THE ATLANTA DAILY INTELLIGENCER COVERS THE CIVIL WAR

Stephen Davis & Bill Hendrick

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Prologue

IN THIS WORK WE DEMONSTRATE how Atlanta's most important newspaper, the *Daily Intelligencer,* covered the Civil War in its news articles, editorial columns and related items from April 1861 to April 1865. Our main themes will be to show 1) how the *Intelligencer* reported the war's important events, based on the news it received; 2) whether the paper got the facts accurately, according to our study of the historical literature; and 3) how the paper's editorial columns reflected on those events from a distinctly pro-Confederate point of view.

We quote the paper liberally, as our intent is to let the *Intelligencer* speak for itself, allowing our readers in turn to see how Atlantans learned about the war from its pages. At the outset we determined to let the paper take our narrative where it would; therefore our text chronologically follows the course of the war and how the *Intelligencer* reported it. Often that reporting was sketchy, at times misleading, if not downright wrong (as when the paper hailed Shiloh as a Southern victory). Nonetheless, as related by J. Cutler Andrews' *The South Reports the Civil War* (1970), other Confederate newspapers demonstrated the same shortcomings.[1] The *ADI,* in other words, was in good company.

The *Intelligencer*'s two wartime editors, Archibald Gaulding and John Steele, were staunchly pro-Confederate in their outlook and writing. "Confederate journalism became almost a nationalistic venture," as Drew Gilpin Faust puts it.[2] We emphasize the *Intelligencer*'s functions as a propaganda organ. Historians agree on them: 1) fix blame for the war on the enemy; 2) confidently predict victory for the cause; 3) vilify the enemy's war leaders; 4) accuse the foe of committing atrocities; and 5) stoke the people's morale.[3] We will assert that in fulfilling these roles, the *ADI* had few peers in the Confederate press as it sought to shape the views of its readers. Its denunciations of Yankees could be both colorful and vicious: "cerulean abdomens"—a highfalutin' term for bluebellies—had been "gathered from all the purlieus of effete Europe and the North" and were thus second-rate soldiers: "Dutch immigrants, cheated Irishmen, bamboozled mongrels, miserable contrabands, miscegenating adults

and brigades of silly youths with cerulean abdomens, and a sufficiency of Yankees to leaven the whole mess with their accursed principles of injustice and wrong." By the summer of 1864, hatred of the enemy could appear in grotesque manifestation, as when the *Intelligencer* celebrated all the Yankees dying at Andersonville, the notorious prisoner of war camp southwest of Atlanta, boasting of the considerable labor and material it would take to bury them.[4]

One thing we've noticed is how historians speak of *Confederate* newspapers, not Federal ones. Partly this is a temporal device, referring to the four-year period of Southern nationhood. But it is also a reflection of the nationalistic fervor one sees in almost all papers operating in Confederate held-territory.[5]

In this connection, we regard our work as paralleling that of recent students of Confederate cultural nationalism, such as Jason Phillips, who writes, "To demonize the enemy, Rebels elicited savage and racist monikers, including 'barbarian,' 'vandal,' 'abolitionist' and 'miscegenator.'" We see all of these terms—and plenty more—in the pages of the *Intelligencer.* Michael T. Bernath quotes the editor of the *New Orleans Daily Delta* to make his point that Confederates believed their separation from the North had to be cultural, not just political.[6] The *Intelligencer* emphasized the same, advising readers to read only Southern journals, and to hire Southern-born schoolmarms for their children.

WHY WE CHOSE THE *INTELLIGENCER*

As recently as 2015, George C. Rable, in *Damn Yankees!: Demonization & Defiance in the Confederate South,* has written, "the whole topic of the Civil War-era press deserves much more study."[7] In such a collective effort we believe our work fits, in good measure because the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* was so representative of Confederate newspapers as a whole. For example, it faced the same troubles that beset other Confederate newspapers: paper shortages, high ink prices, printers striking for higher pay, faulty telegraphic news service. To stay afloat during the war, it had to raise subscription rates eight times.

Yet by several indices the *Intelligencer* was an exceptional publication. It was one of Georgia's prominent newspapers, having been founded as a weekly in 1849, converting to a daily five years later. It was rivaled only by the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy,* another daily. In July 1864, as Sherman's forces approached, both papers fled the city and relocated to Macon, there resuming publication. While less is known about the relocated *Southern Confederacy*, the *Atlanta/Macon Intelligencer* continued its war reporting until the paper returned

to the city after Sherman's departure in mid-November. The *Intelligencer* then resumed operation in Atlanta through the end of the war and afterward.[8]

The *Intelligencer* was also politically powerful, so closely allied with Georgia governor Joseph E. Brown that the editor felt he had to defend it against the charge that it was "Gov. Brown's organ." Circulation is obviously a benchmark; in 1860 the U.S. Census posted 3,000 subscribers for the *Daily* and *Weekly Intelligencer,* thus ranking it among the top three papers in the state. Another index is paid advertising, which appeared abundantly in the paper's pages. Moreover, in the economically straitened Confederacy, the *Intelligencer* was able to increase its ad rates five-fold during the war.[9] This reflected wartime inflation, of course, but it also reflected the *Intelligencer*'s appeal to regional businessmen.

An incident further illustrates the *Intelligencer*'s political clout. When editor John Steele was away in September 1864, associate editor Dr. I. E. Nagle penned an editorial criticizing President Davis for his apparent negligence of Georgia's safety, with Sherman's army ensconced in Atlanta. In a speech delivered in Macon, Sept. 23, 1864, Davis called an unnamed newspaperman "a scoundrel." Southerners at the time and historians since then have wondered to whom the president was referring. We cracked the code: it was Nagle of the *Atlanta Intelligencer*, based on an admission by editor Steele after he had returned to his *sanctum* and noted all the hubbub about the "scoundrel" in the Southern press.[10] When your paper comes to the attention of the President of the Confederate States, that's definitely saying something.

Finally, there is the issue of accessibility. A virtually complete run of the *Intelligencer* reposes in microfilm at the Atlanta History Center, which also owns original copies, something that cannot be said for a lot of Confederate newspapers.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

One last word about our content and style. When we quote the *Intelligencer* we relate its spelling directly (*e.g.,* rumour, centre). A newspaper, particularly a popular one, is nothing if not eclectic. In addition to reporting war news and bucking up the people's morale, the *ADI* also offered colorful stories and vignettes, such as the execution of deserter Jacob Adams in Charleston (front page!). We feature these, as well as items of local news, such as the editor's protest over the noxious odor of the city's filthy streets ("stink k k k").[11]

Reflecting our respective careers as historian (Davis) and journalist

(Hendrick), we have composed our book as a metaphorical newspaper: short chapters written in a breezy style, inviting readers to select any of them as one would choose articles of particular interest in the morning newspaper. Hence our two purposes in writing this book: to contribute to the scholarship, as well as to offer an enjoyable read.

Along the way, we remember the words of Mark Twain: "The difference between the *almost* right word and the *right* word is really a large matter. 'Tis the difference between the lightning bug and the lightning."

NOTES

1. J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 538–39.

2. Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 8.

3. Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism 1763–1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 66; J. Cutler Andrews, "The Confederate Press and Public Morale," *Journal of Southern History,* vol. 32, no. 4 (November 1966), 448; Carl R. Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 111.

4. "The Situation," *ADI,* May 23, 1864; "Dead Yankees in Andersonville," *ADI,* Aug. 19, 1864.

5. Richard M. McMurry, "The Confederate Newspaper Press and the Civil War: An Overview and a Report on Research in Progress," *Atlanta History,* vol. 42, nos. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 1998), 59–75.

6. Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 53; Michael T. Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 14.

7. George C. Rable, *Damn Yankees!: Demonization & Defiance in the Confederate South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 195.

8. Henry T. Malone, "Atlanta Journalism During the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* vol. 37, no. 3 (September 1953), 210–12; Henry T. Malone, "The Weekly Atlanta Intelligencer as a Secessionist Journal," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* vol. 37, no. 4 (December 1953), 278–86; Alan Bussel, "The Atlanta Daily Intelligencer Covers Sherman's March," *Journalism Quarterly,* vol. 51, no. 3 (Autumn 1974), 405–10.

9. "Gov. Brown and the Intelligencer," *ADI,* Aug. 13, 1861; Kenneth W. Rawlings, "Statistics and Cross-Sections of the Georgia Press to 1870," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1939), 179; Debra Reddin van Tuyll, *The Confederate Press in the Crucible of the American Civil War* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 194.

10. Michael B. Ballard, "Breakdown in Macon," *Civil War Times Illustrated,* vol. 19, no. 6 (October 1980), 31–33; "The President's Speech in Macon—His War Policy," *ADI,* Oct. 4, 1864.

11. "Execution of Jacob Adams," *ADI,* May 22, 1863; "The City," *ADI,* July 2, 1864.

1. The *Intelligencer* Goes to War

THREE DAYS AFTER CONFEDERATE FORCES fired on Fort Sumter, the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* declared in a fiery editorial, "We are determined not only to achieve our independence at whatever the cost, but we will teach these Northern Goths and Vandals a lesson, before this war is over, which they will never forget."

The *Intelligencer* (a popular name for 19th century newspapers, meaning "conveyor of information") had become Atlanta's leading paper during the 1850s, the turbulent decade of mounting hostility between the North and South. The *Atlanta Weekly Intelligencer* had been established in 1849, after local businessmen, Joseph Clapp and Frederick Bartlett, had bought a weekly, the *Southern Miscellany*, and renamed it the *Intelligencer.* Several papers had already failed in the fledgling city (renamed Atlanta from Marthasville in 1845). But the *Weekly Intelligencer* showed staying power, and in 1850—among a population counted in that year's census as just over 2,000 whites, 2,058 enslaved African Americans plus 18 free blacks—it could boast a circulation of about 700. The paper demonstrated its strength when it became a daily in August 1854. At that time Atlanta's population numbered about 6,000. The young city had grown enough to support two daily papers, the *Intelligencer* and its rival, the *Examiner.* The two publications prudently combined in September 1857. The *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer and Examiner* then held forth until the *Examiner*'s name was dropped in the spring of 1858. Like most dailies, the paper came out in the morning, six days a week. (The staff was given Sunday off, so there was usually no Monday issue.) Meanwhile, a weekly edition continued to be published, serving subscribers of lesser means, or those living outside the city. "DAILY INTELLIGENCER. DAILY & WEEKLY," was its self-description, for instance, in its issue of Oct. 7, 1858. Publisher was named as "A. A. GAULDING & CO.," the firm of Archibald Alexander Gaulding. Born in Virginia in 1808, Gaulding moved to rural middle Georgia, Pike County, from which he was elected to the state legislature in 1847. In 1855, at Griffin, Georgia, he became an owner and the editor of *The Empire State.* A few years later Gaulding moved to Atlanta.

He also held political posts, surveyor-general of the state as well as auditor of the state-owned Western & Atlantic Railroad. Gaulding was evidently a learned man. Beneath the *Intelligencer*'s title in its front-page nameplate ran a famous quotation that the paper attributed to President Thomas Jefferson, but which actually came from John Milton's polemic of 1644, *Aereopagetica*: "Error ceases to be dangerous when reason is left free to combat it." The statement had been added to the front page sometime during 1857–58, a variant of Jefferson's observation in his First Inaugural Address, "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."[1]

Several months later, the same masthead informed readers that editors for the newspaper were Archibald A. Gaulding and Varney A. Gaskill. One sees that advertising on the front page of the *Intelligencer* at that time, in January 1859, was the law firm of Whitaker and Gaskill. From this listing we learn that Gaskill, Gaulding's editorial partner, earned his primary income as an Atlanta attorney, sharing his downtown office at Whitehall and Alabama Streets with lawyer Jared I. Whitaker, the prominent grandson of a former governor of Georgia.

In 1859 business interests published Atlanta's first "Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror." Prospering enterprises took out full-page ads in the booklet, and "Atlanta Intelligencer, Daily and Weekly" was one of them. A. A. Gaulding & Co. was named as publisher, with Gaskill and now Whitaker listed as Gaulding's other principal; it is apparent that Gaskill had brought his law partner into the paper (the ad posted a subscription rate of $6 a year for the daily, $2 for the weekly). Whitaker purchased Gaskill's interest in November 1859.

James I. Miller was also associated with the paper, apparently as a partial owner. An advertisement for the *Intelligencer*'s auxiliary business, "Book and Job Printers, and Book Bindery," boasted that Miller's "reputation as a practical printer . . . is favorably known in this State." The job office, according to the city directory of 1859, was operated in a downtown building at the southwest corner of Whitehall and Alabama Streets—the heart of the city's business district. The directory also listed "Whitaker & Gaskill, Attorneys at Law" as continuing their law practice, suggesting that owning a daily newspaper could be a sideline to one's main vocation.[2]

In the 1850s, American newspaper operation was such that a couple of lawyers could at least venture into, if not double as both journalists and jurists. To own or edit a newspaper required education and considerable wealth, providing prestige and influence in return. Of those associated with the *Intelligencer,* Jared I. Whitaker's was the most prominent name in its entire lifespan.

A grandson of Jared Irwin, Georgia's governor for several terms during 1796–1809, Whitaker, as practicing attorney in the custom of the day, was bestowed the honorary title of "Judge." His up-and-coming status was confirmed by his election to the City Council in July 1853. At the time, his business involvements included positions as charter founder of the Atlanta Medical College, director of the Bank of Fulton, and incorporator of an early railroad company, the Georgia Air Line Railroad. Election to the Georgia State Senate followed in 1857, which propelled Whitaker to Atlanta's political front rank.

The two major proprietors of the paper, Archibald Gaulding and Jared Whitaker, were not only slaveowners, but large ones at that, at least by the norms of slavery in Southern cities, in which most owners seldom had more than three or four slaves. By the census of 1860, Gaulding owned nine persons: five females, aged six to thirty-five, plus four males, aged three to fifteen. The youth of Gaulding's "property" suggests that the females may have been primarily assigned to routine household tasks. The oldest male, fifteen, could have been hired out by Gaulding in Atlanta's many businesses, but a logical surmise is that he may also have been employed in the *Intelligencer*'s print shop.

Jared Whitaker's eight enslaved African Americans were considerably older. Four women ranged between eight and fifty years old. The men in 1860 were also of the age of adulthood (50, 50, 40 and 18). Here, too, the readiest assumption is that Whitaker profited by hiring out his males to Atlanta's burgeoning industries and manufacturing shops. Then again, we may guess that they could have been experienced pressmen at Whitaker's and Gaulding's newspaper plant.[3]

In early 1860, with "Gaulding, Whitaker & Miller" remaining as proprietors of the *Intelligencer,* Editor Gaulding listed as his Associate Editor one J. Edmund Burke. By that time Whitaker and Gaskill had split up their law practice; Whitaker was practicing solo, while Gaskill shared offices with Marcus A. Bell in the Concert Hall Building, at the south end of Peachtree Street across from the Georgia Railroad Bank Agency. By mid-year, Whitaker had taken a partner (E. P. Watkins) into his law practice. Meanwhile, at the paper, associate editor Burke was gone; in his place had come John W. Leonard. In their opinion columns, amidst the increasingly heated acrimony with the North over slavery, editors Gaulding and Leonard voiced full-throated defense of the South and its "institution." In an editorial in January 1860, for instance, the *Intelligencer* expressed opposition to the very presence of free black men in the state. "Every negro in Georgia should have a master," it asserted.

The nation's political crisis intensified in 1860 with the coming of national

presidential elections. The two main parties nominated their candidates. Republicans offered Abraham Lincoln of Illinois on a platform opposing the extension of slavery into the western territories. Democrats rallied behind Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, also of Illinois. But his position on slavery in the territories—allowing the people of each to decide for themselves, or "popular sovereignty"—was deemed too tepid by ardent pro-slavery activists, so Southern Democrats split off and nominated their own candidate, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky.

Pro-Breckinridge Atlantans organized, and Jared Whitaker was chosen chairman of their executive committee. When Douglas visited the city on October 30, 1860, just a week before the election, Whitaker and his committee posed a series of questions for the candidate. "Has not each State the sovereign right to decide for itself what shall be sufficient cause for a withdrawal from the Union?" topped the list, signaling Southern Democrats' fears of Lincoln's impending election, and the possibility that slaveholding states would have to secede from the Union if it had become inimical to their interests.

If a state so seceded, the committee asked, "would the Federal government have a right to coerce her back into the Union, and would you assist the Federal government in so coercing her?" Whitaker and his colleagues objected to Douglas' answers as "evasive." The committee explained its perspective the next day in the *Intelligencer*: "States Rights men of Georgia, will you sustain the abominable Federal government? Are freemen of the South slaves of the Federal government?"[4]

The presidential election was held on November 6, 1860. The next day the paper was able to report how Atlantans voted. Despite the editors' appeal to "freemen of the South," it became apparent that more Atlantans favored some sort of compromise with the North. John Bell of Tennessee, who ran on a third party "Constitutional Union" platform offering vague promises of conciliation, got 1,070 votes in the city. Breckinridge, Whitaker's favorite, came in second with 825; Douglas followed with 334. Abraham Lincoln's name was not even on the ballot, as the Republican Party had no organization in the South. Statewide, Georgians went more for Breckinridge (51,893), then Bell (42, 855) and finally Douglas (11,580).[5]

Breckinridge had carried most of the South, but Lincoln had swept all of the North and with it the electoral majority needed to win the presidency. On the night of November 8, a hastily assembled group, the "Minute Men of Fulton County," met downtown to discuss what should be done next. Convening the meeting was no less than the editor of the *Intelligencer,* Archibald Gaulding

(a Minute Man colonel), assisted by William B. Bassford (also a Minute Man officer who would soon join the paper's editorial staff). Bassford put forth a resolution condemning Lincoln's election as promising "the destruction of our constitutional rights, and eternal hostility to our domestic institutions" (meaning, of course, slavery), and affirming support for Georgia leaving the Union. Amidst hot-blooded seconding speeches, the measure carried handily.

The paper kept up its drumbeat for secession. A week after the Minute Men's meeting, on November 15, the *Intelligencer* denounced those who would seek to compromise with the North, as Lincoln's administration portended for the South only "the yoke of Black Republican rule, unless we rise up to our defense." There was no middle ground for the South, according to the *Intelligencer.* "The naked question to be decided by the people," it declared on November 27, "is secession or submission." Within a month, on Dec. 20, 1860, a convention of South Carolinians passed an ordinance announcing the severance of ties between their state and the federal union. A few days later, to those who worried that Southern secession could lead to war with the North, editors of the *Intelligencer* predicted confidently that the departure of more Southern states would be effected without "the shedding of a drop of blood."[6]

Georgia's political leaders evidently shared the sentiment. On November 17 the legislature unanimously voted to hold a state convention to debate secession. By the time it convened in the capital of Milledgeville on January 16, 1861, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama had also voted to leave the Union, joining South Carolina. Georgia's convention delegates followed suit on January 19.[7]

Amidst this tumult, Atlantans in January 1861 also held their annual election for mayor, whose one-year term filled the calendar year. Three-term incumbent mayor William Ezzard offered himself for re-election, but dissenters put forth Judge Whitaker's name, after another candidate backed out. In the election held on January 17, Whitaker won by a vote of 695 to 452. The *Intelligencer* warmly greeted the news about its co-owner, declaring, "Judge Whitaker bids fair to make an honest, upright and efficient mayor." Indeed, two weeks after the election, the paper confided that the new mayor was so busy, "we seldom are favored with 'the light of his countenance.'"

This meant that Gaulding had more to do in running the paper. Under any circumstance, newspaper finances could be challenging. On January 4, 1861, the *Intelligencer* printed an editorial to its patrons. "*Dunning* is not in our line," it complained, so it requested subscribers to pay their overdue bills. Employees expected to be paid every Saturday afternoon, the editors explained, and costs of

paper were onerous. "We hope this hint will be enough," they concluded. The senior editor's workload worsened when his associate editor, John W. Leonard, announced that he was quitting. In a signed editorial printed on January 18, Leonard declared that his physician had recommended that he leave the job for reasons of health, and "seek a business that will give me more exercise than editing a daily paper." Gaulding followed with a sympathetic piece of his own, commending Leonard as "a scholar and a gentleman," wishing him all the best, including "improved health." This latter, however, would not come to be. Three months later, the *Intelligencer* sadly announced that Leonard had died on March 14.

By the first of February, seven states of the Deep South—South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas—had seceded, with political leaders calling for their organization into a confederation. Such a government was organized by a convention assembled in Montgomery, and on February 9 elections were held for national offices. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia were chosen as president and vice president.

Davis was in Mississippi at the time, having resigned his U. S. Senate seat on January 21. Summoned to Montgomery by the convention, the president-elect chose a roundabout train route that would allow him to give a score of whistle-stop speeches to the people. After travel through Tennessee, on February 16 Davis arrived in Atlanta, where he spoke at the Trout House, the city's largest downtown hotel, to several thousand citizens who had gathered outside. Mayor Whitaker introduced the chief executive to the crowd, declaring, "Your election to the Presidency of the free, sovereign and independent Confederate States of America, meets the entire approbation of our fellow citizens." The *Intelligencer* opined that "President Davis responded in one of the most eloquent, patriotic and thrilling appeals to which we ever listened," and in the article quoted Davis' remarks. "The North has driven us to this step [secession] by the repeated aggressions made upon our rights, and we are determined to maintain and defend ourselves and our institutions," he declared. "If the North attempt to coerce us," the president-elect warned, "we will strike for our right, as our fathers did in 1776. . . . We have taken a proud position among the nations of the earth, and we intend to maintain it."

The writer was thrilled that a crowd estimated at 5,000 people, in spite of rain, escorted the president to the city's stately downtown train station, officially termed Union Depot but more commonly called the "Car Shed," and saw him off on the train to Montgomery. "It was a demonstration which not

only reflected credit to our city," he concluded, "but which was due the President of a new Republic." Davis, a hero of the Mexican War and a former U.S. representative, senator and secretary of war, was "a man who is acknowledged on all hands to be one of the ablest statesmen, purest patriots, and chivalric soldiers of the age," Gaulding gushed.[8]

Archibald Gaulding was clearly a Southern Rights man. In its issue of March 7, the paper declared that "Col. A. A. Gaulding, the senior editor," was "swearing vengeance against Fort Sumter." Yet the *Intelligencer* was not the only voice of Confederate patriotism in Atlanta. A few years before, longtime businessman Cornelius R. Hanleiter founded a competing daily, the *National American,* which was published also as a weekly and tri-weekly. After Georgia's secession, the title seemed less than appropriate, so owner Hanleiter changed the paper's name to the *Gate City Guardian* (reflecting the bestowal of Atlanta's nickname "Gate City" a few years before). In February '61 Hanleiter sold a half-interest to businessman George W. Adair. A month later Hanleiter and Adair bought the name and presses of another Atlanta paper, the weekly *Southern Confederacy.* The daily *Guardian* thus became the daily *Southern Confederacy* on March 4, 1861—the same day Lincoln was being inaugurated in Washington. Two weeks later, James B. Hambleton, an Atlanta physician who had doubled as editor of the *Southern Confederacy*, then assistant editor for Hanleiter and Adair, announced his connection with the paper was at an end. Dr. Hanleiter was eventually appointed surgeon of a Georgia infantry unit. Meanwhile, another paper had started in Atlanta; the *Commonwealth.* The *Intelligencer* on March 9 announced its debut; the *Commonwealth,* edited by J. S. Peterson, however, would prove short-lived, folding in 1863.

On March 6, the *Intelligencer* printed the text of Lincoln's inaugural address along with its editorial commentary. "Upon one point he is perfectly plain," the paper observed: "he decides for war." Lincoln had announced that "he will use all the Federal Power, for the purpose of coercing the South." Such a prospect was cause for no fear at all, declared the editors, who welcomed the coming conflict. "We say, then, to Lincoln and his myrmidons, come on! . . . We are fighting for our rights and our liberties, for justice, truth and honor. . . . we place our trust in the GOD OF BATTLES."

The *Intelligencer* promoted itself in a declaration that ran repeatedly on page three. "Our paper," the editors proclaimed, "has a large and growing city and country circulation and commends itself as a safe and reliable medium for advertisers." In another reference, printed in mid-February, the paper advised,

"those wishing a first class political, commercial . . . newspaper, would do well to subscribe for the Intelligencer." It complimented itself as "the oldest journal published in the City of Atlanta," but studiously avoided providing any numbers for its circulation or subscriber base.

During the early, heady days of Confederate independence, the *Intelligencer* touted Atlanta as a prominent city of the new republic, if not as its very capital. Georgia had not yet even left the Union when, in mid-January, the City Council sent invitations to Southern governors, suggesting Atlanta as a convention site for delegates of the seceding states. When those representatives met instead in Montgomery, Atlantans on January 31 agreed to send Mayor Whitaker and four other citizens to Montgomery to personally lobby the city's case for consideration as capital. The *Intelligencer* voiced its own boosterism, promoting Atlanta as a city well-connected by railroads, with sufficient downtown hotel space, and possessing a healthful climate, free from the scourge of yellow fever. In addition to plentiful meats and vegetables for visitors, the *Gate City Guardian* in early February boasted of Georgia's peanut crop, yielding "goobers, an indispensable article for a Southern Legislator." On March 5, the day after it became the *Southern Confederacy,* the same paper even hailed the local geologic eminence, Stone Mountain, as a civic asset. The huge granite outcropping, it declared, could "furnish material enough to construct the public buildings of a thousand Confederacies."

Not to be outdone, the *Intelligencer* on March 5 argued for Atlanta as the Southern capital, claiming the city "offers peculiar advantages over any of her competitors." On the 7th it printed the laudatory column of a traveler passing through town. "This is indeed the Gate City of the South," the visitor exclaimed, as he remarked upon "its picturesque beauty." A walk downtown led the observer, who signed himself as "Model," to comment on "the improvement and rapid growth of one of the most enterprising cities in the Southern Confederacy." The business district, with its attractive merchandise beckoning through storefront windows, "will vie with any of the most favorable marts of the Union." Hundreds of shoppers, tradesmen and visiting farmers thronged the sidewalks. The four railroads linking up downtown chugged in with their goods and passengers, "giving life and activity" to the entire scene. "Atlanta is destined to be a great city," "Model" concluded. Its healthful climate and important railroads alone entitled it to consideration as capital for the new nation. In addition to all of these benefits, the City Council on March 8 voted to add

one more: free use of City Hall and other buildings for Confederate officials and bureaucrats if they should come.

Alas, Montgomery was selected as the Confederate capital, but even this did not stop the *Intelligencer* from continuing to advocate Atlanta as the would-be seat of government for the new republic.

Though he was obviously a major booster of his city, it is apparent that Mayor Whitaker scrupulously separated his political duties from his role at the *Intelligencer.* On April 12, 1861, Whitaker and the City Council voted that the Southern Confederacy Publishing Company—not his own *Intelligencer*—would serve as the city's public printers. This nod to the *Southern Confederacy* allowed the chief rival to the mayor's own paper the privilege of publishing municipal ordinances, charging the city the same as it would to advertisers.[9]

That very day—April 12—for all intents and purposes, war broke out between the Northern and Southern states. Atlanta's two daily newspapers, the *Intelligencer* and *Confederacy,* would henceforth vie with each other to report news of America's civil war to their readers.

Everyone knew by this time that a United States garrison, commanded by Maj. Robert Anderson, held Fort Sumter, an imposing brick bastion on a man-made island in the middle of Charleston harbor. The Confederate government, organized at Montgomery just two months before, had demanded that President Lincoln remove the offending bluecoats from Confederate territory. Brig. Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard was dispatched to command Confederate forces fortifying and placing artillery batteries around Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. In the weeks after Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, high-level discussions had taken place with three "commissioners" sent to Washington by Davis to seek the peaceful removal of the Federal garrison at Sumter. Lincoln would not meet with them, as doing so would be conferring some form of recognition to the Rebel "government." Neither would his Secretary of State, William H. Seward. But through go-betweens, Seward seemed to pledge to the Southern commissioners that the garrison would soon be removed. At the same time, Lincoln authorized a naval expedition to take supplies to Anderson's men, who were running out of rations. The administration so informed the Rebels. Southerners felt betrayed, and the Davis government ordered Beauregard to seek Anderson's surrender before the Northern expedition arrived. When the Union commander refused on April 11, Confederate artillery opened on Sumter at 4:30 a.m. on the 12th.[10]

The next day, April 13, the *Intelligencer* reported at the top of page two that "from dispatches from Augusta received in this city, we learn that Gen. Beauregard opened his batteries on Fort Sumter, yesterday morning at half-past 4 o'clock. Later dispatches from the War Department at Montgomery confirmed the previous news." That was it: the full telegraphic reporting on the tumultuous events that had started the nation's civil war. After this wire dispatch, the *Intelligencer* had to wait for other papers to arrive with their news from the coast. Fortunately, a train arriving in the city around midnight of April 12–13 brought confirmation of the day's sketchy telegram, allowing the *Intelligencer* on the 13th to run this article:

> LATEST NEWS
>
> WAR! WAR!! WAR!!!
>
> By the twelve o'clock train, last night, we received the following news in regard to the operations at the seat of the war.
>
> The bombardment of Fort Sumter progressed rapidly, and telling blows were given, which was [*sic*] returned by Anderson from the Fort. Several war vessels were reported off the bar.
>
> The Cabinet at Montgomery have [*sic*] called an extra session, to convene on the 29th inst. The city of Montgomery is in great excitement and rejoicing.

Then it devoted several inches of the column to related news that was considered urgent, including a false report that President Davis had assembled an army of 25,000 men "to make an onslaught on Washington City, and to take Lincoln and Scott as prisoners." The article closed with the statement, "All telegraphic news of a war-like character has been cut off."

Thus it was the train from Augusta bearing dispatches that brought the first word to Atlantans of Sumter's bombardment. "Every mail and every arrival of the trains . . . are expected to bring the news that blood has been shed," the *Intelligencer* editors wrote excitedly.

They obviously wanted to report more details from Charleston harbor, but were hobbled by the inadequacy and delay of timely news reports. The issue of April 13, under "LATEST NEWS," printed a short item datelined "Charleston, April 11—P.M.," stating that General Beauregard that night had demanded Fort

Sumter's evacuation—a story that was already two days old. Gaulding, editor, and Bassford, associate editor (as of February 15), conveyed their frustration at the limitations, asserting that "everybody seems to be on tip toe to know the news. The question meets us every where, 'What is the war news?'" They complained that their sources of information were few, including "'sensation' telegrams and newspaper correspondents from the *North*."[11]

The *Intelligencer* issued no edition on Sunday, April 14, which was the day that Anderson and his garrison formally surrendered, but it did on Monday (ordinarily the weekday when no paper was issued). Most observers realized the impact of the Sumter news when they glanced at the *Intelligencer*'s "By Telegraph" column; it began with the headline, "LINCOLN INDIGNANT!" In the journalistic style of the day—in which "bank" or "deck" headlines could run for a dozen, separate short lines—the *Intelligencer* synopsized the recent days' momentous events.

BY TELEGRAPH
Expressly for the Atlanta Intelligencer.
LINCOLN INDIGNANT!
75,000 Men ordered out.
The South to be coerced back
Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio
Furnish 13,000 each.
Extra Session of the Congress.
War Department Busy.
Arrival of Federal Troops in Washington City.
Departure of Anderson and his Men.
Government Fleet still off the bar at Charleston.
The North Indignant.
Anderson denounced as a Traitor at the North.

The telegraphic column, dated April 14, 9:30 p.m. from Washington, announced ominously that President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men was to help the federal government "suppress all the combinations made in the seceding States, and cause all the laws of the Federal government to be duly enacted." Such troops would be directed to enter the rebellious territory and repossess the government forts, arsenals and other property that had been seized by the "combinations."

Gaulding and Bassford declared in a bitter editorial on page two, titled "Our War Policy," that "the aggressive policy of the Black Republican party of the North, has culminated in war, as we long since predicted it would." They went on to forecast "the bitter disgrace, overthrow and annihilation of the whole batch of abolition conspirators who planned this infamous revolution, and plunged a free, happy and once united people in all the horrors of civil war."[12]

At the time, however, the *Intelligencer* could only report the news as it came into its editorial offices. A second telegraphic dispatch was received on the night of April 14, announcing that Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio were being requisitioned for 13,000 men each, "to coerce the South." The balance of Lincoln's requisition would come from the "free states."

Another bulletin, also from that night, summarized the particulars blared in the headline: Anderson and the Sumter garrison, having surrendered, were put on a steamship headed for New York (there was no official war yet, hence no need for "prisoners of war"). Anderson's capitulation had "created tremendous excitement and indignation at the North," the paper declared. Some people in the North apparently thought that the major had given in too easily, as "the people denounce Anderson as a traitor."[13]

The telegraphic news ended there. With that, the *Intelligencer* column shifted to a report on crops and weather in nearby Gwinnett County.

Even so, the editors announced that they had delayed this daily edition of April 15 "for the purpose of giving to our readers the very latest intelligence from Charleston." As disappointing as they had been in their length and content, "we published all the dispatches received."

Fortunately, there was telegraphic correspondence issued by the Confederate War Department in Montgomery, reprinting the missives exchanged between General Beauregard and Confederate Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker, April 8–12, as the government inched toward its decision to authorize bombardment of the Federal fort and garrison in Charleston harbor, and Beauregard learned from Major Anderson that he would not yield to demands for surrender.

In all likelihood the Confederate commander did not know that he was about to fire the first shots of what would be the bloodiest war in American history. Nonetheless, his final note to Major Anderson virtually dripped in gentlemanly manners: "Fort Sumter, S.C., April 12, 1861, 3:20 A.M. Sir: By authority of Brigadier General Beauregard, commanding the Provisional Forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time. We have

the honor to be very respectfully, Your obedient servants, James Chesnut, Jr., Aide-de-camp. Stephen D. Lee, Captain C.S. Army, aide-de-camp."

After Confederate artillery ringing the harbor opened fire, Beauregard notified the secretary of war in Montgomery by telegram, published by the *Intelligencer* in all its terseness:

> Charleston, April 12, 1861.
> To L. P. Walker:
> We opened fire at four, thirty minutes.
> G. T. Beauregard[14]

NOTES

1. "Our War Policy," *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* (hereafter *ADI*), Apr. 15, 1861; William E. Ames, *A History of the National Intelligencer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 3; Debra Reddin van Tuyll, *The Confederate Press in the Crucible of the American Civil War* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 81; Henry T. Malone, "The Weekly Atlanta Intelligencer As a Secessionist Journal," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* vol. 37, no. 4 (December 1953), 278; Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events,* 2 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1954), vol. 1, 224–25, 233–34, 251, 279, 377, 385, 401 (hereafter, *A & E*); Ruth Elaine Feldman, "A Checklist of Atlanta Newspapers, 1846–1948," master's thesis, Emory University, 1948, 17–18; Donald S. Hart, "The Mood of Atlanta 1850–1861," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin,* vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 24; J. Ford Risley, "Georgia's Civil War Newspapers: Partisan, Sanguine, Enterprising," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1996, 29; *ADI,* Oct. 7, 1858; David W. Bulla and Gregory A. Borchard, *Journalism in the Civil War Era* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 90; Adrienne Koch and William Pederson, *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Modern Library, 1944), 322. The most complete collection of the *Daily Intelligencer* on microfilm is to be found in the Kenan Research Center of the Atlanta History Center, which has served as our research touchstone.

2. "DAILY INTELLIGENCER," *ADI,* Jan. 27, 1859, Mar. 5, 1859; "DAILY INTELLIGENCER BOOK AND JOB OFFICE," *ADI,* Mar. 29, 1861; Williams' *Atlanta Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror* (Atlanta: M. Lynch, 1859), 102, 120, 145; "C. R. H." [Cornelius Redding Hanleiter], "A History of Newspaper Enterprises in Atlanta," *Atlanta Southern Confederacy,* July 14, 1861.

3. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 28 ("most commonly a few slaves"), 29–30, 33, 38; 1860 U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules, courtesy Atlanta History Center.

4. Ralph Benjamin Singer, Jr., "Confederate Atlanta," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1973, 90; Garrett, *A & E,* vol. 1, 353, 376, 399, 406, 408–409, 424, 473; vol. 2, 85; [Louis L. Parham, ed.], *Pioneer Citizens' History of Atlanta 1833–1902* (Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co.,

1902), 38, 53; Hart, "Mood of Atlanta," 26; "Jared I. Whitaker Attorney at Law," *ADI,* Jan. 4, Mar. 21, 1860; 'DAILY INTELLIGENCER," *ADI,* June 6 and July 25, 1860.

5. Singer, "Confederate Atlanta," 40–41.

6. Singer, "Confederate Atlanta," 42–43, 51, 55; Hart, "Mood of Atlanta," 35.

7. T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953), 3–4, 6, 9.

8. Garrett, *A & E,* vol. 1, 496; "Our New City Authorities," *ADI,* Jan. 31, 1861; "A Word to our Patrons," *ADI,* Jan. 4, 1861; "Parting Words" and "Mr. John W. Leonard," *ADI,* January 18; "Death of John W. Leonard," *ADI,* March 15; William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 296, 305; Lynda Lasswell Crist, *et al.,* eds., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis,* 14 vols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), vol. 7, 44; Singer, "Confederate Atlanta," 68; "Reception of President Davis in Atlanta, *ADI,* February 18.

9. "The Atlanta *Intelligencer* of yesterday morning . . . ," *ADI,* Mar. 7, 1861; Henry T. Malone, "Atlanta Journalism During the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* vol. 37, no. 3 (September 1953), 211–12; Garrett, *A & E,* vol. 1, 251, 305, 398, 432, 454, 488, 510; Singer, "Confederate Atlanta," 65–67, 88, 89; "Dr. James B. Hambleton," *ADI,* Mar. 22, 1861; Lillian Henderson, comp., *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia 1861–1865,* 7 vols. (Hapeville GA: Longino and Porter, 1959–64), vol. 3, 844; "The Commonwealth," *ADI,* Mar. 9, 1861; Richard Barksdale Harwell, "Atlanta Publications of the Civil War," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin,* vol. 6, no. 25 (July 1941), 194; [Hanleiter], "History of Newspaper Enterprises"; "Inaugural of President Lincoln," *ADI,* March 6; "Our Paper," *ADI,* February 15, 22, 27, March 1, 4 and 5; "The Intelligencer," *ADI,* February 16; "Capital of the Southern Confederacy," *ADI,* March 5; "Dear Dispatch" and "Atlanta," *ADI,* March 7, April 3; Singer, "Confederate Atlanta," 67; Wendy Hamand Venet, *A Changing Wind: Commerce and Conflict in Civil War Atlanta* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 35; [Parham, ed.], *Pioneer Citizens' History,* 77; Williams, *Directory,* 117; Stephen Davis, *What the Yankees Did to Us: Sherman's Bombardment and Wrecking of Atlanta* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2012), 7.

10. W. A. Swanberg, *First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), 220, 236, 280, 285, 291–98; Maury Klein, *Days of Defiance: Sumter, Secession, and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 357–402 *passim.*; David Detzer, *Allegiance: Fort Sumter, Charleston, and the Beginning of the Civil War* (New York: Harcourt, 2001), 214–49 *passim.*

11. "Telegraphic"; "Railroad Guide"; "War! War!! War!!!"; "The News! The News!! The News!!!"; and "The Evacuation of Fort Sumter Demanded," *ADI,* Apr. 13, 1861.

12. "LINCOLN INDIGNANT!" and "Our War Policy," *ADI,* Apr. 15, 1861; J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 25; Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957 [1942]), 432.

13. "2d Dispatch" and "3d Dispatch," *ADI,* Apr. 15, 1861.

14. "Crops, Weather, &c.," *ADI,* Apr. 15, 1861; Robert N. Rosen and Richard W. Hatcher III, *The First Shot* (Charleston SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 17; "From the Seat of the War," *ADI,* Apr. 15, 1861.

2. Operations of the *Intelligencer*

A LOOK INSIDE THE OFFICE

THANKS TO SAMUEL MORSE'S INVENTION of the telegraph in 1844, the *Intelligencer* was able to get timely news reports on events at Charleston harbor and elsewhere. Before then, mail, as slow as it was, served as editors' chief news source. But because most newspapers in the early decades of the republic were weeklies, timeliness was not a special concern. The federal government helped in 1792 by permitting editors to exchange papers throughout the country free of charge; most agreed to lift each other's material so long as attribution was made. Twenty years later, newspapers accounted for ninety percent of mailed volume in the country. With improvement of the old hand press of colonial days, the number of newspapers in the United States reached 1,200 in the 1830s (of which, however, only about ten percent were dailies).

Morse's "magnetic telegraph" had been developed for business and economic reasons, but newspaper editors soon realized the benefits of the new electrical contraption. Before long 23,000 miles of telegraph line stretched across the country, linking all major American cities except San Francisco. "By the eve of the Civil War," writes J. Cutler Andrews, noted journalism scholar, "telegraph mileage exceeded railroad mileage, with some fifty thousand miles of line in successful operation throughout North America, over fourteen hundred stations, and a telegraph force of nearly ten thousand operators and clerks."[1]

Telegraphic communication meant that even out-of-the-way newspapers had access to national news. The earlier scarcity of such content had meant that in the days of the young republic, American papers offered their readers advertisements—the main income source, with subscription fees, for owners—essays, poetry and literary excerpts for their reading entertainment—but not much national news. (And how could they? At the end of the Revolution, it took six days for a letter from Boston to reach New York; nine in bad weather.)

But non-local news could now be had, especially if readers called for it—as they did when war broke out with Mexico in 1846.[2]

The telegraph arrived in Atlanta in early 1849, in time to serve the *Weekly Intelligencer* when it began to roll out shortly thereafter. In 1860, the telegraph allowed the *Daily Intelligencer* to announce the "doleful news" of Lincoln's election within two days. "Lincoln is elected and we are destined to wear the yoke of Black Republican rule, unless we rise up in our defence," the paper warned on November 8, using the derisive phrase for Lincoln's party that had taken hold in the South from the mid-1850s (as well as an arcane spelling of *defense*).[3]

Atlanta's telegraph office during the war was located in the Gate City Hotel, at Pryor and Alabama Streets, not far from the train depot. News dispatches were received by the telegrapher, who wrote out their text. Sometimes, however, his handwriting was hard to read. At the end of one wartime article in his "BY TELEGRAPH" column, Gaulding had to insert, "[The remainder of the telegraphic dispatch is so badly written, that after a vain effort to decipher it, we are forced to let it pass.—ED. INT.]"[4]

So when dramatic events began to unfold in Charleston harbor in April 1861, the *Intelligencer* had a technological hook-up to the news scene. What it did not have, in today's parlance, was boots on the ground: a staff reporter at Charleston to draft news accounts of what was happening, and to send them back to Atlanta for setting into print.

The events in Charleston during the spring of 1861 had been simmering for so long that at least nine papers had had time to send reporting correspondents there. No acts of violence had yet occurred between Anderson's garrison and Beauregard's besiegers, so when newsmen from New York arrived, they were not prevented from reporting. The *New York Times* had even had a man on the scene, George Salter, for more than two months. The competing *New York Herald* had two representatives. Charleston papers, of course, enjoyed the hometown advantage, shared by the *Courier* and the *Mercury.* From nearby Savannah, the *Morning News* and *Savannah Republican* were fed reports from their correspondents. Other Georgia papers—the *Columbus Times,* the *Macon Telegraph*—also had reporters in Charleston ready to relate the collapse of negotiations and the Confederates' bombardment. The *Intelligencer,* however, had no correspondent on-site. When the firing commenced, it would have to rely upon the telegraph for news to relay to its readers.[5]

On April 12, 1861, there appeared a short piece, "Charleston Affairs," clipped from the *Charleston Courier* of April 10, announcing the arrival of various troop

units. Besides the telegraph, the *Intelligencer,* like all papers of the day, relied upon "exchanges" for news: editors agreed to swap their papers and borrow news and features from each other, so long as attribution was made as to the source. As stated above, the U. S. Congress had granted free use of the mail by newspapers (the Confederate Congress continued the practice). Copyright law had not yet extended to American newspapers, so reprinting was commonplace as well as necessary. These "lifts" were free of charge among cooperating editors, and certainly much less expensive than telegraphic dispatches, for which the telegraph companies could charge dearly. And they could be much longer, helping editors fill otherwise empty pages.

The obvious disadvantage of exchanged news, however, was its datedness. Savannah and Charleston papers took at least a day to travel to Atlanta by train. Nevertheless, Gaulding drew more often on the *Charleston Courier, Savannah Republican* and *Montgomery Advertiser* than he did other papers, at least in the month of April 1861. A survey of the *Intelligencer* issues that month shows that fully fifty-eight out-of-town newspapers were quoted at length or summarized by the editor with attribution to the exchanging paper. Lifts were drawn from three Richmond dailies in April 1861; more would be used after the Confederate capital moved there from Montgomery a month later. Gaulding even drew from the *New York Times* and a few other Northern papers (just as Northern editors were not shy about quoting the *Intelligencer* and other Rebel papers). Sometimes Gaulding summarized Yankee items, but without naming his sources. "Late News Items from our Exchanges," for instance (front page, April 30), included mention of pro-Union sentiment in Hagerstown, Md., news from Philadelphia ("twenty thousand men are drilling"), and other tidbits from Boston, New York and Cairo, Illinois. Closer to home, the *Intelligencer* lifted from four Augusta papers, chiefly the *Constitutionalist* and the *Chronicle and Sentinel,* both because they were strong papers, but also because, by way of the Georgia Railroad, they were only 171 miles away, and could be received relatively quickly after they were put upon the Atlanta train. Gaulding occasionally clipped from distant papers as well; his issue of April 3, reprinted an article from the *Gilmer* (Texas) *Patriot,* outlining why Atlanta should be made the capital of the Confederacy.[6]

The farther away the exchanging paper, the longer it took for anything it sent out to be reprinted. Example of this is to be seen on the front page of the *Intelligencer* on April 15. Reprinted from the *Mesilla Valley* (Arizona) *Times* was a long article describing the proceedings of a meeting of Southern sympathizers in Mesilla, not quite fifty miles northwest of El Paso, Texas, in

the territory that had been purchased from Mexico by James Gadsden (hence the "Gadsden Purchase"). As for this cut-and-paste journalism editors were not only unembarrassed, but actively supportive. As one writer in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* acknowledged, "it was better to reprint good material from the exchanges than to write bad material."

As the war lengthened, however, the quantity of material obtainable from exchanges dramatically diminished. In June 1862, *Intelligencer* editor Gaulding complained that "our exchange newspapers reach us very irregularly," though he refrained from blaming the Confederate postal service or the papers themselves. "We rarely receive more than three issues of our Richmond and Charleston exchanges per week," he groused; even papers published within Georgia arrived sporadically. The problem worsened with enemy conquest of major Southern cities, such as Nashville, New Orleans and Memphis, all of which fell in the first half of 1862; Confederate newspapers from those points could no longer be had. Gaulding thus issued a self-defense: "whenever, therefore, our readers are about to complain at our supposed 'short-comings' in giving the news, or in supplying the demand for 'interesting reading matter,' let them reflect a little upon the deprivations to which the Georgia press had been subjected."

The typical editor's late-night work has been described by historian Debra Reddin van Tuyll thus: "the editor seated on the editorial tripod in an office lit by gas lamps, scribbled his words on scrap newsprint with pencil and paper." The nocturnal nature of the editor's labors has led another historian to claim that the invention of the kerosene lamp itself was a milestone in the development of American journalism, allowing editors and printers to work well into the night for their morning editions.[7]

Clearly the editor was the commander of the paper's operations. It was he who selected the exchanged material for printing; in this the telegraph helped, and not just by bringing distant stories more quickly than the mails. Telegraphic dispatches allowed updates on ongoing stories; they also tipped the editor off to important developments, for details of which he could scan his exchanges. Most importantly, the editor or an associate wrote the paper's editorials, which at times could be the most important items in an issue. Larger papers assigned editorial work to several individuals. Running the five Richmond dailies, for instance, were men designated as editor, co-editor, senior editor, joint editor, editor-in-chief, contributing editor and news editor. At the *Richmond Examiner,* Edward Pollard, according to Andrews, "was variously identified as editor, co-editor, associate editor, editorial writer, and contributor."

A competent editor, as we say today, had to be a good multi-tasker. Because the *Intelligencer* did not have a staff of reporters, the editor and sometimes his assistants occasionally worked as reporters, especially of local news. Archibald Gaulding, as example, after attending a concert at the Atheneum, given for the benefit of an Atlanta infantry company heading off to war, could write about it the next day. Much more vocationally varied was the newspaperman reported by a Mississippi paper in December 1861: "Down on the Eastern Shore of Virginia there is an editor, who is also his own compositor and pressman, and makes occasional voyages along the coast of Norfolk as Captain of the Schooner Polly; who preaches on Sunday, teaches school on weekdays, and still finds time to take care of a wife and eighteen children!"

But the editor obviously could not put out a paper by himself. In her study of four newspapers publishing in Augusta, Georgia in 1861, Debra Reddin van Tuyll counts ten different employee positions. Below the proprietor and editor would be the assistant editor and a local editor; these made up the editorial staff. Bookkeeper and assistant bookkeeper comprised the business office. In the backshop staff was obviously the printer, but sometimes a foreman, who oversaw the printer's work, a pressman and apprentice. The total number of individuals in these positions hovered at a dozen; the *Augusta Constitutionalist* and *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel* employed fourteen and twelve respectively. This confirms the observation of Henry Timrod, the famed Southern poet who worked awhile at the *Columbia South Carolinian,* that Confederate newspaper staff numbered around fifteen men. In 1865 the *Constitutionalist* could actually name eighteen men on its staff, including a mail clerk and clerk.[8]

Keeping these workers, given the ordeals of wartime, proved a challenge, especially in the first months of the war. During the heady period of volunteerism, editors, pressmen, reporters and newsboys rushed off to war like Southerners in other professions and vocations. For example, Nathaniel Tyler and Jennings Wise, editors of the *Richmond Enquirer,* both left their paper to join the army early in the war. Georgia editors followed suit. The editors of the *Sandersville Central Georgian* and *Rome Courier* left their newspapers to go off to war. Other offices were decimated in the volunteering surge after Sumter. The *Waynesboro* (Georgia) *News* lost its editor, press foreman and typesetter by the end of April 1861. Within days of Fort Sumter, the *Macon Telegraph* reported that nine of its twenty employees had resigned in order to volunteer. By the end of April 1861, more than a dozen editors of South Carolina papers had left for military service, according to the *Abbeville Press* (which lost its editor, too).

Two-thirds of the newspapermen in Mississippi volunteered in the conflict's first year. The workforce drain continued throughout the war. By June 1864, fully three-quarters of the 800 printers in the Confederacy were, or had been, in the army—one may guess ten printers for every editor.

The *Intelligencer,* for example, was advertising in May 1863 for a printer to run its steam press. Some papers hired young apprentices who could learn various skills in the pressroom and assume more central roles in a paper's operation, especially if experienced workers went off to war. A typical ad in a Southern paper announced that "a smart, industrious, good boy can get a good home, and learn a good trade." In August 1862, the *Intelligencer* sought an apprentice with an ad reading, "WANTED. An industrious lad, 14 or 15 years old, to become an apprentice to the printing business. Apply at this office." Apprentices offered the additional benefit of being below the usual age at which Southern men were volunteering for the army.

The *Intelligencer* did not print a staff directory in 1861, so we do not know the number of its employees—ten to a dozen in total would be a good assumption. After Jared Whitaker and Archibald Gaulding, proprietors, in February 1862, John F. Buchanan held the office of treasurer and John T. Smith that of cashier. The *Intelligencer* also employed a "book-keeper" who in the spring of 1862 was charged, as the paper announced, with enforcing its policy of not giving away free issues to people wandering into its office. In 1863 one W. L. Bloodworth also worked in the paper's financial office. The National Archives in Washington has a file of miscellaneous documents related to the *Atlanta Intelligencer*. Among them is a receipt signed by Bloodworth for payment from the Confederate quartermaster's office in the city (the *Intelligencer* was running its advertisements offering reward for the return of deserters). In 1864, another employee, R. C. Fitts, was signing subscription receipts for papers going to Atlanta-area Confederate hospitals.

Every now and then, the *Intelligencer* signed on a writer. In late June 1861, the paper announced its hire of C. G. Baylor, "widely known in the Southern States as an accomplished writer and able political economist." Baylor, termed "our new Associate," assumed a role in the *Intelligencer*'s "editorial department." Beyond this notice, his name is not seen elsewhere in the pages of the paper, suggesting that newspaper "employment" in the Confederate South was a very ephemeral thing.

Under the editor there was likely to have been a clerk or assistant, to take

papers to the post office or train station, although most papers' lean budgets did not allow for many such positions. Among the employees were also a few hired slaves. In an article published in mid-June 1861, the *Intelligencer* mentioned the "operatives of this establishment, both old and young, and I may say white and black." African Americans in the newspaper office were usually employed to operate the steam-powered press and perform other heavy labor. Georgia law had for decades prohibited slaves from setting type, as that function would have required a level of literacy. The *Intelligencer* also employed African American lads as newspaper carriers. In April 1862, for instance, the paper announced its intention to hire "a smart negro boy, about 15 or 16 years old."[9]

Like so many other nineteenth-century American industries, steam power revolutionized the production of newspapers. Traditional hand presses, which a number of Southern papers were still using at the start of the war, could turn out a few hundred copies an hour. A German inventor had made a steam press as early as 1814 that could print more than a thousand papers in the same period of time. In 1830 an Englishman had improved the German two-cylinder machine so that it could produce 3,000 papers per hour. Finally, in 1843, New Yorker Richard M. Hoe invented a rotary press that quadrupled the output of its English predecessor.

Some Southern papers used a steam press that bore the name of Adams, but the *Intelligencer* printed with a Hoe. In its issue of Aug. 24, 1862, the newspaper advertised for a Hoe job press, "for which a liberal price will be paid." An advertisement in its issue of May 8, 1863 read: "TO PRINTERS—A Pressman wanted to run a Hoe Cylinder press. Inquire at this Office." Whitaker and Gaulding could not have operated their side enterprise, a job and book printing firm, had they not possessed an efficient steam press. So equipped, Gaulding's backshop could have produced all the papers needed for morning distribution in less than an hour. In its issue of April 21, the editor confided that his circulation was averaging "upwards of eight hundred copies." "The circulation of our edition is constantly on the increase in the city and in the country contiguous to Atlanta," he continued. Moreover, Gaulding informed his readers that the *Intelligencer* was always seeking to be "fully equal to any paper in the State in all the interesting news of the day." Even before Beauregard's bombardment of Fort Sumter started the war, the paper informed its subscribers that, by telegraphic dispatch, they "will be furnished with the news from the Seat of War, at any hour of the day, by calling at our office."[10]

The war brought about a change in the telegraphic news service on which Southern newspapers had depended. The *Intelligencer* on April 16 had already announced, "We are informed that all communication by mail, is cut off with the North, by the Lincoln Government. So we will have no letters or papers from the North for some time to come." The telegraphic service was severed when Northern troops occupied the Washington office of the American Telegraph Company on April 19. Three weeks later the company informed William S. Morris, its only Southern director, that it would henceforth cease to serve the Southern states. The Northern telegraphic news sources were thus lost to newspapers in the Confederacy. Morris and another Virginian quickly organized the Southern Telegraph Company.

The American Telegraph Company's trunk line ran from New York through Washington to the capitals of the South Atlantic states. Another firm, the Southwestern Telegraph Company, extended from Louisville thorough Tennessee and Mississippi to New Orleans. Its line from Louisville was also cut. A new headquarters for the Southwestern Company still serving the Confederacy was established in Nashville.

So the wires were in place across the South, but who would provide the telegraphic news dispatches for newspapers? William H. Pritchard of Augusta, who had been an agent for the New York Associated Press, stepped in and organized a service to wire subscribing papers a brief summary of the day's events. As we will see, editors became dissatisfied with Pritchard's firm, and several other newsgathering organizations would be started in the Confederacy.[11]

Besides news, it took a lot of material to fill up an issue of four pages, which was the size of most Southern newspapers at the start of the war. A welcome source of text, which came frequently to an editor's desk, were the letters sent home by Atlanta's soldiers in the field. The war, as the *Intelligencer* acknowledged in an editorial of June 1862, had "bred prolifically, legions, as it were, of letter writers to home," servicemen who were afflicted with "cacoethes scribendi"—the incurable desire for writing. Not only did the soldiers want to write, the letters' recipients back home wanted to see them printed in the *Intelligencer.* With so many requests, Gaulding frankly declared it a chore to have to decide which letters merited publication. "To separate 'the chaff from the wheat,' even in this correspondence," he sighed, created work that was frankly fatiguing. "When will these labors cease, as we sit in our editorial chair, we have often exclaimed!" he confessed.

Thus were a newspaper's pages filled. The pages themselves were not small;

the *Intelligencer*'s issue of April 4, 1861, possessed by the Boston Atheneum, measures 21.65 by 14.96 inches. The *Richmond Dispatch,* as another example, measured 14 inches wide by 20 inches tall (today's papers are about as wide and a little longer). The *Intelligencer* occasionally reminded readers of its layout, as in its issue of April 30 it stated, "See First and Third Page for Telegraphic News."[12]

Putting all of this material together made for a long day. The *Intelligencer* released its afternoon edition at 5 p.m. (not on Sundays). The morning issues were printed by one o'clock in the morning, giving delivery boys time to pick up their papers and start distributing them. Occasionally, receipt of some sensational news item might compel, on top of all this labor, the printing of an "extra," a third edition of the day. Yet that process would be exceptional, as the *Intelligencer* reminded its readers in September 1862. "We shall issue no 'EXTRA' save when news of *importance* is received," the editor announced, adding, "we shall also, on our Bulletin Board, give brief announcements during the day, of any *important* events that have occurred, as soon after we receive them as possible."

Indeed, given the mounting difficulties and pressures of running a newspaper, the question of why editors stayed on deserves addressing. Dedication both to the mission of keeping their readers informed and of supporting the Confederate cause was one altruistic reason. More personal ones included the lack of other vocational options or, after 1862, the exemption from military service that Confederate law gave newspapermen, white- and blue-collar alike. For Archibald Gaulding, the answer may have involved money. As co-owner of the *Intelligencer* with Jared Whitaker, Gaulding was entitled to at least half of the paper's profits. If so—as with most Confederate newspapers, account books and business records for the *Intelligencer* no longer exist—this arrangement would have served as incentive to Gaulding to put out the best paper he could, draw subscribers and advertisers, and make money. (One may ask how he found the time to do it all, with his law practice on the side; in late March 1862 the front page of the *Intelligencer* advertised "A. A. GAULDING ATTORNEY AT LAW ATLANTA, GA.")

But it was a tough business. Historians of journalism have concluded that daily newspapers were far from easy profit centers. When the *Raleigh Standard* made a profit of $8,000 in 1860, Debra Redden van Tuyll notes that this was "not bad for a daily published in a town with barely 5,000 people." This also explains, as J. Cutler Andrews has observed, why newspapers generally ran their operations in rented space; they did not own their buildings. When the *Savannah Republican* compiled a list of its assets—presses, paper, ink, type and

even office furniture—a physical building was not among them (everything listed, when the war began, was valued at $25,000).

Income from subscription fees and advertising revenue were a paper's chief financial supports, and editors were always seeking to increase both. Circulation—the number of paid subscribers—was obviously an important gauge of a paper's financial well-being. Southern newspapers could not match the formidable circulation numbers of, say, the New York dailies. Still, a respected Southern paper might boast of "upwards of ten thousand subscribers," as did the *Charleston Mercury* in July 1861. The *Intelligencer* did not publicize its circulation numbers; as Pennsylvania State University Prof. Ford Risley notes for Georgia newspapers, "most of the state's papers had circulations in the hundreds rather than the thousands." Indeed, of the 105 Georgia newspapers listed by the U.S. Census Returns of 1860, fewer than half (51) reported circulation figures of 1,000 or more. Only seventeen had a circulation of 3,000-plus. And of these seventeen, only two papers in the state were dailies: one was the *Intelligencer* (3,000); the other was the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy.* (Not bad for a city in whose five wards the census in 1860 counted 7,741 whites.)

At the same time, circulation figures usually underplayed the extent of a paper's readership. Not only did non-subscribers drop in on newspaper offices to scan the headlines, but paying subscribers, particularly in the countryside, would often pass an issue around to friends. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel* boasted of 6,000 subscribers in 1864, but estimated that its "reach" should be calculated at two and half times that number. The *Raleigh State Journal* went even further, claiming that an issue of 11,000 copies would be seen by 55,000 individuals. One North Carolina lady recorded that a newspaper would be passed "from house to house until utterly worn out." Moreover, during the war, strong papers saw their subscriber base increase, as the public demand for war news surged. For a while after Fort Sumter, the *Chronicle and Sentinel* received seventy-five new subscriptions a week. In March 1862, the *Intelligencer* editor thanked the paper's "hundreds of new subscribers," especially for accompanying their subscriptions with cash. Because of such support, Gaulding confirmed that "the INTELLIGENCER, both DAILY and WEEKLY, is upon a solid foundation," adding his pledge that it would continue to appear "as long as paper and ink can be procured."

Some papers enjoyed contracts for government printing, which for these fortunate journals provided another source of income. While Jared Whitaker and Archibald Gaulding strongly supported Georgia governor Joseph E. Brown in

the pages of the *Intelligencer,* generally only papers in Milledgeville, the capital, got lucrative printing jobs from the state government.

The *Intelligencer,* like a number of other papers, had a third source of revenue: its job and book printing and binding business, which boasted "all the latest improvements in Printing, Binding, &c." according to one ad. Another advertisement for this enterprise ran in the paper's issue of April 23, 1861, proclaiming that the *Atlanta Intelligencer*'s Book and Job Office could "do all kinds of work in the best style of the Art. We have an experienced man at the head of this department, and we are prepared to print and bind, in the best and most substantial manner, Books, Pamphlets, Catalogues, Diplomas, Bank Checks, Posters, Hand-Bills, Programmes, business, wedding, and visiting Cards, Way-Bills, and every sort of printing and binding done at a first class office." This was no idle boast. One book produced by the Intelligencer Steam Power Presses in 1863, *The Angel Daughter,* is termed by Confederate bibliographer Richard Barksdale Harwell as "one of the most elaborately printed books of the period."[13]

At some point in the war, the *Intelligencer* moved from Parr's Building (at Whitehall and Alabama) to a brick structure at the foot of Whitehall Street near the railroad. According to the few photographs we have of the area, the paper was quartered on the second story of a building whose bottom floor housed Wittgenstein's wholesale liquor store. Out front on the sidewalk, the paper's staff hung a bulletin board on which they pinned announcements of the latest important events. For instance, when the office received word on the evening of April 18, 1861, that Virginia had seceded, the editor (as he wrote the next day) "immediately announced the same on our Bulletin Board in front of our office, free to all!" In addition, the *Intelligencer* welcomed readers (both subscribers and nons-) to drop in at its reading room to scan the day's edition and sample the out-of-town papers that had arrived as exchanges. Other papers had their reading rooms, too; that of the *Charleston Mercury* even had Northern newspapers, mailed by its Richmond correspondent, Dr. George Bagby.

The editor had his office, his "sanctum," where he composed his editorial columns. Nearby was the composing room in which the typesetter, sometimes called a compositor, with his composing stick laid out the type for printing. A "counting room" served as the paper's business office, where readers could purchase papers and buy advertising space. It was also the place where news boys hawking the paper on the streets, or running them to subscribers' homes, could pick up their issues. "News boys can have their orders filled," one notice read, "by applying at the counting room."

Largest space at the paper's office was given over to the press room, where the printing and folding of each day's issue took place. It was a hot place, especially in the summer, when the wood-fed steam engine added to temperatures. The press room was also large, if only because the printing machinery was, too; the larger model of the Hoe cylinder press measured 7' by 13'.

Perhaps a half-dozen workers labored away in the back shop, most importantly pressmen running the printing machinery. At the start of the war, the *Intelligencer* employed one "journeyman printer," George Hathaway, whom it lost in August 1861 when he volunteered for the army. (The *Macon Telegraph,* for example, employed six backshop men, including one to tend the steam engine.) A foreman was on hand as well, to lay out page content and generally oversee production. In the spring of 1862, the *Intelligencer*'s foreman was Isaac B. Pilgrim, who had come to Atlanta from Lawrenceville, Georgia, where he had served as editor of the *Lawrenceville News.* As for salaries, a foreman could expect a minimum wage of $25 a week, although the weeks were long: six days, each of twelve hours' duration. Working such hours, a printer, the man who put the ink to the page, as van Tuyll writes, "could expect to bring home about $27 a week in 1860, or $647 in 2010 dollars.") Obviously, newspapers needed printers, and journalists often tried to help one another out. When the *Macon Citizen*, for instance, advertised for "two good, steady printers" in April 1861, the *Intelligencer* reprinted the ad. At many Southern papers, the backshop was integrated; enslaved black men, rented from their owners, performed much of the hard work in the press room. In June 1864, for instance, the *Intelligencer* announced that "our negro pressmen," who had been temporarily drafted by military authorities to work on the city's fortifications, had been allowed to return to the newspaper's back room.

Compositors or typesetters were generally paid according to how much type they set, as measured in ems—typographical measurement units. An experienced compositor could set a thousand ems of type in an hour. In Richmond, January 1862, the typographers' union set salaries for their tradesmen at thirty-five cents per thousand ems. Ten months later, in Knoxville, Tennessee, the going rate was forty cents for a thousand ems. When the *Intelligencer* advertised for "a good compositor" in December 1863, it called for a worker "who does not keep 'fashionable hours.'" It pointedly added, "those that are in the habit of getting intoxicated need not apply"[14]

The *Intelligencer*, like newspapers across Georgia, maintained a six-day work week. A scan of its issues for June 1861 indicates that Sunday was employees'

day off, meaning that no paper came out on Monday. Only once during the month was this schedule thrown off, and that was because the *Intelligencer* closed its offices on Thursday, June 13, which President Davis had proclaimed as a national day of fasting and prayer. "In accordance with ancient usage," it also announced that it was giving its printers a day off on Thursday, July 4.

Typesetters, printers and pressmen were thrown out of work, though, if they ran out of the one staple upon which they depended: paper. In 1861, of 555 paper mills in the United States, only 24 (four percent) were located in the Confederacy. Professor Risley counts four paper mills in antebellum Georgia. At least two of these were near Atlanta, at Roswell and Marietta, thus conveniently located close by for the operations of the *Intelligencer*; the Marietta mill was sited at the convergence of Sope Creek and the Chattahoochee, a dozen miles north of downtown Atlanta.

Yet at the start of the war, all Southern paper mills together could not produce enough to serve the needs of regional newspapers. Their combined output was 75,000 pounds a year, when Southern presses demanded twice that amount. In the antebellum years, the shortfall had been made up by paper imported from abroad or purchased from Northern mills. The latter source obviously was cut off after Sumter, and Lincoln's blockade made obtaining European product much more difficult.

The war was barely begun before Southern journals began running short of paper. The technology of the time relied on cloth rags for paper's raw material; wood-pulp paper would not begin to be used in the South till after the war. Textile mills were focused on producing uniforms as well as bandages for Confederate hospitals; cartridge factories also required wadding. Anxious editors began proposing ways to improve the situation; one way was obviously to build more paper mills. "The press throughout the Southern Confederacy is made to suffer severely for the want of paper," declared a Vicksburg paper as early as June 1861. "There are several manufactories in Georgia," the editor observed, but they "turn out daily about half the amount consumed in the same length of time." To meet the need, he concluded, "a number of places are urging the importance of erecting paper mills."

As it turned out, very few paper mills were built in the war-torn Confederacy. So when one important mill went down, even temporarily, newspapers were dramatically affected. After the Marietta Paper Mill in September 1863 lost a number of its employees to home guard duty, the plant was compelled to suspend operation, sending to the *Intelligencer* "just a few bundles of paper,"

according to a report at the time. Appeals to the government soon returned enough workers to resume operation at the mill on at least a limited basis.

The Marietta manufactory, along with the other paper mill in nearby Roswell, were both burned by Sherman's troops in the summer of 1864. Tragedy could strike in other forms. On August 2, 1863, the paper plant in Bath, South Carolina, accidentally burned to the ground. "The loss of this 10-year-old mill threatened to shut down the entire Confederate newspaper industry," van Tuyll writes. Less catastrophic was the simple wearing out of the very machinery used to make the product. The *Southern Confederacy* in January 1862 was forced to reduce the size of its weekly edition, it announced, because "the Mill which makes our paper is unable, on account of recent damage to the machinery which cannot be repaired or replaced till the blockade is ended." "We may find it impossible, for love or money, or both combined, to get paper from any other mill," the editorial concluded.[15]

The *Atlanta Commonwealth* was similarly beset. Unable to procure newsprint, according to early Atlanta historian Wallace Reed, it resorted to the use of "book paper, pure white news, straw colored, manilla, common brown wrapping paper, and even wall paper." When Joel Chandler Harris, then a fourteen-year-old working for a middle Georgia weekly newspaper, wrote the editor of the *Commonwealth i*n 1863, he closed his note by "hoping that you receive a thousand reams of nice paper." Harris' wish was not fulfilled; the *Commonwealth* folded in 1863.

Besides paper, another essential ingredient was ink. An ink factory located in Augusta helped Georgia papers, but one in Marietta did, too. In July 1862, the *Intelligencer* started running an advertisement for the firm, B. A. Randall. Yet as with all commodities in the Confederacy, prices rose to painful levels during the war. Ink priced at eighteen cents a pound before rose to eighty cents during—more than a 400 percent increase.[16]

The price of war news in the Confederate South was literally going up. In addition to the cost of raw materials for printing were the expenses of getting the news in the first place. Telegraphic dispatches, for example, became more expensive the longer they were. In Southern newspaper offices, rarely were more than fifteen hundred words a day received by wire. The demand for war news led to more money spent on telegraphic reports. In the early stage of the war, the *Intelligencer* dodged another expense: paying reporters or field correspondents—"specials," as they were called—who sent back stories from the front line. (Most were men; only seven women have been identified as

specials—three for Southern newspapers, four for Northern.) These writers were sometimes paid by the piece; George W. Bagby earned $5 per story from the *Nashville Union and American.* Others were salaried, such as Henry Timrod; in 1862 the *Charleston Courier* paid him six dollars a day plus expenses. Their dispatches became front-and-center as public demand for war news increased. "Nearly all the more prominent Confederate daily newspapers at the beginning of the war," J. Cutler Andrews explains, "used the first page for the display of advertisements and notices, and published editorials and war news on the later pages. As the war progressed, war news and even editorials took over the first page, while the amount of advertising diminished and was relegated to the back of the newspaper."[17]

Through it all, Jared Whitaker and Archibald Gaulding carried on with their enterprise. The paper's front page in May 1861 virtually screamed for subscribers in a vertical ad that ran the entire length of the page. Moreover, like many newspapers, they had agents selling advertising space. In the fall of 1861, the *Intelligencer* announced it had an agent for subscriptions and ads in Newnan, about forty miles southwest of Atlanta. In early 1862, one W. T. Beall was serving in Atlanta as agent for the paper, "duly authorized . . . to receive subscriptions and make collections."

Because pages needed to be filled and bills needed to be covered, editors favored their advertisers by giving over half of every four-page issue to paid ads. The *Intelligencer*'s rates were printed on the front page of every issue. In mid-June 1861, the paper offered a ten-line square, one insertion, for a dollar; after that, it was fifty cents per each insertion for up to a month. But a table presented rates for the same sized ad to run up for two, three, four, six months, even a year. The math was apparent. An advertiser could run an ad for three months in every daily issue for less money ($10) than it would cost for the ad to run twenty days ($10.50).

No wonder, then, that so much of the paper's advertising appeared on the same page, day after day. "Advertisements often ran for weeks or even months with no changes except their position on a page," journalism historian Ford Risley notes. In the *Intelligencer*'s pages during January 1861, advertisers ranged from local grocers, hardware stores, clothiers and insurance agents to vendors of more specific items: shoemakers, jewelers and distillers. There were plenty of ads for personal health items: "Cephalic Pills CURE Sick Headache" trumpeted one prominent ad. Another announced that Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup would help children teething. One efficacious vegetable medicine addressed "female

obstructions." Male baldness could be treated with "Heimstreet's Inimitable Hair Restorative"; and, yes, there were male virility aids ("Manhood.—How Lost.—How Restored").[18]

Thus was the business of running a Southern newspaper. It can be summarized in a few lines. The work called for an industrious editor, experienced typesetters and sturdy printers. Dispatches received at the downtown telegraph office, coupled with exchanges gotten through the mail, provided the *Intelligencer*'s most important content. Subscription and advertising revenue were the paper's mainstays, but the *Intelligencer* also had a Book and Job Office for other work. Faced with paper shortages, freeloading readers and other vexations, the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* proudly pursued its mission of reporting the war for its readers. And behind it all lay an emergent Confederate patriotism that the *Intelligencer* shared with the majority of them. On May 1, 1861, students of the Atlanta Female Institute put on a program that included a *faux* bombardment of Fort Sumter. The newspaper covered the event. "It became necessary for one of the smallest of the girls to hoist the United States flag, and to keep it standing until the close of the bombardment," it reported. William P. Howard, teacher at the institute who directed the event, apparently had trouble finding a volunteer. One girl of about ten told him, "No, it is not our flag, and I will never hold it." Two more young ladies also refused. A reluctant flag bearer was finally found, and held the Stars and Stripes, though crying as she did so, saying that she hoped she was not disgracing herself. "Our enemies should learn wisdom from this little incident," Gaulding concluded. "Our enemies talk of coercing us! When the last man, woman and child in the South is no more, our cities destroyed and our fields laid waste, and the last vestige of civilization entirely blotted from the face of our fair land, then we will be a coerced people, and not till then."[19]

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4. Mary Hubner Walker, *Charles W. Hubner: Poet Laureate of the South* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing, 1976), 31; "From Missouri," *ADI,* May 18, 1862.

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19. "Children's Patriotism," *ADI,* May 4, 1861.

3. After the Smoke Cleared

SO, FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, a war was on, and to judge from reports in the *Intelligencer,* Southerners welcomed it.

The *Intelligencer* had already slipped comfortably into its role as an organ of Confederate propaganda. Three aspects of this function were 1) to pin blame for the war on the enemy, 2) to confidently predict victory and 3) to personalize the foe, then excoriate him. These points were on full display in Gaulding and Bassford's long editorial, "Our War Policy," published on April 15. In it they made clear Southerners' view that it was the North that had brought on the conflict. "The aggressive policy of the Black Republican party of the North, has culminated in war, as we long since predicted it would," the editors began. They accentuated the hypocrisy of "Lincoln and his Cabinet advisers" attempting to reinforce forts within the Confederate nation, while "at the same time" communicating to Southerners that "they have no hostile intention and their policy is to be entirely peaceful." The editors stressed, "war is at all times a great evil, but in the present case, our people have been patient and long suffering, we have exhausted every means in our power, to preserve the peace, done everything consistent with our sense of right, honor and justice to avert the dire calamity, but all to no purpose."

While Confederate commissioners sought a peaceful resolution to the crisis, Gaulding and Bassford continued, "the Lincoln government has displayed a double-dealing and treachery, for which the world furnishes no example." "The first gun has been fired in the war of Southern Independence," they declared, giving the coming conflict a name which Confederates would soon embrace.

"We predict," the editors concluded, "the utter disgrace, overthrow and annihilation of the whole batch of abolition conspirators who planned this infamous revolution, and plunged a free, happy and once united people in all the horrors of civil war."[1]

Foretelling Confederate victory even before the war was fairly begun, the *Intelligencer* manifested the dissonance between editorializing with propagandistic

opinion on the one hand and reporting with factual news on the other. On April 16 news items filled a full column on the paper's front page—such placement of news was a rarity at the time. Lincoln's proclamation calling for 75,000 troops—issued the day before and conveyed by telegraph to the various state governors—was printed in full. The administration's first aim, President Lincoln proclaimed, would be to "repossess the Forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union" in the seven states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. Predictably, the *Intelligencer* had a lot of fun with this in its opinion column, "Lincoln's Proclamation," on page two; it found the ostensibly solemn proclamation "laughable in the extreme." If Northern troops intended to repossess seized property, "let them commence on Fort Sumter," which was now securely under Confederate control. "By the help of God," the paper averred, "we intend to hold and maintain it." As for Lincoln's demand that the insurrectionists retire peaceably back into their homes, "we will do so," the *Intelligencer* affirmed, "when we have driven the invader from our soil, and not till then." "So bring on your seventy thousand Black Republicans," the editors taunted. The half-million soldiers soon to be raised by the Confederacy, they vowed, would vanquish Union forces in battle. "We have room enough for them all," the editorial concluded, "to enrich the red fields of our worn out lands with their dead carcasses."

The difference in timeliness between exchange and telegraph, when readers demanded the very latest news, placed even more importance on wire dispatches. Then, as now, competing newspapers worked to "scoop" each other, which meant that the paper printing the latest telegraphic news won. The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy,* for example, bragged that it was the only journal in north Georgia that offered readers regular, reliable telegraphed news. The *Intelligencer* countered on April 16 that the contention was "entirely without foundation." The editors emphasized their practice of providing readers with the latest telegraphic reporting, reminding all that "no trouble or expense will be spared by the conductors of this paper, to set the very earliest and most reliable news by telegraph before our readers."

The very next day the *Intelligencer* promised, "in order to satisfy the general interest felt by all classes of our citizens, in the exciting facts occurring in all parts of the country, we have made arrangements to be amply and fully supplied with the latest news by telegraph from every quarter." Editor Gaulding and Associate Editor Bassford further promised to print a special evening edition at 1 p.m. "when the news is of special interest." The issue would be available

for sale at the paper's office for the usual price of five cents; newsboys would assist in its circulation.[2]

At the same time, the newspapermen politely reminded Atlantans that they had a business to run. Heretofore, they explained in an announcement on April 17, they had given away extra copies "to our subscribers and others who might ask for them." Such generosity, however, "has been a very large tax on us." Henceforth, single numbers would be available to everyone at five cents each. They explained their logic (and pricing) thus: "a paper not worth *five cents* is not worth asking for."

Then there were the freeloaders; the *Intelligencer* management addressed them, too. During the day citizens were welcome to visit the paper's offices, both subscribers and not. These latter, however, would come to read the morning issue without paying. Worse, sometimes they walked off with the exchanged papers from which the editors drew their lifted columns. This practice had to stop, they explained. "Persons who are too penurious to subscribe and pay for a paper, and yet whose consciences will allow them to read our paper and carry off our exchanges, we have no respect for." The announcement, headlined "Personal," made no mention of corrective measures that might be implemented to address the moochers. Rather, the article closed simply with, "A word to the wise is sufficient."

As the proprietors sought ways to trim costs and improve efficiency, the owners themselves changed. The issue of April 18 announced that Gaulding and Whitaker had bought out their third partner, J. I. Miller. No reason was given; Miller was wished success "in any enterprise in which he may engage." In the days ahead, Gaulding and Whitaker pledged their continuing efforts to make the *Intelligencer* "what it ought to be, the leading Journal in this section of the country."[3]

It was evident that the people wanted news, and wanted it fast. But not all news was taken from the telegraph or clipped from other papers. Much was obtained from local sources in the city itself. As Atlantans responded to Fort Sumter, to Lincoln's proclamation and to predictions of war, there was indeed much to report as the city's citizens—meaning, white males of military age—rallied to take up arms.

Well before the first shot was fired, martial units had already existed in Atlanta, across Georgia, and, indeed, the whole South. Large communities had volunteer companies, elite units in which membership was accorded to gentlemen in the manner of club memberships. Colorful uniforms and convivial