavalier model. Perhaps this was a manifestation of *Godey's Lady's Book* being a publication for women and a magazine with a southern readership.[84]

[84] Okker, *Our Sister Editors*.

Figure 2.1
Ben Day, "At the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 January 1860, 64.

Figure 2.2
n..a, “Palmetto Tree, and Old Custom-House, At Charleston, South Carolina,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 1 December, 753.

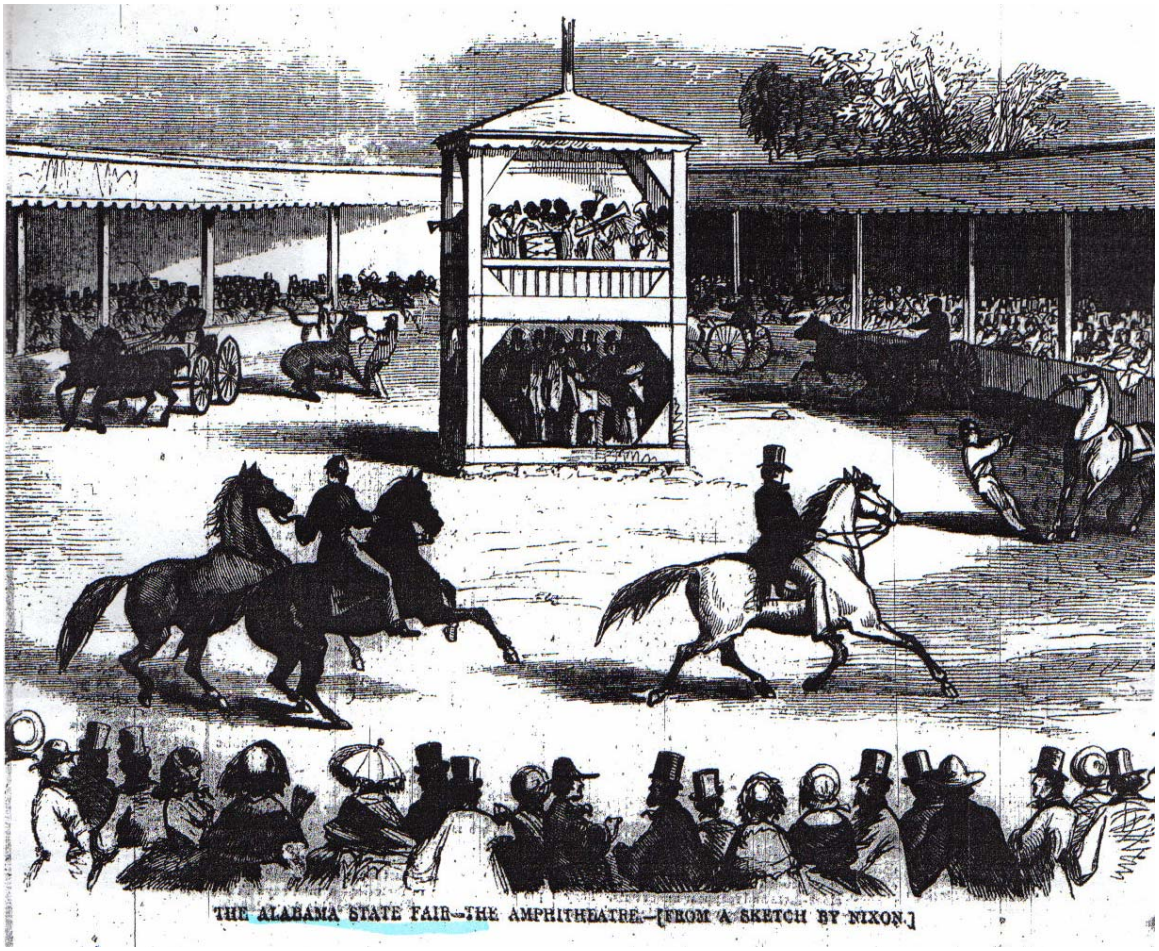


Figure 2.3
n.a., “The Alabama State Fair-The Amphitheater,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 27 November 1858, 756.

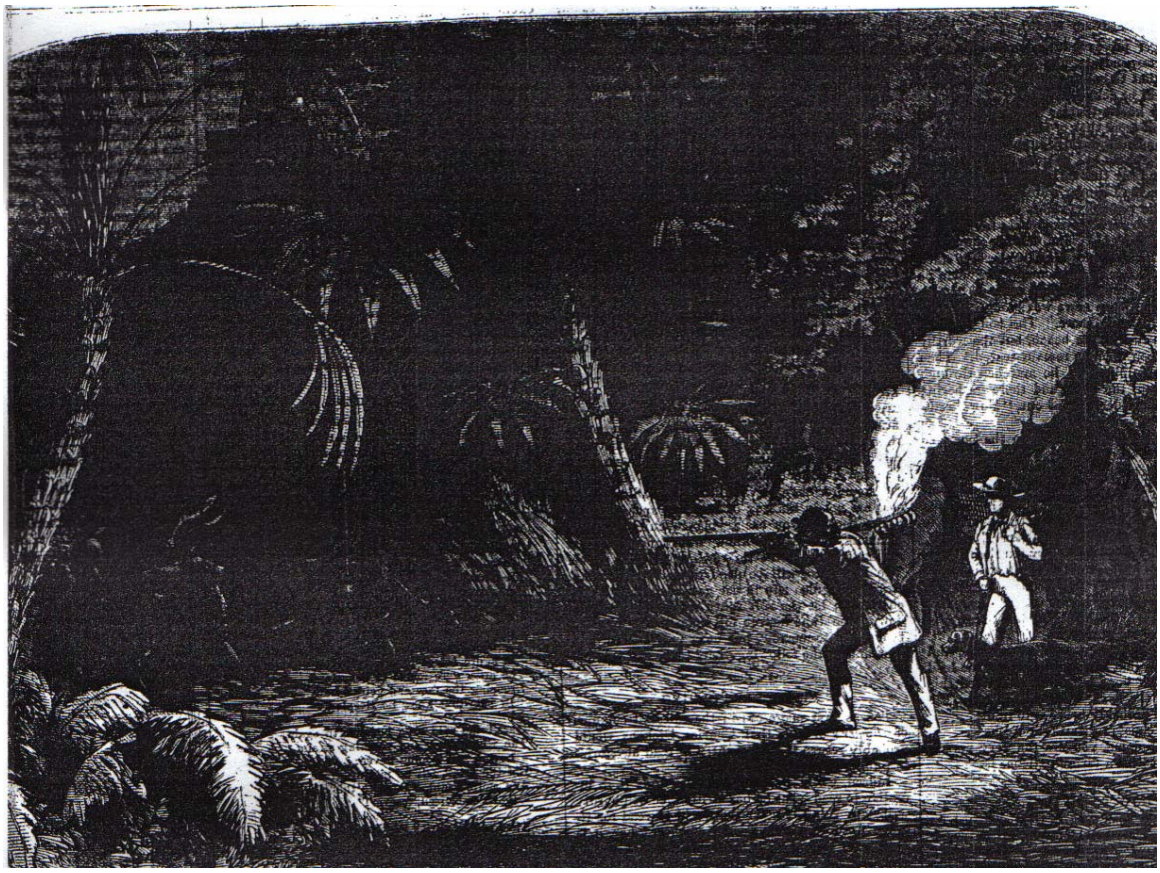
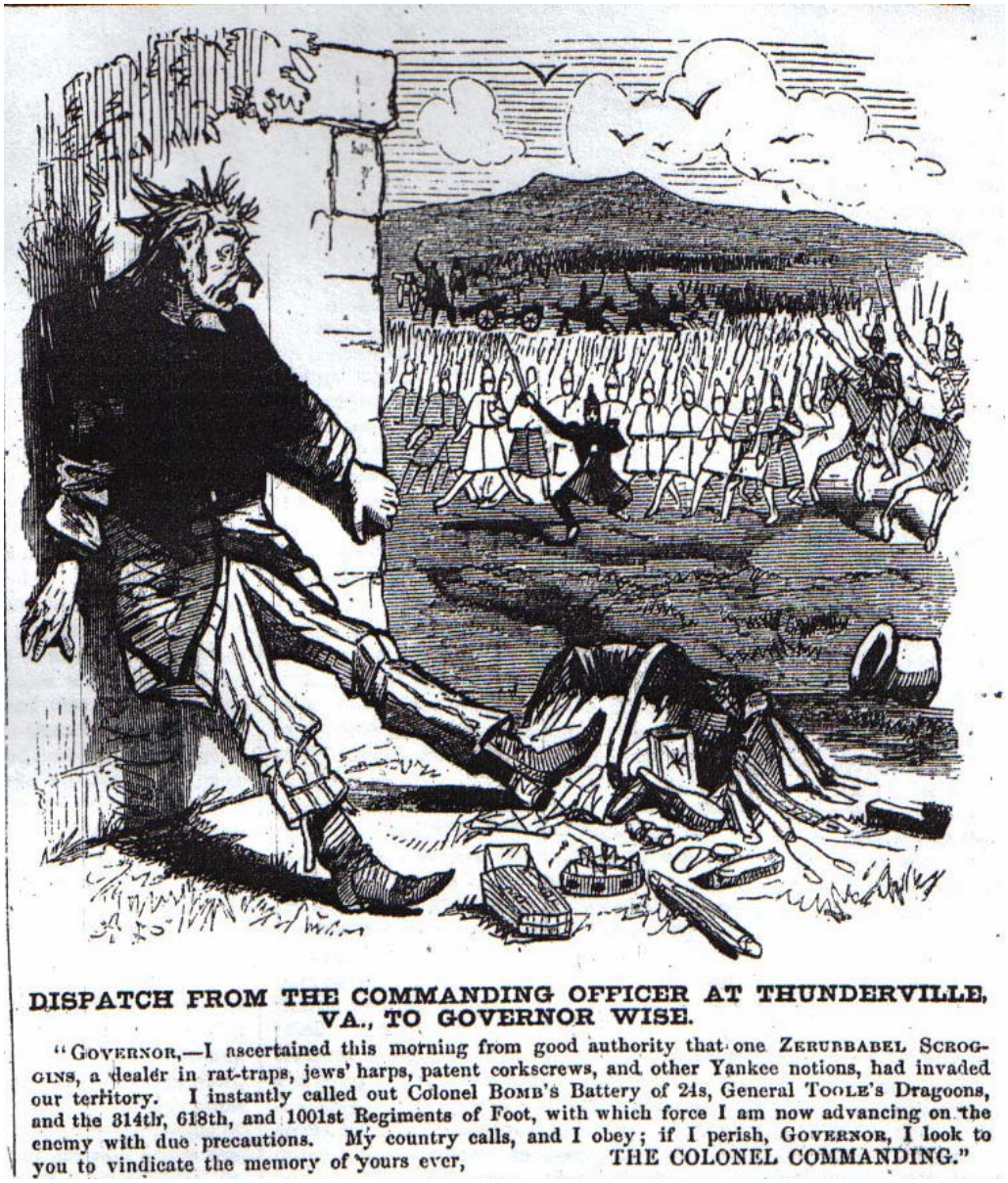


Figure 2.4
n.a., “A Fire Hunt in Georgia,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 19 February 1859, 116.

Figure 2.5
n.a., “Bonaventure Cemetery,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 1 December 1860, 756.



DISPATCH FROM THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT THUNDERVILLE, VA., TO GOVERNOR WISE.

"GOVERNOR,—I ascertained this morning from good authority that one ZERUBBABEL SCROGGINS, a dealer in rat-traps, jews' harps, patent corkscrews, and other Yankee notions, had invaded our territory. I instantly called out Colonel BOMB'S Battery of 24s, General TOOLE'S Dragoons, and the 314th, 618th, and 1001st Regiments of Foot, with which force I am now advancing on the enemy with due precautions. My country calls, and I obey; if I perish, GOVERNOR, I look to you to vindicate the memory of yours ever, THE COLONEL COMMANDING."

Figure 2.6
n.a., "Dispatch form the Commanding Officer at Thunderville, VA., To Governor Wise," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 December 1858, 784.

CHAPTER 3

AMERICANS TO CONFEDERATES: PORTRAYAL OF SOUTHERNERS 1861-1865

Between 1860 and 1861 eleven slave states seceded from the Union.[1] The election of Republican Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860 coupled with the growing fear over slavery's status drove many southerners to support the Confederacy.[2] The newly formed Confederate government first met in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1861 to form an Executive branch.[3] The delegation was split among southerners who were ardent secessionists, and those who still had Unionist leanings.[4] The delegates compromised and agreed that Jefferson Davis, a man who "had been a strong Southern rights man—but not too strong," would be the first president of the Confederate States of America.[5]

The South's successful capture of Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina in 1861 and the following victories at Manassas (1861), Fredericksburg (1862), and Chancellorsville (1863) were victories for the Confederacy.[6] The Confederate government felt its strategies would be effective because the South was fighting a defensive war.[7]

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[1] These states were Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, Florida, and Arkansas.
[2] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 313-320.
[3] Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 38-41.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 59.
[6] Ibid., 70-71; 116-117; 165; 216-217. Thomas notes that the battle of Chancellorsville was a win for the Confederacy, but General Stonewall Jackson was killed. Thomas says his death was an "incalculable" loss for the Confederates. See Thomas 217.
[7] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 330.

However, the South's war machine was severely slowed by its inability to trade cotton internationally. [8] The Confederacy was further damaged by the Union victory in the Battle of Antietam (1862) and the Emancipation Proclamation (1863).[9] Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania culminated with the Battle of Gettysburg (1863) coupled soon thereafter with the capture of Vicksburg, Mississippi were sound defeats for the Confederacy.[10] In early 1865 Richmond, the Confederate Capital, was captured by Union Army, and in April of that year Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant, essentially ending the Civil War.[11]

Representations of the South

This chapter examined thirty articles and forty-nine pictorials from *Harper's Weekly*, twenty-five articles from *Saturday Evening Post*, and four articles from *Godey's Lady's Book* published from 1861 to 1865.[12] This sample differs from content examined for Chapter Two in many ways. Many of the depictions of the South in the previous chapter revolved around cultural and geographic differences the South had in comparison with the United States. However, the articles and illustrations in this sample from 1861 to 1865 also showed the South as a unique region, but as a region outside the values, culture, and ideology of the United States.

Most of the articles and illustrations in this chapter are political. The South and its politics, economy, and people were shown in a way that suggested a distinct difference between the South and the rest of America. Each article and illustration from this period had a subtext that suggested that the Confederacy had wronged the Union, slaves, and even its own people. These articles particularly focused on the Confederacy and how its leaders on and off the

[8] Ibid., 174-176.
[9] Ibid., 338-342.
[10] Ibid., 349.
[11] Ibid., 358-359.
[12] *Godey's Lady's Book* did not mention the Civil War or the Confederacy at any time during 1861 to 1865. See Tebbel and Zuckerman, 53.

battlefield harmed the people of the North and South. Such articles underscored the idea that what America stood for, the South invariably did not.

Six themes emerged from the analysis of these articles and illustrations: Confederate leadership, the Confederacy, life in the Confederacy, slavery, emancipation, and humor. Articles about the Confederacy were categorized into three groups for manageability, and because each section spoke to different aspects of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Slavery and humor were two themes that were both in this chapter and Chapter Two. However, the theme of slavery changed in this chapter. In 1857 to 1860 magazines showed slavery as merely an economic and social reality of the South. However, articles and illustrations from 1861 to 1865 presented slavery as cruel and inhumane, and as a political issue. In addition, emancipation was a new theme that emerged from slavery, and it deserved its own section because of the large amount of articles and illustrations that directly addressed this new political and social reality in the South.

Confederate Leadership

The Confederate government was a main topic of the coverage in *Harper's Weekly*. Many of the articles and pictorials concerned the President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis. Davis's inauguration was discussed in one *Harper's Weekly* article written by an onlooker in Montgomery, Alabama. The author of the piece wrote Davis "is a pleasant-looking old gentleman," and that the ceremony itself was "solemn and impressive."[13] She equated Davis with General Andrew Jackson. However, she wrote Davis was "much more of a gentleman in his manners than the old General ever *wished* to be [original emphasis]."[14]

This article about Davis was in stark contrast to most of the pictorial representations of Davis. Three themes associated with Davis, particularly in *Harper's Weekly* cartoons, were war,

[13] "President J. Davis's Inauguration at Montgomery," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 March 1861, 156.
[14] Ibid.

violence, and starvation. In many illustrations Davis was shown as either a skeleton or an extremely thin man, who was surrounded by desolation and destruction. Figure 3.1 clearly portrayed Davis in this light.[15] This cartoon depicted Davis as a skeleton holding a pirate flag and a torch with the words "desolation" written on the handle. Seated on a barrel of whiskey he is surrounded by southerners applauding his inauguration. The southern men located on bottom left hand side were very thin and angry. One man held both a gun and a whiskey bottle in his hand while on the opposite side a woman held a skeleton baby beside other emaciated men drinking alcohol.

The cartoon also included a barefoot black boy, presumably a slave, cradled between Davis's legs blankly staring off into space.[16] The theme of desolation continued in the background of the cartoon featuring a burning house, a ship with tattered sails, and a noose. This scene was contrasted with Davis's own words which read:

> Fellow Citizens! On this the Birthday of the Man most Identified with the Establishment of American Independence, and beneath the Monument erected. & c., &c., &c., we have assembled to usher into existence the permanent government of the Confederate States.[17]

This theme of desolation at the hands of the Confederate government and Davis was also in Figure 3.2.[18] Here Davis, portrayed as the Devil, stood by a poster that asked for southerners to fast as four emaciated men in tattered rags look on. The feathers in the men's hats suggested they were once well-off southern planters, but because of Davis and the Confederacy they were reduced to wearing worn-out clothes and starving.[19]

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[15] "The Inauguration at Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 March 1862, 176.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] "Scene in Richmond, VA.," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 June 1862, 368.
[19] Ibid.

This idea that Davis was the head of the desperate and starving Confederacy was further illustrated in Figure 3.3.[20] In this cartoon Davis wore tattered pants and held a pair of new boots. He exclaimed, "See! see! the beautiful Boots just come to me from the dear ladies of Baltimore!"[21] This scene was contrasted with the tattered and barefoot General P.G.T. Beauregard who responded, "Ha Boots? Boots? When shall we eat them? Now?"[22] Like Figure 3.1 this cartoon also suggested the Confederacy's violence with bayonets, swords, and guns strewn on the floor of Davis' office.

This theme of Davis as a violent person was repeated in Figure 3.4.[23] The skeleton motif reemerged, this time on the clothes of the cat representing Davis. The cat had an angry look as it viciously attacked young birds representing the Union. Figure 3.5 demonstrated this idea of Davis as a man who promoted war and violence. [24] The illustration showed Davis and the Confederate Army holding their noses toward the peace offered by Copperheads.[25] The cartoon also portrayed Confederates as poorly dressed with arms surrounding them.[26]

Another cartoon portrayed Davis as a thief who had a double standard for peace and the Confederacy's real objectives.[27] Figure 3.6 illustrated Davis creeping out of a house holding a lighthouse, several ships, and Fort Sumter.[28] The caption below the cartoon directly addressed Davis's theft as contradictory to what the Confederacy was advocating.[29] Confronted by Uncle

[20] "The Food Question—Down South," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 May 1863, 304.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] "Governor Magoffin's Neutrality means holding the Cock of the Walk while the Confederate Cat Kills the Chickens," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 June 1861, 703.
[24] "Sad Misadventure of the Copperhead Delegation to Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 March, 1863, 176.
[25] Copperheads were northern politicians who sympathized with the South and wanted to agree to southern conditions of peace.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Untitled, Jefferson Davis stealing from Uncle Sam, *Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 352.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

Sam for stealing Davis replied, "Oh, dear Uncle! All I want is to be let alone."[30] Figure 3.7 was a variation on this same theme of the South peacefully seceding from the North.[31] The pipe representing peace with the southern cause was put out by two men. In the background a bust of Benedict Arnold was shown further associating the Confederacy with treason.

Although Davis was depicted as the purveyor and supporter of destruction other cartoons from *Harper's Weekly* showed him as a cowardly and even foolish man. Figure 3.8 presented a worried Davis with the South being destroyed around him.[32] Sitting on the powder keg symbolizing Richmond Davis said, "Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington are Fallen! Our armies are relieved of outpost duty, and are falling back upon the last ditch! Sherman and Grant are doomed! Let us await the issue with fitting composure. Allah be praised!"[33] Figure 3.9 characterized Davis as a coward as he pushes away a slave woman bringing him the gift of an exploding bomb symbolizing the destruction of the Confederacy.[34]

Figure 3.10 presented Davis as the representative of a defeated cause.[35] Here dressed in a medieval outfit Davis pensively looked on his chess board in which Lee, the last Confederate piece on the board, was cornered by Union generals. On the other side of the table a well-dressed man held most of the Confederacy's pieces, including rooks representing the captured cities of Richmond and Savannah. Davis' side had only a few captured pieces that are skeletons, which symbolizes the Confederacy's cruelty to captured Union soldiers. In the background an angel with Liberty written on her hat looked down favorably on the outcome of the match.

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[30] Ibid.
[31] "Putting Out the Last Peace Pipe," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 October 1861, 672.
[32] "Blessings in Disguise," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 March 1865, 160.
[33] Ibid.
[34] "Presentation to Jeff Davis," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863, 624.
[35] J.L. Carroll, "Check-Mate," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 June 1865, 337.

The defeated South was illustrated again in Figure 3.11, which a comparison of Jim Crow in 1861 and 1863.[36] In 1861 the skinny and jubilant Jim Crow was excited about the move of the Confederate Congress to Richmond, Virginia. However, by 1863 the mood drastically changed to one of defeat. In 1863 Jim Crow was worried, his hair is frazzled and his eyes filled with concern and sadness. The caption said, "Let us bow to our destiny and make the best allowable peace."[37] Behind him in the window was a sign "To Let" inferring the removal of the Confederate Congress and the demise of the Confederacy itself.[38]

Other articles related the Confederate government as not only illegitimate but criminal. An article in *Harper's Weekly* from 1865 said:

> They [the Confederate government] have committed the most stupendous crimes—that, in order to overthrow an equal popular government, they have starved and frozen thousands of innocent men—that they have hung and massacred in all cruel ways hundreds of their own immediate fellow-citizens—that they have striven to destroy civil society itself, in order to perpetuate the unimaginable wrong of human slavery.[39]

This theme of the cruelty of the Confederate government continued in another article from 1865. It said, "So it will be to the end, and the deluded people of the rebel section will gradually learn what wretched and criminal gascons the Southern leaders were who have plunged the country into war."[40] Figure 3.12 reiterated this cruelty through an illustration of emaciated Union troops in a Confederate prison located in Charleston, South Carolina.[41] The illustration showed the men as cruelly treated and starved, and the caption made note of these men's tattered clothing.[42]

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[36] "Jim, Crow Jumping About So," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 February 1863, 112
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] "Rebel Terms," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 June 1865, 338.
[40] "Then and Now," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 January 1865, 18.
[41] "Our Released Prisoners at Charleston, S.C.," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 January, 1865, 29.
[42] Ibid.

This theme of starvation and malnourishment caused at the hands of the Confederate government was not limited to Union prisoners of war. Figure 3.13 showed Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Christopher Memminger confronted by planters unable to make money and feed their slaves because of cotton embargoes.[43] The planters said, "Look hyar, Mr. Memminger, how're we going to Feed our Niggers if the Darned Government won't Buy our Cotton or let us Sell it to some one else [sic]?"[44] The planters were thin and emaciated and looked desperate. Memminger in contrast seemed irritated and answered the men showing the lack of concern and greediness of the Confederate government. He said:

> That Gentlemen, is a very interesting question of Economical Science, and I recommend you to study it closely. As for the Government we have established, so far from being able to Help you, it needs all your Money and Portable Property, and I rather reckon it will take 'em by and by.[45]

Depictions of southern generals presented the genteel and refined side of southern leadership. Figure 3.14 depicted Union General Stephen B. Burbridge meeting with Confederate General John Stevens Bowan and Colonel L.M. Montgomery.[46] This picture showed two men impeccably dressed in uniform despite their injuries. The men stood at attention and the officer without a hat had an air of honor and decorum. In the back a young African-American boy was well-dressed holding the personal effects of the two men.

These representations were not the same for all military leaders of the Confederacy. Figure 3.15 showed Robert E. Lee as a young man, but the caption beneath it refers to him as a

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[43] Untitled, Secretary Memminger with Cotton Planters, *Harper's Weekly*, 16 November 1861, 736. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation.* 148-149.
[44] Ibid., 736.
[45] Ibid.
[46] "The Rebel General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery Arriving At General Burbridge's Headquarters," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 August 1863, 481.

"rebel."[47] The article accompanying this picture made note Lee benefited from the generosity of the United States government. It said Lee "received the usual military education at the cost of the Government of the United States."[48] It further said, "After filling this honorable and agreeable post in the military service of his country for several years, he crowned his career by deserting his flag at the moment of his country's sorest need."[49]

A later article from 1865 discussed Lee's acceptance of the presidency of Washington College.[50] Citing an admirer of Lee, John W. Brock, the article said, "General Lee presents a new and interesting phase of his grand and heroic character—a character than which no more perfect model exists among living men."[51] In response *Harper's Weekly* said:

> Truth rhetoric, and patriotism are equally cheap, it seems, at Washington College. It is not our fault that the career of Robert E. Lee is thus offensively dragged before the young men of America; but it would be our fault and shame if we did not say to them that the man who they are thus challenged to admire and imitate was a soldier educated by his country, who, confessing that neither he nor any man had any provocation, drew his sword to stab her in the heart.[52]

The article equated Lee to the famous American traitor Benedict Arnold. The article said, "This is the 'grand and heroic character' which American youth are invoked to venerate. They will obey the summons when they have learned to admire Benedict Arnold."[53]

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[47] "The Rebel General Lee," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 August 1861, 341.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] "A 'Perfect Model,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 23 September 1865, 594.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

The Confederacy

Many articles were devoted to the Confederacy itself. These articles ranged from the legitimacy of the war to the brutality of Confederate troops in the field. Like the representation of Confederate leadership, the Confederacy was presented as traitorous, cruel, and illegitimate. The idea of Confederate illegitimacy was illustrated in the language *Harper's Weekly*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Godey's Lady's Book* used in referring to Confederates. In few instances did any of these magazines use the word Confederate. Most of the time these magazines used the term "rebel" throughout the war era to describe the Confederate army, government, and people.[54] Even *Godey's Lady's Book*, known for taking a neutral stance on the war, used the terms "rebel" and "rebellion" in reference to the South.[55] In addition to the term rebel, these magazines did not refer to the Civil War as a war but as a "rebellion."[56]

One of the main aspects of this rebellion presented in *Harper's Weekly* was the cruelty and viciousness of the Confederate army and its sympathizers. In an article from 1864 *Harper's Weekly* described the mindset of southern sympathizers known as Copperheads.[57] Referring to the ideological mindset that supported southern secession the article said, "It comes naturally from a 'Conservatism,' which burns down orphan asylums and massacres men because they are

[54] "Coaxing Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863, 611.
"The Fate of the Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 March 1865, 146.
While these two articles have rebel in their title virtually all articles in this era use the term rebel to describe the Confederacy. To list all of the articles here would require nearly every article analyzed to be footnoted.
[55] "Rebel Rhymes and Rhapsodies," *Godey's Lady's Book*, June 1864, 580 (http://www.accessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii.00000070/00007069.htm.) (accessed March 6, 2006).
"General Grant and His Campaigns," *Godey's Lady's Book*, June 1864, 580. (http://www.accessible.com/accessible/text/godeysiii.00000070/00007069.htm.) (accessed March 6, 2006).
[56] "The Hopelessness of the Rebellion," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 August 1862, 482. Like the use of rebel this term rebellion is almost universally used through these articles to describe the Civil War.
[57] "Copperhead Threats," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 September 1864, 610.

poor and defenseless."[58] In another article *Harper's Weekly* told of the Confederate army forcing Union soldiers to join their cause "at the point of the bayonet."[59]

More telling than articles were the pictorial representations of southern soldiers and other Confederate sympathizers. Figure 3.16 illustrated this theme of the Confederacy's lack of respect for the Union and their dishonorable conduct.[60] The caption below the illustration read, "Jackson's Monument…defaced by rebels."[61] This underscored the idea that the Confederacy hated all things pertaining to the Union, even if it was associated with a fellow southerner. An article about the celebration of the Fourth of July in Charleston, South Carolina portrayed the South as an unpatriotic.[62] It read, "They [Charlestonians] don't like to read the old Declaration of Independence in the light of the circumstances by which they are surrounded."[63]

The theme of Confederate thievery appeared in Figure 3.17 which was a series of three illustrations showing the Confederate army stealing from civilians.[64] The words "robbing," "pillaging," and "plunder" were all used in relation to these Confederate troops.[65] Again like Figure 3.16 these troops did not live up to higher ideals of what a soldier or cavalier should be, and equated the Confederacy with people who engaged in dishonest conduct.[66]Another article demonstrated this theme when referring to the Confederate ship *Alabama* as a "pirate."[67]

Figure 3.18 presented perhaps the most violent depiction of Confederates.[68] This illustration entitled "A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town" showed soldiers terrorizing a

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[58] Ibid.
[59] "The War in the Border States," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 40-41.
[60] "Jackson's Monument," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 July 1862, 420.
[61] Ibid.
[62] "Fourth of July in Libby Prison," *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 August 1864, 2.
[63] Ibid, 2.
[64] Untitled, Three Pictures of Confederate troops stealing from civilians, *Harper's Weekly*, 30 July 1864, 484.
[65] Ibid.
[66] "Jackson's Monument," *Harper's Weekly*, 420.
Untitled, Three Pictures of Confederate troops stealing from civilians, *Harper's Weekly*, 484.
[67] "Latest News," *Saturday Evening Post*, 9 July 1864, 283.
[68] "A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 616-617.

small town around the appropriately named Planter's Hotel.[69] The top floor of the hotel depicted the political and ideological feelings of these men with "Death to Yankees" along with a picture of a hanging man with the name "Old Abe" scrawled on the wall.[70] The street level showed the cruelty and violence of the rebel soldiers as one man held a baby upside down while another nonchalantly shot a passing dog. A man held an African-American man at gunpoint with a pistol placed in his mouth, as a man was hanged from a tree in the background. All of the soldiers were poorly dressed and appear dirty; they had no uniforms, and no military decorum, and portrayed as criminals and terrorists rather than a disciplined army. Figure 3.19 continued this theme of destruction caused by Confederate soldiers and guerillas.[71] Here a woman knelt beside her slain husband while her two children looked on with horror. In the background soldiers were pulling away while smoke billowed from houses.

This theme of attacking innocent civilians was demonstrated again in Figure 3.20 where two Confederate soldiers approached a Quaker woman.[72] The Quaker woman was alone and defenseless while the two Confederate soldiers approached, one with a knife drawn. This cartoon also made a subtle point about southerner's lack of cleanliness and intelligence. As the two soldiers approached the house the Quaker woman said, "If thou wants my House, Friend, thou may'st have it; but oh! *do wash thyself* before entering it [original emphasis]."[73] The cartoon showed the woman placing a washstand outside of her home for the two Confederates. However, the men mistook the stand for a "Strange Apparatus for an Infernal Machine, and Skedaddle[d]."[74]

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Thomas Nast, "The War in the Border States," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 40-41.
[72] "The 'Invasion' of the North,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 624.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

This theme of attacking innocent civilians was further seen in Figure 3.21 which contrasted what General Lee said and what was actually went on in the invasion of Maryland.[75] In the first illustration on the left the caption read, "No restraint upon your free Will is intended."[76] This contrasted with a scene of men being held at gunpoint taken into conscription in the Confederate army. The second scene at the top of the right side said "No Intimidation will be allowed."[77] This juxtaposed a cartoon with a Confederate officer holding a civilian at gunpoint forcing him to vote a certain way. In the last picture the caption read, "Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient Freedom of Thought and Speech."[78] This again contrasted a illustration with a tarred and feathered man being chased by armed men shouting "Shoot him" and "Spit him."[79] This same portrayal of Confederates terrorizing civilians and burning homes was also in Figure 3.22.[80] The illustration depicted the cruelty of Confederate soldiers brutalizing unarmed women and old men.[81]

However, a few images stood out in contrast to these previous depictions of the Confederate army. Figure 3.23 showed the First Virginia Calvary.[82] The illustration showed two men seated upon horses while other rest around them. All of the men appeared to be well-dressed in ornate uniforms. All of them had long, flowing hair and did not appear to be aggressive or cruel. However, the illustration did not allow the reader to forget these men were not merely soldiers, the caption read "rebel."[83]

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[75] "A Pictorial Commentary Upon Gen. Lees Proclamation to the People of Maryland," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 624.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] "John Morgan's Highwaymen Sacking A Peaceful Village in the West," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 August 1862, 548.
[81] Ibid.
[82] "The First Virginia (Rebel) Calvary at a Halt," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 612.
[83] Ibid.

Other major themes emphasized about the Confederacy were southerner's rights, how long the Confederacy would last, and how Confederates should be treated after the war. An article in *Harper's Weekly* from 1862 discredited the idea Confederates had any rights.[84] It said, "But why should lusty rebels, who are well to do and whose money goes straight to the support of the rebel army have their houses carefully protected and their clover fields scrupulously respected?"[85] The article further said, "The nation may intend to hang only the leaders and forgive the rank and file; but that is no reason…that it should not seize and every house, animal, and field of every individual rebel which it may need."[86]

Another article stressed how Confederates needed to change their priorities and political mindset.[87] An article said:

> Passion, brutalized fury, and the dread of negro equality may for a time sustain the rebels in their present absorbing devotion to the war; but a day must come when every Southerner will realize that there is something better to be done in the world than hopelessly fighting and starving.[88]

Another article in *Harper's Weekly* reported the futility of the war and the Confederate cause. It read, "The war is not between two nations, each of which can become a high contracting party of a treaty. The war is between a nation and rebels against the Constitution, the laws, and the government of the nation."[89]

These articles advocated that the only way for Confederates to be allowed back into the Union was for them to realize their cause was wrong and to reject all ideological beliefs related

[84] "Conciliation and Exasperation," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 July 1862, 418.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] "The Hopelessness of the Rebellion," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 August 1862, 482.
[88] Ibid.
[89] "No Peace With Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 June 1863, 355.

to secession. A *Harper's Weekly* article demonstrated this when it said, "Coaxing the rebels to obey the laws may be a pretty policy for a party in extremity to suggest. But the people of their country have shown that they do not mean to coax but to coerce rebels, and they will go on crushing, no conciliating, rebellion."[90] This justification for the Civil War was also discussed as a means to point out the hypocrisy of the Confederate cause. An article from 1865 stated, "The Constitution was always pleaded by the rebels and their friends against a war to suppress the rebellion, and it is now pleased against the natural and legitimate action of the country in securing the fruit of its triumph."[91] Another article spoke directly about how northerners should treat the former Confederates.[92] It said, "Magnanimity is neither forgetfulness nor weakness, and firmness is not revenge."[93]

Life in the Confederacy

In addition to articles about the Confederate soldiers and the ideology behind the Confederate cause, other articles dealt with day-to-day life in the Confederacy. Southern economy was one of the major themes explored in illustrations. Figure 3.24 dramatized this reliance of cotton in the southern economy.[94] Here cotton was shown as a king with slaves looking on as a bomb was delivered to his cotton table. King Cotton appeared to be unaware that he was about to be destroyed by this Union general. This role of cotton in the southern economy was further shown in Figure 3.25.[95] The cartoon depicted the "Southern Commissioner" courting the people and leaders of Great Britain.[96] In the final illustration on the right the

[90] "Coaxing Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863, 611.
[91] "The Organization of the House," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 November 1865, 722.
[92] "The Fate of the Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 March 1865, 146.
[93] Ibid.
[94] "'King Cotton,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 21 September 1861, 608.
[95] "How 'the Southern Commissioner' tried to mould Public Opinion in England," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 July 1861, 480.
[96] Ibid.

commissioner held a sign that read, "Pray Bestow a Cotton Bale."[97] This figure highlighted cotton as an international political force and the major part of the Confederate economy.

Articles and illustrations also emphasized the lack of industrialization. Figure 3.26 showed two men making gun carriages for the Confederacy.[98] The two men were alone, and the scene underscored the lack of industrialization within the South. This lack of industrial might was coupled with the destruction of what modern technology and resources the South did have. An article from *Saturday Evening Post* told how the South's railroads were "worn down to the thickness of a lady's little finger."[99] Another article from *Saturday Evening Post* explained that the Confederacy was collecting taxes, except in "Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas."[100]

This crumbling Confederate economy created dissatisfaction for those living in and fighting for the South. Figure 3.27 depcited southern guerillas turning themselves over to the Union.[101] The caption read, "Look here, Gin'ral [sic]; nights are getting cold. We're tired of sleeping out in the swamp, with nothing to eat, and that sort of thing, so we want to go in the Union, and have out meals reg'lar [sic]."[102] Another article from *Saturday Evening Post* was a letter from a woman living in the Confederacy.[103] She told of the hardship of living day-to-day under the southern government. She referred to the Civil War and secession as a "horrible abyss."[104] Since secession she and her family had turned "heathenish" not attending church.[105] She spoke directly to the idea that southerners were noble cavaliers.[106] She said:

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[97] Ibid.
[98] "Virginia Sketches: Making Gun Carriages," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April 1861, 217.
[99] Untitled, "The iron rails on the southern railroads," No Title, *Saturday Evening Post*, 2 April 1864, 6.
[100] "Out of the Ring," *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 February 1864, 3.
[101] "Evidently Sincere," *Harper's Weekly*, 25 October 1862, 688.
[102] Ibid.
[103] "A Letter from Rebeldom," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2 April 1864, 3.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.

> Some of our cavaliers think it fair in war to capture everything they can lay hands on even down to twisting off old setting hen's necks. After seeing so much, and hearing more of 'our solderies'' thieving propensities, and wanton destruction of property, I ask what has become of the boasted Southern chivalry?[107]

Other articles and illustrations showed this theme of southerners who rejected the Confederacy. One article from the *Saturday Evening Post* told of eleven hundred North Carolinians taking a loyalty oath to the United States.[108] *Harper's Weekly* told of a man who was "A South Carolina Hero."[109] The article argued this man showed his patriotism while living in the Confederacy when he "hung an American flag out over his mantle and sat there by it in conversation with his family." [110] This patriotism was further demonstrated when he defended captured black soldiers from Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment.[111] The article said, "To do this you can imagine how fearlessly this brave soul must have worked."[112] Figures 3.28 and 3.29 also showed southern loyalty to the Union.[113] Both illustrations showed well-dressed ladies who had always held allegiance to the Union.[114] The men in Figure 3.29 were also dressed well, and do not show any animosity or anger toward the Union.[115]

Women were portrayed more than men in the role of southerners Unionists. One article told of southern women marrying Union troops because they knew their loved ones would not

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[107] Ibid.
[108] Untitled, "Eleven hundred persons in Newbern, North Carolina," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 January 1864, 3.
[109] "A South Carolina Hero," *Harper's Weekly*, 8 April 1865, 210.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] "Presentation of a Flag to the 13th Connecticut Regiment by Loyal Ladies of New Orleans," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 August 1862, 493.
"Registered Enemies Taking the Oath of Allegiance," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 July 1863, 357.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

return.[116] Another article said, "The ladies of East Tennessee are represented as unquestionably loyal. They improve every opportunity to kiss the dear old flag."[117]

Slavery

Slavery and slaves were major themes throughout these magazines. Unlike Chapter Two, slavery was not portrayed as an a-political aspect of the South. Instead, the presentation of slavery was politically focused, especially the cruelty and subjugation of slaves.

Many articles from this sample argued slavery was not the cause of the Civil War. One *Harper's Weekly* article from 1861 said, "There is still confusion about the cardinal point of the relation of Slavery to the War…emancipation is not the object of the war, which is strictly true. On the other hand, nothing is truer than that emancipation may become an *incident* of the war [original emphasis]."[118] Another article asserted the war was not linked to emancipation. The article said, "But this is not a war for the abolition of slavery, is it? No: and the assertion that any considerable part urges it for that purpose is false….The object of this war is the restoration of the Union."[119] The article further argued that ending slavery would not necessarily defeat the Confederacy.[120] It said:

> Neither the liberation of the slaves, nor the brave soldiers who fight, nor the stout sailors, nor the seizure of rebel property, nor the occupation of rebel land, nor the destruction of rebel houses and cities, nor all the means of warfare combined, may suffice to suppress the rebellion.[121]

[116] "Progress of the Union in the South," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2 April 1864, 3.
[117] "Latest News," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 January 1864, 3.
[118] "The War and Emancipation," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 October 1861, 658-659.
[119] "Not an Abolition War," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 611.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

However, equating slavery to the cause of the war was shown in articles about the South. Figure 3.30 depicted two men hoisting the baggage of both slavery and secession onto a mule.[122] In the *Saturday Evening Post* an article presented slavery as an underlying cause of the war in a fictionalized conversation with Jefferson Davis.[123] The fictional Davis said:

> It [slavery] was only a means of bringing other conflicting elements to an easier culmination. It fired the musket which was already capped and loaded. There are essential differences between the North and the South that will, however this war may end, make them two nations.[124]

Despite the fact many articles expressly said slavery was not an issue of the war, illustrations of the time politicized slavery and showed it as a cruel and inhumane practice. Figure 3.31 showed slavery in a realistic manner.[125] As an escaped slave, this man still had on the tattered clothing and work boots, and his face showed exhaustion with a backdrop of a dilapidated farm.[126] Figure 3.32 went further in this portrayal of the reality of slavery showing a man named Gordon with scars on his back from the whippings he received as a slave. [127] The reality of this whipping was made even more apparent with the title of "Typical Negro," which demonstrated the commonness of these beatings and the realities of slave life.[128]

Figure 3.33 went further in depicting the cruelty of slavery by showing an "Instrument of Torture" for slaves.[129] In this pictorial the slave appeared frightened and scared of being caught. His clothes were tattered and the device around his neck is said to keep him from running away.

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[122] Untitled, Slavery and Secession on a Mule, *Harper's Weekly*, 4 July 1863, 432.
[123] "A Visit of Gilmore and Jaquess to Richmond," *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 August 1864, 2.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "The Escaped Slave," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 July 1864, 428.
[126] Ibid.
[127] "Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 July 1863, 429.
[128] Ibid.
[129] "An Instrument of Torture Among Slaveholders," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 February 1862, 108.

The article accompanying the picture argued the device created a "deep degradation of the soul."[130]

This mistreatment of slaves also took on other forms, particularly serving the Confederate war effort. Figures 3.34 and 3.35 showed how slaves were used by the Confederate army.[131] In Figure 3.34 showed two frightened slaves held at gunpoint and forced to fire upon the Union army.[132] The Confederate officer looked angry while the two slaves appeared wide-eyed and scared of the oncoming advance.[133] In Figure 3.35 depicted a fife and drum corps rounding up recruits for the Confederate army.[134] The young barefoot slave in the front happily danced along, while the older boy with the drum stared blankly into space, while aiding a cause that supports both their bondage.[135]

Emancipation

Other articles discussed the inability of slavery to coincide with American ideals. One *Harper's Weekly* article argued Confederates knew "that a system of free labor and of slavery can not coexist in a political society like ours."[136] The article stated the South was aware of this and the Confederacy had "the firm conviction that freedom and slavery were incompatible in the same Union."[137] The issue of slave verses free labor became a major issue discussed in articles and illustrations from this period. In Figure 3.36 showed emancipation as a political issue.[138] The illustration said emancipation had been postponed until 1900 while tired slaves in tattered

[130] Ibid.
[131] "A Rebel Captain Forcing Negroes to Load Cannon," *Harper's Weekly*, 10 May 1862, 289. "Drumming Up Recruits for the Confederate Army," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 345.
[132] "A Rebel Captain Forcing Negroes to Load Cannon," *Harper's Weekly*.
[133] Ibid.
[134] "Drumming Up Recruits for the Confederate Army," *Harper's Weekly*.
[135] Ibid.
[136] "Peace," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 July 1864, 482.
[137] Ibid.
[138] "The Great Negro Emancipation," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 December 1862, 816.

clothes look on in disbelief.[139] This exodus of slaves to the North was addressed again in an article from 1864.[140] It read, "The exodus of the slaves from the bondage which has so long oppressed them has been steady and continuous from the moment the first blow was struck against the national honor, and it still goes on, hundreds and thousands of the poor, outraged creatures coming weekly into the Union."[141] Figure 3.37 showed the inevitability and the awareness slaves had about emancipation.[142] The old master asked his slave if he would like to buy his freedom to which the slave responded, "Well, no tank you Sar; fac is der's so many ob dese Obbolotionist sogers round, I don' fell like Speckelatin' in Niggers, jis now [sic]."[143]

Figure 3.38 showed the dramatic change in what magazines perceived slave's concepts of freedom as being.[144] Unlike Figure 2.1 these slaves were portrayed as not under the impression abolition was a bad thing.[145] The caption read, "Massa say de Bobolitionists comin' and gib us dese Knives. Who dey for [sic]?"[146] The celebration of freedom was shown in Figure 3.39 in which a slave family was no longer property, but free to work for themselves.[147] Figure 3.40 showed the jubilation of slaves at their freedom with two teamsters dueling as northern soldiers look on with amusement. [148] Not only does this illustration point to the excitement of newly freed slaves but it depicted freed slaves in a way that suggested their primitiveness and lack of refinement.

This portrayal of slaves being different from whites was also illustrated in other articles and pictorials. One article described slaves as "mild and docile people" but commented that as a

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[139] Ibid.
[140] "Negroes Leaving Their Home," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 April 1864, 235.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "One Who Knows His Own Value," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 July 1862, 432.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Untitled-Slaves with Knives, *Harper's Weekly*, 21 December 1861, 816.
[145] "At the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 June 1860, 64.
[146] Untitled, Slaves with Knives, *Harper's Weekly.*
[147] Thomas Nast, "No More Slavery," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 September 1864, 616-617.
[148] "The Teamsters' Duel," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 33.

group they were "undoubtedly shrewder and more intelligent than the lower class of the whites—'the white trash' of the Southern States."[149] Slaves' abilities were shown to have been suppressed by whites, and the fear of racial intermingling was depicted as a byproduct of white, not black desires.[150] An article said, "'Miscegenation must be the work and taste of other climes and other people,' yet everybody knows that the clime and the people of the sunny South have succeeded in making about three-quarters of the colored population mulattoes of various degrees."[151]

This subjugation of slaves was related to their status as property. Figure 3.41 spoke directly to the ownership of slaves.[152] A newly freed slave addressed the animals on the farm; he said, "I ain't' one of you no more. I'se a Man I is [sic]."[153] The new freedom of slaves was also portrayed in other ways that underscored slave's lack of education and sophistication. Figure 3.42 showed newly freed slaves in the parlor of their old master's home.[154] They lounged in the chairs and on furniture while one played the piano with sheet music entitled "Dixie's Land" turned upside-down and another young boy tried to read a newspaper.[155] This scene underscored the fact these slaves could not read, and suggested that they did not possess the manners and cultivation of the whites that formerly occupied the house. This incongruent image of barefoot slaves with tattered clothes in a refined home highlighted the fact they were out of place, and southern society had changed.

[149] "A Condition of Pardon," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 July 1865, 403.
[150] "Convention of the Other Color," *Harper's Weekly*,16 December 1865, 786.
[151] Ibid.
[152] "Cutting his Old Associates," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 48.
[153] Ibid.
[154] "Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 January 1862, 33.
[155] Ibid.

Although southern society changed in 1865, Figure 3.43 showed that in terms of labor it had not changed that much.[156] This illustration harkened back to the antebellum South where the planter and his family did no work and relied exclusively on black labor. Here the well dressed planter sat on his white columned porch reading while a black laborer did the work. The planter told the black man "You've got to work!" while the planter did nothing.[157] The caption below read, "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View."[158] This showed that if left up to white southerners black labor would still be used to advance the southern economy while upper class whites still lived a life of quiet leisure.

Humor and Oddities

A small amount of articles from *Saturday Evening Post* were humorous anecdotes about the South. One article told of a coffin built for Jefferson Davis, and another how a man in Marietta, Georgia, said he was going to die there because he could leave the town with "less regret than any other place on earth," and then died an hour later.[159] Other articles were less political and reported historical accounts about Andrew Jackson, and about a northerner who tried to stay in a hotel in the South.[160] These articles spoke of oddities within the South such as Siamese twins, and a Charleston reporter who referred to everything northern as "Yank."[161] Each of these anecdotes might have had political overtones, but on the surface they served as humor that was similar to that seen in the era from 1857 to 1860.[162]

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[156] "The Great Labor Question from a Southern Point of View," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 July 1865, 465.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] "A Coffin for Jeff Davis," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 January 1864, 7.
Untitled, "Some years before Marietta," *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 August 1864, 3.
[160] "Knowing Too Much," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 June 1864, 8.
"A Yankee Hotel in Dixie," *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 June 1864, 8
[161] Unititled, "Simames Twins have each a lounge," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2 July 1864, 6.
"Small Potatoes," *Saturday Evening Post*, 2 July 1864, 3.

Analysis

This chapter presented a different portrayal of the South than that in Chapter Two. In the era of 1857 to 1860 the South was depicted as culturally unique with the major themes being the South's wildness and untamed nature and its economic system of slavery. Slavery itself was portrayed as being a cultural difference of the South, but political discussions and value judgments on the institution itself were not presented. If the representation of the South from 1857 to 1860 can be briefly summarized, it showed the South as socially and politically different from the United States, but still a part of America.

The major theme in the representation of the South in 1861 to 1865 was that the South was comprised of un-American traitors. Southern leaders were portrayed as ungrateful men who wanted to steal illegitimate independence from the United States. As was evident with the portrayal of Robert E. Lee, these leaders were shown to be benefactors of American generosity only to turn around and harm their country.[163] In portraying southerners as traitors these magazines presented southerners as fundamentally different from the rest of America.

According to the articles in this sample, southerners did not want to be American, and did not share American philosophies, which ultimately led to southerners viewing themselves as southerners, not Americans. The fictitious interview given by Jefferson Davis in *Saturday Evening Post* epitomized this portrayal of the South as something different than America.[164] Davis explained the economic systems of the North and South fundamentally made these two regions "two nations."

However, this representation of the South as un-American was not entirely blamed on the southern people. Instead articles showed the leadership of the South as being a malicious group

[163] "A 'Perfect Model,'" *Harper's Weekly.*
[164] "The Visit of Gilmore and Jaquess to Richmond," *Saturday Evening Post.*

who forced their anti-American sentiments on southerners. While the average white southerner was presented as having some sympathy for the Confederacy, southern leaders were held more accountable for creating and perpetuating this idea. In addition, these magazines characterized the Confederate government as irresponsible and incapable of good government. Articles and illustrations emphasized that the Davis administration was more concerned about war than the welfare of the southern people.

This portrayal of the anti-American Confederacy also showed the hardships and lack of governmental responsibility. Many articles spoke directly to the lack of food and the starvation in the South.[165] The presentation of the hardships of the South was presented in conjunction with articles about southerners rejecting the Confederate cause and wanting to return to the comfortable days of the Union.[166] Other articles showed that perhaps even though the South seceded, not all people supported the Confederacy.

A major theme that ran throughout the categories in this chapter was the cruel and violent nature of the South. Confederate troops were almost all shown committing wanton acts of violence against defenseless civilians, often portrayed by women and children.[167] This violence, like that illustrated in Figure 3.18, served to separate southerners from the legitimate fighting forces of the North, and cast them in an inhuman and cruel light.[168]

This theme of violence continued in the depictions of slavery.[169] Articles and illustrations depicted slaves as tortured and mercilessly beaten by southern whites.[170] This again

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[165] "The Food Question—Down South," *Harper's Weekly.*
Untitled, Secretary Memminger with Cotton Planters, *Harper's Weekly*.
[166] "Evidently Sincere," *Harper's Weekly.*
[167] Untitled, Three Pictures of Confederate troops stealing from civilians, *Harper's Weekly.*
Nast, "The War in the Border States," *Harper's Weekly.*
"A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town," *Harper's Weekly.*
[168] "A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town," *Harper's Weekly.*
[169] "An Instrument of Torture Among Slaveholders," *Harper's Weekly*.
"A Rebel Captain Forcing Negroes to Load Cannon," *Harper's Weekly.*
"Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*.

emphasized the cruelty of the southern people. In illustrating the violent reality of slavery these magazines underscored why emancipation was good, and why the South's system and society had to be defeated. These realities of slavery shown in these articles demonstrated the South's economic system was not American, and in order for the South to continue it had to end these practices. In doing this these magazines further separated the South's behavior as something outside the norm of the North and further presented the South as despicably un-American.

Another theme related to slavery was emancipation. While slavery, the South, and the Confederacy were all shown to be anti-American and undesirable, emancipation took on a dual representation. Some articles showed freeing slaves as a step toward progress for a deserving people. Former slaves were shown to be happy and overjoyed with their freedom, and responsible with their new rights as citizens.[171] However, while these representations did appear other portrayals of these newly emancipated slaves presented them as uneducated and unsophisticated people who did not know how to be responsible citizens. African-Americans were shown to be too ignorant and foolish to manage their lives and freedom.[172] In addition, one illustration hinted at a new reality of the South that freed African-Americans would fall back into a system like slavery.[173] This too presented new problems for the South, but perhaps showed the South to be a place where these newly free African-Americans could be controlled, and the threat of these new citizens could be curtailed.[174]

Although the smallest amount of articles in this era were humorous, they provided an interesting comparison to the rest of the articles. These articles presented the South as southern,

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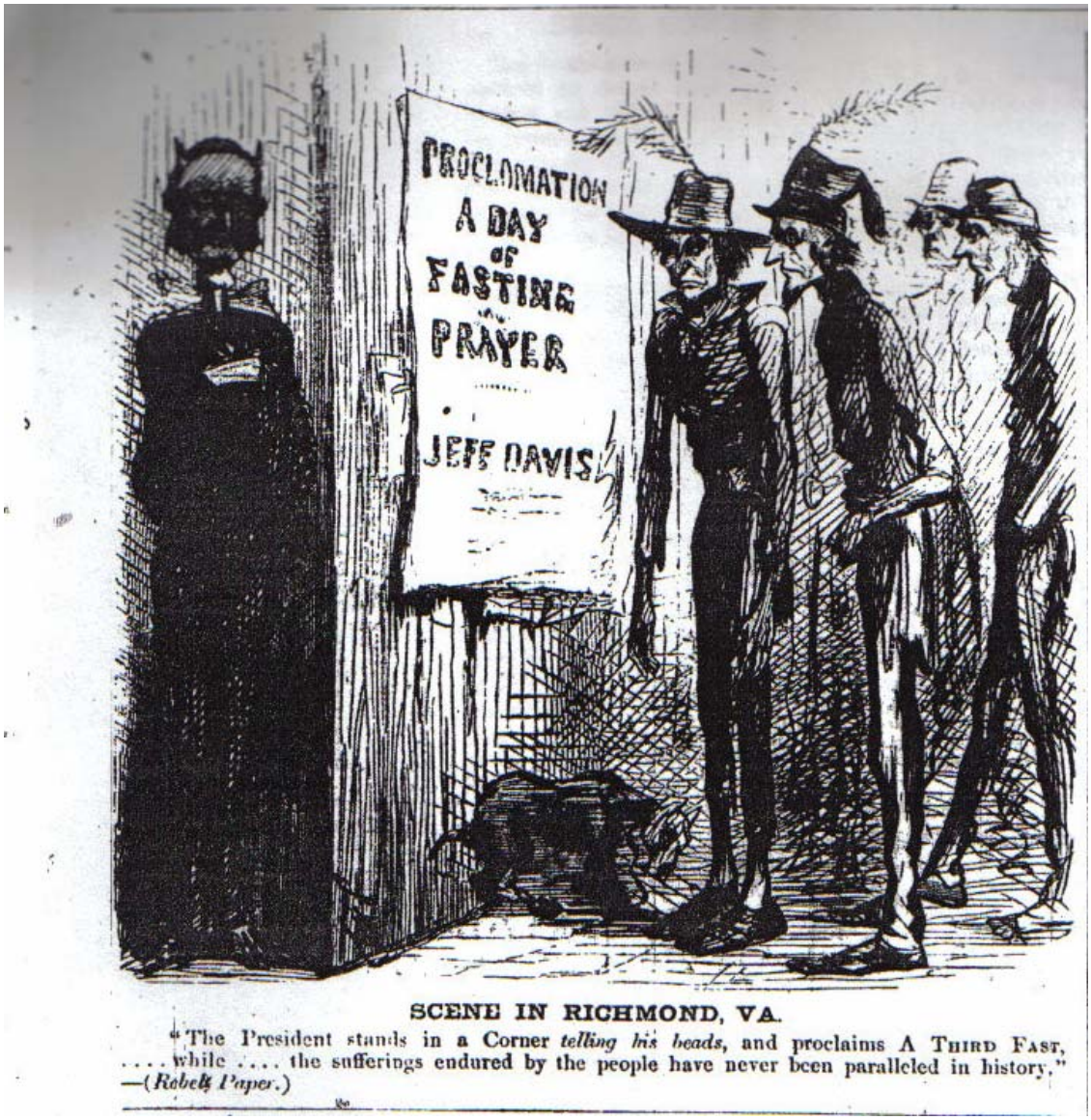
[170] "Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*.
[171] Nast, "No More Slavery," *Harper's Weekly*.
"Convention of the Other Color," *Harper's Weekly*.
[172] "Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*.
"Cutting His Old Associates," *Harper's Weekly*.
[173] "The Great Labor Question From a Southern Point of View," *Harper's Weekly*.
[174] Ibid.

but also as a place within America that had unique stories in this era.[175] These articles showed no animosity towards the South, and did not present the South through any political or value-laden lens. They told stories in a way that made the reader feel the South was a part of the United States, and those experiences in the South were a piece of the greater American experience.

Harper's Weekly provided the most critical presentation of the South in this sample. *Harper's* hardened pro-Union stance was very apparent in the illustrations and cartoons. In fact, two illustrations in this sample were drawn by Thomas Nast.[176] These types of illustrations depicted *Harper's* firm stance against the Confederacy and southern ideals. Unlike *Harper's*, *Saturday Evening Post's* presentation of the South focused more on cultural than political aspects of the region. Through these articles the northern perception of the southern lifestyle was presented. However, like *Harper's*, *Saturday Evening Post's* articles were pro-Union and anti-Confederate. Only *Godey's Lady's Book* showed no anti-Confederate sentiment. However, this was due to the fact *Godey's* had few articles about the South in this era's sample.

[175] "A Coffin for Jeff Davis," *Saturday Evening Post*.
"Knowing Too Much," *Saturday Evening Post.*
"A Yankee Hotel in Dixie," *Saturday Evening Post.*
"Small Potatoes," *Saturday Evening Post*.
[176] The two Nast illustrations were Figures 3.19 and 3.39. Although other illustrations in this sample may have been illustrated by Nast these were the only two that were signed or in the case of 3.19 also shown in Morton Keller's *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast*.

Figure 3.1
n.a., "The Inauguration at Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 March, 1862, 176.



SCENE IN RICHMOND, VA.

"The President stands in a Corner *telling his beads*, and proclaims A THIRD FAST, ... while .... the sufferings endured by the people have never been paralleled in history."
—(*Rebel Paper.*)

Figure 3.2
n.a., "Scene in Richmond VA.," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 June 1862, 368.

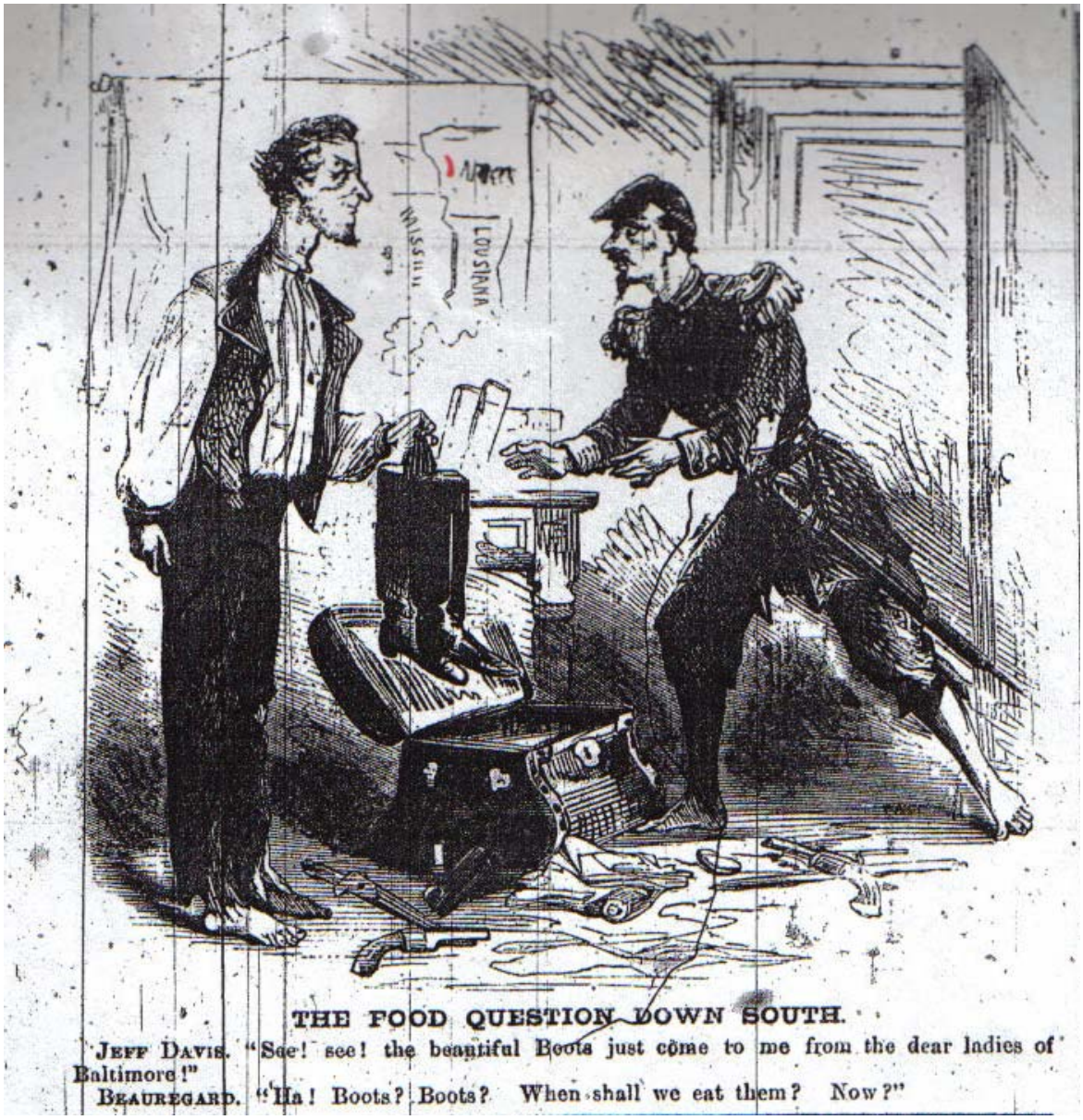


Figure 3.3
n.a., "The Food Question—Down South," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 May 1863, 176.

Figure 3.4
n.a., "Governor Magoffin's Neutrality Means Holding the Cock of the Walk while the Confederate Cat kills the Chickens," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 June 1861, 703.

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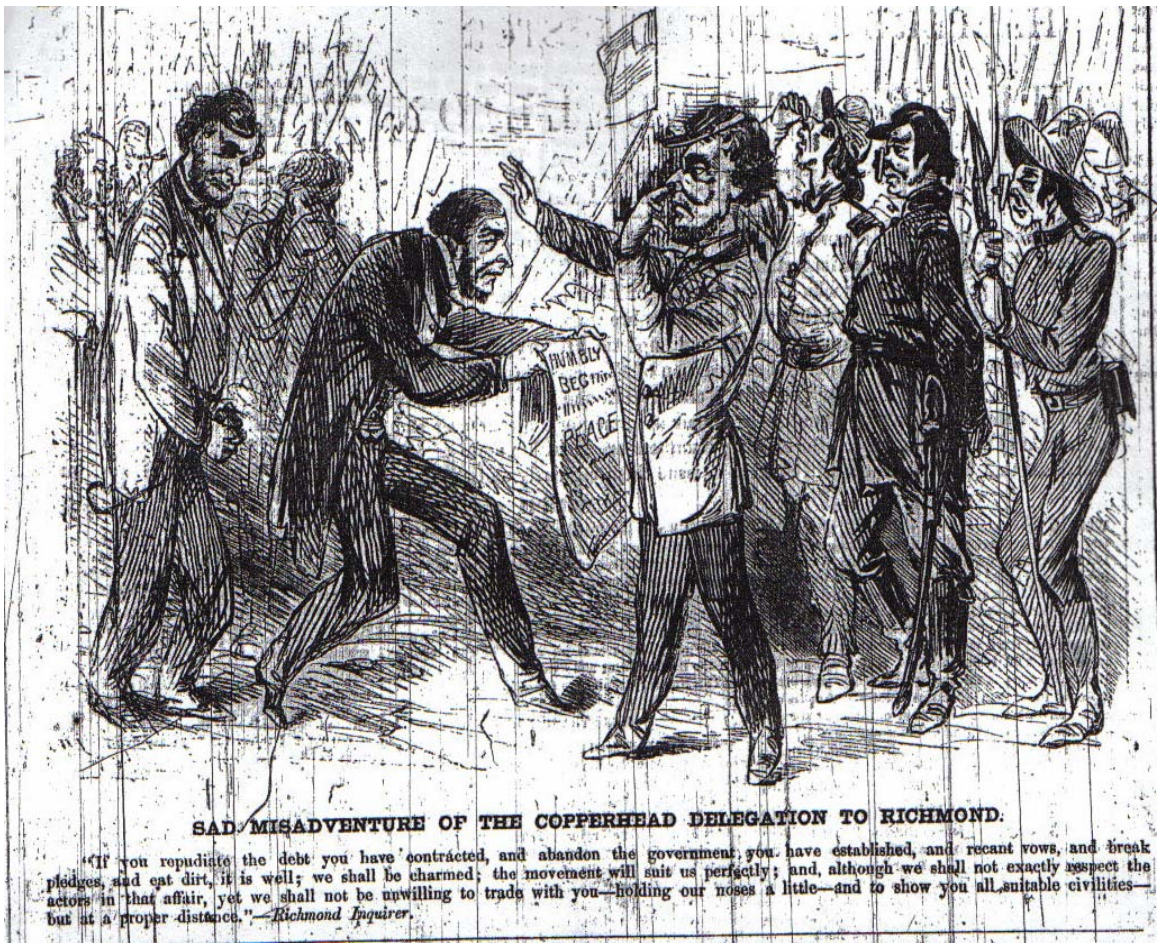
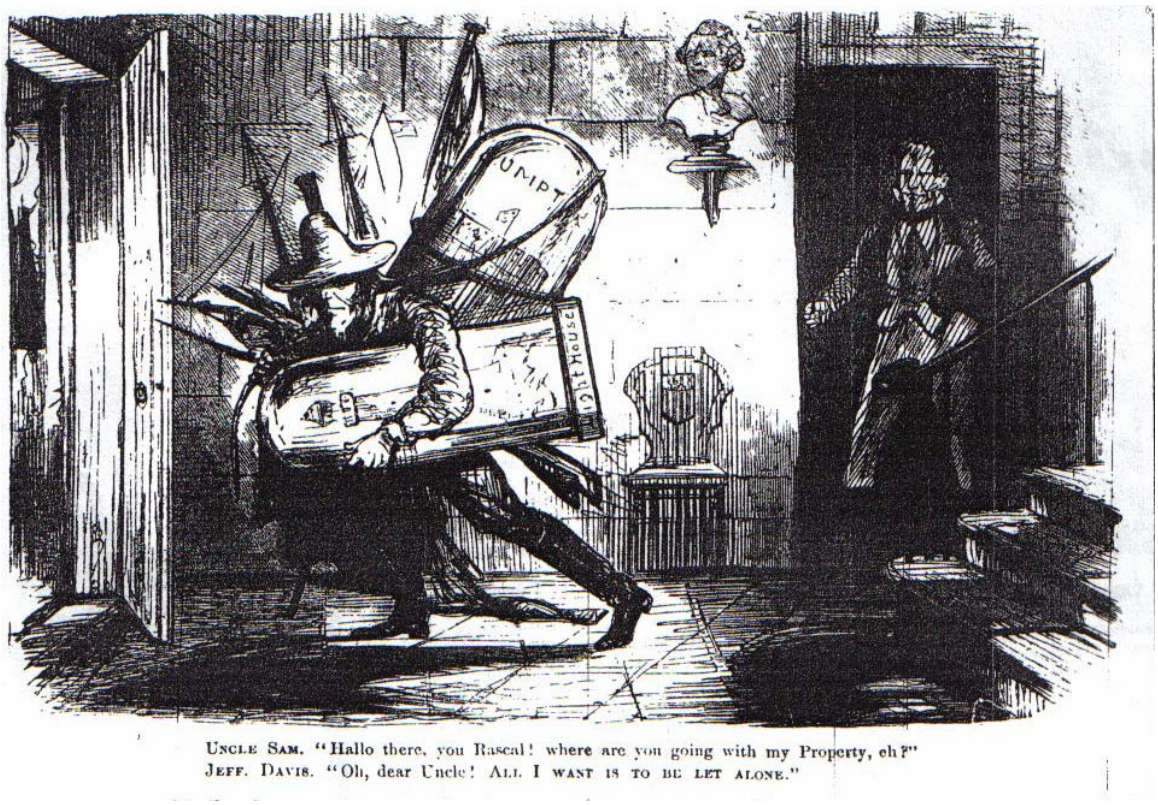


SAD MISADVENTURE OF THE COPPERHEAD DELEGATION TO RICHMOND.

"If you repudiate the debt you have contracted, and abandon the government you have established, and recant vows, and break pledges, and eat dirt, it is well; we shall be charmed; the movement will suit us perfectly; and, although we shall not exactly respect the actors in that affair, yet we shall not be unwilling to trade with you—holding our noses a little—and to show you all suitable civilities—but at a proper distance."—*Richmond Inquirer*.

Figure 3.5
n.a., "Sad Misadventure of the Copperhead Delegation to Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 352.



UNCLE SAM. "Hallo there, you Rascal! where are you going with my Property, eh?"
JEFF. DAVIS. "Oh, dear Uncle! ALL I WANT IS TO BE LET ALONE."

Figure 3.6
n.a., Untitled Jefferson Davis Stealing from Uncle Sam, *Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 352.

Figure 3.7
n.a., "Putting Out the Last Peace Pipe," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 October 1861, 672.

Figure 3.8
n.a., "Blessings in Disguise," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 March 1865, 160.

Figure 3.9
n.a., "Presentation to Jeff Davis," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863, 624.

Figure 3.10
J. L Carroll, "Check-Mate," *Harper's Weekly,* 3 June 1865, 337.

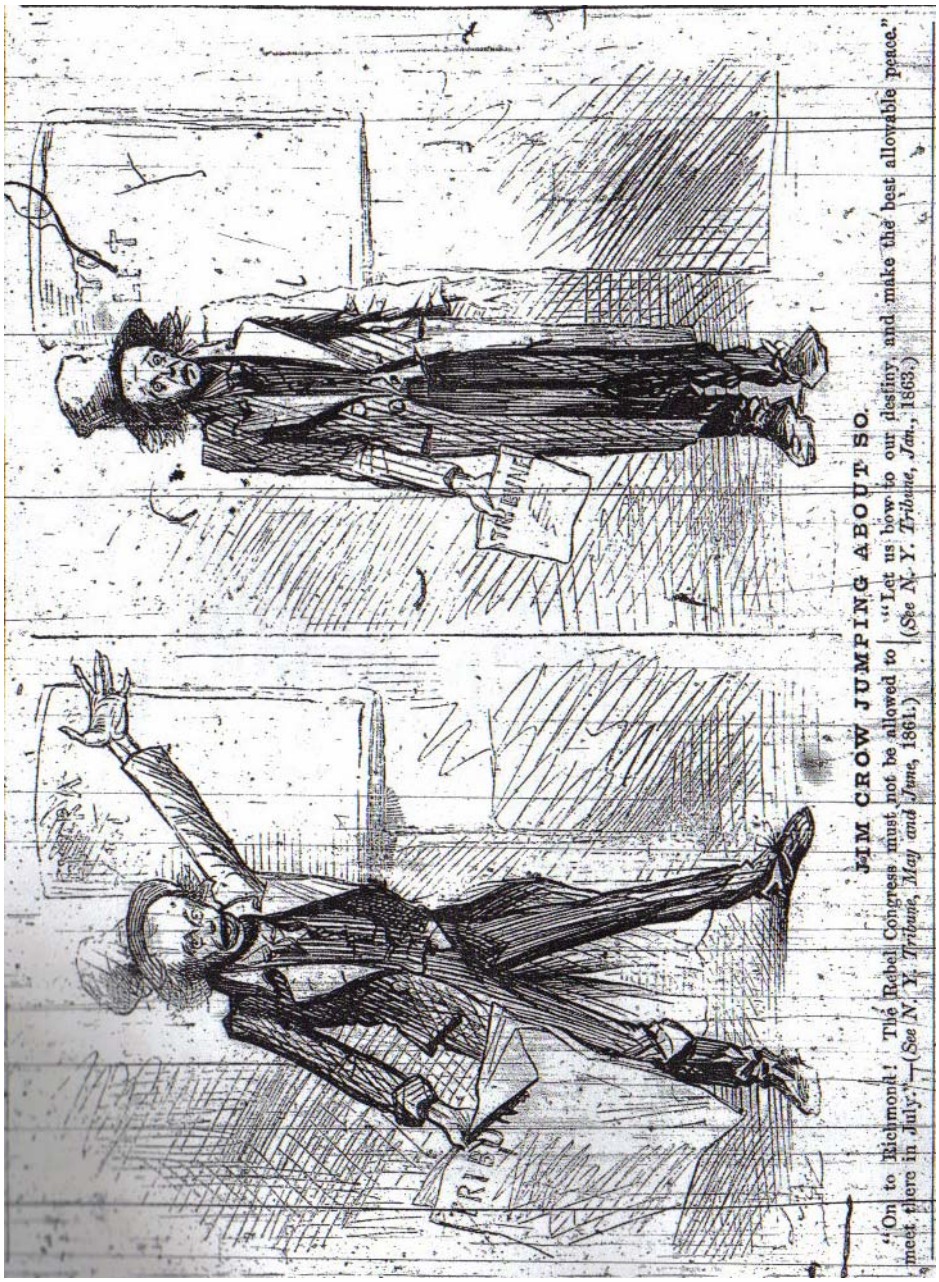


Figure 3.11
n.a., "Jim Crow Jumping About So," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 February 1863, 112.

Figure 3.12
n.a., “Our Released Prisoners at Charleston, S.C.,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 14 January 1865, 29.

SOUTHERN COTTON PLANTER. "Look hyar, Mr. MEMMINGER, how're we going to Feed our Niggers if the Darned Government won't Buy our Cotton or let us Sell it to some one else?"

SECRETARY MEMMINGER. "That, Gentlemen, is a very interesting question of Economical Science, and I recommend you to study it closely. As for the Government we have established, so far from being able to Help you, it needs all your Money and Portable Property, and I rather reckon it will take 'em by and by."

Figure 3.13
n.a., Untitled, Secretary Memminger with Cotton Planters, *Harper's Weekly*, 16 November 1861, 736

Figure 3.14
n.a., "The Rebel General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery Arriving at General Burbridge's Headquarters," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 August 1863, 481.

Figure 3.15
n.a., “The Rebel General Lee,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 24 August 1861, 341.

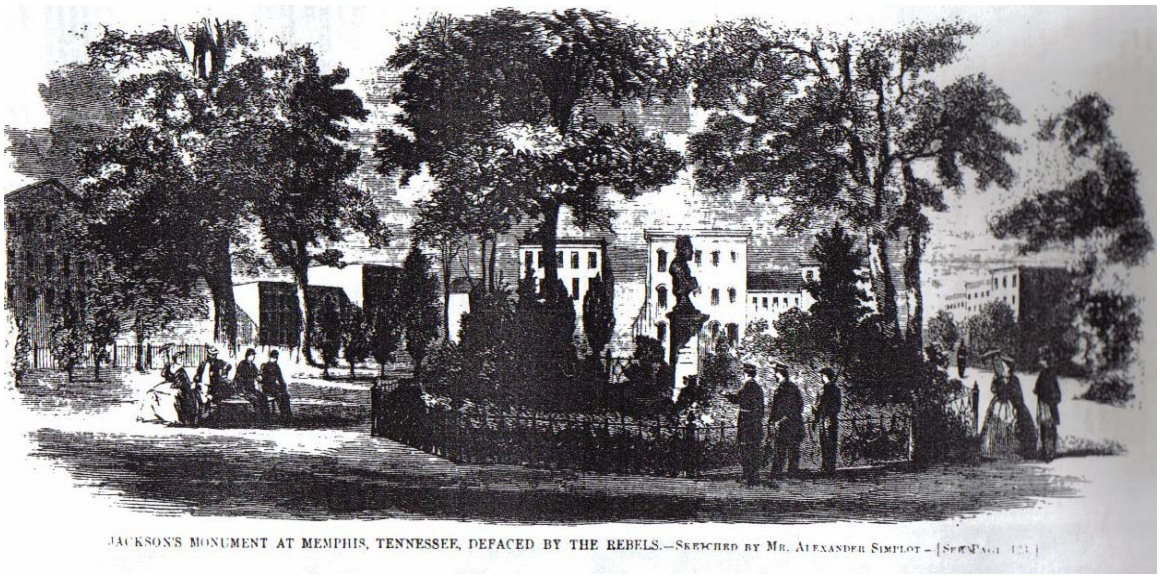


Figure 3.16
n.a., "Jackson's Monument," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 July 1862, 420.

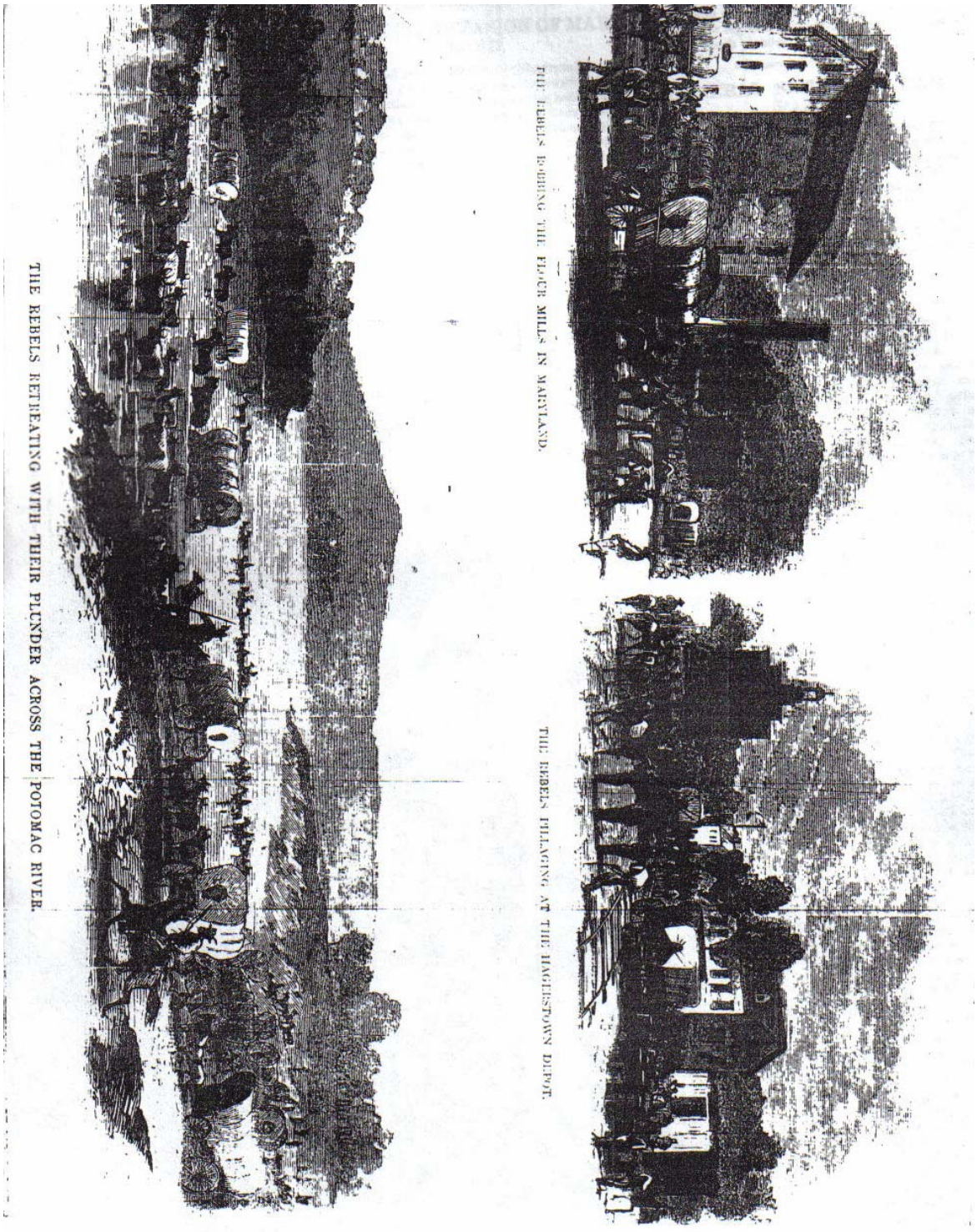


Figure 3.17
n.a., Untitled, Three Pictures of Confederate Troops Stealing from Civilians, *Harper's Weekly*, 30 July 1864, 484.

Figure 3.18
n.a., "A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 616-617.

Figure 3.19
Thomas Nast, "The War in the Border States," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 40-41.

THE "INVASION" OF THE NORTH.

(*Old Quaker Lady of Maryland, anticipating the seizure of her House by Lee's Troops, puts out a Washing Stand as a desirable preliminary step thereto. The Rebel Scouts mistake the—to them—Strange Apparatus for an Infernal Machine, and Skedaddle.*)

OLD LADY (*to retreating Rebel*). "If thou wants my House, Friend, thou may'st have it; but, oh! *do wash thyself* before entering in."

Figure 3.20
n.a., "The Invasion of the North," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 624.

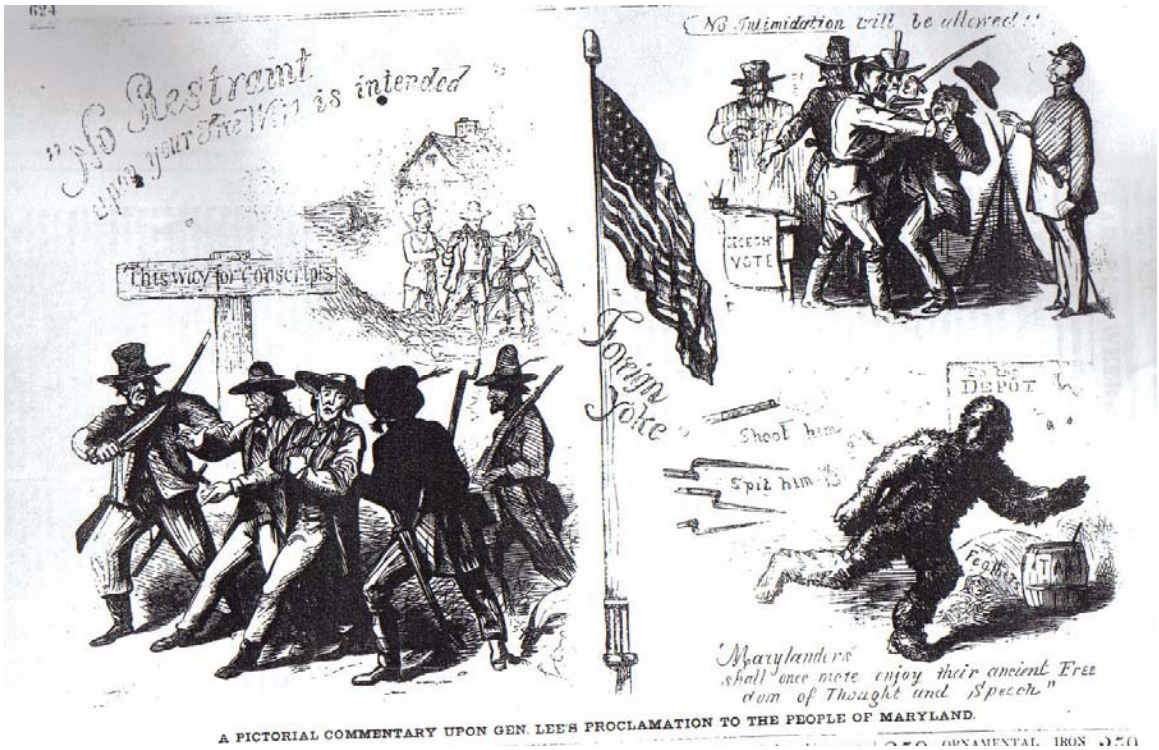


Figure 3.21
n.a., "A Pictorial Commentary Upon Gen. Lee's Proclamation to the People of Maryland," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 September 1862, 624.

Figure 3.22
n.a., "John Morgan's Highwaymen Sacking a Peaceful Village in the West," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 August 1862, 548.

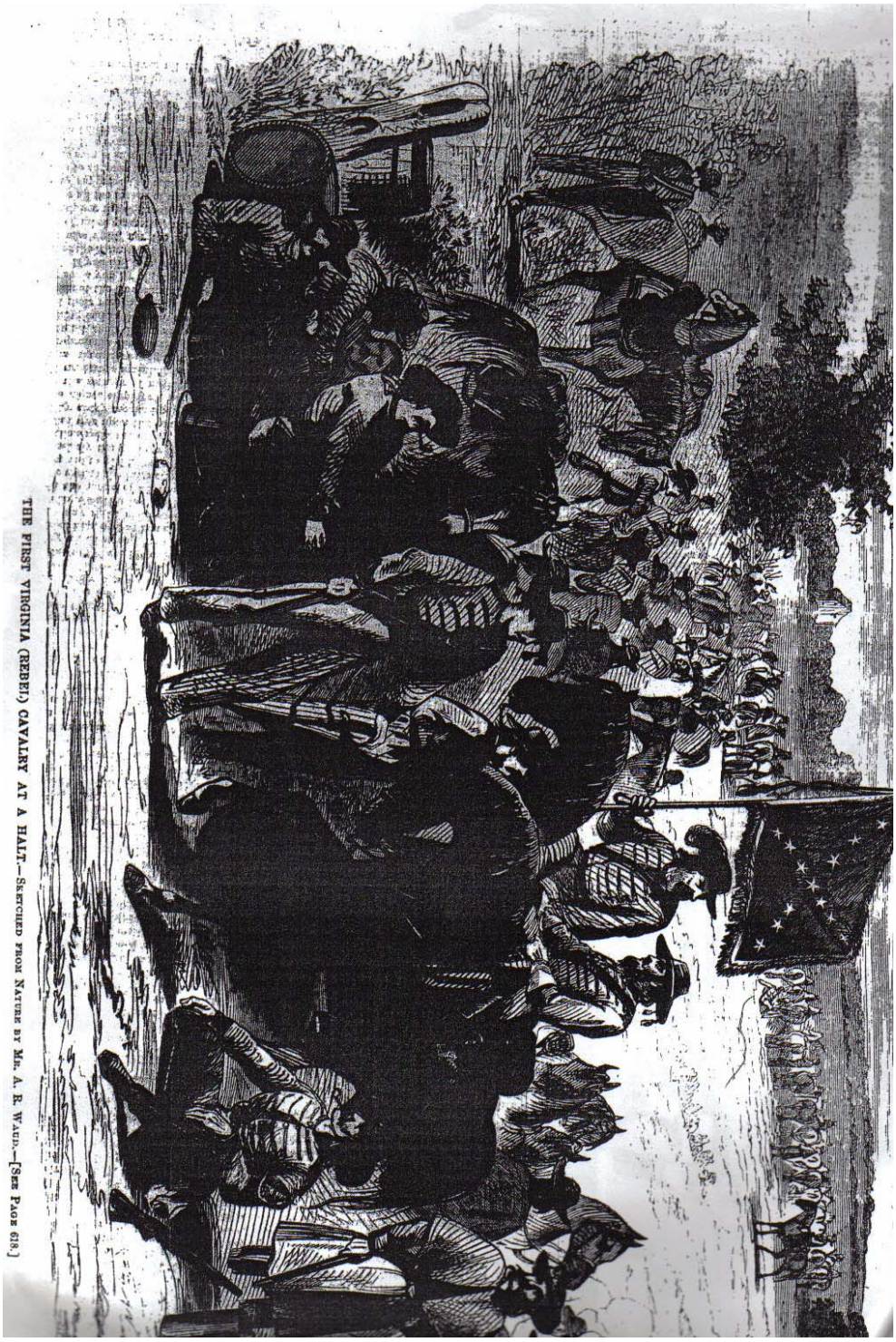


Figure 3.23
n.a., “The First Virginia (Rebel) Calvary at a Halt,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 27, September 1862, 612.

Figure 3.24
n.a., "King Cotton," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 September 1861, 608.

Figure 3.25
n.a., "How 'the Southern Commissioner' tried to Mould Public Opinion in England," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 July 1861, 480.

Figure 3.26
n.a, “Virginia Sketches: Making Gun Carriages,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 6 April 1861, 217.

EVIDENTLY SINCERE.

GUERRILLA CHIEF to FEDERAL OFFICER. "Look here, Gin'ral; nights are getting cold. We're tired of sleeping out in the swamp, with nothing to eat, and that sort of thing, so we want to go in for the Union, and *have our meals reg'lar.*"

Figure 3.27
n.a., "Evidently Sincere," *Harper's Weekly*, 25 October 1861, 688.

PRESENTATION OF A FLAG TO THE THIRTEENTH CONNECTICUT REGIMENT BY LOYAL LADIES OF NEW ORLEANS.—SKETCHED BY AN OFFICER OF THE 13TH.—[SEE PAGE 487.]

Figure 3.28
n.a., "Presentation of a Flag to the 13th Connecticut Regiment by Loyal Ladies of New Orleans," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 August 1862, 493.

Figure 3.29
n.a., Registered Enemies Taking Oath of Allegiance," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 July 1863, 357.

Figure 3.30

n.a., Untitled, Slavery and Secession on a Mule, *Harper's Weekly*, 4 July 1863, 432.

Figure 3.31
n.a., “The Escaped Slave,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 2 July 1864, 428.

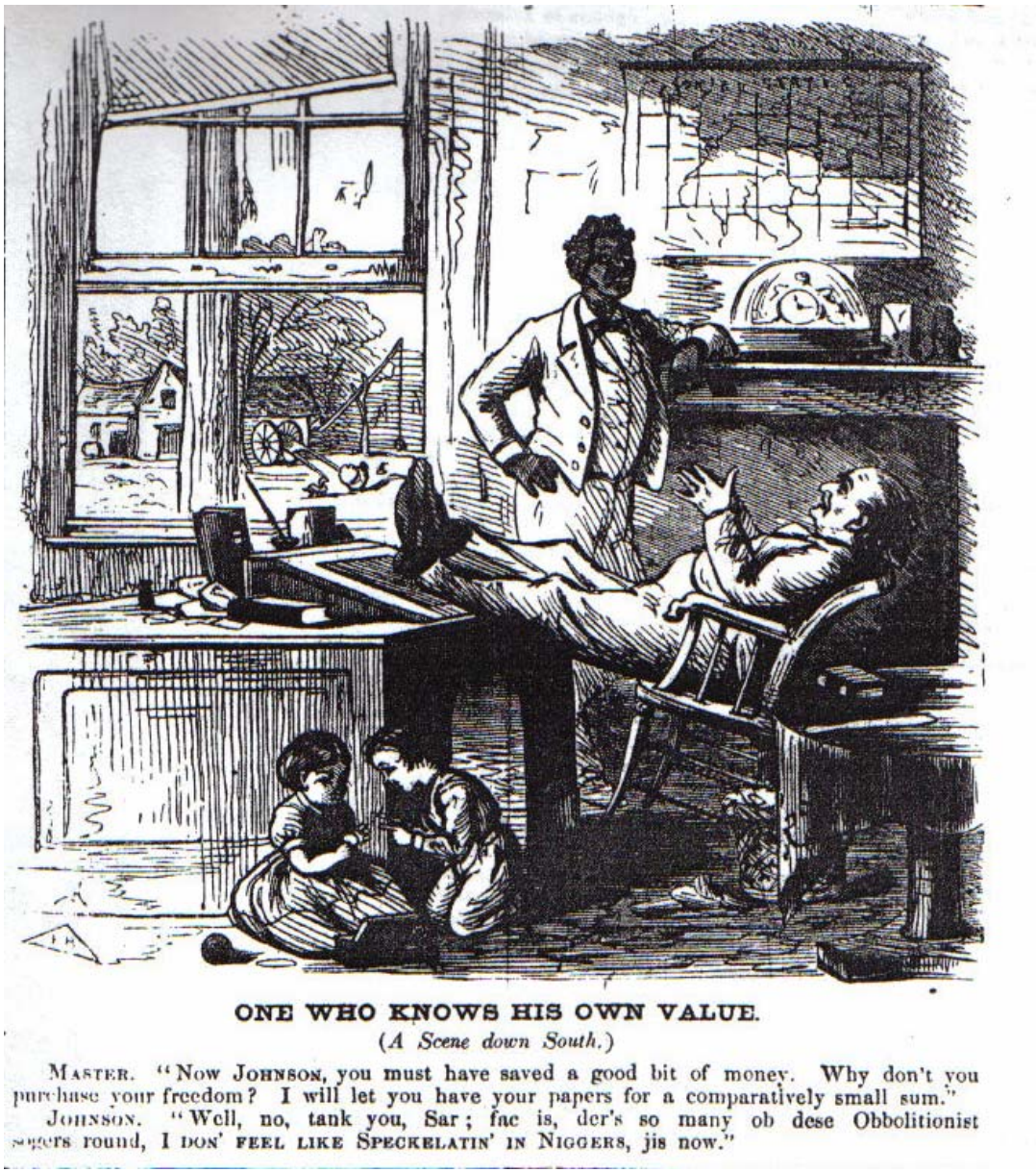
Figure 3.32
n.a., "Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 July 1863, 429.

Figure 3.33
n.a., “An Instrument of Torture Among Slaveholders,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 15 February 1862, 108.

Figure 3.34
n.a., "A Rebel Captain Forcing Negroes to Load Cannon," *Harper's Weekly*, 10 May 1862, 289.

Figure 3.35
n.a., “Drumming Up Recruits for the Confederate Army,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 1 July 1861, 345.

Figure 3.36
n.a., "The Great Negro Emancipation," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 December 1862, 816.



ONE WHO KNOWS HIS OWN VALUE.

(*A Scene down South.*)

MASTER. "Now JOHNSON, you must have saved a good bit of money. Why don't you purchase your freedom? I will let you have your papers for a comparatively small sum."

JOHNSON. "Well, no, tank you, Sar; fac is, der's so many ob dese Obbolitionist niggers round, I DON' FEEL LIKE SPECKELATIN' IN NIGGERS, jis now."

Figure 3.37

n.a., "One Who Knows His Own Value," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 July 1862, 432.

Figure 3.38
n.a, Untitled, Slaves With Knives, *Harper's Weekly*, 21 December 1861, 816.

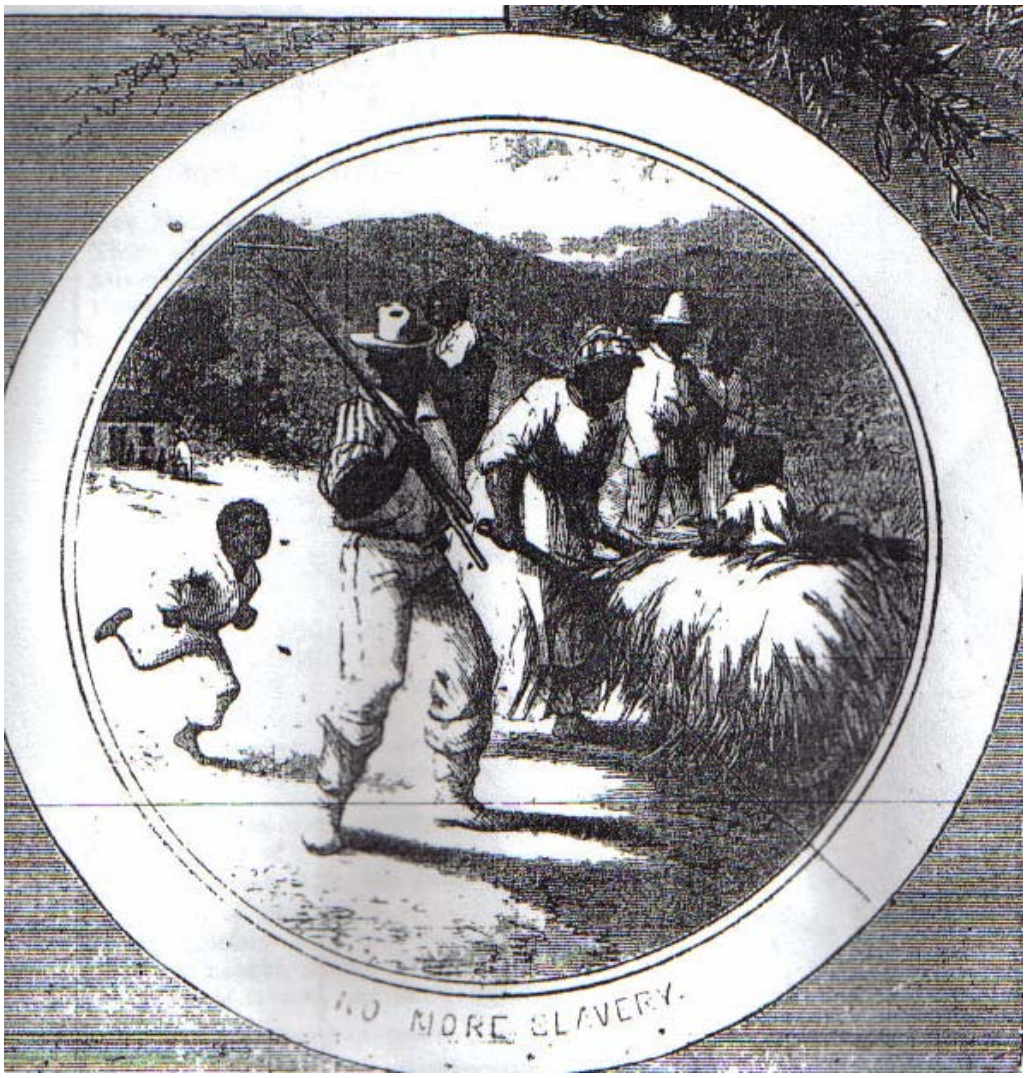


Figure 3.39
Thomas Nast, "No More Slavery," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 September 1862, 616-617.

Figure 3.40
n.a., "The Teamster's Duel," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 33.

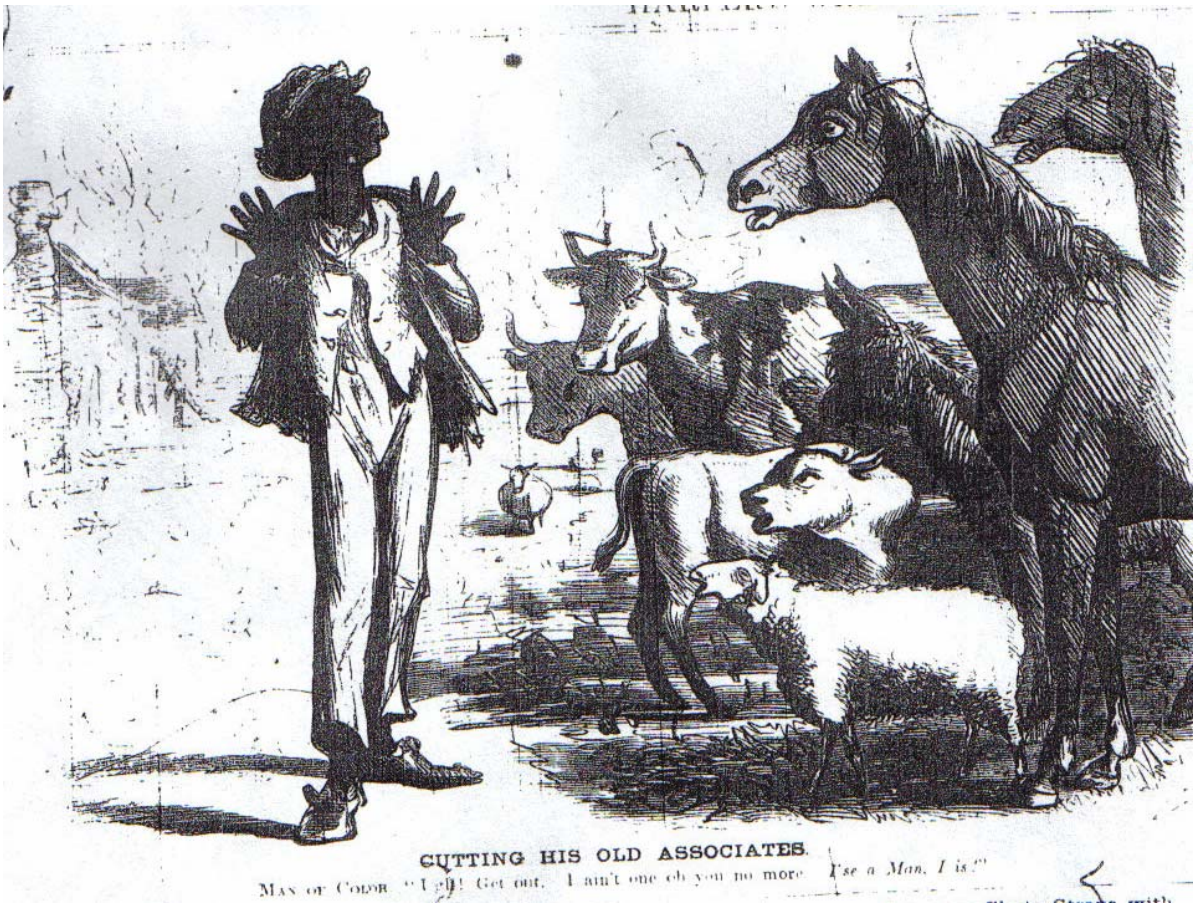


Figure 3.41
n.a., "Cutting His Old Associates," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 January 1863, 48.

Figure 3.42
n.a., "Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House in Beaufort South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 January 1862, 33.

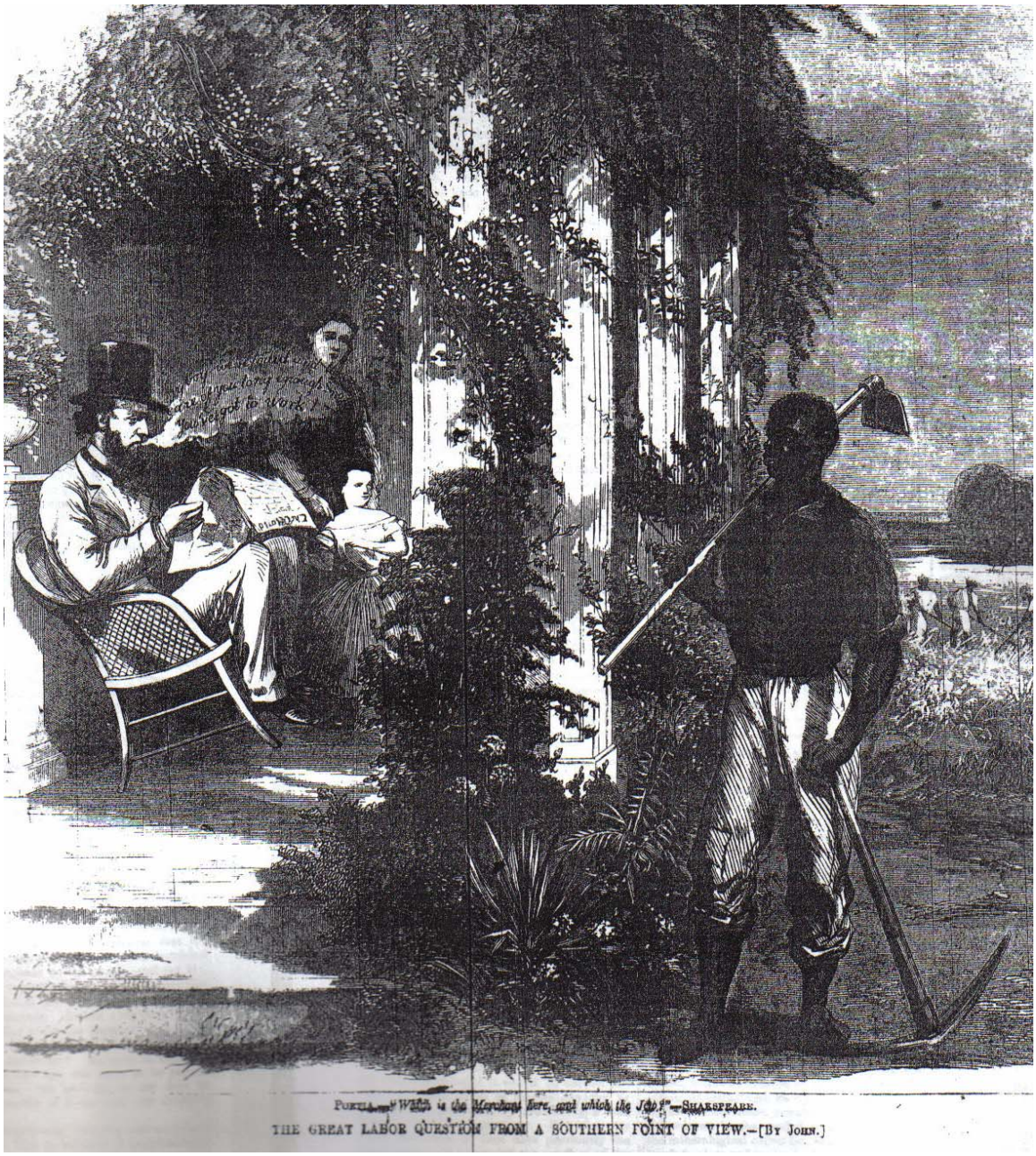


Figure 3.43
n.a., "The Great Labor Question From a Southern Point of View," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 July 1865, 465.

CHAPTER 4

AMERICANS AGAIN: PORTRAYAL OF SOUTHERNERS 1866-1870

With the end of the Civil War in 1865 the South underwent Reconstruction, which the American government planned to rebuild the South's economy and ensure the rights of newly freed slaves.[1] However, Reconstruction did not change the ideology of southern whites.[2] Boles writes, "The radical attitudes that underpinned bondage persisted, especially among white southerners, for generations more."[3] Andrew Johnson's plan for Reconstruction was modeled after Lincoln's, but compared with some Republicans' wishes his approach was very generous.[4] Johnson's administration did not view the South as ever leaving the Union, permitted southern states to re-enter the Union quickly, and freely gave pardons to former Confederates.[5] However, the South had to conform to the requirements of re-writing their state constitutions, accepting the Thirteenth Amendment banning slavery, and giving blacks new rights as freed people.[6]

Southern states got around these measures of Reconstruction by creating laws that restricted behavior of freed slaves.[7] These laws, known as Black Codes, were meant to "replace

[1] John Boles, *The South Through* Time vol. II (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999). Reconstruction was a complex process that took on many forms during the Johnson and Grant administrations. This study only presents a brief overview of the subject and does not present all the intricacies of the Reconstruction that began in 1865 and ended in 1876.
[2] Ibid., 363.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 367.
[5] Ibid., 367-368. Johnson required a personal appeal for all pardons of high level Confederates and those southerners who were worth more than $20,000. See Boles 367-368.
[6] Ibid., 367-368.
[7] Ibid., 365, 369.

planter authority with state authority."[8] Johnson's somewhat lax approach to southern Reconstruction was unpopular in the North.[9] According to Claudine L. Ferrell northerners were unhappy with the status of freed slaves in the South.[10] She wrote, "To Northern observers, freedom itself seemed particularly meaningless under the Johnson governments."[11] By the 1867 election, a newly elected Congress wanted a harsher Reconstruction plan for the South.[12] This plan known as the Military Reconstruction Act did not allow any former Confederate state back into the Union.[13] Rather, it created "military districts" that were governed by "a military commander backed by a small contingent of troops."[14] In addition, this new approach to Reconstruction would place an emphasis of African-American rights. Kenneth M. Stampp wrote, "The radicals, to reconstruct the South on a firm foundation, would throw out the Black Codes…give Negroes civil rights and the ballot, and get white men accustomed to treating Negroes as equals."[15]

This new Reconstruction plan coupled with the devastation the South endured during the Civil War created a "pressure cooker of political racism."[16] Boles writes, "Racism toward the freed people had increased significantly during the Civil War, and the animosity would be ratcheted up several notches in Reconstruction."[17] Angry whites rejected many of the goals of Reconstruction, and "a virtual guerilla war erupted" in the South with the goal of ending

[8] Ibid., 369.
[9] Ibid., 369-370.
[10] Claudine L. Ferrell, *Greenwood Guides to Historic Events, 1500-1900: Reconstruction* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 22.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 373-376.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 373.
[15] Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction 1865 to 1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 122.
[16] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 379.
[17] Ibid., 379.

Reconstruction.[18] Boles writes, "The KKK members roamed the South under cover of dark, disrupting Republican political rallies, threatening Republican officeholders, and intimidating black voters with torches and burning crosses, random beatings and killings, and several massacres."[19] This violent resistance of native southern whites to these reforms ultimately ended Reconstruction in 1876.[20] Boles writes, "The North never had the willpower to smash southern violent opposition. To have done so would have required a commitment of troops and money… and would probably have been impossible without a suspension of Constitutional rights for the majority of southern whites."[21]

Representations of the South

Articles and illustrations examined for this chapter contained a mixture of the themes portrayed in Chapters Two and Three. Like Chapter Two, the theme of upper and lower class southerners was examined. However, like Chapter Three the majority of the articles and illustrations were political and focused on the Civil War, its politics, and its aftermath. In addition, this sample was also similar to Chapter Three in how the South was shown as violent, racist, and reluctant to change. However, new themes emerged which included the revitalization of the South's economy, the role of freed African-Americans in society, and the racially motivated politics of southern whites.

This study from 1866 to 1870 included seventy-five articles from *Saturday Evening Post*, twenty- four pictorials and thirteen articles from *Harper's Weekly*, and seven fictional stories from *Godey's Lady's Book*. The seven themes of this era were: the Civil War and its aftermath, class in the South, freedmen, Reconstruction, white violence and politics, southern economy, and

[18] Ibid., 387.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid

humor and oddities. Each of these themes were intertwined under a larger issue of the post-war South's handling of Reconstruction and re-admittance to the Union.

Aftermath of the Civil War

Many articles and illustrations from this era concerned the Civil War and the political fallout surrounding it. Just in Chapter Three, Confederate leaders were depicted as the creators of the war. Articles and illustrations depicted them as violent, destructive, and weak men who, by the end of the war, deserved their just punishment. Again, a major target for criticism was Confederate President Jefferson Davis. An article from 1867 described Davis as supporting the Confederacy "for the foulest of purposes and by the most inhuman means."[22] This harsh criticism did not end here. The article compared Davis to Lincoln's assassin John Wilkes Booth when it said, "His [Davis] guilt is as much greater than Booth's as a crime against a race, and idiocy, madness, and the most agonizing death inflicted upon a multitude."[23]

An article from 1866 showed this theme of punishing treason.[24] Harper's argued, "Treason was to be made odious by honoring patriotism," and stated it did not support allowing former Confederates to come back into elected office.[25] It said:

> When the Union men of those [southern] States who have suffered every kind of outrage, who have been fined, mobbed, imprisoned, and have seen their Union neighbors hunted and tortured and hung for their fidelity to the Government see a man like General Humphries, of Mississippi, a conspicuous, leading traitor hastily pardoned by the

[22] "The Real Reason," *Harper's Weekly*, 8 June 1867, 354.
[23] Ibid.
[24] "Making Treason Odious," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 June 1866, 338.
[25] Ibid.

President that he may become Governor…how can such men help bitterly feeling contemptuous scorn?[26]

Figure 4.1 juxtaposed Davis resting at prison at Fortress Monroe with Union prisoners in agony at Andersonville which furthered this idea that Confederates did not receive their just punishment for treason.[27] The cartoon showed the men at Andersonville, dying of starvation while healthy Confederate officers looked on with no concern. Davis was contrasted lying in a chair being fanned while he was catered to by a groveling staff. The cartoon depicted Davis as relaxing in luxury with signs that said, "Please Walk on the Matting" and "All Person(s) Passing this Way Must Put on Slippers in Order Not to Disturb Our Guest."[28] In contrast to the starvation seen at Andersonville, Davis's dinner menu lies on the ground. It said, "Veal Cutlets, Poached Eggs, Beef Steaks, Chickens, Oysters, Mutton, Coffee, Milk, Sugar, Butter."[29]

However, other illustrations showed a shift from the Old to the New South. Figure 4.2 showed Davis, dressed in a medieval costume, scornfully looking at the new black United States Senator Hiram Rhodes Revels taking a seat representing Davis' state of Mississippi.[30] The irony of this scene was further demonstrated with a book lying on the floor entitled *Record of the Rebel*.[31] Figure 4.3 depicted resentful southern leaders at the defeat of the Confederacy.[32] A part of a larger picture, this scene illustrated Confederate leaders angrily looking at the direction the Union leadership. They all have scowls, and appeared either angry or in shock that their cause was soundly defeated.

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Thomas Nast, "Treason Must be Made Odious," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 June 1866, 409.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Thomas Nast, "Time Works Wonders," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 April 1870, 232.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Thomas Nast, "Both Sides of the Question: The Boys in Gray," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 681.

This defeat of the South was also portrayed in post-bellum politics. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 depicted a South after the election of 1868 in which Democrat Horatio Seymour, supported by many southerners because of his racist stances on political issues, lost to Republican U.S. Grant.[33] A defeated Seymour handed Grant a sword with "The Lost Cause" written on it while General Lee looked off into the distance with his distinguished profile showing no emotion. In Figure 4.5, part of the same illustration, Confederate generals and Democratic politicians gathered round and showed their bitterness in defeat.[34]

This sample also portrayed regional hostilities from a southern perspective. One fictional story from *Harper's Weekly* told of a character's hatred for the North and its leaders.[35] Harrington wrote, "If I only had all the Yankees right in front of a cannon—Lincoln and all—loaded to the muzzle, and could shoot that cannon off, I could die happy."[36] However, this story took a turn and characters began to long for the Union. They said, "And yet if Secession could but have been put down! One Country again, one flag again, universal amnesty, peace and prosperity again, firmer greater than before."[37]

While some articles politicized the war there was a softening of tone toward the Confederacy in this era. The Confederacy and its leaders were discussed in a more historical way using politically neutral language. One article from *Saturday Evening Post* told of Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens' new book *The War Between the States, Its Causes, Character Conduct, and Results*, which examined the Civil War and gave Stephens'

[33]Thomas Nast, "Unconditional Surrender Grant," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 November 1868, 745.
[34] Ibid.
[35] George F. Harrington, "Inside. A Chronicle of Secession," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 April 1866, 752.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

own interpretation of events.[38] Commenting on the book the article said, "It is the official history on the Southern side, and must hold in the literature of the War a very high place."[39]

Other articles treated former Confederate generals kindly. General Lee's attendance at a funeral was mentioned without political commentary.[40] In his obituary published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Lee was said to have been "greatly admired by those who knew him for his integrity, courtesy and moderation of character. He was one of those men who seem born to lead states and to command armies."[41]

High and Low Classes in the South

Class reemerged as a theme in this sample. Like Chapter Two this era showed the South's upper class as a refined and genteel society concerned with culture and cultivation. Most of these class oriented articles came from *Saturday Evening Post* and *Godey's Lady's Book*. These articles portrayed upper class southerners as a part of an elite plantation society that was similar to pre-war depictions of the South.

One article from 1870 told of a Colonel who lived in a "great stone farm house (one of the oldest in Virginia)."[42] The workers on the plantation still referred to the Colonel as "Mas'" and the article mentioned the "chivalric creed" of one of the men.[43] A women in the story told of her extensive travel before the war, and her participation in the war effort as a Confederate spy in Washington, D.C.

This theme of nobility, especially in the state of Virginia, was depicted again in an article on Pocahontas.[44] The article said, "Pocahontas bore [John] Rolf one son, through whom a great

[38] "New Publications," *Saturday Evening Post*, 3 September 1870, 3.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Untitiled, "General Robert E. Lee," *Saturday Evening Post*, 22 January 1870, 2.
[41] "Death of General Lee," *Saturday Evening Post*, 22 October 1870, 6.
[42] Rebecca Harding Davis, "Two Women," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 June 1870, 5.
[43] Ibid.
[44] "Pocahontas," *Saturday Evening Post*, 8 January 1870, 8.

many Virginia families are fond of claiming their descent from the 'Indian Princess.'"[45] This theme of the Virginia aristocracy continued in an article in *Godey's Lady's Book*. The story had a character who came from "old cavalier houses" and could "trace our lineage back for ten generations and more, to a noble English house, the head of which displayed a coronet upon his panels."[46] The main female character told of her upbringing that included a classical education, and "music lessons given us, at a heavy price."[47]

Other articles focused on noble and wealthy people who actually lived within Virginia. One article reported that an English nobleman had moved to Dismal Swamp, Virginia.[48] Another said a wealthy Virginian who wished to renounce his citizenship and wanted to make "a sufficient apology for the rebellion of his ancestors in 1776" and become a British citizen.[49] Yet another article spoke to the decline of dueling aspect of aristocracy, which was reported to be less common in Virginia than in the past.[50]

Both Figures 4.6 and 4.7 also showed the upper class in the South.[51] Figure 4.6 illustrated a Christmas party in the South in which well-dressed men and women conversed over egg-nog.[52] Figure 4.7 showed another scene of children playing on Christmas day with their new gifts.[53] A boy shot his new gun while a frightened African-American boy hid behind a tree.[54] Other boys played with firecrackers as a dog ran about.[55] Both scenes evoked the image

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[45] Ibid.
[46]Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book*, vol. 80, February , 1870 (http://www.acessible.com/search/fhit.htw?CiWebHitsFile=%2Faccessible%2Ftext%2Fgod...) (Accessed March 6, 2006).
[47] Ibid.
[48] Untitled, "An English nobleman," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 November 5, 1870, 6.
[49] Untitled, A Virginia paper gives a strange account," *Saturday Evening Post*, 21 May 21, 1870, 7.
[50] Untitled, "The Petersburg Index has an article," *Saturday Evening Post*, 10 September 10, 1870, 6.
[51] "Christmas in the South—Egg-Nog Party," *Harper's Weekly- Supplement*, 31 December 1870, 868. "Christmas in the South—Young Folks Celebrating the Day," *Harper's Weekly-Supplement*, 31 December 1870, 869.
[52] "Christmas in the South—Egg-Nog Party," *Harper's Weekly-Supplement*.
[53] "Christmas in the South—Young Folks Celebrating the Day," *Harper's Weekly- Supplement*.
[54] Ibid.

of comfortable living and, unlike depictions of the South in Chapter Three, these people did not seem to want for anything.[56]

This presentation of upper class southerners was contrasted with that of low class southern whites. One article addressed the fact southern women were unable to engage in high fashion during the Civil War. It said, "the ladies of the South were compelled from destitution as well as from sheer ignorance of foreign fashions, to dress as well as they could."[57]

Other articles did not merely show a South devastated by war, but a region marked by both ignorance and a lack of sophistication. One article told of a Texas man who tried to reconcile with his wife with a letter filled with misspellings and phonetically spelled words.[58] He spoke of their "holy madlock [sic]" and that they must have "peese as grant ses [sic]."[59] Another article reported that a southern family that did not use plates, but "gourds and shells" for their dinnerware.[60]

This theme of ignorant and unsophisticated whites was depicted again in another article where a man newly arrived at Warsaw, North Carolina, asked about the surrounding area.[61] A man responded, "We have a mighty nice country; all we lack is water and good society."[62] Figures 4.8 and 4.9 illustrated this lack of "good society".[63] Figure 4.8 illustrated poorly clothed Louisiana Acadians washing clothes.[64] This scene presented them primitively washing their

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[55] Ibid.
[56] "Christmas in the South—Egg-Nog Party," *Harper's Weekly-Supplement.*
"Christmas in the South—Young Folks Celebrating the Day," *Harper's Weekly- Spplement*.
[57] Prof. Schele De Vere, "Our Well-Dressed Countrywomen," *Saturday Evening Post*, 16 April 1870, 4.
[58] Untitled, "A Sharp tongued Texas woman," *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 February 26, 1870, 3.
[59] Ibid.
[60] "Primitive," *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 June 25, 1870, 3.
[61] Untitled, "A train on the Washington and Delaware Road," *Saturday Evening Post*, 1 October 1, 1870, 7.
[62] Ibid.
[63] "Washing-Day Among the Acadians of the Bayou LaFourche, Louisiana," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 October 1866, 657.
"Bad for the Yankees at the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 February 1867, 96.
[64] "Washing-Day Among the Acadians of the Bayou LaFourche, Louisiana," *Harper's Weekly*.

clothes in the bayou, which underscored the different culture and class levels among these southerners.

Figure 4.9 went further in demonstrating the social differences of the South.[65] Here one of the First Families of Virginia clothed in rags and dirty in appearance, said northerners could not enter their prestigious family. The cartoon depicted this family, supposedly of ancient ancestry, as uncultured and uncouth. The grandmother lit a pipe with a hot poker, as her husband stands with one strap holding up his pants, which emphasized their lack of manners, money, and social position. A jug of moonshine sat on the mantel with shotguns on the wall and the floor. Jefferson Davis' picture hung on the wall, illustrating that these southerners still adhered to the Confederacy. This scene of backwoods southerners was contrasted by their delusional view of themselves as high-class. They said, "I recon we' uns can't stop these 'ere Yankee trash from a settlin' down here, but we won't let 'em into our alls families, nor have nothin' to do with 'em. They can't inter the First Families, nohowsomever [sic]."[66]

Freedmen

The role of free African-Americans and the legacy of slavery were discussed at length in this sample. Like Chapter Three articles in this era focused on the harshness and cruelty of slavery. One article told the story of Daniel M. Durell, who worked for the Reconstruction effort in New Orleans, and how he disliked slavery when he was young.[67] The article read, "With an ardent love for mankind, and a keen perception of the derangement and demoralization wrought by slavery, he saw little in Southern society or the institution with which he felt a sympathy.[68]

[65] "Bad for the Yankees at the South," *Harper's Weekly*.
[66] Ibid., 96.
[67] "Hon. Daniel M. Durell, of Louisiana," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 June 1868, 363.
[68] Ibid.

Slavery was not presented as universally bad, however, Figure 4.10 showed slaves stereotypically working while white planters are talking in the background.[69] Like the illustrations in Chapter Two, these slaves were not beaten or punished, but rather portrayed as workers.[70] Figure 4.11 also showed a slave during the Civil War.[71] He had apparently run away from his master, but the brutality of slavery and the life conditions were not the subject of the illustration.[72] Even discussion of slave traders did not take on a political tone. *Saturday Evening Post* mentioned Andrew Jackson was a slave trader as a young man, but the article made no mention of the morality or values of his previous employment.[73]

Figure 4.12 dramatized the fact slavery in America was not over in the South.[74] Injustices to free African-Americans were highlighted in this illustration of a black man being auctioned beneath a statue of a woman representing liberty. This theme was further continued in the caption "The Land of the Free" at the bottom of the page, coupled with a caption from a North Carolina newspaper reporting the selling of free African-Americans because of crimes they committed.[75] The illustration showed a slave being whipped by a smiling white man. The slave's brutalization was against the backdrop of a statue of justice which he braces himself on.

These two scenes were meant to underscore slavery in America still existed in the South.[76] Here in 1866, some free African-Americans were treated like slaves, a fact that is reiterated by the title which read, "(?) 'Slavery is Dead' (?)."[77] This connection of this new

[69] "The First Cotton Gin," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 December 1869, 813.
[70] Ibid.
[71] "The Contraband," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1867, 284.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Jackson, Washington, Burr, *Saturday Evening Post*, 13 August 1870, 6-7.
[74]Thomas Nast, "(?) 'Slavery is Dead' (?)," *Harper's Weekly*, 12 January 1867, 24.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

slavery and the danger of southern state's sovereignty were made with the center drawing of a skeleton with the words "States Rights."[78]

Even though the South experienced new forms of slavery, free American-Americans enjoyed freedoms they never had before. Voting was a major theme in the representation of southern African-Americans in this era. Figure 4.13 illustrated this with former slaves voting.[79] This illustration underscored the fact blacks took this new right as a responsibility, even having "A Political Discussion," something slaves would have been unlikely, or even forbidden to do.[80] Figure 4.14 showed African-American school children were being taught by an African-American teacher.[81] Like voting education was a new activity and right brought to African-Americans by emancipation.[82]

Figure 4.15 demonstrated this new political power of African-Americans.[83] Here Confederate General and planter Wade Hampton held the hands of a black man while asking him to have dinner.[84] Hampton's cartoon illustrated the blending of the Old and New South. Though he still dressed in his planter's garb with a whip in his back pocket, readers were reminded of his former status of master. However, his tone was kind and generous; he knew he must court the new African-American electorate in order to win election. The African-American man demonstrated his new power in his reply to Hampton.[85] He said, "Not on Phursday [sic], Massa Hampton. On Phursday I'se promised to Sleep wit Massa Pinckney [sic]."[86] The African-

[78] Ibid.
[79] W.L. Snebbar, "A Political Discussion," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 November 1869, 736.
[80] Ibid.
[81] "'Zion' School for Colored Children," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 December 1866, 797.
[82] Ibid.
[83] "The New Era," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April 1867, 224.
[84] Ibid. Wade Hampton was a candidate for governor in 1876 had tried to court the newly enfranchised African American voters after the Civil War. See Walter Brian Cisco, *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior, Conservative Statesman* (Washington D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2004), 190.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

American man's future plans with Pinckney, a large planter and politician, further reiterated this theme of a new political reality in the South.

Articles also depicted African-American voting rights and the newly elected African-American officials in the South. *Saturday Evening Post* had stories about southern African-American congressmen, policemen in New Orleans and Little Rock, and state senators and a sheriff from North Carolina.[87] However the article about the election of the black sheriff made note of whites' dissatisfaction with African-American officeholders. It said, "The whites are said to be considerably dissatisfied with the greediness for office of the colored brethren."[88] One article showed this new status for freed slaves and how southern politics had changed. The article reported an African-American mail carrier being shaken by a white man, but the mail carrier made a remark about his new status. [89] He said, "Look-a-here. Massa, you'd better be keerful how you shakes dis chile! Cos, when you shakes me, you shake de whole of de United States. I carries de mail [sic]!"[90] Another article reported that a white state senator marrying an African-American woman in Mississippi.[91]

African-American politicians were not always portrayed favorably in articles. Many articles and illustrations from this era depicted black legislators and voters as uneducated. Figure 4.16 clearly showed the idea that blacks were manipulated by big party machines and should not be allowed to vote.[92] In this illustration a smiling black man held a Grant ballot with the caption reading "Why 'The Nigger is not Fit to Vote."[93] This illustration underscored two ideas about

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[87] "The Election Returns," *Saturday Evening Post*, 19 November 1870, 3.
Untitled, "They have colored policemen," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 February 1870, 6.
Untitled, "A dispatch from Wilmington County," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 June 1870, 3.
[88] Untitled, "A dispatch from Wilmington County," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 June 1870, 3.
[89] "Shaking the Whole Country," *Saturday Evening Post*, 3 December 1870, 7.
[90] Ibid.
[91] " A Mississippi Wedding," *Saturday Evening Post*, 13 August 1870, 3.
[92] Thomas, Nast, "Why 'The Nigger is Not Fit to Vote,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 672.
[93] Ibid.

freedmen voting. First, they did not vote as southern whites wanted them to, and secondly, freed slaves were a large block vote for Republicans.[94]

Other articles pointed to the lack of ability of newly elected African-American politicians. One *Saturday Evening Post* article reported that the Alabama House of Representatives, made up a large amount of African-Americans, was "employing a scholar to overlook, correct the spelling and make good grammar of all the bills introduced."[95] Another article said, "the negro clerk of the Senate got five hundred spelling errors into one bill" and "the majority of the Legislature of South Carolina…can neither read nor write."[96] African-Americans were also portrayed as wanting office for irresponsible reasons. One article told a African-American politician's response to being asked why he wanted elected office. He replied, "Wall, I dunno, thought I'd look over and go for any vacancy that might turn up. I'm, beastly fond of orfis [sic]."[97]

Reconstruction

Articles and illustrations discussed Reconstruction in conjunction with rising African-American political power. The overwhelming theme in these articles was the South had to conform to the Union's requirements and end their old antebellum practices. *Harper's Weekly* showed this acceptance of Reconstruction's goals, namely African-American equality, in many articles. One article articulated this idea when it said, "Land and education are to be the grounds of security for the liberty of the whole Southern population. If they could only perceive it, every step taken for the elevation of the freedmen is an immense gain for the Southern States and for

[94] Ibid.
[95] Untitled, The committee of the Alabama House," *Saturday Evening Post*, 19 February 1870, 3.
[96] Untitled, "Alabama is afflicted with a bad spell," *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 February 1870, 6.
[97] Untitled, "A Memphis paper tells this anecdote," *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 February 1870, 6.

the country."[98] Building on this idea, the article argued those opposed to these measures of equality in the South were morally wrong. It said:

> If Governor Orr [South Carolina's governor who opposed Reconstruction] were homeless, houseless, and landless; if he were in the midst of a community which despised and hated him; if he knew that his most sacred rights, his most precious relations, were at the mercy of those who were educated to regard him and treat him as an ox or a dog…we are inclined to believe that Government or Orr…would do exactly what the freedmen are doing today.[99]

Other articles made even harsher criticisms of the South. One article from 1868 reported that a northern Senator advocated, "That there should be universal and impartial suffrage, and if the privilege were ever abridged, except for crime, that the act should be void, and the [southern] State become again a 'waste territory.'"[100]

Another article discussed this "'waste territory'" of the South during the Reconstruction era at length.[101] One article said, "Having laid down their arms, the States lately in rebellion are exactly where there were before. The consequences of such a doctrine are plain."[102] The article argued southern states needed to submit to the demands of Reconstruction, and that it was the Union's right to ask them to do so. An article said southern states would not reorganize their governments "upon their own terms."[103] Another article from 1868 in Harper's said, "The old Union is impossible without slavery; and since that is gone, all that belongs to it is gone with it."[104]

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[98] "Senator Trumbull's Bill," *Harper's Weekly*, 10 February 1866, 82.
[99] Ibid.
[100] "The Alabama Bill," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 April 1868, 226-227.
[101] Ibid.
[102] "The Congressional Elections," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 July 1866, 466.
[103] "The Southern Conventions," *Harper's Weekly*, 23 November 1867, 738.
[104] "The Friends of the Constitution," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 674.

White Anger and Opposition

The enfranchisement of African-Americans and the drastic economic and social changes in the South created a large white resistance. In this era, articles and illustrations characterized southern whites' political attitudes as extremely racist and violent. In an article about the Ku Klux Klan, *Harper's Weekly* described the attitudes of white southerners. The article pointed out the South was violent during the Civil War "scalping our dead soldiers upon the battle-field" and participating in "the inhuman butcher of every national negro soldier."[105] These violent attitudes spilled over into the Reconstruction era itself in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. The article said, "The object of this secret society [KKK] was the accomplishment by intimidation and murder of that which open war first and unjust legislation afterward had failed to secure."[106]

This article linked this violence to political control. It reported, "The result of these violent means of exercising political power were plainly evident in the late election returns of the Southern States."[107] Politics and the Klan were portrayed as intricately intertwined in this period. Figure 4.17 showed how the new standard bearer for the goals and ideals of the Confederacy in 1864 was now carried on by the KKK in 1868.[108] Figure 4.18 further depicted the southern support for Seymour and Blair's campaign in 1868. This cartoon emphasized the racism of the Seymour-Blair ticket with a New York political boss shaking hands with a Klansmen who had the "Rebel Vote" literally in his back pocket.[109]

Figure 4.19 linked southern political attitudes with violence; the Confederacy was depicted again as a skeleton holding the Seymour-Blair ticket while overlooking a prison wall at

[105] "Ku Kluxism," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 December 1868, 813.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "Tis But a Change of Banners," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1868, 624.
[109] "The Reign of Fraud and the Reign of Terror,' *Harper's Weekly*, 21 November 1868, 747

Andersonville.[110] Figure 4.20 portrayed the voting machine of New York with the background of a hanging black man and a skull and cross bones with KKK written above it.[111] The violence these organizations caused was characterized in Figure 4.22, which showed a riot in New Orleans between blacks and whites.[112] Illustrated in Figure 4.21, the violent Klan, was shown as the violent hand of not only southern opposition, but of political power of angry whites.[113]

Southern Economy

Both *Harper's Weekly* and *Saturday Evening Post* depicted aspects of the southern economy. Figure 4.23 illustrated white southerners.[114] In the series of pictures it was important to note the South Carolinian, resting upon his black workers, and the Mississippian picking his teeth, were not working, thus contributing to the earlier depictions of southerners in Chapter Two of living leisurely lives.[115] *Harper's Weekly* published many articles that supported economic growth in the South. One article warned against not growing economically in order to spite Reconstruction: "It is one thing to retire to the magnificent solitude of a luxurious country house, but it is quite another to become an Orson out of spite and subsist of choke-berries."[116] Even Robert E. Lee was quoted about the economic situation in the South. In an article, Lee said he supported the immigration of "a respectable class of laborers from Europe," but warned against Asian workers because they could create "injury to the country and her institutions."[117]

Other articles spoke directly to the crops and livestock in the South. Articles advocated the diversification of crops and livestock on southern plantations.[118] One article called for more

[110] "The Political Andersonville," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 681.
[111] "McCunn Manufactures Citizens at the rate of 8 a Minute," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 672.
[112] "The Riot in New Orleans," *Harper's Weekly*, 25 August 1866, 536.
[113] "Two Members of the Ku-Klux in their Disguises," *Harper's Weekly*, 19 December 1868, 813.
[114] "Citizens of the United States According to Popular Impressions," *Harper's Weekly*, 12 January 1867, 29.
[115] Ibid.
[116] "Capital and the Southern States," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 December 1866, 787.
[117] Untitled, "General Robert E. Lee says," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 February 1870, 3.
[118] "Agricultural," *Saturday Evening Post*, 1 January 1870, 8.

manufacturing to occur in the South arguing that cotton spinning was likely to become exceedingly profitable.[119]

Humor and Oddities

Just as in Chapters Two and Three the sample examined for 1866 to 1870 included articles about humorous stories and oddities within the South. These stories had no central theme, and cannot be grouped together. However, they presented a politically neutral depiction of the South and provided generic stories about southern life. Other stories focused on the oddities of certain states such as an old lady that knitted different parts of her socks during certain seasons.[120] These articles also conveyed more regionalized interest such as the heat in South Carolina, or the new tax code for bachelors in Georgia.[121] In total twenty-nine articles fell into this category and each showed an aspect of southern life that was unusual.

Analysis

The presentation of the South in this era used themes from articles examined in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. This sample depicted the South as a pseudo-American region that needed to be brought in-step with the rest of the Union. In addition, southerners were depicted as the great inhibitors of this social and economic change. Articles presented the idea that southerners would rather spite themselves than aid the development of the New South.[122] However, white southerners were not the only ones shown as hindering development. Though articles and illustrations portrayed African-Americans as the new politicians in the South, and

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"We Should Raise More Stock in the South," *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 November 1870, 8.
[119] "Southern Manufactures," *Saturday Evening Post*, 16 July 16, 1870, 6.
[120] Untitled, There is an old lady in Lynchburg," *Saturday Evening Post*, 9 April 1870, 3.
[121] "A Changeable Climate,'; *Saturday Evening Post*, 1 January 1870, 8.
"Bachelors have a new dignity," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 July 1870, 6.
[122] "Capital and the Southern States," *Harper's Weekly*.

their political power was evident, they were depicted as ignorant, uneducated, and ultimately unqualified to full incorporate themselves into a productive southern society.[123]

The theme of violence was also evident in this sample. Whites were depicted as universally hostile toward change, especially if it promoted African-American rights.[124] This violence took the form of barbarism as in the article about Confederates scalping people in the field of battle.[125] Furthermore, white southerner's ideological and political goals were intrinsically tied to the violent Ku Klux Klan, and the white South was portrayed as supporters of the Klan.[126]

This chapter also featured the upper and lower class South. Representation of the high-class southerners used cavalier imagery and whites were depicted as being unaffected by the war.[127] All of these stories came from *Godey's Lady's Book*, and all of them served as the backdrop for a Romance story.[128] This type of presentation related to that in Chapter Two, which depicted the cavalier myth. In addition, the portrayal of the backwoods South came from *Harper's Weekly*, which took the most aggressive anti-Confederate and anti-southern stance of all three magazines examined.

Different publications showed the South in different ways. *Harper's Weekly* advocated a political ideology of African-American rights, Reconstruction, and punishment for the South. None of the articles in this magazine portrayed Confederates or any planter in high terms. It depicted southerners as traitors and, in the case of Wade Hampton, manipulative people who

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[123] Nast, "Why 'The Nigger is Not Fit to Vote,'" *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Election Returns," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, "They have colored policemen," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, "A dispatch from Wilmington County," *Saturday Evening Post*.
[124] "Ku Kluxism," *Harper's Weekly*.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] "Eugenies Romance—What She Missed and Won," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
[128] Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book*.

wanted to exploit blacks for their own cause.[129] Seven figures from this sample were drawn by Thomas Nast.[130] These illustrations all depicted the South and Confederacy in exclusively negative terms, and emphasized southerner's bitterness over defeat in the Civil War.

As opposed to *Harper's Weekly*, *Saturday Evening Post* gave a much softer view of the South. In the obituary of Robert E. Lee, it was evident the magazine did not want to portray Lee as a bad American and gave him only high praise.[131] The *Saturday Evening Post's* political questions about the South remained neutral and focused on aspects of the South, such as the economy, that did not necessarily warrant heated discourse. In fact, *Saturday Evening Post* provided the most damning portrayal of free African-Americans and the ineptitude of African-American politicians.

Godey's Lady's Book again provided the fewest number of articles, but it presented the romanticized South. Like the articles in the antebellum era, *Godey's* did not focus on political or social issues. Rather, it the South was not portrayed as enemy territory, and its citizens were sophisticated and refined people.[132]

Overall this chapter depicted a South that was re-Americanizing itself and developing a new society. This sample showed tensions between the races and regions of America, and each magazine portrayed a different aspect of southern culture and politics. What was unusual about the articles of the late 1860s and 1870s was they were an amalgam of those illustrations and articles seen in the two previous eras. It was from this grouping of presentations that the image of the New South, a mixture of new policies with old animosities, emerged.

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[129] "The New Era," *Harper's Weekly.*
[130] These illustrations were: Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.12, and 4.16. Like the Nast illustrations in Chapter Three, these illustrations were the only ones signed by Nast.
[131] "Death of General Lee," *Saturday Evening Post.*
[132] Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book.*

Figure 4.1
Thomas Nast, "Treason Must be Made Odious," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 June 1866, 409.

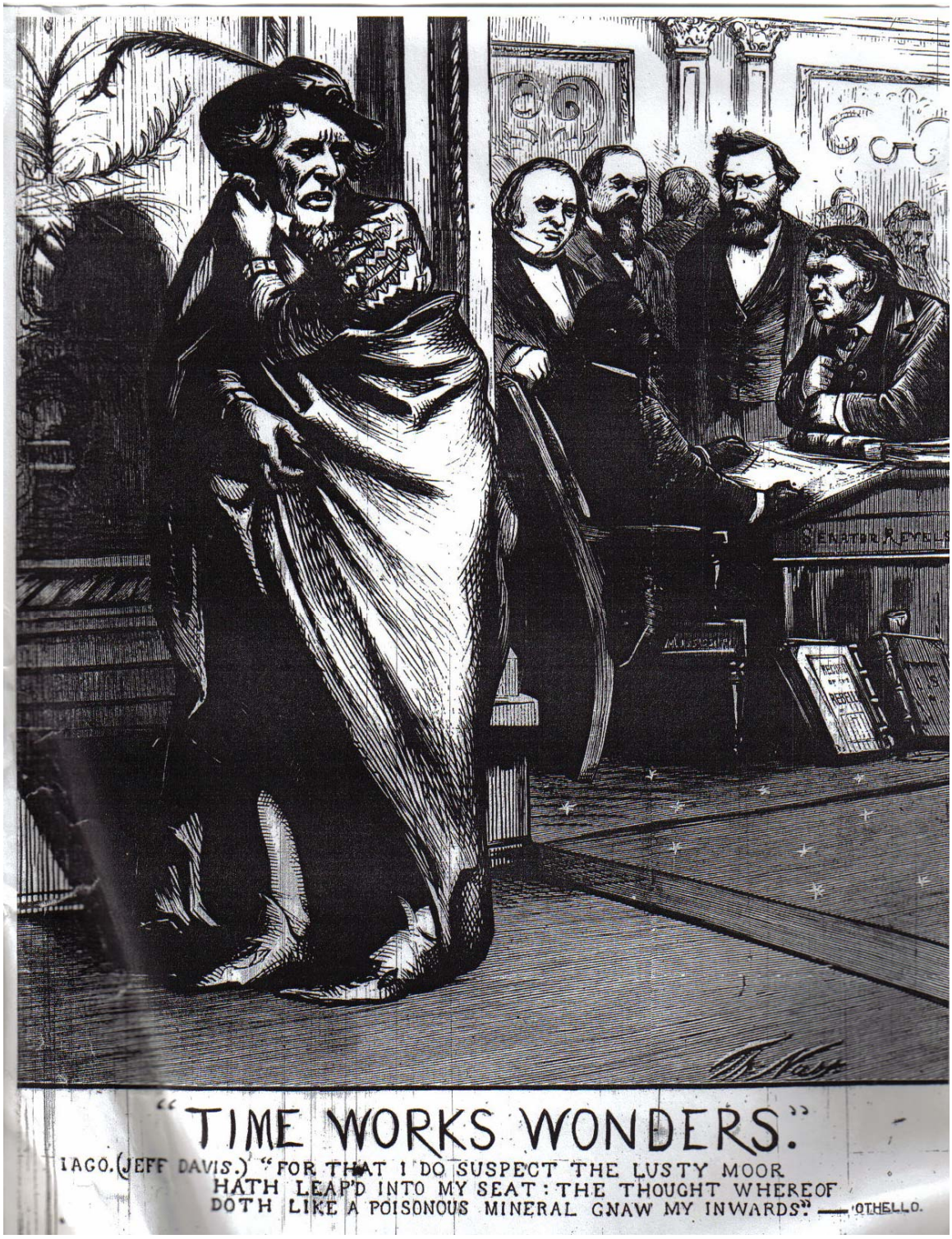


Figure 4.2
Thomas Nast, "Time Works Wonders," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 April 1870, 232.

Figure 4.3
Thomas Nast, "Both Sides of the Question: The Boys in Gray," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 681.

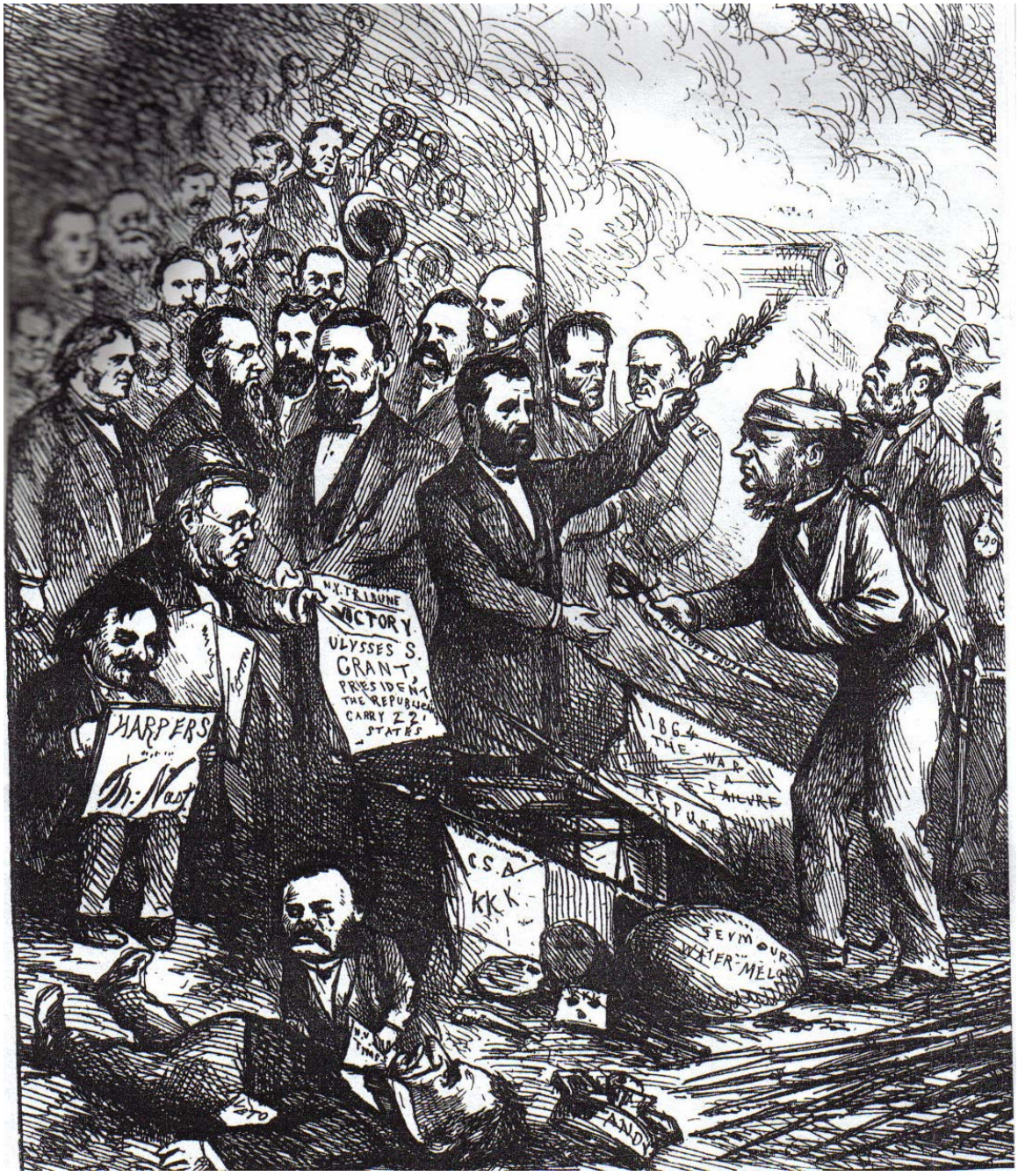
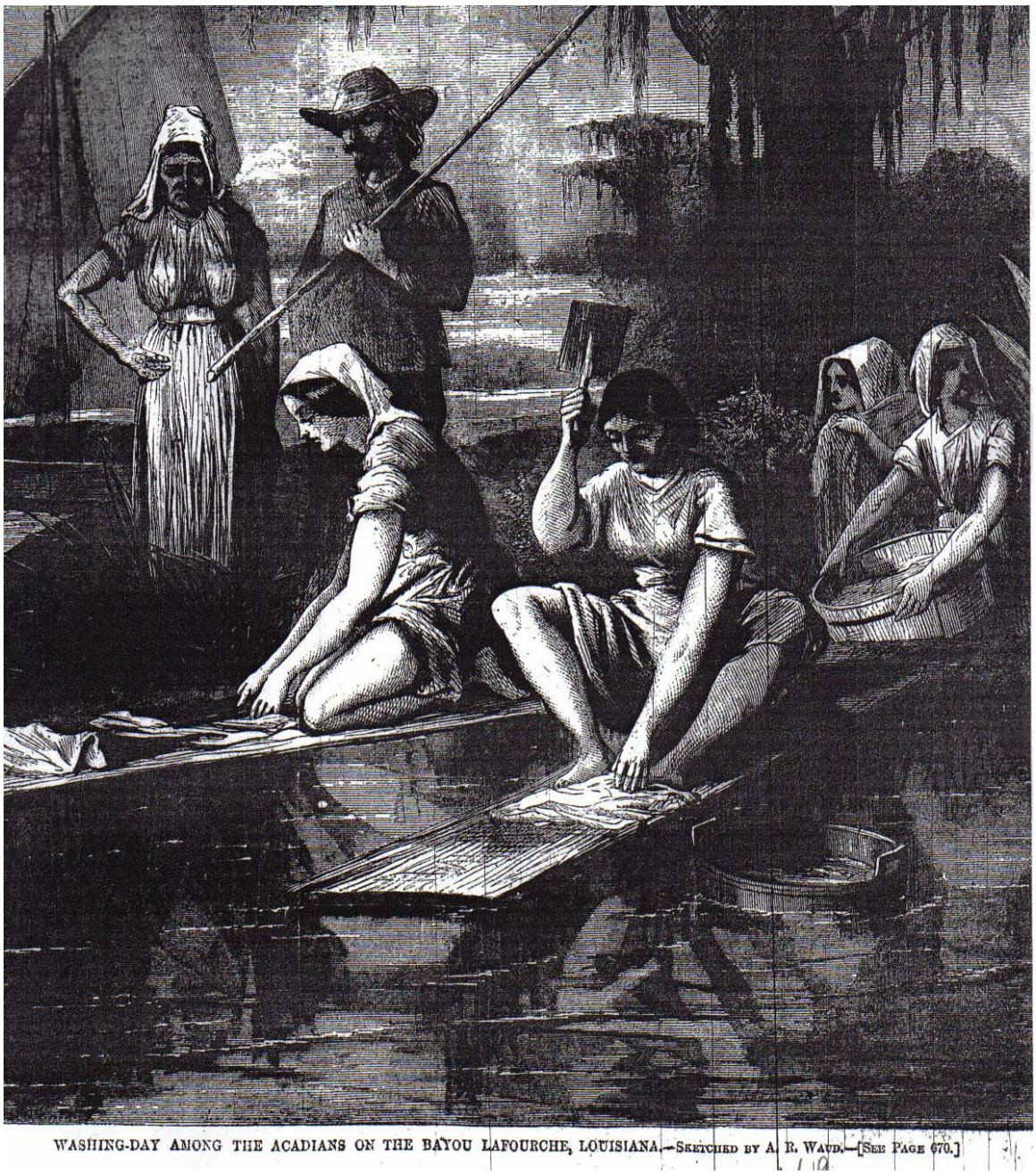


Figure 4.4
Thomas Nast, "Unconditional Surrender Grant," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 November 1868, 745.

Figure 4.5
Thomas Nast, "Unconditional Surrender Grant," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 November 1868, 745.

Figure 4.6
n.a., “Christmas in the South—Egg Nog Party,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 31 December 1870, 868.

Figure 4.7
n.a., "Christmas in the South—Yong Folks Celebrating the Day," *Harper's Weekly—Supplement*, 31 December 1870, 869.



WASHING-DAY AMONG THE ACADIANS ON THE BAYOU LAFOURCHE, LOUISIANA.—SKETCHED BY A. R. WAUD.—[SEE PAGE 670.]

Figure 4.8
n.a., "Washing-Day Among the Acadians of the Bayou LaFourche Louisiana," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 October 1866, 657.

Figure 4.9
n.a., "Bad for the Yankees at the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 February 1867, 96.

THE FIRST COTTON-GIN.—Drawn by William L. Sheppard.—[See Page 814.]

Figure 4.10
n.a., “The First Cotton Gin,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 18 December 1869, 813.

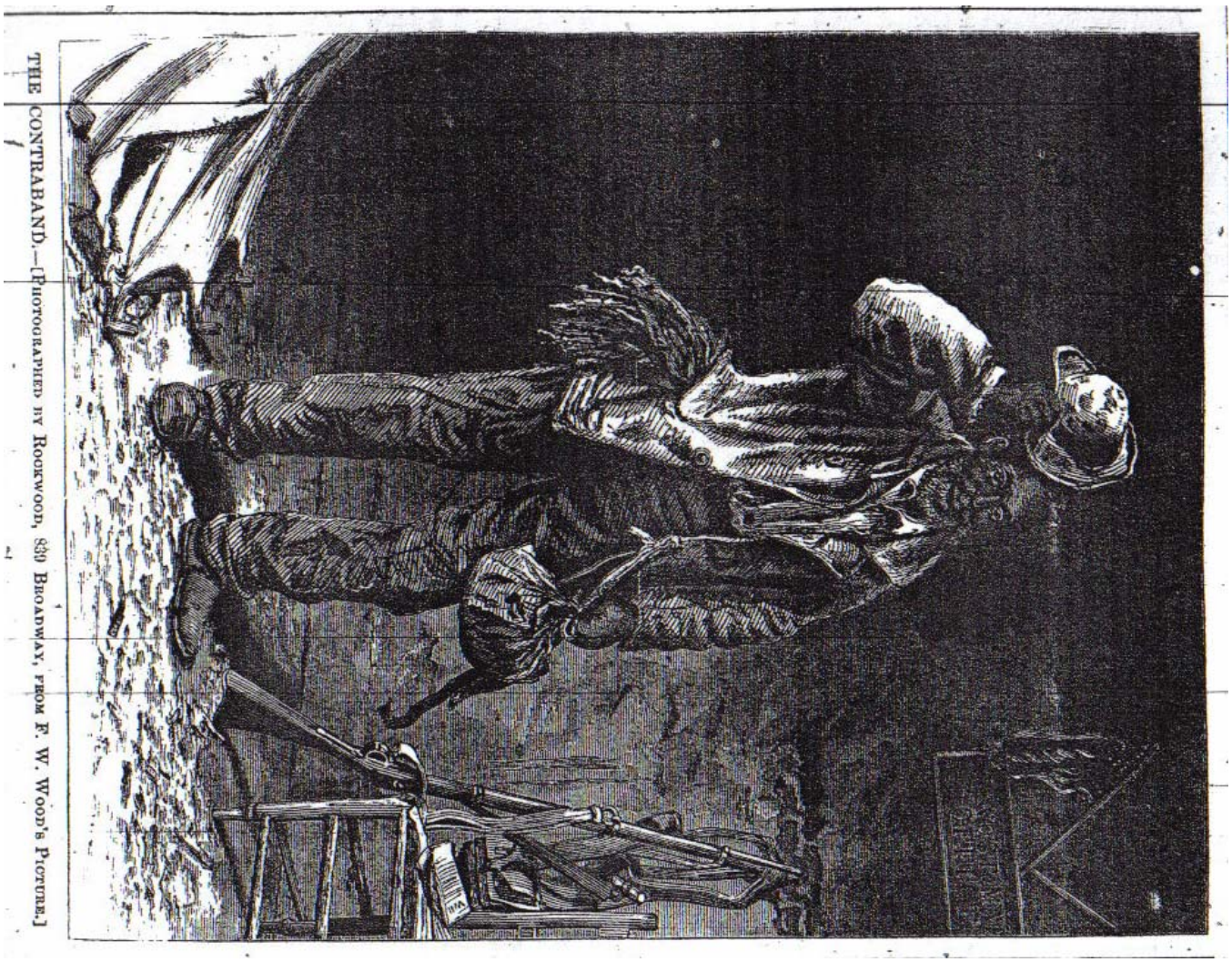


Figure 4.11
n.a., "The Contraband," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1867, 284.

Figure 4.12
Thomas Nast, "(?)'Slavery is Dead'(?)," *Harper's Weekly*, 12 January 1867, 24.

Figure 4.13
W.L. Snebbar, “A Political Discussion,” Harper’s Weekly, 20 November 1869, 736

Figure 4.14
n.a., "'Zion' School for Colored Children," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 December 1866, 797.

THE NEW ERA.

GENERAL WADE HAMPTON (*to influential colored voter*). "Of course you'll *Dine* with me on Thursday?"

COLORED VOTER. "Not on Phursday, Massa HAMPTON. On Phursday I'se promised to *Sleep* with Massa PINCKNEY."

Figure 4.15
n.a., "The New Era," *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April 1867, 224.

Figure 4.16
Thomas Nast, "Why 'The Nigger is Not Fit to Vote,'" *Harper's Weekly*, 24, October 1868, 672.

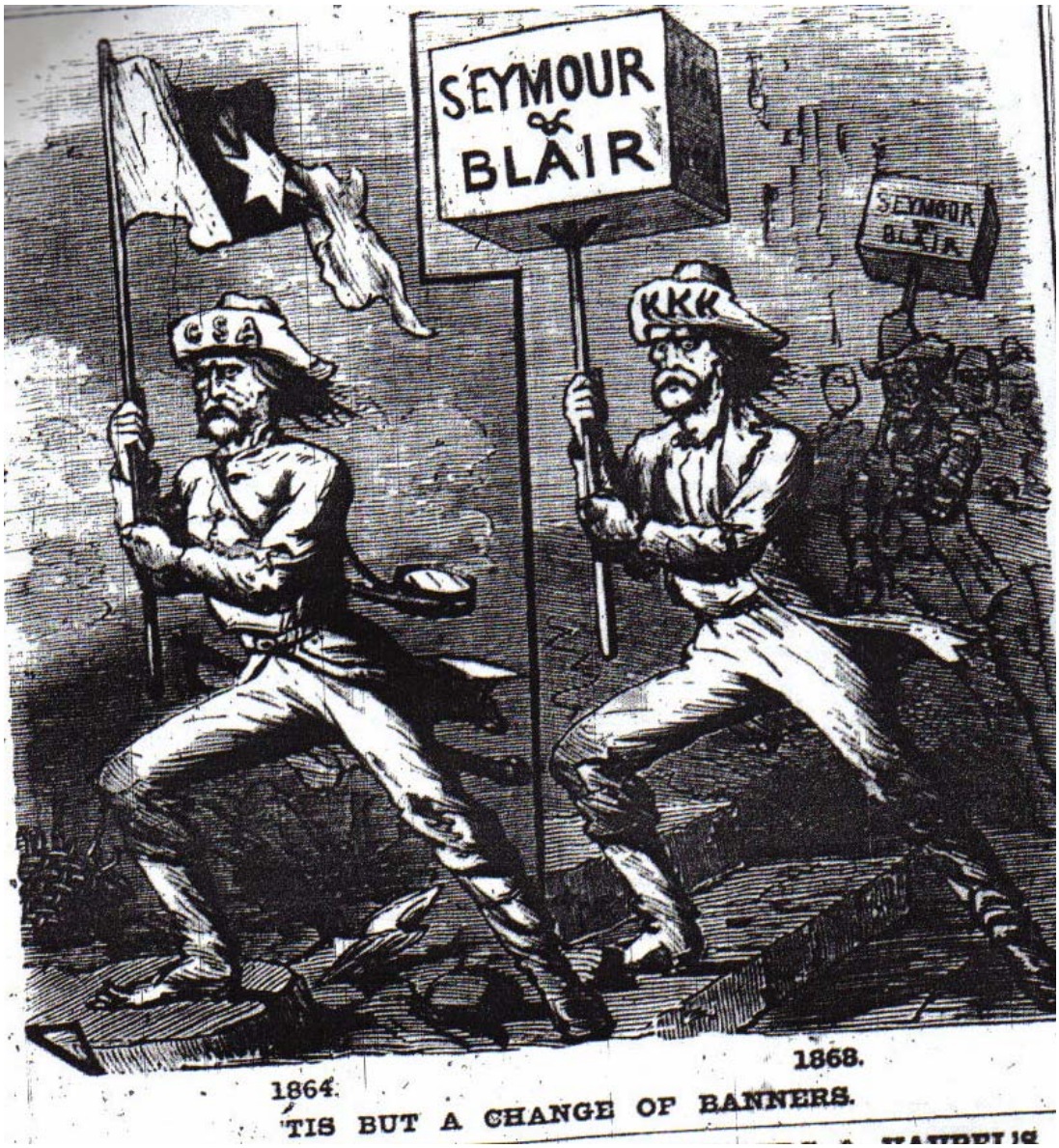
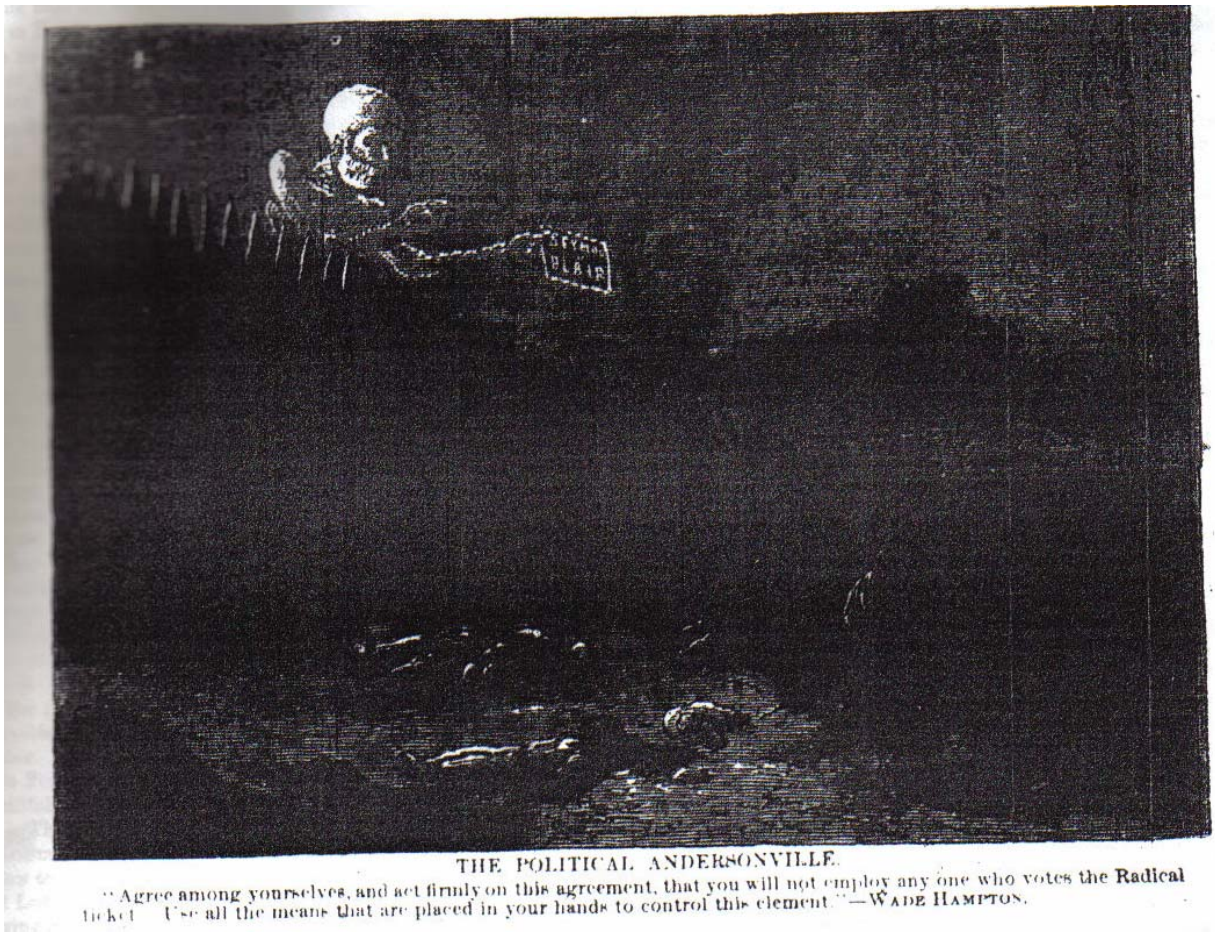


Figure 4.17
n.a., "'Tis But a Change of Banners," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1868, 624.

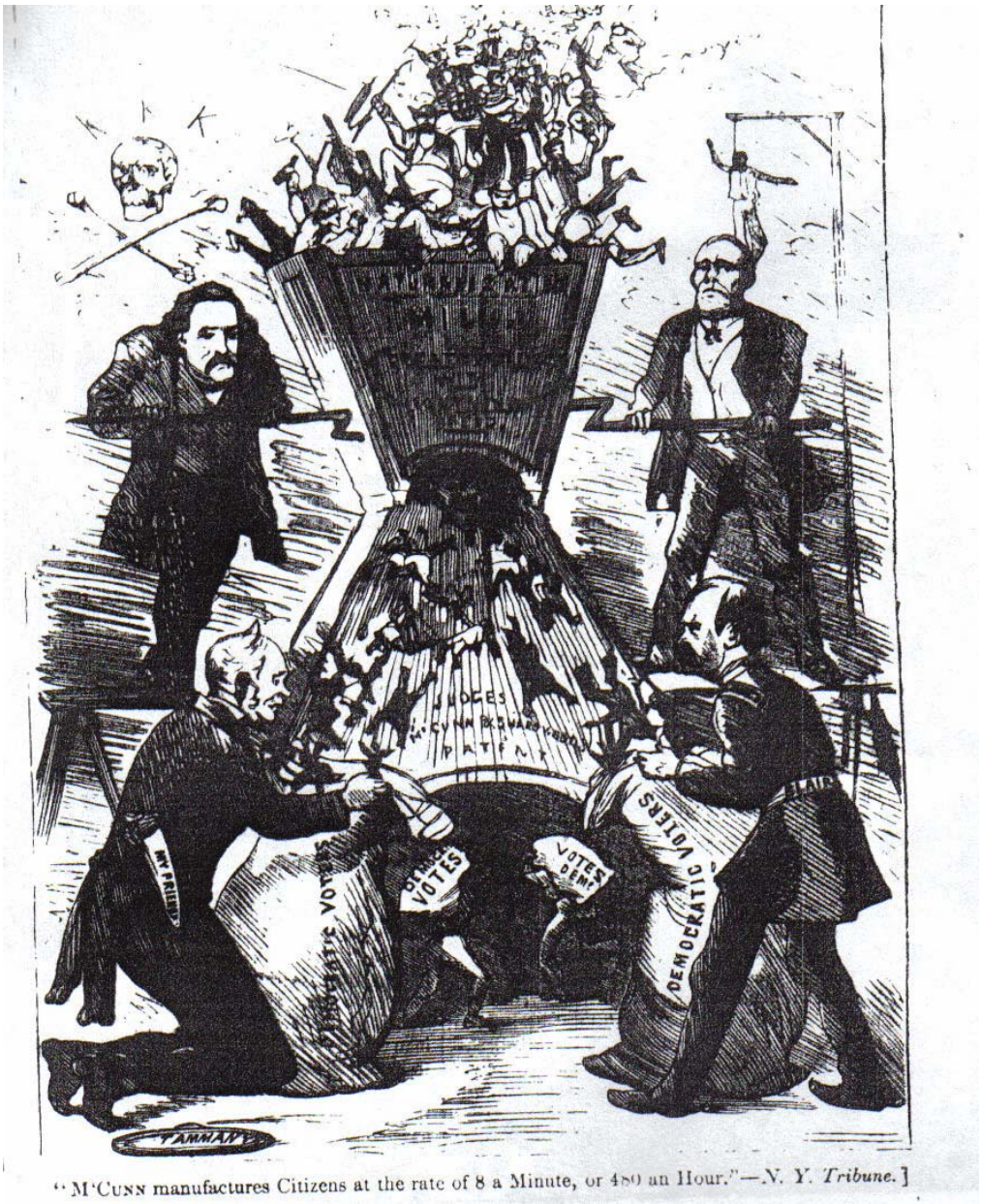
Figure 4.18
n.a., "The Reign of Fraud and the Reign of Terror," *Harper's Weekly*, 21 November 1868, 747.



THE POLITICAL ANDERSONVILLE.

"Agree among yourselves, and act firmly on this agreement, that you will not employ any one who votes the Radical ticket. Use all the means that are placed in your hands to control this element."—WADE HAMPTON.

Figure 4.19
n.a., "The Political Andersonville," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 681.



"M'Cunn manufactures Citizens at the rate of 8 a Minute, or 480 an Hour."—*N. Y. Tribune.*]

Figure 4.20
n.a., "McCunn Manufactures Citizens at the Rate of 8 a Minute," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 October 1868, 672.

Figure 4.21
n.a., “Two Members of the Ku-Klux in their Disguises,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 19 December 1868, 813.

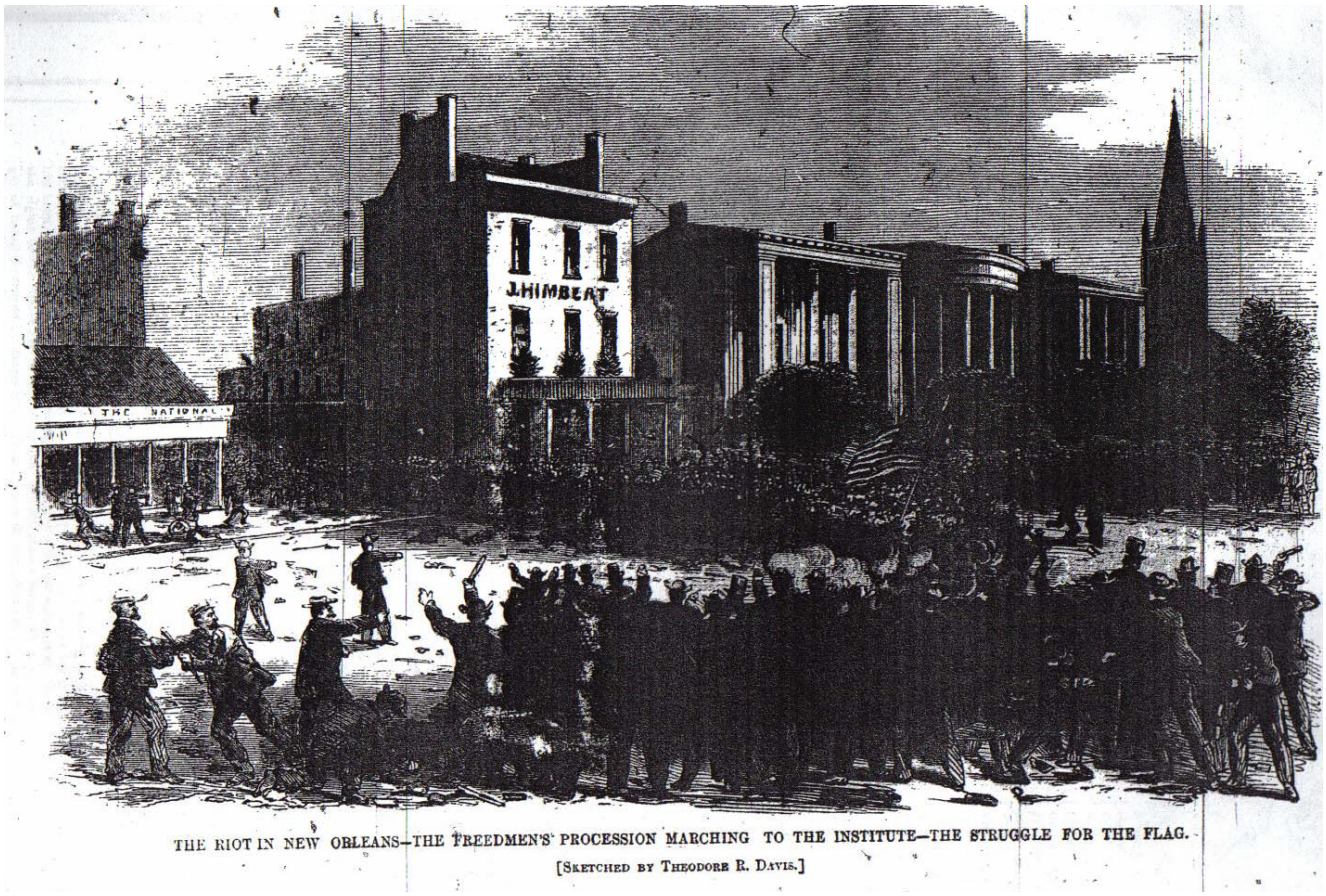


Figure 4.22
n.a., "The Riot in New Orleans," *Harper's Weekly*, 25 August 1866, 536.

Figure 4.23
n.a., "Citizens of the United States According to Popular Impressions," *Harper's Weekly*, 12 January 1867, 29.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Two hundred thirty-seven articles and seventy-eight illustrations examined for this study provided many different portrayals of the South. While these representations differed, they did offer reoccurring themes that spanned all eras. However, these themes associated with the South were not static. Each era presented new themes and variations on old ones. Taken collectively and in context, these articles and illustrations presented the South as something different from the rest of the United States.

Politics was intimately intertwined with these representations. Many of the articles in this sample discussed political issues and figures. In addition, articles and illustrations showed the political standpoint of each magazine which showed the South in a distinctive way. These differing depictions could be rooted in both political standpoints of the publications or the readers the magazines tried to reach.

The pictorial analysis also provided an interesting comparison to the articles. Although the illustrations were exclusively drawn from *Harper's Weekly*, they often showed more about southern society and politics than articles from all three magazines. In fact, these pictorials provided the most examples of southern stereotypes of the sample examined for this study. By simplifying the depictions of the South to images that were familiar to readers, these illustrations and cartoons used common stereotypic images of the South. In addition, these pictorials showed a more inclusive view of the South. Where the articles in this study dealt

almost exclusively with white southerners, these cartoons portrayed other groups, most notably African-Americans.

Research Question 1: How were Southerners represented from 1857 to 1870

This sample from 1857 to 1870 showed the South as different from the rest of the United States. Throughout the late 1850s until 1870 these magazines showed the South as a distinctive region that had a cultural, political, economic, and social qualities that were uniquely its own. These articles and illustrations indicated the major cause of the uniqueness of the South was race. Race permeated most depictions of the South including its economy, class structure, politics, and even humor. Representations of southern African-Americans also indirectly depicted whites. The depictions of the cruel masters, racist politics, and the brutal nature of slavery related to black/white relations in the South. In particularly, articles and pictorials from the late Civil War and Reconstruction era depicted the entire South in terms of racial problems that had been accelerated by southern whites' unwillingness to relinquish the ideals and practice of slavery.

This sample characterized African-American status as the root cause of many of the problems in the post-bellum South. While these magazines showed angry whites lashing out at the newly found freedoms of their former slaves, freed people were depicted as undeserving equals in southern society.[1]

Although other representations of the South did not specifically mention slavery or African-Americans, most articles about the South directly or indirectly showed the South as a society and region defined by its racial makeup. It was these racial depictions of the South that became the root of most representations of the South in these magazines, and ultimately defined the culture and society of the South in racial terms.

[1] "Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*. "Why 'The Nigger is Not Fit to Vote,'" *Harper's Weekly*.

Research Question 2: How did these Representations Change over Time?

There were definite shifts in how articles depicted southerners and the South from 1857 to 1870. The first part of this study which examined 1857 to 1860 the South was portrayed as a distinctive region with its own cultural and social system. However, what was important about this depiction was it characterized the South as a distinctive region *within* America. Articles about southern politicians, in particular, highlighted this aspect of southerners as good Americans.[2] These politicians represented American goals, and placed their national identity before their regional loyalty. In addition, slavery and black/white relations in the South were discussed at length. Slavery was mainly shown as an apolitical cultural and economic reality of the South.[3] Few articles presented moral judgments about blacks in the South, or their treatment by whites.

In addition, this period also represented a romanticized view of the South. Articles portrayed upper class southern planters in a way that suggested there was an elite southern aristocracy.[4] Likewise articles and illustrations portrayed lower class whites as ignorant and backwoods people who were unaware of their status.[5] These two depictions showed the South as a region in which the white population fell into two distinct groups. However, no articles suggested that there was a class struggle among southern whites. Rather, these two groups were separate and were never discussed in a context where there was interaction between classes.

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[2] "Hon. James L. Orr, Speaker of the House," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Late Postmaster-General Brown," *Harper's Weekly*.
"Presidential Candidates, Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi," *Harper's Weekly*.
[3] "Palmetto-Tree, and Old Custom-House, At Charleston, South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*.
"Wit and Humor: Pulpit Gravity," *Saturday Evening Post.*
[4] Birdie Rae, "Nellie's Diary," *Godey's Lady's Book*
"Blanche Brandon," *Godey's Lady's Book*, April 1858.
"Adelaide Chetwood: A Sketch of Southern Life," *Godey's Ladies Book.*
[5] "In Favor of the Hog," *Saturday Evening Post.*

These representations of the late 1850s dramatically changed during the Civil War. The South was represented as a region that was not only culturally and socially distinct, but also as a region outside the United States. In this era articles and illustrations characterized the South as the antithesis of American political and social values. In particular, these articles and pictorials emphasized slavery as a system that separated the South from the Union.[6] Depictions of slavery took on a moralistic tone and white masters' cruelty was emphasized.[7]

This depiction of the cruelty of southerners was in other portrayals of the South. Articles and illustrations portrayed southern soldiers as cruel and inhumane on the battlefields.[8] Confederate soldiers many times were not even shown fighting Union troops, but rather killing and terrorizing civilians.[9] A few illustrations showed cruelty toward African-Americans by Confederates further illustrating the South as a region defined by violence and exploitation of others.[10]

The southern government also was portrayed differently in the Civil War era. In comparison to the late 1850s where southern leaders were characterized as a responsible part of the Union, the Confederate government was shown to be led by inept traitors who took advantage of their country.[11] This depiction was transferred to the southern people and Confederate soldiers.[12] This portrayal presented an important idea about southern people; not

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[6] "A Visit of Gilmore and Jaquess to Richmond," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, Slavery and Secession on a Mule, *Harper's Weekly*.
[7] "Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*.
"An Instrument of Torture Among Slaveholders," *Harper's Weekly*.
[8] "The War in the Border States," *Harper's Weekly*.
"A Rebel Guerilla Raid in a Western Town," *Harper's Weekly*
[9] Ibid.
[10] "A Rebel Captain Forcing Negroes to Load Cannon," *Harper's Weekly*.
[11]"The Inauguration at Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Food Question—Down South," *Harper's Weekly*.
Untitled, Secretary Memminger with Cotton Planters, *Harper's Weekly*.
[12] "Coaxing Rebels," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Hopelessness of the rebellion," *Harper's Weekly*.

only were they not a part of the United States, they were not a part of the United States by choice, which further characterized their cause as illegitimate and illegal.

The post-bellum representation of the South represented an amalgamation of the first two eras studied. These magazines in late 1860s and 1870 showed the South as a part of the United States, but not completely. Articles and pictorials characterized the South as a region that needed to change its society and politics to come more in tune with northern ideals. However, the South was still represented as outside America in its ideologies and in its experiences with Reconstruction, in particularly free African-Americans.

This sample showed that whites in the post-bellum South were not only white supremacists, but people who were willing to make this ideology a part of the political scene through violence.[13] White politics and racism were intimately intertwined. Figures such as 4.18 and 4.20 made blatant assertions that the Confederate cause and the political goals southern people were embodied by the Ku Klux Klan.[14]

The depictions of southern blacks also changed from 1866 to 1870. Articles and illustrations depicted newly freed slaves taking on new political rights.[15] These depictions of freedmen further underscored how the South was different from the remainder of the Union. Blacks were shown as being a major part of the state governments in the South.[16] In many publications particularly the *Saturday Evening Post*, these newly empowered blacks were portrayed as ignorant and irresponsible leaders that were unqualified and undeserving of their

[13] "Ku Kluxism," *Harper's Weekly*.
[14] "Tis But a Change of Banners," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Reign of Fraud and the Reign of Terror," *Harper's Weekly*.
[15] " A Political Discussion," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The New Era," *Harper's Weekly*.
[16] "The Election Returns," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, "They have colored policemen," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, "A dispatch from Wilmington County," *Saturday Evening Post*.

power.[17] This depiction of the South being at the mercy of an uneducated black government further separated the region from the United States.

The Civil War and post-bellum era also showed an important aspect of the South. By representing the South as embracing slavery, violence, and cruelty these magazines pointed out the South was not only a region that was different from the United States, it was a region that wanted to be different from the United States. Fighting in the Civil War and rejecting Reconstruction represented the South's mentality as xenophobic and unprogressive. Essentially these representations argued if the South's economy, politics, and goals were outside the United States it was because the South wanted it to be that way.

Identity of the Region

The South's politics defined the region in this sample of articles. All of the articles about the South and its political ideologies noted that the South's interests were unique and represented a highly regionalized political mindset. The 1857 to 1860 sample expressed the reasonableness and loyalty of southern politicians to the Union.[18] The abolition of slavery was mentioned only in one illustration, and it was not depicted as a political issue that the United States government, let alone southern politicians, wanted to endorse.[19] Although the literature did not point out that northern media or society wanted to see southerners as loyal Americans, these articles emphasized Boles' assertion that politics were heavily associated with defining the South as unique.[20]

[17] Untitled, "A Memphis paper tells this anecdote," *Saturday Evening Post.*
Untitled, "The committee of the Alabama House," *Saturday Evening Post.*
[18] "Hon. James L. Orr, Speaker of the House," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Late Postmaster-General Brown," *Harper's Weekly*.
[19] "At The South," *Harper's Weekly*.
[20] Boles, *The South Through Time*, 271-288.

The depictions of southern politics in the Civil War era drastically changed in these magazines. Southern politics and politicians were represented as traitors who illegally and irresponsibly seceded from the Union.[21] In addition, these southern leaders and their management of the Confederacy were depicted as irresponsible and harmful to the southern people.[22] However, this depiction of the South was not found in literature on southern regional identity. While scholars like Cash and Cobb suggested there was a perception among northerners that southerners were different, this idea did not manifest itself from treasonous actions on the part of southerners or the Confederacy.[23]

Magazines also made slavery a political issue in this era. These publications' politicization of slavery equated the preservation of slavery and emancipation as causes of the Civil War.[24] In equating the goals of the war with slavery these magazines portrayed the southern political mindset as being one that was single mindedly concerned with slavery and the preservation of the southern slave society, thus equating slavery to anti-Union pro-secessionist sentiments.

This characterization of southern politics as the politics of slavery was clearly in the literature about the South. Cobb, in particular, pointed out that the South was perceived by some individual northerners as being defining by the practice of slavery.[25] These articles showed that this idea was not limited to a few individuals. Instead, the representation of the South as a slave

[21] Untitled Jefferson Davis stealing from Uncle Sam, *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Inauguration at Richmond," *Harper's Weekly*.
[22] "The Food Question—Down South," *Harper's Weekly*.
Untitled Secretary Memminger with Cotton Planters, *Harper's Weekly*.
[23] Cash, *The Mind of the South*.
Cobb, *Away Down South*.
[24] No Title, Slavery and Secession on a Mule, *Harper's Weekly*.
"A Visit of Gilmore and Jaquess to Richmond," *Saturday Evening Post*.
[25] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 14-16.

society was in major northern based media, which enhanced the argument that the South's perceived difference from the rest of America lay in its slave economy and society.

Southern politics of the post-bellum era also presented the idea that the South was defined by race, particularly black/white tensions. The magazines in this study showed southern politics as associated with Klan interests and white supremacy.[26] Articles and illustrations depicted white southerner's political attitudes as embracing the idea that freed African-American's rights needed to be suppressed and that Reconstruction itself needed to be ended.[27] *Harper's* showed the Klan as an illegitimate force of lawlessness in the South.[28] Depictions of the Klan and its associations with politics showed that the Ku Klux Klan represented the legitimate political goals of southern whites. This Reconstruction era politics of the South reiterated Philips's observation that the South "shall be and remain a white man's country."[29]

Identity of the People

The representation of southern whites can be categorized into two groups: upper and lower class. This representation of southern whites was found in both eras from 1857 to 1860 and 1866 to 1870. What was interesting about the Civil War era was it made no mention of classes of white southerners. Rather, southern whites were divided between those who were traitors and the small minority that stayed loyal to the Union.

Articles portrayed upper class southerners as cultured, well-bred people who lived in a genteel plantation society.[30] This image of upper class southerners remained similar in both the

[26] "Ku Kluxism," *Harper's Weekly*.
Tis But a Change of Manners," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Reign of Fraud and the Reign of Terror,' *Harper's Weekly*.
[27] "Ku Kluxism," *Harper's Weekly*.
[28] "Tis But a Change of Banners," *Harper's Weekly*.
"The Reign of Fraud and the Reign of Terror," *Harper's Weekly*.
[29] Philips, "Central Theme of Southern History," 31.
[30] Birdie Rae, "Nellie's Diary," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
"Eugenies Romance—What She Missed and Won," *Saturday Evening Post*.

antebellum and post-bellum eras. Upper class southerners in the post-bellum era were presented in a manner that suggested they were unaffected by the Civil War, and could continue to live their lives of grandeur as easily as they did before the War.[31] This presentation of upper class whites illustrated Cobb's argument that the South was tied to aristocracy and the Old World.[32] Equating upper class southerners to European ideals also emphasized Cobb's assertion that upper class southerners were equated to older and nobler linage.[33] However, what was missing in these articles was Cobb's idea of the helpless and hapless southern cavalier.[34]

It is important to make note that most of the representations of high-class southern whites were used as the settings for romantic short stories, particularly in *Godey's Lady's Book*.[35] Manners and breeding were emphasized throughout these stories and racial or secessionist southern ideologies were not discussed.[36] These depictions of upper class whites clearly showed the development of the cavalier myth. In the late 1850s the romantic aspect of southern life was depicted, but by the late 1860s this representation of planter society took on a presentation that emphasized aristocratic lifestyles and behaviors.

Lower class southerners were discussed at length in the late 1850s and 1860s. The portrayal of lower class whites focused on their lack of intelligence and folksy behavior. This was emphasized with the magazines, particularly *Harper's*, use of phonetically spelled words that underscored the mispronunciations of these southerners.[37] This presentation suggested

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Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
[31] "Eugenies Romance—What She Missed and Won," *Saturday Evening Post*.
Marion Harland, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
[32] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 22.
[33] Ibid.
[34]Cobb, *Away Down South*, 26.
[35] "Eugenies Romance—What She Missed and Won," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
Birdie Rae, "Nellie's Diary," *Godey's Lady's Book*.
[36] Ibid.
[37] "In Favor of the Hog," *Saturday Evening Post*.
"Bad for the Yankees at the South," *Harper's Weekly*.

southern people were behind the North in intellectual development. This particular representation of southern whites suggested northerners viewed southerners as people who were less intelligent, worldly, and progressive.

All of the articles in this sample emphasized the lack of education of these lower class southerners. This depiction related directly to Cash's central argument in *The Mind of the South* that southerners were a people who rejected progressive and intellectual advancement and embraced backward thinking rooted in prejudice.[38] In fact, the xenophobia of the South in Figure 2.6 was shown again in *I'll Take My Stand* written in 1930.[39] Both the illustration and the book present a South that desperately wants to be left alone in order to pursue its own societal goals.[40]

Among the representations of southern people, racism was one of the most distinguishing characteristics. Articles and illustrations portrayed racism as a classless ideology that encapsulated a universal white southern mindset. Interestingly, racism was not shown in the antebellum era, or even in the Civil War era. Certainly the antebellum slaveholders prized white domination over African-Americans, but these magazine's representations of whites did not suggest these masters resented or felt threatened by their slaves' status or power. It is only the Reconstruction era that depicted white supremacy, motivated by the threatening nature of newly established African-American rights, which emphasized the violent hatred of African-Americans. This racism may be attributed in part to the Reconstruction era creating African-American and white equality in the South.

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[38] Cash, *The Mind of the South*.
[39] "Dispatch from the Commanding Officer at Thunderville, VA., to Governor Wise," *Harper's Weekly*. Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand*.
[40] Ibid.

Like Griffin and Doyle suggested, these articles presented the South as a region obsessed with the "place of free African Americans in the new order."[41] As Black and Black argued, these illustrations and articles emphasized the notion that whites wanted to create a system that limited African-American's rights as citizens and voters.[42] In addition, slavery itself began to be romanticized in the magazines in this sample. By the time of Reconstruction slavery was presented in an a-political manner that did not focus on the cruelty or inhumanity of slave's lives. This depiction of slavery in the Old South did not reach the level of romanticization that Cash and Tindell discussed.[43] Perhaps these articles with their a-political presentation showed the first step toward this romanticized idea of the idealness of slavery in the Old South.

Even though whites were characterized as violent toward African-Americans, these magazines oftentimes promoted negative stereotypes about African-Americans. Many articles from *Harper's* and *Saturday Evening Post* emphasized how African-Americans were less intelligent and capable than whites.[44] *Saturday Evening Post* particularly showed inept African-American politicians and how their motivations for office were fueled by personal greed.[45] In portraying southern African-American in this manner these magazines justified white anger toward freed slaves, and suggested African-Americans somehow needed to be kept under the control.

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[41] Griffin and Doyle, *The South as an American Problem*, 5.
[42] Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, 75.
[43] Cash, *The Mind Of the South*, 83.
Tindell, "Southern Mythology," 10.
[44] "Why 'The Nigger is Not Fit to Vote,'" *Harper's Weekly*.
"Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort South Carolina," *Harper's Weekly*.
[45] Untitled, "A dispatch from Wilmington County,", *Saturday Evening Post*.
Untitled, "A Memphis paper tells this anecdote," *Saturday Evening Post*.

Orientalism

The articles and magazines in this study were analyzed using what Jensson defines as "internal orientalism."[46] Jensson writes, "Internal orientalism represents a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful region (or regions) within the state."[47] In using this theoretical model to evaluate and analyze these articles and illustrations it was clear these northern-based magazines showed the South as a region culturally, socially, economically, politically, and morally different from the northern United States.

Internal orientalizing was not at the same level through all of the eras in this study, however. Samples from 1857 to 1860 depicted the South as a different region within the United States, but did not go as far as other eras in orientalizing the region. The otherization of the South in this era manifested itself in the cultural depictions of southern whites and the role of slavery. This sample emphasized a South that was unique and different from the United States, but this era did not use as many critical judgments about these differences. These magazines in 1857 to 1860 did not portray the South in such a manner that would warrant comparison to any other part of the Union. Southerners were described as being good Americans, and the South's values were merely a part of the diversity of the United States. In this era the South was simply different, and represented a variation within the Union. The era of 1861 to 1865 represented the highest level of internal orientalizing of the South. Magazines emphasized the themes of cruelty, violence, and treason. In doing so these magazines showed what the North was not in relation to the South.

[46] Jensson, "Internal Orientalism in America," 296.
[47] Ibid.

This internal orientalism of the South served a purpose not only for northern identity, but also for the war effort. By emphasizing these representations of southerners these magazines were legitimizing why the North was fighting the South. The South had become an un-American region that's whole system was not only different, but in opposition to northern ideals.

In the Reconstruction era this internal orientalism took on another form. Rather than completely depicting the South as a different and unusual region of the United States, these magazines showed it as a region mending its ways. However, the differences between the two regions were illustrated in both the reaction of southern whites and the Reconstruction effort itself. Southern white's opposition to Reconstruction further demonstrated how the South's ideals were different from the United States.

In addition to this otherization of the South based upon native whites' attitudes, the Reconstruction effort itself showed the South as a region outside of the norms of the United States. African-American politicians were shown as a major part of the post-bellum southern political process, which demonstrated the South's politics were different from the North's. By showing African-Americans as a main part of southern political reality these magazines further demonstrated the South was outside of the United States in its racial and political norms.

The internal orientalism of the South in these magazines showed an important concept. Internal orientalism can exist even in a nation rooted in an ideology and history that stresses the homogeneity of its people. Using the ideal of internal orientalism this sample also showed what nineteenth century American values were. Using this internal orientalist approach these magazines not only showed race as an integral part of the South's image, but subsequently presented these magazines' perception that American ideals should be represented by racial harmony and equality for all, black and white. In addition, the longitudinal approach used in this

study provided for a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the evolution of stereotypes, and how these perceptions of a region or people are rooted in political and social events.

Further Study

This study showed only a small part of how the South was represented in mass media in the nineteenth century. Given that media is integral in the formation of identity, other studies need to take on various methods and eras to gain a larger and better picture of how the South was and is depicted in the media.[48] While this study examined magazines from the nineteenth century, other studies could broaden this sample to include magazine representations of the South through the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. Of particular interest is how the negative racial aspects of southern culture changes, and how southern culture and refinement today may have been divorced from the racial ideologies of the nineteenth century. While magazines provide an interesting medium for this type of study, broadcast media should also be examined. It is important to study how the South perceives itself. Examining southern based media would shed new light on southern representations, and perhaps insight into southern identity. In addition, this study's approach can also be used in examinations of representations of other regions of the United States like the West, New England, or the Midwest. Exploring these various representations of these regions would further assist scholars in creating an understanding of these regions and America's identity.

[48] Schlesinger, "Media, The Political Order and National Identity."

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