

Appendix B

for the article “Partisanship and Racial Attitudes in U.S. Civil War Enlistment”
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Sampling and coding

Our newspaper data are drawn from, with permission, the data used in Kalmoe (2020; doi: [10.1017/9781108870504](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108870504)). The sampling and coding procedure is summarized below, with more extensive details available in the [online appendix to Kalmoe \(2020\)](#).

We sampled newspapers based on Rowell’s *American Newspaper Directory*, an 1868 census of newspapers, which the year the paper began publishing, partisan leanings (if any), and circulation by town and state. We divided loyal states into six regions (Border, Mid-Atlantic, Upper & Lower Midwest, and Upper & Lower New England). The directory presents newspaper titles in four lists by circulation size category, which we use for sampling. For each region, we used a two-stage selection process weighted roughly on newspaper circulation. Stage 1 selected the circulation list to sample from (if a circulation list had no unselected newspapers from that region, we moved to the next largest circulation list). Stage 2 selected the newspaper within the list using the total count of newspapers from the region in the list and a random number indicating how far down the list to count. The sampled newspapers are listed in the table below, which is reproduced from Kalmoe (2020, 57).

TABLE 3.1 *Newspapers in the sample*

Region	Name, Place, Frequency, Party, Year Founded, Circulation
Upper Midwest	<i>Iowa State Register</i> (Des Moines, IA, wk(d), Rep, 1856, 6.5k) <i>Davenport Democrat</i> (Davenport, IA, wk(d), Dem, 1838, (1855), 5–10k) <i>Detroit Advertiser & Tribune</i> (Detroit, MI, wk (d), Rep, 1829, 20k) <i>La Crosse Democrat</i> (La Crosse, WI, wk(d), Dem, 1860, 10k)
Lower Midwest	<i>Cincinnati Times</i> (Cincinnati, OH, wk(d), Rep, 1840, 70k) <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> (Cincinnati, OH, d, Dem, 1841, 10–20k) <i>Chicago Tribune</i> (Chicago, IL, wk, Rep, 1847, 41k) <i>Toledo Blade</i> (Toledo, OH, wk, Rep, 1836, 75k)
Border States	<i>National Intelligencer</i> (DC, wk(d), Ind, 21k) <i>Baltimore Sun</i> (Baltimore, MD, d, Ind, 1837, 10–20k) <i>Louisville Journal</i> (Louisville, KY, d, Dem, 1830, 20k) <i>Missouri Republican</i> (St. Louis, MO, wk, Dem, 1823, 15k)
Upper New England	<i>Nashua Gazette & Hillsborough Advertiser</i> (Nashua, NH, wk, Dem, 1827, <5k) <i>Burlington Free Press</i> (Burlington, VT, d, Rep, 1848, <5k) <i>Cheshire Republican</i> (Keene, NH, wk, Dem, 1827, <5k) <i>Rutland Herald</i> (Rutland, VT, wk/d, Rep, 1792, 2.1k/1k)
Lower New England	<i>Boston Journal</i> (Boston, MA, d, Rep, 1837, 28k) <i>Berkshire County Eagle</i> (Pittsfield, MA, wk, Rep, 1829, <5k) <i>Boston Evening Traveller</i> (Boston, MA, wk, Rep, 1845, 17k) <i>Boston Herald</i> (Boston, MA, d, Ind, 1846, 30K)
Mid-Atlantic	<i>New York Evening Post</i> (NYC, NY, d, Rep, 1801, 5–10k) <i>New York Herald</i> (NYC, NY, wk, Ind, 1835, 65k) <i>New York Sun</i> (NYC, NY, d, Ind, 1833, 47k) <i>Albany Journal</i> (Albany, NY, wk, Rep, 1831, 20k)

Note: Each newspaper entry lists region, name, location, publication frequency (wk = weekly, d = daily), party, date founded, and circulation size category.

We classified news content using a deductive process. Two independent coders reviewed 7 full issues from each paper on dates chosen for their recruitment or election significance. The dates selected are shown in the table below, reproduced from Kalmoe (2020, 58).

Date	Events
April 22, 1861	Fort Sumter attacked (4/12), Lincoln calls for 75,000 militia (4/15)
July 29, 1861	Bull Run defeat (7/21), call for 500,000 volunteers (7/22)
July 24, 1862	Seven Days defeat (7/1), Militia Act call for troops (7/17)
Midterm Elections	Fall 1862: 2nd Bull Run defeat, Antietam (9/17) & Corinth (10/4) victories, preliminary Emancipation Proclamation; Mar 1863: Draft authorized (3/3)
Oct & Nov 1862, Mar 1863, Aug 1863	Gettysburg (7/3) & Vicksburg (7/4) victories, NYC draft riots (7/16), Ft. Wagner (7/18)
July 11, 1864	Unprecedented casualties in Overland campaign (May–June), siege of Petersburg begins (7/9), Congress empowers President to call for troops by discretion (7/4)
Lincoln’s Reelection Nov 8, 1864	Atlanta (9/2) & Shenandoah victories (10/19)

The coders classified the content of each page according to a [codebook](#). Coding was conducted on the page-level, and then aggregated to the newspaper-date level for analysis. The results of intercoder reliability tests (specifically Pearson’s correlations testing level of agreement) for the codes used in the article are shown in the table below.

Code	Total	Coder 1	Coder 2
Slavery Goal	.16	.43	-.06
Slavery	.59	.45	.81
Blame South	.49	.51	.39
Blame Slavers	.41	.36	.48
Blame Reps	.59	1.00	.18
Blame Dems	.70	1.00	--
Blame Abol.	.40	.58	--

Additional analysis

We also show the results presented in Figure 6 in the article divided into two periods, before and after the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, below. There are few differences between the two periods in rhetoric about anti-slavery war aims and blaming enslavers. Democratic newspaper-dates, both pro- and anti-war, did show an increase in blame of abolitionists after the preliminary proclamation. The major difference between the two periods, which we show and discuss in the article, is in coverage that explicitly favors abolition.

