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Nineteenth Century American Newspapers and the Criminal Transgressor

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NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND THE CRIMINAL TRANSGRESSOR

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APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of James Maxwell Fuller, affirm that the thesis, *Nineteenth Century American Newspapers and the Criminal Transgressor*, meets the highest academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the W. Page Pitt School of Journalism & Mass Communications and the College of Arts and Media. This work also conforms to the standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines depictions of the criminal transgressor in two American newspapers, the *Hartford Courant* and the *San Francisco Chronicle,* during the 19th century. Case studies are offered of two individual crimes and the subsequent trial proceedings covered extensively by these publications: the triple murder at Bull Run in Windsor Locks, CT, and the murder of newspaper editor Charles de Young in San Francisco, CA. Examination of the narratives utilized by *Hartford Courant* and *San Francisco Chronicle* journalists demonstrates the widespread use of depictions of criminal transgressors as possessing an inherent moral corruption. This study facilitates a more nuanced understanding of 19th century American newspapers' roles in constructing social realities for their readerships through reporting on nearby criminal activity.

CHAPTER 1

"…they found the house entirely dark, and…discovered the three mutilated corpses…lying on the floor and weltering in their own blood and gore, while portions of the clothes…were on fire and one of [the Billings woman's] arms was almost burned off."[1]

"[Kalloch] leaned across the counter, stuck the gun in de Young's face and pulled the trigger. The bullet ripped through de Young's mouth and sent him reeling backward…"[2]

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century saw a dramatic transformation in the narrative form surrounding criminality and public response to it. From the birth of the United States in the seventeenth century, through the eighteenth century and into the beginning of the nineteenth century, narratives surrounding criminal acts were closely tied to Puritanical execution sermons—sacred narratives written for the accused before they were put to death for their crimes, focused more upon the subject's spiritual state than the criminal act itself that lead to condemnation.[3] But during the mid to late nineteenth century, alongside the rise of Enlightenment liberalism and an understanding of an inherent goodness in human nature, the scope of public wonder about criminality began to change. The criminal's motivation to commit heinous acts like murder and rape and the lurid details of the depraved events suddenly piqued public interest in books and

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[1] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks," *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2.

[2] Simon Read, *War of Words: A True Tale of Newsprint and Murder* (New York: Union Square Press 2009), 221.

[3] Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 2-6.

newspapers of the time. The results were the utilization of literary conventions most closely associated with the Gothic literary movement and, most importantly, an evolution of the classic notion of the sacred narrative focused upon the criminal transgressor's spiritual condition to more secular narratives concerned largely with the nature of the criminal and his/her motives behind committing the crime. A criminal transgressor that execution sermons once summed up as a common sinner in the eyes of a god-fearing population, was now an individual, in Gothic terms, utterly and completely deplete of morality. And contemporary nineteenth century narratives, suddenly focusing upon vicious acts of criminality, printing their details on the pages of widely circulated newspapers, positioned their central characters (criminals) as existing separate from normal society, possessing a "moral otherness" no typical human being could possibly share. The criminal acts formerly thought to be sins shared by the whole of the community to which the sinner belonged became individual acts of depravity that set the criminal transgressor apart from the rest of society.[4] By readily providing nineteenth century Americans with vivid, inculpatory descriptions of criminal transgressors, a social reality was constructed by contemporary newspapers within which those accused of perpetrating criminal acts were viewed as possessing a moral otherness, separating them from the rest of society.

[4] Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Narratives offer an intentional organization of the stimuli of our experience by allowing for the "interpret[ation] of reality" so it is possible to make sense of the people, places, events and actions of our lives.[5] They allow for knowing about and "participating in the social world."[6] Narrative creates for the storyteller and the audience a "personal involvement in the narrated world" and is "always involved in the question of whether an action" is "proper or incorrect."[7] As the evaluative judgements of the narrator are being considered by the reading audience, the audience's own "ethical and moral judgements" are thusly engaged, proving involvement in the story.[8]

Newspapers served as primary vehicles for nineteenth century American nation-building through both informational and ceremonial means.[9] The "calendrical coincidence" contemporary Americans experienced on a daily basis characterized by a collective awareness shared among newspaper readership that thousands of others were similarly educating

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[5] W. Lance Bennett, "Storytelling In Criminal Trials: A Model of Social Judgment," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 64, no. 1 (1978): 1-22; Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), 1-4.

[6] Arthur P. Bochman, Carolyn Ellis and Lisa M. Tillman-Healy, "Relationships as Stories," *Handbook of Personal Relationships: Theory, Research and Interventions*, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 308.

[7] Deborah Tannen, *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery In Conversational Discourse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12; Charlotte Linde, *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 121.

[8] Danielle M. Klapproth, *Narrative as Social Practice* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 127.

[9] Michael Schudson, "Preparing the Minds of the People: Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper," *American Antiquarian Society* (1991), 429.

themselves (thereby reaffirming a shared experience) led to the creation of an imagined nationalized body of readers (i.e. "imagined community").[10] Americans, living increasingly fractured social and community lives by way of an increasingly migratory population, and seeking to find their own lives and experiences documented in the popular texts of the day, were forced to find any commonalities within the literature that would sell the most.[11] Newspapers thus served as repositories for many of nineteenth century America's cultural mores and traditions.[12]

Contemporary nineteenth century American newspapers also functioned as instruments of social control and change, moralistically and not. Some newspaper publishers were more interested in selling papers for monetary gain, deliberately shirking moralistic copy for whatever stories and ideas would sell the most issues among their readership, while others were determined to maintain order in society and, as Foster dictates, "inculcate discipline" among the lower classes.[13] Schudson expounds upon this idea of newspapers serving as veritable "cue-givers" for nineteenth century Americans, insisting newspapers created "mental worlds" within the minds of its readership in which they would effectively be primed on just *how* to think about the ideas and topics being discussed on the pages. This priming conditioned the readerships'

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[10] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 33, 35.

[11] Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 189, 191.

[12] Sari Edelstein, *Between the Novel and the News: the Emergence of American Women's Writing* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 3.

[13] David Dowling, "The Nineteenth-Century Weekly Press and the Tumultuous Career of Journalist Leon Lewis," *Journalism History* 39, no. 3 (2013): 156; Gaines Foster, "Toward a Synthesis of Morality In America?," *Modern Intellectual History* 10, no. 2 (2013): 464.

minds exactly *when* to think about the ideas they already possessed.[14]

Of the specific cultural mores addressed by the nineteenth century press and their presentation to contemporary Americans, Haskell contends, the perception of morality was especially enhanced among the population due to a burgeoning capitalist Evangelical rationale.[15] The press regularly penned concerns about public morality in an effort to dispel corruption, mitigate potential tyranny, and, most importantly, enlighten American citizens in an effort to promote general welfare.[16]

The nineteenth century also began complicating contemporary Americans' notions of criminality. "Moral otherness" became a typical narrative of the Gothic literature of the time period, highlighting the criminal's (or accused's) "radical otherness," from the genteel, moral, *un*-criminal elements of society.[17] The "true" nature of the criminal—the "content of his soul"—as Dean points out, were nineteenth century Americans' point of literary introduction to the criminal element.[18]

A significant element of nineteenth century American newspapers was the narratives. Linda Frost points out narratives played a direct role in aiding in the construction of the nation itself by creating a "hierarchically superior" middle-class identity that was able to claim

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[14] Schudson, "Preparing the Minds of the People," 424, 427.

[15] Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," *The American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 547-66.

[16] John H. Summers, "What Happened to Sex Scandals? Politics and Peccadilloes, Jefferson to Kennedy," *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 3 (2013): 825-54.

[17] Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul*, 6.

[18] Carolyn J. Dean, "Ch. Six, Writing and Crime," *The Self and Its Pleasures: Bataille, Lacon, and the History of the Decentered Subject* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 207.

membership to the American nation in a "natural" way.[19] In an effort to facilitate a clearer understanding of the contemporary American world through the lens of the *Hartford Courant*'s coverage of the Bull Run murders and the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s coverage of the murder of newspaper editor Charles de Young and subsequent reporting on the trial of the accused Isaac Kalloch, specifically, the narratives therein, a shared assortment of socially-prescribed values, moralistic or otherwise, become apparent. And since values, as Fisher claims, determine the persuasive force of reasons, the aforementioned newspapers' conveyance of these narratives to their readerships invites particular "special attention" to their thoughts and ideas.[20] Further, this collection of newspaper articles functions to comprise a larger "metastory" which will aid in providing a clearer understanding of the nineteenth century American culture being examined. And it is within this larger context a contemporary narrative can be analyzed, which, per Foss's contention, "functions as an argument to view and understand the world."[21]

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[19] Linda Frost, *Never One Nation: Freaks, Savages, and Whiteness In U.S. Popular Culture, 1850-1877* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 3.

[20] Walter R. Fisher, *Human Communication As Narration: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987); Ronald Bishop. "It's Not Always About the Money: Using Narrative Analysis to Explore Newspaper Coverage of the Act of Collecting," *The Communication Review* 6, no. 2 (2003): 121.

[21] Linda Cooper Berdayes and Vicente Berdayes, "The Information Highway In Contemporary Magazine Narrative," *Journal of Communication* 48, no. 2 (1998): 109-24; Sonja K. Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*, 4th ed. (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2009), 300.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

A series of *newspaper.com* searches were performed of issues of the *Hartford Courant* running January 1872 through May 1872 and of the *San Francisco Chronicle* running April 1880 through March 1881. In total, twenty-six articles concerning the Windsor Locks "Bull Run" murders were identified in the *Hartford Courant* and analyzed and seventy-two articles concerning the murder of Charles de Young were similarly identified in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and analyzed. The focus of this study is the creation of an American social reality developed within the narratives of journalistic coverage surrounding two nineteenth century murders covered extensively by the aforementioned publications: the Windsor Locks "Bull Run" murders in Connecticut and the murder of Charles de Young in San Francisco, respectively. The *Hartford Courant* and *San Francisco Chronicle* newspapers were chosen for analysis because of their relatively close geographic proximity to the crimes. Articles considered for analysis focus upon initial breaking and examinations of the crimes themselves, the discovery of suspects, pre-trial coverage (i.e. jury selection, trial hearings, etc.), the trials of the suspects, and immediate fallout from the conclusions of the criminal trials. The intent was to examine the manner in which the criminal acts, the suspects, the victims, and the social implications were presented as exceptional elements of contemporary nineteenth century America. Only articles with headlines pertaining to the respective crimes and criminal proceedings were analyzed. The analysis focused on the relationships among the features of narratives posited by Foss: events, characters, causal relations, temporal relations, and dominant themes, the key elements chosen by the original storyteller that "contribute to the story's objective" in order to distinguish how that objective is

supported and implemented.[22]

CASES FOR EXAMINATION

The Murder of Charles de Young

On April 23, 1880, Isaac M. Kalloch, the son of San Francisco's mayor, Isaac S. Kalloch, walked into the offices of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and shot to death Charles de Young, chief proprietor of the newspaper, before being arrested immediately upon exiting the building's premises. And for the next eleven months, coverage of the incident, descriptions of those involved, witness statements, and trial proceedings would line the pages of the *Chronicle.* But the Kalloch's and Charles de Young shared a sordid, involved past. De Young, a long-time critic of the elder Kalloch and his actions as mayor of San Francisco and literal one-time criminal transgressor against the man (de Young shot Kalloch previously and was facing criminal charges at the time), had previously published words of defamation about his womanizing past across the United States.[23]

The Triple Murder at Bull Run in Windsor Locks

The triple murder at the Bull Run house in Windsor Locks, CT was first reported by the *Hartford Courant* on January 3, 1872. Three individuals, Tim Billings, his wife, and one Julia Hayes, were found dead in varying states of decay around the premises of the establishment. Copy surrounding the incident, including victim and assailant profiles, information on the manhunt for the perpetrators of the murder, witness statements, editorials on those involved, and

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[22] Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 302-312.

[23] Read, *War of Words*, 208-26.

trial proceedings were found on the *Courant's* pages for five months.[24]

NEWSPAPERS FOR EXAMINATION

The San Francisco Chronicle

When Charles and Michael de Young founded the *Daily Chronicle* on September 1, 1868, they set out to create a newspaper that would be, in their own words, "neutral in nothing," with an influence exercised against any entity the brothers deemed to be against the "best interests" of society. By its reincarnation as the *San Francisco Chronicle* less than a year later, its copy had an already established history of addressing socially controversial issues like sexual deviance and political corruption with markedly polarizing rhetoric intended to garner readership and circulation.[25] The *Chronicle's* proclivity for framing the subjects with which it found itself at odds so frequently in morally-dubious lights led to extensive libel lawsuits filed by the aggrieved individuals, the development of political enemies, and, in multiples cases, physical violence against its own employees, the de Youngs included.[26] The paper's regularly casting of the subjects it reported on in frames of self-prescribed morality reflected a deliberate commentary on the journalists' own ideas about social propriety.

The Hartford Courant

One of America's longest-running newspapers, the *Hartford Courant*, during the 1870s and 1880s, boasted of possessing a reputation for reliable, thoughtful reporting, choosing to follow a "gentlemen['s]" modus operandi, reporting only upon the most important stories of the

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[24] *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 3, 1872-May 11, 1872.

[25] Read, *War of Words*, 79, 89.

[26] Read, *War of Words*, 92-3.

day with only basic information—sensationalized features on the unfortunate circumstances of its stories' victims largely omitted. Concerns over the character of its subjects were not entirely absent from descriptive information. *Courant* journalists, though not avid producers of sensational copy, allowed the guiding principles of its "gentlemen['s]" standard to dictate the moral volatility of its commentary. Character concerns of its subjects were still relevant to *Courant* journalists, but invading their privacy or assuming their personal natures of citizens for a story or sensationalizing (and even fabricating) a story to sell newspapers was not an acceptable standard for a *Courant* "gentleman."[27] Though *Courant* journalists would at times morally lament the criminal act and transgressor(s) (particularly the assumed socially-erosive qualities inherent), the story itself largely featured no excess sensationalizing—only basic, verifiable information editors deemed important enough for public consumption.

[27] John Bard McNulty, *The Hartford Courant: The Life and Times of The Hartford Courant… Oldest Newspaper of Continuous Publication in America* (Stonington: The Pequot Press Inc., 1964), 96, 94.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

San Francisco Chronicle Coverage of the Murder of Charles de Young

Two principle **characters** were identified in the *San Francisco Chronicle* coverage of the Charles de Young murder: 1.) Charles de Young (the victim) and 2.) Isaac M. Kalloch (the accused). De Young was depicted by *Chronicle* journalists as possessing "instincts of a gentleman," "an intelligence and discrimination that rarely failed him," "unerring" judgement, "courage," a "profound sense of right and justice" and an "abhorrence of wickedness and corruption in high places," as being a "leader of men" and a "trusty public servant" and as serving the "greatest good to the greatest number."[28] Concerning his profession, de Young was described as a "born journalist," a "true journalist" and a "journalist who fell in the discharge of his duty" and the paper he edited as a "rule on the right side."[29] Kalloch was depicted by *Chronicle* journalists as "assassin," "brute," "prisoner" and "murderer."[30] After his reported arrest, Kallochs appearance was described as possessing a "jaunty air of unconcern" and "smiling" and he was accused of committing a "vulgar, brutal inexcusable" murder.[31]

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[28] "The Tragedy In San Francisco." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1880, 3; "Murder of Charles de Young." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1880, 2.

[29] "The Tragedy In San Francisco." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1880, 3; "Tributes to the Dead." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1880, 2; "Eastern Press Opinion." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 27, 1880, 3.

[30] "The Murderer In His Cell." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1880, 3; "The Assassin's Witness." *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 30, 1880, 2; "The Murderer In His Cell." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1880, 3; "The Assassination." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1880, 5.

[31] "The Murderer." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1880, 3; "Eastern Press Opinion." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 27, 1880, 3.

Concerning his profession, Kalloch was described as "reverend," possessing "ministerial robes," being "protector of and apologizer for men who are sworn enemies of the law which in his public capacity he ought to uphold" and guilty of "most shocking blasphemy."[32] Kalloch was also depicted as a "bartender," having "drank plenty of whisky," "played poker all night," and not being "content with being a debauchee himself, [he] debauched the other boys, and did sundry bad things."[33] "Kalloch's Witness" and "The Assassin's Witness" were headers during the perjury trial of an individual whose testimony attempted to vindicate Kalloch.[34] During trial proceedings, Kalloch was described as performing "technical squirming" and as "dodg[ing] a trial."[35] Upon acquittal, Kalloch was described as a "defendant."[36] The **narrators** of the Charles de Young murder and Isaac M. Kalloch arrest and trial proceedings were reporters from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and (for editorials selected by the *Chronicle* staff) *The Graphic* (NY), *Cincinnati Commercial*, *San Diego News*, *The Telegram*, *The Truth*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Republican*, *Le Petit Journal*, *New York Herald*, *Oakland Times*, the *Daily Advertiser*, the *Denver Tribune* (CO), *Red Bluff Sentinel*, the *Carson Appeal* (NV), the *Carson City Tribune*, the *Times-Review*, the *Correspondence Sacramento Bee*, *Pacific Life*, the *Alomeda Argus*, the *Lodi Valley Review*, *Scott Valley News*, the *Folsom Telegraph* (CA), the *Weekly Witness* (NY), the

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[32] "Tributes to the Dead." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1880, 2.

[33] "I.M. Kalloch - Some Recollections of His Career In Southern California." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 9, 1880, 3.

[34] "Kalloch's Witness." *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 29, 1880, 4; "The Assassin's Witness." *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 30, 1880, 2.

[35] "The Case of Kalloch." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 11, 1880, 3; "Kalloch's Case." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 18, 1880, 4.

[36] "The Kalloch Case." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1881, 2.

Occident (San Francisco, CA), the *Hebrew Observer* (San Francisco, CA), the *Christian Register* (Boston, MA), and the *Christian Union*.

Three major **events** were identified surrounding *San Francisco Chronicle* coverage of Charles de Young's murder: 1.) initial reporting of de Young's murder the day after its occurrence, 2.) the pre-trial phase (including editorials written by other newspaper publications and subsequently published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the perjury trial of a potential witness) and 3.) the trial proceedings (including the verdict). Concerning **temporal relations** all reporting was done after the fact in journalistic manner over an eleven month period. **Causal relationships** reflect the entirety of events occurring as a result of human action and journalistic interpretation of them. Two **dominant themes** appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* coverage of the Charles de Young murder: 1.) journalism vs. moral corruption and 2.) Isaac Kalloch as a criminal. Concerning journalism/moral corruption, the *Cincinnati Commercial* writes de Young, the journalist, intended to publish information about Kalloch's father's previous adultery trials as biographical information ("Kalloch's career in New England and Kansas") and a literary "assault" was opened up focusing upon de Young's mother in retribution.[37] Similarly, the *Carson Appeal* wrote "San Francisco will…regret that the Kalloch family ever set foot within its borders…The filthiest pool of political chicanery ever found would not add to the filthiness of Kalloch's surplice. De Young exposed him as a bad man in all respects…" The *Carson City Tribune* notes "[de Young] was a true hero; he died for his country's freedom…" alongside a *Commercial Advertiser* editorial reading "The Kalloch crew seem to be sort of a

[37] "Eastern Press Comment." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 29, 1880, 3.

malarious lot, infecting everything and everybody in their neighborhood."[38] A *Pacific Life* editorial titled "The True Journalist" (in reference to de Young) notes "[de Young's] industry and application were tireless…He had no hesitation in helping other struggling journalistic enterprises along." Another editorial chosen by *San Francisco Chronicle* editors for publication, printed in the *Alomeda Argus*, notes "Charles de Young was a man of great ability, and in private life without a stain…he was always actuated by sincerity and honesty of purpose."[39] And the *Denver Tribune*, in another editorial reprinted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* notes "We do not hold up Charles de Young as a model journalist. He was not that…His newspaper was 'sensational' because he dared attack wrong…" A reprinted *Folsom Telegraph* editorial wrote of the accused Kalloch "…we have no respect whatsoever for these wolves in sheep's clothing who, with hypocritical piety, would teach what they fail to practice."[40] The *San Diego News* similarly wrote of Kalloch in another reprinted editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* "Who dares name himself minister of Christ and child of God and spurns [the 'thou shalt not murder'] edict?."[41] The other dominant theme of Kalloch as a criminal appeared both in material written by *San Francisco Chronicle* reporters and in editorials written by other publications and selected for re-printing by *San Francisco Chronicle* staff. The *San Francisco Chronicle* published stories with headers including "Murderer in his cell," "The Murderer," and "Why Isaac M. Kalloch

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[38] "The Tragedy." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 2.

[39] "Tributes to the Dead." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1880, 2.

[40] "The Recent Tragedy." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1880, 3.

[41] "I.M. Kalloch - Some Recollections of His Career in Southern California." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 9, 1880, 3.

Assassinated Charles de Young."[42] An editorial from *The Truth* referred to Kalloch as a "scoundrel who takes advantage of the confidence of the community to perpetrate an outrage" and the *Commercial Advertiser* claimed in another editorial "[Kalloch] was guilty of a cowardly murder."[43]

Hartford Courant Coverage of the Murders at Bull Run in Windsor Locks

Five principle characters were identified in the *Hartford Courant* coverage of the Windsor Locks 'Bull Run' murders: 1.) John Lambert 'Tim' Billings, 2.) Mrs. Billings (wife of Tim Billings), 3.) Julie Hayes (the victims), 4.) David Scott and 5.) Mitchell Cherest (the accused/convicted murderers).[44] The victims (Tim Billings, Mrs. Billings and Julie Hayes) were described by *Hartford Courant* journalists as an "utterly worthless set" for whom "there is little sympathy expressed." The Billings (Tim and his wife) themselves were depicted as being "worthy of the house they kept" where "during their…tenure there, it is said to have sunk even lower than it had before."[45] Concerning Tim Billings specifically, *Courant* journalists noted he was a "desperate character," "is reported as having been very respectably connected…mak[ing] his fall still more sad and admonitory," and an editorial appeared in the *Hartford Courant*,

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[42] "The Murderer In His Cell." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 24, 1880, 3; "The Murderer." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 2; "Why Isaac Kalloch Assassinated Charles de Young." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1880, 1.

[43] "The Inquest." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 28, 1880, 3.

[44] John Lambert Billings is the victim's full name, but the entirety of the *Hartford Courant*'s coverage of the murder refers to him as 'Tim,' so this analysis will refer to him in a similar manner. Also, no formal first name for the wife of Tim Billings is ever provided in *Courant* coverage, thus she is referred to only as "Mrs. Billings."

[45] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2.

written by journalists from the *New Haven Register*, reads "because the authorities prosecuted him for keeping a bad house, [Tim Billings] revenged himself by setting fire to the Old Congregational Church…The community is better off without [the victims]."[46] The wife of Tim Billings was described as "his wife" and "the Billings woman."[47] The other victim, Julie Hayes, was described as "another woman," the "Hayes girl," "Hayes woman" being "a person almost beyond pity" who had been found previously "in a state of beastly intoxication" and as having been "seriously implicated in [a] mysterious death…last fall."[48]

The individuals accused and convicted of the murders, David Scott and Mitchell Cherest, were labelled by *Hartford Courant* journalists as "fugitives," "the alleged murderers," "The Windsor Locks Murderers" (in a header) and "prisoners."[49] As individuals before their arrests for the Windsor Locks 'Bull Run' murders, Scott and Cherest's experiences were recounted as "One of them stole a $100 bill from [their employer]…and no prosecution was made," "David courted a servant girl…and, it being show that he had a wife living, he was

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[46] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 10, 1872, 2; "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 5, 1872, 2.

[47] "A Triple Murder in Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 3, 1872, 3; "Conclusion of the Windsor Locks Murder Trial." *Hartford Courant*, May 13, 1872, 2.

[48] "A Triple Murder in Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 3, 1872, 3; "The Windsor Locks Murder." *Hartford Courant*, May 9, 1872, 2; "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2.

[49] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 10, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Fugitives." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 11, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murder." *Hartford Courant*, May 2, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 3, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2; "Conclusion of the Windsor Locks Murder Trial." *Hartford Courant*, May 13, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 4, 1872, 2.

arrested..," and having noted "both brothers have borne a bad reputation for some time."[50] They were described as being "Canadian" and "speak[ing] better English than [sic] Yankee" and that they previously "gave the names of Joseph and Frank Scott" whilst "they had no money."[51] After the arrests of Scott and Cherest, during their internment in jail, *Hartford Courant* journalists described them as having "conducted themselves with propriety," having noted "they can neither read nor write, and are so wholly unintelligent that they do not appear to recognize…the gravity of their situation" and "presuming men in their condition to be innocent carries the presumption that they would, if possessing ordinary intelligence, make some display of feeling. They are uniformly cheerful."[52]

The **narrators** of the Windsor Locks 'Bull Run' murders and the trial proceedings were reporters from the *Hartford Courant* (and for the editorial selected by the *Courant* staff), the *New Haven Register* (CT) (editorial), and citizens interviewed by *Courant* reporters via the "Coroner's Jury."[53] Three major **events** were identified surrounding *Hartford Courant* coverage of the Windsor Locks 'Bull Run' murders: 1.) initial report of the murders, 2.) the manhunt and subsequent capturing of David Scott and Mitchell Cherest, and 3.) the trial proceedings (including the verdict). Concerning **temporal relations** all reporting was done after the fact in journalist manner over a four month period in order of occurrence. **Causal relationships** reflect the entirety of events occurring as a result of human action and journalistic interpretation of

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[50] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 6, 1872, 2.

[51] "The Windsor Locks Murderers—More Arrests of Innocent Persons." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 15, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2.

[52] "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2.

[53] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 6, 1872, 2.

them. One **dominant theme** appeared in the *Hartford Courant* coverage of the Windsor Locks 'Bull Run' murders: nearly all subjects involved (victims, accused/convicted, and the location of the crime) are of ill repute. The *Courant* notes, of Tim Billings (victim), he was "respectably connected" making "his fall still more sad and admonitory," his house sunk "even lower than it had been before," with his wife (another victim), they were "worthy of the house they kept," and he was quoted speaking to an individual who reportedly transgressed against Billings resulting in a prison sentence as saying "D—n you, I'll be revenged on you."[54] The *New Haven Register* described Billings as a "notorious character" and wrote the "community is much better without [the victims]."[55] The *Hartford Courant* reported of the second victim, Julia Hayes, that she had been in the "company" of a man in Bull Run just before he committed suicide there, she was previously found in a state of "beastly intoxication" around town, she was an "inmate" of Bull Run and was an individual "almost beyond pity."[56] Mrs. Billings, wife of Tim Billings, was noted only as a woman of "considerable nerve."[57] The individuals accused/convicted of the murders, David Scott and Mitchell Cherest, were described by *Courant* journalists as being "rascals" and "murderers" before they were arrested, after their arrest, and after the conviction,

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[54] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 10, 1872, 2.

[55] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 6, 1872, 2.

[56] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2.

[57] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 5, 1872, 2.

and also as “alleged murderers.”[58] *Courant* journalists noted of Scott and Cherest “neither can read nor write,” that they before their arrest “gave the names of Joseph and Frank Scott, one representing himself to be a barber and the other a shoemaker,” “stole from a boarding house two axes and a scythe,” and “gave the names of George and Edward Davis.”[59] In a jailhouse interview with Scott and Cherest, *Courant* journalists wrote “David [Scott]…was all smiles,” “There is too, more concealment about [Mitchell]” and "it will appear Mitchell was the instigator and the boldest operator in the foul work.”[60]

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[58] “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 12, 1872, 2; Ibid.; “The Windsor Locks Murderers—More Arrests of Innocent Persons.” *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 15, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 16, 1872, 2; “Rubbing Close to the Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 30, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 4, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2; “Conclusion of the Windsor Locks Murder Trial.” *Hartford Courant*, May 13, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2.

[59] “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2; “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2.

[60] “The Windsor Locks Murderers.” *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 30, 1872, 2.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The current research provides support to facilitate a more complete understanding of rhetorical depictions of criminal transgressors by nineteenth century American newspapers. By analyzing two specific cases of criminal reporting by contemporary newspapers, we are able to examine the narrative rhetoric utilized by journalists to represent not only the actions of those accused of committing criminal acts, but also assumptions of the quality of the criminal transgressors' characters apart from the rest of nineteenth century American society.

Media coverage of crime is significant to this research because it works to form "commonly understood narratives about crime, criminals, and urban places" and the narratives found therein "illuminate public attitudes toward and fear of crime."[61] Strongly-worded, salacious accounts of criminal activity are particularly notable for examination because of the effect of a narrative's "deviation from a predictable course of events." Functionally, within cultural contexts, narrative structures "perform the functions of shaping, (re)organizing, storing and activating information." The effect of the reader's surprise to the form of the narrative relates "exactly to the beliefs and expectations that provide the fluent processing of the story."[62] Essentially, not only does media coverage of crime and criminal transgressors directly affect public opinion, the narratives utilized in such reporting become even more influential in

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[61] Franklin D. Gilliam Jr. and Shanto Iyengar, "Prime Suspects: The Influence of Local Television News on the Viewing Public," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 3 (2000): 560-73; Andrea Leverentz, "Narratives of Crime and Criminals: How Places Socially Construct the Crime Problem," *Sociological Forum* 22, no. 2 (2012): 348.

[62] Marina Grishakova and Siim Sorokin, "Notes on narrative, cognition, and cultural evolution," *Signs Systems Studies* 44, no. 4 (2016): 550.

impacting how the crime and criminal transgressor are perceived when more jarring rhetoric and themes are implemented.

The narrators of both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Hartford Courant* also bear particular pertinence to this analysis and any subsequent conclusions due to the unique nature of the news reporting style of the time period. Functionally, an inherent feature of journalistic narration is, as Schudson terms it, a "slant" responsible for reinforcing certain viewpoints of social realities.[63] Nineteenth century journalism enmeshes this feature with an already present social fascination with notions of "public morality," crime and vice and reporting rife with heavily editorialized reports that often times utilized copy that was deliberately written to be "spicy," "saucy," and "interesting" for the sake of sales.[64] Godkin points out such language was utilized so frequently by contemporary journalists, practitioners were "systematically *not* encouraged for their honesty and accuracy."[65] It is not a contention of this study that all contemporary nineteenth century journalistic reports concerning crime and criminal transgressors is necessarily chock full of lies and misinformation, but the, at times, sensational, heavily editorialized copy could almost certainly have utilized language that much more effectively incubated social realities among their readerships which painted the criminal transgressor in terms of the moral alien apart from the whole of the community.

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[63] Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: BasicBooks, Inc., 1978), 162-3.

[64] George T. Rider, "The Pretensions of Journalism," *North American* Review, no. 135 (Nov. 1882): 476-77; Frank Luther Mott and Ralph D. Casey, *Interpretations of Journalism* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1937) 161-2.

[65] Edwin L. Godkin, "Opinion Moulding," *The Nation*, no. 9 (Aug. 9, 1869): 126-7.

The first case and subsequent reporting analyzed concerned the murder of *San Francisco Chronicle* editor Charles de Young by Isaac M. Kalloch. Examination produced two dominant themes persistent within the narrative arc: 1.) the assumed criminal transgressor (Kalloch) presented as a guilty, morally-corrupt individual and 2.) well-intended journalism vs. moral corruption. Language from initial reporting of the murder throughout the entirety of *SFC* reporting depicted Kalloch, the man arrested immediately after de Young's murder as a guilty, morally-corrupt citizen. He was described as "murderer" in both story headers and within copy on multiple occasions and in one edition, a story entitled "Why Isaac M. Kalloch Assassinated Charles de Young" was printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.[66] An editorial by the *Commercial Advertiser* selected for reprinting by *SFC* editors described Kalloch as being "guilty of a cowardly murder" and another editorial from *The Truth*, re-printed in the *SFC*, similarly calls Kalloch a "scoundrel who takes advantage of the confidence of the community to perpetrate an outrage."[67] At a base level, such determined, negative descriptions and depictions of Kalloch are reflective of newspapers functioning within the transmission model of communication, providing a medium by which specific ideas about the character of the accused criminal transgressor are delivered to the *Chronicle*'s readership.[68] Perhaps more importantly, the conveyance of such information coupled with the daily newspaper lends itself to the ritual model of communication

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[66] "The Murderer In His Cell." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 24, 1880, 3; "The Assassination." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 25, 1880, 5; "The Inquest." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 28, 1880, 3; "The Murderer." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 3; "The Cause." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1880, 1.

[67] "The Inquest." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 28, 1880, 3; "The Inquest." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 3.

[68] Schudson, "Preparing the Minds of the People," 426.

that functions by building solidarity and reaffirming the notion of common values within the readership's shared community.[69]

The second dominant narrative theme of de Young's well-intended journalism set against Kalloch's moral corruption was prevalent in editorials written by other contemporary newspaper publications but selected for re-printing in the pages of *SFC* editions. The *Cincinnati Commercial* wrote of de Young's publishing of information concerning Kalloch's father (the current mayor of San Francisco at the time of the murder) and adultery trials he had faced previously ("about Kalloch's career in New England and Kansas"), noting the result being a literary "assault" waged against de Young's mother in retribution by the Kallochs.[70] De Young performing the duties aligned with his post as a journalist seeking to provide information to the voters of San Francisco resulted in retribution from the Kallochs—the attempted humiliation of de Young and his family. In another edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, two editorials were selected for re-printing that framed de Young a responsible professional journalist and the Kalloch family as morally-corrupt individuals, respectively. The *Carson City Tribune* writes "[de Young] was a true hero; he died for his country's freedom…" and the *Commercial Advertiser* writes "The Kalloch crew seem to be sort of a malarious lot, infecting everything and everybody in their neighborhood."[71] This deliberate framing supports a narrative bolstering the importance of journalism and the resulting impact of morally corrupt citizenry. Four other editorials re-printed in the *Chronicle* reify this intentional construction of the well-intended journalist and

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[69] James Carey, *Communication as Culture* (New York: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

[70] "The Inquest." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 3.

[71] "The Tragedy." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 30, 1880, 2; Ibid.

morally-corrupt villain narrative. Another edition of the *Chronicle* re-printed on May 1, 1880 contains two editorials similarly supportive of de Young as a journalist. The *Pacific Life* titles an article "The True Journalist" in reference to de Young, noting "[de Young's] industry and application were tireless" and that "[de Young] had no hesitation in helping other struggling journalistic enterprises along" and the *Alomeda Argus* notes de Young "was a man of great ability, and in private life without a stain…he was always actuated by sincerity and honesty of purpose."[72] The *Denver Tribune* writes "we do not hold up Charles de Young as a model journalist. He was not that…His newspaper was 'sensational' because he dared attack wrong…" alongside a similar editorial from the *Folsom Telegraph* writing on Isaac Kalloch's career as a religious preacher, "…we have no respect whatsoever for these wolves in sheep's clothing who, with hypocritical piety, would teach what they fail to practice."[73] Again, *San Francisco Chronicle* editors choose to re-print in editions of their own publication editorials depicting Charles de Young as the consummate journalist, legitimate and purpose-driven, and Isaac Kalloch (and his family) as morally-corrupt and a menace to a well-intended society. Schudson deems newspapers to be participants in the construction of mental worlds in which their readership lives, acting as transcriptions of third person accounts, separate from the actual reality of a situation, and the inclusion of editorials produced by other contemporary newspapers reiterating the message *Chronicle* editors wanted conveyed illustrates a similarly deliberate construction process intended to produce a certain idea within the minds of their readership.[74]

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[72] "Tributes to the Dead." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1880, 2; Ibid.

[73] "The Recent Tragedy." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1880, 3; Ibid.

[74] Schudson, "Preparing the Minds of the People," 423.

The second case and subsequent reporting analyzed concerned the Bull Run triple murder in Windsor Locks, CT, first reported on January 3, 1872. Source examination produced one dominant theme persistent within the narrative arc: all elements involved with the murder (criminal transgressors, victims, and location of incident) were represented by *Hartford Courant* journalists as being morally-corrupt individuals with a characters of ill repute. Reporting referencing the victims Tim Billings and Julia Hayes (all except Mrs. Billings) repeatedly described them with negative language and positions them as morally-deficient, depraved individuals. The *Courant* narrative surrounding Billings' character depicts him as a "notorious character" and fallen individual who was at one time "respectably connected," even going so far as to publish a quote from him saying "D—n you, I'll be revenged on you" offered after receiving a previous jail sentence for property destruction.[75] Another victim, Julia Hayes, receives similar rhetorical treatment from *Courant* reporters with posthumous descriptions referencing her as an individual "almost beyond pity" and a prostitute that was an "inmate" of Bull Run (a purported brothel) and previously found to have been in the "company" of a man that had committed suicide under peculiar circumstances.[76] The narrative surrounding the location of the murder itself even depicted a crime scene with a morbid past. *Hartford Courant* reporting describes the Bull Run establishment as a "brothel," "den of thieves," and a "notorious places of ill fame," going so far as to anecdotally reference rumors and hearsay purportedly surrounding the murder site insisting this atrocity was "not the first murder that had

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[75] "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 6, 1872, 2; "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Tragedy." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 10, 1872, 2.

[76] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; Ibid.

taken place there," that "people talk of bodies buried by night in the sands near the building," and finally concluding that even the geography of the landscape around the establishment ("gloomy graves and sandy wastes") made Bull Run the "fitting scene of some fearful tragedy."[77] David Scott and Mitchell Cherest, the individuals convicted of committing the murders, like Tim Billings, Julia Hayes and the Bull Run establishment, were subject to a narrative from *Courant* reporters that depicted them as vile, morally-reprehensible members of society. Besides from multiple pre-trial verdict references as "murderers" (before and after their capture), stories of their past chosen for printing repeatedly refer to Scott and Cherest as deceivers, seeking to better their personal situations by stealing or impersonating others. One *Courant* anecdote remembers the two as having stolen "two axes and a scythe" from a boarding house and in two separate instances of identity deception, the duo used the names "George and Edward Davis" and gave themselves the names "Joseph and Frank Scott," taking on the identities of a "barber" and "shoemaker."[78]

Limitations

Due to the specific lens through which the research was undertaken, the articles analyzed,

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[77] "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; Ibid.; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; "The Terrible Tragedy at Windsor Locks." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 4, 1872, 2; Ibid.

[78] "The Windsor Locks Murderers—More Arrests of Innocent Persons." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 15, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 16, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers Again." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 17, 1872, 2; "Rubbing Close to the Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Jan. 30, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Mar. 2, 1872, 2; "The Windsor Locks Murderers." *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 24, 1872, 2.

though representative of late nineteenth century American newspaper criminal reporting, bear with them a narrow scope perhaps better suited for a more nuanced understanding of contemporary murder reporting.The source material analyzed from both newspapers was limited to scan availability and readability from the *newspapers.com* database and deals solely with one individual type of crime (murder) and criminal transgressor (murderer). Simply, crimes other than murder and reporting surrounding other sorts of criminal transgressors were in existence during the nineteenth century in America and this research does not address such contemporary journalistic practices. The murders, themselves, though similar in nature, are also different in detail (single, retributory murder versus triple murder). Regionally, the research also focuses on reporting from two distinct nineteenth century American newspapers operating on opposing sides of the country, the *San Francisco Chronicle* located in California and the *Hartford Courant* located in Connecticut.

Though the material analyzed was not compared as part of this research, such a selection limits a more complete, regionally specific understanding of criminal reporting in favor of a time-relative framework for understanding contemporary journalism. The reporting surrounding these two murders also occurred nearly nine years apart between January 3, 1872 (the first report of the Windsor Locks murders in the *Hartford Courant*) and March 25, 1881 (the final report of criminal proceedings against Isaac M. Kalloch in the *San Francisco Chronicle*). Thus, a complete, mid-nineteenth century America, decade-specific understanding of such criminal reporting is not possible. The names of the individuals that wrote the articles concerning the murders for both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Hartford Courant* are also unavailable so it is impossible to identify individual writers' or editors' styles or tendencies; any conclusions

drawn from analyzing the source material can only be considered as reflective of broad characteristics of the newspapers at the time of publication.

Implications of Research

Similar research has attempted to articulate a more complete understanding of nineteenth century cultural constructions of crime and criminal transgressors as rooted in historical significance by analyzing printed accounts of murder, while other research has analyzed newspaper and other media narratives surrounding crime reporting in the early twentieth century.[79] This study serves to create a more nuanced understanding of such cultural constructions of crime and criminal transgressors with the nineteenth century American newspaper as a primary vehicle of social reality manifestation. Further, by similarly isolating future research to regionally-specific, late nineteenth century American newspapers and their individual coverage of criminal activity and criminal transgressors, a more complete understanding of contemporary American life can be achieved, and by extension, the social realities of which they were comprised.

A substantial portion of the research demonstrates two dominant themes consistent in reporting of both the Windsor Locks triple murder and the murder of Charles de Young: the accused/guilty criminal transgressor as morally-corrupt and the positioning of well-intended journalism against moral corruption. These findings not only reflect a nineteenth century American public fixation upon the moral character of its citizenry and the specific motives that drove the criminal transgressor(s) to commit the crimes for which they have been charged, but

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[79] Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul;* V. Penelope Pelizzon and Nancy M. West, *"Tabloid Inc."—Crimes, Newspapers, Narratives* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010).

also the potential consequences of a citizen's lack of morality as a hindrance to the freedoms promised in an American society (i.e. freedom of press). Essentially, such nineteenth century American journalism promulgated a social reality for its readership within which criminal transgressors are depicted as being morally-corrupt individuals who endangered the freedoms of American citizens by their actions and behavior.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER FROM THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

MARSHALL UNIVERSITY
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Office of Research Integrity

April 3, 2018

James Fuller
2940 Winters Road
Huntington, WV 25702

Dear Mr. Fuller:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled *"19th Century American Newspapers and the Criminal Transgressor."* After assessing the abstract, it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction, it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,

Bruce F. Day

Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director