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Celebrating Forefathers . . . or Picnicking With Firecrackers? A Content Analysis Study Of American Newspaper Celebrations Of the July 4<sup>th</sup> Independence Day, 1820-1860

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#### **ABSTRACT**

"The only birthday I ever commemorate is that of our Independence, the Fourth of July," Thomas Jefferson observed in his last letter, written just before his death on July 4, 1826, the  $50^{\rm th}$  Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. But as the last of the revolutionary generation began to die in the 1820s into the 1830s, newspapers began to change their coverage and their perspectives on the commemoration of July  $4^{\rm th}$  and the signal accomplishments of the Founding Fathers. This article employs a content analysis approach to American newspapers from 1820-1860 in the run-up to the Civil War.

The study found that in the early part of the study period, newspaper columns were filled with heartfelt, fervent, and patriotic paens to the sacrifice and meaning of the Revolution. As the last of the founders died, commentary and reportage turned to the celebration of the Fourth of July rather than to its significance. It turned from the Fireworks of the Revolution into just Firecrackers.

The authors also examined the differences in newspaper coverage between North and South and the various states that would square-off in secession in Civil War just after the end of the study period, dividing their analysis by section as well as state.

# Celebrating Forefathers . . . or Picnicking with Firecrackers? A Content Analysis Study of American Newspaper Celebrations of the July 4<sup>th</sup> Independence Day, 1820-1860

"The only birthday I ever commemorate," Thomas Jefferson observed, "is that of our independence, the Fourth of July." In a June 24, 1826, letter to the mayor of Washington, D.C., Roger Weightman, who had invited the former president to attend July 4<sup>th</sup> ceremonies less than a fortnight before his death, Jefferson termed himself "one of the surviving signers of an instrument pregnant with our own, and the fate of the world. . . ."

Jefferson consoled himself in the last days of his life "that our fellow citizens, after half a century of experience and prosperity, continue to approve the choice we made" in Philadelphia. He considered the Declaration of Independence a "signal" to the world of "arousing men to burst the chains, under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings & security of self-government . . . [and] the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion" as well as various "human rights."

Is it possible the bonds that drew the regions together so strongly in the Revolutionary period weakened as the memories of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other revolutionary and founding leaders faded into the past? We argue that one might find a clue of deeper regional feelings by examining how different regions of the nation celebrated the anniversary of America's day of independence, July 4, 1776.

This study draws on a national sample of Independence Day stories in American newspapers from 1820-1860. We, of course, know a war came; they did not. There were other considerations. Reporters began to gather actual news of events in the 1820-1860 period. Tele-

graph news grew after its 1844 demonstration and the launching of the Associated Press. Editors and their comments were less needed to fill space. Therefore, if celebration of the national birthday slipped away from historical figures like Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry, it might be because reporters filled the space with stories about firecrackers, horse races, and parades.

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND BACKGROUND

Reflecting on the Fourth of July in his letter to Weightman, Jefferson wrote that by "divine grace . . . the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them . . . " In an appropriate concluding pirouette, Jefferson urged his fellow Americans to "let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

It was Jefferson's last letter. On July 4, 1826, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence – appropriately and yet somehow amazingly – both Jefferson and John Adams, his fellow signer, died within hours of each other. Adams' last words were of his friend and sometime-adversary: "Jefferson still lives." Actually, Jefferson did not. vi

Fifty-six men had signed the Declaration on an unusually cool Philadelphia summer day. And yet the two former presidents were not the last of the signers to pass from the American scene. It was six years later, on November 14, 1832, that the final signer died, Charles Carroll of Maryland, age 95. And still, it was a further four years beyond that before the last of the revolutionary generation died.

James Madison, father of the Constitution and a former president of the United States, died, age 85, seven days shy of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence on June 28, 1836. VII And, of course, it was dramatically evident a quarter century later in 1861 that the revolutionary fervor had faded as North and South fell upon each other. Could anyone see it coming? This study proposes: only in retrospect.

The Fourth of July in this current research may be seen as an exemplar and emblematic of this phenomenon. As will be seen, as the nation moved farther from the Revolution and nearer the Civil War, references to Independence Day noticeably changed in American newspapers. Broadly speaking, references in the newspapers studied moved from celebrations of the liberty and heroism and efforts of the forefathers to descriptions of fireworks and speeches and parades. Coverage shifted from historical mythology to reportage. As the revolutionary generation faded from the scene. so, too, perhaps, did the new nation's commitment to the ideals and unity that had fired the Revolution. And that abandonment of revolutionary ardor led to the near-collapse of the Union. In the articles analyzed, there are hints and echoes of this premise and process, if not precisely empirical proof. In general, the southern newspapers lingered more on the historical significance of national independence than did newspapers in the North and West. Southern newspapers, of course, were less urban and more likely to rely on editors over reporters because there were fewer reporters in those rural regions.

#### **METHOD**

In this study, a sample of microfilmed newspapers was used with some newspapers on microfilm that could be purchased (with a grant) or borrowed from the 1820 through 1860 period, a total of 41 years. This period was selected because it was a time period in retrospect of growing national tension climaxing in the Civil War. In all, nearly 3,300 stor-

ies were sampled. The allocation of states and territories of the period was considered and coders were cognizant of how the states would align themselves in the coming War between the States. All news stories of the period were sampled, not just those that, on reflection, might have led to war.

A list was made of all the available newspapers using *Newspapers on Microfilm* as well as other sources and one newspaper was selected to represent each region for each year, 1820 through 1860. The aim was to obtain daily newspapers from capitals or major cities, but certain concessions had to be made due to newspaper availability and survival. There was also no way to reconstruct the entire universe of newspapers published in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, since numerous ones were born and died during the period and left no archival trace. The challenge to achieve the ideal randomness desired by scholars is considerable, perhaps impossible.

Newspaper stories were divided and sampled by region. The lower South newspapers were taken from among these states: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The upper South newspapers were taken from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. The Border States came from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia, while the Middle States newspapers were in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Washington, D.C., though obviously not a state, was included as a Middle State because of its importance as the nation's capital and site of much of the jousting (literal as well as verbal) between North and South. New England newspaper samples came from Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. And finally, newspaper samples from the West came from these states or territories: California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin.

In all, there were 38 different daily newspapers and 29 non-daily newspapers that fell

into the study. Sixty-seven newspapers represented the nation's press during the aggregated 246 "newspaper years" (41 years, 1820 through 1860, multiplied by six regions). On average, each newspaper fell into the study's final sample about four times over the 41-year period, although a few were picked more or less often.

A random date was selected for each month – except July 4 – and that date was used for all the years sampled. We used one date for every month and devised a technique that took us to the major news story in each of the newspaper's news columns across the years. The details of this sampling plan have been published previously in *Journalism History* when various quantitative aspects of the study dataset were detailed.<sup>ix</sup>

Of the 3,275 stories sampled from the four decades, 57 reflected coverage of the July 4<sup>th</sup> national birthday. Analysis of the sampled articles suggests a dichotomy in the type of newspaper coverage of the Fourth of July. With few exceptions, articles specifically related to Independence Day fell clearly into two broad categories: those that focused on the day's significance and those that highlighted its celebration. To a certain extent, the chosen classification method suggests a loose relationship between the manner of observance and region. Analysis by region within the two general groups reveals additional insight into how different parts of the country approached the subject. A quantitative review also shows fluctuations in the amount of coverage given to the day.

## CELEBRATING THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

On July 4, 1826, the *Delaware Gazette* asked, "Who could have imagined, when our fathers were struggling against the power of the British crown, fifty years ago, that we should, at this day, have stood upon an equal footing, with regard to power, wealth and influence, with the old established governments of Europe?" Two years later on July

4<sup>th</sup>, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* published a story from the *New York American* that noted, "Few periods in history have been in themselves more interesting (to us certainly none) than that which witnessed the achievement of the thirteen colonies of England, of National Independence."<sup>xi</sup>

On July 5, 1841, the *Daily National Intelligencer* commended July 4<sup>th</sup> as "the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God." The newspaper added, "It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations. . . ." Just six years earlier, on July 4, 1835, the *Baltimore Sun and Commercial Advertiser* urged readers to remember "the heroism of our fathers, of the priceless inheritance we have from them, of their glory, which is part of us, of our growing national greatness. . . ." "Xiiii

Further to the south, the *Richmond Enquirer* on July 4, 1850 gave a hint of coming armed sectional strife by exclaiming:

Thirty years earlier, the same newspaper on July 4, 1820, warned that readers needed to remember the past "lest the vision of the early years of the republic be lost in time."

In South Carolina, which many later came to be regarded as the seedbed of secession, the *Charleston Courier* declared on July 4, 1824:

Well may we boast of our ancestry, who having planted civilization in the desert, crowned it with the greatest of human blessings, Liberty – and having tamed the

wild beasts and savages of the forest, established schools and oracles of political government, which are affording lessons and rules to the rest of mankind. It would seem indeed, as if Heaven, to protect the seed, and the growth, and the security of our free republic. . . . "xvi"

Eleven years later, the same newspaper, the *Charleston Courier*, on July 4, 1835, commended the acts of revolution "which converted thirteen weak, dependent and outraged colonies, into a community of as many States, resolute to vindicate and maintain their freedom against the oppressor's arm, and taking, as one people, their equal and independent station among the nations of the earth." xviii

On July 5, 1854, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, where a pivotal battle of the impending Civil War would be fought, the Vicksburg Daily Whig stated, "We do not, by this publication, intend to convey the impression that a document which startled the world, and formed the basis of National freedom, has not been read at some time or other, by each and every citizen of this free and happy land." The newspaper added, "[B]ut we hold it to be as strictly the duty of every citizen of this Republic, who enjoys civil and religious freedom, to read over this noble Declaration, upon this Sabbath of Liberty. . . . "xviii The newspaper published the entire Declaration of Independence "in lieu of political, and other exciting topics of the day" and encouraged readers to "ponder upon the causes" of the Revolution. xix

In Ohio, on July 7, 1832, the *Columbus Enquirer* quoted an oration by James A. Berthelot that extolled a vision of an honorable past and a limitless future. "Time in his ceaseless and never-ending course," Berthelot began, according to the *Enquirer*, "hath again proclaimed to us the anniversary of our liberty; Another year hath rolled away, adding to eternity but a trifling mite compared to the ages that have preceded it, and the vast immensity which is yet to come."

As a group, these July 4th celebration

articles tend to be mostly written by local editors, but sometimes 19th century journalists clipped news stories from other sources or documents. Those articles that celebrated the national past most often clustered in the early study period. As shall be seen, reporters began to appear—and perhaps displace—editors as this study and the nation moved closer to the Civil War.

### CELEBRATING AT HOME WITH SPEECHES, BANDS, AND FIRECRACKERS

There were many stories that celebrated the Declaration of Independence and the courage of the forefathers in launching a new nation. Even more stories talked about the day itself, the speakers, the bands, the picnics, and the local events. These stories grew more frequent in the 1820-60 period, perhaps because of the emergence of larger towns and cities. especially in New England and the Middle States. The immediate excitement and the celebrations of the holiday replaced stories of the nation's founding. Of course, reporters focus more on events than editors and newspapers were no longer required to make up stories or clip other newspapers. The telegraph was invented in 1844, and two years later the Associated Press began to link the nation, particularly in the northeast, providing ready and reliable sources of news.

The citizens of Batesville, Arkansas, the *Arkansas Gazette* indicated on August 20, 1822, had gathered at noon on Independence Day to celebrate, eat an elegant dinner, and hear a speech. On July 5, 1825, the *Richmond Enquirer* discussed the Fourth as a day "full of glory and proud recollections," adding that a gun was fired at sunrise, volunteer companies of the city marched, and bands of music played. XXIII The *Boston Daily Advertiser* on July 4, 1826, told readers about July 4<sup>th</sup> events, including a fireworks display. XXIIII Eight years later on July 5, 1834, the *Newark Daily Adver-tiser* discussed its town's events:

The friends of the Constitution, who hold to its ancient forms, and repudiate the destructive doctrines of the present Administration, came together in great numbers, early in the day, without noise or confusion. The procession was formed at 10 o'clock, on the Military Common by the Marshal, Major Baldwin, and his Assistants, Captains Crockett and Pennington, with the aid of a fine band of music, and proceeded directly to the first Presbyterian Church.\*

The Providence Daily Journal on July 4, 1837, informed readers that an artillery group would fire a salute of 26 guns, several churches would ring their bells for one hour, and at 10 a.m. a procession would form on Market Street. xxv A year later, on July 6, 1838, the Richmond Enquirer told readers about the "pomp and circumstances" of the military exhibition and of the good feelings, from the volunteer corps and the dragoons from Chesterfield.xxvi Greensborough The **Patriot** remind-ed its readers on July 7, 1840, "The departure of our boys from Greensborough, on last Thursday morning, for the celebration of the 4th at Salisbury, was conducted 'in style.' A great concourse of people – estimated at no less than fifteen hundred in number - came in from the surrounding country by 7 o'clock in the morning . . . . "xxvii

On July 6, 1840, the *Hartford Daily Courant* relayed to its audience, "At sunrise, the bells were rung, and a national salute of 26 guns was fired. At half past 9, the doors of the cabin were thrown open for the reception of Ladies, a large number of whom visited it." A year later on July 5, 1841, the *Detroit Free Press* directed readers where to view the fireworks. XXIX On July 4, 1849, the *Hartford Daily Courant* informed readers there would not be a military parade because the military forces, unfortunately, were needed elsewhere, without specifying where or why. XXIX

The Boston Daily Advertiser on July 4,

1851, marveled at the great number of people arriving in the city for the celebration. \*\*The San Francisco Daily Herald on the same date explained that a federal salute would be fired at sunrise and that various associations and societies would unite in this holiday event. A year later on July 5, 1852, the New York Tribune indicated an eminent speaker would appear, while the Louisville Daily Courier on July 4, 1853 provided readers with this information: "The city will be thronged with invited guests from neighboring cities who have consented to pay us a visit, interchange friendly greetings, and enjoy the hospitality of our citizens. Business will be suspended, and the entire day will, as it should be, be devoted to recreation and freedom."xxxii

Six years before the onset of the Civil War, the Rhode Island Country Journal on July 6 1855, found the attendance at events disappointing. "The number of strangers present was not so large as on many former occasions."xxxiii On July 6, 1859, at the very cusp of what we knew would become a war, the Memphis Daily Appeal commented that "those who did not participate directly in the exciting scenes incident to the day, were not so indifferent to the exercises but that they were at times interested, edified, and amused by the events of Monday."xxxiv On July 4, 1860, months before the outbreak of secession, the Provi-dence Daily Journal mentioned that a process-sion would pass through the principal streets of this city and the local bishop somewhat incredibly - would celebrate his birth as well as that of the nation.xxxv

Editors gleaned this information from a variety of sources: other editors, other papers, letters from readers, government officials and statements, the telegraph, and local reporters. Most of these stories at this late date involved events, planned or presented, in connection with community celebration and only indirectly made mention of the nation's Revolutionary War or founding generation.

### **A COMPARISON**

To help with analysis, stories can be divided into those that primarily focus on the Declaration of Independence and the building

of a new nation and those that focus on events during July 4th celebrations.

Figure 1
Sample Newspaper July 4<sup>th</sup> Stories that Emphasize the Historical Significance of the Holiday vs.
Stories that Focus on Contemporary Activities of Independence Day

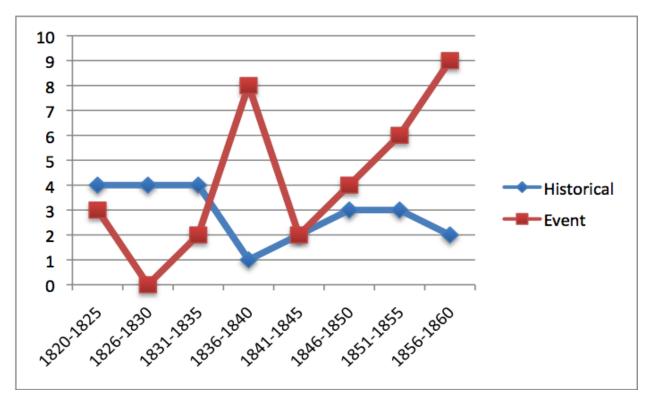


Figure 1 reflects the distribution of these 57 stories in five-year increments over the 1820-1860 span (the first segment, 1820-1825, encompasses six years). The figure shows a general decline in the more reflective type stories from 1820-1840. These more reflective stories remain throughout the period, but they are overtaken by more event-oriented stories, often written by reporters, that quote speakers, list times of events, describe bands and military troops, and give guidance to those citizens seeking to know where to go and what time to be there. It can be argued that the emergence of news over comment can be discerned as reporters supplanted local editors as the initial prism for news coverage. News clipped from elsewhere gave way to locally generated reporting and stories after about 1840, the very decade that saw the successful invention of the telegraph and formation of the Associated Press. And, of course, continuing this trend, by the 1860s (after our period), the first successful and permanent transatlantic cable joined the Old World and New World instantly.

### REGIONS OVER NATION... OR REPORTERS OVER EDITORS?

In a way, it was as if the more comfortable, less connected world of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, a world dominated by editors and publishers, was giving way to more immediate, lively accounting of events—a change in newspaper approach and style. As the forefathers faded from the stories written by local editors or taken from books or other newspa-

pers, reporters reflected the more immediate and locally oriented framing of the day's happenings, whether July 4<sup>th</sup> or not.

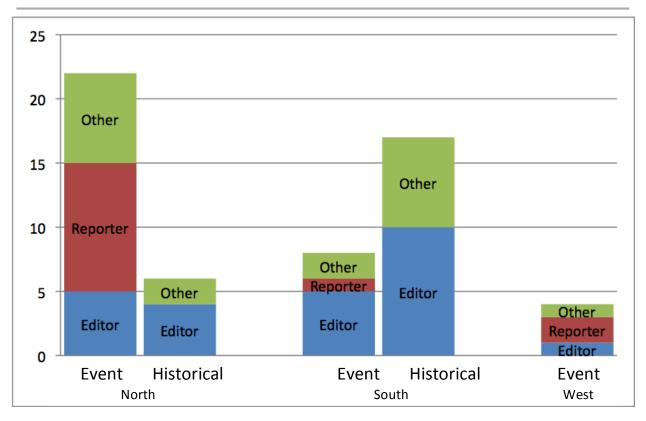
Newspaper editors and reporters seemed to realize that celebrations of the national holiday could be public or could be private and that things change over time. The Daily National Intelligencer on July 30, 1830 proclaimed that the holiday "may not be greeted in every year with equal acclamations, and splendor of display, but it will not be the less venerated for its being celebrated, in the circles of domestic life, by each as he pleases." And on July 4, 1857, the Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser warned that "The Fourth of July should not evaporate in the flash and smoke that ushered it into being, nor yet be associated in our minds as merely a holiday, a day of rest from labor, of noise and . . . . "xxxvii Finally, on July 4, 1854, the Richmond Enquirer remembered Jefferson's commitment to the Fourth with a warning:

It was once remarked by Mr. Jefferson, that so long as the Fourth – the birthday of our independence – was duly observed and celebrated by the American people, our liberty and free institutions would be secure. But when we come to forget that day with its glorious associations, and pass

it by with indifference, it is an evidence that we have degenerated from the spirit of our forefathers, and are unworthy of the rich heritage they bequeathed us. xxxviii

The historical view appeared in Southern newspapers more often than in newspapers elsewhere. Figure 2 shows the two types of July 4<sup>th</sup> story for the newspapers of the North (New England and Middle States), South (Border, Upper, South, and Lower South) and West. Figure 2 shows that Northern newspapers reflected a less historical look than did Southern newspapers and that reporters were far more evident in the North than in the South. Southern newspapers, Figure 2 suggests, emphasized a more historical perspective, but only because, perhaps, there were fewer reporters in the more rural South. Whether this is speculation or not, there is a clear difference between the two broadly defined regions that were slowly, methodically, and irrevocably ripping the nation apart. News of these events displaced historical perspectives. In Figure 2, stories are listed by sources, such as reporters and editors or as others, such as correspondents, letters to the editor, stories clipped from another newspaper, a telegraph, or other sources.

Figure 2
July 4<sup>th</sup> Stories by Region and Source



#### **CONCLUSION**

A brilliant generation fomented a Revolution and created a nation, including Samuel Adams, George Washington, Thomas Paine, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, Adams, and many others. And then, gradually and inevitably, these forefathers began to die. Their personal relationships, great intellect, verbal talents, and towering personalities forged and reconciled the irreconcilable differences between North and South it could argued. But only for a time. And that vision began to fade from the minds and memories of Americans and the pages of their newspapers.

In April 1861, leaders of the North and South had not forgotten the Fourth, but they had localized it within the context of the cities and especially states within which they lived. While the South went to war to preserve its

"peculiar institution," the North fought to untangle slavery's tentacles from the Republic. They believed in Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Adams, and many others, but they also clung to their own sections. If memories of the forefathers faded, it seems to be because journalists preferred to talk about what was going on with contemporary events. Given opportunity, news about firecrackers and parades displaced stories about Franklin, Washington, and others. Did Americans feel the same way and were newspapers reflecting this general feeling, or were the editors and reporters framing news and coverage consistent with their own perspectives and prejudices? At this historical distance, it is impossible to say. But as journalism developed, reporters emerged to focus on events with no knowledge that they would soon confront the most cataclysmic and complex set of events in our national history, the American Civil War.

xxii "Fourth of July," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 5, 1825.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Roger Weightman, June 24, 1826. ii Ibid iii Ibid iv Ibid. v Ibid. vi In fact. Jefferson had died several hours before Adams and many hundreds of miles away. vii Madison was not a signer of the Declaration, but he was a close friend and ally of Jefferson. Another pivotal revolutionary figure, the Marquis de Lafayette, died in 1834, 10 years after a triumphant tour of America and four years after he turned down the dictatorship of France following one of the country's numerous post-1789 Revolution upheavals. viii A modern example of this phenomenon: Yugoslavia was held together for decades by the authority and personality of Tito, only to disintegrate after his death. ix See "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860," <u>Journalism History</u>, 8 (Summer 1981), pp. 38-50; "Some Notes on Methodology: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860," Journalism History, 8 (Summer 1981), pp. 51-53, 76. <sup>x</sup> "The Jubilee," *Delaware Gazette*, July 4, 1826. xi "American Memoirs," Boston Daily Advertiser, July 4, 1828. xii "Letter from John Adams to His Wife," *Daily National Intelligencer*. July 5, 1841. xiii Baltimore Sun and Commercial Advertiser, July 4, 1835. xiv "To-Day!" Richmond Enquirer, July 4, 1850. xv Richmond Enquirer, July 4, 1820. xvi The Charleston Courier, July 5, 1824. xvii "The Fourth of July!" The Charleston Courier, July 4, 1835. xviii "The Declaration of Independence," Vicksburg Weekly Whig, July 5, 1854. xix Ibid. xx "Oration by James A. Berthelot," *Columbus Enquirer*, July 7, 1832. xxi "Celebration at Batesville," *The Arkansas Gazette*, August 20, 1822.

- xxiii "Public Notice," Boston Daily Advertiser, July 4, 1826.
- xxiv "Fourth of July 1834," Newark Daily Advertiser, July 5, 1834.
- xxv "Fourth of July, Providence Daily Journal, July 4, 1837.
- "Anniversary of American Independence," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 6, 1838.
- xxvii The Greensborough Patriot, July 7, 1840.
- xxviii "Fourth of July—Dedication of the Log Cabin," *Hartford Daily Courant*, July 6, 1840.
- xxix "Michigan Gardens," Detroit Free Press, July 5, 1841.
- xxx "The Fourth," Hartford Daily Courant, July 4, 1849.
- xxxi Boston Daily Advertiser, July 4, 1851.
- xxxii "Independence Day—Fourth of July," Louisville Daily Courier, July 4, 1853.
- xxxiii "Anniversary of American Independence," *Rhode Island Country Journal*, July 6, 1855.
- xxxiv "The Fourth about Memphis," Memphis Daily Appeal, July 6, 1859.
- xxxv Providence Daily Journal, July 4, 1860.
- xxxvi Daily National Intelligencer, July 4, 1830.
- xxxvii "The National Anniversary," Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser, July 4, 1857.
- xxxviii "The Fourth of July," Richmond Enquirer, July 4, 1854.