

Civil War Press: Resisting Censorship to Print Secrets

War-Long Constitutional Struggle:
Freedom of the Press versus
Government Obligation to Protect its
Citizens

Presenter: Randy Ferryman (rdferryman@msn.com)

Key References

- The North Reports the Civil War, J. Cutler Andrews, 1955
- The South Reports the Civil War, J. Cutler Andrews, 1970
- War News, Blue & Gray in Black and White, Brayton Harris, 2010
- Civil War Journalism, Ford Risley, 2012
- Lincoln and the Power of the Press, Harold Holzer, 2014
- Article about this presentation: The Unfettered Press: The Unresolved Tension between Warriors and Journalists during the Civil War. cia.gov—library—center for the study of intelligence—unclassified extracts—vol 58, number 3, September 2014

Press Reports: Highly Valued for Intelligence

- Union and Confederate leaders extensively acquired and monitored press reports for military and political purposes
- Confederates held an advantage, drawing reports from a much larger press industry in the north
- Confederate supporting networks in Washington, probably in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, relayed the news
- Confederate "Secret Line" along Maryland's eastern shore a major trafficking route for news, contraband
- Confederate Western Theater news trafficking also likely, several Confederate agents operating in the midwest
- Midwest contraband networks also likely smuggled reports
- Troops guarding the front lines frequently exchanged newspapers, among other items, under a flag of truce

Antebellum-Civil War Press

- A large and growing US journalism industry was poised, unlike any before it, to cover a major war
- US newspapers—2500 to 4000 of them—accounted for one-third of publishers globally, about 175 large publishers
- The North had 373 dailies, the South, 80, many weeklies
- Most major cities had at least three publishers, most newspapers, one or two of them, in smaller towns
- New York City the epicenter with 17 dailies, Richmond the southern hub with four; DC normally had three dailies
- New York Herald the largest US newspaper prior to the war, 77,000 daily circulation, no southern paper exceeded 10,000; northern papers most widely read in the US
- Associated Press, Southern Press Association cover the war

Press Boom Aided by New Technologies

- Railroads shipped newspapers daily over the world's largest rail network, 50,000 miles, special trains often added to the regular service, daily NYC to DC train
- Telegraph lines crisscross the US paralleling rail networks, making stories available for same day printing
 - Night of Fort Sumter surrender NY Herald prints 135,000 copies
 - 18 separate telegraph lines operate from DC
 - Seven separate lines from NYC to DC and Baltimore
- Newer steam-powered "web" printing enabled doublesided printing of 10,000 papers per hour
- Increasing numbers of steam-powered inland and coastal vessels sped-up the delivery of news
- Mail delivery services were still extensively used

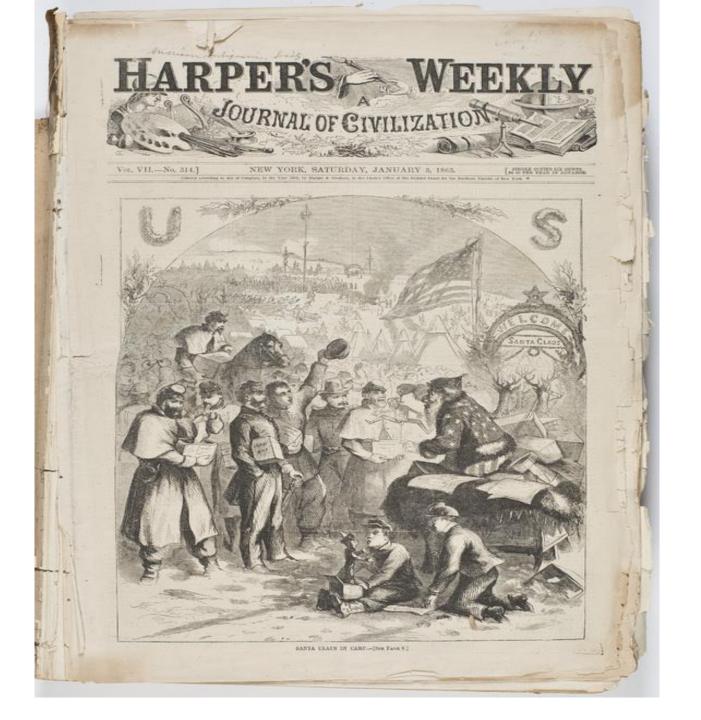
Newspaper Operations

- Major Newspapers were profitable, the rest far less so
 - The New York *Tribune* in 1861 had 212 employees, 28 editors, the owner netted \$10,000 per month (cabinet secretary \$8K)
 - Non-battlefield reporters averaged a respectable \$27 per week
 - A staggering 200,000 circulation for Tribune weekly edition
- Papers typically four-page standard in a column format, the front page featured editorials, advertisements, news
- "penny press", one cent per paper expanded circulation, price rose somewhat during the war, the South particularly
- Telegraph transmissions costly: 2,000 words from New York to DC \$100; \$450 from New Orleans to New York
- Intense competition for telegraph transmission time
 - Prompted 15 minute limit, lengthy monopolizing of wire time



Weekly Magazines

- Increasingly popular as the war continued, circulation, almost entirely in the North, matching that of major papers
- Thousands of illustrations were published, an advantage over newspapers
- Sketches made from photos, one to three weeks to produce, maps and cartoons were common
 - Photos could not be replicated or copied in print
- Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Harper's Weekly, Illustrated News popular northern pubs; Southern Illustrated failed during the war
- Leslie's pub sold for 10 cents, 150,000 circulation
 - 30 full-time sketch artists, all white males, some in the field



Examples of Major Newspapers

NORTH

- New York Herald; Times; Tribune
- Chicago Tribune; Times
- Cincinnati Commercial;
 Gazette
- Indianapolis State Sentinel
- Philadelphia Enquirer
- St. Louis *Democrat; Republican*
- Baltimore American; Sun
- Boston Journal

SOUTH

- Richmond Enquirer; Whig;
 Examiner; Daily Dispatch
- Louisville Journal
- New Orleans Picayune
- Mobile Register
- Charleston Courier; Mercury
- Memphis Appeal
- Savannah Republican; Morning News
- Atlanta Southern Confederacy

Washington Morning Chronicle; Nat'l Intelligencer; Evening Star



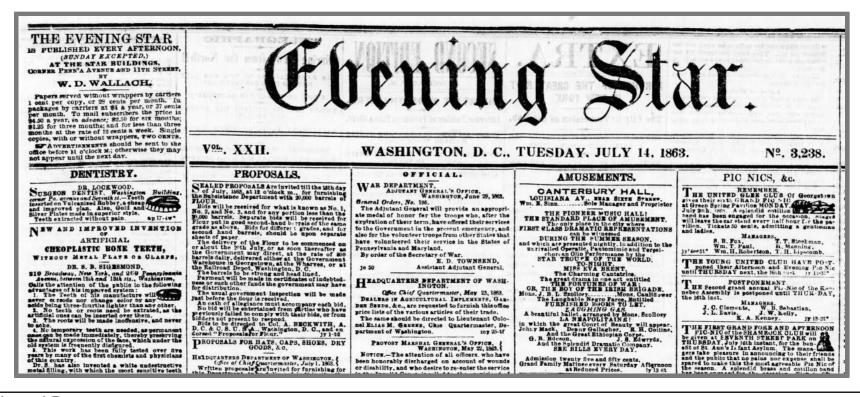


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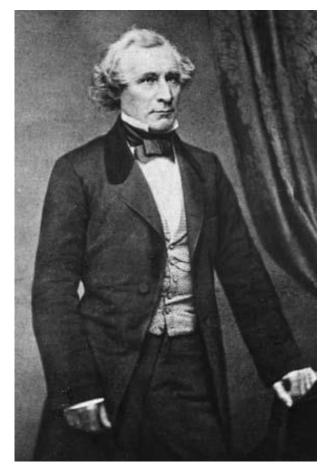
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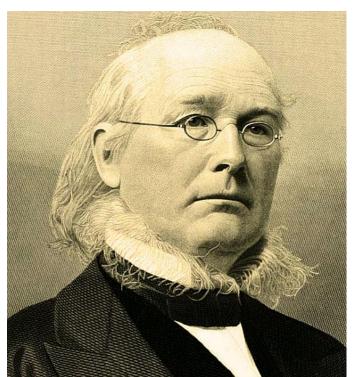
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Titans of the Industry Greeley, Bennett, Raymond

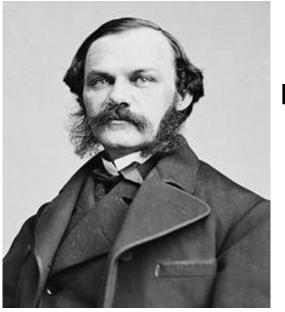
- New York City news bureaus led the way, 174 newspapers
- Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, James G. Bennett of the *Herald*, Henry J. Raymond of the *Times* vied for top billing their papers are national in scope
- These competitors essentially despised each other, routinely criticized the other in print
- Greeley's editorials carried the greatest national following,
 Bennett the best newsman, Raymond an even keel editor
- Bennett supported Stephen Douglas for president, Greeley and Raymond backed Lincoln
- Lincoln recognized their sweeping influence, leaving him to carefully manage his relationship with them and the press in general



James Gordon Bennett 1795-1872 New York *Herald*



Horace Greeley 1811-1872 New York *Tribune*



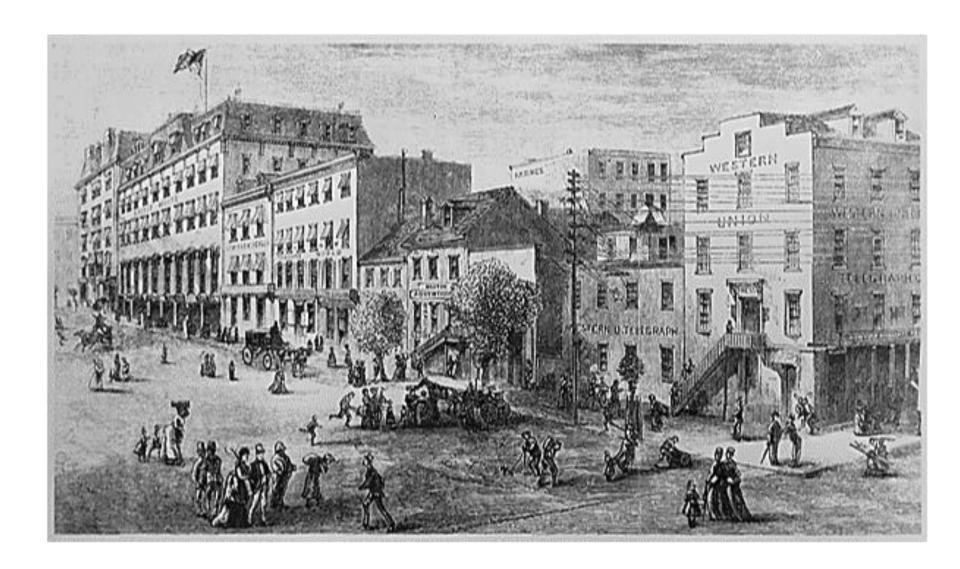
Henry J. Raymond 1820-1869 New York *Times*

Reporting From Washington

Richmond Reporting Unknown but Likely Similar

- Best reporters posted to DC, few before the war, during the war 18-50 from major bureaus
- Most reporters worked for three or more bureaus, several female reporters
- Better paid, one veteran reporter Shad Adams earns \$10K annually (Union army private \$156)
- Considerable camaraderie and competition
- Operated from "newspaper row", 14th St. between F St. and Penn. Ave., near the Willard Hotel & telegraph offices
- Hounded Lincoln officials, congressman, soldiers for stories
- Went aloft in balloons tethered locally to create stories
- Associated Press exclusive outlet for official govt. reporting

"Newspaper Row", Harper's New Monthly Magazine 1874



Source: National Archives

Reporting From the Field Modern Military Correspondence Evolves

- "Special" reporters deployed to cover the armies, referred to as the "Bohemian Brigade", report on all major battles
- Five hundred specials, 350 from northern papers, most become exhausted and quit by war's end
- Twenty year olds predominately, most with high school or higher education, field reporting salaries much higher
- Several had reporting experience but were novices in field reporting, mixed results reflect this
- Independent, assertive, brave, yet specials often broke the rules, were reckless, lived on the edge, were widely disliked
- Heated competition to secure the news and be the first to get it to editors pressuring reporters for their copy
- 100 Union regiments published unit newspapers

Field Operations

- New York Herald had the largest by war's end
 - 63 specials with Union Armies reporting from the division unit level and above
 - Resourced with horses, wagons, tents, boats, supplies
- Specials typically roamed the camps, interviewing anyone, including prisoners, to uncover stories
- Some served in official capacities such as a staff officer or official recorder, many reported for several papers
- Several employed espionage techniques when denied access to operations and communications
 - Masqueraded as a military functionary
 - Used dead drops, couriers, the post, bribes to send stories



What Was Published No Standard For Objectivity Existed

- For the first time <u>news</u> competed with front-page editorials and advertisements—readers craved for military news
- Extreme partisan journalism contoured both the news and editorials, fair and balanced reporting the <u>rare</u> exception
 - 1860 Census: 80% of US newspapers "decidedly political"
 - Many owned by office holders or seekers, including Lincoln
 - Govt. actions treated according to biases, agendas
 - Victories or defeats exaggerated or downplayed
 - Each side demonized for their conduct of the war
 - Senior leaders and commanders lavished with praise or condemned for their actions, fairness was uncommon
- Reader accountable for sifting for the truth
- Grammar and readability standards were consistent

Demonizing the Enemy by Each Side

Richmond Examiner, April 23, 1861

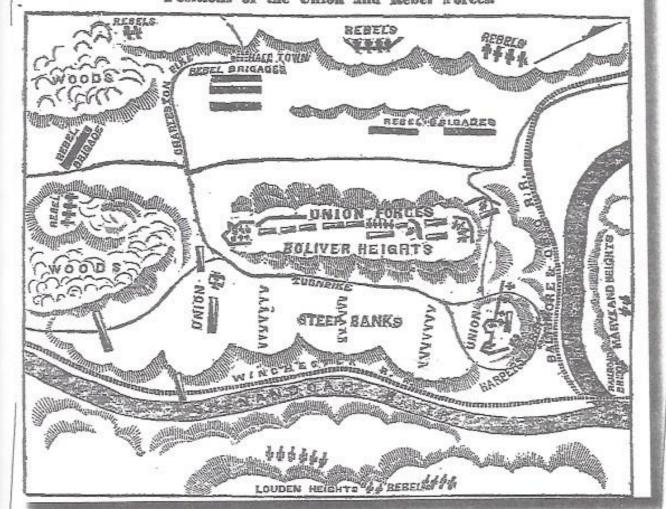
"From the mountain tops and the valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard. The filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire...many indeed will be the carcasses of dogs, and caitiffs that will blackened the air upon the gallows, before the great work is accomplished."

Military Matters Scrutinized by the Press

- Editorials regularly called for major operations, criticized policies, leaders, and commanders, shaped events
- "Specials" reported on dreadful camp conditions
- Battle reports usually contained many errors, fabrications fake news—and often posted by reporters not at the battle
 - At Shiloh, many specials reported from 150 miles away
- Unauthorized regular disclosures of unit locations and movements, and casualty lists containing intelligence
 - NY Tribune: two Ohio regiments, 1800 men, reach DC
 - Charleston Mercury: sixteen companies, 1200 men, camped at the Raleigh, NC camp ground

THE BATTLE AT DATE RRY.

Positions of the Union and Rebel Forces.



Top: A Kurz and Allison lithograph of the Battle of Antietam. Above: The New York Times map showing troop positions during the Battle of Harper's Ferry, part of the Antietam campaign.

Southern Press Collapses

- By February 1864, only 35 of 80 major papers are operating, large majority only marginally
 - Invading Union troops shutter or take over operations
 - Southern pressmen join the army or are drafted
 - Subscriptions dramatically drop or are unpaid
 - Prices spike to at least five cents per copy in places
 - Transportation and telegraph networks breakdown
 - Severe material and supplies shortages persist, south produces only five percent of paper needs, four-page papers reduce to one or less
 - Most content derived from northern papers
- Some papers survive in limited form by relocating
- Even Republican Party newspapers begin in the south

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Officials Unprepared to Prevent Press Disclosures

- Neither side had a blueprint to prevent unauthorized disclosures of military information
- Government and military leaders responsible for censorship, US Congress essentially deferred
- The US Supreme Court also deferred—no statutes specifically designed to stop disclosures
- Congress passes "Treason Act" in July 1862 but no reporter during the Civil War is tried or convicted under the act
- Same is true for the Articles of War, article 57, legislated in 1806 to punish individuals disclosing intelligence to a foe
- Confederate General Johnston bans reporters following a disclosure but learns no law punishes reporters, War Dept. secretary blames Johnston for permitting too much access

Censorship Measures

- War Dept. decrees banning or limiting reporter movements and reports, suspending newspaper operations
- Placing telegraph operators in charge of censoring reports
- Commanders demanding review of reports to screen for and remove sensitive information
- Banning reporters from covering a specific campaign
- Restricting reporters access to HQ area only or rear areas
- Expelling reporters from an army or camp
- Requiring reporters to reveal their names
- Threatening penalties such as court martial, jail time
- Denying passes, access to provisions and needed logistics
- Restricting releasable information to post-combat coverage

First Manassas: Censorship Begins

Big Bethel Disclosures Anger Confederate Leaders

- To protect military matters, Richmond asks newspapers for voluntary restraint, the southern press largely complies
- The south takes over telegraph operations, the north does not but employs the AP in DC to censor military news
- Union Gen. McDowell permits on-scene reporting
- Opposing Gen. Beauregard shuts down the telegraph and railroads for southern military use only
- Prohibits civilians from the battle zone, some ill-prepared southern reporters ignore the order and cover the battle
- By 5:30 PM on 21 July AP telegraphing a Union victory that headlines early northern news releases the next day
- By 6 PM the US War Dept. blocks telegraphic news release of embarrassing Union defeat until the following morning

Press Fallout from First Manassas

- Northern press outraged by U.S. Army chief General Scott's telegraph blackout: he reneged on pledge for press coverage of battle action and results
- DC telegraph opens at 7 AM, AP story of defeat crosses the wires nationally, provided to Nat'l Republican for printing
- Monday morning northern papers proclaim a Union victory, retractions forthcoming, press resents govt. interference
- NY Times: we are not responsible...govt. agents...suppressed the facts
- Northern editorials assert various reasons for Union rout
- Southern press not censored but greatly exaggerate numbers, distort facts, many bureaus opine that the war is over—Richmond *Dispatch* story the most complete

Press-Army Relations: 1861

- Relationship begins cordially, quickly deteriorates
- Cooperative commanders, subordinates seeking fame
- Union Brig. Gen. William T. Sherman despises specials as "cowardly", "paid spies", most ardent anti-press general
- Tells Cincinnati Commercial reporter:...take the train...don't let me see you around here...we don't want the enemy any better informed than he is
- NY Tribune in October asserts Sherman mentally deranged, cements his hatred for the press
- New US Army chief George McClellan, labeled "the young Napoleon" by the Tribune, starts well with the press
- Then accuses *Times'* Raymond of treason for disclosures
- War Dept. Order 67 bans disclosures, after action reports only

1862 Begins with Congressional Investigation

- Editors convince US House Judiciary Committee to investigate telegraphic censorship, testify that protocols are ill-defined, censors unqualified
- Confusion prevailed in 1861: US Treasury, then War Dept., then State Dept., then War Dept. administered censorship
- Committee report condemns government censorship
- Report overriddened by US Congress which in Feb 1862 authorizes Lincoln to control railroads and telegraph networks in the US for military purposes
- War Dept.'s Secretary Edwin Stanton appointed chief censor, promptly prohibits newspapers from publishing intelligence about US military operations
- In March, editors denied mail access by Postmaster Montgomery if found printing censored material

1862 Peninsula Campaign

- Before the mid-March Union departure from DC, reporting the move was prohibited by Gen. McClellan
- Telegraph lines under military censorship, War Dept. 25 Feb order declares unauthorized disclosures would remove future press access to the telegraph and railroad networks
- War Dept. arrests Washington Chronicle Editor John Young in mid-March for revealing Union unit movements in DC, other bureaus warned, Boston Journal editor threaten with courts martial after he printed unit moves to the peninsula
- Fort Monroe, VA, tightens censorship, Stanton suspends telegraph access for the Philadelphia *Inquirer* after it published McClellan's advances, access restored after Dept. of VA Gen. Wool's disclosure of approving of the dispatch

Press Parole System Fails

- U.S. Virginia Military Dept. commander General Wool, with Stanton's approval, establishes a parole system to stem confusion over censorship
- Lengthy document attached to passes that are required for reporters, demands their loyalty, refraining from providing intelligence
- Parole terms specifically forbid reports on plans, locations and names of units, their numbers, weapons and ammo, troop movements, pictorial representations of defenses except under post-engagement conditions in some cases
- System broadly ineffective, no correspondents held accountable while it was in effect, enforcers found the document too lengthy to process in each and every case

Herald Bypasses Telegraph Restraints

- New York Herald peninsula reporting relied on a network to New York
 - A Herald reporter posted at Fort Monroe was responsible for collecting stories from several Herald reporters
 - Then he employed stewards of the Old Colony Steamship Line to ship stories to the *Herald* staff assigned to Baltimore
 - The staff would typically use the New York bound train to forward the stories to New York, would use the telegraph if the boat was late and missed the train connection
- A New York *Tribune* editor, dismayed by his paper's tardiness with the news, scolds a peninsula special... "the *Herald* is constantly ahead of us with Yorktown news...the battle on 16 April, we were compelled to copy from it...your sketch (of the battle) was useless..."

Stanton Rebuffed by Harper's Weekly Political Factors Handcuff Censorship

- Harper's Weekly violates the parole by publishing a sketch showing positions of Union troops by brigades and divisions, and unit headquarters during the Yorktown siege
- Stanton punishes Harper's by suspending public proof of the Weekly, requests a direct explanation
- Founder Fletcher Harper directly persuades
 Stanton to immediately lift the suspension
- An implied threat to withdraw Harper's Weekly strong support for the administration, Lincoln called it a "great recruiter" for the US Army, likely prompted Stanton to revoke the suspension

McClellan Censors the Press Burden of Censorship Fell to Commanders

- After the 5 May Battle of Williamsburg, McClellan orders reporters not to accompany advanced units, locate at Hqs
- Several reporters already with the cavalry, one disguised as an officer, many arrested, scolded personally by McClellan
- McClellan complains to Stanton, suggests that newspaper editors should be accountable for infractions
- Tells Stanton "correspondents with this army, giving important information...in positive violation of your orders"; "the order of march from the Chickahominy...is published in full in the Baltimore American...if any statement could afford more important information to the enemy I am unable to perceive it."
- Orders all Richmond papers in his lines forwarded to him to preempt reporters from gleaning information on his army

Seven Days Campaign Censorship Reaches New Heights

- On 25 June McClellan forbids any civilian beyond his camps
- Reporters trying to get to the front were halted, sent back
- In DC, War Dept. slowly releases news of Union retreat, leaving the public uninformed, and broad dissatisfaction with censorship; Confederate news of victory going abroad
- Gen. Johnston's Order No. 98 still bans all reporters,
 Confederate authorities effectively curtail reporting—critics sound off about unfair, inaccurate reporting
- Intelligence-focused Robert E. Lee wants press releases curbed, complains that the Richmond *Dispatch* precisely located three divisions, that the article is in Union hands
- Lee urges Sec. of War Randolph to end disclosures,
 Randolph pens a letter to news bureaus with great effect

After Seven Days Leaks and Censorship

- Reporters operating from Fort Monroe barred from advancing to McClellan's Headquarters
- Some reporters interdicted as far north as Baltimore
- One reporter stows away as a cook on a schooner serving forward Union forces, restricted to the boat, tries to row ashore but is shot at, returns to Monroe
- Another reporter disguised as a surgeon gains access, finds officer's confidence in McClellan waning
- Peninsula departure by McClellan's army disclosed by the NY *Tribune*, *Times*, and Philadelphia *Enquirer*, War Dept. fears Lee could strike before Union armies unite

Maryland Campaign

- McClellan absorbs Pope's troops into his Army of the Potomac, on 5 September 1862 marches against Lee, bars reporters from his army
- Many, however, accompany it in various roles, NY Tribune George Smalley an aide-de camp, others have passes
- Telegraphic censorship in DC tightly enforced
- Lee's Special Order 191 instructing his unit moves discovered by Union troops 13 Sept., war's greatest intelligence windfall revealed by the NY *Herald* on 15 Sept.—Lee unaware of the disclosure and chance to react
- War Dept. prohibits reporting of the Harper's Ferry surrender for a full day, permits only a partial release of the fall on day two, likely to spin the best picture of the defeat

Antietam Reporter's Dramatic Coverage

- Several reporters from the North and South directly cover the fighting, five thousand spectators watch from a hill
- NY Tribune's George Smalley witnesses the combat ahead of Gen. Hooker during the Corn Field fight, leaving Hooker to proclaim..."I never saw...more tranquil fortitude and unshaken valor than was exhibited by that young man."
- Smalley couriers orders from Hooker after staff officers are unavailable, serves Hooker until Hooker is injured
- Smalley asked by Hooker staff
 officer to urge the injured Hooker
 to resume his command, McClellan
 won't fight, but Smalley declines

Lincoln Releases Smalley's Account

- At nightfall Tribune reporters compare notes to develop the story, Smalley believes McClellan won't renew combat
- Smalley determined to get the story to New York for a Friday edition
- His horse has two bullet wounds, he uses another, rides asleep to the nearest telegraph office at Frederick, MD, 30 miles away
- He arrives there at 3 AM, the telegraph office is closed, and he is unable to find the operator until 7 AM
- Smalley short story is sent through censored channels to DC, not New York, the first detailed but still brief account that is reviewed by Lincoln and Stanton, who approved it for transmission to New York

Defeating Censorship at Fredericksburg

- Henry Villard replaces Smalley as the chief *Tribune* correspondent and witnesses Gen. Burnsides Union 13 Dec. defeat, fears for the army's safety
- Wants to transmit his story, but Burnside closes the telegraph, bars travel, particularly of specials, to prevent disclosure of his disaster
- At Aquia Creek Villard pays two negroes to row him to a DC bound steamer on the river
- Not authorized to allow passengers, the skipper grants access after Villard shows a pass, later rewards the Captain with \$50
- Arriving in DC late on 14 Dec., Villard meets
 Lincoln at the White House to tell his story



Reporter-Military Tensions Escalate

- To protect his January 1863 river operation to support Gen. Grant's attempt to take Vicksburg, Gen. William T. Sherman issues General Order 8:
 - Excludes all civilians from his command unless govt.
 employed
 - Those reporters writing accounts, thereby giving aid to the enemy, would be arrested, treated as a spy
 - Another order calls for a manifest identifying specials aboard each vessel, mandating their arrest and transfer to the front for combat support duty
- At least a score of specials defy the order
 - Chicago *Times* reporter Tom Cook defiantly claims he "was more honored in its breach than in its observance" (re the order)

First Court Martial of a Reporter

- Aiming to tarnish Sherman's reputation, many specials blame Sherman for Grant's failure to take Vicksburg
- Thomas Knox Herald 18 January story, delayed by mail censorship, blast Sherman for his Chickasaw Bayou blunder—Knox later admits to Sherman his story is substantially incorrect
- Justifies his invective spin to Sherman: "you are regarded the enemy of our set (reporters), and we must in self-defense write you down."
- Knox is arrested aboard a steamship to be brought to court-martial for three violations

Courts-Martial Decision Reaches Lincoln's Desk

- Knox found guilty of violating Order No. 8 and War Dept. order, banished from the Army of the Tennessee
- Failure to comply would be imprisonment
- Sherman enraged by the light sentence, laments that citizens ignoring orders incur no criminality
- Washington press corps rallies to Knox's defense, submits a petition to Lincoln to annul the sentence, Lincoln conditionally concurs only if Gen. Grant agrees to do so
- Grant referred the decision to Sherman who carried out the sentence

Political Connections Curtail Censorship

- Sherman investigates how Knox gained access to his campaign, Gen. Francis Blair Jr. admits he allowed access
- Blair has deep political roots, a recent congressman, brother of Postmaster Montgomery Blair, son of kingmaker Francis Blair (Blair House)
- Blair is insulted by Sherman's accusatory tone, responds:..."I confess myself greatly mortified and annoyed...in being called on to answer such interrogations...I hope to receive no more letters of the same character from you and shall not answer them if I do."
- Sherman promised no more inquiries, thanks Blair for confirming Knox's disobedience, says Knox an infamous dog

A New Censorship Wrinkle

- New Army of the Potomac commander Gen. Joseph Hooker, fed-up with news leaks, urges Stanton to take action but is told to handle it
- 30 April 1863 Hooker responds with General Order 48 requiring the reporter's name on all correspondence—not a common practice, compliance is mixed
- Justification: "...the frequent transmission of false intelligence, and the betrayal of the movements of the army to the enemy..."
- Still saddled with leaks, on 18 June Hookers sends a confidential letter to all editors asking them to exercise discretion when printing army matters
- Ironically, the same day, the NY *Herald* printed the exact locations of Hooker's entire army in northern Virginia

Censorship and Press Courtship Conflict

- In May 1863 NY Tribune reporter Henry Villard presents credentials to Union commander Gen. Rosecrans, who warmly welcomes him at Murfreesboro, TN, as does James A. Garfield
- Villard informed by other reporters that Rosecrans was attempting to use the press to advance his career— Tribune's Horace Greeley seeking Rosecrans interest in being U.S. President
- Still subject to restrictions on publications, Villard gains Rosecrans confidence but finds him extremely boastful about himself and not worthy of coverage praising him
- Rosecrans, in part, later blames the press for being fired by Lincoln weeks after Rosecrans Sept. defeat at Chickamauga

Villard Assesses Rosecrans is Aiming for Fame

- ...Rosecrans freely offered his confidence to me, it gratified him to express ill-humor toward Washington authorities, freely criticizing Halleck and Stanton with total disregard for official propriety, it embarrassed me...he did not hesitate to express his future plans, with scarcely concealed self-appreciation...he evidently believed that he was destined to be the most important of all Union generals, reach the greatest distinction...he repeated these themes so regularly that I concluded he was anxious to impress me with his greatness and to have that impression reflected in the Tribune...
- Rosecran's repeated boasting leaves Villard unsold

Press-Government Feud Heats Up

- In March 1864 War Dept. bans all civilians from the battle front except for those in place
- All reporters were directed to suspend reporting until after a battle, violations would be punished
- NY Tribune reporter Henry Wing defies the ban, slips past camp guards and stows away
- Wing on 6 May wants to telegraph a 100 word story to the Tribune on the disparate Wilderness fighting, Lincoln and his civilian leaders knew little about the outcome
- Stanton censors Wing's story, demands Wing to give it to the War Dept. but Wing refuses unless he can transmit
- Enraged Stanton labels Wing a spy and orders him to be shot the next morning.

Lincoln Intervenes: Needs for the Press Favorable Press Coverage

- Lincoln stunned by execution order, asks to speak to Wing
- Wing agrees to talk but only if the President will grant immediate transmission of his story, Lincoln approves and shares the story with the AP
- Wing, 20 miles south of DC, travels by a special train to DC where surprisingly about 2 AM he is whisked into a Cabinet meeting chaired by Lincoln who is awaiting his reporting
- Privately, following the meeting, Wing imparts a message given to him secretively by Gen. Grant for Lincoln that said, "there would be no turning back", music to Lincoln's ears
- Wing talks with Lincoln at length the following day, Lincoln orders a special train with escort for Wing to get his horse in Warrenton, fights his way to where he left, retrieved it

A Press Boycott Answers a Humiliating Censorship

- At Cold Harbor on 27 May special Edward Crapsey disparages Gen. Meade's leadership in the Philadelphia Enquirer, enraging the hot-tempered Meade
- Meade berates Crapsey directly for his poorly researched story, orders provost marshal to expel him from the army
- Gen. Patrick places Crapsey backward sitting on a worn mule, places "Libeler of the Press" placards on him, then parades him out of camp to the tune "Rogue's March"
- DC reporters appalled by Crapsey's belittlement, vowed to exclude Meade from reporting, doing so for 6 months
- Famous reporter Whitelaw Reid writes, Meade "is a leprous with the moral cowardice as a brute that kicks a helpless cripple on the street, or beats his wife at home"

Press Guilty of Endangering National Security

- Unauthorized disclosures altered campaign developments, caused needless loss of lives—the most serious criticism of the press
- Novice censorship operations suffered gaping lapses—lack of uniform standards, application—that the press exploited to print military secrets
- Editors claimed censorship absolved them of responsibility
- Editors took advantage of Lincoln's need for a supportive press to keep citizens behind the war
- Editors shielded themselves behind the First Amendment and Lincoln's determination to defend it
- Press capitalized on officer quests for positive coverage believed to be critical for career advancement