

# SPECTRAL EDITION

Ghost Reports  
from U.S. Newspapers  
1865-1917

Edited by  
Tim Prasil

BROM  NES BOOKS

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ISBN: 978-1-948084-00-0

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The “Belated Villagers” illustration on the back cover comes from the *Little Falls Herald* (Minnesota), April 20, 1906.

# INTRODUCTION

Tim Prasil

## Let's Start at the End

In 1916, the *El Paso Herald* editorialized: “Ghosts have gone out of fashion along with haunted houses. One never has a haunted house pointed out to him anymore. It is doubtful if there be one single haunted house in El Paso, and doubtful whether a single soul ever sees a ghost.” The brief commentary goes on to speculate that such spectral phenomena might have been lost to electric lights, to “modern indifference,” or to a lack of fearing ghosts. There the comment ends—not a springboard to some larger point, only a quick lament of changing times. About a year-and-a-half later, veteran journalist Captain J. Walter Mitchell, writing for the “Looking Back” column of the *Washington Herald*, expressed a similar sentiment: “Not so many years ago there were numerous so-called haunted houses in this city and these places furnished many thrilling stories to the old-time reporter.” The remainder of Mitchell’s much longer article reviews several of the haunted houses that he recalls had been covered in D.C. area newspapers.<sup>1</sup>

My own hunting for ghosts in old U.S. newspapers confirms the observations expressed in the two articles above. Much as the various ghost-hunter shows on television and the internet in our own era suggest that *once again* there is an audience fascinated by ghosts, American newspaper readers over a century ago were tantalized by a surge of ghost stories. Though fairly easy to find in the latter decades of the 1800s and first decade of the 1900s, these reports plummet in frequency during that second decade of the new century. The wave’s rise, on the other hand, seems to have gradually gained momentum in the 1860s and 1870s. Ghost reports were published infrequently before and after those points, and the very earliest I’ve discovered, dated 1844, opens with this telling statement: “It has been so long since a real case of haunted house has occurred, that many deemed the fashion had become entirely extinct.”<sup>2</sup> The heyday of ghost reporting in U.S. newspapers, then, comes rather neatly—and, I suspect, significantly—

between the end of the Civil War and the start of American involvement in World War I: 1865 to 1917.

These ghost reports were often treated with the same journalistic objectivity and seriousness as other news items. For instance, in the news-in-brief section of a Vermont newspaper in 1873, a notice that the son of a Vershire couple had died in a fire is followed by this tantalizing tidbit: “Bennington has a house that is supposed to be haunted by a ghost of a woman anxious to revenge herself on one of the tenants who ill-treated her in life.” This is then followed, all in identical font and format, by the announcement of the reappointment of a Lamoille County sheriff whose father held the same office for many years. A decade later, a paper in Ohio reported the death of “one of the oldest and most highly respected citizens of Barnesville” beside this curt statement: “Bridgeport is said to have a haunted house. Tables are said to move about without any visible agency, doors are rapped upon, and noises of all kinds are heard throughout the house at all hours of the day and night.” Right below that is a notice about a liveryman whose carriage shed suffered snow damage.<sup>3</sup> Such reports, written matter-of-factly, show that some reporters and editors considered ghostly encounters to be legitimate news.

Some journalists saw such experiences as an opportunity to jokingly undercut their sources’ reliability or, at least, to toss off a bit of Shakespeare. Perhaps a glimpse of this less-than-objective tone appears in the “Dakota Jottings” section of a paper serving the Dakota Territory. In the space of a few inches, readers learn that Sully County is moving its records to a fire-proof vault, that “Deadwood has a genuine case of ‘haunted house,’ where goblins hold nightly revel,” and that work on the natural gas well in Gary is proceeding rapidly.<sup>4</sup> Sandwiched between mundanities, the “genuine” haunted house is given conspicuously curt coverage. In contrast, typical ghost reports were significantly longer, at times filling two or three columns, as illustrated by the articles filling the chapters of this book.

Such ghost reports provide evidence that the U.S. experienced a period of particular interest in ghosts as widespread open-minded contemplation of their reality slowly rose and suddenly fell. Newspapers reveal other manifestations of this fascination with ghosts, too. In 1881, the *Daily Dispatch* of Richmond, Virginia, told readers that furniture from a house alleged to be haunted was on the auction block and that this ghostly provenance “attracted a crowd of buyers, and the second-hand buyers met with an unexpected competition. Annie McWaters, the servant girl who had the most startling interviews with the ghost, was there, and still persisted that the house was haunted.” In 1885, the *Iron County Register* told readers, “Boston has

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for months been full of the wildest theories about ghosts and visions. The subject is almost invariably discussed in every social gathering, and wonderful stories are commonly told of personal experiences. As evidence of the kind of minds engrossed in these things, it is noteworthy that four members of Harvard's faculty are members of a society for investigation." The reporter is probably referring to the American branch of the Society for Psychical Research, established the same year, but other groups were forming, too. The Brooklyn Society for the Extermination of Ghosts and Dispelling of Haunted House Illusions, according to a 1904 issue of the *New-York Tribune*, "includes thirty young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three," all of them intent upon debunking the borough's haunted houses. More supportive of ghosts, New York's *Evening World* had run a contest in 1889, announcing that one "golden double eagle will be given to the person who sends the best ghost story" based on personal experience. Returning to 1904, newspapers across the nation ran a story about a real estate agent whose client was willing to pay handsomely for "a real haunted house and the ghost must be well authenticated." The client's intention was to convert the building into a lodge and banquet hall.<sup>5</sup>

What explains this rise in U.S. readers' interest in ghosts and U.S. newspapers lending credence to such things? The answer is no doubt complex, but I think that three historical developments contributed. These factors are 1) the trauma felt in the wake of the Civil War and, specifically, its unimaginable death toll; 2) a shift in perceiving distances brought about by technological innovations, especially telegraphy, that affected perceptions of the proximity of the physical and spiritual dimensions; and 3) the uncertain professional guidelines in U.S. journalism in the 1800s.

### **Its Ghost May Still Haunt Us for a Time**

VICTORY!!!  
GLORY HALLELUJAH!!  
LEE SURRENDERED  
His Entire Army Captured!  
GRANT DICTATES TERMS.  
The End Draws Nigh!

Thus reads a headline on the front page of the *Cleveland Morning Leader* on April 10, 1865. Beside this column of rejoice ran an article giving a decidedly Yankee perspective on the end of the American Civil War: "Beaten, flying, disorganized, falling into pieces with every mile it moved, . . . the once proud army of Lee had become a mere rabble and rout, and its commander, when he could not save it, surrendered it. In

that surrender the rebellion committed suicide. Its ghost may still haunt us for a time, but its life is gone and its deeds are things of the past.” Though speaking figuratively about ghosts, the reporter literally predicted one means Americans used to cope with the terrible loss of life incurred by that rebellion and the war to quell it.

A seminal work on how the Civil War challenged and reshaped the ways that Americans lived with death is Drew Gilpin Faust’s *This Republic of Suffering*. She writes, “In the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States embarked on a new relationship with death, entering into a civil war that proved bloodier than any other conflict in American history, a war that would presage the slaughter of World War I’s Western Front and the global carnage of the twentieth century.” After noting that about 620,000 soldiers died during the war waged from 1861 to 1865, Faust points out that this figure neglects the civilians killed by troops spreading disease, waging guerrilla attacks, and leaving communities without food supplies. Along with unprecedented numbers, the average age of the dead was psychologically devastating. While infant mortality was fairly common, mid-nineteenth-century Americans “expected that most individuals who reached young adulthood would survive at least into middle age.” The war, of course, took men who were young and healthy.<sup>6</sup> Though the spirits of soldiers rarely if ever appear in the ghost reports following 1865, when a backstory is provided to explain the haunting, it almost always involves someone who died tragically and young: a murder victim, a suicide, a casualty of a railroad accident, etc. The war was over, but troubling deaths like those of the many, many soldiers persisted, reminding Americans of their war losses—perhaps in more individualized and fathomable scenarios.

In a chapter titled “Believing and Doubting: ‘What Means this Carnage?’” Faust provides insights into how the nation struggled with the Civil War slaughter. These indirectly shed light on the ghost reports. Even before the war, science had dealt two powerful blows to the promise of an afterlife so vital to traditional Christianity, complicating how the Bible offered comfort to those in mourning. In the 1830s, Charles Lyell’s *Principles of Geology* “challenged the veracity of Genesis by demonstrating that the Earth was millions of years old, not the six or seven thousand postulated in Scripture.” More profoundly, at the tail of the 1850s, Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* presented a scientific alternative to creation itself, and Faust notes that its claims of natural evolution had been “shared and discussed in preliminary form with American scientists” beforehand. Similarly, the voice of science had spoken loudly against believing in ghosts. For instance, Dr. James Thatcher was a Massachusetts physician and Fellow of the American

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Academy of Arts and Sciences who authored *An Essay on Demonology, Ghosts and Apparitions, and Popular Superstitions* (1831). Ghostly encounters, according to Thatcher, can be traced to nerves, which under unhealthy conditions “may be subjected to very irregular motions or vibrations. Hence unreal images may be raised in the mind. . . . Superstitions, fancies, or enthusiastic emotions, do greatly disturb the regular action of the nervous system.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, avoid superstitions, imagination, and undue emotion (be it gloominess or glee), and you probably won’t be fooled into seeing a ghost.

Curiously, most Americans able to dismiss the claims of science and retain assurance of the afterlife promised by scripture might still have had a difficult time interpreting newspaper ghost reports as corroboration that spirits live beyond physical death. Protestant Christians vastly outnumbered other religious groups in the U.S. during the 1800s. Much earlier, during the Reformation begun in the 1500s, Protestants had rejected Roman Catholicism’s doctrine of purgatory, a belief that was accommodating to ghostly visitations. In *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead & Cultural Transformation*, R.C. Finucane explains that, without purgatory, “the likelihood that apparitions were the departed seeking assistance could not be admitted. Other explanations had to be found. Whereas some suggested an angelic origin for these undoubted events, many Protestant writers claimed that such beings were actually emissaries of the Devil.” Even if this hurdle could be cleared after the Civil War, Protestant Americans were faced with ghosts who didn’t especially seem to be *seeking assistance*. Ghosts of earlier centuries returned for clear reasons, if not to solicit prayers for release from purgatory then perhaps to divulge the location of a hidden will. Those Shakespeare-spouting reporters favored *Hamlet*, which opens with Hamlet’s father returning from the dead to expose his murderer. But these ghosts became eclipsed by “apparitions of very limited, or even apparently non-existent, functions,” according to Finucane. In brief, most ghosts of the 1800s were reported to be “wispy figures that floated about darkened chambers with no apparent reason for being there at all.”<sup>8</sup> Finucane focuses on British accounts of ghosts here, but his description applies well to most of the ghost reports I found in U.S. newspapers of the same period.

Despite such conflicts, there were alternative ways to be assured that the many, many brothers and husbands killed in the Civil War survived in a Great Beyond. One was Spiritualism. After Faust points out that séances tempted science-minded participants with “belief that seemed to rely on empirical evidence rather than revelation and faith,” she zeroes in on a series called “Voices of the Dead,” which was run in the Spiritualist newspaper *Banner of Light*. These articles featured

messages channeled through a psychic medium named Mrs. J. H. Conant. Faust explains that “soldiers of all ranks and origins reported that they had died well, that they had met relatives in heaven, and that, as one voice declared, ‘death has taken nothing from me, except my body.’” The communiqués from the next world mirrored “condolence letters written to inform relatives about the deaths of kin in hospital or battle,” and though Faust points out that the soldiers named in the newspaper series do not appear on “the database of 6.3 million records of 3.5 million soldiers that the National Park Service has compiled,” Spiritualism provided comfort in suggesting that answers to dire questions about real soldiers would be answered one day. “There would be an ending to uncertainty—perhaps through contact with the spirit world but certainly through reunion in the world beyond,” says Faust.<sup>9</sup>

The ghost reports might have given similar consolation. They’re vague, fleeting, dubious, and at times, downright silly. However, they were also an alternative to Spiritualism, as seen particularly in those reports that identify the witness of the spectral phenomena as having no Spiritualist leanings. Indeed, ghosts seemed to have a far lengthier and more widespread history than Spiritualism. In an 1862 article titled simply “Ghosts,” the Reverend T. M. Griffith points out that there is abundant evidence for spirit visitations in both the Bible and in human history. He goes on to say, “Every land, every neighborhood, almost every family has its startling facts. Witnesses beyond number, of the highest character for veracity and sound judgment, have given their evidence to the world; and the world has rejected their testimony as unreasonable.” Griffith spends the rest of his essay arguing that ghosts *are* reasonable.<sup>10</sup> This was published in the *Ladies’ Repository*, a journal published by the Methodist Church in Cincinnati, revealing that some Protestant Christians *could* see ghost reports as validation of an afterlife. So long as reporters and the witnesses they wrote about were trustworthy, readers could trust that there was some visual, auditory, or otherwise physical proof that death is not final. So long as such proof was appealing to heartsick readers in the long process of letting go of the Civil War dead, the ghost reports retained their popularity.

## **Distance Does Not Really Exist**

In Jules Verne’s 1865 science fiction novel *From the Earth to the Moon*, a Baltimore, Maryland, gun club—feeling a kind of post-Civil War boredom—devises a grand plan to construct a cannon massive enough to shoot its payload all the way to the moon. In France, the adventurous Michel Ardan sends the club a telegram requesting they delay their plans. He then charges across the Atlantic on a steamship,

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intent on convincing the gun club to send *passengers* on that remarkable cannonball. Upon making his pitch, Ardan explains that human history has been one of ever-increasing velocities: from crawling to walking, from horse-drawn carriages to railroads. Technological innovation was essentially making the world—indeed, the solar system—far smaller (and Ardan’s previous use of telegraph and steam engines would have driven that point home with his original readers). Ardan proclaims, “Distance is but a relative expression, and must end by being reduced to zero.” While the miles to the Moon seem daunting, he says, it’s merely a 300-day trip by train, a span of time most sailors have exceeded at sea. Compared to a trip to the planet Neptune or the star Arcturus, a trip to the Moon becomes very manageable. “Distance is but an empty name,” he insists; “distance does not really exist!”<sup>11</sup>

Here, we see a fictional reflection of very real perceptions in 1865. Distances seemed to be collapsing and shrinking. Since the 1830s, the telegraph had been shortening long-range communication from days, even weeks or months, to seconds. At roughly the same time, steam-powered ships were truncating the time needed to travel from one city to another while turning trans-Atlantic travel into a matter of days instead of the weeks that sailing would entail. The emerging railroad travel, in the meantime, was moving faster still, making distances seem to be heading toward zero, as Ardan suggests. Those living through these changes must have experienced a paradigm shift in regard to comprehending distances.

Certainly the Spiritualists were using this new way of thinking to close the distance between the physical and spiritual dimensions. Though spectral knocking has a longer history,<sup>12</sup> rapping served as a primary method of communication between here and the hereafter when Modern Spiritualism burst upon the scene in the U.S. The event typically cited as igniting the movement occurred in 1848, when the Fox Sisters from Hydesville, New York, went public—and later international—with their ability to communicate with the dead. The parallels between their system of eliciting raps from spirits and telegraphy’s Morse Code were not lost on those who would promote Spiritualism, perhaps no clearer seen than in the title of *The Spiritual Telegraph*, a founding newspaper devoted to the movement. In a cultural history of the weavings between electronic media and paranormal and spiritual phenomena, Jeffrey Sconce says that “Spiritualism attempted to align itself with the principles of ‘electrical science’ so as to distinguish mediumship from more ‘superstitious’ forms of mystical belief in previous centuries. It was the animating powers of electricity that gave the telegraph its distinctive property of simultaneity and its unique

sense of disembodied presence, allowing the device to vanquish previous barriers of space, time, and in the Spiritualist imagination, even death.”<sup>13</sup> One explanation of why Spiritualism became so popular—attracting millions of followers by the end of the 1800s—involves its borrowing technology’s ability to shorten distances and redirecting it toward those grieving the loss of loved ones, thereby fostering the feeling that those who had “passed on” hadn’t journeyed so far after all.

That said, stories of spectral encounters have a very long history of locating ghosts in close proximity with the living: a rundown house between this town and the next, the graveyard only a few blocks away, or even downstairs when everyone is asleep. As my categorizing of ghost reports illustrates, ghosts have a habit of attaching themselves to particular houses or other buildings, specific grounds or waters, or limited stretches of road. (Ghosts attached to particular families or individuals seem to have a bit more mobility, but there’s still a sense of *closeness* involved.) This tradition of the local, earthbound phantom goes back at least as far as the first century A.D., when Pliny the Younger wrote to Sura regarding a haunted house mystery purported to be true. In Athens, the account goes, a phantom rattled chains and manifested visually in the house. Learning of the haunting, the calm and courageous philosopher Athenodorus investigated. He spotted the specter, followed it to where it disappeared into the ground, and marked that spot. Leading an excavation the next day, the ghost hunter discovered a skeleton in chains. Once the bones had been buried with greater ceremony, the ghost was apparently free to move on from its worldly concerns.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, ghost reports have relied upon a close proximity to the living for millennia.

Still, as I’ve already implied, opposition to the reality of ghosts was strong in the first half of the 1800s. An 1832 issue of the *American Monthly Review*, for example, opens an evaluation of Dr. Thatcher’s essay and a work on the Salem witch trials by saying, “The whole tribe of ghosts, goblins, and witches has been rapidly disappearing during the last century, before the daylight of modern science and philosophy. In our own country the general diffusion of knowledge is driving them out from every corner of the land. . . . It is true that you hear now and then a good old-fashioned story of a haunted house; and meet with some traditional superstitions yet lingering in the minds of the more ignorant. But we have hardly enough left to rhyme or to reason about; and even these few, which remain, are likely in the present course of things to die away ere long and to be forgotten.”<sup>15</sup> But the reviewer was mistaken about ghosts: refusing to be forgotten, they became a topic that more and more Americans rhymed and reasoned about by the

century's end. This reconsideration of the reality of spectral visitations can be partly explained by this paradigm shift toward perceiving distances as closer than ever—even dimensional distances—bolstered by the odd bedfellows of technological innovation and Spiritualism.

### **That Press Has Its Evil Eye in Every House**

At the start of 1842, Charles Dickens took a six-month journey through the U.S. and Canada. His impressions were published in *American Notes for General Circulation*, and it's there that he comments on the state of the press in the U.S. While acknowledging that some American publications exhibit “character and credit,” these are dwarfed by “infamous journals.” Dickens argues that the latter hold greater influence than some might imagine, and “while that Press has its evil eye in every house, and its black hand in every appointment of the state, from a president to a postman; while with ribald slander for its only stock in trade, it is the standard literature of an enormous class, who must find their reading in a newspaper, or they will not read at all; so long must its odium be upon the country's head, and so long must the evil it works be plainly visible in the Republic.”<sup>16</sup> Doubtfully the first, Dickens was definitely not the last to express alarm at the potential of the free press in the U.S.—and until radio and television became serious competition for print periodicals in the following century, Dickens was probably right to worry about the powerful influence that newspapers had on shaping opinions of the nation.

Regarding the publishing of ghost reports, newspaper editors were faced with a dilemma. I've discussed how science and Protestantism leaned toward exposing spectral encounters as deceptions wrought either by overexcited nerves or by the Devil himself. Editors had to decide how the institution of Journalism would handle the subject. One solution was to report a ghostly encounter—and then turn around and discount it—as one paper in Cleveland did in 1866. After a terse description of alleged manifestations at a haunted house in Erie, Pennsylvania, the reporter writes: “One of the Erie papers publishes an editorial account of a visit to the haunted house in that city, giving a detailed account of what was heard in the supernatural line on the premises. The story is on par with some of the highly fanciful creations of old crones who delight to frighten children. Nothing commendatory can be said of those who deal in such inventions.” A couple of decades later, a Virginia paper took a similar tactic. After noting a local haunted house's “strange and unaccountable rappings,” its disembodied voices (one of which cried, “Come! O, do come!”), and its “securely fastened” doors that open by themselves, the article shifts to smug disapproval:

“It seems strange that, in this age of enlightenment, there still are persons who are so superstitious as to believe in the existence of ghosts.”<sup>17</sup> Presumably, other papers simply avoided ghost reporting altogether. As my Appendix reveals, rival newspapers in Memphis debated—not just the authenticity of one very questionable haunting—but also the journalistic ethics involved in covering such matters.

One concrete consequence of ghost reports was the damage they could have on renting or selling the property deemed haunted. Some newspapers recognized this and avoided ghost reports as a result. A paper in Idaho sums up the situation well: “Boise has had several haunted houses in the past, but they have seldom been reported by the papers on account of injuring the parties who have these houses to rent. It is seldom that a tenant can be secured for a house that is believed to be haunted.” Another paper, this one in North Dakota, illustrated a more direct risk of suggesting a house might be infested by phantoms: “A Hankinson man was sore over the report that there was a haunted house on his land, and endeavored to lick the man he thought had started the rumor.” As late as 1915, a Connecticut journal informed readers that two landlords were requesting an abatement of taxes on their rental property because “there has gone abroad a story that a ghost walks nightly in the Courtland Street mansion.”<sup>18</sup> As evidenced by the many reports presented in this book about renters breaking their leases, the problem was a very real one and raised the question of newspapers being complicit with libel.

Despite these detriments, a surprising number of newspapers reported on spectral visitations without commentary on the witnesses’ gullibility or the landlords’ deficits. This book presents close to 150 articles from newspapers serving urban and rural communities from across the country. They were culled from over 300 ghost reports I found in journals as far-ranging as San Francisco’s *Morning Call* to Washington D.C.’s *Evening Times*, from Tennessee’s *Southern Standard* to Michigan’s *True Northerner*, and from the *Akron Daily Democrat* to the *Arizona Republican*. A few papers showed up more frequently than others in my findings. St. Paul’s *Daily Globe* and Pittsburgh’s *Dispatch* seem to have been especially amenable to ghost reports, either those written by their own staff or those reprinted from other papers, the latter being a common practice of the period. I confess that I consciously limited reports from New York’s *Sun* because of its notoriety for publishing sensationalistic, if not outright fabricated, articles. (When Edgar Allan Poe had invented a tale about balloonists successfully crossing the Atlantic in three days, he confidently marched his manuscript to the *Sun*. The newspaper agreed to publish the piece as authentic news, and the excitement it stirred put Poe into the literary

spotlight.) If other papers were following the *Sun's* practice of printing whatever would sell papers when running ghost reports—or if their editors and publishers were genuinely open-minded about ghosts being real—is an issue now left largely to speculation. It would be a mistake, though, to presume that all papers printing such reports were putting sales over ethical journalism. There is simply too great a diversity of newspapers that did so to make that a valid generalization.

These varying editorial policies show one way that U.S. newspapers lacked a strong tradition or consensus guiding what should and shouldn't be reported, something that Dickens's British newspapers had. This helps to explain why the ghost reports appeared when they did. No professional guidelines or self-imposed censorship had developed to stop them, even though some editors clearly recognized that such articles might negatively influence those "who must find their reading in a newspaper, or they will not read at all." In this regard, the ghost reports give some indication of the American press exercising its freedom to partake in the debates of the day. But this debate wasn't about politics, technology, literature, or national character—no, it was about the boundaries of reality and, indeed, about the survival of humanity beyond death.

### **Some Closing Comments before We Begin**

I've arranged each chapter's ghost reports in chronological order. In other words, we start in the 1860s and proceed from there—until the next chapter, when we jump back and start the trip forward over again.

In addition, I've made slight alterations to some of the original texts. Perhaps due to deadline pressures, these articles originally appeared with a fair number of grammar and spelling errors, including some doozies. One headline, for example, reads "STRANGE GOINGS NO," presumably intended to be "STRANGE GOINGS ON." Along with such errors, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century newspapers adhered to a now-curious convention in which "street," "county," "river," etc. would not be capitalized when part of a proper noun, resulting in "Throop street," "Logan county," or "East river." Another outdated rule was to hyphenate words such as "to-night" and "tomorrow." I have unobtrusively corrected and modernized such matters.

My purpose in making these alterations is to help readers from over a century later be less perplexed by the articles' language and, in turn, be more baffled by what's being described within them. Why did so many people react to ghosts by shooting at them, for instance? Did the hordes of people who flocked to a haunted house expect the ghost to make a speech from the porch? There's also the question of what

we're to make of those articles that claim the spectral phenomenon had been witnessed by *several* "substantial and reliable" people.

And then there's the ultimate question. Lurking somewhere in these very odd ghost reports—published between two horrific wars—is there proof that ghosts actually do circulate among us? Regarding this compelling mystery, the humble editor of this book adamantly avoids either belief or disbelief, but very much hopes to encourage his readers' sense of *wonder*.

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<sup>1</sup> *El Paso Herald* (Texas), April 15, 1916; *Washington Herald* (DC), Nov. 17, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Madisonian* (Washington, DC), Jan. 22, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> *Orleans County Monitor* (Barton, Vermont), Feb. 17, 1873; *Belmont Chronicle* (Saint Clairsville, Ohio), Dec. 27, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> *Wahpeton Times* (North Dakota), Feb. 21, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), June 30, 1881; *Iron County Register* (Ironton, Missouri), July 30, 1885; *New-York Tribune* (New York), May 21, 1904; *Evening World* (New York, New York), Dec. 24, 1889; *Minneapolis Journal* (Minnesota), May 20, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, Alfred A. Knopf, 2008, p. xi-xii.

<sup>7</sup> Faust, p. 173. James Thatcher, *An Essay on Demonology, Ghosts and Apparitions, and Popular Superstitions*, Carter and Hendee, 1831, p. 6. Thatcher's ideas are similar to those of doctors published earlier in England: John Ferriar's *An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions* (Cadell and Davies, 1813), John Alderson, *An Essay on Apparitions, in which Their Appearance Is Accounted for by Causes Wholly Independent of Preternatural Agency* (Longman, 1823), and Samuel Hibbert's *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, An Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to Their Physical Causes* (George B. Whittaker, 1825).

<sup>8</sup> R.C. Finucane, *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead & Cultural Transformation*, Prometheus, 1996, pp. 114, 194, 204. Writings by American clergymen giving natural explanations, such as dreams and delusions, for ghostly encounters include W.B.O. Peabody's "New-England Superstitions," *New England Magazine*, 4 (Feb., 1833), pp. 139-53, and Enoch Pond's "Spectral Appearances; Their Causes and Laws," *Princeton Review*, 40.2 (Apr., 1868), pp. 293-317.

<sup>9</sup> Faust, pp. 180-85.

<sup>10</sup> T.M. Griffith, "Ghosts," *Ladies' Repository*, 22.10 (Oct., 1862), pp. 622-623.

<sup>11</sup> Jules Verne, *From the Earth to the Moon: Direct in Ninety-Seven Hours and Twenty Minutes: and a Trip Round It*, Scribner's, 1890, pp. 93-94.

<sup>12</sup> See Finucane, p.108.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television*, Duke University Press, 2000, p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> For a translation of Pliny's important "ghost report" and discussion of it, see D. Felton, *Haunted Greece and Rome: Ghost Stories from Classical Antiquity*, University of Texas Press, 1999, pp. 65-73.

<sup>15</sup> "Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft," *American Monthly Review*, 1.2 (Feb., 1832), p. 140.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, Chapman and Hall, 1842, Volume 2, pp. 294-96.

<sup>17</sup> *Cleveland Daily Leader* (Ohio), Feb. 13, 1866. *Staunton Spectator* (Virginia), Dec. 9, 1885.

<sup>18</sup> *Caldwell Tribune* (Idaho), Nov. 26, 1892. *Pioneer Express* (Penbina, North Dakota), April 1, 1904. *Bridgeport Evening Farmer* (Connecticut), Jan. 14, 1915.