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# American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism

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AMERICAN POETRY AND THE DAILY NEWSPAPER FROM THE RISE OF THE  
PENNY PRESS TO THE NEW JOURNALISM

by

Elizabeth M. Lorang

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of  
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AMERICAN POETRY AND THE DAILY NEWSPAPER FROM THE RISE OF THE  
PENNY PRESS TO THE NEW JOURNALISM

Elizabeth M. Lorang, Ph.D.

University of Nebraska, 2010

Adviser: Susan Belasco

This dissertation examines the relationship of poetry and the U.S. daily newspaper in the nineteenth century and begins the process of recovering and reevaluating nineteenth-century newspaper poetry. In doing so, it draws on and participates in current discussions about the role of poetry and poets in society, the importance of periodicals in the development and dissemination of American literature in the nineteenth century, and the value of studying non-canonical texts. The appearance and function of poems in daily newspapers changed over the course of the nineteenth century, and these changes were part of larger shifts in the newspaper and its cultural function, in the role of poetry, in conceptions of authorship, and in the trajectory of American literature. Rarely considered in histories of American literature or studies of poetry, newspaper poems emerge here as a key part of the story of nineteenth-century American poetry, both because of their presence and participation in the daily lives of the people and because of their impact on literary culture.

The four chapters offer new models for thinking about the cultural work of newspaper poetry. Together, they present an original explanation for newspaper poetry's rise and fall in relation to the literary canon. Because nineteenth-century newspapers are multi-genre, multi-authored texts that mediated political, social, popular, cultural, and civic experiences, they require a multi-disciplinary approach. This project engages and contributes to literary criticism, textual scholarship, and a range of histories—book, media, social—and develops understanding of the American literary record, publishing and book history, the history of the newspaper, and the role of the newspaper as cultural intermediary. In doing so, it expands understanding of the kinds and variety of poems published in newspapers, of the history of poetry in American literature, and of authorship in the nineteenth century. When considered in a contemporary context, this project provides a lens through which to view the reappearance of poetry in the struggling American newspaper of the twenty-first century.

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## American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism

This dissertation examines the relationship of poetry and the daily newspaper in the nineteenth century and begins the process of recovering and reevaluating nineteenth-century newspaper poetry. In doing so, it draws on and participates in current discussions about the role of poetry and poets in society, the importance of periodicals in the development and dissemination of American literature in the nineteenth century, and the value of studying non-canonical texts. The appearance and function of poems in daily newspapers changed over the course of the nineteenth century, and these changes were part of larger shifts in the newspaper and its cultural function, in the role of poetry, in conceptions of authorship, and in the trajectory of American literature. Rarely considered in histories of American literature or studies of poetry, newspaper poems emerge here as a key part of the story of nineteenth-century American poetry, both because of their presence and participation in the daily lives of the people and because of their impact on literary culture.

The relationship of poetry and newspapers in the nineteenth century is multifaceted. Many different kinds of poems were published in many different types of newspapers, and they appeared within a variety of contexts. Newspapers featured not only original poems, which could vary widely in subject matter and treatment, but also poems read at public events that were later printed in the newspaper, poems reprinted from other

newspapers, as well as from magazines and other periodicals, including broadsheets, and poems reprinted from books. Poems appeared in daily, semiweekly, and weekly commercial, mass-market, and literary papers that were local, regional, and national in scope and distribution. They appeared within news stories and editorials, in stand-alone pieces, in advertisements, and in obituaries. In short, for much of the nineteenth century, poems of one form or another were ubiquitous in American newspapers and performed a range of functions.

Acknowledging the variety of poems published in newspapers and differentiating between them is an important first step in reevaluating their importance. Throughout this dissertation, I survey the range of poems published in newspapers from circa 1835 to 1890 and trace relationships between trends in poetic content, larger literary culture, and the social and cultural circumstances in which the poems appeared. Such overviews contextualize individual, detailed case studies that explore the cultural work of newspaper poetry during the period.

The terms "newspaper poetry" and "newspaper poem" appear in a variety of usages in nineteenth-century texts. In nineteenth-century usage, both terms could refer, most broadly and simply, to poems published in newspapers, including original verse, occasional poems, and reprinted works. More commonly, however, the terms described a subset of poetry and poems: those written for and first published in newspapers. Before they were known as fireside or schoolroom poets, for example, William Cullen Bryant and John Greenleaf Whittier were popularly called "newspaper poets" because they

published so much of their verse in the papers. At times, newspapers even cultivated resident poets who sometimes were established writers, staff members, or informal correspondents. In other instances, "newspaper poetry" more specifically described the work of local writers, often unknowns, who hoped to see their poems in print and circulated in the daily press. Their poems might treat current events or local customs, but these aspiring poets also were responsible for innumerable poems on unrequited and young love, the changing seasons, and babies. Definitions and usages of the terms "newspaper poetry" and "newspaper poem" therefore could be related to where a poem was published.

Classifying a work as a "newspaper poem" or identifying it as a piece of "newspaper poetry" also could convey judgment. Such classification often had more to do with evaluation than definition or description. Whether one used the terms positively or negatively depended on the values one associated with the newspaper, its role in society, the purpose of poetry, and the relationship between poetry and the newspaper. Overall, the lack of clear definitions for "newspaper poem" and "newspaper poetry" in the nineteenth century allowed the terms to serve specific rhetorical functions, including the use of "newspaper poetry" as a metonym for "bad poetry," and this usage persisted through the twentieth century.

Critical response to newspaper poetry in the nineteenth century was mixed. While one critic saw newspaper poetry as a cultural evil, another regarded it as the people's poetry, and yet another traced the lineage of some of American literature's premier poems

to the newspaper. Perhaps the most commonly espoused view was that newspaper poetry was light verse unworthy of the space it required and unworthy of significant consideration. In 1836, for example, William Gilmore Simms announced, "Newspaper poetry has always been a subject for jest . . . .The readers of newspapers find it out of place, and the merchant invariably begrudges to poetry the space which he thinks would be much better filled with prices."<sup>1</sup> Other critics of the 1830s and 1840s shared Simms's opinion of the ubiquitous poems in newspapers as superfluous filler and puff and as source material for jokes.<sup>2</sup> But an 1842 piece in the *Southern Literary Messenger* offered a more favorable opinion and argued that the

best specimens of American poetry consist of collections of pieces originally published in the daily prints. Such was the case with Bryant, Willis, and most of our other poets; this circumstance should lead us to treat with more courtesy newspaper poetry, which has become a byword for insipidity and bombast; even if much of it be trash, the gentle reader should remember, that the sin of rhyme is not always a voluntary sin . . . .

Likewise, an article in *Brother Jonathan* the next year implicitly connected newspaper poetry to the development of an American national literature. The author humorously expressed the opinion that the work of "older English poets" should "not to be compared with much of our newspaper poetry within the last dozen or twenty years; and by that we mean, that it was generally much inferior to our newspaper poetry" ("Literary Notices" 277). But in 1850, a piece on the "New School of Poetry" in the United States consoled

the moral and cultured reader: "as . . . we cease not to discourage evil and excite emulation for good, so must we not . . . fold our hands in despair, as the insipid waves of the great ocean of Magazine and newspaper poetry roll over us, yielding up our hope and our energy without a struggle for salvation" (182). Even if most critics did not go so far as to equate newspaper poetry with moral evil, positive estimations of newspaper verse grew less common as the century progressed.

The emerging critical consensus about newspaper poetry in the latter half of the century was related, in part, to a narrowing in the cultural definition of newspaper poetry. An unsigned piece in *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1864, which satirically recounted the desire of the author to be a published poet, identified key features for a newspaper poem: "I never did attempt anything in the rhyming line but once, and that was several years ago, when I did perpetrate a poetical description of one of my schoolmates, which was contained in three verses of four lines each; and, as I availed myself of poetical license to a considerable extent, I hardly think the description was very striking." The piece continues, "I know it abounded in allusions to pearly teeth, vermillion [sic] lips, marble necks, and hetty curls. I believe the subject was rather deficient in every one of these particulars, but I presume it was as near the truth as most newspaper poetry" (502). Thus, even though newspaper poetry as a form included socially-engaged verse that addressed timely topics and concerns, and some of American literature's preeminent authors published newspaper poems, in critical discourse and popular understanding, "newspaper poetry" became associated primarily with poems like the one the *Godey's* writer

attempted: painfully rhymed lyrics on children and love. This perception increased following the Civil War, when locally-oriented, topical poems appeared much less frequently than they had in earlier periods.

By the 1870s, critics celebrated a decline in the presence of newspaper poetry. Although newspapers still consistently published poems, the poems tended to appear within new contexts, and original verse appeared less frequently. In 1871, one commentator noted:

Every man and woman of literary taste must rejoice that the noble rage which the public once so assiduously cultivated for newspaper poetry is cooling down day by day, and is destined in the course of time to play out almost entirely. But some of the weekly papers are making an effort to perpetuate the existence of this very disreputable sort of poetry. They persuade the school-girls and moon-struck boys of country towns to write it and send it to them for publication. ("Newspaper Poetry" [2])

This piece further illustrates a narrowed understanding of "newspaper poetry" over the century. By the late 1870s and 1880s, "newspaper poetry" was synonymous with the verse of school-aged children and the "moonstruck" as well as provincialism. Very rare indeed were the type of positive assessment of newspaper poetry offered by one writer for *Life* magazine in 1889. Taking a newspaper to task for its poor assessment of newspaper poetry, the writer argued that "Newspaper poetry compares very favorably indeed with either magazine poetry or book poetry. If the *Commercial* will take a dozen famous

American poems and trace them to their origin, we are willing to bet that it will run up against a newspaper column a surprising number of times" ("[The New York *Commercial Advertiser* raised]" 46). The pervasive, negative assessments and critical connotations of newspaper poetry in the late-nineteenth century shaped its reception and treatment in literary criticism of the twentieth century.

In the twentieth century, scholars largely ignored newspaper poetry in histories of American literature, newspapers, and culture. If acknowledged at all, newspaper poetry typically received a single, dismissive mention or, more generously, a single paragraph. Even in cases where scholars recognized the importance of newspapers and newspaper poetry to a writer's career, they failed to discuss newspaper poetry as a form or its rich history and cultural importance. In addition, the role of magazines in the publication and distribution of American literature has overshadowed that of newspapers, and journalism histories rarely treat newspaper poetry in detail. Recently, however, scholars of American literature, including Paula Bernat Bennett, Ellen Gruber Garvey, and Charles Johanningsmeier have turned to newspapers in their projects on women writers, reader response and reception, and fiction in late nineteenth-century newspapers. Drawing on their foundational work, "American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper" locates, historicizes, and analyses newspaper poetry as it was published within its specific textual and cultural environments. In addition, studies on the public role of poetry in American history and culture, such as Joan Shelley Rubin's *Songs of Ourselves: The Uses of Poetry in America*, inform my project throughout.



The important task of locating, historicizing, and analyzing nineteenth-century newspaper poems is a massive undertaking. Addressing the totality of the poems is impossible for many reasons, among them time and the availability of and access to materials. Therefore, this project begins relatively narrowly and explores specific case studies within larger cultural, social, and literary contexts. I survey the range of poems published in daily newspapers and explore the multifaceted relationship of poetry and the newspaper in the nineteenth century. My primary focus is on poems first published in the daily press. This focus is theoretical as well as practical. Choosing daily papers and poems first published in daily papers makes for a slightly more manageable body of materials. More importantly, a focus on daily newspapers acknowledges the different cultural work that daily and weekly newspapers performed in the nineteenth century. Daily papers prioritized current, often local, news and editorial, while the focus of weekly newspapers varied depending on whether they were story papers, weekly editions of dailies, illustrated papers, or country papers. In addition, the circulation of daily newspapers was primarily local, even if they had some broader distribution, while weekly newspapers might have regional and national circulations. Further, poems that appeared in daily newspapers, produced for a local community and readership, served different functions in the daily press than they might have, for example, in weekly story papers. In addition to focusing on poems in the daily press, I emphasize poems first published in, and often written exclusively for, newspaper publication. This emphasis is in keeping with the most common approximation of a definition of newspaper poetry that existed in the

nineteenth century.

The ambiguity that could surround a poem's appearance in a newspaper likely contributed to difficulties in defining the terms in the nineteenth century and in later literary scholarship. Most fundamentally, determining whether a poem appeared for the first time in a newspaper, or whether it was reprinted from a non-newspaper source, can be difficult. Practices for identifying reprinted material varied among newspapers and at different points during the nineteenth century. A poem identified as "original" or lacking attribution to another source may still have appeared elsewhere first. Similarly, even when one newspaper cited another as the source of a reprinted text, the poem might very well have a much longer publication history that involved prior magazine or book printings. Additionally, determining the author of poems published in newspapers—whether they were first published there or not—can be difficult if not impossible. Through the 1870s, the majority of poems in newspapers were unsigned or were signed only with initials or pseudonyms. Sometimes, authorial attribution of a poem changed or altogether disappeared from one printing to another, making it difficult to draw clear distinctions between newspaper poems and magazine or book poems and further complicating the work for current scholars.

In the following four chapters, I begin piecing together a history of newspaper poetry from the emergence of the penny press in the mid-1830s to the arrival of the new journalism in New York in the 1880s; work toward a definition of newspaper poetry as a form that is cognizant of the way nineteenth-century critics and readers employed the

term but that also acknowledges the range of functions these poems served, even if such functions are not recorded in contemporary criticism; and model several approaches scholars can take in the study of newspaper poetry. In chapter one, I examine the newspaper poems of Joseph M. Field, as they were published in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* in 1840–1841. I discuss Field's poems within the context of the penny press, relationships between poems and newspapers during the period, daily life in New Orleans, and the history of dialect verse. Chapter two takes a single poem, Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" (1855) as its primary object for investigation. In the first part of the chapter, I trace the publication history of Larcom's popular poem in the newspaper press and consider reasons for its fall into obscurity by the 1870s. In the second part, I explore the strengths and weaknesses of several research strategies, including the use of electronic databases and traditional archival work, for the study of newspaper poetry. From this very specific focus in chapter two, I turn to a consideration of a much broader field of newspapers and poems in chapter three. In this chapter I examine poems published in ten daily newspapers during a pivotal moment in the Civil War, approximately the first half of 1863, and I theorize reasons for an overall decline of poetry in daily papers during the Civil War even as topical poems by local writers, including soldiers, remained important in smaller newspapers such as the *Charleston Mercury* and *Memphis Daily Appeal*. Chapter four surveys newspaper poetry of the 1870s as published in ten newspapers and then considers the poems Walt Whitman published in the *New York Herald* in 1888. The appendix, "Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890," presents

bibliographic information for more than 2,500 poems published in newspapers, which I cataloged in a database as part of the research for this project. Although these 2,500 poems represent only a tiny fraction of the poems published in newspapers in the nineteenth century, I include the appendix so that scholars can refer to the poems I cite and examine those I do not; it is, I hope, a first step in developing an extensive bibliography of poems published in newspapers, which will facilitate future work and enable others to propose their own interpretations about this complex body of material.

Supplemented by the appendix, the chapters offer new models for thinking about the cultural work of newspaper poetry. Together, they present an original explanation for newspaper poetry's rise and fall in relation to the American literary canon. Because nineteenth-century newspapers are multi-genre, multi-authored texts that mediated political, social, popular, cultural, and civic experiences, they require a multi-disciplinary approach. "American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism" engages and contributes to literary criticism, textual scholarship, and a range of histories—book, media, social—and develops our understanding of the American literary record, publishing and book history, the history of the newspaper, and the role of the newspaper as cultural intermediary. In doing so, it expands our understanding of the kinds and variety of poems published in newspapers, of the history of poetry in American literature, and of authorship in the nineteenth century. When considered in a contemporary context, this project provides a lens through which to view the reappearance of poetry in the struggling American newspaper of the twenty-first

century.

Even as many newspapers struggle for existence, particularly a print existence, poetry in newspapers has received renewed attention in recent years and months. The December 2009 issue of the literary periodical *McSweeney's Quarterly Concern* offers a nostalgic interpretation of the print newspaper for the twenty-first century. The issue, presented in the form of a Sunday newspaper, is titled the *San Francisco Panorama*. *McSweeney's* describes the *Panorama* as "an attempt to demonstrate all the great things print journalism can (still) do . . ." ([Advertising Copy]). Along with investigative reporting, news, comics, and literally hundreds of features, the paper includes poems by John Ashbery and others. Fortunately, the appearance of poetry in newspapers is not limited to the single issue of the *Panorama*. Poet Laureate Ted Kooser's syndicated "American Life in Poetry" column each week introduces and reprints a poem that "will be enjoyable and enlightening to readers of newspapers and online publications" (Kooser). Original poetry also is making a return to the daily paper, perhaps as part of the "new populism" that is developing in the United States.

Individual newspapers, including the Iowa City *Press-Citizen* and the Salem Oregon *Statesman-Journal*, have reintroduced their readers to newspaper poetry in non-syndicated columns of original verse. The efforts have not gone uncontested. In 2006, the opinion editor of the *Press-Citizen*, Jeff Charis-Carlson, launched the "Poetic License" column, in which local poets editorialize in verse. Describing the column in 2008, Charis-Carlson wrote, "We want people who are creative and shameless enough to rhyme 'Des

Moines' with 'sirloin,' as one poet did when lambasting how much money the university pays its football coach in 'Lines on the Occasion of Kirk Ferentz's Salary Hike'" (18).

Charis-Carlson explains the purpose of his project as bringing "political, topical, timely verse" back to the newspaper. Similarly, Mike Chasar, who contributed poems to the *Poetic License* column while a graduate student at the University of Iowa, now submits poems to the opinion page of the Salem *Statesman-Journal*. His most recent poem, "Levi Johnston's Playgirl Cover to Hit Newsstands," published on February 13, 2010, explores the very public relationship between Levi Johnston and Bristol Palin, Sarah Palin's use of Facebook as a venue for announcing policy positions, and the current political scene in Washington, D.C. The poem prompted responses that echo criticisms of newspaper poetry from the nineteenth century. "Salemom," for example, posted a comment to the online version of the paper: "I can't decide which is MORE insignificant . . . any news about Levi Johnston, or this lousy excuse for poetry by Prof. Chasar . . ." Meanwhile, in a recent piece in the *Boston Globe*, published on February 28, 2010, journalist Beverly Beckham longed for the return of poetry to the daily paper. Printing a poem from a local writer, Jim Biggie, the piece concluded, "Jim Biggie was named class poet at Somerville High in 1961. In 1961, there was still poetry in newspapers. Too bad there isn't any now." As in the nineteenth century, readers were mixed in their responses to Beckham's column and Biggie's verse. Online comments, posted in response to the poem, variously thanked Beckham for the memories the piece evoked and chastised her. One reader wanted to know why "everyone continually demand[s] that art dumb itself down instead of

demanding that the 'common man' smarten up and [learn] to appreciate high art?"<sup>3</sup>

Clearly, the debate about the role of poetry in newspapers and of poetry in society is far from settled.

<sup>1</sup> See Simms, "American Criticism and Critics," 398. "American Criticism and Critics" was unsigned when it appeared in the *Southern Literary Journal* but the essay has been attributed to William Gilmore Simms, a frequent and famous contributor to the *Journal*. See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 664–665, and Trent, 339.

<sup>2</sup> The author of "Cultivation of a Taste for Poetry" discusses the fashionableness of "speak[ing] contemptuously of newspaper poetry" and of "sneer[ing] at the poetry of periodicals" as well as of those who "indiscriminately condemn newspaper poetry" (100).

<sup>3</sup> See ItalianOlive, "[Are you kidding me?]."



## Chapter 1

### Newspaper Poetry at the Rise of the Penny Press:

#### "Straws" in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*

This chapter examines newspaper poetry during the early period of the penny press through a case study of an influential newspaper poet, Joseph M. Field (1810–1856), and his poems for a local daily newspaper, the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*. Writing under the pseudonym "Straws," as well as under several variations on the pen-name, Field contributed nearly 200 poems to the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* from January 1840 through the spring of 1841. Scholars of both American literature and newspapers generally are dismissive of newspaper poetry, unless the poems were written by a major American author (and sometimes even when they were). In addition, the term "newspaper poetry" collapses important distinctions between the range of poems published in daily and weekly newspapers, including advertising poems, reprinted poems, and original verse. In response, this chapter investigates the cultural work of newspaper poems at the rise of the penny press and demonstrates the large and often influential readership of the poems and their influence on American literature. It moves beyond the more frequently studied penny newspapers from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia and recovers an important, if at times problematic, body of work. Fields' poems in the *Daily Picayune* were not incidental to the newspaper, nor were they filler. On the contrary, they were a key component of the *Daily Picayune* and performed a number of functions. The original,

socially-engaged verse of the local poet—one who addressed politicians, newspapermen, actresses, popular figures, and everyday citizens of New Orleans—mediated a range of ideas and experiences and captivated readers. Further, newspaper poems such as Fields' played an important role in the everyday reading of the American public as well as contributed to the development of American poetry. Although the contributions of newspaper poems to the development of American literature have been little studied or understood, their legacies can be profound. For instance, the Straws poems are important in the history of American dialect poetry, and their influence is evident in the work of some of early American literature's most prominent dialect verse, the *Biglow Papers* of James Russell Lowell. Examined from this perspective, one which evaluates the poems based on their cultural function at their moment of creation and reception, newspaper poems become fundamental, not merely tangential, to the history of antebellum American literature.

### **Poetry and the Penny Press**

At the rise of the penny press (c. 1833–1845), poems made their way into daily newspapers from a variety of sources, and they served a number of entertaining, literary, news-bearing, and advertising functions. Of the thousands of poems that appeared in newspapers during the 1830s and early 1840s, many were reprinted from published volumes of poetry, particularly volumes by English and Irish poets. On December 1, 1835, the first page of the *New York Herald* (then the *New York Morning Herald*) featured several poems by poet Letitia Elizabeth Landon—among them "Youth," "The Peacock,"

and "Love at First Sight"—that were reprinted from a book of Landon's verse.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, reprinted poems by Charles Lamb, Thomas Moore, and Felicia Hemans were common in American daily newspapers of the period. Poems in newspapers also were reprinted from other periodicals. National American monthly magazines such as the *Knickerbocker*, as well as English publications like *Blackwood's*, were cited as sources for reprinted material by both British and American authors, as were gift annuals. John Quincy Adams's poem "The Plague in the Forest," for example, was first published in the *Token* annual for 1834 and was reprinted in the *Daily National Intelligencer* on October 16, 1833.<sup>2</sup> Many poems were unsigned or pseudonymously signed, but others were attributed to influential American authors, including William Cullen Bryant, George Pope Morris, and Lydia Sigourney.<sup>3</sup> Likely drawing on the popularity of poems in newspapers during these years, advertisers used poems to sell their products. By 1840, Pease's Horehound Candy was consistently using at least two poems, "Clarified Essence of Horehound Candy" and "To Public Speakers," to market its product. And by 1845, Dr. F. Goubaud's Italian Medicated Soap was using an advertising campaign based on "Improved Readings of the Poets." In this series, famous poets such as Hemans and Byron saw their works rewritten in the service of a soap that itself decried "spurious imitations."<sup>4</sup>

Although these types of poems offer their own research opportunities—other projects might fruitfully investigate reprintings of poems first published in books or magazines as they appeared in the daily press, or the function of poems in advertising in the nineteenth-century newspaper—here, and throughout this dissertation, the focus is on

poems first published in, and very often written exclusively for, daily newspapers. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, original newspaper verse was another way to tell and editorialize the news, and the poems helped to characterize the newspapers in which they appeared. For example, in early March 1837, the *New York Herald's* Washington correspondent, "Cold Wittals," submitted his report in verse. On March 4, the *Herald* published Wittals's "Proceedings at Washington in 1837," an allegorical rendering of the political scene, which, viewed retrospectively, appears to have portended the upcoming financial panic. And in 1840, the *Cleveland Daily Herald* featured dozens of poems and songs about Presidential candidate, Ohio resident, and former U.S. Senator from Ohio, William Henry Harrison. The poems celebrated his victory at Tippecanoe as well as hard cider and log cabins, Harrison's ever-present campaign symbols. While a number of these were clipped from other daily and weekly newspapers, many were original poems and songs written for the *Daily Herald*. Some of this original verse was signed with appropriately local or rustic pseudonyms, such as "Backwoods" and "Spinning Wheel."

Editors and publishers also realized the potential draw of a recurring poetic presence, especially that of a unique and memorable "resident poet." In the fall of 1835, the *New York Herald* capitalized on the personality of McDonald Clarke, "the Mad Poet of Broadway," and published several of Clarke's poems for the first time. Clarke's appearances in the *Herald* were primarily sensation- and publicity-related. From late 1840 until his accidental death in the spring of 1842, additional poems by Clarke were first published in the *New York Herald*. Many of the poems, including "Bennett's Boy, the

Young Editor" (October 23, 1841), appear to have been written especially for the newspaper. Clarke attracted so much significant attention in the newspaper that his followers wrote poems in his memory and took up a subscription to erect a monument in his honor after his death.<sup>5</sup> The fact that the *Herald's* James Gordon Bennett turned to a poet and poetry for publicity speaks to the presence and many functions of poetry in the daily lives of nineteenth-century Americans.

Other poets developed more complex relationships with newspapers. Beginning in January 1840, Joseph M. Field, an actor and playwright, began writing poems under the pseudonym of "Straws" for the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*. The relationship that developed—between Field and the *Daily Picayune*, between his poems and the newspaper, between the poems and readers—demonstrates the capacity of poems in the daily newspaper at the rise of the penny press. The Straws poems helped define the personality of and advertise the *Picayune*; reported and editorialized the news; provided entertainment; provoked discussion locally and nationally; and built a community of readers. In addition to countering the notion that such poems were merely "filler," a common non-critical and overly-generalized assessment of newspaper poems, an examination of Straws in the *Daily Picayune* foregrounds the role and impact of newspaper poems in American culture and in the development of American literature.

### **Straws and the New Orleans Daily Picayune**

The first issue of the New Orleans *Picayune* appeared on Wednesday, January 25, 1837; the paper was published by George Wilkins Kendall and Francis Asbury Lumsden.<sup>6</sup>

On November 1, 1837, the paper changed its name to the *Daily Picayune*. Although single issues of the *Picayune* sold for 6 ¼ cents, it had more in common with the penny press of the Northeast than with commercial or mercantile papers. According to *Picayune* historian Thomas Ewing Dabney, the format of the *Picayune* and its "light" and "flippant" approach to the news, including an emphasis on "human appeal," signaled the arrival of the penny press in the South. Dabney attributes the much higher price of the *Picayune* over its New York contemporaries to the generally higher prices in the South overall (16). As the first issue of the *Picayune* illustrates, Kendall and Lumsden understood their project in terms of the penny press. The prospectus that appeared in the *Picayune* on January 25, and for several days thereafter, openly identified the *Picayune* as independent of political parties, as were the major penny papers of the North (Kendall and Lumsden, "Prospectus" [2]). Although officially independent of political parties, the penny papers did often take sides on social and civic issues such as temperance and reform. Following in this tradition, the *Picayune* famously sought to reform the practice of dueling in its early years. The prospectus mentioned no issues for reform but did make clear the publishers' stance on slavery. Identifying opponents of slavery as ignorant and superstitious "fanatical pirates," the prospectus suggested that such pirates should mind their own (Northern) business—they only "pretend to rub clean the upper decks of their neighbors with a *holy* stone" ([2]). In addition, following a basic tenet of the penny press to appeal to a more diverse readership than that previously sought by other kinds of newspapers, Kendall and Lumsden specifically addressed different parts of the prospectus

to members of various groups within their community: merchants, heads of families, bachelors, and inn-keepers, among them. The prospectus also emphasized the major role that theatrical news and other amusements or entertainment news would play in the newspaper, thereby recommending the *Picayune* to an even broader range of readers.<sup>7</sup>

Other features of the *Picayune's* first issue further identified the newspaper with the penny press. Following editorial practices of the period, Kendall and Lumsden clipped items from the penny papers, including the *New York Herald*, and reprinted them in their own paper. In fact, from its first issue the *Picayune* consistently invoked the *New York Herald* and engaged its editor, James Gordon Bennett, in conversation via clips and exchanges. For the *Picayune's* inaugural issue, Kendall and Lumsden quoted a piece from the *Herald* in which Bennett had commented on the importance of New Orleans relative to New York. Following the excerpt from the *Herald*, the *Picayune* quipped: "look straight ahead Mr. J. G. B. the next time; there is no *two ways* about *our* prospects" ([2]). This particular clip choice served at least two purposes: it associated the *Picayune* with one of the most famous of the New York penny papers, and it affirmed New Orleans as the Southern press, commercial, and cultural analogue to New York. Similarly, Kendall and Lumsden relied on a clipped item from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* to announce the standards to which they would hold the *Picayune* and its value as a penny paper. They hoped that the extract would spare their "modesty the blush [they] should feel in speaking of what may be issued from the *Picayune* press":

[The penny press] has been introduced into the American cities with

eminent success, and in New York, employs the highest talent which is devoted to newspaper publication. The Sun, the Era, the Transcript, are conducted with a degree of ability, and of devotion to the cause of good morals, good government, literature and science, which have procured and will insure for them a circulation and patronage, to which any other papers in that city aspire in vain. This is no small boast in a city where many of the large papers are conducted with eminent ability. The penny press has also found its way to Boston, and through the Herald, the Times, evinces a degree of talent, spirit, and devotion to sound principles, which throws most of the old papers of that city into the shade. The foundation of the penny press, precisely like that of the English press of any price, is the only sure foundation upon which an independent press can be raised.

("[The penny press]" ([2])

Published within the *Picayune* and framed by Kendall and Lumsden's introduction, the clip implicitly identified the *Picayune* as the newest of the eminently successful penny papers. While the price of the *Picayune* and its smaller circulation—the third issue of the paper on January 27 celebrated selling 800 copies of the first issue and 1,000 copies of the second—set it apart from the penny dailies of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, its treatment of the news, the prevalence of humor, and the diversity of material found in the *Picayune* situated it firmly in the style of, and consistent with the goals of, the penny press.<sup>8</sup>



Poetry had a place in the *Picayune* from the beginning. In fact, the first column of the first page of the first issue featured a timely poem, "Old Winter is Coming," and each of the first week's five issues (Wednesday–Sunday) contained at least one poem.<sup>9</sup> All of these poems were unsigned, and some, such as "Lines on the Loss of the Bristol" (January 27), were reprinted from other newspapers, in this case from the *New York Herald*. From 1837 through 1839, poems appeared regularly in the *Daily Picayune*, sometimes on a daily basis, while at other times two or more issues in a row lacked poetry altogether. During this period, poems in the *Daily Picayune* tended either to be unsigned and unattributed as a reprinting—in the *Daily Picayune* an indication that the poem was original to the paper—or to be acknowledged reprints from other newspapers and magazines. Even as the *Daily Picayune* published these poems, it chastened readers and would-be poets and discouraged them from sending their poetry to the paper. Newspaper editors throughout the century publicly implored readers to keep their poetry private; as represented in the daily press, the newspaper office was a poem's graveyard, where drawers and even barrels overflowed with unsolicited verse. On January 4, 1840, the editors of the *Daily Picayune* wrote:

To Correspondents—*Poetry! Poetry! Poetry!*—O, all ye poets and poetesses, muses and goddesses, for the love of charity have mercy on us, and send us no more poetry! Don't waste your sweetness on us. If you only knew what uninspired, plain, every-day sort of folks are we of the *Picayune*, you would never condescend to indulge us. You would as soon

think of submitting your warblings to a learned pig, a fat ox, or a giraffe. Go to some of the other newspaper shops all you who may be now meditating mischief against us, and all you who have heretofore complimented us with your lucubrations, esteem it no offence that they have not appeared, for the fact is we are so dull that we can't for the soul of us comprehend poetry, or understand what there can [be] either sublime or admirable in maltreating common sense, for the purpose of making terminations jingle. We wish our poetical correspondents in general, and "*Undine*" in particular, to read this, our solemn protest against poetry, and we would advise none of them in particular, but all of them in general, to abandon the nine muses and study the nine parts of speech. . . .

The most admirably intricate, and the most mysteriously profound efforts of the most moon-inspired poetical prodigies of the present day are passed unread. Our street circulation is always minus of a morning when an article of poetry appears, and our carrier boys have made a pathetic appeal to us against verses of all kinds. One clever little fellow, who generally sells fifty numbers before breakfast, always examines the paper carefully before he starts, and if he discovers capital letters commencing all the lines of an article, he knows it to be poetry, and will only take half his usual number. ([2])

Despite this seemingly strong interdiction against poetry, less than two weeks later, the

first official "Straws" poem appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on January 15, 1840, and more than two hundred poems by Joseph M. Field subsequently appeared in the newspaper in little more than a year.

Juxtaposed with one another, the Straws poems might seem to contradict the editors' earlier pronouncement against poetry in the newspaper. There is a degree of tension between the editorial, humorous as it is, and Straws's influential presence in the *Daily Picayune*. The tension, however, is illuminating rather than ambiguous: the editors' statement provides a key for understanding the success of the Straws poems in the paper and the importance of the poems for the *Daily Picayune*. In addition, reading Straws's poems alongside the editorial provides an important context for evaluating the aesthetic and formal qualities of the poems. Rather than the "admirably intricate, and the most mysteriously profound efforts of the most moon-inspired poetical prodigies of the present day," the Straws poems were for the "plain, every-day sort of folks" crucial to the success of the penny press, and the newspaper was central to their cultural work.

Joseph Field's association with the *Daily Picayune* was related in part to his brother's—Matthew C. Field's—work for the paper. The exact professional relationship of the Field brothers with the *Daily Picayune*, however, remains difficult to identify. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources vary, listing them as editors, correspondents, and, in the case of Matthew Field, owner of the newspaper.<sup>10</sup> Matthew Field's role, however, appears to have been one of an assistant editor, while Joseph Field was more of a "correspondent." Whatever his official title, Matthew Field's association with the *Daily*

*Picayune* seems to have lasted from the late fall or winter of 1839 through as late as 1843, when he left for his second Santa Fe Trail expedition after a stay in St. Louis. At around the time he began working for the *Daily Picayune*, an unsigned poem, "Sonnet to the St. Charles Theatre," appeared in the paper on December 3, 1839. Matthew Field is a likely author for the piece, based on similarities in style and title of "Sonnet to the St. Charles" and poems he later wrote for the newspaper under the pseudonym "Phazma," including "Sonnet to the Next President" and "Sonnet to 'Straws.'" Aside from the possibility of earlier unsigned editorial items or news articles, then, "Sonnet to the St. Charles" marks Matthew Field's first literary contribution to the paper. Just four days later, on December 7, 1839, his series of "Prairie Sketches"—accounts of his first Santa Fe expedition from earlier that year—began appearing in the *Daily Picayune*. Then, on December 12, "Las Tres Mariás," a poem signed "M. C. Field," appeared in the paper alongside one of Field's "Prairie Sketches." The "Prairie Sketches" appeared intermittently in December 1839 and January–February 1840, and they continued through the fall of 1841. In sum, between 1839 and 1841, Matthew Field contributed nearly 100 poems to the *Daily Picayune* under his own name and under pen-names including "Phazma."

Joseph Field's tenure with the *Daily Picayune* was shorter and less official than his brother's, lasting from early 1840 through the spring of 1841 and coinciding in part with his term as an actor at the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans. His only contribution to the *Daily Picayune* in 1839 was published on December 8, just one day after the first of his brother's "Prairie Sketches" appeared in the paper and one week after the opening of

the St. Charles Theatre for the 1839–1840 season.<sup>11</sup> On December 8, an extract of a longer poem by Joseph Field appeared in the *Daily Picayune* under the note, "Mr. J. M. Field of the St. Charles Theatre, has handed us for perusal a manuscript poem, from which we are obligingly permitted to extract the following humorous apostrophe to *Professor Espy*. We hope to be allowed to give our full opinion of Mr. Field's production hereafter" ([2]). (Professor Espy was James Pollard Espy, a pioneer in the field of meteorology.) Aside from this poem, however, Joseph Field's appearances in the *Daily Picayune* for 1839 were limited to theater announcements in relation either to the St. Charles or his performances in New York earlier that year.<sup>12</sup>

Then, in January of 1840, Andrew Jackson returned to New Orleans for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans and to help set the cornerstone for a monument in honor of the event. The evening of January 8, Jackson attended the St. Charles Theatre, where, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 9, "At the close of the act of the comedy then performing, the curtain was dropped, and the anthem played according to announcement. The curtain then rose, and *Mr. J. M. Field* delivered a poetical address from his own pen to the Defender of New Orleans" ("[One of the most gratifying moments]" [2]). The next day the *Daily Picayune* continued its reportage of the event:

*Mr. J. M. Field's* address was delivered with great earnestness and enthusiasm, and we understand the old warrior's feelings were very sensibly touched. His remark at the conclusion of the address was, 'I

should like to shake that young man by the hand,' and accordingly Mr. Field was yesterday presented to the General, and enjoyed that honor. The compliment contained in such a spontaneous expression of gratification on the part of the Hero of New Orleans, any one might be proud of. ("[Mr. J. M. Field's address]" [2])

Despite this praise, and although the *Picayune* frequently printed poetical addresses after their delivery, Field's poem to Jackson did not appear in the newspaper in January of 1840, although a Straws poem titled "To General Jackson" did appear in the *Daily Picayune* on January 8, 1841, the one year anniversary of the corner-stone laying and the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Regardless, in 1840, Matthew Field's editorial role at the *Daily Picayune* and Joseph Field's minor celebrity status as an actor at the St. Charles Theatre for the season, along with the success of his address to Andrew Jackson and the timeliness and wit of his poem on Espy, all helped set the stage for the arrival of Straws.

Rooted in both the newspaper world as well as popular parlance, the pen-name "Straws" would have carried a number of connotations in 1840–1841. First, "straws" was a fairly common news term in the daily press. The *New-York Spectator* of October 15, 1835, for example, began a column of news with the heading "Straws &c," and the Washington, D.C. *Globe* of November 2 and November 23, 1835, featured columns titled "Straws!" and "Presidential Straws," respectively. On December 14, 1837, the *New York-Spectator* offered an explanation of the heading "Straws, &c," as used to lead into or conclude news

stories: "'Straws, &c,' in days of yore, was the standing termination of such paragraphs as a celebrated judge of Israel indited, for the purpose of insinuating more than met the eye. We use it as the preface to a paragraph on a very small piece of business, and for a like object" ([1]). The word "straws" also regularly appeared in common sayings frequently printed in newspapers, including "drowning men reach for straws." Perhaps of more importance in relation to the Straws poems were variations on the saying "the straws show which way the wind blows," which were in frequent use in the daily and weekly press of the period 1835–1840.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Field's choice of the pseudonym "Straws" was certainly tied to the idiomatic use of the word in popular speech, where it was used to denote "any thing proverbially worthless."<sup>14</sup> Just as the name of the *Picayune* was taken from a minor Spanish coin, which also had connotations of meaning "small" or even insignificant, Field chose a pen-name that ostensibly identified his poems as trifles.<sup>15</sup> To the degree that Field's "Straws" summoned these negative connotations, it did so ironically. Just as the "celebrated judge of Israel" had used "straws," to "[insinuate] more than met the eye," so too did Field and the *Daily Picayune*. Indeed, in the Straws poem aptly titled "A Straw," published in the *Daily Picayune* on February 11, 1840, Field addressed the conventional understanding and valuation of straw:

It is a sweet idea, George,  
 That e'en the humblest grain,  
 And humbler stem supporting it,  
 Hath not been 'made in vain!'

There are who see not things so small,  
 And others who cry pshaw!  
 But hearts that can find 'tongues in trees,'  
 May find one in a straw!  
 . . . .  
 A straw! remember, ye who see  
 In straws no sort of use,  
 The noblest genius mounts upon  
 The feather of a goose.  
 Yet ev'ry creature to its kind,  
 And such objectors will,  
 It's very clear, enjoy the bird  
 Much better than its quill!

The final stanza of the poem includes a gentle reminder:

A straw! let none despise a straw,  
 Hath it not borne its seed  
 For us, who are ourselves but 'grass'—  
 Sometimes a meaner weed? ([2])

With the pseudonym "Straws," Field winked at the conventional assessment of newspaper poems and those who regarded the poems as mere trifles of airy verse, and he subverted such estimations. Additionally, in choosing a pen-name that was a common lead-in to



short news items, Field provided a comment on one of the ways his poems would function in the newspaper: as a means of spreading the news and serving the goals of the paper.

In the first month of his tenure with the *Daily Picayune*, Straws established the distinctive qualities of his poems as they would appear in the newspaper throughout 1840 and the beginning of 1841. During this first month, mid-January to mid-February 1840, the *Daily Picayune* introduced Straws, and Field crafted his persona as a newspaper poet. He established the parameters and characteristics of his newspaper poetry, including the contextual and intertextual participation of his poems in the newspaper. Perhaps on the most basic level, Straws, with some help from the editors, made clear that his poems were for all *Daily Picayune* readers. Unlike the poems which the editors had decried in their note to correspondents on January 4—the self-indulgent "warblings" skipped by readers—the editors specifically encouraged their audience to consider Straws' work, to abandon their old habits of passing over those articles in which "capital letters [commence] all the lines." Recalling the *Picayune's* prospectus from 1837, in which the editors had highlighted or recommended different features of the newspaper to various members of their prospective readership, the editors made similar appeals for Straws' poetry, encouraging their "bachelor readers" as well as their "lady readers" to peruse his work on different occasions.<sup>16</sup> Even more important than these recommendations from the editors, however, were two characteristic features of Straws' poems: their conversational frame and their frequent use of dialect. Both rhetorical strategies helped to simultaneously disarm and connect with readers.

The first Straws poem in the *Daily Picayune*, "A Wery Pious Appeal," established these important formal characteristics of Straws' work. "A Wery Pious Appeal" is framed as a conversation with Straws' friend Jim—one friend talking to another—and a significant number of Straws' poems in the *Daily Picayune* were similarly addressed to friends, acquaintances, or members of the public. Some of the addressees were fictional characters or ordinary individuals whose identities have been lost or otherwise buried in the historical record. In other instances, it is possible to identify Straws' addressees with real-life analogues. At different times, Straws engaged *Daily Picayune* editor George Kendall; press men of the North James Watson Webb, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and George Pope Morris; his poetic colleague at the paper, Phazma; and others. In her study of American literature's most famous newspaper poet, Philip Freneau, Judith Hiltner has commented on this same conversational quality of Freneau's work, which she regards as "conversational and colloquial in the extent to which it takes the form of monologues or one-sided conversations addressed to whatever person or object is the subject of the poem" (Hiltner 18–19). This conversational nature of Straws' work is significant in the context of the newspaper and for the function of newspaper poetry. Even when framed as a one-sided conversation, the conversational nature of the poems made them inclusive rather than exclusive. In order to be successful, daily newspapers and particularly penny dailies needed to develop such a sense of inclusiveness, to help build a sense of readerly and civic community.

Field's use of dialect in many of his Straws poems served a similar function.

Although dialect poetry did not emerge as a major presence in American literature until later in the nineteenth century, in his use of dialect Field recognized the appeal of such verse, particularly within the newspaper. Original verse that was written to participate in the work of the newspaper required a language appropriate for the newspaper context and fitting for the goals of the newspaper. An appropriate and fitting language for the penny press, and the *Daily Picayune*, allowed one to appeal to a broad range of readers. And based on the editor's letter to correspondents at the beginning of 1840, the language of most poetry received by the *Daily Picayune* did not meet this fundamental requirement. While dialect verse was not the only possibility for appealing to a broader audience—increasingly working-class, immigrant, or the children of immigrants—it did stand in contrast to conventional poetic language and demanded a different kind of material, as well as a different treatment of material for its subject matter. In addition, although Field's dialect verse is complicit in many of the same problems as poems by white authors written in a "black dialect" later in the century and should not be understood to be representative of any real immigrant group's manner of speaking, it did in some capacity embody the social reality of New Orleans in 1840. New Orleans had emerged as the second largest port of entry for immigrants to the United States by the 1840s (Bergquist 85). Although most immigrants who entered the U.S. via the port of New Orleans moved to the Midwest or elsewhere, the population of the city doubled to more than 102,000 during the period 1830 to 1840, and foreign immigration played a significant role in this population increase. Of the 102,000 inhabitants of New Orleans in 1840, approximately

10,000 were German immigrants, the largest immigrant population in the city (Gotham 26; Faust 483). Almost certainly in response to these numbers, and despite his own ties to Ireland, Field adopted a dialect suggestive of a German immigrant to the United States for his Straws poems.<sup>17</sup>

The dialect of the Straws poems advanced several goals of the daily newspaper. First, it suggested an inclusiveness rather than exclusivity. Further, by employing a dialect understood to represent a local manner of speech, Field reversed a major poetic tendency: rather than universalize themes, the Straws poems depended on localization and local appeal. A sense of the local was important to the penny dailies, including the *Daily Picayune*; treatment of the local experience was significant in the community-building work of daily newspapers. The dialect poems amused readers, and the use of dialect suggested inclusiveness. Meanwhile, the humor of the dialect poems hinged on the juxtaposition of standard English elsewhere in the paper and the non-standard English of the poems. Spelling, pronunciation, and malapropisms provided frequent opportunities for humor. Similarly, titles like "A Werry Grave Hexortation" and "The Present Werry Interesting Crisis" proclaimed importance, but their dialect also made them funny—it is more difficult to take seriously a "wery pious appeal," a "werry grave hexortation" and a "werry interesting crisis," than a "very pious appeal," a "very grave exhortation" and a "very interesting crisis," which more forcefully express the gravity of the situation. This combination of the serious with the funny is not limited to the titles of the poems. Indeed, throughout the poems Straws addressed serious and timely topics, including yellow fever

in New Orleans, slavery and abolition, temperance, and politics more generally. Since Straws did so in dialect, he interjected a degree of levity, thereby offering readers a sense of relief even while considering weighty topics. The Straws poems—in their employment of dialect and their pairing of serious topics with a "low" rhetorical treatment—are an early voice in the tradition of Southern ironic humor.<sup>18</sup>

Two other features emerged in the first Straws poems that also characterized them throughout their run in the *Daily Picayune*. From the beginning, the poems treated timely material or current events, often local to New Orleans. On February 2, 1840, the *Daily Picayune* featured Straws' "Odd Thoughts about Life—the Lexington, &c." The poem was written in response to the fire and destruction of the Steamship *Lexington* in Long Island Sound on January 13, 1840, which claimed the life of actor Henry Finn, among more than 140 others.<sup>19</sup> More locally, on February 16, Straws' "Lecomte" appeared in the *Daily Picayune* and focused on the recent arrival and performances of the actress Madame Lecomte in New Orleans. For "Lecomte," Straws took as an epigraph for the poem a line from a review that had earlier appeared in the paper: "We could wish her to be transformed to stone, did we not feel that the next *pirouette* would present us with something still more beautiful!" This borrowing introduces a fourth major characteristic of the Straws poems, as established from the start: they often were self-referential. They regularly referred to Straws, as seen in the poem "A Straw," and the *Daily Picayune*, as well as to the press as an institution and newspapers more broadly, whether New Orleans papers like the *True American* or newspapers of the North. The "Pic" appeared in

epigraphs and in lines of poems, and Straws invoked other newspapers by name. In an untitled poem of February 7, written in response to a criticism of the *Daily Picayune* from the *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post*, Straws used the critique of the *Daily Picayune* as an epigraph and referred to the "Post" in the body of the poem. And in "The Present Werry Interesting Crisis," Straws referred to both "James Vatson Vebb" and the *Currier* [sic]. The references to the *Picayune* and other newspapers served to advertise the *Daily Picayune* and its poet, often at the expense of the papers that Straws criticized in his pieces and especially when other newspapers clipped the Straws poems.

With the arrival of Straws, the *Daily Picayune* created a dialogue on page two, the major news and editorial page of the paper. In fact, the Straws poems became such a staple on page two that in rare instances where they had to be printed elsewhere, page two always included a notice about where to look for that day's "Straw." In addition to their humorous and entertaining qualities, the poems reconfigured news stories in the realm of art, giving readers a chance to consider news and editorial from different frames. The sensation of the penny press aside, news stories and editorials could be workaday—ordinary, everyday, and mundane. Like political or editorial cartoons, Straws's poems drew on much of the same material as the news stories, but they translated the events and ideas through an artistic frame. Certainly other of the news stories and editorials drew on narrative conventions and constructed stories so that they may have been more fiction than fact, more short story than news story. Even so, they functioned differently than Straws's poems. Straws's poems, more than other pieces from the paper, prompted

response, as art should do. In publishing Straws's poems alongside news, editorials, and advertisements in other formats, the *Daily Picayune* offered readers alternatives for thinking about current events, news, contemporary culture, and poetry. Further, the dialogue that developed between the Straws' poems, the rest of the paper, and its readers contributed to a sense of community and developed the personality of the *Daily Picayune*.

Capitalizing on the identifiable characteristics of Straws' poems, the editors began promoting Straws almost immediately. Less than a week after Straws began appearing in the *Picayune*, someone—likely one of the editors and perhaps Matthew Field—adopted the persona of "Edward Easy" to respond to Straws' poems. In the letter to the "Heditor," Easy claimed to be the real-life "Ned" referred to in some of Straws' poems, and he accused Straws of libel. To the editor, Easy wrote, "Ise a foriner, Mr. Heditor and I hisn't a Native American. I reades your paper hevery morning, and I pays for it, jest because I like [it]. . . . I honly axes you jest to print this ere letter to Bill Straws. . ." ([2]). Easy taunted Straws, "So Bill you's taken to writing poertry is you? It's all come true about you, for you know your poor old tender arted mother always [used] to say you'd never come to any good." He charged that Straws' poem to Ned "got me into a deal a trouble, cos you see all the fellers know as ow you means me, and they plagues me all to pieces." He induced Straws to stop writing about him and threatened to hire a "poet as writes for the patent medicin [sic] shops" to "invoke the mooses" against Straws if he persisted. Straws does not appear to have responded to Edward Easy, and the letter was almost certainly a tactic

on the part of the *Daily Picayune's* editors to generate interest in Straws's poems. Similarly, on February 8, the editors responded to "X.Y.Z.," who sent "an admirable poetical communication addressed to 'Straws'" ("[X.Y.Z. sends us]" [2]). Building a kind of mystique around Straws, the editors responded, "Straws is a modest individual, and would rather not have his privacy disturbed, even in such complimentary numbers. He therefore requests us to decline the communication." Three days later, the *Picayune* announced, "'X. Y. Z.' requests us to deny that he had any intention of assailing our correspondent 'Straws.' Such denial is unnecessary" ([2]).

Straws similarly engaged critics and readers within his poems. The criticism of the *Picayune* levied by the *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post*, mentioned above, was fueled in part by "a ribald writer, one who uses such filthy phrases as 'Give us a light gin toddy!'" The *Post* comment referred to a line in the *Daily Picayune* from the end of December 1839.<sup>20</sup> Although Straws was not the originator of the phrase in the *Daily Picayune*, when the *Post* criticized the "ribald writer" and the *Picayune*, he responded with a defense of the writer—perhaps *Daily Picayune* owner and editor George Kendall since the poem is an address to "George"—his paper, and New Orleans:

The "Post" is very right, George,  
 "Wit" best becomes the "pot house,"  
 And as for our "community,"  
 It is the devil's hot house;  
 You are a "ribald writer," George,



You set a bad example—

To prove your wickedness, "The Post"

*Quotes every week a sample!* (Straws, "[Oh George!]" [2])

In addition to this response to the *Post*, the phrase "light gin toddy" afterward became a rallying cry of sorts for other Straws poems, including "Written ven Werry High," which appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on February 14, and "Lecomte," which appeared in the paper on February 16. Nearly six months later, Straws contributed the poem "An Advertisement: *The Philadelphia Evening Post, to Every Body; Families in partic'lar.*" He adopted the persona of the *Post*, which stood in marked contrast to that of the *Daily Picayune*: "The vorld knows, for ve've told 'em so,/ Ve're an 'extensive paper;'/ Von needn't use a 'bushel' vhen/ Von burns a 'moral' taper./ Ve hates *theatres, actors,* and/ The wery ground they treads on;/ And ve keeps a demijohn of wrath/ To empty their lost heads on!" ([2]). In such poems, Straws rallied local readers and taunted critics as he championed the *Daily Picayune*, his poetry, New Orleans, and its ways of life. Early on, then, a pattern was established: Straws responded to the news; readers, both locals and outsiders, responded to Straws; and Straws responded to the readers.

One of the early responders to Straws in the *Daily Picayune* was Phazma, or Matthew Field. Field's first contribution to the *Picayune* as Phazma was his sonnet, "To the Muse of 'Straws.'" In a note preceding the poem, the editors offered further evidence that Straws had become the subject of significant attention at the newspaper office: "All of the poets in town are desirous of exchanging a rhyme with our merry correspondent

'*Straws*.' Communications in prose and verse pour in upon us every day." They then introduced Phazma's work: "The following has two first rate merits. The first is its brevity, and the second is the droll conceit of a muse . . ." ("[All the poets in town]" [2]). In the course of the poem, Phazma described Straws' muse as one who goes about "vagabondizing/ In a ragged petticoat and old *straw* bonnet!" The poem concludes, "Where is your modesty? Would any body/ Think that muse could drink '*a light gin toddy?*'/ For shame, Miss! 'Does your mother know you're out?'" As the editors rightly acknowledged in their note to the poem, Phazma's depiction of Straws' muse in a ragged petticoat—which they call simply "the other garment"—is only mentionable in poetry, especially as it "[hangs] in rags about her slip shod heels." For just two months later, James Gordon Bennett found himself in the midst of a "moral war," one of the espoused pretexts of which was his use of the term "petticoat" in the *New York Herald*.<sup>21</sup> Significantly, Straws' muse, as described by Phazma, was the marked opposite of the classical muses. Not a goddess, she was very much of the New Orleans present: ragged, working-class, social, and sexual.

Straws responded to Phazma the following day, taking several lines from Phazma's sonnet as an epigraph for his own poem, including the lines about his muse's "vagabondizing," her petticoat, and her straw bonnet. Signed "The Muse of 'Straws,'" the poem ventriloquized Straws' muse in reply to Phazma. Denying that she is a sister of the classical muses or that she comes from godly parents, she distances herself from the "vorn out daughters of / Mother *Mnemosyne*." She announced instead that she comes

from "honest parents" in "the reg'lar kind of way." According to her, the old muses now fail to inspire. The daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, and the poetry that comes from them, are "queer and old." They can talk of decency because their own "fire's burnt out and cold"; no longer can they "varm folks up." Stuck with these old, cold, strange muses, it was no wonder that now "a genius is/ So apt to take to gin!" (Straws, "To the Muse" [2]). On the one hand, Phazma's and Straws' "Muse of Straws" poems stand as a humorous exchange between poets and brothers, one which offered entertainment in the newspaper. Crucially, however, the exchange provided Straws an opportunity, as had his reply to the *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post*, to comment on how he understood the role and function of the *Daily Picayune* and newspaper poetry. The exchange raises important questions about the role of poetry in society, the purposes of poetry, who can read it, what is poetic, and how and where it can—or should—be published. The answers were clear: *Daily Picayune* and newspaper poetry should not replicate distant, old models and old values because New Orleans in 1840 required a regular, local, urban yet also regional, and humorous newspaper and newspaper poetry.

Probably because of Matthew Field's other editorial responsibilities for the *Daily Picayune*, Phazma did not appear as prolifically in its pages or achieve the same notoriety as Straws. Approximately three weeks passed between his "Sonnet to the Muse of 'Straws'" and his second poem, "To the First Musquito," but after March 6, Phazma became a regular feature in the *Daily Picayune*. Like Straws, Phazma's poems had a recognizable style from the beginning. Phazma most frequently wrote in the form of a

sonnet, combining the classical structure with contemporary American subjects like mosquitoes, Madame Otto, William Henry Harrison, and the Mississippi River. This combination of a classic form with unconventional and timely poetic subjects led to humorous juxtapositions, as when Phazma offered a sonnet on a hat that had been demoted from some "head aristocratic" to stuffing a window.<sup>22</sup> Although somewhat less engaged with the news than Straws' poems and sometimes more conventionally poetic, Phazma's poems in the *Daily Picayune* in 1840–1841 similarly depended for their meaning on the newspaper context, specifically that established by the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, and they participated in ongoing conversations within the newspaper and with its readers. Along with poems like "To the Stars," "To a Cigar," and "To a Whiskey Punch," Phazma turned to local and national news topics in poems such as "To Fanny Elssler," "Sonnet to the Next President," "An Ode to Abolition," and "To Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."

For much of the spring of 1840, Phazma's most prominent role was as foil or villain to Straws; in poems to one another, the Field brothers enacted a drama much like each would have before played on stage. The poets waged a mock battle during the last week of April and first week of May, and in their timeliness, conversational nature, and engagement with the rest of the newspaper, the poems exemplify significant characteristics of newspaper poetry. The series of poems began on April 29, 1840, when the *Daily Picayune* published Phazma's "Old Harry," a six-stanza, rhymed dialect poem clearly written in the manner of Straws. Along with adopting a Straws-like dialect,

Phazma began the poem with a taunt to Straws, "Ve're a goin' to have a play, Straws." While the opening line references the actual play at the center of the poem, Dumas' *Catherine Howard*, a retelling of Shakespeare's Henry VIII, it also dares Straws into battle. Phazma's poem tells in brief the story of Henry VIII, discusses the performance of Dumas' version at the St. Charles, and goads Straws about his role in the production. Dumas' having stolen the play from Shakespeare, as Phazma puts it, is bad enough, but Straws, "only a translator," really is a "small potatur." An original newspaper poem, "Old Harry" is a timely poem that works in part by engaging in dialog with the rest of the newspaper. In this case, "Old Harry" participates in the ongoing conversation with and about Straws that had developed over the preceding months, and it connects directly with a current event. On the day that "Old Harry" appeared in the *Daily Picayune*, the paper also featured a brief notice in the first column of page two about that evening's benefit at the St. Charles, which was to feature a performance of *Catherine Howard*, as translated from the French by Joseph Field.

Straws accepted Phazma's offer "to have a play" and responded to Phazma the following day. In "To Phazma," Straws characterized Phazma as an impudent thief, one who would steal from a church, and who has stolen Straws' style. Phazma then replied with "1000 Dollars Reward." Charging Straws with "slander and sedition," Phazma offered a reward to the person who could catch Straws and bring him to justice. The poem included a humorous physical description of Straws meant to aid his captors. Then, on May 3, one of Straws longest poems appeared in the *Daily Picayune*. Titled "To a

Discernin' Public," the poem was written in the style of a patent medicine advertisement, just as Edward Easy had threatened against Straws several months earlier. The first third of the Straws poem warns against imitators, including Phazma. The final two-thirds of the poem are "testimonials" from those who vouch for the cure-all nature of Straws' verse. The poem concludes with notice that the "gen'wine article is always signed by STRAWS." Two days later, Phazma responded with his "Quackery Exposed," denying the claims of Straws' testimonials and mocking him for the insecurity he seems to feel over "a little opposition." In a culmination of this battle of the bards, the *Daily Picayune* of May 6 suggested the possibility of a public face-off for the poets. The issue included a notice of the evening's benefit for Joseph Field at the St. Charles, which promised an "attractive bill" including "that regular vagabond poet 'Straws.'" Apparently, "an effort was made to engage 'Phazma' for a set-to with 'Straws,' but Phaz wouldn't come up to the scratch." Phazma's refusal to continue the skirmish in public settled the score between the poets, and a new voice joined the conversation that same day: Straws, Senior.

In "An Appeal to Parents," Straws, Senior—almost certainly Joseph Field assuming another character—lamented young Straws' choice to become a poet and his association with the *Daily Picayune*. He was most critical, however, of his son's choice to "[throw] himself away upon/ The STAGE . . . ." As Phazma had in his sonnet to the muse of Straws, Straws, Senior, characterized his son as a vagabond, and he praised Phazma's "bestin' [Straws] with his own stick/ In a vay vots quite amusin'." But in a second poem in the *Daily Picayune* on Friday, May 8, Straws, Senior, dramatically changed his tune. No

longer ashamed of his son's antics, Straws, Senior, heaped praise on his son:

That Straws! Vell, he's my only boy,  
 I doesn't vant another,  
 To nature I feels much obliged,  
 And she needn't send a brother;  
 I wants to give him all my heart's  
 Affections undivided—  
 Fathers have felt a pride before,  
 But not such pride as I did.

What could have precipitated such a change in heart from Straws, Senior, in just two days? Not surprisingly, the key can be found in the same issue of the *Daily Picayune*. In coverage of the benefit at the St. Charles, which included the appearance of Straws, the editors wrote, "J. M. Field received a unanimous call from the audience at the conclusion of *Mlle. de Belle Isle*, and again in his character of 'Straws' he was compelled to come forward and receive the greetings of his numerous friends." Furthering the praise, the editors continued, "This is the first instance on record of a disciple of Thespis being so honored twice on the same evening; yet it is to be remembered that an audience has seldom an opportunity of yelling tribute to actor, poet, author, translator and dramatist all concentered in one individual." A fickle parent, Straws, Senior, became his son's loudest champion only after others had publicly recognized Straws for his accomplishments. Such a move on Joseph Field's part may seem strange at first: why present a character at all

doubtful of Straws? Why not a boastful father from the beginning? The brief narrative of the two poems allowed the *Daily Picayune* and Straws to advertise Joseph Field's benefit at the St. Charles, and the conflict made for more entertaining reading. Further, the change of heart in "The Debut and Coronation" allowed Straws the last word in the quarrel with Phazma. "The Debut and Coronation" presents Straws as an only son, one who left his parent wanting no other. Although the characters Phazma and Straws were not understood to be brothers, regular readers of the *Daily Picayune* likely would have known that the poets who wrote Straws and Phazma *were* brothers. "The Debut and Coronation" also served as a figurative wink to readers and probably furthered a sense of being part of a community; those on the inside would get the joke. The quarrel poems were therefore entertaining, and their function depended on a relationship to specific community events in New Orleans, including the important role of theater in New Orleans in the early 1840s, and on keys provided in the *Daily Picayune*. As such, the battle between Phazma and Straws also was as an advertising campaign that met mutual interests: attracting readers for the *Daily Picayune* and attendance at the St. Charles.

As several poems have already illustrated, there was a close relationship between the newspaper poetry of Straws and Phazma and advertising. The poems served as their own advertisements and promoted the *Daily Picayune* and its poets; publicized major news stories, other accounts of which could be found elsewhere in the paper; and examined advertising techniques, such as the patent medicine ads. Like Straws, who had earlier responded to a *Daily Picayune* advertisement posted by a man looking for a wife,



Phazma's sonnet, "Pease's Horehound Candy," engaged Pease's ever-present newspaper advertisements.<sup>23</sup> Phazma's poem borrowed Pease's newspaper advertising technique, which itself borrowed poetry. In the sonnet, Phazma suggested a business arrangement, whereby he would use his poetic skills to praise the candy if Pease would agree to pay. Not only did Phazma propose to advertise the candy, but to "kick up here in New Orleans a breeze/ That shall soon waft your fame across the seas." The next day, the *Daily Picayune* announced that "Curn's [a local store] received an extensive shipment of *Pease's Horehound Candy* yesterday." Rather than Phazma, however, "Pease has, at 'an enormous expense,' engaged Espy to scatter rain, fog and frost over Louisiana, in order to create a demand for the candy, by giving us all coughs, catarrhs, toothaches and sore colds."

This exchange over something so mundane as horehound candy exemplifies several important features of newspaper poetry and its participation in the paper, most notably its intertextuality, the way it engaged with and depended in part upon other features of the newspaper for its meaning. The poems were not unique in this regard; other components of the newspaper were similarly enhanced through the corroboration, contradiction, and conversation of the poems. Phazma's sonnet to Pease, in combination with the reference to Espy, highlighted a narrative started more than a year earlier: Joseph Field's first poem in the *Daily Picayune*, his timely contribution on Professor Espy. In the year since, Espy had regularly appeared in the paper in news items, poems, editorials, and jokes. Field's poem, later reprinted as a Straws poem, played a role in shaping how

readers of the paper understood and interpreted Espy. The different features of the newspaper collage, including poems, editorials, news items, and advertisements existed in a system where each contributed to the other's meaning.

The Straws and Phazma poems became an extremely important feature of the newspaper throughout 1840 and early 1841. In addition to the poems already mentioned—perhaps 15 per cent of the nearly 300 poems—other poems addressed a range of topics and ideas. The poets wrote pieces about the discovery of subterranean vaults in New Orleans; the attempt of "America" Vespucci (purportedly descended from the same family as Amerigo Vespucci) to receive a land grant in the United States; New Orleans firemen; Mardi Gras; mayoral elections in Mobile, Alabama; the Natchez tornado of 1840; and the drowning death of St. Louis theater manager Noah Ludlow's son. Straws also briefly took up the issues of national literature and copyright. Phazma's "Sonnet to Mary Kate" was surely a poem to his niece, Mary Katherine Keemle (Kate) Field, and both Phazma and Straws wrote about the dancer Fanny Elsller in several of their poems. And when Straws traveled to England during the summer and fall of 1840, his poems functioned as a travelogue, recounting to New Orleans locals his trip up American rivers by steamboat, ocean travel, and the many places he visited in England. In poems written from the Ohio River and from the Allegheny Mountains, Straws provided a temporary respite for those in New Orleans who had to suffer through the Louisiana summer. This period also marked the return of Straws, Senior, or "Old Straws," as he narrated his own trip to the North and abroad, looking to bring his vagabond son home. Given the

popularity and success of the Phazma and Straws poems, and the numerous ways they participated in the *Daily Picayune*, it is certainly not improbable to link the expansion of the *Daily Picayune* from a five-column newspaper to a six-column newspaper in July of 1840, approximately six months after the poets started writing for the paper. The link between the poems and this expansion is significant because it undercuts the notion that newspaper poems were filler material in the daily newspaper, simply a way to pad an unused column inch or two.

Along with telling the news, the Straws and Phazma poems editorialized the news and current events. So closely connected to New Orleans and the American South of 1840, the poems are not without their troubling aspects, and some of the poems are reprehensible. The oppressive and racist ideologies of the poems should not be overlooked or dismissed. At the same time, examining the intertextual links between the poems and the rest of the newspaper on issues of slavery and human rights further documents the role of the poems in advancing the larger newspaper project—their points of view are of a piece with the rest of the *Daily Picayune*—and elucidates the cultural work of newspaper poems, particularly the original, local, and socially-oriented verse like the Straws and Phazma poems. For example, one of the few political issues on which the *Daily Picayune* took a firm stance was slavery and abolition. Just as the humor of the Straws poems fit with the personality of the *Daily Picayune*, so too did their depiction of black people and their stance on slavery. Straws use of "nigger" is uncomfortably common for twenty-first century readers, particularly the flippancy with which he could

dispense the term. And both Straws and Phazma feared miscegenation, or what they called "amalgamation." Straws considered the threat in "Algamation," published in the *Daily Picayune* on December 16, 1840, and the term also appears in Phazma's "An Ode to Abolition":

No longer shall dark Afric shades  
 Distinction make in Christian grades;  
 The Queen of Hearts and Knave of Spades  
     Shall share a fate,  
 And Snowy youths and ebon maids  
     Amalgamate.

Hear, monkeys and ourang outangs,  
 Hear how the [Lewis] Tappan trumpet clangs;  
 Hear sainted [William Lloyd] Garrison's harangues;  
     Leave rock and tree,  
 And shave your beards and clip your fangs,  
     And Christians be! ([2])

Along with Phazma's fears of amalgamation, he likens blacks to the monkeys and apes of Africa, suggesting a biological commonality and arguing in effect: if we allow rights to blacks, what is next? Animals, too? Ironically, then, in his own poem about monkeys, "Monkeys," published in the *Daily Picayune* on November 14, 1840, Straws expressed a

genuine sympathy for the fact that the monkeys he saw at the zoo in England have been taken from their natural homes for human pleasure. Straws stopped short of suggesting their return and joked about their liberties, and although the rest of the poem helps to construct his comment about the monkeys being an "injured nation" as a hyperbole, there is a thread of seriousness that runs throughout.

Straws adopted a similarly problematic position in his poem "The Bloodhounds." In early 1840, the state of Florida, in an effort to "rid [itself] of the evil by which [it was] oppressed" purchased from Cuba thirty-three bloodhounds, a breed used in the pursuit of black slaves in the West Indies, to track and capture the "Florida Indians" (Sprague 239–240). According to John Titcomb Sprague's 1848 account of *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusions of the Florida War*, "The method adopted by the Spaniards to hunt the Indians, was to feed [the hounds] liberally upon bloody meat, then muzzle them and control them by the leash. They were to be put upon the footprint, which is said they would follow until the individual was found" (240). Sprague continues, "Tracks of Indians were found, but the dogs finding the scent far different from that of the negro, refused to follow, which disappointed the most sanguine, who entertained the belief that the hounds would summarily close the Florida war." Straws, however, attributed the failure to the practice of muzzling:

Think, torn away from Cuba, George,  
 Where free they roamed the wild;  
 And hunted nigger runaways,

Beneath them skies so mild!  
 With eager hearts and boundin feet,  
 Their prey they used to track;  
 And free to bite, whene'er they caught,  
 The nigger by the slack!

Behold them now, with the muzzles on,  
 Condemned to thread the mare,

....

A smellin' Indians all the while,  
 Without a single taste! ("The Bloodhounds" [2])

As he had with his poem on the monkeys, Straws used the language of freedom and liberty to create sympathy for the animals, even when what is at stake is the freedom of humans. In typical Straws fashion, he exaggerated the situation for the sake of humor, but the exaggeration is even more problematic in "The Bloodhounds" than in "Monkeys." The major tension of "Monkeys" emerged in contrast to Phazma's "An Ode to Abolition," but in "The Bloodhounds," Straws' poem alone sets up conflict between humans and animals and employs the language of freedom and rights to champion the cause of the bloodhounds rather than the humans. In addition to commenting on a timely issue as both editorial and entertainment, "The Bloodhounds" participated in an ongoing conversation about human rights and the South. In fact, the same day that the poem appeared in the

*Daily Picayune*, the editors denounced the receipt of an abolition paper on "*Human Rights*," sent by someone from Boston.

Although so much of their value came from the specific local and newspaper contexts, Straws' poems attracted national attention immediately. In the South, North, and Midwest, interest in Straws resulted in large part from the trade practice of exchanging newspapers. The "exchange papers," those newspapers with which the *Daily Picayune* swapped issues, could clip items from one another, so long as proper credit was given to the source of the clipped material. Under the rules of newspaper exchange, the *Cleveland Daily Herald* reprinted Straws' "A Werry Serious Reflection" on March 18, "So'Thin' 'Bout Nothin'" on July 7, 1840, and "Homeward Bound" on November 9, 1840, with credit both to Straws and the *Daily Picayune*. One of the eastern papers hoping to capitalize on the success of Straws was the *New York Herald*. On July 7, 1840, the *Herald* featured a poem by the poet "Dismal Jeems" titled "A Bachelor's Reflections." Written in a Straws-like dialect, the poem also invoked Straws by name. In addition, newspapers quickly began to print imitations of Straws' work. Outside of New Orleans, imitations probably had more value than the original. Authors could adopt Straws' style and those aspects of his poems that made them so successful within the *Picayune*, but they could treat their own, local topics. Less than two months after Straws began appearing in the *Daily Picayune*, the newspaper announced that "Imitators of our quaint and humorous friend 'Straws,' have sprung up already in the east." On July 1, 1840, the *Daily Picayune* announced a poet writing under the pseudonym "Oats" in the *New Bedford Register*;

"Oats" according to the editors, imitates Straws "werry well." Not surprisingly, a poet writing under the name of "Ned" began imitating Straws for the *St. Louis Bulletin*, and the *Daily Picayune* again announced a "host of imitators have sprung up all over the States since our friend Joe started this merry business." In some additional self-promotion, which certainly bolstered a sense of importance for the *Daily Picayune* and its readers, the editors proclaimed, "Our 'Straws' are flying over the Union in every direction; we cannot open an exchange paper without meeting them."<sup>24</sup> The *Cleveland Daily Herald* seems to have had one of the more sustained responses to Straws. In addition to reprinting Straws' work, a "Straws, Jr." began writing for the *Daily Herald* in the late summer and fall of 1840. In a junior-sized version of Straws' own success, Straws, Jr. provoked response from another poet who wrote under the name "John" in the *Cleveland Daily Herald*.<sup>25</sup> Further, James Gordon Bennett's resurrection of McDonald Clarke as his own resident poet in 1841 may well have been a targeted response to the popularity of Straws. The editors of the *Daily Picayune* did not put the matter so simply in December 1840, though they certainly suggested the possibility in a piece on Bennett's plans to publish Clarke's biography: "Bennett has for some time been publishing very singular, disjointed and half-wild poetical effusions, all from the mad poet's pen, or at least put forth in his name, though quite as like as not Bennett, himself, writes them to make up a column of matter somewhat eccentric and out of the common way" ("[Bennett, the Herald Bennett]," [2]). The penny press was a business that depended on sensation, and if Bennett could create his own sensation, rather than simply reap trickle-down benefits of Straws, all the



better.

Straws, however, was not the only famous newspaper poet of the Field family. Although best known for his series of "Prairie Sketches," Phazma's newspaper poetry also received attention in the press. As reprinted in the *Daily Picayune*, the *Planter's Banner* celebrated Phazma's "merits that with twenty times his experience others are unable to call forth. His *Prairie Sketches*, his *Sonnets*, in short every subject he touches, is adorned with the graces of a lively and fruitful imagination, a pure and graphic pen" ("[Compliments]" [2]). The *Banner* went on to chastise any of its readers unfamiliar with the *Picayune*, Straws, and Phazma: "If there be any among our readers so far in arrear of the age, as yet to have formed no personal acquaintance with the *Picayune*, we admonish them that their standing with the present generation is of a strangely precarious nature—like that of the bat between birds and animals" ([2]). In a short piece on November 1, 1840, the editors acknowledged Phazma's success in being copied in other newspapers. At the same time as they celebrated being clipped and reprinted, they criticized the *Natchez Courier* for the way the paper "mauled, mangled, and misprinted" one of Phazma's poems. Then, in January of 1841, a writer from Mobile praised Phazma as the *Picayune's* "very clever correspondent."<sup>26</sup> The widespread acknowledgment of Phazma and Straws, whether via imitation, reprinting, or praise indicates that their poems were widely read. If Phazma's and Straws poems were a "subject for jest," as William Gilmore Simms had described newspaper poetry in 1836, it was because their authors self-consciously constructed them as such.<sup>27</sup> Through their participation in telling the news, editorializing

the news, providing entertainment, and forging a sense of community, Straws and Phazma demonstrated the capacities and potential of newspaper poetry for the penny press.

### **Straws and American Literature**

In addition to providing a specific, and illustrative, example of newspaper poetry in the late 1830s and early 1840s, Joseph Field's "Straws" poems have larger significance in the history and development of American literature. Field and Straws can be linked both tenuously and directly to major American authors, including Herman Melville, Edgar Allan Poe, and James Russell Lowell. Additional research almost certainly will illuminate and develop these connections and others. According to Hershel Parker, for example, Gansevoort Melville copied for himself, and annotated, lines from a Straws poem addressed to Nathaniel Parker Willis, which had first appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on April 8, 1840 (54). Melville likely copied the poem, titled "'The Corsair,' 'Copyright,' and 'Mr. Villis,'" from a New York newspaper, perhaps in September 1840.<sup>28</sup> Given Gansevoort Melville's practice of sharing poems with his brothers, including poems published in newspapers and magazines, he may have shared Straws's lines with Herman Melville.<sup>29</sup> Whether Herman Melville knew of Straws is somewhat beside the point; Gansevoort Melville's personal record of the poem further demonstrates the circulation and influence of Straws's work. In addition, during the 1840s, Field established a strong reputation as a poet, playwright, actor, and newspaperman. Straws contributed to Field's success in each of these endeavors, appearing as the narrator of Field's newspaper poems and in character on the stage. By 1846, Field was so well-known

and regarded that Edgar Allan Poe wrote to Field, then the owner and editor of the *St. Louis Reveille*, and requested that Field publish an editorial in his newspaper to counter the attacks of Poe that were appearing in the American press. Poe expressed his gratitude for the *Reveille's* frequent "notices of myself evincing a friendly feeling on your part, which, believe me, I reciprocate in the most cordial manner." Enclosing a piece from the *New York Mirror*, Poe wrote, "All that I venture to ask of you is to say a few words in condemnation of it . . . . Will you do me this act of justice? I know you will" (Whiting 22–23; see also Moss xviii, and Silverman 307–308). Poe's request of Field indicates the stature of the *Reveille* in the West and reconfigures Field as more than a minor newspaperman of the 1840s. Although the Straws poems were most significant in 1840 and 1841 to the readers of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*—given their primary role of mediating political, social, and cultural experiences in their local community—their influence extended beyond the specific time and place in their longterm effect on Field's reputation and in their importance as dialect literature.

Field's most important literary connection came in 1842, four years before Poe solicited his help and just following his work for the *Daily Picayune*. By January 1842, Field was in Boston managing and performing as a member of the Tremont Theatre Stock Company. In an article on March 7, 1842, the Boston *Daily Atlas* announced the re-opening of the Tremont Theatre:

The Tremont Theatre will be re-opened this evening, under the combined management of Messrs W. F. Johnson, J. F. Field [sic], T. Comer, W.

Creswick, S. Stockwell, and G. H. Child—all well known to the public in their different capacities. . . . Suffice it to say, that these gentlemen intend to give, as we learn, a succession of new, light, comic, serious, and bustling pieces, intermingled with old standard plays and fares, such as will afford an amusing recreation for the public, and we trust, at the same time, be a profitable employment for themselves. The opening bill is varied and attractive, consisting of a new sketch, by 'Straws,' called Lions Abroad—the drama of the Deformed of Notre Dame—the farce of Faint Heart never won Fair Lady—and the admired Cachucha Dance, by Miss Fanny Jones. ("[The Tremont Theatre]" [2]).

While in Boston, then, Field transplanted Straws to the northern stage, and apparently also to Boston newspapers.<sup>30</sup> Based on a piece published in the *Atlas* on September 10, 1842, which the newspaper reprinted from the *New York Union*, Field appears to have left Boston for New York by early fall of 1842. In September Field presented "a new American comedy in five acts," at the Park theater in New York. The short review in the *Union* and, later, in the *Atlas* acknowledged the play as "quite unprecedented in the annals of the present race of play-goers," and identified Field as "formerly manager of the Tremont, at Boston, the Straws correspondent of the Picayune, and author of an Elsseratic romance in verse" ("Mr Field's New Comedy" [2]). Field, widely known as Straws, was in Boston as early as late 1841 and by no later than January 1842, and he left the city by September of that year.

Apparently well-regarded in Boston by late January 1842, Field participated in the festivities organized for Charles Dickens's first visit to the city. On January 24, two days after Dickens's arrival in Boston, the Tremont Theatre produced an evening of entertainment celebrating Dickens's novels and characters. Field wrote a new play, *Boz! The Mask Phrenological*, which was performed at the Tremont that evening. According to Edward F. Payne, author of *Dickens Days in Boston*, Field's play was the highlight of the event, and later that night Field sent the manuscript of *The Masque Phrenological* to Dickens in his room. Dickens thanked Field in a letter the next day:

Mr. Charles Dickens presents his compliments to Mr. Field, and is extremely obliged to him for the MS he had the goodness to send last night. Though Mr. Dickens had not received any such mark of Mr. Field's courtesy and attention, he would still have felt it a pleasure and a duty to thank him for his most ingenious compliment, which afforded him every high gratification and entertainment. (Dickens 19-20; see also Payne 94–95)

Less than a week later, Field again provided entertainment at a Dickens event. On February 1, a group of young men of Boston sponsored a dinner in Dickens's honor. Organized by James Russell Lowell, Gorge Minns, Charles H. Mills, Henry Gardner, and Samuel Parkman, Jr., the dinner featured a remarkable number of courses and was followed by an evening of speeches, poems, and other entertainment.<sup>31</sup> For his part in the evening's entertainment, Field recited a new Straws poem written for Dickens, "The Wery

Last Observations of Weller, Senior." According to the *Report of the Dinner Given to Charles Dickens, in Boston, February 1, 1842*, Straws's piece, which drew on the dinner for its metaphor of America "devouring Dickens" while refusing to swallow Trollope or Frederick Marryat, "excited peals of laughter at nearly every line," and a "spontaneous outburst" followed the poem's conclusion (Gill and English 45–46).<sup>32</sup> Both Payne's account and the *Report of the Dinner* suggest Straws was a popular figure in Boston at the time, and the dinner brought Field into contact with members of Boston's literary and cultural elite. Also in attendance at the dinner were major and emerging American writers and editors, including James T. Fields, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell. His invitation to and participation in the dinner demonstrates Field's reputation in Boston and situates him within a larger literary culture in the 1840s.

The thread connecting Field to James Russell Lowell is especially important. A little more than four years later, in June of 1846, Lowell published the first of his own dialect poems in the *Boston Courier* in response to the Mexican-American War. Between mid-June 1846 and the end of September 1848, Lowell published nine dialect poems in the *Boston Courier* and *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.<sup>33</sup> Each of the poems was preceded by a letter introducing the poem, and the fictional authors of the dialect prose and verse were Ezekiel Biglow, Hosea Biglow, and Birdofredum Sawin. The letters and poems were collected as *The Biglow Papers* in 1848. Then, in 1862, Lowell revived his characters to respond to the Civil War in a sequence of poems published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. These poems later were collected as a second series of *Biglow Papers*. In the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Lowell's Yankee-dialect poems were regarded as some of his most important work, but they are little studied today. Edmund Clarence Stedman, for example, considered the *Biglow Papers* "a master-work, in which [Lowell's] ripe genius fastened the spirit of its region and period. . . . the 'Biglow Papers were the first, and are the best, metrical presentation of Yankee character in its thought, dialect, manners, and singular mixture of coarseness and shrewdness with the fundamental sense of beauty and right" (321). As with Field's Straws poems, understanding and appreciating Lowell's Biglow poems requires a willingness and patience to work through the dialect; a familiarity with the events, people, and ideas satirized in the works; and an attention to the relationship of form, content, and function in the poems that does not privilege universal over specific, abstract over particular, and complexity over comprehensibility.

Lowell's Biglow poems are the first known poems written in Yankee dialect, although writers had earlier employed the local dialect in prose. Lowell was perhaps familiar with the work of Seba Smith, who, in the 1830s began sending letters written in dialect to newspapers under the pseudonym "Jack Downing." Scholars of humor in American literature regard Smith's popular "Maine Yankee" as the original "homespun commentator."<sup>34</sup> Even earlier, however, Yankee dialect had been featured in drama: though not crucial to developments in plot, "stage Yankees" added humor to plays by the late eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The influence of this earlier Yankee dialect work on the development of Lowell's poems is unknown. Additional research may illuminate connections between Lowell and Smith or other writers who employed a Yankee dialect.

Despite acknowledging such progenitors, Lowell's early biographer, Horace Scudder, maintained that contemporary readers "knew [they were] in with the appearance of something new in American literature," when they read the Biglow poems (261). Given similarities in their approaches and use of dialect in poetry, however, a more direct influence on Lowell's Biglow poems may have been Joseph Field's Straws.

Even if Lowell did not consciously model his Biglow poems on Field's Straws, the connection between the poets and the similarities between their dialect poems warrant further exploration. At the very least, Lowell was aware of Field and his dialect verse. The Dickens dinner in Boston on February 1, 1842 documents a connection between Lowell, who helped organize and attended the dinner, and Field. Whether Lowell was familiar with the Straws poems as they circulated in the daily press in 1840 and 1841 is not clear, although it seems likely that Lowell may have encountered one or more of the poems in Boston newspapers. Regardless, at the Dickens dinner, Lowell certainly heard both Field's Straws poem and the reaction of the audience. Similarities between the poems suggest a deeper connection. Although Field and Lowell wrote on at least one issue from fundamentally different vantage points—Field was an ardent anti-abolitionist, and more than one of the Straws poems is sympathetic to slavery, while a primary motivation of the Biglow poems was the abolition of slavery—the Straws and Biglow poems share several striking features. Both poets used a local dialect to treat timely, important topics with humor and wit; employed the characters of a father and son in their projects; engaged newspaper editors in conversation with their poems; and relied on, as well as participated



in, the contextual and intertextual meaning-making of the newspaper.<sup>36</sup> The connection between Field and Lowell is particularly significant because it may show a Southern writer shaping antebellum Northern literary culture.<sup>37</sup>

Given the popularity, reach, and influence of Field's Straws poems, scholars must consider the place of Field's work in the history of dialect literature and their importance as newspaper poetry. Although the Straws poems do not represent a specifically Southern dialect, Field is a link between an earlier generation of Southern dialect writers, including Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, and a later generation that includes Joel Chandler Harris. In employing a representation of a local dialect, Field predates the work of James Russell Lowell and Artemus Ward, whose work in turn influenced later writers, among them Hamlin Garland and James Whitcomb Riley. In addition, Straws's pseudo-German dialect poems, which originated in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, place Field within a tradition of American literature written in German dialect. Field's work precedes the dialect poems of Charles Godfrey Leland—the popular Hans Breitmann ballads, which first appeared in 1856—and Charles Follen Adams's "Yawcob Strauss" dialect verse of the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>38</sup> Field was not the first or most notable American author to write in dialect, but the Straws poems are an important, unrecognized body of work in the history of dialect literature, particularly dialect poetry.

### **Conclusion**

The example of Joseph Field's Straws poems in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* demonstrates the importance of returning to daily newspapers and their poetry for

developing a more complete history and record of American literature. The critical approach employed here can be applied to other writers and their work, opening significant avenues of inquiry and potentially redressing the absence of previously overlooked contributions to American literature. New, important questions arise: In addition to Field and his Straws, what other writers, including women and black authors, published in the pages of the daily press and have subsequently been lost within conventional histories of American literature? What were their contributions to their local communities, to conceptions of the newspaper and the relationship of newspapers and literature, and to the form, ideology, and growth of American literature? How do their contributions reconfigure long-held beliefs about who followed and thwarted convention and when, as well as where—geographically and textually—ideas and models emerged and were explored? The responses to these questions have the potential to reform the narrative of American literary history, and newspaper history, in fundamental ways.

<sup>1</sup> The poems appeared under the title "Poetic Gems," and a note preceding them indicated they were reprinted "from a book of poems recently published in London." The *Herald* identified the author as "L.E.L. [Miss Landon]." Other poems by Landon appearing in the *Herald* were attributed to "L.E.L.," such as "The Swarming of the Bees," and to "L.E. Landon," including "The Petition. "

<sup>2</sup> Adams's poem was first published in *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Present* for 1834, which appears to have been available by early October 1833.

<sup>3</sup> See Bryant, "Seventy Six"; George P. Morris, "Stanzas"; and Lydia Sigourney, "Dreams."

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, "Improved Readings of the Poets—No. 15" and "Improved Readings of the Poets—No. 16."

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, William Wallace, "Lines on the Death of McDonald Clark" [sic] and Walt Whitman, "The Death and Burial of McDonald Clarke." A notice about fundraising in order to build a monument to Clarke appeared in the *Herald* on March 10, 1842, as well as in several subsequent issues of the *Herald* and the *Weekly Herald*, including the *Weekly Herald* of March 12 and the *Herald* of March 17. Letters in memory of Clarke appeared in the *Herald* on April 24 and April 29, 1842.

<sup>6</sup> In *Partisans of the Southern Press*, Osthaus gives a history of the founding of the *Picayune* through 1850. Osthaus's chapter on the *Picayune* includes biographical information on Kendall and Lumsden, an overview of some of the content in the *Picayune* during these years, and a discussion of the newspaper context in which the *Picayune* emerged. See pages 47–68. Dabney's *One Hundred Great Years* remains the standard history of the *Picayune*. He firmly situates the founding and rise of the *Picayune* within the context of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Southern history. This contextual information tends to overshadow details of the newspaper, particularly when Dabney discusses the founding of the newspaper. Even so, and despite its dated qualities, *One Hundred Great Years* is a useful starting point for study of the *Picayune*.

<sup>7</sup> Various studies have examined and described the basic characteristics of the penny press, including the appeal to a broader readership and a more sensational news style. See, for example, Douglas; Emery and Emery; Huntzicker; Lee; and Mott, *A History of American Journalism*. As is the case in literary history, the necessity of characterizing a style of journalism (or a style of literature or a literary movement) can lead to oversimplification and generalization. See Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press."

<sup>8</sup> Osthaus and Dabney discuss these early qualities of the *Picayune*. See Dabney, 24 and Osthaus, 47–48, 50–55.

<sup>9</sup> The *Daily Picayune* published six issues a week, Tuesday–Sunday. The editors regularly argued in the pages of the paper that a Sunday edition did not violate the Christian Sabbath because all of the work was done on Saturday. A Monday edition, on the other hand, required work to be done on Sunday.

Page one of the first issue of the *New York Herald* also had featured a poem, "Stanzas," by "H." In the first six weeks of its publication, approximately 40 poems, both original works and those reprinted from other sources, appeared on the first page of the

*Herald.*

<sup>10</sup> Matthew Field's role at the *Daily Picayune* is mentioned in Field, *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail*; Smith; and Watson.

<sup>11</sup> The St. Charles opened late in 1839 because it was still being renovated after a fire in January of 1838. See John S. Kendall, 169.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the *Daily Picayune* of June 27, 1839: "J. M. Field has brought out his 'Bennett' farces, (performed at the St. Charles last season,) at the Bowery Theatre, N. Y. His 'Bennett in Texas,' was about the poorest attempt at dramatic composition we ever did see—not a circumstance to our 'Ensanguined shirt.' Field should not bring it forward at the Bowery" ([2]).

<sup>13</sup> For example: "[Straws sometimes show which way the wind blows]"; "Straws Show Which Way the Wind Blows"; "Take Notice People of the South"; "Recession of the Treasury Circular"; "Signs of the Times"; "The Shadow of a Mighty Name"; and "As the Old Cock Crows the Young One Learns."

<sup>14</sup> The 1848 edition of Noah Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* defines "straw" as: "1. The stalk or stem of of certain species of grain, pulse, &c., chiefly of wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, and peas; a mass of stalks and grain after being thrashed; anything proverbially worthless. 2. A mass of the stalks of certain species of grain when cut, and after being thrashed. 3. Any thing proverbially worthless."

<sup>15</sup> See Bartlett, 249.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Straws's "A Werry Grave Hexortation" and "A Wery Serious Reflection."

<sup>17</sup> Field's German dialect shares conventional features of German dialect literature, including confusion in pronunciation of "w" and "v." Unlike other writers of German dialect poetry, however, Field did not employ any German vocabulary in his poems. For more on characteristics of German dialect literature, see Kersten, "Using the Immigrant's Voice."

<sup>18</sup> In fact, Joseph Field is recognized as one of the major early voices of Southern humor. Mark Twain is known to have read some of Field's work, although its unlikely he would have encountered the Straws poems.

<sup>19</sup> In *Hazard's United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, Samuel Hazard approximated the death toll of the *Lexington* fire at 150. See page 171.

The death of a fellow actor, whom it's likely Field would have known from his time on the New York stage, almost certainly shaped Field's response to the event. "Odd Thoughts About Life" concludes, "I think of thee—*Poor Finn!*"

<sup>20</sup> "Give us a light gin toddy!" had not appeared in any of Straws's poems to date, but he had recently considered what women would do if they ran out of tea in "A Werry Serious Reflection." The poem, in part a comment on the temperance movement, suggested alternatives to tea and their benefits. As one alternative, Straws offered "toddies," which "werry much promotes/ Vons pow'rs of conwersation."

<sup>21</sup> For more on the war against the *New York Herald*, see Fermer, 30; Hudson, 457–460; and David Reynolds, 100.

<sup>22</sup> Phazma, "To a Shocking Bad Hat."

<sup>23</sup> See Straws, "To the Gemman Vot's Hadwertisin' for a Vife," and Phazma, "Pease's Horehound Candy." Phazma also wrote two poems titled "Sonnet to Dr. O," written in response to Dr. O's "physic" and presumably also his advertising campaign.

<sup>24</sup> See the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* of March 11, July 1, July 18, and August 5, 1840. All announcements appear on page 2 of the paper.

<sup>25</sup> For Straws, Jr., in the *Cleveland Daily Herald*, see the paper for August 31, November 11, and November 21, 1840. Coincidentally, as scholars of Joseph Field's daughter Kate Field know, Kate Field later used the pseudonym "Straws, Jr."

<sup>26</sup> See the *Daily Picayune* of November 1, 1840, and January 15, 1841. Both announcements appear on page 2.

<sup>27</sup> See [William Gilmore Simms], "American Criticism and Critics," 398.

<sup>28</sup> Parker thinks Melville probably copied Straws's poem sometime in September 1840.

<sup>29</sup> For more on Gansevoort Melville's sharing of poetry with his brothers, see Parker.

<sup>30</sup> Although I have not yet uncovered a first publication of a Straws poem in a Boston newspaper from 1842, Payne briefly mentions the appearance of Straws's poems in Boston newspapers in 1842. See Payne, 31–32.

<sup>31</sup> The menu for the evening is reproduced in Payne.

<sup>32</sup> Gill and English's report publishes the entirety of Straws's poem and also signals just how well-known the character of Straws was. In introducing the poem, the report identifies the author as "Mr. J. M. Field ('Straws')."

<sup>33</sup> According to Cooke, the first of the Biglow papers, "A Letter from Mr. Ezekiel Biglow of Jaalam to the Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor of the Boston Courier, inclosing a Poem of his Son, Mr. Hosea Biglow," appeared in the *Boston Courier* on 17 June 1846; "A letter from Hosea Biglow to the Hon. J. T. Buckingham, Editor of the Boston Courier, covering a Letter from Mr. B. Sawin, Private in the Massachusetts Regiment," was published in the *Boston Courier* on 18 August 1847; "What Mr. Robinson thinks," in the *Boston Courier* on 2 November 1847; "Remakrs of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, at an Extrumperry Caucus in State Street, reported by Mr. H. Biglow," in the *Boston Courier* on 28 December 1847; "The Debate in the Sennit," in the *Boston Courier* on 3 May 1848; "The Pious Editor's Creed," in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* dated 4 May 1848; "A Letter from a Candidate for the Presidency in Answer to suttin Questions proposed by Mr. Hosea Biglow, inclosed in a Note from Mr. Biglow to S. H. Gay, Esq., Editor of the National Ant-slavery Standard," in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* dated 1 June 1848; "A Second Letter from B. Sawin, Esq.," in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* dated 6 July 1848; and "A Third Letter from B. Sawin, Esq.," in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* dated 28 September 1848.

<sup>34</sup> See Blair and McDavid, Jr., xii–xiii.

<sup>35</sup> See Kilheffer, 223–224. Kilheffer's goal is not to trace the lineage of the *Biglow Papers* but to compare representations of Yankee vocabulary and dialect from the late eighteenth century the 1840s. Kilheffer draws on Lowell's dialect as a standard by which to evaluate the dialect of the plays because Lowell thoughtfully constructed his Yankee vocabulary—

he provides a glossary—usage, and manner of speaking.

<sup>36</sup> Unlike the Straws poems, Lowell's Biglow poems were collected and published in book form. When published as *The Biglow Papers*, Lowell included an extensive introduction, occasional footnotes, a glossary, and other apparatus. In addition to offering new material for readers of the book version, this apparatus probably also helped to replace some of the information readers of the letters and poems would have gleaned from their initial newspaper publications and the discussion surrounding the Biglow papers in the press.

<sup>37</sup> Field was born in Ireland and raised in Baltimore and New York, but he spent most of his professional career in the South and appears to have written most prolifically in the South.

<sup>38</sup> For more on the tradition and development of German dialect literature in the United States, see Kersten, "Using the Immigrant's Voice." Field does not appear in Kersten's article.

## Chapter 2

### A Poem Travels West: Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" in 1855

Throughout this project, I model different approaches for the study of newspaper poetry. In other chapters, I focus on specific authors, on specific newspapers, and on a variety of newspapers over a specific period. Here, I focus on a single poem first published in and distributed via newspapers in order to follow the poem from its inception through first publication, reprinting, and cultural re-creation. The objectives for doing so include both learning something new about American poetry, particularly newspaper poetry, at midcentury as well as developing strategies for studying newspaper poems. This chapter traces a poem's movement west, via the newspapers, as the United States expanded and settlers moved west in the late 1840s and 1850s—a period of expansion and organization, movement and settlement—and as technology facilitated the movement of ideas as well as people.

After a series of territorial expansions and the organization of new states in the 1840s and early 1850s, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 carved out two new territories from land acquired in the Louisiana Purchase more than fifty years earlier. The Kansas-Nebraska Act symbolized the perceived order, structure, and progress that underpinned the expansion of the United States and the organization of states and territories. Conversely, it served as a symbolic, if not actual, beginning for the disorder, chaos, and degeneration that culminated in civil war. What role did newspapers and their poetry play

in the settling of the frontier and at this pivotal moment in antebellum American history? A study of Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas," as it was first published in newspapers in the late winter of 1855, develops and corrects current understanding of one of Larcom's frequently mentioned but little studied poems; foregrounds the role of poetry in public discourse at midcentury; demonstrates the importance of poetry in the daily lives of average American men and women during the period; illustrates the importance of newspapers in disseminating information, including poetry; and broadens the study of poetry published at midcentury, particularly in 1855, a landmark year in American literature. The current study also examines and models research methods for the study of newspaper poetry, including the use of electronic databases and more traditional archival investigation.

### **Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" and the Battle for Kansas**

After contentious debate, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed on May 30, 1854. The bill established the territories of Kansas and Nebraska and allowed the people of each to determine if slavery would be allowed, contrary to the legislation of the Missouri Compromise, which would have prohibited slavery in both territories. As passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act became more likely in the spring of 1854, the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was chartered in late April 1854 with the goal of encouraging and aiding the settlement of Kansas Territory with free-soil men and women from the North. The Company sponsored its first Kansas emigrant party in July 1854, and 760 people would depart for Kansas under the auspices of the renamed New England



Emigrant Aid Company in 1855.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have questioned the effectiveness and, more recently, the motives of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in the 1850s.<sup>2</sup>

Regardless of the number of individuals and families the company actually settled in Kansas, and regardless of the Company's genuine motives—ethical or financial—the New England Emigrant Aid Company played a significant role in the battle for Kansas in 1855. In the press and popular understanding, the New England Emigrant Aid Company—just one of a number of emigrant groups that emerged in New England, New York, and the Ohio Valley—became a symbol for the free-soil movement. The rhetoric and the name of the Aid Company were used to encourage movement to Kansas, and they were used to rally opposing factions.

The early battle for Kansas—over whether it would be a slave state or a free state—was very much a rhetorical fight, from the naming of the "border ruffians" to the use of catchphrases like "squatter sovereignty." Poems were an important tool in this rhetorical battle. Abolitionist poet John Greenleaf Whittier, for example, wrote "The Kansas Emigrants" in 1854 for the first emigrant parties to leave for the territory. The poem was printed in the first issue of the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, on October 21, 1854.<sup>3</sup> Published in Connaughtville, Pennsylvania, prior to its move to Lawrence, Kansas, the first issue of the *Herald* included several poems in addition to Whittier's. Two unsigned pieces, "Song of the Kansas Emigrants" and "The Freeman's Song," appeared on page one with Whittier's poem. William Oland Bourne's "Swear Ye Now, O, My Brothers!" and William Cullen Bryant's "The Prairies" appeared on page four. Bourne's poem begins

with the lines, "Lo! the Land of the West! where the Freeman shall rise, / In the pride of his birth, with his standard on high," and the paper's editor, George Washington Brown, found Bryant's lines to be "beautifully descriptive of the prairies of Kansas (4)." Brown hoped the poems would raise support for the free-soil cause and recruit emigrants from the North, where the first issue of the paper circulated widely.

Understanding the role of rhetoric and poetry in the struggle for Kansas, the Emigrant Aid Company announced a contest in late September of 1854 for the "best Kansas emigrant's song" (in the nineteenth century, and in other times as well, songs were understood as a type of poem; for example, when published in the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, "Song of the Kansas Emigrants" was set to the tune of "Greenland's Icy Mountains" and was printed in a column titled "Selected Poetry"). The secretary of the Company, Thomas H. Webb, solicited poems in daily and weekly newspapers and offered a prize of fifty dollars for the winning poem.<sup>4</sup> In his letter to editors, Webb wrote, "I do not wish anything of a violent, rabid, or vindictive character; believing that we should be temperate in all things." He continued, "Feeling confident that we are on the side of truth and justice, my desire is to be calm, though resolute, prudent, but determined." Enclosing "two songs sung on the departure of our second [1854] party," as well as a pamphlet describing the Aid Company, Webb praised Whittier's "The Kansas Emigrants Song." The poem, Webb felt, "can hardly be surpassed" (Webb 158). Five months later, on February 6, 1855, Webb announced the winner of the contest to newspaper editors: of the eighty-eight entries submitted, the judges deemed Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" the

best. The poem appeared in print for the first time on February 7, and it marked one of Larcom's first literary successes. Well-known in 1855, the poem is regularly cited—but little explored—in biographical accounts of Larcom and in histories of Kansas. Larcom's biographer, for example, indicates that the poem was published in "most newspapers" in 1855 (Marchalonis 95), but she discusses the poem only briefly. Similarly, Paul Helmreich claims that copies of "Call to Kansas" were "distributed by the thousands" (page 111). Given such accounts, I expected to find the poem easily in dozens of newspapers as well as to find poetic responses, including parodies and derivations in the press, such as those for Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, first published in 1855, and Alfred Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade," which had first appeared in a British newspaper in December of 1854. Yet, how far did Larcom's poem, first published in newspapers, actually circulate? In what ways did it participate in the battle for Kansas? Did poets—Northern, Southern, free-soil, abolitionist, proslavery—respond to Larcom's poem?

On the morning of February 7, 1855, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* published the "Kansas Prize Song" one page two following the introductory letter of Thomas Webb:

CALL TO KANZAS.

[Air, Nelly Bly.]

BY LUCY LARCOM.

Yeomen strong, hither throng

Nature's honest men.

We will make the wilderness

Bud and bloom again.

Bring the sickle, speed the plough,

Turn the ready soil!

Freedom is the noblest pay

For the true man's toil.

Ho! brothers! come, brothers!

Hasten all with me

We'll sing upon the Kansas plains

A song of Liberty!

Father, haste! o'er the waste

Lies a pleasant land.

There your fireside alter-stones [sic]

Fixed in truth, shall stand.

There your sons, brave and good,

Shall to freemen grow,

Clad in triple mail of Right,

Wrong to overthrow.

Ho! brothers! come, brothers!

Hasten all with me

We'll sing upon the Kansas plains

A song of Liberty!

Mother, come! here's a home

In the waiting West.

Bring the seeds of love and peace

You who sow them best.

Faithful hearts, holy prayers,

Keep from taint the air.

Soil a mother's tears have wet,

Golden crops shall bear.

Come, mother! fond mother,

List! we call to thee,

We'll sing upon the Kansas plains,

A song of Liberty.

Brother brave, stem the wave!

Firm the prairies tread!

Up the dark Missouri-flood

Be your canvas spread.

Sister true, join us too

Where the Kansas flows.  
 Let the northern lily bloom  
 With the southern rose.  
 Brave brother, true sister,  
 List! we call to thee,  
 We'll sing upon the Kansas plains,  
 A song of Liberty.

One and all, hear our call  
 Echo through the land!  
 Aid us, with the willing heart  
 And the strong right hand!  
 Feed the spark the Pilgrims struck  
 On old Plymouth Rock!  
 To the watch-fires of the free  
 Millions glad shall flock.  
 Ho! brothers! Come, brothers!  
 Hasten all with me,  
 We'll sing upon the Kansas plains,  
 A song of Liberty.

In the evening of February 7, the poem was printed in the *Boston Daily Journal*, and in

just over a month's time "Call to Kansas" had appeared in at least nine newspapers, including local dailies and national weeklies. It was published in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Daily Journal* on February 7; in the *Boston Daily Atlas* on February 8; in the *Cleveland Morning Leader* on February 16; in the *New York Weekly Tribune* on February 17 and in the *New York Daily Tribune* on February 21; in the issue of the *Liberator* dated February 23; in the *Vermont Watchman* of February 23, and in the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* on March 10. There are likely additional, unidentified newspaper printings of Larcom's poem from the period as well. Although the poem does not appear to have been published in as many newspapers as previously speculated, the identified printings supply important details about the poem's history and reception as well as raise some puzzling questions.

This chapter focuses on the newspaper circulation of the poem over a twelve-week period, from February 6, the date of Webb's letter announcing Larcom's poem as the winner of the contest, to April 30, 1855. This twelve-week period would more than have allowed for the poem to travel from Massachusetts to Kansas and throughout the United States via the press and covers the major migration period of 1855. Most of the New England Emigrant Aid Company's 1855 parties had departed Boston by the end of April. According to historian Louise Barry, the Company sponsored seven Boston-Kansas trips between March 13 and April 24, 1855, and a total of 708 individuals went to Kansas with these groups. Two more groups departed Boston by the second week of May, and a final one left from Boston in July; these last three parties included a total of only 52

emigrants.<sup>5</sup> All identified newspaper printings of the poem were published before March 15.

Significantly, "Call to Kansas" made the same cross-country trek as the many emigrants the poem was written to inspire. Not only did the poem actually travel West, it may have traveled roughly along one of the same routes as the emigrants themselves. Whereas the northern route for emigrants departing from locations such as Boston and Buffalo, New York in headed through Canada, the southern route passed through Cleveland, Ohio (Barry). Some of the New England Emigrant Aid Company's parties of 1855 traveled to Kansas via this southern route, and Miriam Colt, a member of the Vegetarian Company, another emigrant group, described passing through Cleveland: "From Buffalo, took the Lake Shore route to Cleveland, Ohio, from thence to [Indianapolis, Indiana]" (Barry; Colt 28). I have not been able to identify precisely how the poem traveled from Boston to Lawrence, Kansas. Thomas Webb may have written to the *Herald of Freedom's* editor, G.W. Brown, just as he had written to some of the Boston newspapers. Alternately, Brown may have read the poem in Boston or abolitionist newspapers he received in Kansas. Also possible is that "Call to Kansas" was printed in the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* on March 10, 1855, after a longer journey from Boston via the newspapers that reprinted Larcom's poem, perhaps including the *Cleveland Morning Journal*, where the poem appeared on February 16. One detail that supports this latter possibility is the amount of time that passed between the publication of the poem in New England and its appearance in the *Herald of Freedom*. Emigrant parties could make the



trip from Boston to Kansas City, Missouri, approximately fifty miles from Lawrence City, Kansas Territory, in eleven days.<sup>6</sup> If Brown received the poem through the mail, whether in a letter from Webb or from one of the Boston papers, it seems reasonable that the poem would have appeared in the *Herald of Freedom* earlier than March 10, although weather conditions in February and early March, and the reliability of the mail service, may complicate this timeline. If the poem traveled to Kansas through the daily, and in some instances the semiweekly and weekly press, its trip would have been a longer one, because of the elapsed time between the poem's being printed in a newspaper and circulated to readers, that newspaper traveling to another city where the poem was read by a subsequent editor, reset in type, printed, and then read and circulated again. Whether the poem actually took the same route or a similar route as many Kansas-bound emigrants who departed from the northeast, went through Cleveland, and settled in and near Lawrence, the appearance of the poem in newspapers from Boston, Cleveland, and Lawrence is, at the least, symbolic.

Assertions of "Call to Kansas" appearing in "most newspapers" in 1855, however, are grossly overestimated. Newspapers in the North and South were far more likely to print one or more of the parodies of Alfred Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade," including "Charge of the Bright Brigade" and "Charge of the Tight Brigade," than they were to print "Call to Kansas." Based on my examination of Southern newspapers including the *Charleston Mercury*, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, *New Orleans True Delta*, and the *Wilmington, North Carolina Morning Journal*, "Call to

Kansas" was not printed, parodied, or even reported in the Southern press. Nor did it appear in newspapers hostile to the free-soil and abolitionist movements, such as the Washington, D.C. *Daily American Organ*, which in February announced, "*We hold that the institution of slavery belongs exclusively to those States in which it exists. . . . We shall therefore oppose all agitation of the question of slavery, either in Congress or out of it*" ("Prospectus of the 'American Organ'" [1]). More surprisingly, "Call to Kansas" also did not appear in newspapers where its publication would have seemed natural.

Several newspapers reported favorably on the New England Emigrant Aid Company, local emigrant organizations, and the importance of the free-soil movement but did not print the poem. On February 3, 1855, the *Daily Commercial Register* of Sandusky, Ohio, warned of Southern emigration efforts and the now very real possibility of slavery in Kansas, a prospect anti-slavery advocates had deemed preposterous in recent months. Three days before the first publication of "Call to Kansas" in the East, the *Register* reported, "The greatest safety for the Union, and the truest interest of the north, lie in continued, systematic, and determined resistance to all plans for the further propagation of slavery" ("[The greatest safety]"). Several weeks later, on March 8, the paper featured an article on the Ohio Emigration Association. Although timing and interests overlapped, the newspaper did not print Larcom's poem. Similarly, although Portland, Maine's *Daily Advertiser* reported on the formation of a local Kansas League "for the purpose of promoting emigration to Kansas" throughout February and regularly published poetry, "Call to Kansas" is noticeably absent.<sup>7</sup>

Even some newspapers in and near Boston that featured news of the New England Emigrant Aid Company did not print the poem. The *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*—which published multiple poems on a daily basis and wrote favorably of emigration, the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* just one day before "Call to Kansas" began appearing in Boston newspapers—never published the poem. Possibly, Webb did not write to the Boston *Transcript* with news of the prize poem, although that explanation seems unlikely, given the letters he sent to other Boston papers. The *Daily Transcript* of nearby Worcester, Massachusetts did not to print "Call to Kansas," even though contemporaneous articles in the paper expressed ardent support of emigration. On February 21, the Worcester *Daily Transcript* implored:

Now, then, is the time TO DO something, practical, effective, to a good result, for the freedom that we say we love, and clamor about so much. That is the reproach against us, that all our philanthropy evaporates in words. Prove the contrary. We appeal to you, anti-slavery men and women of Worcester County. Make your County [Kansas League] organization effective by your contributions and support. Then will it influence other and larger organizations, stimulating them by its example. ("The Kansas Emigration" [2])

Why these newspapers, and others, did not publish the poem is a mystery, although several explanations are plausible. Papers in border states like Kentucky may not have felt as strongly about mass emigration to Kansas, and newspapers from more rural areas, such

as Sandusky, Ohio, may have been reluctant to encourage emigrants from their own small population base. Some newspapers printed little or no poetry, and the publication of "Call to Kansas" may have been out of place in that regard. In addition, not all abolitionists believed emigration to Kansas to be an effective way to fight slavery. Some abolitionist groups believed that the admission of Kansas as a free territory would do nothing to free slaves in the South. Within newspapers, reporting on the activities of the New England Emigrant Aid Company did not necessarily advocate a stance on the issue as strongly as publication of Larcom's poem might.

The current study makes clear that "Call to Kansas" did not appear as prolifically in the daily and weekly press as previous critics have suggested; the various printings of the poem do, however, develop understanding of the way poems circulated in the press, the politics of reprinting, and the process of re-creation. They also offer insight into the relation of abolitionist groups and leaders in the North. There are no dramatic differences in the nine newspaper versions of the poem, but there are four recurring variants (see Table 2.1).

Date	Newspaper	Kansas/ Kanzas	Webb's Letter	"Nelly Bly"	Truncated Stanzas
February 7	<i>Boston Daily Advertiser</i>	Kanzas	yes	yes	no
February 7	<i>Boston Daily Journal</i>	Kansas	yes	yes	no
February 8	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i>	Kansas	yes	yes	no
February 16	<i>Cleveland Morning Leader</i>	Kansas	no	no	no
February 17	<i>New York Weekly Tribune</i>	Kansas	no	no	yes

February 21	<i>New York Daily Tribune</i>	Kansas	no	no	yes
February 23	<i>Liberator</i>	Kansas	no	yes	yes
February 23	<i>Vermont Watchman</i>	Kansas	no	yes	no
March 10	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	Kansas	no	yes	yes

Table 2.1: Recurring variants in newspaper printings of "Call to Kansas."

The first variant is the spelling of "Kansas." In its first printing in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the poem spelled Kansas with a *z* throughout. Since the literature of the New England Emigrant Aid Company consistently uses the *s* spelling, it is possible that the *Advertiser* preferred the alternate spelling and changed both Webb's letter and Larcom's poem to reflect this preference. Only one other printing, that in the *Vermont Watchman*, uses the *z* spelling. A second variant is the appearance of Thomas Webb's letter preceding the poem. This letter appears only with the three Boston newspaper printings. The *Kansas Herald of Freedom* indicates that the poem is the winner of the competition, but it does not feature the letter nor quote from it. Within Webb's letter are several additional variants. For example, the letters in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Boston Daily Atlas* identify the author as "Miss Lucy Larcom, of Beverly, Mass.," whereas the *Daily Journal* letter identifies her as "Miss Lucy Larcom, of Beverly, in this Commonwealth." Both the *Advertiser* and *Atlas* letters begin "Messrs. Editors," while the *Journal* letter opens, "Mr. Editor." Webb may have introduced these variants himself, if he copied the letter by hand, rather than having galley slips printed and sent to the papers. More likely, the editor of the *Daily Journal* made the changes. The *Daily Journal* printing is the only one to identify the letter and poem as original to the paper. Preceding Webb's letter is the

notice, "For the Boston Journal." The differences between the *Journal* letter and the letter as printed in the *Advertiser* and *Atlas* would seem to support the *Journal's* claim to the material as original to the paper. But as the appearance of "Call to Kansas" in the *Daily Advertiser* that same day makes clear, the poem was not a *Journal* exclusive.

Along with dates of publication in the various newspapers, the appearance or non-appearance of Webb's letter provides clues about the newspapers to which Webb wrote and those that picked up the poem via reprinting. Webb does not appear to have written to William Lloyd Garrison of the *Liberator*, for example. Webb's letter of February 6 was not printed in the *Liberator*, and when the newspaper had announced the poem contest several months earlier, it did so by reprinting from the *New York Tribune*. The September 22, 1854 issue of the *Liberator* had briefly announced, "The Emigrants [sic] Aid Society will pay a prize of \$50 for the best song, to be sung by the Emigrants to Kansas *en route*, adapted to a popular melody, or national tune. Communications to be addressed to Thomas H. Webb, Secretary, at Boston. So says the N.Y. *Tribune*" (151). Webb, then, seems not to have written to the *Liberator* either to announce the contest or the prize. This failure to write may at first appear a peculiar omission by the secretary. In his history of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, published in 1887, founder Eli Thayer sheds light on the mystery:

Every new subscriber to the *Liberator*, every new face in their annual or quarterly conventions, was proof to them of the rapid increase of disunionists; as if every one who reads the flaming poster of the coming

circus is an acrobat! As if every one who witnesses the exhibition is an actor within the ring!

Some friends of the Abolitionists still claim that Garrison and his associates founded the Liberty and Free Soil parties. This claim is the exact opposite of the truth. They opposed both of these parties, and hated their champions more than they hated the slaveholders themselves. They constantly abused every leading anti-slavery man who was not a disunionist. Ample proof of this can be seen in the editorials of the *Liberator* against Horace Mann, Salmon P. Chase and Dr. Bellows. Lincoln, Seward, Wade, Sumner and Wilson were not spared. (Thayer, *The New England Emigrant Aid Company* 11).

As represented by Thayer, the relationship between the New England Emigrant Aid Company and Garrison, the *Liberator*, and disunionist abolitionists was an antagonistic one. Given ideological—and perhaps personality—differences, Thayer likely did not see the *Liberator* as an appropriate outlet for correspondence of the New England Emigrant Aid Company or the poem. That Webb did not correspond with Garrison about the prize contest and to announce Larcom's poem supports this reading. This situation makes the publication of Larcom's poem in the *Liberator*, albeit without any indication that the poem was the winner of the contest previously announced or of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, all the more interesting. It raises questions about the relationships of abolitionist groups in 1854 and 1855 and is worth additional investigation.

Other variants in the printings of the poem are telling as well. Not all printings set the poem to the tune of "Nelly Bly," and in some cases, the final lines of stanzas are abbreviated after the first. If additional printings of the poem emerge, these variants may help develop a circulation route for the poem. Printings that identify the work as set to "Nelly Bly" must reprint from previous appearances that include this information. The *Vermont Watchman*, for example, which includes "Nelly Bly," cannot be reprinted from the *New York Tribune*, which does not supply this information. Similarly, if additional printings of the poem are found in newspapers west of Cleveland, such clues may make it possible to link poems back to the *Morning Leader* version or to develop a more detailed circulation route. Therefore, these various pieces of information can provide clues about how the poem traveled, even though none of the printings cite other newspapers as the source of the poem. Likewise, changes in punctuation and the introduction of spelling errors may provide similar information. The current punctuation and spelling variants stem from the whims and errors of editors and typesetters. None of the variants suggest a purposeful reworking or re-creation of the poem within the newspapers.

The poem was, however, reprinted and re-created in a number of other forms in 1855. The New England Emigrant Aid Company, for example, issued the poem in its pamphlet, *Lays of the Emigrants*. This pamphlet allowed the New England Emigrant Aid Company and supporters of the movement to extend the life of "Call to Kansas" after it had circulated in the press. Copies of the pamphlet were distributed in support of the effort. The copy of *Lays of the Emigrants* held by the University of Kansas, which bears



the inscription, "These papers given to Father by Charles Sumner when Father was about to speak in the House of Reps. on the Kansas question," provides a clue about the readership and uses of the pamphlet (New England Emigrant Aid Company, *Lays of the Emigrants* [cover]). That same year, the words of "Call to Kansas" were set to at least two different musical arrangements, and competing versions of sheet music were issued.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the most obvious re-creation of "Call to Kansas" is the sheet music arranged by E. Ives, Jr., and published by the New York firm S.T. Gordon in 1855. Not only is Larcom's name given incorrectly as "Larcon" in this version, but the poem is titled "The Kansas Call." Words of Larcom's original poem have been altered throughout, and Larcom's five-stanza "Call to Kansas" has been condensed to three. Rather than separate stanzas for the characters of Father and Mother, the sheet music collapses their responsibilities into a single verse. The final stanza of "Call to Kansas" has been excised altogether. In 1855, the poem was reprinted in another form as well: on handkerchiefs for the New England Emigrant Aid Company's recruits.<sup>9</sup> The newspaper and other printings of "Call to Kansas" made the poem so well-known by the late 1850s that the Hutchinson Family Singers included it in the 1858 edition of *The Hutchinson Family's Book of Poetry*, which features "sixty-seven of their most popular songs."<sup>10</sup>

More than twenty years later, on September 15 and 16, 1879, as many as 30,000 people gathered near Lawrence, Kansas to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kansas's settlement.<sup>11</sup> Several times over the course of the two-day event, speakers acknowledged the role poetry played in the battle for Kansas. A poet from the East was even a guest of

honor, seated on the stage for the opening session. The poet was Walt Whitman. Kansas's governor, John Pierce St. John, reportedly acknowledged Whitman and Philadelphia newspaperman J. W. Forney, "friends from abroad" in attendance at the special event, saying, "though it has been many years since the early struggles in Kansas, we have not forgotten that you were our friends, and that with the pen . . . you extended us all the aid in your power . . ." (St. John 32). A variation on lines from Whitman's "Europe, The 72d and 73d Years of These States" even serves as the epigraph for the print record of the proceedings.<sup>12</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier also was invited to attend the event, but the ageing poet declined the invitation because of his health. Though absent, Whittier was remembered multiple times over the two days, including as one of the "men whose activity, and eloquence, and ability in our behalf, made it possible for us to commemorate this day," and his poetry was quoted frequently by speakers. Apparently not invited to the anniversary event, even though the New England Emigrant Aid Company was celebrated throughout, Lucy Larcom appears in a single anecdote from Kansas politician William Hutchinson (not related to the Hutchinson Family Singers), who had emigrated to Kansas in 1855 as a member of one of the Company's parties:

There were songs and peans [sic], written and sung, and our sweetest poets were invoked, to hasten forward the Kansas tide. One of the earliest responses was from the gifted New England poetess, Lucy Larcom. Like campaign songs in a political crisis, I well remember how her well known 'Kansas prize song' thrilled the millions[.] I have not yet quite forgotten all

its prophetic lines. I was so anxious to refer to it here that I wrote to the authoress a few days ago for a copy as I could not find it in any of her published works. She answered that she too, had unfortunately forgotten the most of it, and had kept no copy. She could only give the first stanza from memory, as follows . . . . (78)

The poem that had done more for the actual settling of Kansas than any of Whitman's and had certainly been read by more people than the contemporaneous 1855 publication, *Leaves of Grass*, had, by 1879, been largely forgotten—even by its author. In fact, Larcom never republished the poem, and, to the present day, "Call to Kansas" has been collected in only two anthologies, *Kansas in Literature* (1900) and *Alive and Well Said: Ideas at Wheaton, A Sesquicentennial Anthology* (1984).<sup>13</sup> No single reason explains the burial of Larcom's "Call to Kansas" in literary and historic records. Instead, a number of factors contributed to the poem's being largely forgotten by 1879 and its obscurity since.

That "Call to Kansas" was by a woman probably helped the poem fall into obscurity. Larcom was a fervent supporter of the abolitionist movement, and, writing to Whittier, she expressed her satisfaction at knowing that "words of mine will dwell upon the lips, and strengthen the hearts of the westward-bound pilgrims of freedom."<sup>14</sup> In the same letter, she told Whittier that she had "a great mind to go to Kansas myself; but I don't suppose they are ready for a schoolmistress yet." By the summer of 1856, however, Larcom appeared frustrated about her role, and that of women, in the movement: "We are indeed living in a revolution. It makes me ache to think I am doing nothing for the right,

for *the holy cause*. What can one do? It is not very agreeable to sit still and blush to be called an American woman."<sup>15</sup> Further, Larcom's poetry and beliefs have often been overshadowed by those of her friend and mentor, Whittier.<sup>16</sup> Larcom herself was prone to the same underestimation: not only did she doubt that "Call to Kansas" was actually the best of the pieces submitted to the New England Emigrant Aid Company in 1855, she was "more that [sic] half sure that [it] owed its inspiration to a previously, written one, 'The Kansas Emigrants.'"<sup>17</sup> Twenty-five years later, speaking at the anniversary celebration near Lawrence in 1879, the various politicians, social leaders, settlers, and other public figures rarely mentioned the role women played in the free-soil movement. Four women did address the audience over the two days and another read a poem to the memory of the original settlers. But the frequent acknowledgments and expressions of gratitude for those who had helped secure the future of Kansas were directed to the "grand old heroes . . . and the thousands of more practical men" (Anthony 105). We might read these pronouncements as short-hand for "men and women," except so many of the lists—of poets, political figures, social and cultural leaders—do not mention a single woman.

Characteristics of the poem itself likely also contributed to its later obscurity. Formally, the poem is derivative, as being set to a popular tune required it to be. In addition, the ideas of the poem are not particularly complex. "Call to Kansas" does not treat the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the settlement of Kansas, or slavery with any real degree of sophistication. The poem relies on traditional symbols of New England, and by extension values of New England, to prompt an emotional response. Larcom names the

Kansas emigrants as the heirs of the Pilgrims, and it is up to the emigrants to strike the same spark of liberty in Kansas that the Pilgrims did "on old Plymouth Rock." The poem also relies on a narrative of taming the wilderness familiar to New Englanders. The hero is the yeoman farmer and his family, who domesticate the wild. Calling Father, Mother, Brother, and Sister to Kansas, Larcom enumerates each person's role in the struggle. Father's responsibility is to build the home (fireside and altar-stones) and to have sons who will grow up in freedom. Mother brings with her love, peace, and faithfulness, which will help her cultivate her family as well as the land. Brave Brother's role is to fight the slaveholders. Sister's task, to cultivate the "northern lily / With the southern rose," depicts a more complex reality than the purely Northern sentiment of the rest of the poem. Overall, read on its own the poem is unremarkable in both form and content.

The circumstances surrounding "Call to Kansas" and the purposes for which the poem was written worked against complexity and sophistication; it was unlikely that a poem written for the Kansas emigrants and distributed in the popular press would have been experimental, difficult, or even meticulous in form. The New England Emigrant Aid Company did not, after all, sponsor a literary contest, and the judges did not evaluate the poems exclusively for their literary merit. The Company sponsored, essentially, a propaganda contest, and its judges appraised the poems in large part based on their ability to provoke an emotional response, to recruit emigrants, and to rally popular support for the Company's efforts. By requesting that the poems be set to a popular tune, Thomas Webb and other officials of the New England Emigrant Aid Company sought works that

would have an immediate connection with newspaper readers and that could easily be picked up in song within the home, at meetings, and at emigrant departures. Webb even suggested some tunes to the writers, including "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail to the Chief," and the faster-paced and popular "O! Susannah." Larcom did not take Webb's suggestions, nor did she follow Whittier's example in "The Kansas Emigrants," which he had set to "Auld Lang Syne."

Instead, Larcom wrote "Call to Kansas" so that it could be sung to the tune of Stephen Foster's 1850 song "Nelly Bly." Foster's "Nelly Bly" was a song about a black servant (not a slave) and is written in what Foster biographer Ken Emerson calls "blackface dialect" (158–159). The tune is important to Larcom's poem in two ways. It implicitly, if problematically, raises race as an issue. The reference to "Nelly Bly," which did not actually appear with the poem in all of its printings, is the only place that race and black servitude enter "Call to Kansas." Although the New England Emigrant Aid Company formed in order to prohibit slavery in Kansas, discussion of slavery and abolition rarely figure in the Company's literature.<sup>18</sup> Larcom's decision to set her piece to "Nelly Bly" may have been based purely on the popularity of the song and its upbeat and happy melody. Although it did not have the patriotic heft of "The Star-Spangled Banner" or "Hail to the Chief," "Nelly Bly" offered something more important. As Larcom and the New England Emigrant Aid Company judges realized, "Call to Kansas" had the potential to recruit emigrants and garner support for the cause. It could provide an appropriate send-off from Boston, and emigrants could sing the words en route to Kansas to lift

morale and remain steadfast. The simplicity of "Call to Kansas" and Larcom's choice of "Nelly Bly," which placed formal limits on the piece, were important for the poem and its cultural work in 1855, but they made the poem appear unremarkable in later years.

In order for "Call to Kansas" to garner support for the Aid Company and the free-soil movement and to recruit emigrants, the poem had to circulate quickly and reach as many readers as possible. When Webb announced "Call to Kansas" as the winner of the contest just five weeks before the first 1855 party left from Boston for Kansas, the poem had a relatively short amount of time in which to help build momentum for the migration period. If Webb had publicized and published the poem any sooner, the reading public may have forgotten the poem by March. With just five weeks' time, the Emigrant Aid Company could not rely on the monthly press as the primary outlet for "Call to Kansas." Instead, as Webb surely realized when he wrote to the "principal journals," the success of the poem—and to a certain extent the beginning of the 1855 emigration season—depended on the daily and weekly press. The newspapers helped the poem reach out to potential settlers and foster a sense of solidarity among those who supported the efforts of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and similar organizations. By the time emigrant parties started leaving from Boston in March of 1855, the poem had already made its way to Cleveland and Lawrence, and "Call to Kansas" likely contributed to the large size of the year's first Boston-Kansas party, which departed on March 13.

During the major migration period, the poem started appearing in other forms as well, including in *Lays of the Emigrants* and on handkerchiefs.<sup>19</sup> The poem became an

anthem to mark the start of the journey and offer encouragement along the way.

Scrapbooks of Thomas Webb at the Kansas State Historical Society record at least two instances of the singing of "Call to Kansas" by parties leaving from Boston, and Miriam Colt recalls members of her party singing the song more than two weeks in to their journey.<sup>20</sup> In order to recruit emigrants in the late winter and spring of 1855 and to comfort them on their journey, "Call to Kansas" had to be printed on lightweight and easily circulated materials. These included newspapers, pamphlets, and handkerchiefs. Ephemeral objects in the best of circumstances, in the hands and pockets of emigrants crossing the country and new settlers establishing homes on the plains, such material items could easily meet indecorous ends. Once again, the very qualities that were central to the poem's cultural and social function and that contributed to its success in 1855, worked against the longevity of the poem.

### **Research and Methodology**

For scholars, newspapers share and amplify challenges presented by other periodical forms—uneven access to materials, for example—and they present unique challenges of their own, including the sheer quantity of material, both physical and textual. Extensive runs of original print issues are rare, and they are typically located in select archival collections. For obvious reasons, these items do not circulate and access to them is unequal. Microfilm reproductions have preserved newspapers that may no longer exist in any other form and have increased access to the materials. But microfilm reproductions are always lossy surrogates, and for newspapers the dissipation of



signifying features—words, size, quality of paper—can be especially profound. Relatively recently, electronic databases have emerged as a way to revolutionize access and to enable new kinds of research, but they privilege certain kinds of research as well as particular understandings of the value of newspapers for scholarship. The project of tracing the publication history of Larcom's "Call to Kansas" in order to understand more fully the relationship of newspapers and poetry therefore also offers an opportunity to examine critically research methods for studying newspapers, including the use of electronic databases, facsimile reproductions, and archival materials.

Proprietary databases are valuable tools for scholars. At the same time, they present a number of new research pitfalls, and humanities scholars must be knowledgeable about these resources in order to understand the incomplete picture they construct. Having originally located "Call to Kansas" in the *Boston Daily Atlas* using Gale's *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers* database, I continued my research with the database as well as with Proquest's *Historical Newspapers* and *American Periodicals Series Online*. Although each database allows users to read newspaper issues to some extent—it is possible to read complete newspapers using *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers* if one can successfully navigate to the right screen, while the Proquest databases require the user to recombine issues from distinct pages—the important feature of these databases for the current chapter is the ability to search thousands of pages simultaneously. For each database, I performed a series of fifteen keyword searches, all constrained to the year 1855:

<b>Search Criteria<sup>21</sup></b>	<b>19th-Century U.S. Newspapers Results</b>	<b>Historical Newspapers Results</b>	<b>APS Online Results</b>
kansas AND poe*	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i> printing	unrelated articles	unrelated articles
kansas AND poe*	<i>Vermont Watchman</i> printing	none	unrelated articles
larcom	none	none	"Call to Kansas" in the <i>Liberator</i> and several other Larcom works published that year
"call to kansas"	none	none	<i>Liberator</i> printing and <i>Liberator</i> annual index
"call to kanzas"	<i>Vermont Watchman</i> printing	none	none
call AND to AND kansas	none	unrelated articles	<i>Liberator</i> printing and unrelated articles
call AND to AND kanzas	<i>Vermont Watchman</i> printing (Larcom is misspelled "Landon" in this printing)	none	unrelated articles
nelly bly	Ezekiel Cheever poem on Kansas emigrants to the tune of "Nelly Bly"	advertisement	unrelated article
kansas AND song	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i> printing and other poems	unrelated articles	<i>Liberator</i> printing; Almira Seymour's "Song of the Kansas Emigrant"; unrelated articles
kanzas AND song	<i>Boston Daily Advertiser</i> printing	none	unrelated article
yeoman	none	unrelated articles	<i>Liberator</i> printing and unrelated articles
song AND liberty	none	unrelated articles	<i>Liberator</i> printing and unrelated articles
plains AND liberty	none	unrelated articles	unrelated articles
kansas AND call	none	unrelated articles	<i>Liberator</i> printing and unrelated articles

kansas AND call	Vermont Watchman printing	none	Liberator printing and unrelated articles
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Table 2.2: Keyword searches and results for three databases, *19th Century U.S. Newspapers*, *Historical Newspapers*, and *American Periodicals Series Online*.

Each query was a full-text search. Therefore, whether the phrase "call to kansas" (or "call to kanzas") appears as the title of an article or somewhere within an article, all relevant articles should have been returned in the results. Search criteria using the AND operator, such as "call AND to AND kansas" (without quotation marks), should have returned all articles in which all of the words appear, regardless of proximity and order. The search "call to kansas" yielded one instance of the poem from *APS Online*, a printing from the *Liberator*. It did not, however, return the *Daily Atlas* printing of the poem, even though the title of Larcom's poem given in the paper is "Call to Kansas." Similarly, searching for "call AND to AND kansas" (without quotation marks) returned only the *Liberator* printing. This search as well should have returned the *Daily Atlas* printing, but it did not.

All of the databases support various wildcard replacements, including the use of a question mark internally in a word to replace a single character. For example, searching for "kan?as" (without quotation marks) should return articles in which there are words composed of a *k*, followed by an *a*, followed by an *n*, followed by some letter, followed by an *a*, followed by an *s*, such as *kansas*, *kanzas*, *kanvas*, and so on. This form of wildcard searching worked well in the Proquest databases. Although *19th Century U.S.*

*Newspapers* lists the question mark as one of three supported wildcard operators, the database returned an error message that required exiting the database in order to resume

searching. Therefore, and in order to describe more specifically the results of the searches—which form of the word returned which results—I eliminated the use of the question mark as a wildcard and instead searched individually for the known variations, *kansas* and *kanzas*. (Newspapers and other texts often used the variant spelling "Kanzas" in 1855.) Both "call to kanzas" and "call AND to AND kanzas" (the latter without quotation marks) returned the *Vermont Watchman* printing of the poem, but neither returned the *Boston Daily Advertiser* printing, where the poem is titled "Call to Kanzas," just as it is in the *Vermont Watchman*. Searching by criteria keyed towards the title therefore uncovered two additional instances of the poem, those in the *Liberator* and the *Vermont Watchman*.

Expanding search criteria to include Larcom's name, repeated words in the poem, and words common to the three identified printings produced telling results. Surprisingly, searching for the string of characters "larcom" returned a single result in only one database, *APS Online*, which again returned the *Liberator* printing of the poem. Like the previous search based on the poem's title, this one also missed the *Boston Daily Atlas* printing, which gives Larcom's name in two places, both in the article introducing her poem and as a byline following the title of the poem. Nor did the search return a result for the *Vermont Watchman*, but Larcom's name is given incorrectly in that newspaper as Landon. Searching for the first word of the poem, "yeomen," returned only the *Liberator* printing, missing the *Watchman* and *Atlas* versions. Surprisingly, searching for "plains AND liberty" (without quotation marks) returned no relevant results, even though the words each appear in the poem five times. Searching for "song AND liberty" (without

quotation marks) yielded slightly better results: this combination returned the *Liberator* printing but missed the *Atlas* and *Watchman* printings and failed to match on any new results. Searching for "kansas AND song" (without quotation marks), however, returned a fourth new result, a printing of the poem in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* from February 7, 1855. In this printing, the earliest of those located, the poem is titled "Call to Kansas," is indicated as being by Lucy Larcom, and is set to the tune of "Nelly Bly." Every stanza ends with the lines, "We'll sing upon the Kansas plains / A song of liberty!" The *Advertiser* printing is nearly identical to the *Atlas* printing, except for the newspapers' different spellings of Kansas. Accounting for this difference in spelling, many of the searches should have returned the *Advertiser* printing, and yet the only successful search was the one that included words from the title of the article in which the poem is printed, "The Kansas Prize Song." Indeed, all of the searches should have returned results that they did not.

This problem is a result of the accuracy of the optical character recognition (OCR) process and the technologies used to generate the underlying text on which the databases search.<sup>22</sup> The accuracy of text generated via optical character recognition can fluctuate greatly, depending on a number of variables, ranging from the state of the original and microfilm versions to the effectiveness of the algorithms used in the OCR process. Newspapers are some of the more difficult objects on which to perform optical character recognition. The state of a print original, whether used directly for OCR or to create a microfilm copy affects the accuracy of the text derivation process. Folds, smudges, stains,

and torn, deteriorating, or missing pieces of the newsprint can greatly decrease the accuracy of the generated text, as do the technical specifications to which microfilm and digital copies are produced. So can fundamental qualities of the newspaper, including small typeface, difficult fonts, and the column layout. Recent studies by librarians have found that accuracy rates of electronically translated text for newspapers range from nearly 99% word accuracy, *when the electronically generated text has been manually corrected*, to 68% character accuracy, which translates to a word accuracy of less than 10% for a six-character word, such as "Kansas" or "Larcom."<sup>23</sup> To put these numbers in further perspective: "Call to Kansas" is comprised of 282 words—not counting the title, author information, or any other text that precedes or follows the poem in various printings—and 1,533 characters (individual letters, punctuation). If the character accuracy of the underlying electronically translated text is 68%, only 1,042 of the 1,533 characters will have been correctly recognized. Nearly 500 will have been incorrectly translated, meaning that potentially none of the poem's 282 words will have been transcribed correctly.

Although Proquest makes OCR accuracy information available for its *APS Online* database, it does not indicate whether the accuracy levels of 70% to 99.95% are at the word or character level, nor does it make such statistics available for its *Historical Newspapers*.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, Gale does not provide accuracy information for *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers*. Overall, the accuracy rates of *APS Online* are certainly higher than those for either of the newspaper-only databases, in part because the titles included in

*APS Online* are generally texts for which optical character recognition is less problematic. It is worth noting that for the *Liberator*, a publication represented in both *APS Online* and *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers*, searches of *APS* consistently returned Larcom's poem in the *Liberator* (with a single exception), but *no* search of *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers* returned the *Liberator* printing.

A lack of disclosure and clarity about OCR accuracy is not limited to proprietary databases, however. Significantly, the technical guidelines for the National Digital Newspaper Program, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress, do not specify what OCR accuracy rates are required for the program, despite very particular specifications for other aspects of the digitization process.<sup>25</sup> In fact, there currently is no agreed-upon standard for OCR accuracy within libraries or for scholarly digital projects, let alone for proprietary resources, although librarians do study OCR as a process and evaluate the effectiveness of OCR methods on an ongoing basis. This lack of a standard can lead to dramatic variations in accuracy and confusion about how accuracy is measured and reported. For libraries, the current situation can make it difficult to evaluate costly proprietary databases. For humanities scholars, the lack of a standard makes it difficult to assess one's own digital projects as well as the comprehensiveness and accuracy of one's research using others' resources. Therefore, the process of digitization has an impact on research before a scholar even begins a project. Humanities scholars must understand the process, its advantages and disadvantages, and adjust research methods to ensure the resources are doing as much as

they can for our work. We should become more savvy with search criteria and explore the search functionality of databases.<sup>26</sup> If the underlying texts are too problematic, however, sophisticated search techniques will provide a sense of control that is more psychological than actual.

Scholars also must question and qualify the results of this research. Because the databases seem to yield immediate, quantifiable results, humanists sometimes fail to question the results and fail to bring our interpretive powers—the core of our work—to treat the results in sophisticated ways. Instead, the results are seen simply as transparent data. Early in *Seeding Civil War: Kansas in the National News, 1853–1858*, for instance, historian Craig Miner writes, "The *New York Herald* alone had by 1858 published 4,042 articles and 653 editorials on Kansas in the four years since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (22). Miner explains the source of these statistics in an endnote:

These statistics come from a search of the electronic version of the *New York Herald*. The *Charleston (S.C.) Mercury* for the period contained 1,380 Kansas articles; the *Washington (D.C.) National Era*, 2,022; the *Boston Liberator*, 1,466; the *Boston Independent*, 908; the *New York Daily Times*, 5,214; the *Hartford Daily Courant*, 3,391; the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1,947; and the *Columbus Daily Ohio Statesman*, 1,844. (255 n.4)

Presumably, Miner used *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers* for his *Herald* statistics, since the newspaper is included in the database and allows users to delimit results by type, including article, editorial, illustration, and advertisement. The rest of the statistics likely



also come from searches of electronic databases, although the source(s) cannot be determined with the provided information. In light of the complications raised thus far, Miner's numbers are problematic because of the certainty with which they are given—4,042—and the lack of information about how they were obtained. Miner's endnote requires of the reader a familiarity with "the electronic version of the *New York Herald*," even though there is no resource known as "the electronic version" of the paper. Further, access to *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers* is not universal and in fact remains fairly exclusive, limited to institutions with the resources to pay for the database. The obliqueness of the endnote and the exclusivity of resources make it difficult, and in some cases impossible, for scholars to follow-up on Miner's work. Also troubling is the intellectual weight the statistics are given, particularly because, as my examples have shown, there is no real certainty with these databases, and there is no indication of how the results were obtained. For example, did an item count as an article on Kansas if it included the word Kansas? Did Miner search for variant spellings of Kansas? Did he rely on the database's categorization of items as either articles or editorials? Further, how are others to find this information for themselves? Specifically, what resources were used, and how were the numbers obtained? This information may seem to go beyond what humanities scholars have had to provide in the past, but it does not. Rather, providing such information is analogous to providing readers with proper edition information and page numbers, or the location of manuscript material, in more standard bibliographical references: What information do I, as the reader of a critical book or article, need to know

if I want to confirm or consider a quotation in its original, a spelling, or some other piece of evidence for myself? Although a brief digression, this example returns to a fundamental point borne out by the current project: humanities scholars must understand these resources—including details about the text-base/electronic corpus, search terms and parameters, and OCR accuracy—in a sophisticated way and supplement, not replace, traditional research tools and methods with digital technologies.

Therefore, despite their impressive number of digitized issues and titles, electronic databases cannot replace—though they can and should supplement—other forms of research. For this project, the electronic databases proved a useful starting point and returned four printings of the poem in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, *Boston Daily Atlas*, *Liberator*, and *Vermont Watchman*. The combination of accounts of "Call to Kansas" in secondary texts and the potential for error in the databases, however, suggested that there were additional newspaper printings of the poem. When the New England Emigrant Aid Company's secretary, Thomas Webb, introduced Larcom's poem as the winner of the prize contest, he wrote that he had announced the opportunity "a few months since" in "the principal journals of the day." Probably, Webb wrote to the same "principal journals" with his announcement of the prize poem, and it seems likely that many would have then printed the poem. Unfortunately, Webb's letter provides no further information about what qualified a newspaper as a "principal journal." Since the letter appeared with Larcom's poem in two Boston newspapers, the *Daily Advertiser* and *Daily Atlas*, and the New England Emigrant Aid Company's headquarters were in Boston, Webb probably wrote to

other Boston newspapers as well. And Webb almost certainly wrote to the leading national abolition papers. I therefore consulted bound facsimile editions of the *National Era* (Washington, D.C.) and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York, New York). Although *APS Online* includes the *National Era* and earlier searches should have returned a result if the poem appeared there, confirming this nonappearance seemed prudent. Unsure of possible discrepancies between cover dates and for-sale dates of the paper, I examined issues of the *National Era* through the end of May 1855 to accommodate possible post-dating. Although the *Era* published Webb's first letter soliciting poems in the October 5, 1854 issue, the paper did not print Webb's subsequent letter announcing the winner or Larcom's poem, even though Webb, in all likelihood, again wrote to editor Gamaliel Bailey. Whether Webb similarly wrote to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* is not clear. Neither of his letters, nor Larcom's poem, appeared in the *Standard*.

The literature of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, including contemporaneous documents and histories of the Company from later in the century, offers additional clues for locating printings of the poem. The documents include *Nebraska and Kansas: Report of the Committee of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Co. with the Act of Incorporation, and Other Documents* (1854); *Articles of Agreement and Association, of the Emigrant Aid Company* (1854); *History of the New-England Emigrant Aid Company, with a Report on Its Future Operations* (1862); *The New England Emigrant Aid Company and Its Influence, Through the Kansas Contest, Upon National History* (1887); and *A History of the Kansas Crusade Its Friends and Its Foes* (1889).

Despite significant detail in other areas, including efforts to recruit emigrants, none of the documents mention the contest, Lucy Larcom, or the poem. In fact, with the exception of its appearance in the New England Emigrant Aid Company's *Lays of the Emigrants*, Larcom's contribution is all but erased from histories of the Company as represented in its own materials. The literature does, however, make clear the important role newspapers played in the work of the Company, first as the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and then as the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Company founder Eli Thayer met personally with *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, and the *Tribune* published frequent columns in support of the organization and the free-soil movement. According to Thayer, in late May of 1854, he

called upon Horace Greeley and set forth the plan [of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company] in all its details. The matter was entirely new to him, and made a most favorable impression on his judgment. He unhesitatingly gave it his heartiest support, and entered into the scheme with great enthusiasm. The *New York Tribune* of May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1854, contained a lengthy account of the organization and purpose of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, with the charter and report of the committee, printed in full. (*New England Emigrant Aid Company* 20–21).

This first article "was followed by a series of powerful editorials" in which Greeley supported the the Company and promoted the founding of similar organizations throughout the North. Several months later, at the time the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid

Company reorganized as the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the *Boston Advertiser* promoted the Company's plans (Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company 28–33). This information helps to explain the appearance of the poem in the *Boston Advertiser* and provided a clue to an additional printing in the *New York Tribune*. With this information and a microfilm copy of the newspaper, I located "Call to Kansas" in the *New York Weekly Tribune* of February 17, 1855, a fifth instance of the poem.

From here, I shifted my research to a wider canvassing of newspapers. I began with seven newspapers available locally as microfilm copies: the *Charleston Mercury*, *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), *Louisville Daily Courier*, *New York Daily Times*, *New York Herald*, *Oregon Statesman* (Oregon City, Oregon Territory), and the *Semi-Weekly Courier and New York Enquirer*.<sup>27</sup> In some of the papers, news of Kansas and popular sovereignty frequently appeared, yet Larcom's poem did not. Nor did any discussion of the poem or other poems that could be seen as responses to "Call to Kansas." In other of the papers, Kansas was all but absent, and the major stories focused on the Crimean War, the success of the Know Nothing party in recent elections, and more local news. None of the seven newspapers featured Larcom's poem.

I then turned to *Chronicling America*, the public interface for the National Digital Newspaper Program, which allows users to search the full text of digitized newspapers from 1880–1922 by state, newspaper, and keyword; a directory of newspapers provides key information about all known newspapers published to the present day, whether digitized or not. The directory can be searched by state, county, city, date range, keyword,

frequency (daily, weekly, semiweekly, etc.), and language, as well as for papers from specific ethnic and labor groups, among other criteria. For my project, the directory and date search would be most useful for identifying relevant newspapers, but they proved problematic almost immediately. First, the date search can be performed only at the decade level. The results returned by my search included newspapers that may have stopped publication after 1850 but prior to 1855 and those that started publication after 1855 but prior to 1860. Searching for all English-language newspapers published between 1850 and 1860 yielded nearly 17,500 results.<sup>28</sup> Results can be sorted by relevance (but how relevance is computed is not clear), state, title, and date. Sorting by date orders newspapers by first year of issue, in chronological order, with the first results those for which beginning date information is unknown. Eliminating these newspapers for pragmatic reasons, including the fact that if date information is not known for a paper there is little chance that a significant run of a paper would be available for research even if it did exist in 1855, cut approximately 5,400 results from the list.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, eliminating newspapers that began publication in 1856 or later cut approximately 3,700 additional results, bringing the total number of records to around 8,400. In an initial round of interlibrary loan inquiries, I requested the *Boston Herald*, *Boston Post*, *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, *Kansas Pioneer*, *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, and the *Springfield Republican*. In the end, I received only a single newspaper from interlibrary loan. Whereas much of my research so far had depended on computer technology, including databases and electronic catalogs, the next step had to be archival research.

As the premier repository of print issues of American newspapers, particularly newspapers up to the Civil War, the American Antiquarian Society was a logical choice for archival research. Using the American Antiquarian Society's card catalog, I examined the library's newspaper holdings records in a way that the Society's online catalog, and most electronic library catalogs, do not facilitate. For newspaper research, electronic versions of institutional catalogs often fail to provide the most important information, notably complete lists of all newspapers in a collection, constrained by some criteria such as date or location, and date information at significant levels. Sometimes institutional finding guides provide this information, such as that currently underway at the American Antiquarian Society for post-1820 newspapers, but detailed finding guides are far less common than electronic catalogs.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps even more fundamentally, electronic catalogs require researchers to search for items, rather than offer the ability to browse for newspapers. Searching requires that the researcher know a feature of a specific newspaper, usually the title. But what if a scholar is not looking for a specific newspaper, or the qualities that are important to the scholar are not available to be searched? In my own case, I had only a range of dates, and this information could not be searched in the online catalog in a productive way. Further, by the time a researcher knows the information necessary to find a newspaper in a particular institution's electronic catalog, the dates that are most important are those for which the institution has holdings, not a start and end year for the publication. Yet, electronic catalogs typically cannot search fields for dates of specific holdings, and this information can be buried within the record.

In short, there are some aspects of research that simply cannot be replicated with current digitization practices. Using the card catalog, I could process mentally some types of information much more quickly than I would have been able to uncover the same information with a computer-aided search, which only allows users to query fields that the designers have deemed useful and for which data has been supplied. This data does not always correspond in content or functionality to information in a card catalog or to the types of information researchers are interested in searching and/or viewing. To begin with, the Society's card catalog for newspapers is physically and intellectually separate from its other card catalogs. In the electronic catalog, all periodicals are collapsed into the "serials" category. Any search for newspapers, therefore, also will return magazines and journals that meet the search criteria. In addition, in current electronic catalogs, searches cannot be constrained so as to return results for a three-month period of time, for example newspapers for which a library has holdings for February–April 1855. In contrast, the card catalog has convenient tabular cards for many of the newspapers that clearly set out the Society's holdings according to newspaper, year, month, week, and day. These tabular cards supplement cards with complete bibliographic and holdings information. Therefore, while investigating the card catalog, often I had only to ask myself whether the boxes for February, March, and April were checked on the 1855 card for a given title, and I could then list the newspaper for reading or set it aside. This simple algorithm (if x do y else do z) takes only seconds for the brain to compute looking at the card catalog, but there is no useful way to get this same information out of the online



catalog without coming to the online catalog with some necessary piece of initial information. The card catalog allows for exploratory work and crucial research that no search or browse currently enables in online catalogs. Duplicating the more robust information of the card catalogs in electronic catalogs is certainly not impossible, but doing so will take resources and the redesigning of software, including at the back-end where the data is stored and at front-end retrieval interfaces.

With the card catalog, I identified approximately seventy-five newspapers—primarily daily papers—for which the American Antiquarian Society had significant holdings for 1855, and I examined issues of twenty-five papers: the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*; *Baltimore Sun*; *Boston Daily Courier*; *Boston Daily Journal*; *Boston Evening Transcript*; *Boston Herald*; *Chicago Daily Times*; *Daily American Organ* (Washington, D.C.); *Daily Commercial Register* (Sandusky, Ohio); *Daily Free Democrat* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin); *Daily Journal* (Wilmington, North Carolina); *Daily True Delta* (New Orleans, Louisiana); *Daily Union* (Washington, D.C.); *Kansas Herald of Freedom*; *Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, Connecticut); *Morning Leader* (Cleveland, Ohio); *New Orleans Daily Picayune*; *New York Daily Tribune*; *Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania); *Philadelphia Public Ledger*; *Portland Daily Advertiser* (Portland, Maine); *Portsmouth Daily Chronicle* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire); *Tri-Weekly Kentucky Yeoman* (Frankfort, Kentucky); *Worcester Daily Journal*; and *Worcester Daily Transcript*. For all papers, I examined available issues from February 6 through April 30, 1855. As before, I included papers from diverse geographic areas and of diverse

political and ideological viewpoints. Certainly it was unlikely that "Call to Kansas" would be printed in many of these papers, but it was possible that Southern, Democratic, and pro-slavery papers would have engaged the poem on some level or published their own poetic responses to the Kansas question. In addition, I focused on Boston newspapers and included newspapers from cities that emigrants may have passed through on their way to Kansas, such as Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis. Ultimately, I located the poem in four of the twenty-five papers: the *Boston Daily Journal*, *Cleveland Morning Leader*, *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, and the *New York Daily Tribune*.<sup>31</sup>

These four printings contributed to the total nine identified printings of Larcom's "Call to Kansas" in various daily and weekly, local and national newspapers. I uncovered printings in electronic databases, microfilm reproductions, and original print issues (see Table 2.3).

Date	Newspaper	Format	Collection
February 7	<i>Boston Daily Advertiser</i>	electronic	<i>19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers</i>
February 7	<i>Boston Daily Journal</i>	print	American Antiquarian Society
February 8	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i>	electronic	<i>19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers</i>
February 16	<i>Cleveland Morning Leader</i>	print	American Antiquarian Society
February 17	<i>New York Weekly Tribune</i>	microfilm	University of Nebraska–Lincoln
February 21	<i>New York Daily Tribune</i>	print	American Antiquarian Society
February 23	<i>Liberator</i>	electronic	<i>American Periodicals Series Online</i>
February 23	<i>Vermont Watchman</i>	electronic	<i>19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers</i>

March 10	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	print	American Antiquarian Society
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Table 2.3: Identified 1855 newspaper printings of "Call to Kansas," with format and collection information, in chronological order.

The several research strategies have their strengths and weaknesses. Although working with original print issues is ideal, most institutions do not have significant print holdings and traveling to research libraries with major collections can be cost- and time-prohibitive. Further, the current state of electronic catalogs can mean that researchers may not be able to know, from a distance, how much of a repository's collections might be relevant. Microform reproductions remain an affordable alternative to working with original print issues, and interlibrary loan is a tremendous resource. Microform research, however, requires the scholar to know specific newspapers to request, and finding a newspaper in *Chronicling America* or WorldCat does not ensure that an institution will be willing to loan the item.

Alternatively, electronic technologies have the potential to increase access to resources in various ways and at little up-front cost to the individual researcher. Even if searching electronic databases can ultimately take as much time—in my experience, they rarely cut research short—the work can often be done early in the morning, late at night, and on weekends, times when research libraries tend to be closed. In addition, databases instantly and dramatically increase the number of primary texts that a library can make available to its patrons. These databases, however, are extremely expensive. The University of Nebraska–Lincoln libraries paid one-time fees to Proquest and Gale of \$83,062 and \$47,250, respectively, for *APS Online* and *19th Century U.S. Newspapers*.

*APS Online* carries an annual maintenance fee of \$2,600, and *19th Century U.S.*

*Newspapers* costs an additional \$1,323 annually (Johnson, "Subscription Information).

Further, in their current implementation, newspaper databases have the danger of seeming comprehensive and exhaustive while actually offering an incomplete and sometimes

incongruous picture. Gale, for example, markets *19th Century U.S. Newspapers* as:

compelling and comprehensive . . . provides access to approximately 1.7 million pages of primary source newspaper content from the 19th century, featuring full-text content and images from numerous newspapers from a range of urban and rural regions throughout the U.S. The collection encompasses the entire 19th century, with an emphasis on such topics as the American Civil War, African-American culture and history, Western migration and Antebellum-era life among other subjects. ("About the Product")

Although potentially powerful tools, such databases are not as exhaustive or accurate as their marketing materials may suggest.

At this point, the burden is on the individual scholar to explore and question, not simply use and cite, these tools. We must shift our thinking about what these databases can and cannot do. Even in research libraries with impressive collections, we rarely, if ever, expect completeness. And just as physical texts can go missing from shelves, electronic texts can be difficult to retrieve, especially if we do not know how and where to look and often even when we do. The vocabulary of the two environments—print and

electronic—can lead us to see our work in each in different terms: we do research in a library, and we search a database. We do not actually understand the two in such a simplistic binary, but "research" carries with it a sense of repetition, active engagement, and thoroughness for which the scholar is responsible, while "search," particularly with regard to databases, seems a more passive engagement; technology delivers answers or results rather than objects for interpretation. As scholars, however, we must question our searches and the results they produce. Then our searching will approach research standards. Such meticulous research is crucial to the study of nineteenth-century newspapers, whether a scholar wants to cite newspaper articles as evidence or study newspapers, and their poetry, as a form.

### **Conclusion**

Traditionally, two works published in 1855 have dominated discussion of American poetry of that decade. The works, the first edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, are important to American literary history in different ways. Longfellow's epic was a bestseller, moving more than 38,000 copies in its first year. As a result, Angela Sorby has described the reading of *The Song of Hiawatha* in 1855 as a moment of "national simultaneity" in the nineteenth-century United States (4). In addition to momentous sales, the poem spawned imitations and parodies, and Longfellow was asked to recite from the piece for the rest of his life. In the postbellum years, *Hiawatha* became standard reading in American schools, and children are still likely to encounter it as part of their elementary education. Scholars,

however, have been less positive in their assessments of *The Song of Hiawatha*, in part because the poem's representations of Native Americans and its message of civilization are so problematic and because modern poetry ultimately followed Whitman's example. Although *Leaves of Grass* sold perhaps a handful of copies in 1855, we understand it now as a revolutionary text and, in the words of Whitman scholar Jerome Loving, as "the central literary event of the nineteenth century" (178). Between these two extremes are many other poems and histories worth exploring. As Susan Belasco has documented, a number of well-known poets published books in 1855, including William Cullen Bryant, Alice Cary, and John Greenleaf Whittier (185). Many lesser-known writers, among them the Southern poets Paul Hayne, A.B. Meek, and Elizabeth Lawrence, also published books of verse the same year.<sup>32</sup> Thousands of individual poems appeared in the periodical press over the course of the year, including Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" in newspapers that winter.

The benefits of opening up discussion of poetry in 1855, indeed of poetry in the nineteenth century, are profound. As this sustained exploration of "Call to Kansas" demonstrates, studies that are broader (extended beyond the typical handful of works) and at the same time narrower (focused on a particular text) have the potential to affect the understanding of the individual work, of book history, and of the larger body of American literature. Returning to Larcom's "Call to Kansas," as it was published and circulated in newspapers in 1855, develops the story of a poem frequently cited but never explored; demonstrates the important role poetry had in the lives of nineteenth-century Americans,

including in the lives of political leaders like Charles Sumner and in the lives of average men and women like Miriam Colt; and highlights the role of the newspaper in the circulation of ideas, including poetry, and the role of both in nineteenth-century social and political discourse. Further, projects like this one, which examine works outside the scope of the canon and methods of publication beyond the book, offer important opportunities to reflect on research practices and the implications of these practices for literary history.

<sup>1</sup> For details on the founding and activities of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, see Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company; Emigrant Aid Company; New England Emigrant Aid Company; Thayer, *The New England Emigrant Aid Company and Its Influence*; Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade*; Barry; Carruth; Etcheson; Harlow; Hickman; Samuel A. Johnson; Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State*; Miner, *Seeding Civil War*; SenGupta.

<sup>2</sup> Recent work also has examined the goals and beliefs of the larger free soil movement. See SenGupta and Etcheson.

<sup>3</sup> The precise relationship between the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* and the New England Emigrant Aid Company is not entirely clear. According to Samuel A. Johnson, the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, "though privately owned and published, was virtually a Company organ" (89). Miner believes that "it was generally understood that the paper was the organ of the Emigrant Aid Company" (*Seeding Civil War* 86). The literature of the New England Emigrant Aid Company expresses the Company's interest in running a newspaper: "At the same time, it is desirable that a printing press be sent out [to Kansas], and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company's agents:— would extend information regarding its settlement, and be from the very first, an index of that love and freedom and of good morals, which it is to be hoped may characterize the State now to be formed" (Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company 7).

Johnson claims that the Herald of Freedom was published in Kansas for the first time on January 1, 1855. My research suggests, however, that the first Kansas issue of the weekly was that of Saturday, January 6, 1855.

<sup>4</sup> The announcement appeared in the October 5, 1854 issue of the *National Era*. Webb's letter to the editor of the *Era*, Gamaliel Bailey, is dated September 18, 1854. The *Kansas Herald of Freedom* for October 21, 1854 also includes an announcement of the prize contest, but it does not reprint Webb's letter in its entirety. See "A Prize Song."

<sup>5</sup> According to Barry, the 1855 records of the Company detail nine emigrant parties that departed from Boston in 1855. These parties departed Boston on March 13, March 20, March 27, April 3, April 10, April 17, April 24, May 1, and May 8. The first party had as many as 200 people, with the trips from March 20 through April 24 comprised of 157, 84, 115, 80, 64, and 8 individuals, respectively. The party of May 1 was comprised of seventeen individuals and that of May 8, only fifteen. A tenth party, which departed Boston on July 24, is not detailed in the trustees' records, but Barry reconstructs the trip from a letter written by the party's guide, Edward P. Fitch, written on August 11, 1855. Twenty people set out for Kansas as part of this tenth group of settlers.

The first history of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, written by members of the Company, corroborates these statistics, although there is a small discrepancy as to the date of departure for the second party: "Our first party of 1855 left Boston on the 13<sup>th</sup> March. It numbered about two hundred persons,—men, women, and children; and arrived in Kansas City, 24<sup>th</sup> March. On the 24<sup>th</sup> March, a party of a hundred and fifty-seven set out; on the 27<sup>th</sup> March, a party of eighty-four; on the 10<sup>th</sup> April, one of eighty; and on the 17<sup>th</sup> April, one of sixty-four. And from April to July there were sent by



us, in different parties, some fifty persons" (New England Emigrant Aid Company 10).

<sup>6</sup> For information on travel time, see the records of the various 1855 parties reprinted in Barry.

<sup>7</sup> See "Kansas Meeting," "The Kansas Meeting," and "Kansas."

<sup>8</sup> See E. Norman, Jr., and Ives, Jr.

<sup>9</sup> Mentions of the handkerchiefs appear in several places. See Addison, 62 and Francis, BR336.

<sup>10</sup> See Asa Hutchinson.

According to historian Scott Gac, the Hutchinson Family Singers are "one of the greatest musical acts in American history" (18). The siblings—Abby, Asa, James, and Judson—played an important role in antebellum reform movements, including the antislavery movement.

<sup>11</sup> Hubach cites attendance figures of 25,000 to 30,000, as reported in the *Kansas City Mail* of September 16, 1879. See also Lewis, "'Beautiful Bismarck'." Lewis estimates the attendance at the old settlers' meeting at over 25,000 "on a single day."

<sup>12</sup> As the epigraph to *The Kansas Memorial*, the lines read:

Not a grave of the murdered for Freedom  
But grows seeds of a wider Freedom,  
Which the winds carry afar and sow,  
And the snows and the rains nourish

In the *Kansas Memorial* printing, the line breaks do not follow those in any of Whitman's published versions of the poem, and someone—perhaps Whitman, who apparently sent the verse while on his way to Colorado—has made "seeds" plural and introduced the word "wider" in the second line. The order of words in the fourth line has also been revised from "the rains and snows nourish" to "the snows and rains nourish." In "Walt Whitman in Kansas," Hubach incorrectly attributes the lines to the 1850 version of the poem, "Resurgemus."

<sup>13</sup> See Carruth; Austin and Budd. I have not located other anthologies that include the poem. Monographs and journal articles occasionally cite stanzas of the poem.

<sup>14</sup> Lucy Larcom to John Greenleaf Whittier, 22 February 1855. See Shepard, 502.

<sup>15</sup> Lucy Larcom to John Greenleaf Whittier, 2 June 1856. See Shepard, 506.

<sup>16</sup> For more on Larcom's reputation and critical reception as well as her relationship to Whittier, see Addison; Shepard; Ernest, Jr.; Marchalonis, "A Model for Mentors?" and *The Worlds of Lucy Larcom*.

<sup>17</sup> Lucy Larcom to John Greenleaf Whittier, 22 February 1855. Shepard, 502.

<sup>18</sup> For more on this point, see Etcheson.

<sup>19</sup> A number of sources mention these handkerchiefs but none appear to survive in libraries or museums.

<sup>20</sup> See Barry and Colt, 31.

<sup>21</sup> The searches are not case-sensitive.

<sup>22</sup> For more details on the OCR process, see Schantz; Klijn; Holley; Powell and Paynter; Tanner, Munoz, and Ros.

<sup>23</sup> For accuracy rates of OCR text generation for newspapers, see Klijn and Holley. Arlitsch and Herbert explain the computation of word accuracy from character accuracy in "Microfilm, Paper, and OCR: Issues in Newspaper Digitization." To compute word accuracy from character accuracy, the character accuracy in decimal form is raised to the  $x$  power, where  $x$  is the number of characters in a word. The result is then multiplied by 100 to return a percentage. In Arlitsch and Herbert's example, they have a character accuracy of 98%, and they want to compute the word accuracy for a five-character long word. The equation, therefore, is  $(.98^5) * 100$ , which equals a word accuracy of 90.4%. To determine the word accuracy of a six-character long word in a scenario where the character accuracy is 68%, the equation is  $(.68^6) * 100 = 9.9\%$ .

<sup>24</sup> Proquest provides accuracy rates for *APS Online* as part of its information on the source microform materials used for the database. See Proquest, "The Microform Collections."

<sup>25</sup> I have consulted "Technical Guidelines for 2010 Awards," as prepared and published by the Library of Congress.

<sup>26</sup> For the current project, I tried a variety of searches, including using the fuzzy and proximity search features of the databases, wildcards, and even misspellings.

<sup>27</sup> It is far less likely that Larcom's poem would have appeared in Southern newspapers, but parodies or rewritings of the poem may have appeared in the Southern press, or the papers may have taken up the Kansas cause in their own newspaper poems. Similarly, I did not limit my search to newspapers of particular political or ideological affiliation in either the North or South, expecting that some of the more interesting printings and discussions of the poem might appear in newspapers which espoused quite different beliefs than those expressed in the poem.

<sup>28</sup> Searching for all English-language daily newspapers published between 1850 and 1860 yielded more than 780 results. I did not, however, limit my searching to daily newspapers since the goal of this chapter was to find as many newspaper printings of Larcom's poem as possible, in order to study how the poem, first published in daily papers, traveled in the newspaper press.

<sup>29</sup> Since there is no way to filter results within *Chronicling America*, I simply sorted the results by date and found the first page of results for which beginning date information was known.

<sup>30</sup> Another important question is whether newspapers receive the kind of treatment they should in finding guides—whether they are represented in finding guides at all, and when they are, whether the kinds of information that makes finding guides useful is included.

<sup>31</sup> Although I did not find the poem in some newspapers where I expected I would, none of the papers in which I did find the poem came as a surprise. I anticipated finding the piece in additional Boston newspapers. Similarly, Cleveland was on the southern route for New England emigrants headed to Kansas, and Ohio was itself a source of several emigrant organizations. Further, I was certain the poem had to be in the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, even though my searches of *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers*, which includes the paper, had not uncovered the poem. Finally, given the appearance of "Call to Kansas" in

the *Weekly Tribune* and Greeley's support of the cause, publication of the poem in the *Daily Tribune* seemed likely.

<sup>32</sup> See Hayne, *Poems*; Meek; Lawrence.

### Chapter 3

#### Newspaper Poetry and the Civil War

This chapter examines newspaper poetry written and published during the Civil War through a case study of ten daily newspapers and their representations—poetic and otherwise—of one of the most volatile periods of the conflict, roughly the first half of 1863. The year began with President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and several of the war's most famous battles and campaigns, including those at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg, occurred during the spring and early summer of 1863. During the same period, conscription acts were passed in the North and South, and draft riots ensued, with the most infamous taking place in New York City. Daily newspapers mediated these experiences for readers in the Union and Confederacy and provided the first history of the war; significantly, that history was often a literary history. Therefore, this project asks the question: what can we learn when we no longer ignore the more than 100,000 poems that appeared in the periodical press, many of them unique and a majority of them published in daily newspapers, from 1861 through 1865? On a most fundamental level, the poems illustrate the pervasiveness of poetry in the daily lives of nineteenth-century Americans, who understood that poetry, although sometimes exploited, could perform many social functions, not just meet certain literary criteria. This chapter expands our understanding of the kinds and variety of poems published in daily newspapers, of authorship in the nineteenth century, and of the history of poetry in

American literature. With implications for newspaper and journalism history, this case study illustrates the circulation of poems and newspapers during the Civil War. It also models the transformation of newspapers during the war, as evidenced by shifts in the kind of poetry they published. Ultimately, I argue that the Civil War helped to bring about the end of original, local, community- and socially-directed newspaper poems—poems written, published, and distributed through the daily press and poems that inherently depend on the newspaper for their cultural distribution and work. Such poems began to disappear as a national focus and national community became the priority of the metropolitan daily paper. Affected by modern journalism and reporting, cultural expectations about newspapers and the roles of poems in newspapers began to shift. The comparative absence of these poems in daily newspapers, the most frequently-read texts in nineteenth-century America, surely affected the development of American literature after the Civil War, which shifted toward an emphasis on fiction.

With more than 380 daily newspapers in existence in 1860 and more than 570 in 1870, any study of poems in the daily press during the Civil War cannot be exhaustive, even when dealing with a period of time as short as six or seven months.<sup>1</sup> A careful and representative sampling of the larger corpus, however, should begin to raise the major issues and compelling test cases, suggest patterns and highlight deviations, and prompt further research; all are steps toward developing the history of the relationship between poetry and the daily newspaper during the Civil War and in the nineteenth-century United States. This study looks at ten daily newspapers from geographically diverse areas of the

Union and Confederacy: the *Boston Evening Transcript*, *Charleston Mercury*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), *Memphis Daily Appeal*, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, *New York Herald*, *New-York Tribune*, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, and *Vicksburg Daily Whig*. The papers were published in the national capitals, Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia; major cities, including Boston and New Orleans; smaller, less populous cities like Vicksburg and Memphis; and strategic military locations and battle sites.<sup>2</sup> The newspapers represent a variety of daily papers available in the 1860s, a transition period in the history of the daily press. The *New York Herald*, for example, continued to typify quintessential features of the penny press, while the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* was an official political party newspaper. The *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* embodied a more elite and literary tradition. The ten newspapers resist neat categorization, however. Given the realities of the war, shifting reader demands, and technological advancements, rigid, older newspaper forms were no longer adequate.<sup>3</sup> With their unique and overlapping characteristics, the *Transcript*, *Mercury*, *Plain Dealer*, *National Intelligencer*, *Daily Appeal*, *Daily Picayune*, *Herald*, *Tribune*, *Daily Dispatch*, and *Daily Whig* together offer a compelling sample for the current case study. For each of the ten papers, I have examined available issues from January 1, 1863 through August 31, 1863. Although the battle at Gettysburg (July 1–3) and the fall of Vicksburg (July 4) mark the close of the historical period under investigation for this study, I have read the newspapers through the end of August in order to cover the news cycle of the two events, back-to-back Union victories considered turning points in the

War.

### **Existing Scholarship**

Poetry written during the Civil War years, particularly poetry of the War, has been frequently anthologized since 1861, but it has received relatively little critical attention.<sup>4</sup> The fact that this literature has been so frequently anthologized and yet so fundamentally ignored by critics is a seeming paradox, but a paradox that fits an all too familiar paradigm of American literary studies. Poetry written about the war was immensely popular, and readers supported a vibrant market for anthologies of the poems, many of which they first read in newspapers and magazines.<sup>5</sup> Partly a result of the poems' very popularity and market value, scholars and cultural critics considered them unworthy of scholarly attention for more than one hundred years. From the 1860s through the 1950s, virtually no serious scholarship treated the poetry written during the Civil War as a body of literature. Single authors, including Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, and William Gilmore Simms, were singled out for study, but their poetry was by-and-large either (a) set up in contrast to all of the other poetry produced during the period, without sustained discussion of the *other* poetry; or (b) ignored in favor of discussion of their prose, in the cases of Melville and Simms. Then, in the latter-half of the twentieth century, critical understanding of the literature of the Civil War—poetry, fiction, and nonfiction—as a body of literature was shaped by Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* (1962) and Daniel Aaron's *The Unwritten War* (1973).

Remarkably, Edmund Wilson devotes only forty of his 800-plus pages to the

poems of the Civil War, and a number of those forty pages deal with poems produced before and after the conflict. According to Wilson, "The period of the Civil War was not at all a favorable one for poetry. An immense amount of verse was written in connection with the war itself, but today it makes barren reading." He offers John Greenleaf

Whittier's Civil War poems as prime evidence:

Though he is sometimes a genuine poet in such of his New England pieces as *Skipper Ireson's Ride* and *Snow-Bound*, he wrote innumerable newspaper pieces, nowadays rarely read, which are simply a department of his political campaigning. It was Whittier's habit to produce a poem in connection with every public event in which the issue of slavery was involved, and this work is today more interesting for its chronicle of the incidents that set him off, as recorded in his prefatory notes, than it is for the merits of the poetry. It would *perhaps* be incorrect to call his propaganda versifying claptrap, because Whittier was not a crackpot and not a demagogue: he was nothing if not an earnest evangel; but today it has become repellent, for it is bigoted and as full of clichés about Freedom and Massachusetts and God as any collection of political speeches. . . . The Southern planters are always violating or lashing their female slaves. And the supposedly peace-loving Quaker God, when the North shall have won its victory, will show Himself complaisant with His favorites . . . .

(471, emphasis added)



Through his criticism of Whittier, Wilson devalues the poems of the Civil War, and he attacks periodical poetry in particular. He concedes that such poems may have "documentary power," but most, he contends, possess no "literary power" (466, 467–469). Wilson's assessment is based on New Critical preoccupations with aesthetics and form as the key criteria of evaluation, but he does not consider that the "innumerable newspaper pieces" require certain formal and aesthetic conventions and preclude others. In addition, one of the core functions of the newspaper poems is the documentary journalism that Wilson at best relegates to a minor category and at worst disregards altogether. Wilson is harshest on the poems he sees as "patriotic journalism" and vociferously partisan. Both the war and journalism were partisan, however. The more nuanced and literary poems Wilson celebrates, such as those by Whitman, were published after the war and in different forms. Writing occasional and newspaper poems, Whittier would not have been operating under the formal or ideological assumptions by which Wilson assesses his work. In fact, the countless occasional or public event poems written by hundreds of individuals would have been in keeping with the formal and ideological conventions of the daily newspaper and newspaper poetry, as well as the shared cultural assumptions of the nineteenth-century newspaper-reading public. These facts do not make the poems literary masterpieces, but they do mean that the poems should not be casually dismissed.

Writing eleven years after *Patriotic Gore*, Daniel Aaron argued that "the War more than casually touched and engaged a number of writers, and its literary

reverberations are still felt to this day." His work, however, is an extension of Wilson's, not a revision, as Aaron ultimately determines that, "with a few notable exceptions," "writers, the 'antennae of the race,'" failed "to say something revealing about the meaning, if not the causes, of the War" (xviii–xix). Aaron does acknowledge Whitman as one of the "notable exceptions," but throughout *The Unwritten War*, he is far less interested in poetry than in various prose genres, including fiction, biography, and memoir. The implicit argument is that the Civil War was especially unwritten in terms of poetry.

In recent years, several articles and book-length studies have begun to challenge the literary history offered by Wilson and Aaron. Indeed, nearly all of this current scholarship is explicitly set in contradistinction to, and as a correction of, the accounts given in *Patriotic Gore* and *The Unwritten War*. As part of these critical reexaminations, the poetry of the period has received relatively significant attention. For example, Aaron and Wilson regard the apparent cultural commodification of creative output during the Civil War as grounds for dismissing most of the literature published between the springs of 1861 and 1865. They fail to see the ways in which this literature participated in the culture's working through of the complex ideas surrounding the war. In *The Imagined Civil War*, however, historian Alice Fahs argues that the degree to which literature became a commodity during the Civil War is itself a valuable area for study and shapes how we approach the literature. Responding to Aaron and Wilson, Fahs argues, "Yet looked at from a different set of angles, popular war literature *is* revelatory. The very fact

that war poetry, for instance, was often 'concocted' for the market should alert us to the complex synergy between patriotism and commerce during the war. Its existence also reminds us that the Civil War took place within a larger Victorian culture, both north and south, which valued poetry as part of significant public events" (15). Beginning from a much different methodology and ideological view than Wilson and Aaron, Fahs's study opens up a massive body of work for literary and historical scholarship, as her use of myriad popular culture materials demonstrates. Similarly, Faith Barrett, Ellen Gruber Garvey, Meredith McGill, Cristanne Miller, Franny Nudelman, Eliza Richards, Timothy Sweet, and others have expanded both the scope of items to be studied as Civil War literature and the perspectives we bring to these materials.<sup>6</sup>

Efforts to revise our understanding of Civil War literature, including poetry, have tended to focus on literature published in periodicals and the role of periodicals in shaping literary culture, and with good reason. While this strategy has proven central to complicating, if not dismantling, Wilson's and Aaron's models for evaluating and understanding the poetry of the period, it warrants complication of its own. Notably, studies of periodical literature and the Civil War often fail to distinguish between periodical forms, including daily and weekly newspapers, story papers, illustrated papers, monthly magazines, and even broadsides, as well as between local or regional and national publications. Ready to accept and champion the very different sets of modes, authors, and values of the literature published in periodicals versus that published as books, scholars still tend to generalize across periodical forms. This collapsing of

boundaries suggests that all periodical forms function in the same way, have the same goals, and that poetry and other genres published within them participate uniformly across periodical type. In short, it suggests that all periodicals and the literature published in them do the same cultural work. When expressed as a view of periodicals, few would agree with such a blanket statement; prevailing methodology, however, suggests otherwise. In our treatment of periodicals, our methodologies, and our conclusions, scholars must do more than simply acknowledge rhetorically the multiplicity of periodical forms and content. Therefore, this chapter investigates one of the most significant forms of poetry from the period, poetry written for and published in daily newspapers. This focus on newspaper poetry and the daily paper contributes to our understanding of American poetry and literature of the Civil War years and to our understanding of the changing daily newspaper of the 1860s.

### **Newspaper Context**

In the beginning of 1863, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, *Charleston Mercury*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Daily National Intelligencer*, *Memphis Daily Appeal*, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, *New York Herald*, *New-York Tribune*, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, and *Vicksburg Daily Whig* ranged in size and price from just over two cents to ten cents per issue, with individual issues ranging from two to twelve pages (see Table 3.1). The largest of the newspapers—and the newspaper with the largest circulation—the *New York Herald*, cost three cents per issue, and issues ranged in size from eight to twelve pages. Triple sheets of twelve pages became more common as the year wore on.

The eight-page *New-York Tribune* also cost three cents per issue, as did the four-page *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*. The *Daily National Intelligencer*, of Washington, D.C., was a four-page newspaper throughout 1863, available at the price of ten dollars per year (or a little more than three cents per issue). The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* cost seven dollars per year (approximately two and a quarter cents per issue), for a daily of four pages. The four-page New Orleans *Daily Picayune* cost six and a quarter cents per issue, as it had since 1837. Although the paper maintained its four pages through August of 1863, the *Daily Picayune* was significantly smaller than the twelve-page issues it had published prior to the outbreak of the war. In January of 1863, the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* published two-page issues Monday through Friday and four-page issues on Saturdays, with no paper published on Sundays. By the beginning of April, however, all issues were only two pages long. At the same time that the *Daily Dispatch* decreased in size, its price began to rise dramatically. In January of 1863, subscriptions to the *Daily Dispatch* were available at eight dollars per year, five dollars for six months, three dollars for three months, or one dollar per month. In April, the annual price rose to ten dollars and the six-month subscription to six dollars. In May, prices again increased, this time for all subscription categories: yearly subscriptions now cost twelve dollars, while the six-month subscriptions were eight dollars for six months, three months were available for five dollars, and monthly subscriptions rose to two dollars. By the end of August 1863, the *Dispatch* ran twenty dollars per year—more than double its price at the beginning of the year—ten dollars for six months, and six dollars for three months. One-month

subscriptions were still available for two dollars. The per issue price therefore ranged from roughly two and a half cents to six and a half cents. The *Charleston Daily Mercury*, typically a two-page paper in 1863, also doubled in price from January through August. The *Daily Mercury* cost five cents per issue in January of 1863 and ten cents per issue by August. The *Vicksburg Daily Whig*, at two pages per issue, cost eighteen dollars per year (or approximately seven cents per issue). The most expensive of the newspapers, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* cost ten cents per issue of two pages until the middle of August 1863, at which time the price doubled to twenty cents per issue.

Newspaper	Frequency	Pages/issue	Price/issue <sup>7</sup>
<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	4	3 cents
<i>Charleston Daily Mercury</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	2–4	5–10 cents
<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	4	≈2.25 cents
<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	4	≈3.2 cents
<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	2	10–20 cents
<i>Daily Picayune</i>	6 days/week (no Monday)	4	6.25 cents
<i>New York Herald</i>	7 days/week	8–12	3 cents
<i>New-York Tribune</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	8	3 cents
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	6 days/week (no Sunday)	2–4	≈2.5–6.4 cents
<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	5 days/week <sup>8</sup>	2	≈7 cents

Table 3.1: Comparison of daily newspapers: frequency, length, and price.

Daily newspapers in the southern United States had cost more than their northern counterparts long before the Civil War, largely as a result of overall higher prices in the South. Compounded by the scarcity of essential newspaper-printing materials—paper, ink, type—the already higher cost of materials soared during the war (Emery and Emery

167). Not surprisingly, the price of three of the Southern newspapers surveyed rose dramatically following the capture of Vicksburg, and another had already folded. The scarcity and cost of materials, affected by events of the war, account for the major discrepancies of size and price between the newspapers in the Union and those in the Confederate States, as well as the fluctuations in size and price of the Southern papers.

Unlike frequency and price, circulation numbers were not advertised in newspaper issues under normal circumstances and are therefore more difficult to ascertain. Circulations of the ten newspapers, however, appear to have ranged from a low of 550 to a high of 77,100 in 1860 (see Table 3.2).

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Circulation<sup>9</sup></b>
<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	TBD
<i>Charleston Daily Mercury</i>	550 (1860)
<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	TBD
<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	TBD
<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	1,824 (1860)
<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12,000 (1860)
<i>New York Herald</i>	77,100 (1860)
<i>New-York Tribune</i>	55,000 (1860)
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	8,000 (1860)
<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	TBD

Table 3.2: Circulations of the ten newspapers in 1860.

During the war, circulations fluctuated in response to various factors. Following major battles, for example, the *New York Herald's* daily circulation could surpass 100,000 papers (Douglas 57). At the opposite end of the spectrum, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* printed only 500 papers per day in 1864.<sup>10</sup> This significant decrease of more than two-thirds in the *Daily Appeal's* daily print run was likely related both to the scarcity of paper in the South as well as to the *Daily Appeal's* nomadic existence following the fall of

Memphis in June 1862.<sup>11</sup> Based on the current case study, the presence of original, local poetry in the pages of a paper appears tied to circulation. Of the newspapers studied, the newspapers with smaller circulations were from cities with smaller populations. These newspapers tended to publish more original, locally-oriented and socially-engaged poetry, even if they published fewer poems overall. As I discuss later in this chapter, the function of the daily newspaper as a community text is central to this relationship between population, circulation, and original, local newspaper verse.

### **Overview of Poems in the Newspapers**

Reading these ten newspapers from January 1 through August 31, 1863, I have cataloged more than 720 occurrences of poems.<sup>12</sup> If the ten newspapers I have selected are representative of the daily press of the period, this evidence means that the more than 380 daily newspapers in print would have included more than 27,000 occurrences of poems from January through August 1863.<sup>13</sup> I use the phrase "occurrences of poems" to make clear that neither the 720 cataloged nor the 27,000 estimated poems were all unique or different poems. In the newspapers surveyed, approximately 620 of the poems appeared a single time only, and 41 of the poems appeared two times—either twice in the same newspaper or one time each in two different newspapers. The most frequently reprinted poem of those surveyed, "Is This a Time to Dance?" appeared, unsigned, in three of the ten newspapers: the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* (January 31, 1863), the *Daily Dispatch* (March 7, 1863), and the *Memphis Daily Appeal* (May 4, 1863). Indeed, of the approximately 720 total occurrences, more than 300 were unsigned, including cases



where the same poem was unsigned in one publication but signed in another (the former counts as an unsigned occurrence and the latter as a signed occurrence).

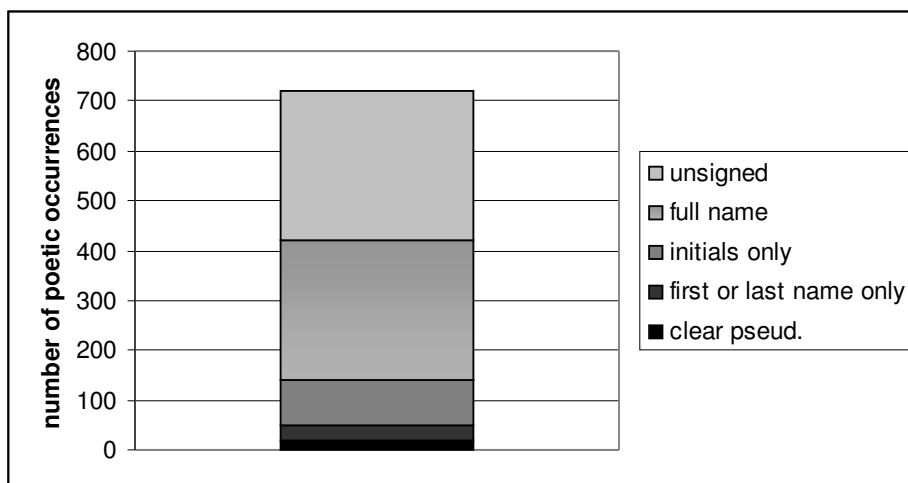


Table 3.3: Approximated number of poetic occurrences by attribution (unsigned/no attribution; full name; initials only; first or last name only; clear pseudonym).

Approximately 280 of the poems were signed with apparently full names, although an unknown percentage of these were undoubtedly pseudonyms; approximately 90 were signed only with initials; another 30 or so were signed with first or last names only; and the approximately 20 remaining were signed with clear pseudonyms, such as "A. Young Rebelle" (see Table 3.3). A fraction of the pseudonyms can be attributed to real-life analogues, such as "Asa Hartz" for George McKnight, or "Hosea Biglow" for James Russell Lowell.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the 300 unsigned poems, the remaining 420 are by nearly 260 distinct authors. Even though some poets, including William Gilmore Simms, William Cullen Bryant, Alice Cary, George H. Boker, and Cleveland poet Jennie Bisbee, appear multiple times—eleven, six, five, four, and four times, respectively—many of the

authors, whether A.S., G.S.H., Harriet Beecher Stowe, or Louisa May Alcott, are marked by single poetic occurrences. For as many as two-thirds of the poems, including most of the three hundred unsigned works, authorship may never be known. In fact, the anonymity of the poems is even greater today than it was in 1863. In 1863, some of the pseudonyms and initials would likely have had immediate significance in their local communities, particularly those in the smaller newspapers publishing original verse. In other cases, even unsigned poems may popularly have been known to be by a newspaper's editor or a local writer. I do not want to overstate the significance of attribution for nineteenth-century readers, who accepted anonymity as part of their reading culture, but we naturally have lost some of the information readers of the ten newspapers would have had about authorship in 1863. More of the poems are figuratively anonymous today, whether unsigned or signed with pseudonyms, initials, or even full names. This literal and figurative anonymity of poems published in newspapers has certainly contributed to their dismissal in the author-centered study of American literature and culture.<sup>14</sup>

Written by an array of authors—probably a greater array than we imagine—the poems represent a wide range of subjects and forms. They found their way into newspapers in diverse ways, and they served a variety of purposes. Poems frequently appeared within larger articles. In some articles, the poems themselves were the main topic of discussion, as with the poem "Is that Mother?," which was published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on February 28, 1863, within an article providing the

purported history and background of the poem. In other articles, poems were used to provide documentary evidence. On June 23, 1863, for example, a correspondent of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* published "[Jeff Davis rides a white horse]" and "[Yankee Doodle took a saw]" as proof of the "utter loathing and contempt Yankee occupation has inspired." To support his claim, the correspondent cited the response of two girls, four and six years old, who were requested by "a Yankee officer" to "'say some poetry'." One replied with "[Jeff Davis rides a white horse]":

Jeff Davis rides a white horse,  
 Lincoln rides a mule;  
 Jeff Davis is a gentleman,  
 And Lincoln is a fool. ([1])

The other "volunteered a new version of Yankee Doodle." In yet other articles, poems were included as part of a full summary of a public event, which had featured a poetry reading or song.<sup>15</sup> Not all poems were published within larger articles, however. Poems also appeared in advertisements hawking products from flea powder to "plantation bitters."<sup>16</sup> And poems memorialized loved ones in the "death notices" columns of newspapers. These poems included original pieces written by family members and friends, poetic variations of biblical passages, and what appear to be standard mourning verses.<sup>17</sup> In these different forms, the poems served discursive, evidentiary, documentary, marketing, and emotional functions.

In the case of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, the field of poetry looked much

different in 1863 than it had in 1861 and 1862. In April and May of 1861 poems were featured regularly in the newspaper; if they were not published daily, poems appeared within three or four days of one another. In 1863, however, the only poems to appear in the *Daily Dispatch* from January 1 through January 24 were those published within the "death notices" column. From January 24 through March 21, poems appeared once a week, usually in the Saturday issue, the only four-page issue of the week. By the beginning of April 1863, however, all issues of the *Daily Dispatch*, including those for Saturday, were only two pages, a change directly traceable to the *Daily Dispatch's* announcement that it would pay the "highest market price" for "cotton and linen rags, in large or small quantities."<sup>18</sup> Beginning at around the same time, poems became virtually absent from the *Daily Dispatch*. With the exception of two poems featured within the news article on June 23 and several poems in the death notices column, no poems appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* from March 21 through August 31. Excluding the death notice poems, a total of only eleven poems appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* from January 1 through August 31, 1863, and two of these appeared within a larger article. In comparison, nearly sixty poems had appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* in the three months following the outbreak of the war. A potential explanation for the *Daily Dispatch's* lack of poems in the beginning of 1863 and their entire absence after March may have been the decreased size of the newspaper. Some material had to be cut, and it could not be advertisements, which helped to keep the newspaper solvent, nor the telegraphic news for which people were so eager. Even so, the jettisoning of virtually all poetry seems

peculiar, given the *Daily Dispatch's* ready inclusion of verse early in the War, particularly when contrasted with other small, Southern newspapers in which poetry continued to play an important role in 1863.

The *Charleston Mercury* evidences a similar, though less dramatic, change.

Poems had appeared almost daily in the newspaper in 1861 and 1862, but only thirty-six poems, aside from those in advertisements and death notices, appeared in the *Mercury* from January through August 1863. Like the *Daily Dispatch*, the size of the *Mercury* was reduced by half for most issues published in 1863, and its price doubled from January through August. The *Mercury* reprinted poems from other periodicals (e.g. London's *Punch*), but it also published local poets, among them William Gilmore Simms and Henry Timrod, the lesser-known James B. Randall, and one signed "J.H.C." Timrod had published nearly a dozen poems in the *Mercury* in 1862, but his only poem to appear in the paper from January through August 1863 was his poem "Christmas" on January 1; this poem had actually first appeared in the *Mercury* on Christmas day 1862.<sup>19</sup> William Gilmore Simms published at least nine poems in the *Mercury* in 1863: "Do Ye Quail" (June 18), "Our City By the Sea" (June 22), "Rub-A-Dub" (July 22), "Not Doubtful of Your Father Land" (July 29), "Fort Wagner" (August 1), "Beauregard—A Lyrical Ode" (August 3), "Yes, Build Your Walls" (August 4), "The Guerrilla Martyrs" (August 8), "What Though the Sky be Gloom, Boys" (August 26).<sup>20</sup> At least six of the poems, "Rub-a-Dub" "Our City By the Sea," "Not Doubtful of your Father Land," "Fort Wagner," "Yes, Build Your Walls," and "The Guerrilla Martyrs" were first published in the

newspaper; others were likely also first publications.<sup>21</sup> A Charleston native, Simms's poems took on special significance in the newspaper.

Despite Simms's contributions, the number of original poems in the paper declined from April 1861, when nearly every issue boasted a piece written "For the *Mercury*." The reduction of the *Mercury* to two pages as the war escalated, even as readers demanded more news, likely contributed to the overall decrease in poetry in the *Mercury*. Yet the reasons for the decline and apparent expendability of poetry in newspapers are more complex than they first seem. Understanding the complex factors that influenced the presence and participation of poetry in daily newspapers during this period requires an overview of the poetry found in each of the remaining papers from January 1 through August 31, 1863. In some cases, comparative analyses prove most helpful, and in others, specific anecdotes are most illustrative. Nearly all of the newspapers warrant individual essays, but for the current project, I have provided the essential points as briefly as possible.

The Washington, D.C. *Daily National Intelligencer* featured very little poetry in 1863—less even than its counterpart of the Confederate capital, the *Daily Dispatch*. The most noticeable poetic presence in the *Daily National Intelligencer* from January through August was a series of advertising poems for Lyon's Magnetic Flea Powder. The poems changed periodically, with some attention to the seasons, and included "[In summer when the sun is low]," "The Wail of the Flea-Bug," "The Summer Moon was Shining," and "[Moths in furs]." Aside from these advertising poems, only eleven poems appeared in

the *Daily National Intelligencer* through August 31, 1863. Roughly the same as the number of similar poems that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch*, the overall presence of poetry in the *Intelligencer* is less, in part because it did not include memorial poems or poems as part of death notices. Advertising excluded, the poems in the *Intelligencer* ranged from a select few pieces dealing with current events and the war, such as "To Generals Grant and Meade," to a series of sentimental poems by James Cook Richmond.<sup>22</sup> As a whole, of the newspapers surveyed, the *Daily National Intelligencer* featured the least amount of poetry.

At the other extreme, the *Boston Evening Transcript* published poetry at a rate of two or more poems per issue. This standard was set before the war, continued at its outbreak, and remained unabated in 1863. Its treatment of poetry related to the war, however, changed from 1861 to 1863. Prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, poetry appeared regularly, if not daily in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in two places, in the first column of the first page and the first column of the fourth page. The poem on the first page was often identified as "For the Transcript" and was usually longer than the series of several short poems printed on the fourth page, although all of the poems were relatively short. Published under the heading "Brilliant," the poems on page four were typically reprintings of works or extracts of works by famous poets, among them Shakespeare, Sir Walter Scott, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The rationale for their inclusion in the paper is not clear; they were an eclectic blend and were not related to current events, although there seems to have been a shared cultural sense of their "literary

value." Their consistent presence and the amount of space given over to the poems in virtually every issue, however, suggests they served more than a space-filling function.

Interestingly, when poems related to the Civil War began appearing in the *Evening Transcript* in the spring of 1861, they did not appear in the places where readers typically found their poetry prior to the outbreak of the war. Instead of appearing on pages one and four, Civil War poems appeared on page two; pages two and three also contained the major news of the *Evening Transcript*. The Civil War poems on page two were in addition to the poems still printed in their old places, on pages one and four. The "Brilliant" column did disappear for a time, but near the beginning of May 1861, the column reappeared, only this time under the heading "Poetical Selections." Although the poems still tended to be reprinted selections from well-known—often old or dead—poets, some of the material appears to have been selected for its treatment of war, bravery, and other timely themes. The poems in these different places performed different work in the newspaper. This arrangement did not last, however, and as early as June 1861, the *Transcript* resumed its practice of printing poems on pages one and four. These poems varied in their timeliness and relation to the war, and the *Boston Evening Transcript* of 1863 ultimately returned to a pre-Sumter appearance. Even so, between January 1 and August 31, 1863, more than 350 poems were published in the *Evening Transcript*, more than thirty times as many poems as in the *Dispatch* for the same period. Most of these poems were reprinted from other sources, particularly national publications. In fact, reading the *Evening Transcript*, one can gauge the publication date of each month's



*Atlantic* based on when poems started appearing in the paper as "from [the month's] *Atlantic*."

The editors of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, the largest of the Southern dailies in size and circulation, surely read the *Boston Evening Transcript*. On numerous occasions, a poem was reprinted in the *Daily Picayune* as soon as fifteen days after appearing in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. They include "What Was Wanted," which appeared in the *Evening Transcript* on April 21 and in the *Daily Picayune* on May 3; "Outward Bound," published in the papers on April 25 and May 10; William Cullen Bryant's "The Earth is Full of Thy Riches," published in the *Evening Transcript* on May 8 and the *Daily Picayune* on May 31; "Three Ways" on June 2 and July 12; Bryant's "The West Wind" on July 29 and August 13; "The Gift of Flowers" on July 14 and August 14; and "Rest" on July 13 and August 16.<sup>23</sup> Counterintuitively, perhaps, the *Boston Evening Transcript* appears to be the single most important source of poetry for the *Daily Picayune* in 1863. The *Daily Picayune* never identified the *Boston Evening Transcript* as a source for these reprinted poems, although in other cases the paper did attribute work to Boston and New York publications, including the *Boston Post* and the weekly *New York Ledger*. While it is possible that poems shared by the *Evening Transcript* and the *Daily Picayune* traveled a more circuitous path of reprinting between appearances, as is the case with at least one poem, Alice Cary's "My Darling," the frequency of reprinted poems in the *Daily Picayune* and the consistency in the amount of time that passed between the *Evening Transcript's* printing and the *Picayune's* suggests otherwise.<sup>24</sup> Further, following

the capture and occupation of New Orleans in 1862, the editors of the *Daily Picayune* probably had easier access to Northern publications, including the *Evening Transcript*, than those published in unsubdued Confederate areas. In fact, of all of the poems I have cataloged from the *Daily Picayune* in 1863, none are attributed to a Southern newspaper. Overall, poetry was far less common in the *Daily Picayune* of 1863 than it had been in previous periods. The newspaper relied on reprints of poems both new and old. Very few poems were original to the paper, and even fewer dealt explicitly with the Civil War.

In 1863, the *New York Herald*, eight to twelve pages long and the circulation leader of the papers surveyed, was almost devoid of poetry. The paper printed several poems within larger articles covering specific events—the poems were read at these events, and the paper reprinted them as part of their news coverage—as well as several advertising poems. Aside from these poems, and with the exception of a single piece, "Secretary Stanton; or, the Napoleon of the War Discovered at Last," reprinted from the *New York Times* in the *Herald* of August 9, 1863, the only poems published in the daily *Herald* were those featured in forthcoming and recent issues of its weekly edition. These poems stand largely as advertisements for the weekly, and they suggest that poetry had a place in the weekly that it did not in the daily edition. This virtual absence of poetry, newspaper and otherwise, in the *New York Herald* of 1863 is in stark contrast to the *Herald* of earlier decades.

Although the *Herald's* editor and publisher, James Gordon Bennett, and the *New-York Tribune's* Horace Greeley agreed on little, if anything, poetry was nearly as scarce in

the daily *Tribune* as in the *Herald*. Very few of the poems published in the daily *Tribune* during the period appear to have been original to the newspaper. There are a few exceptions, including a poem on the deplorable state of the city streets, "Street Cleaning," and Laura Searing's Howard Glyndon poem, "The Battle of Gettysburg," which was published in the paper on July 25. The other few original works addressed the war and war-time cultural sentiment more broadly.<sup>25</sup> With the exception of "Street Cleaning," the *Tribune* had no room for poetry on other themes, and it had little room for poetry over all, except when a poem was reported in the summary of an event. Reprinted, stand-alone poems appeared about as frequently as original verse—sparingly. As in the *Herald*, the majority of poems published in the *Tribune* were included within news articles, such as two poems, a version of "John Brown's Body" and "Emancipation Hymn for 1863," printed within a piece recounting the "Great Emancipation Demonstration," on January 7. A single poem, J.C. Zachos's "Ode for Emancipation Day, January 1, 1863," reported in an account of New Years' festivities in South Carolina, appeared in both New York papers.<sup>26</sup>

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* blended qualities of some of the smaller and larger newspapers studied. The *Plain Dealer's* circulation was probably near 1,000, in a city of 43,000—it was a Democratic newspaper in a Republican city. Even so, the newspaper did have something of a metropolitan edge, daily announcing that it contained "the latest news and market reports received by telegraph up to the time of going to press, and 30 hours in advance of the New York Dailies." The poetry that appeared in its pages

illustrates this blend of the small and large newspaper. The *Plain Dealer* featured some original verse written exclusively for the paper by local writers, such as Jennie Bisbee's fairly conventional poems on love, relationships, and travel, as well as poems related to the war, including William J. Chapman's soldier poem, "Wounded and Frozen to Death." Formally a Democratic and opposition newspaper, the *Plain Dealer* reprinted from the unofficially democratic *New York Herald* and mocked *New-York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley. The *Plain Dealer's* "The Politician Jim Crow," published April 4, may have been a reprinting of the "The Political Jim Crow," published in a weekly edition of the *New York Herald* within report of a recent meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Since the Knights of the Golden Circle were fairly prominent in Ohio in 1863, it is possible that the *Plain Dealer* had also sent a correspondent to cover the meeting. Framed by the newspaper's copperhead leanings, "The Politician Jim Crow" was more than mere reportage when it appeared in the *Plain Dealer*.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the "Politician Jim Crow," the *Plain Dealer* published several other poems critical of political and cultural policy and leaders. On January 2, it reprinted "Uncle Sam's Tailor Shop," a poem written in "slave dialect," from the *Logan County Gazette*, and on January 20, the paper featured "[Old Abe's a wondrous wag]," reprinted from *Budget of Fun*. And when the *Plain Dealer* featured a stanza from a parody of Poe's "The Raven" published in a recent *Harper's Weekly*, the editor, J.W. Gray, seemed to relish in the inappropriateness of the problematic poem, which includes the lines, "And his lips they have the snigger, / Of a worthless freeborn nigger." Gray viewed the piece, with its "spectral raven with a negro's

head, reposing on the [horrid] bust of Horace Greeley," as "highly suggestive."<sup>28</sup>

Despite the racism and anti-abolitionist, opposition stance of the *Plain Dealer*, the newspaper printed "Down the Dark Yazoo" on April 18, 1863.<sup>29</sup> The poem recounts the history of the United States from the colonial period—which it presents as the moment when the world was "bright and new"—to the then present from a national perspective that transforms into a Union perspective. The poem describes the "hideous crest" of rebellion in a region that had been tremendously blessed with natural resources. In the final stanza, the poem summarizes the Yazoo Pass Expedition and tells how the "graybacks," "from an ugly black redoubt," brought "our 'bluebirds' to."<sup>30</sup> The poem may seem a strange one for the *Plain Dealer*, especially in contrast to the other poems it published. The poem marked the first explicitly war-related poem in the newspaper since January. Possibly, most of the poems about the war and war-related themes that appeared in daily newspapers in the Union did not meet with the approval of *Plain Dealer* editor Gray. Even if poems from the Southern press would have proven more acceptable to the editor and readers of the *Plain Dealer*, procuring newspapers from the South, whether for their news or their poetry, would have been difficult. The editor of a Democratic newspaper in a Union state, the Copperhead or "Peace Democrat" Gray may have also feared suspension of his newspaper. There is no indication that a Northern newspaper was suspended on grounds of incendiary poetry, but the *Plain Dealer* was temporarily suspended in 1865, and any fears of suspension in 1863 would not have been entirely unjustified.<sup>31</sup> Gray, however, surely recognized the popularity of poems related to the

War. In the *Plain Dealer*, the nostalgia of "Down the Dark Yazoo," which celebrates the conquest of Native Americans and the clearing of the wilderness, may have trumped its pro-Union sentiment.

In contrast to the rare appearances of Civil War poems in the *Plain Dealer*, war poems were featured routinely in two Confederate newspapers, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* and the *Vicksburg Daily Whig*. Aside from the death notices and one or two other exceptions in each paper, all of the poems published in the *Appeal* and *Whig* were related to the Civil War. Of the ten newspapers surveyed, the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* is the only newspaper that did not span the entire eight-month period studied, and yet it published more poems than several of the others.<sup>32</sup> Most of the *Whig's* poems were published without indication of their original or reprinted status, but several of the nearly forty poems are identified as "For the Whig." The *Daily Whig* reprinted from a variety of newspapers, among them the *Daily Dispatch* and *Memphis Daily Appeal*. The close proximity of the *Whig* and the *Appeal* for much of the year—the *Memphis Daily Appeal* was published out of Jackson, Mississippi until August—facilitated the sharing of material. "The Defense of Vicksburg," signed R.W.J. when it appeared in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* on February 23, 1863, appeared anonymously just three days later in the *Vicksburg Daily Whig*, on February 26. The *Appeal* published many more poems purported to be written for the paper, as was "The Defense of Vicksburg," than did the *Whig*, but it also reprinted poems from a number of sources, including from newspapers as far away as Montreal and Boston. More often, reprinted poems were attributed to

newspapers such as the *Mobile Tribune*, *Montgomery Mail*, and *Richmond Whig*. Based on the eight other newspapers surveyed, the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* and *Memphis Daily Appeal* may seem unlikely sources for a significant body of Civil War poetry. But the two single-leaf newspapers published in one of the most heavily contested areas of 1863 illuminate important qualities of newspaper poetry in the Civil War and in the nineteenth century.

### **Original Newspaper Verse**

So far, I have provided an overview of what poetry looked like in each of the ten daily papers during the period, the various ways it was brought into the newspapers, what newspapers were invested in poetry, and the diverse ways it functioned—as advertisement, memorial, evidence, entertainment, among them. With this background, I would like now to turn to a discussion of original, local, socially-engaged poems for which the newspaper's form, text, and context are central and crucial to the poems' cultural work. The publication of such poems in newspapers requires specific kinds of writing and establishes specific frames of reading. Therefore, a measure by which we might begin to evaluate this newspaper poetry is the degree to which the poems contribute to the function of the newspaper as a form and the goals of the newspaper, including the newspaper's role as cultural mediator.

Still, literary critics are likely to ask of such original, local newspaper poemms the question that has been rather famously asked of nineteenth-century women's fiction: "But is it any good?" (Harris 42–61). Published in daily newspapers, which increasingly

appealed to broader and broader readerships since the arrival of the penny press in the 1830s, most of the poems are easily read and understood. Most of the poems are not technically innovative or complex in form. The poems are often lyric, with many explicitly titled as sonnets, odes, and songs. Formally, then, the poems tend toward the traditional. Sometimes newspaper poets mastered traditional forms; other times the attempts are cringe-worthy when evaluated from a formal standpoint.

For example, Rema Mayor's "He Does Not Wear the Gray" is not adept from a technical standpoint, but it offers an important social commentary on relationships between women and men in the South during the Civil War. The poem is told from the point of view of a woman who has been courted by a Southern gentleman, who by almost all accounts would make a perfect husband. The narrator cannot marry him, however, because he "does not wear the grey." On a most fundamental level, the seriousness of the subject matter does not fit with the apparent light-hearted tone established with the poem's meter and rhyme: "They say I ought to love him, / That he is very good; / And if he's all they say he is, / I am sure I wish I could" (Mayor 4). The technical failure of "He Does Not Wear the Gray"—its not being very good—is a result of Mayor's failure to combine form and content. Even so, the poem played a social role in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* in 1863, suggesting the duties of Southern women during the war. The poem may have been socially instructive for the very reasons it is not technically successful: the lilting rhyme and meter helped make the poem easy to read as well as catchy.

Not all newspaper poems sacrificed traditional technical mastery, however, as



evidenced by William Gilmore Simms's poems published in the *Charleston Mercury* in the summer of 1863. Simms's "Our City by the Sea" recounts the attempted Northern invasion of Charleston Harbor three months earlier. At one hundred and fifty-six lines long, the poem is much longer than many newspaper poems, and it even looks different than many of the poems on the newspaper page (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The poem is more technically and linguistically complex than perhaps all of the other poems surveyed.

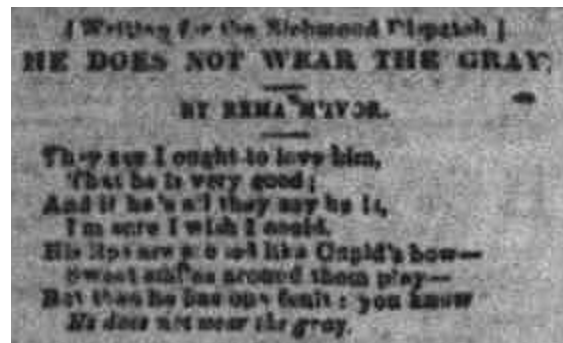


Figure 3.1: First stanza of Rema Mayor's "He Does Not Wear the Gray," as published in the *Daily Dispatch* on March 21, 1863.

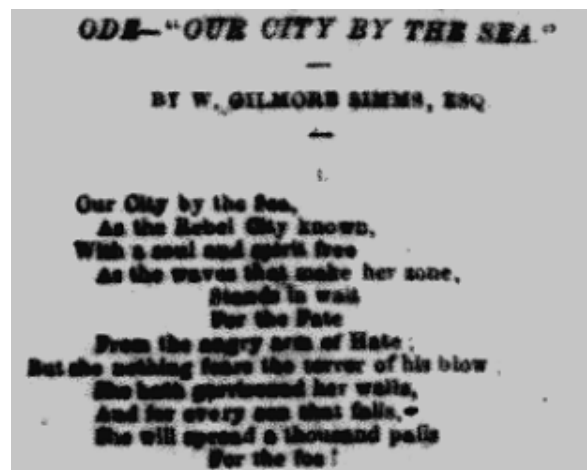


Figure 3.2: First stanza of William Gilmore Simms's "Our City by the Sea," as published in the *Charleston Mercury* on June 22, 1863.

In fact, Simms scholar James Everett Kibler, Jr., describes the poem as "one of Simms's

most intricate poems from a technical standpoint." And although "Our City by the Sea" was later published in the 1866 volume *War Poetry of the South*, edited by Simms, Kibler argues that the *Charleston Mercury* text is "technically superior" to the 1866 text. Kibler therefore reprints the *Mercury* version in his *Selected Poems of William Gilmore Simms*. More important for a newspaper poem, in its retelling of the victory, "Our City by the Sea" would have lifted morale, instilled pride, and rallied soldiers and civilians, who recognized the strategic importance of their city and who must have known that the June battle for Charleston would not be the last. A historian as well as poet, Simms surely hoped that his narrative of the events at Charleston Harbor would become part of the historical record and shape future histories of the event. Other of his poems published in the *Mercury* in the summer of 1873, including the piece "Fort Wagner," attempt the same short- and long-term work. These qualities are more important than Simms's technical mastery for the purposes of the this project.

Simms's "Fort Wagner" appeared in the *Charleston Mercury* on August 1, 1863, during the second battle for Fort Wagner, which had begun on July 18. The battle was the most recent attempt of Union soldiers to take the South Carolina fort as part of the larger plan to capture Charleston. Since the publication of "Our City by the Sea" in June, power had shifted dramatically in favor of the North. Following the major defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the Confederate army needed a strategic and psychological victory at Fort Wagner. Almost certainly in recognition of this need, the *Charleston Mercury* published Simms's "Fort Wagner" less than two weeks in to the battle and three weeks in to the

most recent Charleston campaign. In the poem, Simms uses language of freedom and honor to sanction the fighting; a defeat will surrender homes and property as well as the "dear rights of man." Continuing a theme from "Our City by the Sea," Simms identifies "Fortress Wagner" as the most recent in a series of stalwart South Carolina forts, including Moultrie and Sumter, that will stand in the defense of this freedom. More important than the motive the poem provides is its support and commemoration of the Confederate soldiers. In another echo of "Our City by the Sea," Simms positions the poem as an early history of the event. The poem is intended to bestow "Glory unto the gallant boys who stood" and to "repeat / The legend, which shall grow themes for story" ([1]). Simms acknowledges that many of the soldiers will not be commemorated as individuals; though many will fall with "unrecorded name" and will sleep under "unchisell'd marble," they will "live among the archives of the free." This focus on sacrifice and commemoration in Simms's record of the ongoing battle emerges as a theme in poems by Northern writers who also responded to the events at Fort Wagner in poetry.

A single event early in the Fort Wagner campaign, the death and burial of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw of the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, became a major touchstone for the Union cause in the late summer. In response, the poem "Colonel Shaw," by E.S., was first published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on August 4, 1863, three days after Simms's "Fort Wagner" appeared in the *Charleston Mercury* and approximately two weeks after Shaw was killed at the fort. "Colonel Shaw" is one of the earliest poetic responses to the death and burial of Colonel Shaw.<sup>33</sup> Reprinted in the *New-*

*York Tribune* three days later, the poem probably circulated in the Northern press, but it has escaped study, perhaps because it is a newspaper poem. Contemporaneously published and sharing similar concerns, Simms's "Fort Wagner" and E.S.'s "Colonel Shaw" offer diametrically opposed views of the same event. Together, they evoke the inherent contradictions of the war and represent the larger conflict. The actions at Fort Wagner that Simms portrays as gallant and honorable, E.S. describes as ignoble, unjust, and un-Christian. Importantly, however, both poets are intensely interested in issues of legacy and commemoration. In the case of "Fort Wagner," Simms offers the fort itself as the tombstone and his poem as the epitaph for the uncommemorated Southern dead. Similarly, "Colonel Shaw" responds to the reported facts of Shaw's burial, as announced in a note preceding the poem: "On hearing that the Rebels had buried his body in a trench, under a pile of twenty-five negroes." The act of burying Shaw in a trench with his black soldiers was intended to be disgraceful on two accounts: it treated Shaw, white and of higher rank, as equal to the enlisted black soldiers, and the mass trench grave was anonymous. But just as Simms had symbolically and poetically inscribed the "unchisell'd marble," E.S. figuratively marks Shaw's unmarked grave. In Shaw's case, the "old flag waving" would proclaim "To the whole world that the noble cause he died for / Has nobly triumphed—. . ." ([2]). With their shared concerns presented from different vantage points, the poems by E.S. and Simms on the events at Fort Wagner almost seem to be in conversation with one another—even though each poet appears to have been unaware of the other's work.

Similarly, the poems exist in dialogue with their newspapers. In the case of "Colonel Shaw," in the two weeks from the start of the second battle for Fort Wagner, the *Evening Transcript* had published news of the battle and Shaw's death as well as about the United States Colored Volunteers, and the paper had also encouraged contributions to the Massachusetts Soldiers' Fund. When "Colonel Shaw" appeared in the *Evening Transcript* on August 4, it was published on the same page as accounts of "The Iron-Clads off Charleston" and correspondence from Port Royal, South Carolina. These pieces evoke the ongoing battle at Fort Wagner and relate news from "defenseless Savannah" and the Savannah River, locations central to Union control of the South, as was Fort Wagner. As a newspaper poem, "Colonel Shaw" contrasts effectively with other kinds of poems published in the *Evening Transcript* in 1863, including frequent reprints of published works, such as poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and translations of foreign-language poems. For example, a translator signed "L.H." published several English translations of German poems in the *Evening Transcript* in 1863, including "Think I But On Thee" on March 14. No doubt any work that appears in a newspaper is mediated by the newspaper context, just as the work potentially influences the reading of other pieces within the newspaper.<sup>34</sup> I do not mean to suggest the reprintings of Browning's work or L.H.'s translations are not somehow different when they appear in the pages of a newspaper versus prior book or periodical publications or that they are not in dialogue with other parts of the newspaper in some capacity—they are. Such poems, however, do not inherently depend on the newspaper for much of their meaning and

significance. In studying original, local newspaper verse as a form, the emphasis is not on the myriad ways readers interpreted or editors repurposed the poems, but the ways in which the poems are rooted in the newspaper. Therefore, in investigating newspaper poetry and the Civil War, I am interested in poems for which the newspaper and the poem are integrally related.

Narrowing the focus in this way, a provocative paradigm emerges. The similarities and differences between the poems that I have investigated thus far are not so clear-cut as sectional alliances or economy and the marketplace. The largest of the newspapers (*New York Herald*, *New-York Tribune*, *Boston Evening Transcript*) and the newspapers with the larger geographic or ideological reaches (the New York and Boston papers, along with the *Daily National Intelligencer* and *Daily Dispatch*), contain the least amount of poetry, including original, social poems. Inversely, the smaller, more local newspapers contain the most of these poems, even if they sometimes contain fewer poems overall. The function of newspapers as community and communal texts offers an explanation for this inverse relationship between the size (physical size and circulation) of a newspaper and its poetic content. As press historian Thomas C. Leonard theorizes, "Newspapers demonstrate that one is bound together with a multitude engaged in steady, simultaneous activity, sharing a common culture and symbols. . . . A page of news demonstrates a community by the stories it contains" (30). Advancing Leonard's work, David Paul Nord explicitly connects the building of media with the building of communities. According to Nord, "at the vortex of many collective efforts to build

community or to undermine it has been formal, public, printed communication, including journalism" (2).

From their beginning, American newspapers were understood to be community texts. They were published for specific communities, were read in specific communities, and were interpreted by these communities of readers. Even the actual reading of the newspapers was a communal act; papers were read with others in taverns and reading rooms (Leonard 3–7). In the revolutionary period and in the early republic, newspapers could define themselves in terms of a national community. By 1830, however, the communities by which newspapers defined themselves and the communities they helped to define, became more local. This shift may seem to contradict the goals of the penny press, which sought to appeal to a broader base of readers, but the editors of penny papers understood their newspapers as city papers. This shift corresponds with the larger cultural shift from the national to the state, city, and individual. It also appears to correspond with the apex of newspaper poetry, circa 1835 to 1860, wherein newspaper poems participated in telling the news, providing editorials, supplying entertainment, and forging a sense of local community. During the Civil War daily newspapers reversed this localization and once again began conceiving of national communities. This reversal was pushed by national demand for news of the war in both the United States and the Confederate States and was aided by technological advancements, most notably the telegraph and railroad. Despite differentiating between national communities of the North and South, the increasing heterogeneity of the United States meant that notions of a national community

were much more complicated in the 1860s than they had been in the early Republic. The geographic, temporal, and cultural specificity of much newspaper poetry in the daily press simply did not align with the increasingly national perspectives of the larger newspapers. Instead, national hymns—"Emancipation Hymn for 1863," "Contraband's Hymn," "Hymn for the National Fast, 30th April, 1863," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the "army hymn"—proliferated in the larger papers.<sup>35</sup>

Not only does this relationship between the size and reach of the newspaper and its role within a specific community help to explain why newspaper poetry was so scarce in the larger newspapers, it offers a more compelling explanation for why fewer poems appeared in the pages of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* in 1863 than earlier in the war. Rather than purely an outcome of the newspaper's decreased size, which suggests a general disposability of newspaper poetry, the dearth of newspaper poetry in 1863 stemmed in part from the *Daily Dispatch's* new role as a newspaper with a national reach. According to historian Robert C. Kenzer:

As the wartime city's [Richmond's ] population nearly tripled as it exceeded 100,000 residents and became the national capital, the [Dispatch's] daily message was addressed to an increasingly larger and much more national readership as it now focused its attention not just on local circumstances but featured news about the movers and shakers of the Confederate government and military.<sup>36</sup>

The newspaper needed to publish national, governmental, and military news in a



newspaper half the size of its pre-war self. As materials and currency became more scarce, the *Daily Dispatch* could not cut ads, the only guaranteed source of income, especially if subscribers neglected to pay their bills. Multiple factors thus worked against the presence of newspaper poetry in the *Daily Dispatch*. The shift in emphasis—in community—to the "larger and more national readership" that Kenzer identifies for the *Daily Dispatch*, certainly played a significant role in the marked absence of poetry in 1863. The *Daily Dispatch* of 1863 therefore looks much more like the *Daily National Intelligencer* than the *Charleston Mercury*. In 1861 and much of 1862, the opposite was true. Examination of other newspapers where newspaper poetry thrived, where the poetry and the newspaper performed complementary cultural work, supports this argument.

The *Vicksburg Daily Whig* and the *Memphis Daily Appeal* published the most newspaper poetry of the newspapers surveyed. The *Vicksburg Daily Whig* offers less than half as many issues for study as the other newspapers, since it published at most five issues per week and it ceased publication at the beginning of May 1863, a full four months before the end of period I am studying. The newspaper, however, published more newspaper poetry than all of the other dailies, with the possible exception of the *Memphis Daily Appeal*. As a percentage, approximately 87% of the *Whig's* and 85% of the *Daily Appeal's* poems cataloged for this project likely qualify as newspaper poems. Further research into the first publications of many of the poems is necessary before I can offer a definitive percentage. Comparatively, in the case of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the percentage of newspaper poems is probably in the range of 10–15%, even though the

*Evening Transcript* published more than seven times as many poems as the *Daily Appeal* and more than ten times as much poetry as the *Whig*. In the middle range are the *Charleston Mercury* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

The *Vicksburg Daily Whig* and *Memphis Daily Appeal* emphasized the local over the national, but they did not sacrifice national coverage of the war. Striking a balance between the local and national may have been easier for the editors of the *Daily Whig* and the *Daily Appeal* since much of their local news *was* national, and they did not have the same obligations as the *Daily Dispatch*. Further, the newspapers may have maintained a more local sense of community in part because they were from smaller cities than some of the other newspapers. In 1863, the *Daily Appeal* was actually a newspaper without a city. Publishing a refugee newspaper in Jackson, Mississippi—fifty miles from Vicksburg—for much of the year, the *Appeal's* editor must have realized the importance of establishing a community base if the newspaper was to survive. If all that was important was national news and nationalism, there is little to explain the survival of the *Daily Appeal*. The poetry of the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal* provides an opportunity to examine the flow of information in the South within a relatively small area, and to see the ways in which the newspapers participated in a literary culture in the South in 1863, with lasting effects throughout the war. Although poems in 1863 did not appear in the same numbers as they had earlier in the war, what this study shows is that the daily newspaper was one of the vital ways that literature circulated in the South. That so many poems were published in daily newspapers, almost all in this study two-page sheets on the

cheapest of quality, many copies of which were likely destroyed or repurposed throughout the War, has certainly contributed to the misunderstanding of Southern literary output during the Civil War years. Further, the newspaper poetry of the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal* offers a literary and social history of a tumultuous and ultimately devastating year as experienced in Mississippi and the South.

The newspapers are most explicitly local in the seven poems that feature Vicksburg in the title. Poems like "The Defense of Vicksburg" and "[The gunboats went to Vicksburg]" narrated the conflict and boosted morale. The newspapers and their poetry mediated the war and shaped literary culture in more subtle ways as well. The newspapers cultivated a subtype of newspaper poetry during the war, that written by soldiers as correspondence with specific communities. Within this context and within the pages of the *Daily Whig* and the *Daily Appeal*, it is possible to trace the development of the Civil War newspaper poetry of Major George McKnight, a member of the Army of the Mississippi. Serving under General William Loring, McKnight participated in the defense of the Yazoo Pass, and Loring commended McKnight's actions: "Before and after the enemy appeared, the weather was inclement, and when all depended upon the greatest energy, none rendered better service or were more exposed than the following officers: Major George McKnight, assistant adjutant-general . . . ." <sup>37</sup> McKnight continued to serve in Mississippi through the spring and summer, contributing to the defense of Vicksburg. Approximately two weeks after the fall of the city, McKnight was captured by Union soldiers at Hazlehurst, Mississippi in mid-July 1863, and he was sent to Johnson's Island

(Ohio). While at Johnson's Island, McKnight, writing under the pen name "Asa Hartz," established a reputation for himself as a poet and humorist. Many of the poems he wrote as a prisoner were apparently first, and often only, published in newspapers.<sup>38</sup> To date, the limited information on George McKnight/Asa Hartz as a writer has focused on this prison poetry, and in *The Southern War Poetry of the Civil War*, Esther Park Ellinger grouped Asa Hartz with other prison poets: "The prison verse, while not extensive, is for the most part, of good quality. There are five men whose work may be considered as representative, S. Teackle Wallis, who was imprisoned at Fort Warren, and four at Johnson's Island." Of Hartz, Ellinger writes, "It remained for 'Asa Hartz' to while away his prison hours in writing lines so delightfully humorous, so free and swift moving, that it is difficult to believe they could have been written within prison walls" (43).

Ellinger offers the poem "Living and Dying" as one of the best of Hartz's lighter prison verses. There are, however, two important mistakes in this example: George McKnight did not write this Asa Hartz poem while a prisoner, and the title of the poem is actually "Dying and Living." Apparently, the poem was first published in the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* on April 7, 1863. In the *Daily Whig*, the poem reads:

I would not die on the battle-field,  
 Where the missiles are flying wild,  
 'Tis a fancy death—but it doesn't suit  
 My mamma's darling child.  
 The cannon's roar, and the clash of steel,

And the victor's joyous shout,  
 [Suit'd] well, no doubt—if a fellow don't care—  
 But I'd rather be counted *out!*

I would not die on the vessel's deck,  
 With the wild waves dashing around;  
 'Cause it might occur that I'd have to swim,  
 And I can't—so I'd surely be drowned.  
 And the idea of pickling myself in brine  
 Is too salty to be endured,  
 Besides, there's a dearth of salt in the South,  
 And we've *other* meat to be cured.

I would not die at home—in bed—  
 It would kill poor Klubs with sorrow;<sup>39</sup>  
 For if to-day he should find me dead,  
 He would die, himself, to-morrow.  
 And since I've thought the matter o'er  
 (The truth for once I'm giving,)  
 If I'm to have a choice in the thing,  
 I guess—I'll *keep on living!* [1]

From this first printing, the poem circulated in newspapers in the South in 1863, including the *Memphis Daily Appeal* and the *Mobile Tribune*. By 1868, however, the poem had become known as "Living and Dying," and it was published under this new title in Beuhring H. Jones's *The Sunny Land; or Prison Poetry and Prose* (Baltimore, 1868). But written by a soldier in one of the most heavily contested areas of 1863, and published within the pages of newspapers daily mediating the local experience, "Dying and Living" means something quite different than "Living and Dying." Certainly there are humorous elements to the poem, but Ellinger's assessment of the piece as one of Hartz's most successful lighter poems is less viable when the original title is known and when the poem is read in the pages of the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal*. In the newspapers, the poem's humor is black humor, not lightheartedness.

Further, the publication of Hartz's newspaper poem, "Dying and Living," in the *Daily Whig* and the *Daily Appeal* followed the publication of other soldier poems that year; these poems, coupled with McKnight's own newspaper experience, may have influenced the writing and publication of "Dying and Living" as well as McKnight's later newspaper poetry from prison. On January 1 and January 5, the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal* published the poem "The Missouri Massacre." The *Daily Whig* printing is likely a reprinting from another source, and the *Daily Appeal* appears to have reprinted the poem from the *Daily Whig*. In both printings, the poem was preceded by versions of the note, "The following verses were suggested by the late Missouri massacre. One of the prisoners condemned to die, by the Yankee General, McNeil, was a husband and the

father of a family of little children, entirely dependent on him for the means of livelihood. A heroic young man nobly offered himself as a substitute for the condemned; was accepted and died in his stead." Several weeks later, on January 24, 1863, the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* published a poem by a "Tennessean of the 1st Brigade." The poem, "The Southern Republic," was written for the *Whig* and dedicated to the "brave Vicksburgers." And on March 30, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* published a poem titled "To the Guerrillas." The editors introduced the lines as "composed within the walls of a Yankee bastille. They reach us in manuscript through the courtesy of a lately returned prisoner." The *Daily Whig*, and later the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, were likely passed among the soldiers serving in the area, and it is not unrealistic to expect that McKnight read one or both of these newspapers, especially since his own work appeared first in the *Daily Whig*.

In addition to reading the local papers, McKnight apparently also had experience as an editor for a Southern newspaper, and he eventually returned to newspaper work after the Civil War. Prior to the outbreak of the war, McKnight served as a local editor of the *New Orleans Delta*.<sup>40</sup> These details are important because they suggest that McKnight would have understood the role and capacity of newspaper poems, and when he sent "Dying and Living" to the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* in 1863, he almost certainly understood it as a newspaper poem. "Dying and Living" was informed by and participated in the communities of the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal*. Drawing on the recent land and water campaigns of the area and written from a soldier's perspective, the poem, like the newspapers, translates the events of the spring and summer of 1863, the experience of

soldiers, and the relationship of soldiers to the civilian community.

### **Conclusion**

Making any definitive statements about American literature, newspapers, and newspaper poetry during the Civil War based on a case study of ten daily newspapers is not possible. The current case study, however, does raise tantalizing avenues for further investigation as well as the possibility of new models for understanding newspapers and newspaper poetry both during this confined period and in the nineteenth century as a whole. The sheer amount of information I have collected will allow scholars the ability to point to specific examples and documentary evidence for the broader claims we make about authorship, poetry, periodicals, and the circulation of information in the Civil War and in the nineteenth century. The current case study suggests a compelling relationship between community and newspaper poetry, and this relationship has larger ramifications for the study of American literature and poetry. The shift to a national focus of the daily newspaper, aided by changes in journalism and reporting, precipitated the decline of original, local, socially-engaged verse in newspapers. Such newspaper poetry depended on geographic and temporal localization, localization not possible within the growing heterogeneous national community. Although today 27,000 occurrences of poems in daily newspapers over an eight-month period seems prolific, the poems published from January through August 1863 barely compare in number to the poems published in earlier periods, including in as contemporary a moment as 1861. This comparative absence of poems in daily newspapers, the most frequently read texts in nineteenth-century America,



almost certainly had an effect on the development of American literature after the Civil War. Developing this history is important because it forces us to question our cultural expectations of poetry in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and how these expectations shape our understanding of poetry in earlier periods.

<sup>1</sup> Statistics of daily newspapers in 1860 and 1870 have been drawn from Walker, 508, 511. According to Walker, there were 387 daily newspapers in 1860 and 574 in 1870. In *The American Newspaper Directory and Record of the Press*, Kenny estimates the number of daily newspapers in the United States in 1861 at 450. For the purposes of my calculations, I have used the more conservative 1860 estimate from Walker's census report.

<sup>2</sup> As recorded in the 1860 Census, the populations of the cities examined here ranged from 4,501 to 805,658: Boston, 177,840 (whites and free blacks); Charleston 40, 522 (whites, free blacks, and slaves); Cleveland, 43,317 (whites and free blacks); Memphis, 22,623 (whites, free blacks, and slaves); New Orleans, 168,675 (whites, free blacks, and slaves); New York City, 805,658 (whites and free blacks); Richmond, 37,910 (whites, free blacks, and slaves); Vicksburg, 4,501 (whites, free blacks, and slaves); and Washington, D.C., 75,080 (whites, free blacks, slaves). These numbers are for the specific cities (or district) only and do not include surrounding areas. The census data for some cities include limited statistics for Indian populations, but these numbers are not represented in the aggregate data for cities.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the individual newspapers, see Ellis, Shaw, Dabney, Chamberlin, Fermer, and Crouthamel.

<sup>4</sup> Volume one of Frank Moore's twelve-volume *The Rebellion Record*, one of the first efforts to gather and reprint poems of the War from the periodical press, was published in 1861. *The Rebellion Record* is not exclusively poetry, though most of the volumes devote a significant amount of space to verse. *Chimes of Freedom and Union: A Collection of Poems for the Times by Various Authors* (Boston: Benjamin B. Russell, 1861) also appeared that year, and new anthologies were published annually throughout the war and immediately following. Editors continued to anthologize Civil War poetry in the twentieth century. The most recent anthology, *"Words for the Hour": A New Anthology of American Civil War Poetry*, edited by Faith Barrett and Cristanne Miller, was published by the University of Massachusetts Press in 2005.

<sup>5</sup> For a compelling first discussion of anthologies of Civil War poems, see Roberts. As Roberts accurately puts it, "The influence of anthologies . . . remains fertile ground for further critical attention [in the study of poetry of the Civil War]. An examination of anthologies of war verse, which were published during as well as after the war, promises to illuminate the vital interchange between poems as literary artifacts and the nexus of agents (abstract and concrete) that produced and circulated them" (173).

<sup>6</sup> See Barrett, Garvey, McGill, Nudelman, Richards, and Sweet.

<sup>7</sup> For the sake of comparison, I have given all prices as price per issue, even when the newspapers listed price only by weekly, monthly, or annual subscriptions. I have calculated daily rates for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Daily National Intelligencer*, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, and *Vicksburg Daily Whig* based on their annual subscription rates: (subscription rate in dollars x 100 cents) / (issues per week x 52 weeks) = price per issue in cents.

<sup>8</sup> The *Vicksburg Daily Whig* claimed to produce five issues (Tuesday through Saturday) per week in 1863. The microfilm record, which has small gaps in coverage from January through April 1863, suggests that the newspaper may have occasionally published less frequently. It is also possible, however, that the missing issues were not available when the microfilm was produced.

<sup>9</sup> I have derived circulation data from the following sources: for the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Reinders, 227; for the *New York Herald* and *New-York Tribune*, 57; for the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 95; for the *Charleston Mercury* and *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Donald E. Reynolds.

<sup>10</sup> Ellis recreates a balance sheet for a November 1864 issue of the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, figuring 100 copies for subscribers and 400 copies for street sales and a total print run of 500. See Appendix F, 604–605.

<sup>11</sup> From January through August of 1863, the *Daily Appeal* was produced in Jackson, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia; the site of publication was given daily in the first column on page two.

<sup>12</sup> See the appendix, "Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890," for a list of the poems. The complete total of poetic occurrences is actually higher than 720. I have not, for example, recorded every instance of advertising poems. Also, I have not catalogued the translations of the many German poems that appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript* and other newspapers (though I have noted their occurrence). Nor I have catalogued most reprintings of popular British writers, whether contemporary to the Civil War period or historical. While such transatlantic reprintings and translations are fruitful ground for study, they are outside the scope of the current project, which focuses on American writers and American newspapers. Further, their participation in the newspapers is outside my current, working definition of "newspaper poetry."

<sup>13</sup> These numbers should be understood as estimates only. I have certainly missed some poems, and I purposely excluded others, including subsequent instances of advertising poems, poems by long-dead authors, and works in translation. In calculating the number of poetic occurrences, I have used the 1860 figure for the number of daily newspapers. Averaging my 720 catalogued poems over the ten newspapers yields 72 poems per newspaper on average. 380 (daily newspapers) multiplied by 72 poems per newspaper equals 27,360 occurrences of poems. If this estimate errs in either direction, it is probably too low.

<sup>14</sup> For more on anonymity and the author-centered study of American literature, and their implications for periodical literature, see McGill and Garvey. Both McGill and Garvey work from Michel Foucault's theory of the author-function.

<sup>15</sup> There are a handful of such examples in the ten newspapers studied. See, for example, William Wallace's "Keep Step with Music of the Union" as published within "The Loyal North | Mass meeting in Madison Square | Gen. Scott Presides | Speeches by Daniel B. Dickinson, John Van Buren, Lyman Tremain, George Bancroft, Reinhold Solger, Geo. William Curtis, and Others." See also J.C. Zachos's "Ode for Emancipation Day, January 1, 1863," which was published within articles detailing the reading of the Emancipation

Proclamation and New Year's celebration in South Carolina, in both the *New York Herald* and *New-York Tribune*.

<sup>16</sup> For example, "A Song of Health, Happiness and Glory [Drake's Plantation Biters]" and "The Summer Moon was Shining."

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, "[ 'Tis God the spirit leads]"; E.J.M., "[Calm and motionless our Susie]"; and "[Now his cradle bed is empty]." In the newspapers surveyed, poems appeared more frequently as part of death notices in the south. The reason for this distribution is unclear, although there are a number of possible explanations, ranging from cultural norms to the size and type of the newspaper. Generally, the newspapers examined from the south had smaller circulations and came from smaller cities. These smaller community newspapers may have played a more prominent role in public mourning, such as that found in the death notice poems, than larger newspapers. It is also possible that newspapers in the north and larger cities featured poems as part of death notices, but that such examples simply are not represented in the newspapers surveyed for this project.

<sup>18</sup> See "Rags! Rags! Rags!" [2]. The notice began running in April 1863.

<sup>19</sup> For more on Timrod's association with the *Mercury*, especially in 1861, 1862, and late 1863, see Thompson. See also Cardwell, and Parks and Parks.

<sup>20</sup> "Rub-A-Dub" was published under the pseudonym "Old Thunderbolt." In *Pseudonymous Publications of William Gilmore Simms*, Kibler attributes the work to Simms based on evidence in Simms's scrapbooks. Kibler also here identifies the *Mercury* printing as the poem's first publication.

<sup>21</sup> See previous note for information on "Rub-A-Dub." In *Selected Poems of William Gilmore Simms*, Kibler identifies the *Mercury* printing of "Our City by the Sea" as the poem's first publication, followed by its appearance in *War Poetry of the South*, edited by Simms and published in 1866. In *War Poetry*, Simms identifies the *Mercury* as the source of the poem as well as of "Fort Wagner." In the same volume, he attributes "Not Doubtful of Your Fatherland," "Yes, Build Your Walls," or "The Guerrilla Martyrs" to the *Charleston Mercury*. Since Simms published in several periodicals during the Civil War, including the *Charleston Mercury*, the *Charleston Courier*, and the *Southern Illustrated News*, additional research is necessary to determine the first publication status of the other poems. Given Simms's flurry of activity in the *Mercury* in the summer of 1863, however, it is likely that at least some of the remaining 8 works are first publications.

<sup>22</sup> In chronological order, the poems are, Elizabeth T. Porter Beach, "Our Monitor," first publication to be determined; Delphine, "Bring Flowers to the Wounded," published in an article on Mary Todd Lincoln and first publication to be determined; Thomas F. Bowie, "The Efficacy of Prayer—An Elegy," first publication to be determined; Tiber, "To the Capitol," first published in the *Daily National Intelligencer*; James Cook Richmond, "Music, as of Trumpets," first publication to be determined; James Cook Richmond, "To Clara," first publication to be determined; James Cook Richmond, "The Daughter of the Holy Church," first publication to be determined; James Cook Richmond, "To a Young Lady, on her Nineteenth Birthday Anniversary, April 5, 1863," first publication to be

determined; Tiber, "The Captain," first published in the *Daily National Intelligencer*; B., "To Generals Grant and Meade," first published in the *Daily National Intelligencer*; and B.T. "Lines on the President's Proclamation for Thanksgiving," first publication to be determined.

<sup>23</sup> In addition to those given here, the *Daily Picayune* reprinted a number of other poems that had appeared earlier in the *Evening Transcript*, from the period January 1 through August 31, 1863.

<sup>24</sup> Alice Cary's "My Darling" appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on May 27 and in the *Daily Picayune* on July 19. The *Daily Picayune* identifies the *New York Ledger* as the source of the reprinted material. Although many of the other poems published in both papers, which appeared within two or three weeks of one another, seven weeks separated the *Evening Transcript* and *Daily Picayune* printings of "My Darling." This much longer gap between printings, as well as the attribution to the *New York Ledger*, suggest a more circuitous path of reprinting.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Jennie Fish, "A Song for the Times," and Edmund Clarence Stedman, "Treason's Last Device."

<sup>26</sup> The poem was untitled when it appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. See Zachos, "Ode for Emancipation Day, January 1, 1863" and Zachos, "[You burning son of Afric's soil]."

<sup>27</sup> Charles O. Perrine's *An Authentic Exposition of the K.G.C., Knights of the Golden Circle* was published in 1861. A member of the order, Perrine wrote, "We also frequently see it stated in the papers that the Southern people still believe there are many warm friends of 'Southern rights' in the North; and however much it may depress the feelings of the Union loving masses, I feel it my duty to tell them that there is even yet too much foundation for this belief. In Indianapolis, Terre Haute, and other places in Indiana; in Cincinnati, Columbus, etc., Ohio; in Philadelphia and other cities in Pennsylvania; in New York and other points, New York State, and, in fact, in nearly every Northern city and town of any consequence, and in many small towns and country neighborhoods, there are numbers of secret agents in almost constant correspondence with various castles and individuals in the South" (63).

<sup>28</sup> "[And the nigger never flitting]," [4]. The poem had appeared as "The Slave Owner's Spectre," *Harper's Weekly* 30 May 1863: 352. As reprinted in the *Plain Dealer*, the content of the poem is the same, though punctuation, spelling, and line breaks are different in places. In the *Plain Dealer*, the name "Horace" falls at the end of line, giving Horace Greeley's horrible bust more prominence than it has in the *Harper's Weekly* version.

<sup>29</sup> Since the poem was not published in the *Plain Dealer* until a month after the Yazoo Pass Expedition, it was almost certainly reprinted from another newspaper—in which the poem may already have been a reprinting—despite not being attributed as such.

<sup>30</sup> For details on the Yazoo Pass Expedition, see Eicher, 439–440.

<sup>31</sup> On the copperhead press in Ohio, see Reed W. Smith, "The Paradox of Samuel Medary, Copperhead Newspaper Publisher." On the suppression of northern newspapers during

the war, see Emery and Emery, 162–163; and on the suspension of the *Plain Dealer*, see Shaw.

<sup>32</sup> Established in 1839, the *Daily Whig* ceased publication on May 2, 1863 (Rowland 860).

<sup>33</sup> In "Colonel Shaw in American Poetry," Steven Axelrod begins his study of Colonel Shaw poems with James Russell Lowell's "Memoriae Positum R.G.S.," first published in the January 1864 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

<sup>34</sup> Robert J. Scholnick effectively demonstrates the importance of different contexts in "'The Ultraism of the Day': Greene's *Boston Post*, Hawthorne, Fuller, Melville, Stowe, and Literary Journalism in Antebellum America."

<sup>35</sup> See Holmes, "[O Lord of Hosts!>"; Howe, "Battle Hymn of the Republic"; "Contraband's Hymn"; "Emancipation Hymn for 1863."

<sup>36</sup> See Kenzer.

<sup>37</sup> William Wild Loring acknowledged McKnight in his report of operations on the Yazoo and Tallahatchee, published in *The War of the Rebellion*. See Scott, 417.

<sup>38</sup> For limited details on Asa Hartz/George McKnight, see Devours, 82, and "McKnight (George) Papers," Mississippi Department of Archives and History, finding aid available online. W.O. Hart recalls the printing of one Hartz's poems in a "wall-paper edition" of a Mobile, Alabama newspaper. See also Hart, 152, and Jones, 310.

<sup>39</sup> "Klubs" is a reference to fellow poet James B. Randall who wrote as Duce O'Klubs. Several of Randall's poems were published in the *Charleston Mercury* in 1863 under his given name.

<sup>40</sup> The biographical note about McKnight in *The Sunny Land* reads: "Major George McKnight, ('Asa Hartz') was born in Camden, South Carolina, the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, 1833. He began to learn the printing business in Cheraw, at an early age, after a school term of four months, having previously been taught to read at home. When eighteen, he left South Carolina and went to Alabama, where he remained until January, 1860, and then move to New Orleans, and took a position as local editor of the New Orleans *Delta*. In January, 1862, he was elected Major of what was called the Beauregard Regiment. Upon the capture of New Orleans he escaped from the city, and, after filling a number of places suitable to his military rank, was assigned to duty as Assistant Adjutant General of Major General Loring's division. After taking part in several engagements in the Southwest, he was captured on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, 1863, about four miles from Hazlehurst, Miss. He was taken to Johnson's Island, Ohio, and remained there a prisoner more than a year. He is now engaged as an associate editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*. His first wife, formerly Miss Woodal, of Georgia, was killed by Iowa troops at Jackson, Miss., in May 1863. He married again, in 1865, Miss Isabel B. Taylor, of Richmond, Virginia." See Jones, 310.

## Chapter 4

### Newspaper Poetry and the End of an Era, the 1870s and 1880s

Concluding with a detailed examination of Walt Whitman's relationship in 1888 with the *New York Herald*—once the nineteenth century's leading newspaper—this chapter surveys the changed presence and role of poems in American newspapers in the 1870s and 1880s. Long before 1888, newspapers had moved away from the kind of relationship that the *Herald* cultivated with Whitman that year. Local poets continued to contribute to newspapers, but their poetry was often the adolescent, derivative, and rhyme-happy poems that critics of newspaper poetry cited and attacked throughout the nineteenth century. Because such poems appeared prolifically in newspapers at the end of the century, when newspapers were more widely read than ever before, they are what scholars understand now as the totality of "newspaper poetry." The focus on and derision of these poems overshadows a more sophisticated understanding of poems that appeared in newspapers throughout the nineteenth century. As a survey of poems in newspapers throughout the 1870s and the example of Walt Whitman in the *New York Herald* in 1888 demonstrate, the function of newspaper poems noticeably changed in the 1870s and 1880s. The original, locally-oriented, socially-engaged, and conversational newspaper verse of previous decades was a product of an earlier period and no longer seemed culturally relevant by the time the new journalism was firmly entrenched in New York and when newspapers that had once dominated the political and social landscape, such as



the *Herald*, struggled to compete.

### **The 1870s**

A significant, if not the most significant, hurdle to studying daily newspapers of the nineteenth century is the sheer number of newspapers and the mass of material. In 1870, there were 574 daily newspapers in the United States. By 1880, the number had increased to 971.<sup>1</sup> With so many newspapers, exhaustive research is simply not possible. At some level, the knowledge we have about newspapers during a specific period is all generalization, and what is true for a single newspaper may not translate to others. New technologies and research techniques, including data mining, may eventually enable scholars to analyze the extant newspaper corpus. In the meantime, however, scholars must survey, sample, and rely on smaller case studies to learn and advance knowledge about newspapers, the literature they include, and the relationship of the forms. As a first step in assessing the appearance and function of poems in newspapers in the 1870s, admittedly a vast and complicated body of information, I have surveyed ten newspapers: the *Atlanta Daily Sun*, *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* (Bangor, Maine), *Cleveland Daily Herald*, *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), *Galveston Daily News*, *Inter Ocean* (Chicago), *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* (Lowell, Massachusetts), *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, and *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.<sup>2</sup> This list excludes the largest newspapers and papers from some of the most influential cities, including Boston and New York. Too often, scholars return to the same newspapers and cities for their studies. On the one hand, leading newspapers and major cities are



important because they often provided models for the rest of the country. Conversely, they may give a false sense of knowledge about the people, newspapers, and values in other areas. Therefore, this study looks at newspapers from a range of cities, from the Northeast, South, Midwest, and far West. In addition, it includes newspapers from smaller markets and with smaller circulations, in order to evaluate these newspapers alongside larger papers that have been more extensively covered. When possible, I have examined issues of the newspapers from 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1879. Not all of the newspapers, however, were published throughout the entire decade. The daily edition of the *Inter Ocean*, for example, did not begin publication until 1872, and the daily *Atlanta Sun* published only from the summer of 1870 to the summer of 1873. In addition, the collection consulted for research, *19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Newspapers*, does not have complete holdings for some papers. Despite these gaps, which future research may fill and supplement, and the preliminary nature of the work, this study points to several intriguing patterns that have consequences for current understanding of daily newspapers, American poetry, their relationship in the nineteenth century, and the longterm consequences of the way newspapers have shaped literary history.

In the 1870s, the form and function of daily papers continued to evolve according to changes begun in, and precipitated by, the Civil War. Newspapers had played a crucial role in disseminating news about the Civil War, and in several respects the war ushered in the era of the modern newspaper.<sup>3</sup> National news and dispatches from battle sites traveled over telegraph wires and circulated in the press. This news, including lists of dead,

wounded, and captured, reconfigured the content of newspapers. At the same time, many newspapers, particularly those in the South, struggled for their very existence in the face of material and economic scarcity. Few newspapers could expand their number of pages to accommodate extra material, and some items had to be cut. Following the Civil War, some editors did attempt to return their newspapers to pre-war form and content. These newspapers lost both circulation and influence, and historians generally regard the late 1860s and 1870s as a continuation of journalistic developments begun during the war, especially in the North (Smythe 1). Most importantly, news reportage superseded editorial content.<sup>4</sup> Continued telegraph and railroad expansion helped meet demand for news. Following this emphasis on reportage, publishers and editors increasingly asserted their newspapers' independence from political organizations and political ties. As part of this independence, editors idealized their commitments as being to the people, rather than to parties or business interests.<sup>5</sup> Scholars of American newspapers therefore typically characterize the 1870s as the period when the daily press shifted fundamentally to an independent model.<sup>6</sup> The journalism that emerged in cities like Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis by the end of the decade drew on and stimulated further the growth of news content and political independence. Known first as "midwestern journalism," this new model stressed the widest possible dissemination of information. Founded primarily in cities in or near metropolitan areas and in industrial cities, midwestern journalism had a strong reform agenda. The newspapers investigated and led campaigns for issues important to large, growing, and industrial cities, including political corruption and the state of city

infrastructure. In 1883, Joseph Pulitzer took the midwestern journalism of his *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to New York and the *New York World*, effectively beginning the era of the "new journalism."<sup>7</sup>

As did the newspaper as a whole, poems in newspapers changed. Over the course of the Civil War, poetry appeared less frequently in daily newspapers than it had in earlier periods and at the start of the war. A variety of economic and social factors contributed to the decreased presence of poetry in newspapers throughout the war, including decreases in newspaper size as a result of scarcity of resources, increases in circulation as readers demanded constant information about the war, an emphasis on reportage, and the tendency of newspapers to focus news and editorials on the national scene and national community versus the local. Following the Civil War, poetry never resumed its pre-war prominence in newspapers, particularly in newspapers in major urban areas, which grew in size as well as in circulation throughout the 1870s. Poems by no means disappeared from daily newspapers, and in some cases the actual number of poems probably increased, but poetry's function in newspapers changed. Newspapers privileged different kinds of poems, and poems began to appear in different places within the newspaper than they had in previous decades. In addition, larger newspapers and larger circulations adversely affected the role of the newspaper as a local community publication, in part because the community was not only larger but much more heterogeneous and more broadly defined. The newspaper as a community text was replaced by the newspaper as a marketplace text, and more conversational aspects of the

newspaper were replaced by the newspaper as a service or product within the marketplace.<sup>8</sup> Newspaper poems functioned differently in this textual and cultural environment than they did in newspapers that were primarily conversational or commentary texts.

Analyzing trends in newspaper content in 1942, Frank Luther Mott argued that newspaper content over time exists in a "comparatively static condition," in part because "newspapers in general are fairly conservative in policy" ("Trends in Newspaper Content" 60–61). To support his claim, Mott compared the ratios of specific categories of content to total newspaper content at the beginning of four decades (61). The proportions of foreign news and features, Washington news, society news, women's interest pieces, and comic strips, among other categories, support Mott's claim that "There are always experiments, but the great bulk of newspapers are slow to change." In some ways, Mott's study is only tangential to the current project. His focus is on the twentieth-century daily newspaper, even if, at several points, he compares the newspapers of the 1910s, 20s, and 30s to their nineteenth-century counterparts; he distinguishes material generally by purpose, rather than by form or genre; and he nowhere explicitly deals with poetry in newspapers, nor does he imply which of the categories might include poetry. Mott's study, however, is instructive on methodological grounds. Certainly the quantitative evidence Mott amasses supports his argument, but this approach is a potentially fraught one. For example, in the case of poetic content in newspapers of the nineteenth century, measuring poems as a proportion of newspaper content likely would show that poetry in

newspapers remained fairly consistent over the course of the century. As a proportion of total newspaper content, poetry may have taken up the same amount of column space in 1870 as it had in earlier periods (and measuring at decade intervals would exclude the Civil War). The danger, however, is that one might then assume that poetry remained static within the newspaper in other ways as well. To extrapolate from such numbers that poems in newspapers looked the same in the 1870s as they did in earlier periods would be a crucial error. Indeed, Mott seems to recognize such a potential problem as related to illustrations. In a lengthy footnote describing warnings against improper reading of his data, Mott writes, "pictures, for example, are included under both Illustration and the category of the story illustrated." Crucially, illustrations within newspapers can serve a variety of functions that overlap with news and editorial content, "women's interests," and public affairs; the same is true for poems. The fact that poetic content takes up about the same amount of space within newspapers at decade intervals does not mean that the poetic content remained static or served the same purpose. In fact, the function of poems changed significantly. The changed function of poems in daily newspapers in the 1870s becomes apparent in the frequency with which poems were published, the kinds of poems published, and when—as well as in what contexts—the poems were published.

In 1870, poems appeared frequently in the daily press—as often as a poem a day in some papers—but the general trend over the decade was toward fewer poems and the consolidation of poems in specific issues, such as Saturday and Sunday editions (see Table 4.1). The *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, for example, published two-thirds fewer

poems in issues from January 1879 than issues from January 1870: more than thirty poems appeared in the newspaper in January 1870, while nineteen were published in January 1873, thirteen in January 1876, and nine in January 1879. Similarly, the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* featured twenty-eight poems in January 1870, twenty-two in January 1873, twenty-two in January 1876, but only nine in January 1879.

	Jan. 1870	Jan. 1873	Jan. 1876	Jan. 1879
<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	32 poems	19 poems	13 poems	9 poems
<i>Daily Whig and Courier</i>	28 poems	22 poems	22 poems	9 poems
<i>Lowell Daily Citizen</i>	10 poems	5 poems	8 poems	4 poems
<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	22 poems	19 poems	21 poems	21 poems

Table 4.1: Number of poems published in the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, *Lowell Daily Citizen*, and San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* in the month of January in 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1879.

Although the *Lowell Daily News and Citizen* published fewer poems in 1870 than either the *Daily Sentinel* or *Daily Whig and Courier*, it also decreased the number of poems in its pages over the course of the decade. In January 1870, the *News and Citizen* featured ten poems. The number of poems decreased by half in January 1873, rose slightly in 1876, and dipped to a low of four poems total in issues from January 1879. The number of poems remained remarkably consistent in other newspapers over the decade, including in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*. The *Evening Bulletin* featured twenty-two poems in January 1870, nineteen in January 1873, twenty-one in January 1876, and twenty-one in January 1879. By 1879, however, poems in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* were primarily consolidated in a Saturday supplement.

More than the actual number of poems, the variety of poems published in the

daily newspaper narrowed during the 1870s. Newspapers still reprinted poems from famous and well-known poets, chief among them the omnipresent John Greenleaf Whittier. John G. Saxe and Alice Carey also appeared with some regularity, and a new generation of American authors began to appear in the daily press. Joaquin Miller's exploits were covered extensively in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*. Following his move to New York in 1871, Bret Harte's poems appeared in eastern newspapers, probably reprinted from national publications or books. In the last half of the decade, newspapers such as the *St. Louis Globe-Dispatch* reprinted poems of Sarah Piatt that had been first published in monthly magazines. Daily newspapers also reprinted poems from British magazines, newspapers, and books. Alfred Tennyson frequently appeared in the daily American press, which reprinted his poems as well as parodies and works in his style. Newspapers continued to reprint poems of popular British women writers, among them Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Jean Ingelow.<sup>9</sup> More than half of the poems published in daily newspapers, however, remained unsigned in the 1870s. Of the signed poems, there are fewer initials and more complete names than in earlier periods, and this shift makes it possible to attribute more of the poems to women writers than in previous decades.

As a general rule, daily newspapers appear to have published less original verse in the 1870s than they had in earlier periods. At the very least, newspapers advertised fewer poems as original or exclusive to the newspaper. This trend suggests that fewer poems were original, since as more newspapers competed for higher circulations in the 1870s,

original content would have been a selling point. One reason for this change may have been an explicit desire to move away from the works of local unknowns. The quicker and easier flow of information contributed to a more steady stream of previously published verse. Further, when the role of newspaper poems shifted, the work of local poets, which might engage local themes and issues, may have seemed less relevant. In addition, newspapers appear to have reprinted less from other newspapers, particularly other daily papers. When ascribed to a source at all, poems were more likely to be attributed to American monthly magazines and British periodicals. Any attribution, however, should be considered with scrutiny. A poem advertised as original may not have been, while the fact that a poem is not attributed to another source does not mean that the poem did not appear previously elsewhere, whether in a book, magazine, or newspaper. The fairly standard citation practices for poems in daily newspapers from earlier periods seem to have become much more fluid in the 1870s, making the already difficult task of tracing a poem's publication lineage even more difficult. Whether the overall number of original poems decreased or whether newspaper editors' presentation of original verse changed to obscure its origins—original poems were simply not identified as such—there appears to be a changed perception about original, particularly original and local, verse in newspapers. This change carried implications for the relationship of poetry and the daily newspaper, the role of poetry in American culture, and conceptions of authorship.

At the same time, the range of subjects covered in poems published in newspapers narrowed. In previous decades, political and social issues as well as current events had



been common subjects for poems in the daily press. With a few exceptions, such as poems on the newly passed fifteenth amendment in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* and the *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* in 1870, poems in the newspapers examined were separate from politics and social comment, except to the extent that poems helped to codify normative roles and behaviors for readers.<sup>10</sup> For much of the nineteenth century, daily newspapers featured original poetry written for holidays, including Independence Day, Christmas, and New Year's. Such original holiday poems, which might include reference to local celebrations or traditions, dwindled in the 1870s. Approximately one-third of the newspapers examined featured poems for the new year in 1876. Later that year, the daily Chicago *Inter Ocean* did publish several poems marking fourth of July celebrations and the centennial during the first week of July 1876, and the *Inter Ocean* also featured poetry on General George Custer and the election of 1876.<sup>11</sup> In the other newspapers, however, surprisingly little poetic attention was paid to the centennial year, the events in Montana Territory, and the election. Instead, poems in most newspapers focused on love, marriage, death, nature, and children. For example, representative poems published in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* in April 1879 include "The Baby's Squall," "Cupid's Day," "Dulces Amores," "Gorgeousness," "Call to the Flowers," "A Woman's Fancy," "Bubble on the Water," "Since Mother Died," "Spring Song," and "Time and Women Wait for No Man."<sup>12</sup> Such poems certainly were not an innovation of the 1870s newspaper, but in the 1870s they became the standard poetic fare of the daily press. Characterized in their own period as "insipid," these are the "filler"

poems alluded to in literary scholarship. The characterization of the poems as filler implies that newspaper editors included them because they needed to fill space in the paper, and poems were in abundant supply. The implicit claim is that daily newspapers of the 1870s needed to fill space, and that they did so with light poetry. But daily newspapers were tightly packed with information, from breaking news to society gossip to advertisements. They give no impression that editors had to scrounge for material. Therefore, the pervasiveness of these poems in the daily newspaper as other kinds of poems—political, occasional, socially-oriented—disappeared from the daily paper suggests that they fulfilled a more substantial, if not substantive, function within the newspaper, even if they were the subject of criticism. Poems in newspapers increasingly were texts for entertainment in the 1870s newspaper. The entertainment function of poems in the daily press in the 1870s supplanted other functions for newspaper poems.

The consolidation of poems within specific newspaper contexts also points to their changed function. By 1875, poems published in the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* were likely to appear in a column titled "The Young Folks" or "For the Young Folks." The poems in this column, including items reprinted from national magazines such as *St. Nicholas*, featured dolls frogs, and birds, and provided instructions for good behavior.<sup>13</sup> A recurring lesson for young boys in particular was the gentle treatment of birds. The column reconfigured the audience of newspaper poetry from previous decades to address child readers, probably in an attempt to compete with the very magazines from which the newspaper reprinted. As battles for circulation intensified in the late nineteenth century,

newspaper editors sought ways to attract new kinds of readers. In the past, scholarship has focused on the increased appeal to women readers of newspapers in the late nineteenth century, but as the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* shows, young readers were another new audience. The attribution of poems to family magazines like *St. Nicholas* may have been more than a way to credit the original publication. For the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, and presumably other daily newspapers as well, such attribution may have functioned as a stamp of family-friendly approval. Somewhat counterintuitively, these new audiences likely contributed to the narrowing of subjects that poems might treat. Making poems appropriate for an entire family of readers may have meant disassociating them from political and social comment.

Newspapers experimented with the placement of poems within newspapers during the 1870s, and by the end of the decade poems appeared far more frequently in weekend issues than in weekday issues. Although the newly imagined Sunday edition of Hearst and Pulitzer was years away, the evolution of the Sunday paper was apparent already in the 1870s. Many newspapers still did not publish on Sundays in the 1870s, and Saturday issues of this decade were a prototype for the Sunday editions of the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>14</sup> By the late 1870s, weekend issues, whether published on Saturday or Sunday, included more entertaining fare, including poetry, than weekday issues. They published entertainment as well as information, perhaps to compete not only with other daily newspapers but within the burgeoning periodicals marketplace of the 1870s as well. Like the "Young Folks" column of the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, Saturday and Sunday issues

sought the readership of women and children. The *Daily Rocky Mountain News* routinely published poems throughout the week in 1879, but whereas weekday issues would feature a single poem, Sunday issues might feature as many as eight poems. The January 12, 1879 issue, for example, featured the poems "Goat," "Twilight Burial," "A Lover's Test," "On the Bay," "The Phantom Ball," "A White Camellia," "Love's Promise," and "Love's Young Dream."<sup>15</sup> Most of the poems appeared on pages five and six, and two of them—"A White Camellia" and "Love's Young Dream"—were printed in a column of "Ladies' Literature." Similarly, the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, which had published poetry almost daily in 1870, published poems almost exclusively on Saturdays by 1879. On Saturdays, the paper published the *Daily Bulletin Supplement*, a multi-page extra that accompanied the four-page paper. The first page of the supplement for Saturday, January 11, 1879 featured, among other items, Wilkie Collins's "A Shocking Story" and the short piece "The Tail Tale of a Rabbit Cat"; an advice column featuring "Hints to those Calling Upon the Sick"; a short article on the making of porcelain; and the poems "A Mountain Storm," "In Praise of Sleep," by British poet Philip Bourke Marston, and "Happy Birthday," by Harriet Prescott Spofford. The supplement featured reprinted material from a variety of sources, including from American and British magazines. Although the supplement looked like a newspaper, in content it resembled a magazine, and from the late 1870s poems in newspapers were more often published within this magazine-like context. Sunday editions of the 1880s further centralized poems in the Sunday newspaper and within particular sections; Sunday editions of the 1880s became a

gravitational force, attracting poems to their pages and often to particular sections. The "Young Folks" column of the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, the Sunday edition of the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, and the Saturday edition of the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* are early examples of these developments. They appealed to a family of readers. The poems were sometimes instructive, but their main function appears to have been entertainment.<sup>16</sup>

From 1870 to 1879, poems in newspapers increasingly were texts for entertainment. In previous decades, poems in newspapers served a number of functions. Certainly, entertainment was one of the reasons poems were published in newspapers in earlier periods, but newspaper poems also played a key role in providing editorial comment on social and political issues. The humor of many newspaper poems was an important tool in such comment and critique, and humor served a dual, entertaining function as well. In the 1870s, however, the entertaining function of newspaper poems came to overshadow and replace most other functions, whether news-bearing, editorial, or advertising. This transformation in the function of newspaper poems affected the kinds of poems that were published in the daily press. While the reform campaigns of the midwestern and new journalism may now seem likely opportunities to engage poetry, editors of daily newspapers did not use poems widely in these efforts.<sup>17</sup> The role of poetry in the newspaper had shifted so that their use as reform texts would have collided with their role as entertainment. The absence of poetry in these newspaper campaigns, which were tied to broader reform movements, also suggests a larger cultural shift in thinking

about the social role of poetry in American culture.

Although this study of the presence and function of poems in the daily newspaper of the 1870s is a preliminary one, it suggests some general trends in the evolving relationship of poetry and the daily newspaper in the late nineteenth century. The purpose of poems in newspapers was no longer conversation and exchange, or commentary. The newspaper as a whole shifted toward an information model from the earlier model of political and social comment. In this paradigm, the social function of poems published in newspapers changed. The fact that this shift occurred at the same time as more people than ever before were reading daily newspapers has certainly had an impact on the reputation and evaluation of newspaper poetry of the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The entertainment function of the late-century newspaper poems and the formal qualities of these poems have over-shadowed the rich history and cultural work of newspaper poems earlier in the century, including the more than two hundred poems of Joseph Field published in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* in the early 1840s, the free-soil poems first published and widely distributed in the daily press in 1854 and 1855, the poems Henry Timrod and William Gilmore Simms wrote for the *Charleston Mercury* in the midst of the Civil War, and the thousands of other poems that, like the newspaper, mediated political, social, popular, cultural, and civic experiences.

### **Walt Whitman and the *New York Herald***

In the early 1870s, as at other points in his career, Walt Whitman developed an advantageous relationship with a local newspaper. During his last years in Washington,

D.C., Whitman formed an informal, public relations arrangement with the *Washington Evening Star*.<sup>19</sup> Whitman supplied information about his work and movements to the *Evening Star*, and the paper frequently published announcements about the poet. Emory Holloway first speculated about Whitman's connection to the *Star* in 1929, and F.

DeWolfe Miller built on Holloway's work in a 1961 newspaper piece, "Struggling Walt Whitman had Press Agent's Skill." Drawing on manuscript evidence, Miller shows that many notices of Whitman's movements and whereabouts in the *Star* were written and supplied by the poet.<sup>20</sup> Holloway earlier had suggested that Whitman was the author of more substantial pieces in the *Star*, including the defense of Whitman's poem "After All, Not to Create Only," which appeared in the newspaper on October 3, 1871. Similarly, Holloway argued that the "*Evening Star's* leader on the Dartmouth poem ["As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free," published June 26, 1872] is so full of Whitmanisms of thought, expression and even punctuation, as to convince me that either Whitman wrote it or someone so familiar with 'Democratic Vistas' as to have caught both the gist of its meaning and its style." Since Holloway's and Miller's work, however, the relationship between the poet and paper has gone virtually unexplored. In some cases, Whitman scholars have continued to attribute the *Star* pieces to Whitman based on Holloway's and Miller's evidence, and in other cases, the relationship has fallen out of publication histories and biographical accounts of Whitman's Washington years. Manuscripts in Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library prove Holloway correct on both counts (Whitman, "[The newspapers still keep up]"). Similarly, citing manuscript

materials in the Yale Whitman collection, Martin G. Murray has attributed two articles published in the *Washington Evening Star* in 1872 to Whitman (151–176). And even a preliminary pass through the *Evening Star* in 1871 raises additional items that Whitman may have written for the newspaper.<sup>21</sup> Yet, with the exception of the occasional poems "After All, Not to Create Only" and "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free," both of which concurrently appeared in other newspapers, Whitman did not publish a single poem in the *Evening Star*. Instead, he sought magazine publication for his poems during these years. Whitman's relationship with and publications in the *Evening Star* warrant further investigation, and a study of the relationship likely will turn up unknown work by Whitman. For the current project, however, the crucial point is that despite his ties to the *Evening Star*, Whitman did not place poems in the newspaper; instead, he favored magazine publication at this time in his career,

From the late 1830s through 1860, only one of Whitman's poems to be first published in a periodical appeared in a magazine. The others were published in daily and weekly newspapers. Beginning in the late 1860s, Whitman's poems still appeared in the daily and weekly press, but an increasing number appeared in magazines. For example, from 1869 to 1872, six of Whitman's poems appeared in three magazines, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Galaxy*, and the *Kansas Magazine*. During the same period, Whitman published only three poems in newspapers. A number of factors likely contributed to this shift in publication venue for Whitman's poems, including the poet's desire to reach more readers in the United States and across the Atlantic. Whitman probably also recognized



that the textual and social landscape of the daily newspaper was beginning to change by the early 1870s, and that poems in newspapers—once a key part of the newspaper experience—were increasingly texts for entertainment. And yet, near the end of his life, Whitman returned to a daily newspaper, the *New York Herald*, for the publication of more than thirty poems. Examining Whitman's connection with the *Herald* in 1888 brings this project to the end of an era, if not the end of a century, and shows how much the daily paper and newspaper poetry had changed from the rise of the penny press in the 1830s to the rise of the new journalism in the 1880s.

In January 1888, Walt Whitman began writing for the *New York Herald*, one of the most important nineteenth-century American newspapers, in a relationship in part meant to save him from anonymity, a recurring concern for the ageing poet. During this extremely productive period of Whitman's late life, thirty-one poems and two prose pieces appeared in the newspaper over a period of less than six months, and a total of thirty-six pieces were printed from December 1887 through August 1888.<sup>22</sup> Yet despite Whitman's apparent hope that his relationship with the *Herald* would help rescue him from oblivion and despite the fact that far more of Whitman's poems appeared for the first time in the *Herald* than in any other periodical in which Whitman published, the newspaper has been largely ignored in Whitman criticism and the poems never studied in their original publication context. This omission in Whitman scholarship is perhaps partly due to the overall imbalance in criticism favoring the poet's earlier life and writing, the prevailing assumption being that Whitman in old age is neither as interesting nor as

radical as the poet of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, nor as poignant as the poet of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." If we accept, however, that periodicals were significant to Whitman's career, then the exclusion of the *Herald* in Whitman criticism is to the detriment of a more complete understanding of Whitman and his *oeuvre* in historical and literary contexts. Examining this relationship, the most complex Whitman had with a periodical, further develops our understanding of one of the last years of Whitman's life. In addition, reading the *Herald* poems in their first instantiation requires that we see these late poems as a more significant body of work than previous critics have supposed, particularly in their formal function as original newspaper poetry. Newspaper poetry of the nineteenth century, a once common feature of the daily papers, required certain formal qualities which Whitman would have understood well given the years he spent working for newspapers. In the *Herald* pieces, Whitman worked within this poetic tradition, crafting short poems that could be understood by a mass readership.

Significantly, however, the relationship that Whitman developed with the *Herald* in 1888 hearkened back to an earlier period in the history of the American daily newspaper and poetry, in which newspaper poems participated in the public discourse of the community in which they were published. As the "poet laureate" of the *Herald*, Whitman fulfilled a role not uncommon in daily newspapers of the 1830s–1860s, but one that had diminished in frequency and importance, beginning with the Civil War. For Whitman and the *New York Herald*, Whitman's poems in the *Herald* were a return to an earlier period. In both cases, the effort appears to have been an attempt to gain or regain control of legacy and

shape an uncertain future.

The story of Whitman following the publication of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, his work in the Civil War, through to the centenary edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1876 is well-documented in literary scholarship. These years, for many, comprise the most interesting decades of Whitman's life and mark a significant shift in his poetic form and ideology. With *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman moved beyond his frequently simplistic rendering of politics for more complicated representations, and he maintained this greater subtlety throughout the Civil War era, from the late antebellum period through Reconstruction. But many Whitman critics regularly see the poetry of the 1880s and early 1890s as simply "minor" and neither aesthetically nor thematically innovative, with a few exceptions for individual poems. M. Wynn Thomas admits that previous critics interested in securing a reputation for Whitman could not do so on the basis of his late or "geriatric" poetry "since it is obvious that Whitman's powers . . . are not best recommended through a study of his poetry at what seems to be its weakest."<sup>23</sup> Thomas, however, hopes to contextualize, if not secure a place for, this late poetry within the corpus of Whitman's work, and reading the late poems of the *New York Herald* within their context in the paper does, in fact, increase and alter our understanding of them. No doubt these poems will never rank among Whitman's highest achievements. And readers who come across the *Herald* poems only in the "Sands at Seventy" annex to *Leaves of Grass* likely will find them mere trifles, as these readers will almost certainly encounter them after having read "Song of Myself" and other of Whitman's most powerful poems. We know,

however, based on sales figures and popular response, that most readers of the *New York Herald* would not have read "Song of Myself" or much of *Leaves of Grass*, except those poems they might have found in other periodicals. For current readers and critics, then, the poems that come before the *Herald* poems in the final edition of *Leaves*—and those poems that are routinely singled out in the greatest hits approach adopted by some anthologies—can shadow our appreciation of the late pieces. Reconsidering the original publishing environment of the *New York Herald* poems allows us to see how the poems operated in the culture of the period and read them within a more complete context.

Established by James Gordon Bennett in 1835, the *New York Herald* was one of the first successful penny papers of the Jacksonian era.<sup>24</sup> Though New York was already home to two successful penny papers, the *New York Sun* and *New York Transcript*, Bennett hoped that a slightly modified formula, which mixed the sensational journalism and affordable price with additional serious journalism written in a readable style, would cater to an unmet demand and appeal to an even larger audience. Realizing that a paper with many kinds of news would represent the interests of many types of readers who would buy an entire issue for a single column of interest to them, Bennett created in the *Herald* an eclectic mix of business, society, sporting, financial, and sensational news. As a result, by 1840, the *Herald's* circulation surpassed that of all other dailies in the United States. By 1857, the newspaper's circulation reached 70,000, and by the end of the Civil War circulation topped 131,000 (Crouthamel 54, 151). In 1866, Bennett turned the editorship of the *Herald* over to his son, James Gordon Bennett, Jr. Under Bennett, Jr.,

the *Herald's* reputation for sensational stories and the broadest variety of news grew. Circulation also continued to grow in the 1870s, and the paper maintained its dominance throughout the decade. Bennett, Jr., sent Henry Morton Stanley to find David Livingstone as well as expeditions to the North Pole, and he spent enormous sums of money in order to report breaking news. As a result of his management of the paper as well as his personal eccentricities, Bennett became both a celebrity and villain; indeed, critics who have attempted to offer an account of the *Herald* under the younger Bennett's reign tend to relate the life of the celebrity, playboy editor, rather than explore the paper itself.<sup>25</sup> Challenged by Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, the *Herald* lost ground in the 1880s. When Pulitzer purchased the *World* in 1883, his path to success nearly mirrored the efforts of James Gordon Bennett fifty years earlier. Like Bennett before him, who had drawn on the model of the *Sun* and *Transcript*, Pulitzer largely modeled the revamped *World* on the *Herald*. Also like Bennett, Pulitzer then built on the established formula to create a paper that would appeal to even more readers. In this way, Pulitzer quickly turned the *World* into the major New York newspaper, and by 1886 the *Herald* had relinquished its circulation lead to the *World*.<sup>26</sup> In 1888, Bennett continued to boast the *Herald's* previous circulation dominance by printing the circulation figure 190,500 under the heading "High Water Mark" as a standard daily feature of the paper, despite the *World's* similar proclamation of its daily 1887 circulation of 228,465.

Still printing both sensational news and marketing itself to a broad readership, the *Herald* followed an established format in 1888. The paper began with one or more pages

of advertising for rooms, domestic situations, and goods; the first page also carried news of marriages and deaths. The remaining pages each comprised a specific section, identifiable by their stories: major, breaking news; sports; entertainment and errata; international news; financial and commercial news; miscellaneous news and additional advertising. In addition, local news was spread throughout the paper, as appropriate for the various sections. This format, however, was in contrast to the newer format of most popular newspapers of the 1880s, where, among other changes, the front page carried breaking news.<sup>27</sup> For example, the front page of the weekday *New York World* in 1888 relied heavily on illustrations to accompany the more than a dozen breaking and sensational news items. Pages two through six carried a variety of news. Commercial items and advertisements began to appear on page seven, and pages eight and nine were primarily advertisements, including frequent self-promotional pieces for the *New York World*. Meanwhile, the *Herald* only sparingly featured illustrations. Maps and figures appeared several times a month, most often accompanying transatlantic news, such as shipping routes. Both the *Herald* and the *World* published larger editions on Sundays. In 1888, the *Herald* ranged from twelve to twenty-eight or more pages and occasionally ran an octuple sheet (thirty-two pages) for its Sunday edition. The Sunday *Herald* was essentially a longer version of the weekday paper. Comparatively, weekday issues of the *World* typically ranged from eight to twelve pages. On Sunday, the *World* ranged from eighteen to thirty pages and exemplified the latest stage of the Sunday edition. Early in 1888, the Sunday *World* featured a serialization of Julian Hawthorne's *Section 558; or,*

*The Fatal Letter*, and readers were likely to find as many as ten poems in the Sunday paper, along with weekly columns from Bill Nye, a "Fun and Philosophy" section, and quarter-page illustrated advertisements for products like Pears' soap.<sup>28</sup> When challenged by the *World*, the *Herald's* conservative format certainly further precipitated its loss of circulation.

Sensational stories, particularly those dealing with strange deaths, could be found in essentially every issue of the *Herald* 1888. Stories of murdering spouses, train collisions, shipwrecks, and lost ships were frequent. So too were details of nature run amok, including dramatic accounts of destructive tornadoes, crippling blizzards, earthquakes, and cyclones. Similarly, fire and its devastation proved an untiring theme, as it had from the emergence of the penny press in the 1830s. Many of these sensational stories were related to issues of industrialization, of which the *Herald* presented an often grim view. Explosions, such as that at the Dupont Powder Works, in which "[f]our men were blown into atoms," and gas leaks that silently killed individuals and families were regularly reported. Immigration grew concomitantly with industrialization, and American hostility toward immigrants increased as well; both trends were apparent in the pages of the *Herald*, which probably helped to bolster nativism. The *Herald* linked Europeans with subversive politics, including socialism and anarchism. Articles early in the year warned of the arrival of more socialists in the United States and the growing problem in Europe, as well as mounting anarchist trouble on the European continent. Within the *Herald*, the United States was positioned as vulnerable to invasion from these

revolutionary groups. Despite the growing nativism in the United States, international news constituted a major part of the *Herald*. Through June, the *Herald* published extensive news on the failing health and deaths of Emperor William of Germany—for whom Whitman wrote "The Dead Emperor" for the paper—and his son William Frederick (Frederick III). The *Herald's* international news also focused on the mounting tensions between Russia and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. As part of this unfolding tension, the *Herald* covered Russia's plans to build a Pacific railway and the subsequent response from England.

International conflict, however, was not without stateside company, and the *Herald* kept its readers updated on what it called the "Hatfield-McCoy Vendetta," or the "Kentucky and West Virginia War," as well as on continued racial conflict in the South. And in the year that Jack the Ripper struck in England, and the *Herald* sensationalized the murders, the newspaper also ran notice that all criminals in New York sentenced to death would be executed by means of electrocution, effective January 1, 1889. But the most pressing national topics covered in the *Herald* in 1888 were related to the rise of industrial capitalism. As robber barons and trusts came to dominate business, and as industrialization and corruption seemed inherently intertwined, the *Herald* repeatedly featured Jay Gould as a subject of scorn. Multiple articles on trusts, monopolies, and labor strikes appeared in the newspaper daily. The *Herald* covered extensively the Reading Railroad and Shenandoah, Pennsylvania strikes as well as those by flint glass workers, miners, and cigar workers, among others. For some time, the *Herald* also



predicted the revival of Molly Maguireism in the United States. Coinciding with this rampant labor unrest, the *Herald* daily reported the stock market as "dull" or "very dull," only infrequently offering a more promising forecast. Marked both by intermittent financial depression and the accrual of enormous wealth, American existence in the late 1880s seemed both grandiose and particularly tenuous. The looming century's end exacerbated this sense of fragility. Naturally, the pages of the 1888 *Herald* explored and exploited these anxieties with its readers. In addition, the *Herald's* extensive coverage of the deaths of nineteenth-century icons Matthew Arnold, Emperor William, William Frederick, and General Sheridan, among others, further signaled the end of an era.

From at least the late 1870s, Whitman was interested in having some of his work appear in the *Herald*, and following the younger Bennett's rise to the editorship, Whitman solicited the paper as a venue for his work.<sup>29</sup> In May 1876, as the *Herald's* circulation continued to climb, Whitman drafted a letter to the editor writing, "I merely write you a line to call attention . . . to the poem I sent you some days since, *Song of the Exposition* . . . proposed to be printed, if at all, in the paper for May 10, if acceptable at the price named" (*Corr.* 3:46). The poem did not appear in the paper. Nearly five years later, in January 1881, Whitman wrote to his friend Jeanette Gilder—she had been the *Herald's* literary editor for a number of years and would later publish several of Whitman's late poems in her magazine the *Critic*—about the possibility of "exploiting" his piece "The Poetry of the Future" in the *Herald* (*Corr.* 3:204–5). The newspaper's circulation and broad reach almost certainly influenced Whitman's desire to appear in its

pages. Then, on December 15, 1887, at the request of *Herald* literary editor Julius Chambers, Whitman contributed the poem "As the Greeks Signal Flame" [*sic*, hereafter regularized, "As the Greek's Signal Flame"] for the paper's celebration of John Greenleaf Whittier's eightieth birthday. And on New Year's Day 1888, the *New York Herald* ran a page of resolutions by famous individuals, communities, organizations, and *Herald* readers. Many of these resolutions, or "swearings off," were humorous, and more than a few likely were jokes drafted by *Herald* writers. Among the many resolutions purportedly telegraphed to the newspaper was one by Whitman. Carrying the dateline "Camden, Dec. 31, 1887—Walt Whitman," and the headline "The Naughty Gray Poet," the short piece read, "I'm not going to swear off. I'm going to be as ruggedly naughty as ever" (5). The piece, whether written by Whitman or not, is an appropriate one to mark the beginning of 1888 and the year's relationship between the poet and the paper. Near the end of January, Whitman and Bennett contracted an agreement for Whitman's poetry to appear regularly in the newspaper, and within a matter of months, the poems generated significant backlash in the press, though Whitman was probably better behaved than ever before.

Following the appearance of "As the Greek's Signal Flame," Whitman again wrote to the *Herald's* editor, perhaps in an attempt to develop a stronger rapport with the paper: "Thanks for the handsome pay for the WHITTIER SONATA—Best regards to Mr. Bennett, Mr. Chambers & all the boys" (*Corr.* 4:136). Whether Whitman had been in direct correspondence with Bennett or simply working through his intermediaries prior to

this time is not clear, but in late January 1888, he received a letter from the editor. In a message to Richard Maurice Bucke on January 24, Whitman summarized the correspondence: "I rec'd a letter this mn'g from N Y Herald, from J G B[ennett] himself asking me to write for the paper—" (*Corr.* 4:143–144). According to the editor's note that accompanies this letter, Bennett asked Whitman for poems on any subject and told the poet, "The *Herald* would be very willing to pay a reasonable compensation for this work, and only as much as you desire need be signed. The stanzas need not contain more than 4 to 6 lines." Traubel gives a more complete account of the arrangement: Whitman's "contract with The Herald calls for ten pieces (no size stipulated) a month, for which he is paid one hundred dollars" (1:41–42). In a letter to Julius Chambers on March 7, however, Whitman wrote that he "would like to continue [the arrangement] for \$40 a month, & will furnish [the *Herald*] with say ten pieces a month . . . this bargain to commence with the current month" (*Corr.* 4:155). Though Whitman never quite met the arrangement of ten poems per month, thirty-one of his poems appeared in the *Herald* under this contract with the paper.<sup>30</sup> A final poem, "[Over and through the burial chant]," later printed as "Interpolation Sounds" in *Good-bye My Fancy*, appeared in the paper on August 12, 1888, four days after Whitman's short prose tribute to General Sheridan, but not under the earlier contract. This poem on the death of Sheridan, written at Bennett's request, would be Whitman's last printed contribution to the paper. The previous month, on July 3, Whitman had sent a letter to Bennett and Julius Chambers to thank them for their recent payment (despite the fact that Whitman had not submitted any poems) and to let them

know he would likely not be able to continue with their contract: "have not sent you a line for a month—& probably will not any more—as I am ill from breaking out of old war-paralysis" (*Corr.* 4:181). Whitman did submit at least one additional poem to the paper in 1889—"Bravo, Paris Exposition!"—but the poem was rejected by both daily circulation leaders, the *Herald* (which had also rejected his 1876 exposition poem) and Pulitzer's *World*, before being printed in the September 28, 1889 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (Traubel, 5:280, 6:19).

Ultimately the relationship that developed between Whitman and the *Herald* was advantageous to both parties. The paper provided Whitman with a steady income and placed no demands on his poems. With its large circulation, the paper offered Whitman a readership unprecedented by any of the newspapers in which he had previously published and probably the greatest readership he had in his lifetime. The publication of Whitman's poems may also have been a move of desperation for the *Herald*, which was suffering by 1888, given the major success of the *World*, now the circulation leader. For the *Herald*, then, Whitman in his old age and increasing fame provided the allure of celebrity. Yet even the two most recent biographies of Whitman, Jerome Loving's *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* and David Reynolds's *Walt Whitman's America*, say very little about either the *Herald* poems themselves or the newspaper. Loving writes only that *November Boughs* "contained the essays and poems published since *Specimen Days*, including poems written in an open contract for the *New York Herald* between January 27 and May 27, 1888" (Reynolds 460). Reynolds also effectively dismisses the poems and the paper.

Picking up on an editorial note from the *Daybooks and Notebooks*, Reynolds does call Whitman the "poet laureate of the nation's most popular newspaper" and sees Whitman's appearance in the paper as his "greatest publicity coup of the period"; but the *Herald* was no longer the most popular newspaper, and Reynolds underestimates the overall significance of this "coup," as well as the poetry itself (Reynolds 565). According to Reynolds, the *Herald* provided the "famous sick old man" with "the opportunity to say something to America," he had "little new to say," and was "beyond even thinking about writing a sweeping, cohesive poem about America" (Reynolds 565). These estimations elide the important relationship that actually existed between Whitman and the *Herald*. Situating the relationship within the larger context of the presence and function of newspaper poems near the end of the century and examining details from Whitman's correspondence, Traubel's accounts of Whitman's relationship with the *Herald*, and Whitman's works published in the paper can advance understanding of the arrangement and its significance.

When Whitman noted that he had received a letter from "J G B himself," he indicated that he must have thought his new relationship with the *Herald* was significant. The letter did not come from the literary or managing editor, but from Bennett "himself." Whitman wrote a similar letter to William Sloane Kennedy the same day, and from the end of January 1888 through May, Whitman continuously updated Bucke, Kennedy, William Douglas O'Connor, and others on the status of his publishing with the *Herald*. In instances like these, Whitman recognizes the cultural significance of the paper and,

relentless self-promoter that he was, the effects publishing in the *Herald* might have on his late career. At other times, Whitman appears conflicted in his attitude toward the paper and bothered by the quality of his work. In one instance, he tells Traubel, "I have this afternoon mailed two pieces to the *Herald*—two more throws against oblivion" (Traubel 1:77). Here, he suggests his appearances in the paper are an immediate means to remind the public of his still being alive and, more pointedly, a way to combat being forgotten.

"Throws against oblivion": Whitman's relationship with the paper is inextricably linked to anxieties about legacy, which permeated the poet's thoughts in 1888. Following Matthew Arnold's death on April 15, 1888—for many a harbinger of the end of an era—Whitman wrote a short piece for the *Herald* on Arnold's American legacy. According to Whitman's article, which appeared in the paper on April 18,

[A] character like Arnold's has a meaning and influence in literature, for we welcome all kinds, and indeed the glory of our age is that it would leave no voice, no claim unrecognized. But the fine gentleman, the purist, even the fine scholar, was probably never really less called for. Literature is already overweighed with them, and henceforth revolts from being a mere profession, a select class. I doubt whether America will miss Arnold at all. We miss Carlyle hugely, and the taking away of Tennyson would make a great void here in the emotions and aesthetic intellect of the United States. There are three or four great scientists to-day in the British islands

any of whose deaths would cause chills here. But I don't think anything of the kind will happen in the present case. (8)

Though specifically about the death of Arnold as well as the impact of British authors (and scientists) on American culture in general, the paragraph also makes clear Whitman's own apprehension about passing into oblivion. He implicitly sets himself in opposition to Arnold, the purist, the fine scholar, and the literary professional and suggests the reasons America will not long cherish Arnold are the same reasons America will feel a void at Whitman's passing. But surely there is some irony in the statement that "the glory of our age is that it would leave no voice . . . unrecognized," since Whitman was, himself, still struggling for recognition in 1888. And it is in the irony, and between what Whitman writes about Arnold and what he implies about himself, as well as in Whitman's *Herald* poems, that we find his anxiety. As his comment to Traubel indicates, however, Whitman's continued presence in the *Herald* allowed him to maintain a public presence and an opportunity to combat nothingness.

At other moments, Whitman appears unconvinced of the efficacy of his *Herald* coup. Some time after the "two more throws against oblivion" remark and in a slightly different mood, he commented to Traubel on the *Herald's* publication of "A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine": "The list grows but what's the use of it?" (1:182). As these examples illustrate, Whitman developed an almost schizophrenic attitude about the *Herald*. On the one hand, publication in the paper seemed to offer Whitman longevity and the opportunity to postpone inevitable silence. On the other, he sees his work there as

pointless or without meaning, for along with questioning the use of writing for the *Herald*, Whitman also was ambivalent about reading his poems in the paper. At least, this account of the ambivalent Whitman permeates the conversations with Traubel, in which we learn that Whitman's subscription to the *Herald* sometimes lapses, or the paper is no longer sent, or that Whitman has not himself read some of the poems, instead asking Traubel about their appearance in the paper. For all this ambivalence, though, Whitman surely counted on the *Herald* poems to serve as prepublication advertising for the forthcoming but incomplete *November Boughs*, and in letters to friends he inquired whether they had seen his latest "little bits."

Readers of the *Herald* certainly did see his poems. With the exception of "As the Greek's Signal Flame" and "[Over and through the burial chant]," which were included in larger stories on Whittier and Sheridan, Whitman's *Herald* poems appeared on the same page, in the same column, in every occurrence. The editorial and exchange page was located in the middle of the newspaper and was devoted to entertainment news, weather forecasts, various tidbits of light news, letters from readers, humorous clips from other papers, and endorsements of the *Herald*. Whitman's poems appeared in the "Personal Intelligence" column, which began with a detailed weather forecast and contained a variety of short anecdotes, letters, and poems, many of which were often clips from other newspapers. Given the nature of the page, Whitman's presence there may at first seem counterintuitive: the news on the page was slight, ephemeral, and watered-down. And while these adjectives may, in fact, be some of the more critical that come to mind, the



page was probably one of the most popular in the newspaper because of the very kinds of information it offered, including sentence-long summaries of major international, national, and local news stories. Moreover, the page featured subscription and advertising information for all editions of the *Herald*, as well as the address of the paper and Bennett's name as proprietor. This page, more than any other, offered something for everyone: businessmen and individuals looking to advertise in the paper; readers seeking subscriptions; those with neither the time to read nor interest in the full-length news stories; everyone wanting to know the weather forecast; people looking for the day's entertainment; and those looking for a bit of humor, as the page invariably printed several short witticisms. The faithful reader could also regularly follow both serious and light-hearted discussions about a number of topics including politics, philanthropy, and, in the case of Whitman, poetry for several days or weeks at a time. In addition, the page sang the praises of the *Herald* and told readers why they should read the paper. First and foremost, the *Herald* was one of the most widely read newspapers in the United States (probably second only to Pulitzer's *World* until the arrival of William Randolph Hearst in New York in 1892) and had an unmatched international following. The page touted both of these achievements with the standard "High Water Mark" circulation figure and notice that the paper received "cable messages for all parts of Europe" at its Broadway office. The page also frequently featured testimonials in the form of letters to the editor in which readers would write of their bad experiences with another paper—perhaps the *World*—and their grateful return to the *Herald*. Thus, regardless of what other pages people

skipped, they would stop over this one for any number of reasons. Whitman's presence on the page, which may initially have seemed idiosyncratic to today's reader, makes complete sense: the page, perhaps more than any other in the paper, promised the poet an audience and provided Bennett a place to parade a celebrity author.<sup>31</sup>

Though neither Whitman's correspondence nor Traubel record much about the public's reaction to the Whitman *Herald* poems, one of Whitman's letters does suggest the poems provoked conversation. In a note to Bucke on April 8, 1888, he wrote, "—there seems to be some hitch in the *Herald's* publishing my little pieces—(I hear that they have been appealed to in print to stop publishing *such stuff*)—" (*Corr.* 4:160). The publication record supports Whitman's suspicion, as nine of his poems appeared in both February and March, but only four were published in April, all within a two-week period. (On April 30, 1888, the paper also reprinted "The Bravest Soldiers," which had earlier appeared in the *Herald*, on March 18.)<sup>32</sup> Otherwise Whitman had a noticeably sparser presence in the paper than in the preceding months. No clear explanation exists as to why so few of Whitman's poems appeared in the *Herald* in April, and a number of factors, including Whitman's poor health, probably contributed to his absence from the paper. Another reason, however, as Whitman suggests to Bucke, may have been the response of readers to his poems.

Indeed, in March and April, Whitman and his poetry received a good deal of criticism in the "Personal Intelligence" column. The backlash largely stemmed from his seemingly innocent, and not at all naughty, poem "The First Dandelion," published in the



when the Great Blizzard hit. Almost immediately the snow-bound took their ire out on Whitman in poems of their own. "The First Blizzard," signed "After Walt Whitman," appeared in the *Herald* on March 14, and a second poem, "Served Him Right," was printed in the column the next day:

The poet began an ode to spring—

"Hail, lusty March! Thy airs inspire

My muse of flowers and love to sing—"

And then the blizzard struck his lyre. (5)

A few days later, on March 18, Whitman remained the object of public scorn. This time, "Personal Intelligence" reprinted a clip from the *Buffalo Express*, which cheekily detailed how New Yorkers had passed their days during the blizzard and subsequent isolation: "by printing poems of Walt Whitman's on such seasonable themes as 'The First Dandelion.' We join Walt in admiration for dandelion salad" (14). Unfortunately, after returning to safer subject matter with "The Wallabout Martyrs" (March 16) and "The Bravest Soldiers" (March 18), Whitman followed with another poem that aggravated the snow-weary coast, "Orange Buds by Mail from Florida" (March 19). In a piece reprinted in the *Herald* on March 21 under the title "Work for Our Poet," the *Hartford Times* both criticized the larger premise of the poem and offered its own jab about the blizzard:

Walt Whitman writes a few lines to the New York Herald on a bunch of oranges from Florida, received by mail, and assumes it is a greater proof of civilization and progress than the ship of war and the grand opera which

Voltaire claimed were evidence of France. Now, if Walt will poeticize a little on a lump of coal from Nova Scotia, and tell us of the civilization and progress that place a governmental tax upon it, we will gratefully welcome him to our homes and hearts in this day of blizzards. (6)

Whitman had at least one defender, however. In a letter to the editor printed in the column on March 28, a *Herald* reader wrote, "The old gray poet deserves well of his country and his countrymen. He has always carried a very red blood in his veins; he has ventured much and suffered much for his race, and his views on early spring, or even upon 'the beautiful snow,' will always be fresh as a daisy . . ." (6). Signed "Alexander Secundus," likely a pseudonym, the letter was perhaps written and planted by John Burroughs, Bucke, or, most probably, O'Connor. Despite this defense, Whitman's untimely poem remained in the public consciousness more than a month later. With spring now unquestionably imminent, the *Herald* proclaimed, "If this sunshine has courage, Mr. Whitman's beautiful fancy of the spring's first dandelion, coming with the truthful face . . . will soon be realized." While neither "The First Dandelion" nor "Orange Buds by Mail from Florida" may have prompted such a public response without the snowstorm, and the poems may have otherwise been received rather well or at least silently, the blizzard proved fortuitous for later literary critics and historians. Without the snowstorm, the public's response to "The First Dandelion," and the subsequent free-for-all on Whitman's *Herald* poems, we would be hard-pressed to know anything about how widespread the readership of these late poems really was. Reading "The First Dandelion"

in its original publication and context shows clearly that people in New York and elsewhere were reading Whitman's *Herald* poems and were doing so in numbers unprecedented for his earlier work. The poems reached a huge audience and were the subject of considerable conversation. Such conversation involving and surrounding specific newspaper poems and a newspaper's poet, however, are characteristics of an earlier era and an earlier model more typical of newspapers of the late 1830s and 1840s—the same years Whitman started publishing poetry in daily newspapers, and the years that mark the beginning of the *Herald's* dominance as a penny paper—than they are characteristic of 1880s newspapers.

The *Herald* had little to gain by "some hitch" in printing Whitman's poems, such as the one the poet mentions in his letter to Bucke. In fact, given the strong-armed competition of the *World*, Bennett must have welcomed just the sort of discussion and controversy (mild as it was) that Whitman's poems were generating. Demands from the public to stop publishing Whitman's poetry would have further encouraged Bennett and Chambers in their efforts. While notes in the edited correspondence suggest an unresolved issue regarding Whitman's March bill was responsible for the lapse in publication, Whitman's records also show some confusion about his submissions to the newspaper, and the *Herald* may simply not have had poems to print. In one case, Whitman notes that he sent "Broadway" to the *Herald* on both March 3 and April 9, and the poem appeared on April 10 (*Daybooks* 2:452). The *Herald* may have lost the first copy of the poem, but it is similarly possible that Whitman had not sent it in March after

all.<sup>33</sup> And perhaps Whitman chose not to send more poems to the paper for a period of time following the public reaction to "The First Dandelion" and "Orange Buds by Mail From Florida"; the criticism generated by the poems, for circumstances well beyond Whitman's control, must have provoked some feelings of frustration, but Traubel records no such information. Regardless of the reason behind the lapse, however, Whitman's lack of poems in the paper in April did not signal the poet's total absence from the "Personal Intelligence" column.

Possibly in an effort to supplement the lack of new poems in April and to continue to reap the rewards of the dandelion controversy, the *Herald* worked Whitman into the column in other ways. Early in the month and prior to the resolution of any publishing hitch, the column featured two newspapers' responses to Whitman's poem "Continuities," the most recent of Whitman's pieces to appear in the paper, on March 20. These responses, in addition to maintaining Whitman's presence in the paper, also indicate the national readership Whitman's *Herald* poems received. On April 1, the *New York Herald* excerpted the *Chicago Herald*: "‘Nothing is ever really lost, or can be lost,'[the first line of "Continuities"] sings Walt Whitman. Walt appears to have never played poker" (14). Two days later, the *Herald* printed a companion clip from the *Mobile Register*. Following the tagline "A Natural Deduction" the piece reads, "‘Nothing is ever really lost, or can be lost,' sings Walt Whitman. Mr. Whitman does not wear collar buttons" (6). As mentioned above, Whitman returned to the *Herald* on April 10, with "Broadway." On April 13, the paper printed an announcement of a Glasgow firm's plans

to offer a book of Whitman's for publication by subscription, and on April 18, the piece by Whitman on the death of Matthew Arnold appeared. Two days later, the *Herald* reprinted an anecdote from the *Chicago Tribune*. The anecdote, with the title "Can't Rhyme for Shucks," recounts a conversation between a young man from St. Louis and a young woman from Boston. The young man asks Miss Howjames if she has seen any of the poems "written by Walt Whitman for the New York Herald—?" to which she responds, "I am not in the habit of reading anything by the person you mention." More interested in impressing Miss Howjames than standing up for Whitman, the young man concludes, after stammering, "I am not dead stuck on him myself. He can't rhyme for shucks. He makes anxiety rhyme with nitro-glycerin" (6). In such instances, the *Herald* advertised both itself and Whitman. By citing clips from other papers that mention the *Herald* and the poet by name, the *Herald* commented on its extensive readership and cultural role; a reporter of news, the *Herald* also made the news across the nation. As Thomas Leonard points out, this practice of reprinting clips from other newspapers "allowed editors to show readers that the very publication they were holding had impact across the country. . . . This was editing of the news to confer authority on the very paper that the reader was reading" (128). Reprinted in the *Herald*, the excerpts advertised the *Herald's* connection to Whitman and encouraged more readers to buy the paper if for no other reason than to look for Whitman's seemingly easily-mocked poems. In addition, such pieces, along with the return of "Mr. Whitman's beautiful fancy of the spring's first dandelion" (April 22) and the reprinting of "The Bravest Soldiers" (April 30), allowed the



*Herald* to maintain Whitman's presence in the column, even in the relative absence of his poetry. The paper had a significant interest in developing this more permanent role for Whitman, especially after the public response generated by his March poems.

Whitman returned to the *Herald* with seven poems in May, after publishing only four new pieces in April. In June, however, Whitman's health again grew worse, and he published no poems in the *Herald*. His May poems would, in fact, be his last contributions to the *Herald*, with the exception of "[Over and through the burial chant]" published in August. Throughout June, as in April, the *Herald* maintained Whitman's presence in the newspaper in other ways, primarily by carrying coverage of his birthday and declining health. On June 12, 1888, the *Herald* predicted Whitman very near death, and on June 16, the paper reprinted a premature eulogy of sorts from the *Chicago Herald*, which with its peculiar shifting of tenses, suggests the poet had already died:

Walt Whitman is a poet who refused to be ground in the small mortar of human conventionality. Like Wagner in music, he thought he had a new idea, and resolutely, through a long life, impressed the individuality of that idea on the literature of the new world. It cannot be said that his poetry is good, but it may be maintained that he copied it nowhere. Whether he could write poetry or not, he deserved the thanks of all the Americans for dealing metrical form and ceremony the deadliest blow it has ever received. (6)

At the beginning of June, Julius Chambers and Bennett probably thought they were again

holding a place for Whitman until new poems arrived and therefore wanted to keep his name and poetry fresh in readers' minds. By the middle of the month, however, as Whitman's health worsened, the editors quite possibly prepared for the poet's death as the most fitting, and profitable, conclusion to the previous five-month long conversation. Regardless, Bennett would have wanted to prolong Whitman's presence as long as possible, either for an eventual return or to lead up to his death and its subsequent coverage. The *Herald* could only benefit from the publicity, negative or otherwise. In the same way, for the duration of the contract, Whitman benefited from his connection to the paper and relied on the association of his name with the *Herald* to advertise his work. Certainly, then, neither Whitman nor the *Herald* considered their relationship simple or inconsequential.

Conflicted at times about both the quality and content of his later poems, including those that appeared in the *Herald*, and their relation to his larger body of work, Whitman ultimately decided in their favor, telling Traubel in June 1888:

I often ask myself, is the expression of the life of an old man consonant with the fresher, earlier, delvings, faiths, hopes, stated in the original Leaves? I have my doubts—minor doubts—but somehow I decide the case finally on my own side. It belongs to the scheme of the book . . . Am I, as some think, losing grip?—taking in my horns? No—no—no: I am sure that could not be. I still wish to be, am, the radical of my stronger days—to be the same uncompromising oracle of democracy—to maintain

undimmed the light of my deepest faith . . . The Sands have to be taken as the utterances of an old man—a very old man. I desire that they may be interpreted as confirmations, not denials, of the work that has preceded . . . I recognize, have always recognized, the importance of the lusty, strong-limbed, big-bodied American of the Leaves: I do not abate one atom of that belief now, today. But I hold to something more than that, too, and claim a full, not a partial judgment upon my work—I am not to be known as a piece of something but as a totality. (Traubel 1:271–2)

Whitman thus cautions us not to excise these late poems from his corpus and to read them as part of his canon. We are not bound to his injunction, of course. But we should keep it in mind when others see the Whitman of the *Herald* poems as inconsequential, amounting to nothing new or significant. What such readings ignore is the degree to which the pieces widen the panorama of Whitman's democratic poetry to include those visions of old age not represented in his earlier works. They are not refutations of his earlier representations but complements and complications of them. The *Herald* poems participate in the discussions and engage in ideas central to Whitman's poetry since 1855, though the poems' interpretations of these ideas are understandably different. If, as Harold Aspiz claims, Whitman "realized from the outset of his poetic career that if his poetry were to reflect the essence and scope of our life experiences—and those of his own life—it must speak of death openly, imaginatively, and unswayed by clichés or established doctrines" (1), then we should not be surprised, in the *Herald* poems, to come across a depiction of

the "sick old man" or be necessarily inclined to read the sick old man as insignificant. Such a defense of the *Herald* poems, however, one based on pointing out the ways in which the pieces do, in fact, follow the philosophical trajectory of Whitman's work, is not the most useful nor the most compelling case for reappraising the *Herald* pieces. Instead, considering the formal and functional qualities of the pieces as newspaper poems begins to get at a more thoughtful and nuanced reading of the *Herald* poems.

Even a cursory reading of original newspaper poems across the century makes clear certain properties of the form: newspaper poems relate current events, news, or cultural debate; their content is frequently local to the communities in which they are published; the poems are often quite short; and newspaper poems can be understood by a mass readership. As a whole, Whitman's poems first published in newspapers share these characteristics. With the exception of the poems Whitman published in the bohemian weekly paper, the *New-York Saturday Press*, his newspaper poems related current events; participated in political debate (particularly those published pre-*Leaves of Grass*); were often local in their content (such as the publication of the "The Mississippi at Midnight" in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*); and were fairly short and easily understood. All of these qualities serve the function of the popular newspaper, including reporting, creating or forging a sense of community, and appealing to a mass audience. Since Whitman began his poetic career in newspapers, and had extensive experience in the newspaper business, he undoubtedly understood these formal and functional qualities of newspaper poetry.

That Whitman's *Herald* poems share the qualities of his earlier newspaper poetry does not then signal a regression from his innovative work of the 1850s–1870s; rather, the *Herald* poems show Whitman working effectively in a form that he understood well. For example, the lyric quality of Whitman's *Herald* poems, from a formal point of view and out of the newspaper context in which they were published, marks them as conservative and outmoded. But the lyric was one of the major forms of newspaper poetry in the nineteenth century, and the poems therefore participate in a particular tradition related to the work of the poems and the newspaper. And while newspaper poetry could and often did encourage new ideas, its function of appealing to a mass readership and promoting conversation encouraged formal restraint. Whitman also seems to have realized the changes poems in newspapers had undergone in recent decades. A student of newspapers, Whitman must have noticed the shift away from original newspaper poetry, particularly poetry that attempted to provoke discussion, to poems whose primary function was entertainment rather than critical engagement.

Whitman's own poems in the *New York Herald* strike a balance between older forms of newspaper poetry and the more recent trends of the 1870s and 1880s. The poems established a sense of community for readers of the paper, even if that community often came together in their criticism of his poetry. Similarly, they participated in the discourse of cultural anxiety about death and degeneration advanced throughout the pages of the *Herald* and in the culture-at-large. The earlier discussion of the "First Dandelion" controversy and ensuing response from the *Herald's* community of readers

perhaps best illustrates the first of these functions. One may argue that the ongoing conversation surrounding Whitman's poems in the *Herald* emerged only because of their poor timing during the Great Blizzard. Such an argument, however, overlooks the fact that for such a response to be possible at all, a significant community of readers had to be already invested in reading Whitman's *Herald* poems—whether out of enjoyment or self-torture. In addition, if Whitman's *Herald* poems had been esoteric or on themes not immediately relevant to the *Herald's* readers, even the Great Blizzard could not have prompted a response. But as newspaper poems, the *Herald* pieces were rooted in the moment and in dialogue with the paper's readers. As such, they were participatory in public culture and able to elicit response from the public.

In addition, Whitman's poems participate in an ongoing, intertextual discourse on life and death developed throughout the pages of the *Herald*. As the century approached its twilight years, Whitman faced death and was well-positioned to write about the United States' own uncertain future. According to Betsy Erkkila, Whitman's "crippled and disease-ridden body, old before its time, seemed once again an image of America itself at the close of the century . . . . Whitman's last poems are end-of-the-century poems . . . ." (317). As end-of-the-century poems, the *Herald* pieces are complex in their engagement of the *fin de siècle* themes relevant to the aging Whitman, the *Herald*, as well as to the United States and the *Herald's* readers. Whitman gives poetic voice to the uncertain future on display throughout the *Herald* in 1888, and he variously speaks as comforter, commemorator, and suffering eye-witness. More than being simple "incidental" or

"filler" poems, pieces like "The First Dandelion," "Soon Shall Winter's Foil Be Here," "After the Dazzle of Day," and "A Prairie Sunset" record events of day-to-day life, but they also function as explorations of human and cultural mortality. Appropriately, Whitman summarizes this thematic unity across the works in "Continuities":

The body, sluggish, aged, cold—the embers left from earlier fires,  
 The light in the eye grown dim shall duly flame again;  
 The sun now low in the west rises for mornings and for noons continual;  
 To frozen clods ever the spring's invisible land returns,  
 With grass and flowers and summer fruits and corn.

For Whitman, such an understanding of the continuous nature of life, and death as part of life, is comforting in this instance. That Whitman felt inclined to do so much comforting, however, points to the pressing need for reassurance against a number of factors: for Whitman, seemingly imminent death and a questionable legacy; for the *Herald*, a similarly uncertain future; for the United States, tremendous uncertainty of its own. The anecdote about Mrs. Howjames, described above, further supports such a reading.

Whitman had used neither "anxiety" nor "nitro-glycerin" in any of his *Herald* poems. The young man's choosing these words is therefore partly what makes the anecdote funny.

But the choice of these words also suggests how the public interpreted Whitman's poems and further gives a sense of the anxiety and destruction in the culture-at-large. Ultimately, the characteristics that pervade Whitman's *Herald* poems—a sense of curiosity, checked by dread, shaded by optimism, and consumed by thoughts of growth and decay—are

those that permeated his last years and the final decade of the nineteenth century. Given its own faltering existence, and the *fin de siècle* urban malaise depicted elsewhere in its pages, the *New York Herald* was perhaps the most suitable outlet for these expressions, and together the *Herald* and Whitman's poems offer a considerable intertextual record of the United States near the end of the century. The prevailing critical assessment of Whitman's *Herald* poems, which sees the poems as "health bulletins" having "little new to say," ignores the formal and functional characteristics of newspaper poetry and reads the poems outside of the contexts—textual and cultural—in which they were first published and read. By the very dictates of the newspaper poetry form, Whitman's *Herald* poems could not "provide a sweeping, cohesive poem about America." If we evaluate the *Herald* poems first as newspaper poems, however, we must begin to acknowledge their achievements in this form.

### **Conclusion**

The contract between Walt Whitman and the *New York Herald* looks back to an earlier model of the place and function of poems in newspapers and an earlier era of both poetry and the newspaper. In 1835 and then from 1840 to 1842, the *Herald* published original poems of the eccentric and sensational McDonald Clarke. (Whitman was a follower of Clarke, contributing a poem to the daily *New York Aurora* upon the poet's accidental death in 1842.) In addition to the pieces by Clarke, the *Herald* routinely published a variety of poems on current local, national, and international events, poems reprinted from books and magazines, and other purportedly original verse on love and



nature. Beginning in the 1850s, however, the *Herald* published noticeably less poetry than it had in earlier decades, and poetry became extremely rare in the *Herald* during the Civil War. As the *Herald's* size and circulation grew following the War, the paper published few poems, and while other factors certainly contributed to the decreased presence of poetry in the newspaper, the *Herald* offers an extreme example of the apparent relationship between size, circulation, and newspaper poems, particularly original, locally-oriented, socially-engaged newspaper verse. As size and circulation increased, the presence of such poems decreased. Curiously, Whitman's poems in the *New York Herald* in 1888 reversed this trend at a time when the function of the newspaper poet was unclear and appeared outmoded. Rather than leading and testing boundaries, as both the *Herald* and Whitman had done in earlier decades, Whitman's poems in the *Herald* were a eulogy; at the same time, newspaper editors prepared on more than one occasion to eulogize Whitman. As circulations skyrocketed and the largest newspapers printed weekend issues of more than thirty pages, the conversation that had existed between poets, newspaper editors, and newspaper readers, and between poems and other newspaper content effectively shut down. While poems continued to appear in daily newspapers throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the nature of the poems, and the relationship between the poems and the newspaper, was fundamentally different than it had been in the 1830s and 1840s. The evolving relationship of newspapers and poetry in the nineteenth century shaped and signalled changes in the role of the newspaper, shifts in understanding about the role of poetry in society, and a transformation in the

participation of the daily newspaper in the development and dissemination of American literature.

<sup>1</sup> I have obtained these numbers from the 1870 and 1880 censuses.

<sup>2</sup> For the poems I have catalogued from each newspaper, see the appendix, "Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890."

<sup>3</sup> See Douglas; Emery and Emery; Huntzicker; Lee; Mott, *A History of American Journalism*; and Smythe.

<sup>4</sup> According to Mott, "Fueled by the Civil War, news reportage came to replace the editorial as the driving force of the newspaper, drawing on the model/precedent of the penny papers of the 1830s. The reporter also began to replace the editor in importance in the mind of the average reader" (*A History of American Journalism* 385–386).

<sup>5</sup> For a good overview of the changes in newspapers during the Civil War and post-War years, Douglas; Mott, *A History of American Journalism*; and Smythe.

<sup>6</sup> For more on the transition to an independent press, see Barnhurst and Nerone; Douglas; Emery and Emery; Mott, *A History of American Journalism*; and Smythe.

<sup>7</sup> As with literary history, the history of the daily newspaper following the Civil War is not actually so linear nor so one-dimensional as this narrative suggests. Certainly, this history warrants complication and development—for example, many of the key characteristics of the new journalism are actually extensions of innovations of the penny press, which suggests more of an evolution than a revolution, and such a focus on new journalism excludes many daily newspapers that remained successful and influential for much of the decade—but such work is outside the scope of this project.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the marketplace model of the 1870s newspaper, see Barnhurst and Nerone, and Nord, *Communities of Journalism*. In addition, Leonard investigates the role of the newspaper in the marketplace and the newspaper as a marketplace commodity.

<sup>9</sup> For example, John Greenleaf Whittier's "A Mystery" appeared in several newspapers in January of 1873 after the February 1873 issue of the *Atlantic* went on sale in late January. See the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 23 January 1873: [3]; *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco) 25 January 1873: [5], *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* 28 January 1873: [4]; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* 30 January 1873: [1]. Poems by John G. Saxe include "I'm Growing Old," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* 25 January 1870: [4]; "Ode," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* 3 October 1873: [2]; and "A Poet's Constancy," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 24 January 1876: [2]. Alice Carey's include "Lost and Found," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 14 January 1870: [3]; "Sibyl," *Daily Evening Bulletin* 11 January 1873: [6]; and "The Maiden's Choice," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* 12 April 1876: [1]. Examples of Brett Harte's poems in the daily press include "A Geological Madrigal," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* 21 January 1873: [4] and "Caldwell of Springfield, New Jersey (1780)," *Cleveland Daily Herald* 12 July 1873: [4].

I have not systematically tracked appearances by Tennyson, Browning, and Ingelow, since the primary interest of this project is American poetry, but examples include, Alfred Tennyson, "The Coming of Arthur," *Daily Evening Bulletin* 5 January 1870: [4] and "The Springing of Life," *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat* 9 April 1876: [11]; Elizabeth Barrett Browning, "Lines," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* 15 January 1876: [1] and "A Man's Requirements," *Daily Evening Bulletin* 18 January 1876: [6];

Jean Ingelow, "Cold and Quiet," *Daily Evening Bulletin* 18 January 1870: [4] and "The Music of Childhood," *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat* 11 January 1876: [2].

<sup>10</sup> See "A Song of the Fifteenth Amendment" and "The Fifteenth Amendment."

<sup>11</sup> The Chicago *Inter Ocean* is unique among the newspapers considered, in that in its pages, poetry continued to serve much the same function as it had in previous decades, including political and social comment. The fact that the *Inter Ocean* was also the most politically aligned newspaper of those surveyed is likely not a coincidence.

<sup>12</sup> "The Baby's Squall," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 2 April 1879: [2]; "Cupid's Day," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 3 April 1879: [2]; "Dulces Amores," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 10 April 1879: [2]; "Gorgeousness," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 19 April 1879: [2]; "Call to the Flowers," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 20 April 1879: [2]; "A Woman's Fancy," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 22 April 1879: [2]; "Bubble on the Water," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 25 April 1879: [2]; "Since Mother Died," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 27 April 1879: [4]; "Spring Song," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 29 April 1879: [2]; and "Time and Women Wait for No Man," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 29 April 1879: [2]. For additional examples from the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* and other papers, see the appendix, "Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890."

<sup>13</sup> See Clark, "Sly Hannah"; Cooper, "Frogs at School"; Dodge, "The Smiling Dolly"; "Quiet Johnny"; "Tommy and the Robin."

<sup>14</sup> Periodical scholars have described the rise of the Sunday edition and the moral backlash to the editions. See, for example, Johanningsmeier, "The Devil, Capitalism, and Frank Norris."

<sup>15</sup> The Sunday issue of January 12, 1879, *Daily Rocky Mountain News* featured the following poems: "Goat," [2]; Theodore Martin, "Twilight Burial," [3]; "A Lover's Test," [5]; "On the Bay," [5]; Ella Wheeler, "The Phantom Ball," [6]; "A White Camellia," [6]; "Love's Promise," [6]; Willet C. Dentke, "Love's Young Dream," [6].

<sup>16</sup> The Civil War and the demand for news during the War had precipitated a general shift in thinking about the newspaper and its role in American society. In public discourse, however, the newspaper remained associated with a male readership well into the 1890s. The rise of the Sunday editions in the late 1880s and 1890s, which often had specific columns devoted to women's interests, contributed to a larger female readership. But the premise behind the supplements—that women, and children, would be interested in a certain kind of "news"—belies the equation of the rest of the newspaper with a male readership.

<sup>17</sup> This topic warrants more investigation.

<sup>18</sup> In addition, in the late 1880s and 1890s, the period in which the shift was most fully realized, future leading American historians, poets, and critics of the early twentieth century—who established a foundation for the literary canon—were perhaps reading the same daily newspapers. A few examples include Robert Frost, born in 1874; William Carlos Williams in 1883; Ezra Pound in 1885; Marianne Moore in 1887; T.S. Eliot in 1888; John Crowe Ransom in 1888; Frank Luther Mott in 1886; and Edmund Wilson in 1895.

<sup>19</sup> This relationship has been cursorily documented in different places (Holloway, F. DeWolfe Miller, Allen), but the bibliography of Whitman's first contributions to periodicals includes only a few items from the *Star*, and the relationship is not discussed in detail in biographies.

<sup>20</sup> Miller identifies an instance of Whitman's press campaign in the *Washington Evening Star* of October 17, 1870. Miller has corroborated the piece, which begins, "Walt Whitman.—And now these late October days, so sunny, crisp . . ." with manuscript evidence.

In addition, I have located several items from the summer of 1871 that likely were written by Whitman. Published on page one in the "Washington News and Gossip" column, the items include "[Alfred Tennyson has written]," "[Walt Whitman goes to New York]," "Walt Whitman," and "Walt Whitman Officially Thanked."

<sup>21</sup> For example, "[Walt Whitman's poem read before the Mechanics' Institute]."

<sup>22</sup> Pieces printed from 26 January 1888 through 27 May 1888 constitute those contributed as part of Whitman's official contract with the *Herald*. Despite the fact that the contract called for poems, Whitman's first contribution after the agreement was a short prose piece on 26 January, not the poem "To Those Who've Failed," which appeared on 27 January.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, 3. For more on Whitman's old-age poetry, see Stauffer.

<sup>24</sup> As Whitman criticism does for the poet, existing scholarship on the *Herald* privileges particular moments in the newspaper's history. This includes a much heavier interest in the newspaper from its founding in 1835 through the Civil War, and scholars are prone to retelling memorable anecdotes from this thirty-year period. Because a number of sources examine the founding and development of the *Herald*, and because this essay is primarily interested in the *Herald* in 1888, I have provided only those details relevant to a basic understanding of the newspaper and its importance in the nineteenth century. For more detailed and specialized accounts of the *New York Herald*, see Crouthamel; Douglas; Fermer; Mott, *History of American Journalism*.

*Herald* readers should keep in mind that the newspaper is more complex than it may initially seem. Two temptations arise when reading and studying the *Herald*: 1. To overlook Bennett's more problematic moral positions, such as strident nativism, in favor of celebrating the significant advances Bennett helped pioneer in the emerging popular press; 2. Overstating Bennett's personal, deplorable positions at the expense of overshadowing the many merits of the newspaper. The above studies point out a number of the newspaper's idiosyncrasies and seeming contradictions, but none deal with the full political and cultural complexities of the newspaper—certainly an enormous project. More than other authors, Crouthamel offers such a balanced view, but his work is limited to a study of the *Herald* under its founder, and no subsequent study has attempted a similar exploration of the *Herald* under James Gordon Bennett, Jr. The lack of scholarship on the *Herald* during the last three decades of the nineteenth century is a glaring omission in the existing criticism on the newspaper.

<sup>25</sup> This trend to talk about the life of the younger Bennett in place of a focus on the *Herald* is even less useful when we consider the work of Barnhurst and Nerone, who

have charted a shift in the newspaper form from the editor's newspaper to the publisher's newspaper in the 1870s. According to them, "although the editor retained a guiding hand in selecting news matter and still functioned as the chief voice of the newspaper, paramount control had passed into the hands of a proprietor who often played no editorial role" (73). Further, "The publisher's newspaper . . . consisted internally of a proprietor controlling three different departments: editorial, production, and business. The divisions were still permeable, of course, and often the publisher also held the title of editor in chief. . . . The publisher's newspaper, however, consisted of a more diverse network of relationships that often resulted in multivocal content" (75). In the case of the *Herald*, Bennett remained both editor and publisher, but since he spent the majority of his time in Europe, he had a network of people like Julius Chambers in New York making many day-to-day decisions on the newspaper's content. The overall direction of the paper remained up to Bennett, but his impact on its daily content—what made the *Herald* a newspaper—was considerably less than had been his father's.

To begin a discussion of the *Herald* under Bennett, Jr.—one which is interested in the newspaper more than the editor—this essay explores in some detail the *Herald* during 1888 and places the 1888 *Herald* within cultural and historical contexts, as well as examines Whitman in the *Herald* in that year.

<sup>26</sup> Between 1870 and 1890, national newspaper circulation increased by more than two-hundred percent. See Douglas, 83–84 and Mott, *History of American Journalism*, 435.

<sup>27</sup> For more on the changing format of the newspaper, see Barnhurst and Nerone, according to whom, "fiction, poetry, religious material . . . drifted toward the back pages, along with local events, financial matters, crime, and all the other features of the everyday." Meanwhile, "Advertising filled in the cracks, sometimes up front, sometimes in back, but always clearly demarcated from news matter, and always now divided between mass retail and classifieds" (105).

<sup>28</sup> Hawthorne's *Section 558* began appearing in the *World* on Sunday, January 8, 1888. The *World* did not publish poems exclusively on Sundays, but poems appeared primarily in its Sunday edition. For more details, see the appendix, "Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890."

<sup>29</sup> On 26 June 1872, "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free," Whitman's poem for the Dartmouth College commencement exercises, had appeared in the *Herald*, but the piece simultaneously appeared, in full or in part, in several other newspapers as well. I do not, therefore, consider it as part of the development of Whitman's relationship with the paper.

<sup>30</sup> See Belasco, *Whitman's Poems in Periodicals*, for page images and complete transcriptions of the *Herald* poems. The poems published in the *New York Herald* between 27 January and 27 May 1888 are, in order of appearance, "To Those Who've Fail'd"; "Halcyon Days"; "After the Dazzle of Day"; "America"; "Abraham Lincoln (Born Feb. 12, 1809)"; "True Conquerors"; "Soon Shall Winter's Foil Be Here"; "The Dismantled Ship"; "Old Salt Kossabone"; "Mannahatta"; "Paumanok"; "From Montauk Point"; "My Canary Bird"; "A Prairie Sunset"; "The Dead Emperor"; "The First Dandelion"; "The Wallabout Martyrs"; "The Bravest Soldiers"; "Orange Buds by Mail



from Florida"; "Continuities"; "Broadway"; "Life"; "The Final Lilt of Songs"; "To-day and Thee"; "Queries to My Seventieth Year"; "The United States to Old World Critics"; "Out of May's Shows Selected"; "As I Sit Writing Here"; "A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine"; "Life and Death"; and "The Calming Thought of All." All citations of these poems throughout this essay refer to their first printing in the *New York Herald*.

<sup>31</sup> In the issues of the *Herald* examined for this essay, Whitman is the only author to receive such celebrity treatment from/in the newspaper. In addition, there is no evidence in existing *Herald* scholarship that suggests a similar, purposeful partnership between the *Herald* and other major American authors. A comparative analysis of the *Herald's* treatment of Whitman and its handling of other American authors, and the degree to which the newspaper cultivated literary celebrity, is a worthwhile point of investigation but is outside the scope of this essay. The most immediately available comparison to Whitman's presence in the *Herald* may be that of Mark Twain, who published a number of items in the *Herald* from the 1860s through the turn of the century. Twain's pieces, however, were not always signed, perhaps suggesting neither he nor the *Herald* considered their relationship in the same way as did Whitman and the *Herald* in 1888. Regardless, an exploration of Twain's works in the *Herald* and his relationship with the newspaper is an ideal place to start a comparative analysis.

<sup>32</sup> "The Bravest Soldiers" appeared in the *Herald* on both 18 March and 30 April and was the only of Whitman's *Herald* poems to be reprinted in the paper during the course of the contract. There is no evidence to indicate that the *Herald* considered the poem particularly significant. Similarly, no news stories in the paper from around 30 April suggest a reason for the *Herald's* reprinting of the poem, but its reappearance at the end of April came during a temporary lull in Whitman's contributions to the paper.

<sup>33</sup> A second example helps corroborate the possibility of some confusion on Whitman's end about his submissions. According to his records, Whitman submitted "The Bravest Soldiers" to the *Herald* on 2 March. The poem appeared in the paper on 18 March. On 28 April, however, Whitman's records show that he again submitted "The Bravest Soldiers" and note its printing on 30 April (*Daybooks* 453). Perhaps Whitman simply thought he had more poems waiting to be published at the *Herald* office, for he also records having sent "A Font of Type" to the *Herald* on two different occasions, though it did not appear in the paper.

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Appendix:

Preliminary Bibliography of Poems in Newspapers, c. 1835–1890

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[And lo!]	Vermont Chronicle	4 August 1831	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[This is really to bad]	Vermont Chronicle	4 August 1831	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Tribute to Worth and Piety	Vermont Chronicle	4 August 1831	[4]	TBD
Welwood	Unconfirmed	Affection's Memorial	Observer and Telegraph	18 January 1832	[1]	No
Q	Unconfirmed	An Epistle Put into Verse	Globe	12 April 1833	[2]	Yes
Adams, John Quincy	Adams, John Quincy	The Plague in the Forest	Daily National Intelligencer	20 October 1833	[2]	No
H.	Unconfirmed	Devotions	New York Herald	23 September 1834	[1]	Yes
Butler, Fanny Kemble	Kemble, Fanny Butler	Lines	Daily National Intelligencer	15 October 1834	[2]	No
Lynch, Anne Charlott	Unconfirmed	The Mediterranean	Arkansas State Gazette	3 November 1834	[4]	TBD
Norton, F. O.	Unconfirmed	My Sister's Death	Virginia Free Press	14 December 1834	1	TBD
Shea, J. Augustus	Shea, John Augustus	To the Wind	United States Telegraph	21 December 1834	73[?]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Poem--On 'National Prejudice'	Liberator	6 February 1835	24	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Queen Victoria	New York Herald	14 February 1835	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Horrors of War--From the Carnival of Death--A Poem	Mississippiian	21 May 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Bride's Farewell	Cleveland Daily Herald	29 May 1835	[2]	TBD
Pierpont, ?	Unconfirmed	[Long in the nameless grave]	Cleveland Daily Herald	1 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Bryant, William C.	Bryant, William Cullen	Seventy Six	Cleveland Daily Herald	8 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Knowles, J. S.	Unconfirmed	[In vain premise or calculate]	Cleveland Daily Herald	14 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Knowles, J. S.	Unconfirmed	Delicate Compliment to a Beautiful Girl	Cleveland Daily Herald	14 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Knowles, J. S.	Unconfirmed	Love of Country	Cleveland Daily Herald	14 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Knowles, J. S.	Unconfirmed	Parting Words and Gifts to a Spendthrift Son, By a Fond Parent	Cleveland Daily Herald	14 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Written for the 4th of July	Cleveland Daily Herald	30 June 1835	[2]	TBD
Gould, Hannah F.	Gould, Hannah F.	[Air]	Cleveland Daily Herald	5 July 1835	[2]	TBD



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the People of Alabama. A Paraphrastic Poem	Alabama Intelligencer and State Rights Expositor	24 July 1835	?	TBD
H.	Unconfirmed	Stanzas	New York Herald	31 July 1835	[1]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	Consecrated Tears	New York Herald	31 August 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Napoleon's Will	New York Herald	2 September 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Canzonet	New York Herald	3 September 1835	[1]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	To a Moonbeam	New York Herald	4 September 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Declaration	Cleveland Daily Herald	6 September 1835	[2]	TBD
A.D.M.	Unconfirmed	To M---	New York Herald	7 September 1835	[1]	TBD
H.	Unconfirmed	Battle	New York Herald	8 September 1835	[1]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	Lines Subscribed to J.B.A.	New York Herald	9 September 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Confession	New York Herald	10 September 1835	[1]	No
Numpo	Unconfirmed	Serenade	New York Herald	11 September 1835	[1]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	Night	New York Herald	13 September 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ship	New York Herald	14 September 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Fragment	New York Herald	16 September 1835	[1]	No
Clark, William Gaylord	Unconfirmed	Mrs. Hemans	New York Herald	17 September 1835	[1]	No
Drake, [?].	Unconfirmed	To ---	New York Herald	18 September 1835	[1]	TBD
Puck	Unconfirmed	To Old Hays	New York Herald	20 September 1835	[1]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	The Hushed Lute	New York Herald	21 September 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Woman's Love	New York Herald	22 September 1835	[1]	No
X.	Unconfirmed	To Rosa	New York Herald	25 September 1835	[1]	
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Three Homes	New York Herald	27 September 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	O Tell Me How to Woo Thee	New York Herald	28 September 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Light Article	New York Herald	30 September 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To ---	New York Herald	1 October 1835	[1]	No
H.	Unconfirmed	Sonnet to an Inexpressible Thought	New York Herald	2 October 1835	[1]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To **** *****	New York Herald	4 October 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Coliseum	Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette	12 October 1835	14	TBD
H.	Unconfirmed	The Dying	New York Herald	23 October 1835	[1]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	[Fame]	New York Herald	25 October 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Let's Take This World as Some Wide Scene	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 October 1835	[2]	TBD
Amulet	Unconfirmed	To My Sister	New York Herald	29 October 1835	[1]	TBD
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	To the Victims of the Van	New York Herald	1 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Sigourney, Mrs.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	Dreams	Cleveland Daily Herald	2 November 1835	[2]	No
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	The Swarming of the Bees	New York Herald	5 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Woman's Eyes	New York Herald	6 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Why Zekiel]	New York Herald	9 November 1835	[1]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	The Poet's Dream	New York Herald	10 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Freedom	New England Weekly Review	11 November 1835	[1]	TBD
F.H.B.	Unconfirmed	The Flower and the Dew	New York Herald	12 November 1835	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Serenade	New York Herald	13 November 1835	[1]	No
Woodworth, S.	Unconfirmed	Fay's Welcome Home	New York Herald	15 November 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I Hae Naebody Now	New York Herald	16 November 1835	[1]	No
Dr. McHeary	Unconfirmed	Serenade	New York Herald	17 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Aborigines	New York Herald	22 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Landon, L.E.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	The Petition	New York Herald	25 November 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Frailty of Man	New York Herald	26 November 1835	[1]	TBD
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	Love at First Sight	New York Herald	30 November 1835	[1]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	Morning to the wearied	New York Herald	30 November 1835	[1]	No
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	The Peacock	New York Herald	30 November 1835	[1]	No
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	Warrior's Feelings	New York Herald	30 November 1835	[1]	No
L.E.L.	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	Youth	New York Herald	30 November 1835	[1]	No
Howitt, William	Unconfirmed	The Fading of the Woods	New York Herald	1 December 1835	[1]	No
Drake, L. R.	Unconfirmed	A Poet to His Wife	New York Herald	6 December 1835	[1]	TBD
Morris, G.P.	Morris, George Pope	Stanzas	New York Herald	8 December 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Prize!!!	New York Herald	9 December 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Poor Voter's Song	New York Herald	23 December 1835	[1]	TBD
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	[To a Certain Literary Cobbler]	New York Herald	24 December 1835	[1]	TBD
St. Leger Carter, Esq.	Unconfirmed	Washington and Napoleon	Virginia Free Press	24 December 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Christmas	New York Herald	27 December 1835	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love	New York Herald	29 December 1835	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mary's Bee	Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette	30 June 1836	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Time Rejoicing over the Ruins He has Made	New York Herald	29 November 1836	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Incantation	New York Herald	8 December 1836	2?	
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	From Scenes of a Life	New York Herald	11 December 1836	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Winter is Coming	New Orleans Picayune	24 January 1837	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To a Lock of Hair	New Orleans Picayune	25 January 1837	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lines on the Loss of the Bristol	New Orleans Picayune	26 January 1837	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I Wish He would Decide	New Orleans Picayune	27 January 1837	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Fair Sex of Olden Times	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	28 January 1837	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Country	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	28 January 1837	[2]	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	How and When to Woo	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	31 January 1837	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Home	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	31 January 1837	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Epigram: On the Marriage of John Cake to Ann Rarity	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	1 February 1837	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	New Song	<i>New Orleans Picayune</i>	1 February 1837	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Poem of the Olden Time	<i>New York Herald</i>	24 February 1837	[4]	TBD
Wittals, Cold	Unconfirmed	Proceedings at Washington in 1837	<i>New York Herald</i>	3 March 1837	[1]	TBD
Morris, Robert	Unconfirmed	Nature	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	20 July 1837	[2]	No
Palmer, Ray	Unconfirmed	The Spirit's Life	<i>Boston Courier</i>	22 October 1837	[1]	No
Whitman, Sarah R.	Unconfirmed	An Autumn Walk	<i>Globe</i>	20 November 1837	[2]	No
Shea, John Augustus	Shea, John Augustus	[Clontarf]	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	18 December 1837	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Crossing the Allegheny Mountains	<i>Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register</i>	20 December 1837	[2]	Yes
Daws, Rufus	Unconfirmed	Infancy, Childhood and Youth	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	2 February 1838	[1]	TBD
Norna	Unconfirmed	[Firm are the battlements of power]	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	12 February 1838	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[I wait, I wait]	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	12 February 1838	[2]	TBD
Stockton, Thomas H.	Unconfirmed	The First Man	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	30 July 1838	[2]	No
Lunt, George	Unconfirmed	[Whatever the soul of man admires]	<i>Boston Courier</i>	29 August 1838	[4]	TBD
Drake, J. Rodman	Unconfirmed	Song at Sea	<i>New York Herald</i>	31 August 1838	[2]	Yes
Pritchette, Kintzing	Unconfirmed	[Friends of the muse]	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	29 October 1838	[2]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
F.G.H.	Halleck, Fitz-Greene	From the German of Goethe	<i>Milwaukee Sentinel</i>	15 July 1839	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sonnet to the St. Charles Theatre	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 December 1839	[2]	Yes
Field, Matthew	Field, Matthew C.	La Tres Marias	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 December 1839	[2]	Yes
Rhyme-Shasrum, Verse-Blanaum	Unconfirmed	A Few Stray Thoughts	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	2 January 1840	[3]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Wery Pious Appeal	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Prince Albert and the Youthful Queen	<i>New York Herald</i>	14 January 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Bargain	<i>New York Herald</i>	14 January 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Unrequited Love	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 January 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Werry Grave Hexortation	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Present Werry Interesting Crisis	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Werry Serious Reflection [Women and Tea]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	23 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Whig Song	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	23 January 1840	[3]	TBD
Field, Joseph M	Field, Joseph M.	A Calculation	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	An Idea about an Idea	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Hanswer by the Wery First Boat	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Field, Matthew	Field, Matthew C.	Night on the Prairie	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	31 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To the Gemman Vot's Hadwertisin' for a Vife	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	31 January 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Odd Thoughts about life--The Lexington, &c.	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	[Oh George!]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	6 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The God and the Bayadere	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Straw	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Coming Evenings	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	10 February 1840	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Woman	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 February 1840	[2]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
S.H.	Unconfirmed	To ---	New York Herald	13 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Written ven Werry High	Daily Picayune	13 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Dunton, John	Unconfirmed	British Apollo	New York Herald	14 February 1840	[2]	TBD
Norton, Hon. Mrs.	Norton, Caroline Sheridan	The Poet's Wife.--A Portrait	New York Herald	14 February 1840	[4]	No
T.N.	Unconfirmed	A Railroad Song	New York Herald	14 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	St. Valentine's Day	New York Herald	14 February 1840	[2]	TBD
Norton, Caroline Sheridan	Norton, Caroline Sheridan	The Poet's Wife	New York Herald	15 February 1840	[4]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Lecomted	Daily Picayune	15 February 1840	[2]	Yes
T.N.	Unconfirmed	A Railroad Song	New York Herald	15 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Queen Victoria	New York Herald	15 February 1840	[2]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet: To the Muse of 'Straws'	Daily Picayune	17 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Muse of Straws, The	Field, Joseph M.	'To the muse of "Straws"'	Daily Picayune	18 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Use of Flowers	New York Herald	18 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Wisit to Mr. Marchant	Daily Picayune	19 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	These ere Diggins!	Daily Picayune	20 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Album	New York Herald	20 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Hannah, D.K.	Unconfirmed	On the Death of Mrs. Jarns	New York Herald	22 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Saturday Night--Wery fittin' Reflexions	Daily Picayune	22 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Mother	New York Herald	22 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Miss Jane Shirreff	New York Herald	22 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	More Horrors!	Daily Picayune	24 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Bennett, James	Unconfirmed	Fable 2: The Wolf and the Lamb	New York Herald	25 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Whig Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 February 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Grand Ewaperation	Daily Picayune	26 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I've Heard My Own Dear Mother Sing	New York Herald	27 February 1840	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Clarified Essence of Horehound Candy	<i>New York Herald</i>	28 February 1840	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Public Speakers	<i>New York Herald</i>	28 February 1840	[3]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Wictoria's Veddin'	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 February 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Charade	<i>New York Herald</i>	29 February 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bannockburn	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	1 March 1840	[3]	
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Grand Real Estate Lottery	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mardi Gras	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Hero of Tippecanoe	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 March 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Firemen's Song	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 March 1840	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Tippecanoe	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 March 1840	[3]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the First Mosquito	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	5 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Love	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	6 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	An Epitaph for Anybody	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Approachin' Catastrophe	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To Madame Otto	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Bloodhounds	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 March 1840	[2]	
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Patriotic Song for 1840	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	10 March 1840	[3]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Roast Beef	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To America Vespucci	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Backwoods	Unconfirmed	The Last Cabinet Council!	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	15 March 1840	[3]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To a Cloud	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Werry Serious Reflection	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	17 March 1840	[3]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Pretty Doin's	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	17 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To Granny Harrison	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To a Shocking Bad Hat	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 March 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Apostrophe to Espy	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 March 1840	[2]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To Madame Otto	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Straw from Mobile	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Asthma	Unconfirmed	On the Great Medicine	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To A---- F----	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	31 March 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mobile Bay	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Present Wery Serious Aspect of Things in General	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Morris, Robert	Unconfirmed	Nature	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	6 April 1840	[1]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	'The Corsair,' 'Copyright,' and 'Mr. Villis'	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	After Dinner	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Brevitt	Unconfirmed	A Parody	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	14 April 1840	[3]	No
Thomson, Charles West	Unconfirmed	[The uncertainty of literary fame]	<i>Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier</i>	16 April 1840	[2]	No
J.M.F.	Field, Joseph M.	A Calculation	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	17 April 1840	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Niles' Hymn	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	17 April 1840	[2]	
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	[Vot! fifteen thousand vimmen, George!]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to C	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	23 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Log Cabin and Hard Cider Candidate	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	24 April 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Vot it is to be a 'Happy Man'	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Old Harry	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To Phazma	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 April 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	1000 Dollars Reward	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	30 April 1840	[2]	Yes



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Certificates	Daily Picayune	2 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To a Discernin' Public	Daily Picayune	2 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To Planters!	Daily Picayune	2 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Quackery Exposed	Daily Picayune	4 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	March	Cleveland Daily Herald	4 May 1840	[2]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to Sol	Daily Picayune	5 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Spinning Wheel	Unconfirmed	An Acrostic	Cleveland Daily Herald	5 May 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	An Appeal to Parents	Daily Picayune	5 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When this Old Hat was New	Cleveland Daily Herald	5 May 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	From Straws, Senior	Daily Picayune	7 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Jr.	Unconfirmed	Wherein Straws Stands Wery Much Rebuked	Daily Picayune	8 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Huge Paw	Cleveland Daily Herald	8 May 1840	[3]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	A Sigh for the Past	Daily Picayune	12 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Log Cabin Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	13 May 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws, Jr.	Unconfirmed	Afternoon Exercise	Daily Picayune	15 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Yankee Dan	Unconfirmed	Natchez	Daily Picayune	16 May 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Waledictory	Daily Picayune	18 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Yankee Dan	Unconfirmed	A Yankee in Love	Daily Picayune	19 May 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Natchez Tornado	Daily Picayune	20 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Natchez Tornado	Daily Picayune	20 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the Mississippi	Daily Picayune	21 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Field, Matthew	Field, Matthew C.	Address for the Natchez Benefit	Daily Picayune	22 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[The mighty voice of thousands]	Cleveland Daily Herald	22 May 1840	[2]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to a Piece of Chalk	Daily Picayune	23 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Sardines	Daily Picayune	23 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Steamboat Racin'	Daily Picayune	26 May 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
J.W.	Unconfirmed	The Fickle One	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To a Dying Canary	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Sheep's Eyes	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	30 May 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Weigher's Tear	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	31 May 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Meetin' of the Vaters	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	La Belle Riviere	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	6 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	So'thing 'bout Nothin'	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Yankee Dan	Unconfirmed	The Little Camp	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 June 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Just as Good as You Are	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	15 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Field, Joseph M	Field, Joseph M.	[What? dead? oh, can it really be?]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to C	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Wery Mysterious	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Village Visitors	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What Has Caused this Great Commotion?	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 June 1840	[2]	TBD
Yankee Dan	Unconfirmed	The Tail of a Tale	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To Fanny Elssler	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	From Old Straws to Mrs. Straws	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Backbone of America	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	23 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To the Great Shales!	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 June 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Advertisement	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	From Old Straws to Mrs. Straws	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	30 June 1840	[2]	Yes
Percival, J.P.	Unconfirmed	Ode for July Fourth	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	2 July 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	So'Thin' 'Bout Nothin'	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	7 July 1840	[3]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to Dr. O	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	From Old Straws	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to Dr. O	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 July 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Jeems, Dismal	Unconfirmed	A Bachelor's Reflections	New York Herald	13 July 1840	[1]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Button Ludlow	Daily Picayune	13 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To Mrs. Straws	Daily Picayune	14 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to Mary Kate	Daily Picayune	15 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Mountains of Virginia	New York Herald	15 July 1840	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Hoboken	Daily Picayune	16 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Musical Box	New York Herald	16 July 1840	[4]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to a Locomotive	Daily Picayune	17 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	Straws Senior, Esq. to Mrs. Straws	Daily Picayune	18 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Stomach	Daily Picayune	22 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Norton, Hon. Mrs.	Norton, Caroline Sheridan	A Daughter's Reminiscence	New York Herald	24 July 1840	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Prayer	New York Herald	24 July 1840	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Miss M*** W***	Cleveland Daily Herald	26 July 1840	[3]	Yes
Old Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Old Straws and Fanny Elssler	Daily Picayune	27 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Spirit Song	Daily Picayune	28 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	From Old Straws	Daily Picayune	29 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet	Daily Picayune	30 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	Broadway	Daily Picayune	31 July 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Indians Hunting the Buffalo	Daily Picayune	1 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	Straws, Senior, Esq. visits von of the "First Families!"	Daily Picayune	3 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Fiddlers	Daily Picayune	4 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Hymn-- The Poor Man's day	New York Herald	4 August 1840	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Thoughts	New York Herald	4 August 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Hotels	Daily Picayune	5 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Enigma	Daily Picayune	6 August 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Percival, J.P.	Unconfirmed	Sonnet on a Sonnet	Daily Picayune	7 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Wery Grave	Daily Picayune	8 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sunset	Cleveland Daily Herald	9 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Cook, Eliza	Unconfirmed	Nature's Gentleman	New York Herald	10 August 1840	[1]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Farewell to the Mountain	Daily Picayune	11 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet	Daily Picayune	12 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Field, Joseph M	Field, Joseph M.	The Duel	Daily Picayune	13 August 1840	[2]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to 'Straws'	Daily Picayune	14 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lifting the Banner	Cleveland Daily Herald	14 August 1840	[3]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Rats	Daily Picayune	15 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	New Orleans Cemeteries	Daily Picayune	17 August 1840	[2]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to the Devil	Daily Picayune	19 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Kitchen Cabinet	Cleveland Daily Herald	19 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Morris, G.P.	Morris, George Pope	Westward Ho!	Cleveland Daily Herald	20 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Ohio	Daily Picayune	20 August 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Kenilworth	Daily Picayune	21 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Cousin Mary Bell	Cleveland Daily Herald	21 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Indian to the Rainbow	Daily Picayune	22 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Stratford on Avon	Daily Picayune	24 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Song	Daily Picayune	25 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	Smoke	Daily Picayune	26 August 1840	[2]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Song	Daily Picayune	27 August 1840	[2]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	The Past	Cleveland Daily Herald	28 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet to the Next President	Daily Picayune	28 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Sigourney, Mrs.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	The Ladybug and the Ant	Cleveland Daily Herald	28 August 1840	[3]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Stratford Church	Daily Picayune	29 August 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws, Jr.	Unconfirmed	To Miss -----	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	30 August 1840	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Rare Queer Man Has Martin Been	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	30 August 1840	[3]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Song	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	31 August 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Our First Breakfast	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the Stars	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Long Faces	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Our Ship	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Small Tippecanoe Melody	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 September 1840	[3]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Dawnin' Passion	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Catchin' a Porpoise	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	5 September 1840	[2]	Yes
B.	Unconfirmed	Lines on Death	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	7 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Court off Dover	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Calm	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	8 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Long Boat	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Blazes!	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	A Soliloquy	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 September 1840	[2]	Yes
M.C.F.	Field, Matthew C.	To the Dinner Bell	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Prayers	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	4th of July at Sea	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Sr.	Field, Joseph M.	The Day After	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	15 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the Stars	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Soundin'	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	St. George's Channel	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	17 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The "Red-Horse"--Stratford	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Sonnet	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The "Red Horse" Again	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 September 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the Gentleman's Magazine	Daily Picayune	21 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Liverpool	Daily Picayune	21 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Coventry	Daily Picayune	22 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Shannon & Reform	Unconfirmed	Oh No! I'll Never Mention Him!	Cleveland Daily Herald	23 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Warwick Castle	Daily Picayune	23 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Our Captain	Daily Picayune	24 September 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mr. and Mrs. Brown	Daily Picayune	25 September 1840	[2]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	An Ode to Abolition	Daily Picayune	26 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Travellin' By Conch	Daily Picayune	28 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Oxford	Daily Picayune	29 September 1840	[2]	
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Christ College--Oxford	Daily Picayune	30 September 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Books	Daily Picayune	1 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Whiz!	Daily Picayune	2 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Bacchanalian	Daily Picayune	3 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Connubial Life	Daily Picayune	3 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Success to You, Tom Corwin	Cleveland Daily Herald	4 October 1840	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	We Can Na' Longer Go Ye, Martie	Cleveland Daily Herald	4 October 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Tyburn	Daily Picayune	5 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Tinting of the Rose	Daily Picayune	7 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To a Cigar	Daily Picayune	7 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Cholera	Daily Picayune	8 October 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Homeward Bound	Daily Picayune	9 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Ocean Wave	Daily Picayune	10 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	One Song More	Cleveland Daily Herald	11 October 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Crack Hotel	Daily Picayune	12 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Depot	Daily Picayune	13 October 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Heavenly Bodies	Daily Picayune	13 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	Webstor	New York Herald	14 October 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Charin' Cross	Daily Picayune	14 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Hyde Park Corner	Daily Picayune	15 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Bryant, W.C.	Bryant, William Cullen	Hymn of the City	Cleveland Daily Herald	16 October 1840	[2]	No
H.	Unconfirmed	Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	16 October 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Singers	Daily Picayune	16 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Expectorons	Daily Picayune	17 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Whig Harvest Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	18 October 1840	[2]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Poet's Corner	Daily Picayune	19 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Album Verses	Daily Picayune	20 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Westminster Abbey	Daily Picayune	20 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Dive	Daily Picayune	21 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Opera	Daily Picayune	22 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Catt's Meat	Daily Picayune	23 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Crow Chapman, Crow	Cleveland Daily Herald	23 October 1840	[3]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Erin	Daily Picayune	24 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Grandeur	Daily Picayune	24 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Flaming Minister	Daily Picayune	26 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rallying Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	26 October 1840	[1]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To George	Daily Picayune	27 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Regent's Park	Daily Picayune	27 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mr. Catlin's Indian Gallery	Daily Picayune	28 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Sail Ho!	Daily Picayune	29 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Bowsprit	Daily Picayune	30 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To our Mouse	Daily Picayune	31 October 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Straws--No. 132./Crackin' Eggs	Daily Picayune	31 October 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Straws--No. 133./Newgate	Daily Picayune	2 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	My Mother	New York Herald	3 November 1840	[1]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To Tippecanoe and Tyler Too	Daily Picayune	3 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Regent Street	Daily Picayune	3 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Fruit Market	Daily Picayune	4 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Steamboat Cabin	Daily Picayune	5 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Stopping to 'Wood'	Daily Picayune	6 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Wery Like a Whale	Daily Picayune	7 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Homeward Bound	Cleveland Daily Herald	8 November 1840	[3]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Ellerslee	Daily Picayune	9 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Cattle	Daily Picayune	9 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Opening Address of the New American Theatre	Daily Picayune	10 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws, Jr.	Unconfirmed	To John	Cleveland Daily Herald	10 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	Lines, to a Lady	New York Herald	12 November 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Pictures	Daily Picayune	12 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Monkeys	Daily Picayune	13 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	My Pretty Creole	Daily Picayune	14 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Old Trinity	Daily Picayune	16 November 1840	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Who killed small Matty]	Cleveland Daily Herald	16 November 1840	[2]	TBD
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	Henry William Ogden, Lieut. Commandant U.S. Frigate Decatur, on the Coast of the Brazils	New York Herald	18 November 1840	[1]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Club Houses--Demnition	Daily Picayune	18 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	While History's Muse	Cleveland Daily Herald	18 November 1840	[2]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Widow's Son	Daily Picayune	19 November 1840	[2]	Yes



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
John	Unconfirmed	To Straws Jr.	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	20 November 1840	[3]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	An Exhibition	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	St. Paul's	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Boots	Unconfirmed	Where Do They Come From?	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	22 November 1840	[3]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Sky High	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	23 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Montgomery, James	Unconfirmed	A Harvest Hymn for 1840	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	24 November 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Outside of an Omnibus	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	24 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Longfellow, H.W.	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	The Village Blacksmith	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	25 November 1840	[3]	No
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The City	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Tower	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	26 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Crown Jewels	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	About Pumps and Pump Handles	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 November 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The People's Answer	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	30 November 1840	[3]	TBD
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	The Arabic Prince	<i>New York Herald</i>	1 December 1840	[1]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Steam Hoy	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Thought in a Tunnel	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	Ann Maria	<i>New York Herald</i>	3 December 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Good Resolutions	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Album Verses: Plate of a Ruined Castle	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Southey	Unconfirmed	The Pauper's Death-Bed	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 December 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Hear Both Sides	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	5 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Wan	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Tattersals	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	8 December 1840	[2]	Yes
R.H.	Unconfirmed	Celebration Song	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	9 December 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Needful	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 December 1840	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Clarke, McDonald	Clarke, McDonald	The Poet's Bride	New York Herald	11 December 1840	[1]	TBD
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Last Musquito	Daily Picayune	11 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	"What'll You Take?"	Daily Picayune	12 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	"High Change"	Daily Picayune	14 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Straws--162	Daily Picayune	15 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Pair of 'Em	Daily Picayune	17 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Childhood and Age	Daily Picayune	19 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	When to Stop	Daily Picayune	19 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Seven Dials	Daily Picayune	21 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Divan	Daily Picayune	22 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Amalgamation	Daily Picayune	25 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	John's Vish	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 December 1840	[3]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Last Day	Daily Picayune	28 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To a Whiskey Punch	Daily Picayune	29 December 1840	[2]	Yes
X.	Unconfirmed	A Grave at Sea	Cleveland Daily Herald	29 December 1840	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Picture	Cleveland Daily Herald	30 December 1840	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	We Wish	Cleveland Daily Herald	30 December 1840	[2]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Time's Soliloquy	Daily Picayune	31 December 1840	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Ghost of the Year	Daily Picayune	1 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To the Mail	Daily Picayune	2 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mrs. Coburg's "First"	Daily Picayune	4 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Knife and Fork	Daily Picayune	5 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	To General Jackson	Daily Picayune	7 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Irish Giant--Royal College of Surgeons	Daily Picayune	8 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Elgin Marbles--British Museum	Daily Picayune	9 January 1841	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Mrs. Van Butchell--Royal College of Surgeons	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	11 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Egyptian Saloon, British Museum	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Morning	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Candid Opinion	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Address	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 January 1841	[2]	No
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Song	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Theatricals	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 January 1841	[1]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Is "Fanny" Coming?	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The American Eagle	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Pease's Horehound Candy	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Hard Case	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The House of Lords	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	22 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Humbug	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	26 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To "Ellen" of the West	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 January 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Windsor Palace	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 January 1841	[4]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Listening	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Crabbe, Montgomery Campbell	Unconfirmed	To Mr. Bryant	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 February 1841	[4]	TBD
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	A Course of Lectures	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	5 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	The Ladies	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	6 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Straws	Field, Joseph M.	Very Sincerely	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Song	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	Before Making a Pen	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	The Eight o'clock Gun	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 February 1841	[2]	Yes
Bennett, James	Unconfirmed	The Veto Message to the Senate	<i>Weekly Herald</i>	27 August 1841	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wife	<i>Weekly Herald</i>	27 August 1841	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Y.C.N.	Unconfirmed	[When in an Editorial strife]	Weekly Herald	27 August 1841	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Baron B. to Donald C.]	New York Herald	1 December 1841	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Baron Bennett	New York Herald	1 December 1841	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Baron B. to Donald C.]	Weekly Herald	3 December 1841	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Baron Bennett	Weekly Herald	3 December 1841	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	John Frost	Weekly Herald	3 December 1841	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love and Care	Weekly Herald	3 December 1841	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Chinese War	Weekly Herald	3 December 1841	[1]	TBD
Wallace, William	Unconfirmed	Lines on the Death of McDonald Clark	New York Herald	20 March 1842	[1]	TBD
Paul	Unconfirmed	Poetry of Sea-Sickness	Cleveland Daily Herald	13 June 1843	[3]	TBD
Jones, Ohio	Unconfirmed	[Ohio whose favorite name]	Cleveland Daily Herald	23 July 1843	[3]	TBD
Shannon, John P.	Unconfirmed	The Deserted	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	15 December 1844	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Prairie Grave	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	29 December 1844	[2]	TBD
Amelia	Unconfirmed	Lines, on seeing an infant sleeping on its mother's breast	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	30 December 1844	[2]	TBD
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	I've Met Her	Cleveland Daily Herald	16 January 1845	[2]	Yes
Hosmer, William H. C.	Unconfirmed	Menominee Dirge	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	17 January 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sons of Liberty	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	19 January 1845	[2]	TBD
Bryant, Wm. C.	Unconfirmed	The Paradise of Tears	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	24 January 1845	[2]	TBD
H.M.T.	Unconfirmed	Song for the Bondman	Cleveland Daily Herald	24 January 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sonnet	Cleveland Daily Herald	24 January 1845	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Henry Clay	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	27 January 1845	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wife	Cleveland Daily Herald	28 January 1845	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Lay of the Laborer	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	30 January 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Mud]	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	31 January 1845	[2]	No
Tracy, H.M.	Unconfirmed	The Arsenal of Venice	Cleveland Daily Herald	2 February 1845	[3]	Yes
Campbell, Thomas	Campbell, Thomas	Sons of Chiefs Renowned in Story	New York Herald	3 February 1845	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Home	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 February 1845	[2]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	Impromptu	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	5 February 1845	[2]	Yes
Bryant, William C.	Bryant, William Cullen	Ode	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	10 February 1845	[2]	No
J. G. P.	Unconfirmed	The Brave	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	11 February 1845	[2]	No
L.A.S.	Unconfirmed	We Met	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	13 February 1845	[2]	Yes
L.A.S.	Unconfirmed	We Parted	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	13 February 1845	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Motherless Child to Her Father	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	16 February 1845	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ole Bull	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	18 February 1845	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sonnet	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	18 February 1845	[2]	Yes
E.W.S.	Unconfirmed	Thoughts	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	20 February 1845	[2]	Yes
S.E.	Unconfirmed	Washington's Birth-Day	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	21 February 1845	[3]	Yes
Kingsley, Geo. T.	Kingsley, George T.	[A violet I lately met]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	23 February 1845	[2]	TBD
Tim	Unconfirmed	[If Archy]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	23 February 1845	[2]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	The Firemen	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	25 February 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Will you tell me of her whom you love]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	25 February 1845	[3]	TBD
Arrabella	Unconfirmed	St. Valentine's Day	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	28 February 1845	[2]	
AGE	Unconfirmed	My Childhood's Prayer	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	6 March 1845	[3]	Yes
A.G.C.	Unconfirmed	To ---- ----	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	14 March 1845	[3]	Yes
L.A.S.	Unconfirmed	[Bereft of friend]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	20 March 1845	[3]	Yes
L.	Unconfirmed	Shades	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	2 April 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Dutch Cure	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 April 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Fashion, a Poem	<i>New York Herald</i>	6 April 1845	3	TBD
H.M.T.	Unconfirmed	A Winter's Revisit	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	7 April 1845	[3]	Yes
E.	Unconfirmed	The Burial at Mt. Auburn of Mrs. W.	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	11 April 1845	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Improved Readings of the Poets, Byron 14	<i>New York Herald</i>	12 April 1845	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Fashion, A Poem	New York Herald	15 April 1845	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Improved Readings of the Poets--No. 16	New York Herald	15 April 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Improved Readings of the Poets--No. 15	New York Herald	23 April 1845	[2]	No
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	A Picture	Cleveland Daily Herald	24 April 1845	[2]	Yes
Sadi	Unconfirmed	Saladin	Cleveland Daily Herald	2 May 1845	[2]	Yes
A.G.C.	Unconfirmed	I'm Saddest When I Sing	Cleveland Daily Herald	21 May 1845	[3]	Yes
Inez	Unconfirmed	The Son of Genius	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 May 1845	[3]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	Come Back Across the Sea	Cleveland Daily Herald	30 May 1845	[3]	Yes
S----, Anna	Unconfirmed	Lines to Miss Barrett, on Reading her Poem, "The Drama of Exile"	New York Herald	3 June 1845	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	June	New York Herald	3 June 1845	[3]	TBD
E.S.	Unconfirmed	Hot--Hot--All's Hot!	Cleveland Daily Herald	5 June 1845	[2]	Yes
Delta	Unconfirmed	A Spirit Song	Cleveland Daily Herald	6 June 1845	[2]	TBD
E.S.	Unconfirmed	The Rain	Cleveland Daily Herald	11 June 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Osage Girl	Cleveland Daily Herald	12 June 1845	[2]	TBD
H.M.T.	Unconfirmed	The Lonely Household	Cleveland Daily Herald	26 June 1845	[3]	Yes
Sigourney, Mrs.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	A Cottage Scene	Cleveland Daily Herald	27 June 1845	[2]	TBD
H.M.T.	Unconfirmed	Independence Ode	Cleveland Daily Herald	2 July 1845	[2]	Yes
Lightmind, John	Unconfirmed	The Digger	Cleveland Daily Herald	10 July 1845	[3]	Yes
Phazma	Field, Matthew C.	To My Shadow	Cleveland Daily Herald	11 July 1845	[3]	No
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	The Empire	Cleveland Daily Herald	15 July 1845	[2]	Yes
Coggings, Edward H.	Unconfirmed	Farmer's Nooning	Cleveland Daily Herald	17 July 1845	[3]	TBD
Chiddon, William	Unconfirmed	Lines to the Evening Star	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 July 1845	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Of Such is the Kingdom of Heaven	Cleveland Daily Herald	25 July 1845	[2]	No
J.O.	Unconfirmed	Twas Evening the Zephyrs	Cleveland Daily Herald	31 July 1845	[3]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Chiddon, William	Unconfirmed	Onondaga Castle	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	6 August 1845	[3]	Yes
Mary	Unconfirmed	A Family Scene	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	8 August 1845	[2]	Yes
Clarke, C. Theresa	Unconfirmed	Stanzas	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	12 August 1845	[3]	Yes
E****e	Unconfirmed	Quench Not the Spirit	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 August 1845	[3]	Yes
C.H.E.	Unconfirmed	To H.E.G.	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	21 August 1845	[2]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	The Ocean Bird	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	22 August 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[I'm thinking on thy smile, Mary]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	27 August 1845	[3]	No
Clarke, C. Theresa	Unconfirmed	The Accordeon	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	28 August 1845	[3]	Yes
Chiddon, William	Unconfirmed	The Lady's Song to Her Bird	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 September 1845	[2]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	To Roscoe	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 September 1845	[3]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	The Exiles Request	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	11 September 1845	[3]	Yes
Chiddon, William	Unconfirmed	An Aged Elm	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	12 September 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To My Mother	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	12 September 1845	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Toper's Voyage	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 September 1845	[2]	No
Chiddon, William	Unconfirmed	All turn to dust again	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	25 September 1845	[2]	Yes
Lover, Sam	Unconfirmed	The End of the Road	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	26 September 1845	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	C.M. Clay	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	9 October 1845	[2]	TBD
C.G.C.	Unconfirmed	[Summer, art thou gone?]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	16 October 1845	[2]	TBD
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	The Haunted Child	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	28 October 1845	[3]	Yes
F.H.C.	Unconfirmed	To a Friend in Reply to Lines Entitled "What is Human Life?"	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	29 October 1845	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Autumn Leaf	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	2 November 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A New Zealand Song	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 November 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Anagram	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	3 November 1845	[2]	TBD
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	Autumn	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	7 November 1845	[3]	Yes
O.	Unconfirmed	[Oh! Jesse Cain is a man of might]	<i>New York Herald</i>	7 November 1845	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Among the benefactors of mankind]	<i>New York Herald</i>	7 November 1845	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Clarke, C. Theresa	Unconfirmed	The Lost Child	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	15 November 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Twilight	<i>Chicago Daily News</i>	21 November 1845	[2]	TBD
L.H.C.	Unconfirmed	[There is a voice in autumn's blast]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	23 November 1845	[3]	Yes
H.	Unconfirmed	[Oh, sacred friendship]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	27 November 1845	[2]	TBD
W.C.	Unconfirmed	The Ruined Castle	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	27 November 1845	[2]	Yes
Cook, Eliza	Unconfirmed	Winter	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	28 November 1845	[2]	TBD
H.	Unconfirmed	An Allegory	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	4 December 1845	[2]	Yes
Jones, Curnel Pardon	Unconfirmed	The Dead Cow Brook School	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	17 December 1845	[3]	TBD
Benedict, Karl	Unconfirmed	Jowler	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 December 1845	[2]	TBD
H.M.T.	Unconfirmed	The Discontented Sands	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	19 December 1845	[3]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	[The storms of winter filled the sky]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	22 December 1845	[3]	TBD
W, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	[In merry England's halls]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	22 December 1845	[3]	TBD
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	Christmas	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	23 December 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Fireman	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	26 December 1845	[3]	TBD
G. T. S.	Unconfirmed	The Old Year	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	30 December 1845	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Laboring Man	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i>	7 July 1847	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Gipsev's Prophecy	<i>New York Herald</i>	4 February 1850	[2]	TBD
C.	Unconfirmed	Kossuth's Appeal	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	2 February 1852	[2]	No
Torrey, H.D.	Unconfirmed	Song and Chorus	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	12 March 1852	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[First, then, New Hampshire]	<i>Boston Daily Atlas</i>	8 January 1854	[1]	No
F.H.C.	Unconfirmed	Lines	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	13 October 1854	[3]	Yes
H.E.G.	Unconfirmed	Thanksgiving	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	18 November 1854	[3]	Yes
Fowler, P.P.	Unconfirmed	From the Man in the Moon to He-no	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	4 January 1855	[4]	Yes
Mason, Sarah E.	Unconfirmed	Song of the Kansas Emigrant	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	5 January 1855	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Actaeon in Kansas	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	5 January 1855	[4]	No
He-No	Unconfirmed	To -----	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	12 January 1855	[4]	Yes



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Country Home	Kansas Herald of Freedom	12 January 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Dream of the West	Kansas Herald of Freedom	12 January 1855	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Make Your Mark	Kansas Herald of Freedom	12 January 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Midnight Watch of the Indian Warriors	Kansas Herald of Freedom	19 January 1855	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Light at Home	Kansas Herald of Freedom	19 January 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Westward Ho! - or the Song of the Kansas Emigrant	Kansas Herald of Freedom	19 January 1855	[4]	No
Fowler, P.P.	Unconfirmed	Song of the Pioneers	Kansas Herald of Freedom	26 January 1855	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Let Us ALL Go to Kansas	Kansas Herald of Freedom	26 January 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The League of Freedom	Kansas Herald of Freedom	26 January 1855	[1]	TBD
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Massachusetts	Kansas Herald of Freedom	26 January 1855	[4]	No
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The Evening Wind	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 February 1855	[1]	No
Fowler, P.P.	Unconfirmed	The Cause of Human Rights	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 February 1855	[4]	Yes
Mary	Unconfirmed	Thoughts	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 February 1855	[1]	No
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Going Ahead	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 February 1855	[4]	No
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Boston Daily Journal	6 February 1855	[4]	TBD
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Boston Daily Advertiser	6 February 1855	[3]	TBD
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Boston Daily Atlas	8 February 1855	[1]	No
Briggs, Caroline A.	Unconfirmed	Waking	Kansas Herald of Freedom	9 February 1855	[4]	Yes
E.C.	Unconfirmed	Musings	Kansas Herald of Freedom	9 February 1855	[1]	Yes
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Cleveland Morning Leader	15 February 1855	[2]	No
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	New York Weekly Tribune	16 February 1855	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Persevere	Kansas Herald of Freedom	16 February 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Souls, Not Stations	Kansas Herald of Freedom	16 February 1855	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Thirteen States	Kansas Herald of Freedom	16 February 1855	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	New-York Tribune	20 February 1855	7	No
Landon, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Vermont Watchman and State Journal	22 February 1855	[1]	No
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Liberator	22 February 1855	32	No
C.E.C., Mrs.	Unconfirmed	My Kansas Home	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 February 1855	[1]	Yes
J.M.	Unconfirmed	There! A Beauty Everywhere	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 February 1855	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	We are Growing Old	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 February 1855	[4]	TBD
Hemans, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	Song of Emigration	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 March 1855	[1]	No
Mackay, Charles	Unconfirmed	Daily Work	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 March 1855	[4]	No
Upham, T.C.	Unconfirmed	Song of the Pilgrims	Kansas Herald of Freedom	2 March 1855	[4]	No
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Call to Kansas	Kansas Herald of Freedom	9 March 1855	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Trust to the Future	Kansas Herald of Freedom	9 March 1855	[1]	No
Cox, Isaac	Unconfirmed	Kansas	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 March 1855	[4]	TBD
Jedediah	Unconfirmed	To Our Folks At Home	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 March 1855	[4]	No
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Frost Spirit	Kansas Herald of Freedom	23 March 1855	[1]	No
J.G.	Unconfirmed	A Vision of Slavery	Kansas Herald of Freedom	30 March 1855	[4]	Yes
Harlow, M.P.	Unconfirmed	Thoughts	Kansas Herald of Freedom	13 April 1855	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song for Kansas	Kansas Herald of Freedom	13 April 1855	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Kansas Emigrant, Farewell	Kansas Herald of Freedom	13 April 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Kansas Emigrant's Song	Kansas Herald of Freedom	13 April 1855	[1]	TBD
C.H.C.	Unconfirmed	Home Thoughts	Kansas Herald of Freedom	20 April 1855	[1]	Yes
Deserted, The	Unconfirmed	Extract from a Forthcoming Poetic Tale	Kansas Herald of Freedom	20 April 1855	[4]	Yes
Tibbets, Mary A.	Unconfirmed	Slavery	Kansas Herald of Freedom	20 April 1855	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Be Gentle With Thy Wife	Kansas Herald of Freedom	20 April 1855	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Waves Have Worn the Solid Rock	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	20 April 1855	[4]	No
Bigelow, Hosea	Lowell, James Russell	A Yankee's Opinion of the South	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	27 April 1855	[4]	No
Hoopes, John H.	Unconfirmed	Tell Me Not of the Sunny South	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	27 April 1855	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Heaven is Bright	<i>Kansas Herald of Freedom</i>	27 April 1855	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Few More Years	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	4 November 1860	[4]	TBD
Holcombe, William K	Unconfirmed	Virginia--Late, but Sure!	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	12 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Flag of the South. Dedicated to the Defenders of Charleston Harbor	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	15 April 1861	[4]	TBD
H.W.	Unconfirmed	To Massachusetts Soldiers	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 April 1861	[2]	TBD
Lushington, Franklin	Unconfirmed	Laissez Aller	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 April 1861	[2]	TBD
Virginia	Unconfirmed	[Weep!]	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	16 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Nine Cheers for the Boys at the Guns	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	17 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Copland, Mary	Unconfirmed	The Illumination of the City of Richmond	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	18 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Fontaine, W. Winston	Unconfirmed	A War Song for the Richmond Fayette Artillery	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	19 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Western Virginia on the Seizure of Sherrard Clemens	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 April 1861	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Illumination of the City of Richmond	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	22 April 1861	[4]	TBD
Pozzy	Unconfirmed	Apes and Panthers	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	23 April 1861	[4]	TBD
S.G.B.	Unconfirmed	The Flag of Fort Sumter	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 April 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	On Fort Sumter	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	24 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Lady, A	Unconfirmed	A New Song of the Shirt	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 April 1861	[4]	TBD
Neale, Mrs. S.G.	Unconfirmed	To the Southern Flag!	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	25 April 1861	[4]	No
Seymour, Almira	Unconfirmed	The Massachusetts Regiments	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 April 1861	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Stars and Stripes	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 April 1861	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	War Song	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	25 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Clitherall, Alexander B.	Unconfirmed	Hurrah for Old Virginia	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	26 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Rover	Unconfirmed	Onward	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	26 April 1861	[4]	Yes
S.F.D.	Unconfirmed	Stand by the Old Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 April 1861	[4]?	TBD
Carolina	Unconfirmed	Palmetto Land	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	28 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Under the Washington Elm, Cambridge, April 27, 1861	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 April 1861	[2]	TBD
Proctor, Edna Dean	Proctor, Edna Dean	The Stripes and the Stars	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 April 1861	[4]	TBD
Stoddard, Richard Henry	Stoddard, Richard Henry	The Men of the North and West	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 April 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Gathering	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 April 1861	[1]	TBD
Liton, Lyda	Unconfirmed	Lines	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	30 April 1861	[4]	Yes
Morgan, George W.	Unconfirmed	To the British Rifle Company	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 April 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Hour Has Come	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 April 1861	[1]	TBD
Leland, Charles Godfrey	Leland, Charles Godfrey	Northmen, Come Out!	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 May 1861	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Martyrs of Baltimore	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Virginia's Message to the Southern States	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	1 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Orne, Caroline F.	Unconfirmed	Virginia	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Wilder, John N.	Unconfirmed	Stand by the Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 May 1861	[1]	TBD
H.W.	Unconfirmed	The Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Howe, W.W.	Unconfirmed	A Patriotic Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Woman's Part in the War	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Celta	Unconfirmed	Virginia Redeviva	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	6 May 1861	[4]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Light, G.W.	Unconfirmed	The Northern Tempest	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Lushington, Franklin	Unconfirmed	The Mustering	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Parker, Jenny M.	Unconfirmed	No Flag but the Old Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 May 1861	[4]	TBD
L.H.S.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	The Two Eras	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 May 1861	[4]	
L.K.F.	Unconfirmed	Excelsior	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sonnet. To John Gorman Palfrey and John Lothrop Motley	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 May 1861	[2]	No
Stoddard, Richard Henry	Stoddard, Richard Henry	Work to Do	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 May 1861	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	All We Ask is to be Let Alone	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Barry, Charles A.	Unconfirmed	The Massachusetts Soldier's Wife	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	The Holy War	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 May 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Stars and Bars	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	12 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Stedman, Edmund Clarence	The Twelfth of April, A.D. 1861	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 May 1861	[1]	TBD
S.D.C.	Unconfirmed	A Word of Cheer	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 May 1861	[1]	TBD
H.J.L.	Unconfirmed	National Hymn	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 May 1861	[2]	TBD
Clarke, Anna Phillips	Unconfirmed	Massachusetts. April, 1861	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Lexington	Unconfirmed	General Harney	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 May 1861	[2]	TBD
S.F.D.	Unconfirmed	The Rally-Call	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Oats	Unconfirmed	The Patriot's Prayer	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	17 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Army Hymn	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 May 1861	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Welcome to the Invader	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 May 1861	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lines, Dedicated to My Three Brothers in the Confederate Army	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	19 May 1861	[4]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Country	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song of the South	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	20 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Flag	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	20 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Massachusetts Line	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 May 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	War Lyrics	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 May 1861	[4]	No
Rand, Edward Sprague, Jr.	Unconfirmed	A Tale of 1861	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song of May	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	21 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Hoffer, Edward	Unconfirmed	The Old Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Ticknor, Frank	Unconfirmed	The Old Riflemen	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	22 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song for Harvard	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Benton, Joel	Unconfirmed	The Violent	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 May 1861	[4]	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The American People	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 May 1861	[1]	No
Ticknor, Frank	Unconfirmed	Massachusetts in Virginia	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	23 May 1861	[4]	No
Virginia	Unconfirmed	Virginia to the Rescue	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	24 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Webb, Mary	Unconfirmed	Our Massachusetts Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Terry, Rose	Terry, Rose	The Last Revolution of the Rain	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Haste, brothers, haste]	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	26 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	Let Us Alone	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Moore, Mrs. L.D.	Unconfirmed	To Jefferson Davis	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	27 May 1861	[4]	No
Percival, James G.	Unconfirmed	It Is Great for Our Country to Die	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 May 1861	[1]	TBD
H.J.L.	Unconfirmed	Spring Canticle	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Songs	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	28 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Stoddard, Richard Henry	Stoddard, Richard Henry	Colonel Ellsworth	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 May 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song to the South	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	29 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Wainwright, J. Howard	Unconfirmed	The Zouaves' Battle Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 May 1861	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Marie	Unconfirmed	She Brings Me Flowers No More	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 May 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Cause of the North	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Warton, M.B.	Unconfirmed	Stand by Your Flag	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	30 May 1861	[4]	Yes
Korner	Unconfirmed	Prayer During Battle	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	31 May 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Maryland	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	31 May 1861	[4]	No
L.N.	Unconfirmed	In Memory of Col. E.E. Ellsworth	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 June 1861	[4]	TBD
S.F.D.	Unconfirmed	The Voices of the Hour	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 June 1861	[1]	TBD
L.L.	Unconfirmed	To the Hawfield Boys of Alamance County, North Carolina	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	2 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Heine, Harry	Unconfirmed	Our Country's Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 June 1861	[4]	No
Jacobus, Mrs. J.J.	Unconfirmed	The Ordered Away	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	3 June 1861	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sister's Farewell to Her Brother Going into Battle	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lieut. Gen. Scott	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 June 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	March On	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To My Sons in Virginia	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	4 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Stoddard, Richard Henry	Stoddard, Richard Henry	King Cotton	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 June 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To My Wife	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	5 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Bethune, G.W.	Unconfirmed	Patriotic Hymn	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Hunt, Josie S.	Unconfirmed	The Red, White, and Blue	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dedicated to the Ladies of Clarksville, Va.	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	6 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ode to the North and South	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 June 1861	[2]	No
Neal, John	Unconfirmed	Battle-Anthem	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 June 1861	[4]	No
T.F.	Unconfirmed	Jackson, Our First Martyr	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	7 June 1861	[4]	No
Motherwell, William	Unconfirmed	The Cavalier's Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 June 1861	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
S.F.D.	Unconfirmed	A Borrowed Thought	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 June 1861	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Troops of Virginia	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	9 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Peabody, W.B.O.	Unconfirmed	The Alarm	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 June 1861	[1]	No
Rogers, C.S.	Unconfirmed	All Soft and Brown the Upturned Fields	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Impromptu Acrostic	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	10 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Our Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Terry, Rose	Terry, Rose	All Forward!	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Only a Curl	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 June 1861	[1]	No
Pike, Albert G.	Unconfirmed	Southerns, Hear Your Country Call You	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	12 June 1861	[4]	No
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Hymn for a Flag-Raising	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 June 1861	[4]	No
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 June 1861	[1]	No
Marie	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's Farewell	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Roline	Unconfirmed	A Song for the Southern Confederacy	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	14 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Bayne, Paul S.	Unconfirmed	The Two Summers	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	17 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Despot's Heir	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Rain	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Banim, John	Unconfirmed	The Reconciliation	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 June 1861	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Orders	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 June 1861	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Uprising of the North	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Virginia Mother, A	Unconfirmed	Give Up That Sword	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	18 June 1861	[4]	No
Muloch, Miss	Craik, Dina Mariah Muloch	A Legend of St. Christopher	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 June 1861	[1]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ego and Echo	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	19 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Denison, Mary A.	Unconfirmed	Good Bye, Boys--I'm Going! / The Dying Words of a Volunteer	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 June 1861	[1]	TBD
L.H.S.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	The Ninetieth Birthday of Rev. Charles Cleveland	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 June 1861	[2]	TBD
Seniran	Unconfirmed	War to the Death!	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	20 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Brooks, C.T.	Unconfirmed	Soldier's Oath	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 June 1861	[1]	No
Swain, Charles	Unconfirmed	Speak No Ill	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	21 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Fringed Curtain	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	21 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Inella, Schola	Unconfirmed	To Virginia	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	23 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Land of Columbus	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 June 1861	[2]	No
Swain, John	Unconfirmed	The Sunny Side of the Way	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Lowe, Martha	Unconfirmed	To Arms!	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Story, W.W.	Unconfirmed	War Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 June 1861	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Cotton States' Farewell to Yankee Doodle	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	24 June 1861	[4]	No
Clifford, Carrie	Unconfirmed	Nay, Keep the Sword	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	25 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Man of Feeling	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 June 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Stars and Stripes at Sea	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 June 1861	[1]	TBD
G.H.M.	Unconfirmed	Uprise Ye Braves	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	26 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Pike, Albert G.	Unconfirmed	Hymn	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 June 1861	[1]	No
Fernald, Woodbury M.	Unconfirmed	Our Country's Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 June 1861	[1]	TBD
McL., Nettie C.	Unconfirmed	The Battle of Bethel Church	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	27 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Southern Volunteer's Farewell to His Wife	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 June 1861	[2]	No
T.B.	Unconfirmed	Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 June 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Soldier Boy	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	28 June 1861	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Vive De Begatelle	Daily Dispatch	30 June 1861	[4]	Yes
Burrows, H. Lassing	Unconfirmed	Nobody's Hurt	Daily Dispatch	1 July 1861	[4]	Yes
G.K.	Unconfirmed	A Fourth of July Hymn	Boston Evening Transcript	1 July 1861	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Battle of Bethel Church	Charleston Mercury	1 July 1861	[4]	TBD
Burton, Juliette T	Unconfirmed	May, Sixty-one	Daily Dispatch	2 July 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	God and the Right	Daily Dispatch	3 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sons of Freedom	Daily Dispatch	4 July 1861	[4]	TBD
Young, E.	Unconfirmed	God Bless Our Land!	Daily Dispatch	5 July 1861	[4]	No
Ticknor, Frank	Unconfirmed	The Virginians of the Valleys	Daily Dispatch	7 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Borrows, N. Lansing	Unconfirmed	Liberty	Daily Dispatch	8 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Percy, Florence	Unconfirmed	The Angel of Patience	Boston Evening Transcript	8 July 1861	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bought and Sold	Daily Dispatch	9 July 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mourir pour La Patric	Daily Dispatch	10 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Boy that Enlisted To-Day	Daily Dispatch	11 July 1861	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Volunteers	Daily Dispatch	12 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Fontaine, W. Winston	Unconfirmed	A Virginia Serenade	Daily Dispatch	14 July 1861	[4]	Yes
J.W.S.	Unconfirmed	In Memoriam	Daily Dispatch	15 July 1861	[4]	Yes
Bradbury, M.R.	Unconfirmed	The American Marseillaise	Boston Evening Transcript	16 July 1861	[1]	No
Palmetto	Unconfirmed	War Song	Charleston Mercury	2 December 1861	[4]	Yes
Thomson, Jno. R.	Unconfirmed	Ashby	Charleston Mercury	1 July 1862	[2]	TBD
Leverett, Charles Edward, Jr.	Unconfirmed	Rise, Southrons, Rise	Charleston Mercury	7 July 1862	[2]	TBD
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	The Grand Duke	Charleston Mercury	9 July 1862	[2]	Yes
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	The Exotic	Charleston Mercury	11 July 1862	[2]	Yes
Bruns, J. Dickson	Unconfirmed	For Sumter	Charleston Mercury	13 July 1862	[2]?	TBD
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	The Chrism of Death	Charleston Mercury	14 July 1862	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Vicksburg	Charleston Mercury	15 July 1862	[2]?	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Friend, A	Unconfirmed	To the Memory of Lieut. Thomas Sumter Brownfield, Who Died of a Wound Received in the Battle of Malvern Hill	Charleston Mercury	6 August 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Guerillas	Charleston Mercury	11 August 1862	[2]	TBD
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	Vicksburg--Ballad	Charleston Mercury	18 August 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Reading the List	Charleston Mercury	21 August 1862	[2]	TBD
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	The Black Flag	Charleston Mercury	5 September 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Exchanged Prisoners	Charleston Mercury	7 September 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Guerilla	Charleston Mercury	23 September 1862	[2]	TBD
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	Lee Crossing the Potomac	Charleston Mercury	25 September 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Southern Cross	Charleston Mercury	2 October 1862	[2]	TBD
M. T. G.	Unconfirmed	To the Memory of Alfred Gaillard Pinckney	Charleston Mercury	7 October 1862	[2]	TBD
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Charleston	Charleston Mercury	2 December 1862	[1]	Yes
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Ripley	Charleston Mercury	10 December 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Bare-Footed Boys	Charleston Mercury	11 December 1862	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Stonewall Jackson	Charleston Mercury	19 December 1862	[2]	No
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Christmas	Charleston Mercury	24 December 1862	[2]	Yes
Douglas, Marian	Unconfirmed	The Happy New Year	Boston Evening Transcript	31 December 1862	[1]	Yes
JanVee, Francis DeHaes	Unconfirmed	The Sentinel	Baltimore American	31 December 1862	[1]	Yes
Jones, Ernest	Unconfirmed	The New Year's Morn	Boston Evening Transcript	31 December 1862	[4]	TBD
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Christmas	Charleston Mercury	31 December 1862	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Te Lincoln Laudamus	Memphis Daily Appeal	31 December 1862	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Missouri Massacre	Vicksburg Daily Whig	31 December 1862	[1]	TBD
Fish, Jennie	Unconfirmed	A Song for the Times	New-York Tribune	1 January 1863	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Holmes, O.W.	Holmes, Oliver Wendell	[O Lord of Hosts!]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	New Year's Eve	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Uncle Sam's Tailor Shop	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	1 January 1863	[2]	No
Benton, Joel	Unconfirmed	To-Day	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 January 1863	[1]	No
Mulladoon, Michael	Unconfirmed	The Irish Picket	<i>Baltimore American</i>	2 January 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sitting in the Sun	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Hastings, Flora	Unconfirmed	[Tell me ye winged winds]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Missouri Massacre	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	4 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Gray, David	Unconfirmed	The Thaw	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 January 1863	[4]	TBD
McCabe, J.D., Jr.	Unconfirmed	Mississippians Never Surrender	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	5 January 1863	[1]	No
McClellan, Isaac	Unconfirmed	The Horse	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Tis God the spirit leads]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	5 January 1863	[2]	TBD
Buntline, Ned	Unconfirmed	My Pictures	<i>Baltimore American</i>	6 January 1863	[4]	Yes
Cary, Alice	Cary, Alice	Meeting	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Davenport, George E.	Unconfirmed	Children	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 January 1863	[1]	TBD
McCabe, J.D., Jr.	Unconfirmed	Mississippians Never Surrender	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	6 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[John Brown's body]	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	6 January 1863	3	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Emancipation Hymn for 1863	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	6 January 1863	3	No
Zachos, J.C.	Unconfirmed	Ode for Emancipation Day, January 1, 1863	<i>New York Herald</i>	6 January 1863	5	TBD
A.M.R.	Unconfirmed	The Land of the South	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	7 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Christmas and New Years, --1862-3	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Wo to the wight]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 January 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tribute	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 January 1863	[4]	No
Beach, Elizabeth T. Porter	Beach, Elizabeth T. Porter	Our Monitor	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	8 January 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
E.J.M.	Unconfirmed	[Calm and motionless our Susie]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	8 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[None knew him but to love him]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	8 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rediviva	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 January 1863	[1]	No
Browning, Mrs.	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Peace	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 January 1863	[4]	No
McClellan, Isaac	Unconfirmed	To a Photograph Album	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	True Piety	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	10 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Bourne, William Orland	Bourne, William Orland	Helen, Knitting	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Procter, Adelaide A.	Unconfirmed	True or False	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 January 1863	[1]	TBD
L.H.S.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	[Fond mother cease that heaving sigh]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 January 1863	[4]	TBD
T.W.	Unconfirmed	The Boy Martyr	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Judd, [Henry B. ?]	Unconfirmed	January 1, 1863	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	13 January 1863	8	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wind and Leaf, An Elopement	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 January 1863	[4]	No
Vicksburg Girl, A	Unconfirmed	[The gunboats went to Vicksburg]	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	13 January 1863	[1]	TBD
W.D.G.	Unconfirmed	The Hour and the Man	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 January 1863	[1]	No
Zachos, J.C.	Unconfirmed	[You son's of burning Afric's soil]	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	13 January 1863	8	No
T.	Unconfirmed	To John Bright of England	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 January 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[A. Good Masa Abe]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 January 1863	[1]	TBD
H.J.L.	Unconfirmed	"Alike in God"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 January 1863	[4]	Yes
Tennyson, Alfred	Tennyson, Alfred	The Golden Year	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	15 January 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Connecticut	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	15 January 1863	3	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's Letter	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Song of the Camp	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	15 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Good Night	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 January 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Duffield, Divie Bethune	Unconfirmed	Uhland's Funeral Tubingen	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 January 1863	[1]	No
Fontaine, Lamar	Unconfirmed	All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	16 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Heros of Home	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	16 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Forrens, Foster	Unconfirmed	I'll Think of Thee	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	17 January 1863	[4]	TBD
W.F.W.	Unconfirmed	Fredericksburg	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	17 January 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Little Willie	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 January 1863	[1]	No
Delphine	Unconfirmed	Bring Flowers to the Wounded	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	19 January 1863	[2]	TBD
Piatt, John James	Unconfirmed	To a Poet, on His Marriage	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Old Abe's a wondrous wag]	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	19 January 1863	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Yankee War Song	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	19 January 1863	[1]	No
Wallace, William	Unconfirmed	The Aged Mother	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 January 1863	[3]	No
Carnes, J. E.	Unconfirmed	Our Union	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	King Olaf	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Hart, F. B.	Unconfirmed	The Reveille	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Proctor, Edna Dean	Proctor, Edna Dean	[John Brown died]	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	21 January 1863	8	
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	A Storm in the Country	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	Squandered Lives	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	22 January 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	About Ben. Butler.	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 January 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Soldier's Letter	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Proclamation	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 January 1863	[4]	No
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Boston Hymn	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 January 1863	[1]	No
Hawkins, W. S.	Unconfirmed	Murfreesboro'	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	23 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Ollier, Edmund	Unconfirmed	To the President	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 January 1863	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Treason's Last Device	New-York Tribune	23 January 1863	2	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Acrostic	Memphis Daily Appeal	23 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Southern Republic	Vicksburg Daily Whig	23 January 1863	[1]	Yes
W.H.T.	Unconfirmed	Men of the Sunny South	Memphis Daily Appeal	23 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Morn	Daily Picayune	24 January 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Silent Mills of Lancashire	Daily Picayune	24 January 1863	[4]	No
E.A.B.L.	Unconfirmed	The Arm Chair	Boston Evening Transcript	25 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Noble, Lucretia	Unconfirmed	In the Battle	Boston Evening Transcript	25 January 1863	[4]	No
F.J.L.	Unconfirmed	January Days--1863	Boston Evening Transcript	26 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Treason's Last Device	Boston Evening Transcript	26 January 1863	[1]	No
Cary, Alice	Cary, Alice	More Life	Boston Evening Transcript	27 January 1863	[4]	No
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	Isis--A Glimpse of the Ideal	Charleston Mercury	27 January 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"Come Back to Us, McClellan"	Cleveland Plain Dealer	27 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[An' why should we kick up a muss]	Cleveland Plain Dealer	27 January 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Stonewall Jackson	Memphis Daily Appeal	27 January 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tribute to Dressel	Boston Evening Transcript	27 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Browne, Emma Alice	Unconfirmed	Our Lost Baby--Willie	Boston Evening Transcript	28 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Ianthe	Unconfirmed	The Refugee's Song	Vicksburg Daily Whig	28 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mrs. Grammat's Ball	Boston Evening Transcript	28 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Year	Memphis Daily Appeal	28 January 1863	[1]	No
Friend, A	Unconfirmed	[Say not the loved return to us no more]	Vicksburg Daily Whig	29 January 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Flag	Boston Evening Transcript	29 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Southern Republic	Memphis Daily Appeal	29 January 1863	[1]	No
Caldwell, W. W.	Unconfirmed	A Skating Song	Boston Evening Transcript	30 January 1863	[1]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[A youth]	Memphis Daily Appeal	30 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Is This a Time to Dance?	Vicksburg Daily Whig	30 January 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lines on the March	Daily Dispatch	30 January 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Snow	Cleveland Plain Dealer	30 January 1863	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Thou Art Near	Boston Evening Transcript	30 January 1863	[4]	No
Caldor, M. T.	Unconfirmed	The California Hundred	Boston Evening Transcript	31 January 1863	[1]	Yes
Prak, Thomas	Unconfirmed	The Day of Jubilee	New York Herald	31 January 1863	8	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Pactolus	Boston Evening Transcript	31 January 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Contraband's Hymn	New York Herald	1 February 1863	[1]	TBD
W.H.P.	Unconfirmed	Song	Daily Picayune	1 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Bowie, Thomas F.	Unconfirmed	The Efficacy of Prayer--An Elegy	Daily National Intelligencer	2 February 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Street Cleaning	New-York Tribune	2 February 1863	3	TBD
W.	Unconfirmed	Vespers	Boston Evening Transcript	2 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Winter, William	Unconfirmed	Sacrifice	Boston Evening Transcript	2 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Mansel, Henry Longueville	Unconfirmed	The Thought-Measurer	Boston Evening Transcript	3 February 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Birth of the Lily	Boston Evening Transcript	3 February 1863	[4]	No
Char	Unconfirmed	King Abraham's Dream	Vicksburg Daily Whig	4 February 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Trundle-Bed	Cleveland Plain Dealer	4 February 1863	[3]	TBD
Webber, Fred W.	Unconfirmed	Leaving New England "Out in the Cold"	Boston Evening Transcript	4 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Biglow, Hosea	Lowell, James Russell	[A war on tick's]	Memphis Daily Appeal	5 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Lynn, Ethel	Unconfirmed	Pulling Lint	Boston Evening Transcript	5 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's Dream of Home	Boston Evening Transcript	5 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	Matins	Boston Evening Transcript	6 February 1863	[4]	TBD
M.A.	Unconfirmed	Nothing is Lost	Boston Evening Transcript	6 February 1863	[1]	No
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Charleston	Daily Dispatch	6 February 1863	[4]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The River and the Hill	Vicksburg Daily Whig	6 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's Wife	Memphis Daily Appeal	6 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Sempre Avanti	Unconfirmed	A Masked Ball at Florence	Daily Picayune	7 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I'm a Flirt--I'm a Flirt	Daily Picayune	7 February 1863	[4]	TBD
W.H.P.	Unconfirmed	In Memoriam	Daily Picayune	7 February 1863	[2]	Yes
Gray, Barry	Unconfirmed	The Rocky Mountains	Boston Evening Transcript	8 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Stodder, Richard N.	Unconfirmed	The King's Affection	Boston Evening Transcript	8 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Gallagher, W.D.	Unconfirmed	The President's Gun	New-York Tribune	9 February 1863	5	TBD
Sigourney, Lydia H.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	Magna Est Veritas, Et Prevalibet	Boston Evening Transcript	9 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	From an Octogenarian (De Senectute) to a Septuagenarian	Boston Evening Transcript	9 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Bisbee, Jennie A.	Unconfirmed	We Shall Meet Again	Cleveland Plain Dealer	10 February 1863	[4]	Yes
Boker, George H.	Boker, George H.	The Crossing at Fredericksburg	Boston Evening Transcript	10 February 1863	[1]	No
H.T.T.	Unconfirmed	To H. W. Bellows	Boston Evening Transcript	10 February 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Letter Addresses	Boston Evening Transcript	10 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Long Ago	Vicksburg Daily Whig	10 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Alger, Horatio, Jr.	The Price of Victory	Boston Evening Transcript	11 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Jennings, Margaret A.	Unconfirmed	Kiss Me, for I'm going Home	Vicksburg Daily Whig	11 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Jennings, Margaret A.	Unconfirmed	Kiss Me, For I'm Going Home	Memphis Daily Appeal	11 February 1863	[1]	No
Private White	Unconfirmed	Taps	Boston Evening Transcript	11 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Benson, Carl	Unconfirmed	Out of Town	Boston Evening Transcript	12 February 1863	[1]	No
Piatt, John James	Unconfirmed	The Book of Gold	Boston Evening Transcript	12 February 1863	[4]	Yes
Piatt, John James	Unconfirmed	The Lily	Boston Evening Transcript	12 February 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Our Eddy]	Charleston Mercury	12 February 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dark Providence	Boston Evening Transcript	12 February 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Year	Vicksburg Daily Whig	12 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Alger, Horatio, Jr.	A Soldier's Valentine	Boston Evening Transcript	13 February 1863	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	Vicksburg	Daily Dispatch	13 February 1863	[4]	TBD
S.F.D.	Unconfirmed	The Old and the New	Boston Evening Transcript	13 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Ulverston, Melvain G.	Unconfirmed	On the Death of a Child	Cleveland Plain Dealer	13 February 1863	[2]	TBD
Ulverston, Melvain G.	Unconfirmed	On the March	Cleveland Plain Dealer	13 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Clinton	Unconfirmed	Then and Now	Daily Picayune	14 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Ames, Charles G.	Unconfirmed	The Falling Snow	Boston Evening Transcript	15 February 1863	[1]	No
Dorgan, John A.	Unconfirmed	Beauty	Boston Evening Transcript	15 February 1863	[4]	No
Ulverston, Melvain G.	Unconfirmed	A Scotchman Philosophizes in Regard to Matrimony	Cleveland Plain Dealer	15 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Char	Unconfirmed	Song	Memphis Daily Appeal	16 February 1863	[2]	Yes
Macaulay, T. B.	Unconfirmed	[Hail, day of music]	Boston Evening Transcript	16 February 1863	[4]	No
Nack, James	Unconfirmed	Charles Alfred	Boston Evening Transcript	16 February 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lines on the Death of Edmund Rhett Stewart	Charleston Mercury	16 February 1863	[2]	TBD
Flash, Harry	Unconfirmed	The Death of Zollicoffer	Memphis Daily Appeal	17 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	In Winter	Boston Evening Transcript	17 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	At Fredericksburg	Boston Evening Transcript	17 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	Choose This Day Whom You Will Serve	Boston Evening Transcript	18 February 1863	[1]	No
Ulverston, Melvain G.	Unconfirmed	Imperishable	Cleveland Plain Dealer	18 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Rainbow	Boston Evening Transcript	18 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Howe, Julia Ward	Howe, Julia Ward	Lyrics of the Street.--The Darkened House	Boston Evening Transcript	19 February 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Go! Trample on the rebel flag!]	Boston Evening Transcript	19 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Vicksburg	Vicksburg Daily Whig	19 February 1863	[1]	No
C.E.L.	Unconfirmed	Life's Royal Work	Boston Evening Transcript	20 February 1863	[1]	No
J.E.W.	Unconfirmed	An Autumn Requiem	Daily Dispatch	20 February 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
M.E.C.	Unconfirmed	A Vision of the Future and a Story of the Past	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 February 1863	[3]	TBD
T.	Unconfirmed	Sonnet	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Herrick	Unconfirmed	To Keep a True Lent	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Sweat, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	Watching	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 February 1863	[4]	No
McClellan, Isaac	Unconfirmed	New England's Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 February 1863	[1]	TBD
R.W.J.	Unconfirmed	The Defense of Vicksburg	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	22 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	At Anchor	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Consternation	Unconfirmed	Old Dash	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 February 1863	[4]	No
Simmons, W. Lafayette	Unconfirmed	Vicksburg, Queen of the Valley	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	23 February 1863	[2]	No
Tiber	Unconfirmed	To the Capitol	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	23 February 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Thalia	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Timrod, Henry	Timrod, Henry	Inaugural Poem	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	24 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Falter Not--Quail Not--On to the Fight	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Franklin Statue	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 February 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Things that Never Die	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	24 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the West	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	24 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Toodur, Pompey	Unconfirmed	Od, for de Happy Return ob de Day	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Defense of Vicksburg	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	25 February 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Irish Picket	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Capitol	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 February 1863	[1]	No
Glaucus	Unconfirmed	[Oh yes, little angel of beauty]	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	27 February 1863	[1]	No
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	Vicksburg	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	27 February 1863	[2]	No
Means, Alexander	Unconfirmed	The Rainbow Dream	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	27 February 1863	[4]	No
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Mary Booth	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 February 1863	[4]	TBD
Proctor, Miss	Unconfirmed	One by One	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	27 February 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Read, T. Buchanan	Unconfirmed	Flag of the Constellation	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 February 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"Is that Mother?"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 February 1863	[4]	No
Stoddard, Richard Henry	Stoddard, Richard Henry	Because I Slept	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 February 1863	[4]	No
Denison, Mary A.	Unconfirmed	The Negro's Vision	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Dunn, C.G.	Unconfirmed	God Save the Union	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 March 1863	[4]	No
Weaver, W.T.G.	Unconfirmed	McCulloch	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	1 March 1863	[1]	TBD
C.B.M.	Unconfirmed	Little Eva	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Gallagher, W.D.	Unconfirmed	The President's Gun	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Song of the Printer	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	2 March 1863	[3]	TBD
Alfi, Jenny	Unconfirmed	Measure a Few Leagues More	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 March 1863	[1]	No
Stodder, Richard N.	Unconfirmed	The Father's Dying Words	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Watching	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	3 March 1863	[1]	TBD
McClellan, Isaac	Unconfirmed	General William Hull	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Proteus	Unconfirmed	To Miss Hattie D***S	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	4 March 1863	[3]	Yes
Soldier, A	Unconfirmed	Calhoun's Prophecy	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	4 March 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song of Health, Happiness and Glory	<i>New York Herald</i>	4 March 1863	5	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song at Sea	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Awake, Little Sleeper	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dreams	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	5 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Edinburgh After Flodden	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	5 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Patriotic Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Serenade	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	5 March 1863	[4]	No
Barham	Unconfirmed	An Appeal for Vicksburg	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	6 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Is This a Time to Dance?	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	6 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Hastings, Flora	Unconfirmed	[Tell me, ye winged winds]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 March 1863	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Something Worth Having	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	7 March 1863	[1]	TBD
A. Young Rebelle	Unconfirmed	"Oh, He's Nothing but a Soldier"	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	8 March 1863	[1]	No
Gray, Barry	Unconfirmed	An Appeal to Loyal Men	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Mason, Caroline A.	Unconfirmed	"Thy Will be Done"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 March 1863	[1]	No
Orange, C.P.	Unconfirmed	The Orchestra	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Bungay, George W.	Unconfirmed	Impromptu Lines on the Copperheads	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	9 March 1863	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Greeting to the 'George Griswold'	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	9 March 1863	8	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Greatest Victory of the War!	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	9 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Bishop, M.J.	Unconfirmed	The Lonely Burial	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tennessee, Our Tennessee	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	10 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Thalia	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Bisbee, Jennie A.	Unconfirmed	The Two	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	12 March 1863	[3]	Yes
Ketchum, Annie Chambers	Unconfirmed	Gathering Song	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	12 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Little Jenny	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 March 1863	[1]	No
L.H.	Unconfirmed	Think I But on Thee	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 March 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Lives there a reptile]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 March 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Abe Lincoln	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	13 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	O We're Not Tired of Fighting Yet	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 March 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Canoe	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	13 March 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Faded Violet	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Under the Cross	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	14 March 1863	[4]	No
T.	Unconfirmed	The Voice Without an Echo	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 March 1863	[4]	No
X.Y.Z.	Unconfirmed	The Staff	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 March 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Hymn for the Winter	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 March 1863	[4]	No
W.R.E.	Unconfirmed	The Shadow Dance	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Foster, [?] Major	Unconfirmed	[God save our native land!]	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	17 March 1863	8	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
J.H.E.	Unconfirmed	To Edwin Booth	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 March 1863	[4]	No
M.	Unconfirmed	The Message of the Pine	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	White Soldier's Song	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	17 March 1863	5	TBD
Howe, Julia Ward	Howe, Julia Ward	The Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 March 1863	[1]	No
Ravenswood	Unconfirmed	The Grave of Douglas	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	18 March 1863	[2]	TBD
Stewart, James M.	Unconfirmed	Why I Love Thee	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 March 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	She Paints	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	18 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Tide of Death	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	18 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Leland, Charles Godfrey	Leland, Charles Godfrey	Shall Freedom Droop and Die	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	19 March 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	After a Little While	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	19 March 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The East and the West	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 March 1863	[4]	No
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	Matins	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 March 1863	[4]	No
Chapman, William J	Unconfirmed	Wounded and Frozen to Death	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 March 1863	[3]	Yes
Mayor, Rema	Unconfirmed	He Does Not Wear the Grey	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	20 March 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"To Give is to Live"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wish of the Dying Soldier	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	20 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Cutler, Elbridge Jefferson	Unconfirmed	Cavalry Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 March 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Transition	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Little Grave	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dickens's Cradle Song of the Poor	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Collins, Mortimer	Unconfirmed	Gladys, The Lost	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 March 1863	[1]	No
Garnier, George	Unconfirmed	One Little Kiss	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	24 March 1863	[4]	No
Parsons, T. W.	Unconfirmed	Hymn for Lent	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 March 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[and greatness speaks	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	24 March 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Original Love Story	Vicksburg Daily Whig	24 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Memories	Vicksburg Daily Whig	24 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Clark, Sarah D.	Unconfirmed	The Soldanella	Boston Evening Transcript	25 March 1863	[1]	No
Kentucky Soldier, A	Unconfirmed	"His rations and Something to Wear"	Memphis Daily Appeal	25 March 1863	[1]	No
L.E.Y.	Unconfirmed	A Tribute of Affection to the Memory of the Hon. J. L. Petigru	Charleston Mercury	25 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Milnes	Unconfirmed	Moments	Boston Evening Transcript	25 March 1863	[4]	TBD
E.A.B.L.	Unconfirmed	The Last Jacket	Boston Evening Transcript	26 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	A Sunday Revery	Charleston Mercury	26 March 1863	[2]	TBD
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	Would You Like to Know?	Boston Evening Transcript	26 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Heroes of Industry	Vicksburg Daily Whig	26 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Good Night	Cleveland Plain Dealer	27 March 1863	[4]	No
E.N.H.	Unconfirmed	A Tribute to the Memory of the Adjutant H.P. Bowditch	Boston Evening Transcript	27 March 1863	[4]	No
Howe, Julia Ward	Howe, Julia Ward	The Flag	New-York Tribune	27 March 1863	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Wounded and Slain	Vicksburg Daily Whig	27 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	La Chocolatiere	Daily Picayune	28 March 1863	[4]	No
F.H.C.	Unconfirmed	The Sleeping Trout	Boston Evening Transcript	29 March 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The North to the South	Boston Evening Transcript	29 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Guerillas	Memphis Daily Appeal	29 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Leslie, Florence	Unconfirmed	A Tribute to Our Cavalry Chieftains	Memphis Daily Appeal	30 March 1863	[1]	Yes
Rand, Edward Sprague, Jr.	Unconfirmed	The Return	Boston Evening Transcript	30 March 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Dream	Vicksburg Daily Whig	30 March 1863	[1]	TBD
Bowie, Thomas F.	Unconfirmed	The Efficacy of Prayer--An Elegy	Boston Evening Transcript	31 March 1863	[1]	No
Moore, Mollie E.	Unconfirmed	Break this Gently to My Mother	Vicksburg Daily Whig	31 March 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Soldier's Song	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	1 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Grange	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Benson, Carl	Unconfirmed	Salamambo	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 April 1863	[1]	No
Shelley	Shelley, Percy Bysshe	The Return of Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A May Day at Manassas, in 1860 and 1862"	<i>New York Herald</i>	2 April 1863	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Young Husband's Soliloquy	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	2 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Baby Walks	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	2 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Politician Jim Crow	<i>New York Herald</i>	2 April 1863	4	TBD
Stoddard, Mrs. E. D. B.	Unconfirmed	Mary Booth	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 April 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Political Jim Crow	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	3 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Three Pictures	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	3 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Craig, Miss	Unconfirmed	Welcome to the Princes	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Killickinick	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 April 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Miserable	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	4 April 1863	[4]	Yes
Frothingham, N.L.	Unconfirmed	Legends of St. Cecilia	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 April 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Cliffs at Highland Light, Cape Cod	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 April 1863	[4]	No
Estelle	Unconfirmed	Where Are Ye, Oh, My Brothers?	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	6 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Hartz, Asa	Unconfirmed	Dying and Living	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	6 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	In the Woods	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 April 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Early Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Last Words of a Wife	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 April 1863	[1]	No
Wallace, William	Unconfirmed	Song of Spring Flowers	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 April 1863	[4]	No
A.S.	Unconfirmed	The Flame of Promise	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 April 1863	[2]	Yes
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	John Pelham	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	9 April 1863	[2]	TBD



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Influence of Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	9 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	Blessed are the Pure in Heart	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	10 April 1863	[4]	No
St. Louis	Unconfirmed	Missing	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	10 April 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Young Husband's Soliloquy	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	10 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When the War is Over	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	10 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Quatrains	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 April 1863	[4]	No
Marble, Earl	Unconfirmed	Too Late	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Young Widow	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	12 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Gray, Barry	Unconfirmed	The Rocky Mountains	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Cidereal Ballad	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Moral	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 April 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Thorts on a Fadid Boka	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	14 April 1863	[1]	TBD
X.Y.Z.	Unconfirmed	The Staff	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 April 1863	[1]	No
Sargent, H.B.	Unconfirmed	After "Taps"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 April 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Down the Dark Yazoo	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	15 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Imperishable	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 April 1863	[4]	No
WILL	Unconfirmed	A Sentinel on the Mississippi	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	15 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[A maiden once I chanced to know]	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	16 April 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Poem	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 April 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Siege of Cincinnati	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	16 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Countess	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 April 1863	[1]	No
Boker, George H.	Boker, George H.	Dirge for a Soldier	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Proteus	Unconfirmed	To Miss Emma Alice Brown	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	17 April 1863	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wolf at the Door	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	17 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Milnes	Unconfirmed	Moments	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 April 1863	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Bostwick, Mrs. H.L.	Unconfirmed	The Life Apart	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 April 1863	[4]	No
Shelley	Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Morning	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	19 April 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Give	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 April 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Stonewall	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	19 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Volunteer, A	Unconfirmed	Lines	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	19 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Pierpont, John	Unconfirmed	Hymn for the National Fast, 30th April, 1863	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 April 1863	[1]	No
Street, Alfred B.	Unconfirmed	Our Union	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	20 April 1863	8	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Picture	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bring up No Wine	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Moonlight and Love	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Last of Wendell Phillips	<i>New York Herald</i>	20 April 1863	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	This Spring	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	20 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What Was Wanted	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 April 1863	[4]	No
Wallace, William	Unconfirmed	Keep Step with the Music of the Union	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	20 April 1863	8	No
Bishop, M.J.	Unconfirmed	The Little Sleeper	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 April 1863	[1]	Yes
H.W.	Unconfirmed	Watching for Our Soldiers	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 April 1863	[4]	No
Bisbee, Jennie A.	Unconfirmed	The Magic Tone	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	22 April 1863	[3]	Yes
H.J.L.	Unconfirmed	Faithful Memory	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Hartz, Asa	Unconfirmed	Dying and Living	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	22 April 1863	[2]	No
Keeker, Martin	Unconfirmed	[My wife has left my bread and board]	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	22 April 1863	[3]	No
Pierpont, John	Unconfirmed	The Fast that God Hath Chosen t	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	22 April 1863	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Love Knot	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	22 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Great Heart	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 April 1863	[1]	No
B.	Unconfirmed	Dixie's Fast Day	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	24 April 1863	[1]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Muloch, Miss	Craik, Dina Mariah Muloch	Outward Bound	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 April 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Tom D. jump'd the iron rail]	<i>New York Herald</i>	25 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Ames, Charles G.	Unconfirmed	Doing Without It	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 April 1863	[4]	No
Brigadier General Martindale	Unconfirmed	Touch the Elbow	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Bonar, H.	Unconfirmed	How to Live	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 April 1863	[4]	TBD
K.	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 April 1863	[1]	No
Stodder, Richard N.	Unconfirmed	The Morning Ride	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[God bless the girls]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 April 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Welcome	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	27 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	An Evening Scene	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Fold down its little baby heads]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 April 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Beauregard	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	28 April 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Revelry in East India	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	28 April 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 April 1863	[1]	No
Richmond, James Cook	Unconfirmed	Music, as of Trumpets	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	29 April 1863	[1]	TBD
S.M.	Unconfirmed	Lines on the Death of Miss Sarah J--S	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	29 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Unmated	<i>Vicksburg Daily Whig</i>	29 April 1863	[1]	TBD
Caldwell, W. W.	Unconfirmed	Spring-Time	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 April 1863	[1]	Yes
Everett, Horace S.	Unconfirmed	[Fling to the breeze that brave old flag]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	May and the Poets	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 April 1863	[4]	TBD
Frothingham, N.L.	Unconfirmed	At a Grave	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 May 1863	[4]	No
Mason, Caroline A.	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's dream of Home	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	1 May 1863	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[In summer when the sun is low]	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	1 May 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Response	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	1 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Church Belles	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What Was Wanted	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 May 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Is this a Time to Dance?	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	3 May 1863	[1]	TBD
C.U.	Unconfirmed	Today and Tomorrow	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 May 1863	[4]	No
Clifford, May	Unconfirmed	The First Robin	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Long Ago	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	4 May 1863	[2]	TBD
Cornwall, Barry	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Hartley, E.G.	Unconfirmed	May	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	5 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Mason, Caroline A.	Unconfirmed	The Mothers of 1862	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 May 1863	[4]	No
Richmond, James Cook	Unconfirmed	To Clara	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	6 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The Earth is Full of Thy Riches	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 May 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Strange Little Boy	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	May	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 May 1863	[2]	TBD
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Mithridates at Chios	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 May 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Outward Bound	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Anatomist to His Dulcinea	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	9 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Old honest Abe]	<i>New York Herald</i>	10 May 1863	2	TBD
Schiller	Unconfirmed	Three Words of Strength	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Howe, Julia Ward	Howe, Julia Ward	Battle Hymn of the Republic	<i>New York Herald</i>	12 May 1863	5	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Rainy Day in Camp	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 May 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Violet Girl's Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 May 1863	[4]	TBD
L.	Unconfirmed	Little Alice	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 May 1863	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song of New England Spring Bird's	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 May 1863	[1]	No
Burr, C. Chauncey	Unconfirmed	Love's Natal Day	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 May 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Twas a pleasant autumn day]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	14 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A May-Time Revery	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 May 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	After All	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	14 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Raid on the 29th March	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	14 May 1863	[1]	TBD
W.D.H.	Unconfirmed	By the Sea	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 May 1863	[4]	No
M.A.	Unconfirmed	The Sewing Circle	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 May 1863	[4]	No
Richmond, James Cook	Unconfirmed	The Daughter of Holy Church	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	15 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Cromwell, Ruth M.	Unconfirmed	To Edgar A. Poe	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 May 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	On Guard	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	16 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ford	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 May 1863	[1]	Yes
Marble, Earl	Unconfirmed	The Temple of Honor	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Moultrie, John	Unconfirmed	Violets	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Tribute	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	18 May 1863	[2]	Yes
Lover, Sam	Unconfirmed	The Poet's Home	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Pierpont, John	Unconfirmed	Our Country's Call	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Richmond, James Cook	Unconfirmed	To a Young Lady, on her Nineteenth Birthday Anniversary, April 5th, 1863	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	19 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Cary, Alice	Carey, Alice	In Heaven	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 May 1863	[4]	No
J.H.C.	Unconfirmed	The Refugee's Dream	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	20 May 1863	[2]	Yes
Kimball, Harriet McEwen	Unconfirmed	"Spare us, Good Lord"	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 May 1863	[1]	Yes
A.K.V.A.	Unconfirmed	Over the Way	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	21 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Akers, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	Spring at the Capital	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 May 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Cherry Tree	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 May 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
B.D.J.	Unconfirmed	God Infinite	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Farewell and Welcome	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	23 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Kimball, Harriet McEwen	Unconfirmed	All's Well	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 May 1863	[4]	No
T.M.	Unconfirmed	["His memory long will live alone]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	24 May 1863	[1]	TBD
Gray, Barry	Unconfirmed	Sunrise in the Alps	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Cary, Alice	Carey, Alice	My Darling	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 May 1863	[4]	No
Bishop, M.J.	Unconfirmed	The Search Among the Slain	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 May 1863	[1]	Yes
Tiber	Unconfirmed	The Captain	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	27 May 1863	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	God Speed the Plow!	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Peace at Any Price	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Nicholson, James	Unconfirmed	The Burnie	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 May 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Alice	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 May 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mary by the Cross	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The Earth is Full of Thy Riches	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	30 May 1863	[1]	No
J.H.C.	Unconfirmed	Our Dead in the Enemy's Lines / To My Mother	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	31 May 1863	[2]	TBD
Piatt, John James	Unconfirmed	New Grass	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	31 May 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Nature-Painting	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	31 May 1863	[4]	TBD
Leland, Charles Godfrey	Leland, Charles Godfrey	A Cavalry Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Negro Volunteer Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Three Ways	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 June 1863	[4]	TBD
L.H.S.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	Progress	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 June 1863	[4]	No
Thurston, E.A.	Unconfirmed	Ode to the Devil	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Two Last Messages of Maxcy Gregg	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	2 June 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
H.C.S.	Unconfirmed	Nature's Voices	Cleveland Plain Dealer	3 June 1863	[3]	TBD
Herbert, George	Unconfirmed	The Flower	Boston Evening Transcript	4 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Lynn, Ethel	Unconfirmed	When the Boys Come Home	Boston Evening Transcript	4 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Cary, Alice	Carey, Alice	In Sorrow	Boston Evening Transcript	5 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[And the nigger, never flitting]	Cleveland Plain Dealer	5 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	York and Lancaster	Cleveland Plain Dealer	5 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Morning Hymn	Daily Picayune	6 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Summer	Daily Picayune	6 June 1863	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	True Courage	Daily Picayune	6 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Elliott, Ebenezer	Unconfirmed	The Summer-House	Boston Evening Transcript	7 June 1863	[1]	TBD
J.	Unconfirmed	To -----	Boston Evening Transcript	7 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Early at the Dawning	Boston Evening Transcript	7 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Dead Drummer Boy	Cleveland Plain Dealer	7 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Cross	Boston Evening Transcript	8 June 1863	[1]	No
Boker, George H.	Boker, George H.	The Second Louisiana	Boston Evening Transcript	9 June 1863	[1]	No
G.S.H.	Unconfirmed	The Forty-Fourth	Boston Evening Transcript	9 June 1863	[2]	Yes
Ames, Charles G.	Unconfirmed	Our Volunteers	Boston Evening Transcript	10 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Forrest, Mary	Unconfirmed	Twilight Hour	Boston Evening Transcript	10 June 1863	[4]	No
Cousin Nourma	Unconfirmed	The Southern Land	Memphis Daily Appeal	11 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	The Heart and the Liver	Boston Evening Transcript	11 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"Shoulder Arms!"	Boston Evening Transcript	11 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Bad Business for Burnside	New York Herald	11 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I Go Everywhere	New York Herald	11 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Missing	Charleston Mercury	11 June 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Russia's Reason	Daily Picayune	11 June 1863	[2]	No
Lawyer, A	Unconfirmed	Ode to Spring	Daily Picayune	12 June 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Paul, John	Unconfirmed	Sunset	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Farm House	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	12 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Summer Moon Was Shining	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	12 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Give is to Live	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 June 1863	[1]	No
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Out in the Cold	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sonnets	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	14 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Soldier's Dream	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	14 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Paul, John	Unconfirmed	Pura	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	15 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	The Wraith of Odin	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 June 1863	[1]	No
M****	Unconfirmed	[Softly, peacefully]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	17 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Do Ye Quail	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	17 June 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I Wish I was an Editor	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	17 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Her Epitaph	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 June 1863	[1]	No
Power, Thomas F.	Unconfirmed	A Welcome Home	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The June Month	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 June 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Trip to Rocky River by the Niagara	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	18 June 1863	[3]	TBD
Bertha	Unconfirmed	Thoughts Suggested by the Death of Stonewall Jackson	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	19 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Locker, Frederick	Unconfirmed	A Song that Was Never Sung	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Wail of the Flea-Bug	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	19 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Pennsylvania Farmers	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	19 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tragedy of John Marks	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	19 June 1863	[3]	Yes
Willis, Nathaniel Parker	Willis, Nathaniel Parker	The Soldier's Widow	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	19 June 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	June	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 June 1863	[1]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Awakening	Daily Picayune	20 June 1863	[3]	TBD
Paul, John	Unconfirmed	Lizzy M----	Boston Evening Transcript	21 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Sigourney, Lydia H.	Sigourney, Lydia H.	The Eddystone Lighthouse	Boston Evening Transcript	21 June 1863	[4]	No
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Our City by the Sea	Charleston Mercury	21 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Ames, Mary Clemmer	Unconfirmed	Left Behind	Boston Evening Transcript	22 June 1863	[1]	No
Bisbee, Jennie A.	Unconfirmed	Lines Suggested by a Visit to Niagara Falls	Cleveland Plain Dealer	22 June 1863	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Jeff Davis rides a white horse]	Daily Dispatch	22 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Yankee Doodle took a saw]	Daily Dispatch	22 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To a Lady on Her Birthday	Boston Evening Transcript	22 June 1863	[4]	No
Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Alger, Horatio, Jr.	Last Words	Boston Evening Transcript	23 June 1863	[1]	Yes
Blackman, John	Unconfirmed	The Sweetbriar	Boston Evening Transcript	23 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Our City by the Sea	Memphis Daily Appeal	23 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Friends	Cleveland Plain Dealer	23 June 1863	[4]	No
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Summer Studies	Boston Evening Transcript	24 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bugle Song	Cleveland Plain Dealer	24 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Friends	Daily Picayune	24 June 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	O Tempora Mutantur!	Boston Evening Transcript	25 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The New Confederate Flag	Charleston Mercury	25 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Benton, Joel	Unconfirmed	The Two Portraits	Boston Evening Transcript	26 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"An Age on Ages Telling"	Boston Evening Transcript	26 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Poe, Edgar Allan	Poe, Edgar Allan	A Mid-June Midnight	Daily Picayune	27 June 1863	[1]	No
Clough, Arthur Hugh	Unconfirmed	The Struggle	Boston Evening Transcript	28 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Randall, James B.	Randall, James B.	The Lone Sentry	Charleston Mercury	28 June 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Poverty's Wedding	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 June 1863	[4]	TBD
Friend, A	Unconfirmed	A Lament	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	29 June 1863	[2]	No
LaFontaine	Unconfirmed	The Lion Going to War	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Burns	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 June 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Burns	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 June 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Mohawk River	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 June 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Northern Invasion of Lee	<i>New York Herald</i>	30 June 1863	[1]	TBD
G.K.	Unconfirmed	The Alhambra	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Locker, Frederick	Unconfirmed	Vanity Fair	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Arab Welcome	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Counterfeits	<i>New York Herald</i>	1 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Jewels and Gems	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	1 July 1863	[1]	No
Brooks, C.T.	Unconfirmed	The Land and the Flag	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Sprague, Charles	Unconfirmed	The Fourth of July	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Life is But a Span	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	2 July 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Cadet Hop	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	3 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Land of King Cotton	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	3 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Major-General John Fulton Reynolds	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	4 July 1863	[4]	No
Herbert	Unconfirmed	A Lament	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	5 July 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Moths in furs]	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	5 July 1863	[1]	No
Frothingham, N.L.	Unconfirmed	The Festival of St. Agnes	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	6 July 1863	[1]	No
Cornwall, Barry	Unconfirmed	The Onset. A Battle Song.	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	At the Sea-Side	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	7 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Yacht	<i>New York Herald</i>	7 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Dunn, C.G.	Unconfirmed	Io Paeon. July 4, 1863	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 July 1863	[1]	No
Stoddard, Richard	Stoddard, Richard	Col. Frederick Taylor	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	8 July 1863	[4]	No
Henry	Henry					

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Idyl of the Iron-Clads	New-York Tribune	8 July 1863	3	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Maladetta	Daily Picayune	8 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Boker, George H.	Boker, George H.	A Seasonable Hymn	Boston Evening Transcript	9 July 1863	[4]	No
Shiras, Charles	Unconfirmed	The Popular Creed	Daily Picayune	9 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Dying Trumpeter	Boston Evening Transcript	9 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Wallace, William	Unconfirmed	The Fall of Vicksburg	New-York Tribune	9 July 1863	5	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The Crowded Street	Daily Picayune	10 July 1863	[2]	No
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	The Prayer of a Nation	Boston Evening Transcript	10 July 1863	[1]	No
Swain, Charles	Unconfirmed	Imaginary Evils	Daily Picayune	11 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Three Ways	Daily Picayune	11 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Stewart, James M.	Unconfirmed	Major General Israel Putnam	Boston Evening Transcript	12 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Pond Lillies	Boston Evening Transcript	12 July 1863	[4]	Yes
R.J.L.	Unconfirmed	The Gift of Flowers	Boston Evening Transcript	13 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Memoriam	Boston Evening Transcript	13 July 1863	[4]	No
Brooks, Sarah Warner	Unconfirmed	Festal Bells	Boston Evening Transcript	14 July 1863	[4]	No
Estelle	Unconfirmed	Dixie's Land	Memphis Daily Appeal	14 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"Midnight is Past--The Cross Begins to Bend"	Boston Evening Transcript	14 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Kimball, Harriet McEwen	Unconfirmed	My Field	Boston Evening Transcript	15 July 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	July	Boston Evening Transcript	15 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Nunes, Joseph A.	Unconfirmed	"The Future Makes All Right"	Boston Evening Transcript	16 July 1863	[1]	No
Saxe	Saxe, John G.	The Cockney	Memphis Daily Appeal	16 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[I'll sing you a song to suit de times]	New-York Tribune	16 July 1863	2	TBD
C.W.D.	Unconfirmed	The Staff of Accomplishment	Boston Evening Transcript	17 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Oakwood, Oliver	Unconfirmed	"Trust in God and Persevere"	Boston Evening Transcript	17 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Darling	Daily Picayune	18 July 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Who, and Whence?	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	18 July 1863	[1]	TBD
B.	Unconfirmed	To Generals Grant and Meade	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	19 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Cornwall, Barry	Unconfirmed	A Storm	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 July 1863	[1]	TBD
H.J.L.	Unconfirmed	A Summer Thanksgiving	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 July 1863	[4]	No
Clapp, Henry, Jr.	Clapp, Henry, Jr.	Nobody's Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Munby, Arthur J.	Unconfirmed	In the Desert	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Old Thunderbolt	Simms, William Gilmore	Rub-A-Dub	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	21 July 1863	[2]	Yes
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	the Gifts of the Gods	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 July 1863	[4]	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	A Crimean Episode	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[He held her gently hand in his]	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	21 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Jackson, Samuel	Unconfirmed	Requiem for My Little Daughter	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 July 1863	[4]	No
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Love's Challenge	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	22 July 1863	[1]	No
B. T.	Unconfirmed	Lines on the President's Proclamation for Thanksgiving	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	23 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Barrick, J.H.	Unconfirmed	"Nil Desperandum"	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	23 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	Hilary	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 July 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Twilight Musings	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 July 1863	[4]	No
Glyndon, Howard	Searing, Laura Catherine Redden	The Battle of Gettysburg	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	24 July 1863	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Her Wedding Ring	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The White Throated Sparrow	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 July 1863	[4]	No
Willey, Edward	Unconfirmed	Head of the Column	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	24 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Arnold, George	Unconfirmed	Requiescam	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Percy, Florence	Unconfirmed	How Strange	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ode	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	26 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Adams, Warren P.	Unconfirmed	A Prayer	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 July 1863	[1]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Nursery Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Conscript's Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 July 1863	[2]	Yes
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The West Wind	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 July 1863	[4]	TBD
Rogers, Mrs. C.A.	Unconfirmed	Supplication	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 July 1863	[1]	No
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Not Doubtful of Your Father Land	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	28 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	July	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 July 1863	[1]	TBD
C.W.D.	Unconfirmed	Capture of the Griswold	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 July 1863	[1]	Yes
Janvieve, Francis DeHaes	Unconfirmed	The Southern Confederacy	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	29 July 1863	[4]	No
Lee, S. Adams	Unconfirmed	Rest	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 July 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Happy Old Age	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 July 1863	[1]	No
Muloch, Miss	Craik, Dina Mariah Muloch	At the Sea-Side	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	31 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Rankin, J.E.	Unconfirmed	August	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	31 July 1863	[4]	No
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Fort Wagner	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	31 July 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Thankfulness	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	31 July 1863	[1]	TBD
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Welaway	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	1 August 1863	[1]	No
Carrier, Ashton	Unconfirmed	Little Feet	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 August 1863	[1]	No
S.	Unconfirmed	I am Weary	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Beaureguard--A Lyrical Ode	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	2 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Together	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	2 August 1863	[2]	Yes
Amicus	Unconfirmed	Acrostic [Miss Anna Hill]	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	3 August 1863	[1]	Yes
H.S.	Unconfirmed	Colonel Shaw	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	3 August 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Yes, Build Your Walls	Charleston Mercury	3 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"To One in the Country"	Boston Evening Transcript	3 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	["No treachery..."]	Boston Evening Transcript	3 August 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Wasted	Boston Evening Transcript	3 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Dogen, John A.	Unconfirmed	The Mermaid	Boston Evening Transcript	4 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Frothingham, N.L.	Unconfirmed	Hospenthal	Boston Evening Transcript	4 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Memory of Little Jesse	Daily Dispatch	5 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	Fifty Years	Boston Evening Transcript	6 August 1863	[4]	TBD
E.S.	Unconfirmed	Colonel Shaw	New-York Tribune	6 August 1863	2	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Crimea	Daily Picayune	6 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In the Crowd	Boston Evening Transcript	6 August 1863	[1]	Yes
Abdy, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	The Street of By-and-By	Boston Evening Transcript	7 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	The Guerilla Martyrs	Charleston Mercury	7 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	News at the Sea-Side	Boston Evening Transcript	7 August 1863	[4]	No
Raymond, Henry J.	Unconfirmed	Secretary Stanton; or, the Napoleon of the War Discovered at Last	New York Herald	8 August 1863	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	John Bull and the Frenchman	New York Herald	8 August 1863	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Summer	Daily Picayune	8 August 1863	[4]	TBD
J.V.	Unconfirmed	Our Country's Dead	Boston Evening Transcript	9 August 1863	[1]	No
Proctor, Edna Dean	Proctor, Edna Dean	She Comes from St. Louis!	Boston Evening Transcript	9 August 1863	[4]	No
Caverswall, Adam	Unconfirmed	Marc Antony	Boston Evening Transcript	10 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Leonard, H.C.	Unconfirmed	Hymn	Boston Evening Transcript	10 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Do you miss me at home, dearest mother]	Daily Dispatch	10 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Hint to Copperheads	Boston Evening Transcript	10 August 1863	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	England's Neutrality: A Parliamentary Debate	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	11 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Yankee Conscript on Conscription	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	11 August 1863	[2]	No
Winter, William	Unconfirmed	Orgia: The Song of a Ruined Man	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	11 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Bennett, W.C.	Unconfirmed	Of America: A Voice from the Crowd	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 August 1863	[1]	No
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The West Wind	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	12 August 1863	[1]	No
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	Not Doubtful of your Fatherland	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	12 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Now his cradle bed is empty]	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	12 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Churchyard Lily	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	12 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Bennett, W.C.	Unconfirmed	Rule Britannia	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 August 1863	[4]	No
M.A.D.	Unconfirmed	Our Martyred Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	13 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Life at Saratoga	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Gift of Flowers	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	13 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Alone	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	14 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Finish thy Work	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 August 1863	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To a Vision	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	14 August 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rest	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	15 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Little Nellie	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	16 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Exempt	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 August 1863	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Never Give Up!	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	17 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Wallace, Lewis	Unconfirmed	[When good old Father Washington]	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	17 August 1863	[1]	No
Bennett, W.C.	Unconfirmed	Davis's Address	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 August 1863	[4]	No
Terry, Rose	Terry, Rose	The New Sangreal	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	18 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	D.P. Scanlan	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	18 August 1863	5	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Twenty Years Ago	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	18 August 1863	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Alcott, Louisa May	Alcott, Louisa May	Thoreau's Flute	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 August 1863	[4]	No
W.	Unconfirmed	Gail	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	19 August 1863	[1]	Yes
Howe, Julia Ward	Howe, Julia Ward	Lyrics of the Street	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 August 1863	[4]	No
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	Looking Over a Gate at a Pool in a Field	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	20 August 1863	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Ship	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	20 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Memory of Our Little Willie	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	20 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Grief Street	Unconfirmed	To Amateur Musicians	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 August 1863	[1]	Yes
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	Divided	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	21 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Smith, George H.	Unconfirmed	Lines [On the death of Mrs. Ruth Talmadge Glover]	<i>Memphis Daily Appeal</i>	21 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Dead	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	22 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	Seven Times One	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 August 1863	[4]	TBD
J.T.G.	Unconfirmed	New England's Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	23 August 1863	[1]	No
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	The Wedding Song	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	Time and Love	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	24 August 1863	[1]	No
Simms, William Gilmore	Simms, William Gilmore	What Though the Sky be Gloom, Boys	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	25 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In the Old Church Tower	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	25 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lenox	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	25 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Barefoot	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 August 1863	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dead	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	26 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ring of the Sutler's Wife	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	26 August 1863	[1]	No
M.O.W.O.	Unconfirmed	In the Garden	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Summer Song	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	27 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Shadow Kiss	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	27 August 1863	[4]	No
Burleigh, William H.	Unconfirmed	Lead Us, O Father!	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 August 1863	[4]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Cotton, Charles	Unconfirmed	The Retirement	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	28 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Morning	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	28 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Across the Aisle	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What Then?	<i>Daily Picayune</i>	29 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Smart, Alexander	Unconfirmed	Example and Precept	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 August 1863	[1]	TBD
Taylor, George Lansing	Unconfirmed	Sumter!	<i>New-York Tribune</i>	30 August 1863	2	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Oh, fatal death]	<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	30 August 1863	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Thankfulness	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>	30 August 1863	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[The earthly pilgrimage is o'er]	<i>Charleston Mercury</i>	1 September 1863	[2]	TBD
Gilder, Richard Watson	Gilder, Richard Watson	What is a Sonnet?	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	21 April 1866	10	No
Campbell	Unconfirmed	Thoughts on the New Year	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	31 December 1869	[1]	TBD
Longfellow, Henry W.	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Weariness	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	31 December 1869	[1]	TBD
Massey, Gerald	Unconfirmed	The Lady Marian	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	31 December 1869	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Beautiful in Old Age	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	31 December 1869	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Farewell, Old Year	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	31 December 1869	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Shoo, Fly! Don't Bodder Me!	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	31 December 1869	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Measure of Time	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	31 December 1869	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Barn	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	31 December 1869	[3]	TBD
Colgate, Kate	Unconfirmed	The Poet's Song	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	1 January 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Matrimonial	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	2 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Herald Carriers' Annual Address	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	2 January 1870	[1]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Story	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	2 January 1870	[4]	TBD
A.T.C.	Unconfirmed	The Angel	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	3 January 1870	[4]	Yes
Barker, Daniel	Unconfirmed	A Personal Letter	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	3 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Brooks, Sarah Warner	Unconfirmed	[O silent bards in Abbey graves!]	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	3 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Cooking 'And Courting	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	3 January 1870	[1]	No
Tennyson, Alfred	Tennyson, Alfred	The Coming of Arthur	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	4 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Christmas comes]	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	4 January 1870	[1]	No
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	In School Days	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	4 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Lover's Hard Luck	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	5 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A School Girl of the Period	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	5 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Whittier, J.G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	In School Days	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	5 January 1870	[4]	No
Syttal, Mrs. M.J.	Unconfirmed	Snow on Little Graves	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	6 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Moonlight Thought	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	6 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Poet Let Loose	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	6 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Over the River	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	6 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Nauhaught the Deacon	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	6 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Drowned	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	7 January 1870	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Genevieve: A Tennysonian Howl	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	7 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Tennyson, Alfred	Tennyson, Alfred	The Battle of Lyonnesse	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	9 January 1870	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	By-and-By	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	9 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Whispers in Church	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	9 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Bearskin Coat Had Rangus On	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	10 January 1870	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Death in the Workshop	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	10 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Faded Blossoms	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	He Leads Us On	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	10 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Snow-Drop	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	10 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Ferris, Ellen M.	Unconfirmed	The Dance	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	11 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When You Were Seventeen	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	11 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Pierce, Rebecca R.	Unconfirmed	Little Albert	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	12 January 1870	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Temperance Story	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	12 January 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Masterless	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	12 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Carey, Alice	Carey, Alice	Lost and Found	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	13 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Faithful Lovers	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	13 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the G.O.V'ner	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	13 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When You Were Seventeen	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	13 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Pro [Morimia]	<i>Cleveland Daily Herald</i>	14 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Stoddard, R.H.	Stoddard, Richard Henry	What do I Love?	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	16 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Sorrow	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	16 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Cobblers Secret	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	16 January 1870	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	Cold and Quiet	Daily Evening Bulletin	17 January 1870	[4]	No
Turner, Charles	Unconfirmed	My Timepiece	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	17 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The German's Native Land	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	17 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Musical Box	Daily Evening Bulletin	18 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Into Mischief	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	18 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Faithful Lovers	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	18 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Gulf Stream	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	18 January 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Story that Pleas'd Her	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	18 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Help the Poor	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	19 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	People Will Talk	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	19 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To-day	Daily Evening Bulletin	19 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Massey, Gerald	Unconfirmed	Children at Play	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	20 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rich and Poor	Cleveland Daily Herald	20 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Watchwords of Life	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	20 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Jim	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ours	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	21 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Receipt to Make a Kiss	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Shadows	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	21 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ungarded Moment	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	21 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Years	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1870	[5]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Wolfe, Charles	Unconfirmed	[If I had thought thou couldst have died]	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Pollock, W.H.	Unconfirmed	Below the Heights	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	23 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Stedman, E.C.	Stedman, Edmund Clarence	On the Doorstep	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	23 January 1870	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Baby	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	23 January 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Peeping Through the Blinds	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	23 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Darley, George	Unconfirmed	Awakening from Sleep	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	24 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Saxe	Saxe, John G.	I'm Growing Old	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	24 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Funeral Fleet	Daily Evening Bulletin	24 January 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Moustache	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	24 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Country Children	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	25 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Lost Child	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	25 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Parsons, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Francesca Da Rimini	Daily Evening Bulletin	26 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Across the River	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	26 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Hon. Mrs. McFlynn	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	26 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Sully, Alfred	Unconfirmed	A Retrospect	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	27 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Girl's a Girl for A' That	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	27 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Winter's Night	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	27 January 1870	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Story	Daily Evening Bulletin	27 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Landor, Charles	Unconfirmed	Flood-Tide	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	28 January 1870	[4]	No
Lute	Unconfirmed	Fragment	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	28 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Advice Rejected	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Blush Not, Honest Toiler	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1870	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Blessed Baby	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1870	[6]	TBD
Glyndon, Howard	Searing, Laura Catherine Redden	The Coming of the Silent Guest	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	30 January 1870	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song of a Horse	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	30 January 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Who Will Care	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	30 January 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Frosted Windows	Daily Evening Bulletin	31 March 1870	[4]	No
Dale	Unconfirmed	Love	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	1 April 1870	[1]	TBD
Spofford, Harriet Prescott	Spofford, Harriet Elizabeth Prescott	The Blue	Daily Evening Bulletin	1 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	At the Box Office	Daily Evening Bulletin	1 April 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Labor	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	1 April 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Strife Rather than Stagnation	Daily Evening Bulletin	1 April 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Roman Bore	Daily Evening Bulletin	3 April 1870	[4]	No
Massey, Gerald	Unconfirmed	[God, the Creator]	Daily Evening Bulletin	4 April 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Face	Daily Evening Bulletin	5 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Marston, Philip Bourke	Marston, Philip Bourke	The First and Last Kiss	Daily Evening Bulletin	6 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Brother Arts	Daily Evening Bulletin	7 April 1870	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Elliott, George W.	Unconfirmed	America Free!	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	8 April 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song of the Fifteenth Amendment	Daily Evening Bulletin	8 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Lost Rose	Daily Evening Bulletin	8 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song of the Spirit of Sleep	Daily Evening Bulletin	8 April 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Reply to a Threat of Fooling	Daily Evening Bulletin	11 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Maiden and the Millionaire	Daily Evening Bulletin	12 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To-day's Singing	Daily Evening Bulletin	13 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Roosevelt, Robert B.	Unconfirmed	A Romance of the Pool	Daily Evening Bulletin	14 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Fifteenth Amendment	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	14 April 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Absence	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	15 April 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Cooking and Courting	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	17 April 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sunrise	Daily Evening Bulletin	17 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Hour of Triumph	Daily Evening Bulletin	19 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Seed and the Sowers	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	19 April 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Silent Battle	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 April 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Wooing	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	21 April 1870	[1]	No
Squires, Mary	Unconfirmed	Back Again	Daily Evening Bulletin	22 April 1870	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Solitaire	Daily Evening Bulletin	22 April 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Moan of the Moonstruck	Daily Evening Bulletin	22 April 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Parting Hour	Daily Evening Bulletin	22 April 1870	[5]	TBD
Howells, W.D.	Howells, William Dean	Caprice	Daily Evening Bulletin	24 April 1870	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Never Put Off	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	25 April 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Vashti's Message	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	25 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Slander	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	26 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	28 April 1870	[4]	No
Stedman, Edmund C.	Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Ab Astris	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	29 April 1870	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Saturday Night	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	29 April 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Mitten	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	29 April 1870	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Summer Day	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 June 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Engineer	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	1 July 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Poet's Wish and His Reasons	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	7 July 1870	[4]	TBD
Ladd, E. Addie	Unconfirmed	Ode	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	8 July 1870	[2]	TBD
Larcom, Lucy	Larcom, Lucy	A Lily's Word	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 July 1870	[5]	No supplement
Pubor, Willie E.	Unconfirmed	Only Once	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 July 1870	[5]	TBD supplement
Swain, Charles	Unconfirmed	The Heart's Music	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 July 1870	[5]	TBD supplement
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Horse	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 July 1870	[5]	TBD supplement
Holland, J.G.	Unconfirmed	On the Right	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 July 1870	[4]	No
Rivers, Pearl	Unconfirmed	Whistling Up the Summer	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	11 July 1870	[4]	TBD



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Strawberry	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	12 July 1870	[4]	No
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Holmes, Oliver Wendell	The Flower of Liberty	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	13 July 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	How She Kissed Me	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 July 1870	[1]	TBD
Pike, Albert G.	Unconfirmed	Fine Arkansas Gentleman	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	15 July 1870	[5] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In School Days	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	15 July 1870	[5] supplement	TBD
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Oar-Strokes	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	15 July 1870	[5] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Summer Day	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	17 July 1870	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What the Minutes Say	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	25 July 1870	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Mark in Time	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1870	[6] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bonnets in Heaven	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1870	[5] supplement	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Fawn of Praxitcles	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1870	[5] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Musician	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1870	[5] supplement	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Which Way the Wind Blew	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1870	[6] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Voices of the Ocean	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	2 October 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Autumn Woods	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 October 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Three Kisses	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	4 October 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When You're Down	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	5 October 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Waiting for the Rain	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	6 October 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Forty	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 October 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Paterfamilies on the War	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 October 1870	[6] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Unknown Land	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 October 1870	[6] supplement	TBD
Locker, Frederick	Unconfirmed	Geraldine's Boots	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	11 October 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bread and Cheese and Kisses	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	11 October 1870	[5] supplement	TBD
S.S.C.	Unconfirmed	Lenore	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 October 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	If You Should Ever Get Married	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 October 1870	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Late Autumn	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 October 1870	[5] supplement	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Money	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 October 1870	[5] supplement	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Whittier, Mr.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	[From these wild rocks I look to-day]	Daily Evening Bulletin	20 October 1870	[4]	No
Dickens, Charles	Dickens, Charles	A Song of Harvest Home	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[6]	No
Hood, Tom	Unconfirmed	The Nameless Dead	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[6]	TBD
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	The Long White Seam	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Tale of Reynard	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	21 October 1870	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Hermione, or, Differences Adjusted	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mary of Dee	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Prince Imperial's Cradle Song	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 October 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Autumn Song	Daily Evening Bulletin	26 October 1870	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Farmer John	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 October 1870	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ships at Sea	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 October 1870	5	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Two Girls	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 October 1870	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sunday Morning in Bed	Daily Evening Bulletin	7 October 1871	[6]	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free	New York Herald	25 June 1872	3	Yes
Mills, J. Harrison	Unconfirmed	A New Year's Retrospect	Daily Rocky Mountain News	31 December 1872	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Flower's Epitaph	Atlanta Daily Sun	31 December 1872	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Duties of the New Year	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	31 December 1872	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Oh Girls!	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	1 January 1873	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Winter	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	1 January 1873	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tempora Mutantor	Atlanta Daily Sun	2 January 1873	[4]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Pierce, Rebecca R.	Unconfirmed	My Rose	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	3 January 1873	[4]	Yes
Preston, Margaret J.	Unconfirmed	His Name	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	3 January 1873	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Little Maid	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	No Admittance: An Oriental Tale	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Soul Solitude	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tears and Flowers	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	True Friendship	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Waiting	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Are the Children at Home	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	5 January 1873	[4]	No
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	In Memoriam / General A.B. Wright	<i>Atlanta Daily Sun</i>	6 January 1873	[4]	No
Kidder, Mrs. M.A.	Unconfirmed	Heart to Heart, Through Fire	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	6 January 1873	[4]	No
Carey, Alice	Carey, Alice	A Poet's Walk	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	7 January 1873	[1]	TBD
Procter, Adelaide A.	Unconfirmed	Cleansing Fires	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	9 January 1873	[4]	TBD
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Brother of Mercy	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	9 January 1873	[1]	TBD
Carey, Alice	Carey, Alice	Sibyl	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1873	[6]	No
Dobson, Austin	Unconfirmed	A Dialogue from Plato	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Morris, WM	Unconfirmed	Love is Enough	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	10 January 1873	[4]	TBD
Thaxter, Celia	Thaxter, Celia	Song	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	10 January 1873	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Boring the Board	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	10 January 1873	[4]	Yes
Whittier, J.G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	A Quaker Meeting	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1873	[6]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Fawcett, Edgar	Fawcett, Edgar	Napoleon Dead	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	13 January 1873	[4]	No
Leland, Charles Godfrey	Leland, Charles Godfrey	Il Trovatore	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	13 January 1873	[3]	No
French, Bella	Unconfirmed	Seeking Flowers	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	14 January 1873	[3]	Yes
Gilder, R.L.	Unconfirmed	I Am a Woman	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	14 January 1873	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Girls! Pass Along	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	14 January 1873	[3]	No
Croft, W.A.	Unconfirmed	The King of the Cannibal Islands	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	16 January 1873	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Maud and the Cricket	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	16 January 1873	[4]	No
Allerton, Ellen P.	Unconfirmed	The Last Hour of the Year	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1873	[3]	TBD
Bromwell, H.P.H.	Unconfirmed	The Press of Colorado	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	17 January 1873	[4]	TBD
Coolbrith, Ina D.	Unconfirmed	After the Winter Rain	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1873	[6]	No
Livingston, Mary	Unconfirmed	For the Future	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1873	[3]	TBD
Madame Valmore	Unconfirmed	A Woman's Dream	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Mephisto	Unconfirmed	Old Flames	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1873	[3]	TBD
O'Reilly, J. Boyle	Unconfirmed	The Poison-flower	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Pollock, W.H.	Unconfirmed	Heidelberg--On the Terrace	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Stoddard, R.H.	Stoddard, Richard Henry	He is Late	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1873	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Curl	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1873	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ruin	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	17 January 1873	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What the Sparrows Chirp	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Macdonald, George	Unconfirmed	A Vision of St. Eligius	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	19 January 1873	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Chinese Song	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	19 January 1873	[4]	No
Harte, Bret	Harte, Bret	A Geological Madrigal	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	20 January 1873	[4]	No
Barker, Daniel	Unconfirmed	Thoughts at a Funeral	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	21 January 1873	[4]	Yes
Le Baron, Marie	Unconfirmed	Winter	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	22 January 1873	[4]	No
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	A Mystery	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	22 January 1873	[3]	No
Carey, Alice	Carey, Alice	Uncle Jo	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	23 January 1873	[4]	No
Clement, J.	Unconfirmed	To My Niece, Minnie C.	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	23 January 1873	[2]	TBD
Benson, Carl	Unconfirmed	The Drinker's Apology	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	24 January 1873	[6]	TBD
Bryant, John H.	Unconfirmed	Earth's Journey	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	24 January 1873	[5]	No
Havens, Clare T.	Unconfirmed	Sleighb Long Ago	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	Yes
Hobart, Sarah D.	Unconfirmed	A Vigil	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	Yes
McDonale, George	Unconfirmed	A Spiritual Song	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	No
Morton, Belle H.	Unconfirmed	A Winter Night	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	Yes
Terry, Rose	Terry, Rose	Sub Rosa	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	24 January 1873	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Berrying	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	24 January 1873	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Spite of Pa	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Betrothed	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	24 January 1873	[3]	TBD
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	A Mystery	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	24 January 1873	[6]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Lord Lytton	Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer	There is No Death	Atlanta Daily Sun	25 January 1873	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	We are Coming, Sister Mary	Atlanta Daily Sun	25 January 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	For Thought[ts]	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	26 January 1873	[4]	No
Quien Sade	Unconfirmed	Wanted!	Atlanta Daily Sun	27 January 1873	[3]	Yes
Whittier, J.G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	A Mystery	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	27 January 1873	[4]	No
H.H. [?]	Unconfirmed	Covert	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	29 January 1873	[3]	No
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	A Mystery	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	29 January 1873	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Unto Death	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	30 January 1873	[4]	No
Houghton, George	Unconfirmed	Reconciliation	Atlanta Daily Sun	10 April 1873	[4]	TBD
Griggs, Willie	Unconfirmed	Aclostic [sic]	Atlanta Daily Sun	16 April 1873	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Paxall got drunk]	Atlanta Daily Sun	17 April 1873	[3]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Some men were born for great things]	Atlanta Daily Sun	17 April 1873	[3]	Yes
Wallace, Mabel	Unconfirmed	Life	Daily Rocky Mountain News	17 April 1873	[1]	Yes
Caithrop, S.R.	Unconfirmed	Where Baby-Joy Comes From	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	18 April 1873	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Serenade	Atlanta Daily Sun	19 April 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Only a Private	Atlanta Daily Sun	19 April 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[The Dutchman's summer 'breeches']	Atlanta Daily Sun	22 April 1873	[3]	Yes
Richards, William C.	Unconfirmed	Disappointed	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	2 July 1873	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	New and Old	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	4 July 1873	[1]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Woolson, Constance Fenimore	Woolson, Constance Fenimore	Heliotrope	Cleveland Daily Herald	4 July 1873	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rain in Summer	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	9 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Harte, Bret	Harte, Bret	New Jersey (1780)	Cleveland Daily Herald	11 July 1873	[4]	No
Loring, Fred W.	Unconfirmed	[Do you ask]	Cleveland Daily Herald	11 July 1873	[3]	No
Gage, Francis Dana	Unconfirmed	Just a Thought	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	13 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Der Baby	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	14 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Word of Kindness	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	15 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Be True	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	16 July 1873	[1]	TBD
E.N.P.	Unconfirmed	Sea Moods	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	17 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Beach, Bella	Unconfirmed	Real Life	Daily Rocky Mountain News	19 July 1873	[1]	Yes
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	Improvisations	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	25 July 1873	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Speak Nae Ill	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	28 July 1873	[1]	TBD
Saxe	Saxe, John G.	Ode	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	2 October 1873	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Song of Age	Daily Rocky Mountain News	18 October 1873	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	October	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	19 October 1873	[1]	No
Hayne, Paul H.	Hayne, Paul H.	Sonnet	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	28 October 1873	[1]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Spencer, Carl	Unconfirmed	Outside	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	31 December 1875	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Serenading	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	31 December 1875	7	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Year	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	31 December 1875	6	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Turning Over the New Leaf	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	31 December 1875	[2]	TBD
Wheeler, Ella	Unconfirmed	Another Year	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	31 December 1875	[7]	TBD
Poe, Edgar Allan	Poe, Edgar Allan	Alone	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 January 1876	[11]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Kisagotami	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 January 1876	10	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Madman of Corinth	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 January 1876	[9]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Turned Carmelite	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 January 1876	[12]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Carriers' New Year's Address to the Patrons of the Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, January 1, 1876	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	2 January 1876	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Dreamer	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	2 January 1876	[2]	No
Douglas, George	Unconfirmed	Entoiled	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	3 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Nellie at Seventeen	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	4 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Winter's Hope	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	4 January 1876	[4]	No
F.L.M.	Unconfirmed	A Dream Interpreted	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	5 January 1876	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Slippery Bill	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	5 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Driscoll, Fanny	Unconfirmed	Ingomar	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	7 January 1876	[7]	TBD
Longfellow	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Chaucer	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[6]	No
Milnes	Unconfirmed	I Wandered by the Brookside	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[5]	No
Spencer, Carl	Unconfirmed	Outside	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	7 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Disenchanted	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	7 January 1876	6	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dust and Ashes	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	7 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	St. Andrew	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Kiss at the Door	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Swallows	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Uncle Sam's a Hundred	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	7 January 1876	7	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Vino Santo	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	7 January 1876	[5]	No
Allan, Virginia B.	Unconfirmed	Gen. Magruder	<i>Galveston Daily News</i>	8 January 1876	[2]	Yes
Story, W.W.	Unconfirmed	Doubt	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 January 1876	[11]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Year	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 January 1876	[10]	TBD
Batcheler, Nina J.	Unconfirmed	The Origin of Snowflakes	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	9 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Pierce, Rebecca R.	Unconfirmed	King Winter	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	9 January 1876	[4]	Yes
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Vesta	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	9 January 1876	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Ingelow, Jean	Ingelow, Jean	The Music of Childhood	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	10 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Lord's Church	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	10 January 1876	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dust and Ashes	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	11 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mother and Child	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	11 January 1876	[1]	TBD
Piatt, John James	Unconfirmed	The Ghosts Entry	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	12 January 1876	[4]	TBD
Story, W.W.	Unconfirmed	Peace	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	12 January 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Russian coverts]	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	12 January 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Two Lovers	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	12 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Cooper, George	Unconfirmed	Frogs at School	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	13 January 1876	[7]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The First Gray Lock of Hair	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	13 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Bowring, Mrs.	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Lines	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	14 January 1876	[1]	No
De Vere, Mary Ainge	Unconfirmed	An Advent	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	14 January 1876	[7]	TBD
O'Connell, Daniel	Unconfirmed	The Children	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 January 1876	[5]	TBD
Prentice, G.D.	Unconfirmed	Written at My Mother's Grave	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 January 1876	[5]	TBD
R.J.	Unconfirmed	Impromptu	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	14 January 1876	[4]	Yes
Stoddard, Richard H.	Stoddard, Richard Henry	The Marriage Knot	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	14 January 1876	[5]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	An Echo of Music	Daily Evening Bulletin	14 January 1876	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Schoolmaster's Sleep	Inter Ocean	14 January 1876	6	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Verses for the Kitchen	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	14 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Webster, Augusta	Unconfirmed	Not to Be	Daily Evening Bulletin	14 January 1876	[6]	TBD
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Hero	Inter Ocean	14 January 1876	7	No
Capers, John	Unconfirmed	The Injun We Captured	Galveston Daily News	15 January 1876	[1]	Yes
Clark, Sarah D.	Unconfirmed	Faustina	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	15 January 1876	[10]	TBD
Cook, C.J.L.	Unconfirmed	The Deserter	Galveston Daily News	15 January 1876	[2]	Yes
P.	Unconfirmed	Lines on the Death of the Rev. Isaac J. Henderson, First pastor of the Galveston Presbyterian Church	Galveston Daily News	15 January 1876	[4]	Yes
Thaxter, Celia	Thaxter, Celia	Philosophy	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	15 January 1876	[12]	No
Maxfield, J. Dwight	Unconfirmed	A Camp-Fire Poem	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	16 January 1876	[4]	TBD
Prentice, G.D.	Unconfirmed	A Name in the Sand	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	16 January 1876	[2]	No
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	A Man's Requirements	Daily Evening Bulletin	17 January 1876	[6]	No
Powers, Rev. Horatio N.	Unconfirmed	A Voice in the Desert	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	17 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Only a Voice	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	17 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Grays on Deck Again	Inter Ocean	17 January 1876	4	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Boland, Robert	Unconfirmed	Say, Boys, Do You Hear that Yell	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	18 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dangerous Pleasures	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	18 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What My Lover Said	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	18 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Copp, Frank B.	Unconfirmed	My Bouquet	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	19 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Jewett, Sarah O.	Jewett, Sarah Orne	Discontent	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	19 January 1876	[4]	No
Parkhurst, Clint	Unconfirmed	Andersonville	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	19 January 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Princess and Slave	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	19 January 1876	[7]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Price of a Pleasure	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	19 January 1876	7	TBD
Dodge, Mary B.	Unconfirmed	A Century Old	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	20 January 1876	[4]	No
Douglass, Marion	Unconfirmed	Parson Kelly	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	20 January 1876	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Lily and the Weed	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	20 January 1876	[2]	No
Aldrich, T.B.	Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	At Stratford-On-Avon: To Edwin Booth	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	21 January 1876	[5]	No
Aldrich, T.B.	Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Three Flowers: To Bayard Taylor	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	21 January 1876	[5]	No
Dobell, Sydney	Unconfirmed	Anticipation	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	21 January 1876	[5]	TBD
Dore, Julia C.R.	Unconfirmed	Unanswered	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	21 January 1876	[2]	No
French-Dutch-Englishman, A	Unconfirmed	The Sandhillers and Blaine	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	21 January 1876	[2]	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Longfellow	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Charles Sumner	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	21 January 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Eva's Eyes	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1876	[5]	TBD
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Hero	Daily Evening Bulletin	21 January 1876	[5]	No
De Vere, Mary Ainge	Unconfirmed	An Advent	Galveston Daily News	22 January 1876	[2]	No
Father Ryan	Unconfirmed	Robert E. Lee	Galveston Daily News	22 January 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	How They Did It	Galveston Daily News	22 January 1876	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring Sorrow	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 January 1876	[9]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Winter Sorrow	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 January 1876	[9]	TBD
Clark, Julia	Unconfirmed	Remord	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	23 January 1876	[3]	TBD
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	A Poet's Constancy	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	23 January 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Deep in the Valley	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	23 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Boat of My Lover	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	23 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To Death	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	23 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Huldah	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	24 January 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Grays on Deck Again	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	24 January 1876	[3]	No
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Holmes, Oliver Wendell	The Old Man's Dream	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	25 January 1876	[2]	No
O'Connell, Daniel	Unconfirmed	[We thronged the vessel's deck]	Daily Evening Bulletin	25 January 1876	[3]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Whittier, John G.	Whittier, John Greenleaf	Barbara Frietchie	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	25 January 1876	[4]	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Song of 1876	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	26 January 1876	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[We're standing on a sunny height]	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	26 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Meeting	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	26 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Forty Years Ago	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	26 January 1876	[3]	TBD
Cooper, George	Unconfirmed	Playing Store	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	27 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Baby-land	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	27 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tom Scott's Ride	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	27 January 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Waiting for Spring	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	27 January 1876	[4]	No
Aitken, Cora Kennedy	Unconfirmed	Oh Whatten Found I When I Cam' Home?	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	28 January 1876	[7]	TBD
H.H.	Unconfirmed	Apart	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1876	[5]	No
H.H.	Unconfirmed	Together	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1876	[5]	No
L.E.R.	Unconfirmed	A Valentine	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	28 January 1876	[4]	No
Mulock-Craig, D.M.	Craig, Dina Mariah Muloch	The Passing Days	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	28 January 1876	[7]	TBD
Reform	Unconfirmed	Drunken Jim	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	28 January 1876	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Footsteps on the Other Side	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	28 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Playing Bo-Peep with the Star	Daily Evening Bulletin	28 January 1876	[5]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Gourd and the Palm	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	28 January 1876	[7]	TBD
Page, Emily R.	Unconfirmed	The Old Bridge	<i>Galveston Daily News</i>	29 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Parson Kelly	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	29 January 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Christ	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	29 January 1876	[9]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In the Shadow	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	30 January 1876	[2]	TBD
Thaxter, Celia	Thaxter, Celia	A Faded Glove	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	31 March 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	["Oh, mother, what do they mean by blue?"]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	31 March 1876	10	TBD
Webster, Daniel	Unconfirmed	[My son, thou wast my heart's delight]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	31 March 1876	10	No
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Whittier, John Greenleaf	The Pressed Gentian	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	31 March 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Joseph was an old man]	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	1 April 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	At Rest	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 April 1876	[9]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Memories	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 April 1876	12	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Rink of Sighs	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 April 1876	10	TBD
Hoit, T.W.	Unconfirmed	Immortality	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	2 April 1876	[2]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sailed To-Day	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	3 April 1876	[2]	No
Fawcett, Edgar	Fawcett, Edgar	Wild Roses	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	4 April 1876	[1]	No



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Locker, Arthur	Unconfirmed	Scandal	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	5 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Lines on Leap-Year	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	6 April 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Singing	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	6 April 1876	[2]	No
Macduff, J.R.	Unconfirmed	Life's Eventide	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	7 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To a Loved One	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	7 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Lathrop, George P.	Unconfirmed	An April Aria	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 April 1876	[12]	TBD
Tennyson, Alfred	Tennyson, Alfred	The Springing Life	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 April 1876	[11]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Song	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 April 1876	[10]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sold	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	8 April 1876	[9]	TBD
Piatt, S.M.B.	Piatt, Sarah Morgan Bryan	Meg Merbillies is Dead	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	10 April 1876	[2]	No
Carey, Henry	Unconfirmed	The Maiden's Choice	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	11 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Tappan, Cora L. V.	Unconfirmed	Sunset on the Pacific	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	11 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Lewis, Sarah S.	Unconfirmed	The Poet's Prerogative	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	13 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Muloch, Miss	Craik, Dina Mariah Muloch	The Years	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	13 April 1876	[1]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Allerton, Ellen P.	Unconfirmed	Wants	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	14 April 1876	[2]	TBD
M.G.C.	Unconfirmed	Easter Eggs	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	15 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Mangan, James Clarence	Unconfirmed	The Nameless One	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	15 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Only	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	15 April 1876	[12]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Drifting Boat	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	15 April 1876	[9]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	16 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Out of My Hand	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	16 April 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Retort	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	16 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Lynn, Ethel	Unconfirmed	Only Going to the Gate	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	17 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Piatt, Donn	Unconfirmed	Spring Song	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	17 April 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Birds of Spring	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	18 April 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	First Love	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	19 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Carlotta	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	20 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Lynn, Ethel Strong, Latham C.	Unconfirmed	Only Going to the Gate	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	21 April 1876	10	TBD
	Unconfirmed	After the Rain	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	21 April 1876	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Mexican War	Inter Ocean	21 April 1876	9	No
Larned, Augusta	Unconfirmed	Grasses	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 April 1876	[9]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Morning Glory	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 April 1876	12	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bucolic No. 1	Daily Rocky Mountain News	22 April 1876	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love Masked	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 April 1876	10	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	To the Moon	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	22 April 1876	[11]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	An Ill-Kept Secret	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	23 April 1876	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dead	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	24 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Italian Mother	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	25 April 1876	[2]	No
Smith, Nicholas	Unconfirmed	No Answer	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	26 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Daffodils	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	27 April 1876	[2]	No
Distin, Mrs. Gilbert	Unconfirmed	The Song of the Shop	Inter Ocean	28 April 1876	10	TBD
Dodd, Fannie W.	Unconfirmed	Under the Magnolia	Inter Ocean	28 April 1876	6	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Drifting Away	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	28 April 1876	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Overboard the Tea It Goes	Inter Ocean	28 April 1876	9	No
Percy, Florence	Unconfirmed	Morning Glories	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	29 April 1876	[11]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	His Reasons	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	29 April 1876	[9]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Uncle Jim's Baptist Revival Hymn	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	29 April 1876	[10]	TBD
Whittier	Whittier, John Greenleaf	My Heart Was Heavy	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	29 April 1876	[2]	No
Durant, M.	Unconfirmed	Hayes	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 June 1876	11	Yes
Lusk, Mrs. E.N.	Unconfirmed	Alas! It is Not for Me	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 June 1876	9	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Welcome to Clear Lake	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 June 1876	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Great Unknown	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 June 1876	9	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Platform	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 June 1876	2	No
Pierce, Gil	Unconfirmed	The Signers of the Declaration	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	2 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Republicans can lick it]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	2 July 1876	4	TBD
Bryant, William Cullen	Bryant, William Cullen	The Centennial Hymn	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1876	4	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Song of 1876	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1876	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Reformer Tilden has reforming ways]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Tale of the Fourth	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1876	2	No
Castle, S. M.	Unconfirmed	Centennial Poem	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1876	4	No
J.C.C.	Unconfirmed	Fling out the Banner	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1876	6	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	National Ode	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1876	1	No
W.W.B.	Unconfirmed	Three Pulpits	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	4 July 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	How the Old Horse Won the Bet	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	5 July 1876	[1]	TBD
Schiller	Unconfirmed	The Constancy of Nature	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	6 July 1876	[1]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Faith	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	7 July 1876	[1]	TBD
Cannon, Thomas Harvey	Unconfirmed	The New Colorado	Daily Rocky Mountain News	8 July 1876	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Beginning of the End [Reform has reached the gambler's den]	Inter Ocean	10 July 1876	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Hard money at the ticket's head]	Inter Ocean	11 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Advice [On 'lection morn in Novembraire]	Inter Ocean	11 July 1876	2	TBD
Barnes, Almont	Unconfirmed	A Glimpse from the Cars	Inter Ocean	12 July 1876	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Tis Slipper Sam--]	Inter Ocean	12 July 1876	4	TBD
Saxe, John G.	Saxe, John G.	The Story of Life	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	13 July 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tilden and His Ways	Inter Ocean	13 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	All's Well That Ends Well	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	14 July 1876	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Reform	Inter Ocean	14 July 1876	4	TBD
Ulverston, Melvain G.	Unconfirmed	[When Greeley ran for President]	Inter Ocean	16 July 1876	4	TBD
Osgood, Kate Putnam	Unconfirmed	Truant Madge	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	17 July 1876	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The White Leaguer's Lament	Inter Ocean	17 July 1876	4	TBD
Solon	Unconfirmed	Sammy and Reform	Inter Ocean	18 July 1876	5	TBD
Woolson, Constance Fenimore	Woolson, Constance Fenimore	Tom	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	18 July 1876	[1]	No
Hunt, Leavitt	Unconfirmed	Custer's Last Charge	Inter Ocean	20 July 1876	2	No
Smedley, M.B.	Unconfirmed	We Were Children Once	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	20 July 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Democratic Advice to White Leaguers	Inter Ocean	20 July 1876	4	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Teach Me to Live	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	20 July 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Minister's Sermon	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	21 July 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Shall We Make the South Master?	Inter Ocean	23 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Leedle Yawcob Strauss	Inter Ocean	25 July 1876	7	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Pen-Portrait of the Democracy	Inter Ocean	25 July 1876	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Then and Now	Inter Ocean	26 July 1876	4	TBD
Hunt, Leavitt	Unconfirmed	[Let fall the rein]	Inter Ocean	28 July 1876	5	No
McKiernan, J.J.	Unconfirmed	Custer at the Ford	Inter Ocean	28 July 1876	9	Yes
Nealy, Mary E.	Unconfirmed	To Manning Logan, on His Tenth Birthday	Inter Ocean	28 July 1876	7	No
W.	Unconfirmed	The Dream and the Reality	Inter Ocean	28 July 1876	2	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Fable for the Independents	Inter Ocean	30 July 1876	4	TBD
M.L.S.	Unconfirmed	A Parable	Inter Ocean	2 October 1876	4	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Spoiled Speech	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	3 October 1876	[1]	No
Long, H.	Unconfirmed	Ah Sam and Sin Not	Inter Ocean	5 October 1876	4	Yes
Glemmer, Mary	Unconfirmed	Molly by the Gate	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	6 October 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Seaside Incident	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	12 October 1876	[1]	TBD
Cornwall, Barry	Unconfirmed	Song for Twilight	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	13 October 1876	[1]	TBD
Fremont, John C.	Unconfirmed	Crossing the Range	Daily Rocky Mountain News	14 October 1876	[4]	TBD
Butts, Mrs. M.F.	Unconfirmed	Trust	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	16 October 1876	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Flag of Hayes	Inter Ocean	19 October 1876	4	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mamma's Paris Hat	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	20 October 1876	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Way of the World	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	20 October 1876	6	No
Renaud, Edward	Unconfirmed	[Lo! who are these that come]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	24 October 1876	4	No
M.	Unconfirmed	Tilden to Tweed	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 October 1876	4	Yes
Ynetchi, Paul	Unconfirmed	A Musical Glutton	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 October 1876	4	No
Carpenter, Theo	Unconfirmed	Frost Fancies	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	27 October 1876	10	TBD
Father Ryan	Unconfirmed	The Rosary of My Years	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	31 December 1878	[2]	TBD
West, James H.	Unconfirmed	Death of My Friend	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	31 December 1878	[4]	TBD
Cole, Annie E.	Unconfirmed	The Frost King	<i>Lowell Daily Citizen and News</i>	1 January 1879	[4]	TBD
Richards, Laura E.	Unconfirmed	Little Old Baby!	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	1 January 1879	[7]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Village Stork	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	1 January 1879	[7]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Mountain Storm	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	1 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	New Year's	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	1 January 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	New Year's	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	1 January 1879	[7]	No
Lowell, James Russell	Lowell, James Russell	The First Snow Fall	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	2 January 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The New Year's Address of the Carrier Boys of the Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	2 January 1879	[1]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sailor's Wife	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	2 January 1879	[2]	No
Bowles, Mary	Unconfirmed	Baby's Dead	<i>Galveston Daily News</i>	3 January 1879	[1]	No
H.H.	Unconfirmed	Parson Williams's Sabbath-Breaking	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	3 January 1879	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart	Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart	Last Days	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[5]	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Song of the Camp	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Poem to Governor Evans	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	3 January 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Baby Gone to School	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Praise of Sleep	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	3 January 1879	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Paniers	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The End	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Shadow of the Rock	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Village Girl	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	3 January 1879	[5]	No
Rich, Helen	Unconfirmed	Famished	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Poet's Grave	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	4 January 1879	9	No
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Village Stork	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	4 January 1879	12	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Crippled Soldier in the Police Court	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Hymn	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Metempsychosis	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	4 January 1879	10	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Odd See-Saws	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	4 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Frost King	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Wheeler, Ella	Unconfirmed	When My Sweet Lady Sings	<i>Daily National Intelligencer</i>	4 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Playing at Courting	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	5 January 1879	2	TBD



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
White-Melville, G.J.	Unconfirmed	Speculation	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	6 January 1879	2	TBD
Dodge, Mary B.	Unconfirmed	In Bona Pace	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	7 January 1879	[4]	No
Lowell, James Russell	Lowell, James Russell	The First Snow Fall	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	7 January 1879	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Beauty	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	7 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Ingersoll, Bob	Unconfirmed	Song of the Tape-Worm	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	8 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Old Time	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	8 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sojering	<i>Galveston Daily News</i>	8 January 1879	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Furrier's Love	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	8 January 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Cradle Song	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	9 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Desire	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	9 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Marston, Philip Bourke	Marston, Philip Bourke	In Praise of Sleep	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[5]	No
Spofford, Harriet Prescott	Spofford, Harriet Elizabeth Prescott	A Birthday	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Mountain Storm	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Breviary	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love's Promise	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Oh, For a Swing in the Old Elm Tree	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	10 January 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Closing Year	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	10 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Latest From Afghan	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	10 January 1879	[4]	No
Dentike, C. Willet	Unconfirmed	Love's Young Dream	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	11 January 1879	[6]	TBD
L.A.M.	Unconfirmed	Beyond the Vail	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	11 January 1879	11	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Martin, Theodore	Unconfirmed	Twilight Burial	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Lover's Test	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A White Camellia	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Goat	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love's Promise	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	On the Bay	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Miner's Muse	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	11 January 1879	9	No
Wheeler, Ella	Unconfirmed	The Phantom Ball	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 January 1879	[6]	Yes
Whiting, Lilian	Unconfirmed	To-Night	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	11 January 1879	12	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Rare-Bit	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	12 January 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Snowbird	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	12 January 1879	2	TBD
Angelina	Unconfirmed	A Girl in the Bath	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	13 January 1879	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"Come Unto Me"	Daily Rocky Mountain News	13 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[They carried pie to the parson's house]	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	13 January 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ingratitude	Daily Rocky Mountain News	13 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	His Voyage of Life	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	15 January 1879	3	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Rome	Daily Rocky Mountain News	16 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Time Flies	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	16 January 1879	2	No
Burton, Henry	Unconfirmed	The Gold of Hope	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	17 January 1879	2	No
Coxe	Unconfirmed	With Franciscense and Myrrh	Daily Evening Bulletin	17 January 1879	[5]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Dodge, Mary Mapes	Dodge, Mary Mapes	A Sad Dolly	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1879	[7]	No
Macdonald, George	Unconfirmed	The Wind and the Moon	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Smith, Alexander	Unconfirmed	Barbara	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	The Poet's Grave	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Morning Sunbeam	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Chance	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	17 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Moriarity, M.P.	<i>Milwaukee Daily Sentinel</i>	17 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Papa's Letter	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sorceries of Science	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	17 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Two Ways	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	17 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Wail of the Coparceners to Chairman Potter	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	17 January 1879	[2]	No
Wentworth, W.	Unconfirmed	Benedict On Old Maids and Bachelors	<i>Bangor Daily Whig and Courier</i>	17 January 1879	[4]	Yes
B.	Unconfirmed	Liberty	<i>Galveston Daily News</i>	18 January 1879	[2]	Yes
Dennison, Mrs.	Unconfirmed	The Kingdom of Love	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Lacey, T.A.	Unconfirmed	An Essay in Quantity	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	18 January 1879	12	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	After Dark	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 January 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Flower of Grass	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Nuptura	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	18 January 1879	11	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Coming Down	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sunrise Never Failed Us Yet	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Longfellow, Henry W.	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Bayard Taylor	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	19 January 1879	[4]	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	[Dead lay he among his books!]	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	19 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mary-Anner by the Kitchen Range	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	19 January 1879	2	No
Hinton, Lydia F.	Unconfirmed	A Silhouette	Daily Rocky Mountain News	20 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Moore, Augusta	Unconfirmed	The Mother's Regret	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	20 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Our Dream	Daily Rocky Mountain News	20 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Angelo to Vittoria	Daily Rocky Mountain News	21 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Time's Thievery	Daily Rocky Mountain News	21 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	It's Naught, But it's Ice	Daily Rocky Mountain News	22 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Tonight	Daily Rocky Mountain News	22 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Bunner, H.C.	Unconfirmed	She Was a Beauty	Daily Rocky Mountain News	23 January 1879	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Conkling's Greatest Effort	Daily Rocky Mountain News	23 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Sisters	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	23 January 1879	2	No
Moore, Augusta	Unconfirmed	My Dead Bird	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	24 January 1879	[4]	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Sad Song	Milwaukee Daily Sentinel	24 January 1879	[7]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Winter's Night	Daily Rocky Mountain News	24 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Above the Spire	Daily Rocky Mountain News	24 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Carleton, Will	Unconfirmed	Our Traveled Parson	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	25 January 1879	12	No
Desprez, Frank	Unconfirmed	The Vaquero	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	25 January 1879	[11]	No
Lacey, T.A.	Unconfirmed	An Essay in Quantity	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[6]	No
Piatt, Sallie M.B.	Piatt, Sarah Morgan Bryan	Three Songs	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	25 January 1879	10	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Taylor, Bayard	Taylor, Bayard	A Lover's Test	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Musical Love Story	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Maidenly	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Nuptura	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Opportunity	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Parted	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Angel of Nature	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 January 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Picture and a Parable	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	26 January 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Winter Morning	Bangor Daily Whig and Courier	27 January 1879	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	His Own Reward	Daily Rocky Mountain News	27 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love's Burial	Daily Rocky Mountain News	27 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Winter Lay	Daily Rocky Mountain News	28 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Barber's Love	Daily Rocky Mountain News	28 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Two Kisses	Daily Rocky Mountain News	28 January 1879	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Uncle Jonas	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	28 January 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Modern Romeo	Galveston Daily News	29 January 1879	[1]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Jefferson Chase	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	29 January 1879	[8]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Triolet	Daily Rocky Mountain News	29 January 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Uncle Jonas	Daily Rocky Mountain News	29 January 1879	[3]	TBD
Perry, Carlotta	Unconfirmed	With Clearer Vision	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	30 January 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Impious Pinafore	Daily Rocky Mountain News	31 March 1879	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Mason, Caroline A.	Unconfirmed	Only Me	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	1 April 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Baby's Squall	Daily Rocky Mountain News	1 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Cupid's Day	Daily Rocky Mountain News	2 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ashes of Roses	Daily Rocky Mountain News	3 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Mystic Night	Daily National Intelligencer	5 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	"From My Arm Chair"	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	7 April 1879	[1]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sittings	Daily Rocky Mountain News	7 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In the Spring	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	8 April 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Voice is a Complaint	Daily National Intelligencer	8 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Dulces Amores	Daily Rocky Mountain News	9 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	9 April 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Stay at Home	Daily Rocky Mountain News	10 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Go Free	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	11 April 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Unavailing	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[There's a rumor that's worthy of mention]	Daily National Intelligencer	12 April 1879	[2]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Violet	Daily National Intelligencer	12 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	On a Sheet of Blank Paper	Daily Rocky Mountain News	14 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Doggonit	Daily Rocky Mountain News	15 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Stolen Cord	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	16 April 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Letter from Thy Sire	Daily Rocky Mountain News	17 April 1879	[2]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Gorgeousness	Daily Rocky Mountain News	18 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Two Kisses	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	18 April 1879	[4]	No
Goodall, Elaine	Unconfirmed	Why?	Daily Rocky Mountain News	19 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Call to the Flowers	Daily Rocky Mountain News	19 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Inconstancy	Daily Rocky Mountain News	19 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Woman's Fancy	Daily Rocky Mountain News	21 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Life of Song	Daily Rocky Mountain News	22 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Especially This Year	Daily Rocky Mountain News	23 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	April	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	24 April 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Bubble on the Water	Daily Rocky Mountain News	24 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Hand to Mouth	Daily Rocky Mountain News	25 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Passing Away	Lowell Daily Citizen and News	25 April 1879	[4]	No
Gilder, E.W.	Unconfirmed	The Poet's Protest	Daily Rocky Mountain News	26 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Hard Luck	Daily Rocky Mountain News	26 April 1879	[3]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Serenade in the Tropics	Daily Rocky Mountain News	26 April 1879	[3]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Since Mother Died	Daily Rocky Mountain News	26 April 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What's Happiness	Daily Rocky Mountain News	26 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	When All is Done	Daily National Intelligencer	26 April 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Spring Song	Daily Rocky Mountain News	28 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Time and Women Wait for No Man	Daily Rocky Mountain News	28 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Won't Let Him Off	Daily Rocky Mountain News	29 April 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[The baby rolls upon the floor]	Inter Ocean	1 July 1879	4	No
Carrington, Henry B.	Unconfirmed	Washington and the Flag	Inter Ocean	2 July 1879	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Independent Day	Inter Ocean	2 July 1879	4	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
An Oirish Dimecrat	Unconfirmed	Be Jabbers, I'll Resign	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1879	4	TBD
Cline, Joshua	Unconfirmed	The Day We Celebrate	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1879	4	TBD
Reynolds, B.P.	Unconfirmed	The Fourth of July	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1879	4	TBD
Somers, J.	Unconfirmed	Tired	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 July 1879	2	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Childhood's Song	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	3 July 1879	[2]	TBD
B.	Unconfirmed	The Old Choir Gallery	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1879	9	Yes
Bryant, John H.	Unconfirmed	And Old New England Village	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1879	8	TBD
Maclay, Charles B.	Unconfirmed	On the Grange	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1879	9	Yes
Matie	Unconfirmed	To a Lady	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	4 July 1879	11	Yes
Collier, Thomas S.	Unconfirmed	With a Cigar	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[2]	TBD
O'Rourke, Thomas P.	Unconfirmed	Let Us Rejoice	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	I Could Not Help It	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[11]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	July	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[6]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Love's Armor-Bearer	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Parting	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	5 July 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[To sir beneath the greenleaved tree]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	10 July 1879	4	TBD
Baxter, Jane, Jr.	Unconfirmed	Kansas	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	11 July 1879	9	TBD
Kryder, J.L.	Unconfirmed	Returned	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	11 July 1879	4	Yes
Richmond, Elizabeth Y.	Unconfirmed	The Work-Fields of To-Day	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	11 July 1879	9	TBD
Baxter, Jane, Jr.	Unconfirmed	Kansas	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	13 July 1879	3	TBD
Kryder, J.L.	Unconfirmed	Returned	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	13 July 1879	6	Yes
Maclay, Charles B.	Unconfirmed	Thus Far, But No Further!	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	13 July 1879	6	Yes
Russian, The	Unconfirmed	Paulina: A Paraphrase	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	14 July 1879	2	Yes
Harney, William Wallace	Harney, Will Wallace	Little Barbara	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	15 July 1879	4	No
Kiner, S. R.	Unconfirmed	Adrift	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	15 July 1879	5	Yes



Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Richmond, Elizabeth Y.	Unconfirmed	The Work-Fields of To-Day	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	15 July 1879	6	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Like His Dad	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	17 July 1879	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	18 July 1879	10	Yes
Rich, Helen	Unconfirmed	The Engineer's Story	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	19 July 1879	[5]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Inconstancy	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	19 July 1879	[5]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Two Wanderers	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	19 July 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Like His Dad	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	21 July 1879	[6]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Mule	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	21 July 1879	[4]	TBD
Elms, F. F.	Unconfirmed	Dream No More	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 July 1879	9	Yes
Gale, Ada Iddings	Unconfirmed	The Four-Leafed Clover	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 July 1879	3	Yes
Savage, Minnie Stebbins	Unconfirmed	The Spirit of Niagara to Her Offspring, the River	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 July 1879	3	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Apostrophe to the Watermelon	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	29 July 1879	4	No
Aprille	Unconfirmed	Faith	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 September 1879	4	Yes
Dora	Unconfirmed	[Oh, Micky Manora]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	30 September 1879	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In a Meadow	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	30 September 1879	[4]	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Waning	<i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i>	30 September 1879	[4]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Her pa sought a war of the races]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 October 1879	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	[Two lovers stroll in the glinting gloam"]	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 October 1879	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Plum Portraits	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	3 October 1879	10	TBD
Wheeler, Ella	Unconfirmed	The Summons	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	3 October 1879	4	Yes
Noxon, Annie B.	Unconfirmed	Soon Comes the Hour	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 October 1879	11	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Guzeited	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 October 1879	[2]	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Her Last Words	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	4 October 1879	11	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Three Deaths	Daily Rocky Mountain News	4 October 1879	11	No
Walker, John C.	Unconfirmed	Marthy Ellen	Daily Rocky Mountain News	4 October 1879	[2]	No
Croffut, W.A.	Unconfirmed	[This Dixon?]	Inter Ocean	6 October 1879	4	TBD
M.	Unconfirmed	Thirty Years Ago	Inter Ocean	10 October 1879	10	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Aetate XIX	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	10 October 1879	11	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Old Man Who Lived in the Bar <sup>1</sup>	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	10 October 1879	10	TBD
de Mussett, Alfred	Unconfirmed	Remember!	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	2	TBD
Hawthorne, Julian	Hawthorne, Julian	Free-Will	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Year	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	6	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	October	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	11	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Remembered and Forgotten	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Course of Courtship	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	11 October 1879	12	No
Urmey, Clarence T.	Unconfirmed	Eyes	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	12	TBD
Wheeler, Eliza	Unconfirmed	Dissolution	Daily Rocky Mountain News	11 October 1879	11	TBD
Simmons, R.D.	Unconfirmed	Heaven	Inter Ocean	12 October 1879	10	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Somebody's Mother	Inter Ocean	13 October 1879	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Sammy's Bar <sup>1</sup>	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	16 October 1879	4	TBD
Griswold, Hattie Tyng	Unconfirmed	Soul-Possession	Inter Ocean	17 October 1879	9	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Night and Morning	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	17 October 1879	11	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Walking Match	Daily Rocky Mountain News	17 October 1879	4	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Where Shall the Baby's Dimple Be?	St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat	17 October 1879	10	No

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Wheeler, Ella	Unconfirmed	Did it Pay	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	17 October 1879	4	Yes
Arnold, Edwin	Unconfirmed	The Voice of the Winds	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	12	No
Driscoll, Fanny	Unconfirmed	In the Dark	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	2	TBD
Elms, F. F.	Unconfirmed	Constancy	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	18 October 1879	2	Yes
Gregory, E.S.	Unconfirmed	Love's Light	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Choosing Stars	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	11	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Divided Lives	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	11	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Second-Hand Goods	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	18 October 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	If Grant Was Coming	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	22 October 1879	3	No
Croft, W.A.	Unconfirmed	Campaign Echoes, No. 6	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	23 October 1879	4	Yes
Copper	Unconfirmed	On the Queen	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	24 October 1879	3	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Autumn in the Woods	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	24 October 1879	4	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	They Love But Have Not Said So Yet	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	24 October 1879	11	No
Cranch, C.P.	Unconfirmed	Rosamond	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	25 October 1879	2	No
Delong, Cynthia Joslen	Unconfirmed	A Summer Dream	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	25 October 1879	9	Yes
Macon, J.A.	Unconfirmed	An Evening Revery	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	25 October 1879	11	TBD
Thaxter, Celia	Unconfirmed	To A Violin	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	25 October 1879	2	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Autumn	<i>St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat</i>	25 October 1879	2	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Quietness	<i>Daily Rocky Mountain News</i>	25 October 1879	11	TBD
Butz, Caspar	Unconfirmed	St. Helena	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	26 October 1879	10	Yes
Iconnu, Maud	Unconfirmed	That Depends	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	26 October 1879	10	Yes
Mac	Unconfirmed	Only in Dreams	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	26 October 1879	10	TBD
Sherman, Eliza M.	Unconfirmed	Sunshine and Shadow	<i>Inter Ocean</i>	26 October 1879	10	Yes

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	As the Greeks Signal Flame	New York Herald	14 December 1887	3	Yes
Butts, Mrs. M.F.	Unconfirmed	The New Year	New York World	31 December 1887	11	TBD
Kidder, Edward E.	Unconfirmed	A Whisper from the Waiter	New York World	31 December 1887	9	TBD
Parker, Benj. S.	Unconfirmed	Across the Snow	New York World	31 December 1887	11	TBD
Peck, Samuel Minturn	Unconfirmed	Spanish Song	New York World	31 December 1887	11	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Song of the Keely Motor Man	New York World	31 December 1887	14	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	What It is to be Forty	New York World	31 December 1887	11	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ye Ballad of Ye Bulldozer	New York World	31 December 1887	10	No
Dodge, H.C.	Unconfirmed	A Happy New Year	New York World	1 January 1888	4	TBD
Doveston, F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Nursery at Night	New York World	7 January 1888	23	TBD
Hunt, W.E.	Unconfirmed	If One Must Weep	New York World	7 January 1888	23	TBD
Kidder, Edward E.	Unconfirmed	The Coal Baron Speaks	New York World	7 January 1888	6	TBD
Ross, Martha M.	Unconfirmed	Desolation	New York World	7 January 1888	23	TBD
Tyler, William Bartlett	Unconfirmed	Rondelet	New York World	7 January 1888	23	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The New College Costume	New York World	7 January 1888	23	No
Rosenfeld, Sydney	Unconfirmed	A Modern Love Song	New York World	8 January 1888	5	TBD
Kidder, Edward E.	Unconfirmed	The Gothamites Good-By	New York Weekly Tribune	13 January 1888	5	TBD
Bradlee, Rev. C.D.	Unconfirmed	The Bright Side	New York World	14 January 1888	13	TBD
Doveston, F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Nursery at night	New York World	14 January 1888	13	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Miss Dunn and Her Dentist	New York World	14 January 1888	4	TBD
Paxton, Ella	Unconfirmed	The Beautiful Steer	New York World	14 January 1888	27	No
Pendleton, M.P.	Unconfirmed	The Old Affection	New York World	14 January 1888	13	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	My Love and I	New York World	14 January 1888	13	No
Browning, Mrs.	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Love	New York World	21 January 1888	13	No
Corley, Mary Riddell	Unconfirmed	At Eventide	New York World	21 January 1888	13	TBD
Edson, Anna Weld	Unconfirmed	Marjorie	New York World	21 January 1888	13	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Hanaford, Mrs. J.H.	Unconfirmed	Minne Freeman	New York World	21 January 1888	28	TBD
Hotchkiss, Isabel	Unconfirmed	The Way of the World	New York World	21 January 1888	13	TBD
P.D.Q.	Unconfirmed	A Wal to the Weather-Prophet	New York World	21 January 1888	16	TBD
Pendleton, M.P.	Unconfirmed	The Old Affection	New York World	21 January 1888	13	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Freshest End	New York World	21 January 1888	13	No
Willis, G.W.	Unconfirmed	The Consequences of the Comma	New York World	21 January 1888	13	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Jersey Lily's Fence	New York World	23 January 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	To Those Who've Fail'd	New York Herald	26 January 1888	6	Yes
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Warden of the Tombs	New York World	27 January 1888	5	TBD
Bocock, John Paul	Unconfirmed	In the Dakota Blizzard	New York World	28 January 1888	13	TBD
E.F.G.	Unconfirmed	The Higher Education	New York World	28 January 1888	13	TBD
Ham, Thos. J.	Unconfirmed	Except Ye Repent!	New York World	28 January 1888	13	TBD
Hamilton, Amy	Unconfirmed	A Seasonable Idyl	New York World	28 January 1888	4	TBD
Mantille, Marion	Unconfirmed	To Be a Little Less than Loved	New York World	28 January 1888	13	TBD
Patterson, John	Unconfirmed	The Skater	New York World	28 January 1888	13	TBD
Riley, James Whitcomb	Riley, James Whitcomb	Our Old Friend Neverfall	New York World	28 January 1888	16	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Seawankhaka Hero	New York World	28 January 1888	27	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Halcyon Days	New York Herald	28 January 1888	12	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Charge of the Six Hundred	New York Weekly Tribune	29 January 1888	3	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	After the Dazzle of Day	New York Herald	2 February 1888	4	Yes
Ames, Belle	Unconfirmed	Nobody Knows but Mother	New York World	4 February 1888	[13]	TBD
Bagg, Ernest M.	Unconfirmed	Amy's Hat	New York World	4 February 1888	[13]	TBD
Birdseye, Geo.	Unconfirmed	The Skaters	New York World	4 February 1888	17	TBD
Hackley, Bow	Unconfirmed	The Girl With the Jersey	New York World	4 February 1888	[13]	TBD
Sherman, Frank Dempster	Unconfirmed	Captus Amoris	New York World	4 February 1888	[13]	TBD

Poem attributed to	Author	Title	Newspaper	Date	Page	First printing?
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Beautiful Land	New York World	4 February 1888	[13]	No
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Mr. Crowley's Pneumonia	New York World	6 February 1888	5	TBD
West, Harry	Unconfirmed	The Sunday World	New York World	7 February 1888	2	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Ticker Ticks Across the Street	New York World	8 February 1888	4	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Crowley as Temperance Lecturer	New York World	10 February 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	America	New York Herald	10 February 1888	4	Yes
Corley, Mary Riddle	Unconfirmed	At Eventide	New York World	11 February 1888	13	No
Dodge, H.C.	Unconfirmed	Our Aged Mayor	New York World	11 February 1888	27	TBD
McCann, John Ernest	Unconfirmed	The Midwinter Muse	New York World	11 February 1888	13	TBD
Not Much!	Unconfirmed	The Land Beyond the Tied	New York World	11 February 1888	[16]	No
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Abraham Lincoln (Born Feb. 12, 1809)	New York Herald	11 February 1888	12	Yes
R.H.H.	Unconfirmed	[Here rests his head upon the lap of earth]	New York World	15 February 1888	2	TBD
A.H.A.	Unconfirmed	When Mabel Smiles	New York World	18 February 1888	18	TBD
Cromwell, George Reed	Unconfirmed	By Little Only	New York World	18 February 1888	15	TBD
Eytinge, Margaret	Unconfirmed	A Radiant Memory	New York World	18 February 1888	13	TBD
M.N.E.	Unconfirmed	The Devotee	New York World	18 February 1888	13	TBD
Mines, Flavel Scott	Unconfirmed	Libby Prison--1888	New York World	18 February 1888	11	TBD
Struthers, William	Unconfirmed	Winter Sunbeams	New York World	18 February 1888	13	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Somewhere	New York World	18 February 1888	13	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Retrospect	New York World	19 February 1888	5	No
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	The Trip to Florida	New York World	20 February 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Soon Shall the Winter's Foil Be Here	New York Herald	20 February 1888	6	Yes
G.D.B.	Unconfirmed	Joe Manley's Faith	New York World	21 February 1888	4	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	An Epidemic of Harmony	New York World	21 February 1888	5	TBD
R.H.H.	Unconfirmed	[John Gilpin was a citizen]	New York World	22 February 1888	2	TBD

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Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Dismantled Ship	New York Herald	22 February 1888	4	Yes
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Psalm of Trade	New York World	24 February 1888	2	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Old Salt Kossabone	New York Herald	24 February 1888	6	Yes
Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	Aldrich, Thomas Bailey	No Songs in Winter	New York World	25 February 1888	15	No
Allan, Elizabeth P.	Unconfirmed	A Natural Inference	New York World	25 February 1888	16	TBD
Converse, Harriet Maxwell	Unconfirmed	I Looked Into Thine Eyes	New York World	25 February 1888	15	TBD
Dodge, H.C.	Unconfirmed	Bill Nye	New York World	25 February 1888	14	TBD
Foss, S.W.	Unconfirmed	A Cosmopolitan Woman	New York World	25 February 1888	16	No
T.R.S.	Unconfirmed	My Phantom Sea	New York World	25 February 1888	14	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	"The Worlds" Alphabet	New York World	25 February 1888	6	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	In Lent	New York World	25 February 1888	15	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Mirage	New York World	25 February 1888	15	No
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	The Ship of Dreams	New York World	25 February 1888	15	No
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Mannahatta	New York Herald	26 February 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Paumanok	New York Herald	28 February 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	From Montauk Point	New York Herald	29 February 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	My Canary Bird	New York Herald	1 March 1888	6	Yes
Bates, Katherine Lee	Unconfirmed	Sleep, Sorrow, Sleep	New York World	3 March 1888	13	TBD
Dodge, H.C.	Unconfirmed	The Fair Wagnerite	New York World	3 March 1888	16	TBD
Hildreth, Charles Lotin	Unconfirmed	The Holy Hour	New York World	3 March 1888	11	TBD
Mace, Frances L.	Unconfirmed	The Angelus	New York World	3 March 1888	13	TBD
Miller, Joaquin	Miller, Joaquin	Under the Syrian Stars	New York World	3 March 1888	13	No
Perry, Carlotta	Unconfirmed	Love's Meaning	New York World	3 March 1888	13	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	A Bit of Sentiment	New York World	3 March 1888	13	TBD

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Watson, Gertrude Ellen	Unconfirmed	[Poetry! That daughter of the Muse]	New York World	3 March 1888	11	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Poet Cutter's Board Bill	New York World	6 March 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	A Prairie Sunset	New York Herald	8 March 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Dead Emperor	New York Herald	9 March 1888	6	Yes
A.H.A.	Unconfirmed	Envoy	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
Bohan, Elizabeth Baker	Unconfirmed	In completeness	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Kaiser Wilhelm's Last Words	New York World	10 March 1888	4	TBD
Mackay, Charles	Unconfirmed	Bygones	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
Sherman, Frank Dempster	Unconfirmed	The March Wind	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
Unsigned	Unconfirmed	Ballad of Childhood's Fairies	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
Very, Lydia L.A.	Unconfirmed	Edelweiss	New York World	10 March 1888	15	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The First Dandelion	New York Herald	11 March 1888	4	Yes
H. Guy	Unconfirmed	Sing a Song of Blizzard	New York World	12 March 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Bravest Soldiers	New York Herald	13 March 1888	14	Yes
J.F.B.	Unconfirmed	Manhattan's Monologue	New York World	14 March 1888	5	TBD
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Wallabout Martyrs	New York Herald	15 March 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Orange Buds by Mail from Florida	New York Herald	18 March 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Continuities	New York Herald	19 March 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Broadway	New York Herald	9 April 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Life	New York Herald	14 April 1888	16	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Final Lilt of Songs	New York Herald	15 April 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	To-day and There	New York Herald	22 April 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Queries to my Seventieth Year	New York Herald	1 May 1888	6	Yes



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Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The United States to Old World Critics	New York Herald	7 May 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Out of May's Shows Selected	New York Herald	9 May 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	As I Sit Writing Here	New York Herald	13 May 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine	New York Herald	20 May 1888	4	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	Life and Death	New York Herald	22 May 1888	6	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	The Calming Thought of All	New York Herald	26 May 1888	12	Yes
Whitman, Walt	Whitman, Walt	[Over and through the burial chant]	New York Herald	11 August 1888	7	Yes