For the People

A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association

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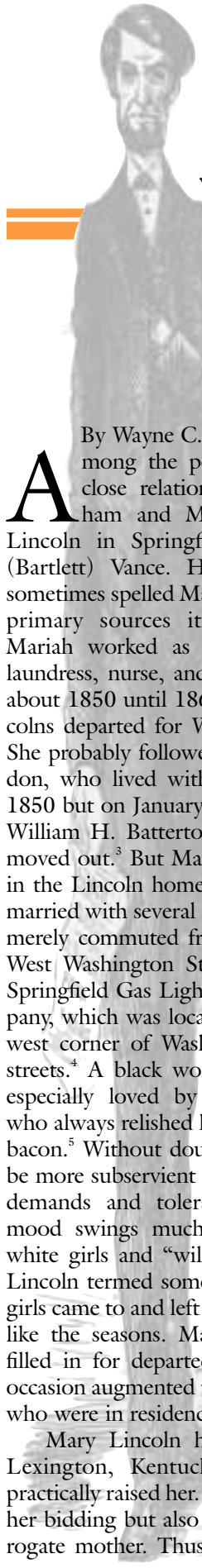

Mariah (Bartlett) Vance
Daytime Servant to the Lincolns
Part 1

By Wayne C. Temple *

Among the people who had a close relationship with Abraham and Mary Ann (Todd) Lincoln in Springfield was Mariah (Bartlett) Vance. Her first name is sometimes spelled Maria.[1] From several primary sources it is known that Mariah worked as a daytime maid, laundress, nurse, and baby-sitter from about 1850 until 1861, when the Lincolns departed for Washington, D.C.[2] She probably followed Catherine Gordon, who lived with the Lincolns in 1850 but on January 7, 1851, married William H. Batterton and, of course, moved out.[3] But Mariah never resided in the Lincoln home. She was already married with several small children and merely commuted from her house on West Washington Street, west of the Springfield Gas Light and Coke Company, which was located on the northwest corner of Washington and First streets.[4] A black woman, Mariah was especially loved by Robert Lincoln, who always relished her corn pone and bacon.[5] Without doubt, she proved to be more subservient to Mary Lincoln's demands and tolerated her volatile mood swings much better than the white girls and "wild Irish," as Mary Lincoln termed some of them.[6] Those girls came to and left the Lincoln home like the seasons. Mariah would have filled in for departed maids or upon occasion augmented the labors of those who were in residence.

Mary Lincoln had grown up in Lexington, Kentucky, where slaves practically raised her. They not only did her bidding but also served as her surrogate mother. Thus she later viewed blacks as servants and yet often confided in them as she had in childhood after her father brought home a stepmother. Throughout her life, Mary depended upon blacks who generally were more docile to her demands. (In a private letter, Mary referred to them as *"darkies."*) Most blacks—even in the North—had descended from slave families that by necessity were forced to "get along" even when their treatment was grossly unfair. As a result, Mariah labored patiently for Mary Lincoln longer than any of her other servants. Even in the White House, Mary found a free mulatto, Elizabeth Keckly, to be an invaluable dressmaker as well as a respected confidant.[7] Of course, Elizabeth was educated, whereas Mariah was illiterate. Mary did not mention Mariah in any existing letters.

Mariah had never been a slave, but her mother, "Phebe" Bartlett, was when she was brought to Illinois by her master, Stephen Shelton. Shelton is not shown in any Illinois Census until 1830, but he purchased land for the first time on April 3, 1825, in what is now Curran Township of Sangamon County and listed his residence as being in that location.[8] Mariah, however, stated that she was born in Round Prairie, four miles east of Springfield in Clear Lake Township of Sangamon County. That perhaps was true. The Sheltons may have stopped in that area before purchasing their own land in Curran Township, southwest of Springfield. Mariah, quite naturally, gave some misinformation in her 1903 interview in matters that she had not witnessed in person. And she greatly exaggerated her age, probably to impress the Old Settlers Association, but by and large her narration is most valuable to Lincoln historians.

Stephen Shelton was born about 1779 in Virginia. There, he married Lydia Heath. They moved to the mouth of the Scioto River in Ohio but later went back to a spot just across the Ohio River in Cabell County in what is now West Virginia. From there Shelton took his family to Illinois. Lydia died on November 20, 1830, and on March 12 of the following year, Stephen married Judith (or Judy) Neall, born in Virginia circa 1804, the daughter of Daniel and Polly (Booth) Neall. Shelton died on January 22, 1859, in Sangamon County. A prolific sire, he fathered twelve children by his first wife and five by his second, who had come to Illinois in 1828.[9]

Mariah truly had no idea in what year her birth had occurred. She only knew that the date was on the "second Sunday in October." She gave the year as 1811, which is not correct. In fact, she related various ages to the census taker over the years. Nevertheless, she was positive that she had been born in Illinois. So, her birth might have taken place sometime between 1820 and 1823 or so, with her sister's a year after hers. That very rough estimate works fairly well with other known facts and calculations. She named her mother as being a "Mrs. Bartlett," but did not identify her father, only stating in 1880 that he had been born in Tennessee. In 1900 she declared his nativity as being in Virginia. The latter seems correct, since the Sheltons came from there. However, the mystery seems to be

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"Lincoln in the 21st Century"
A Two-Day Conference to Highlight the Opening of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum

A two-day scholarly conference will highlight the opening of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum. The registration cost is $50 and covers the two lunches and one breakfast event. Reservations can be made by going to www.alplm.org and printing out the registration form or by calling Deanna Painter at 217.558.8900. Seating is limited, so make your plans now.

Sunday April 17

8:45 A.M. — **Welcome**
9:00 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. — **Lincoln the Self-Made Man**
Moderator: Rodney O. Davis, Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College
Speakers: Daniel Walker Howe, University of California at Los Angeles; Steward Winger, Lawrence Technological University
10:30 A.M. to 10:45 — **Break**
10:45 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. — **The Intimate Lincoln**
Moderator: Wendy Hamand Venet, Georgia State University
Speakers: Michael Chesson, University of Massachusetts; Jean Baker, Goucher College
12:30 P.M. to 1:45 P.M. — **Luncheon Speaker**: Michael Kauffman, author *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies*
2:00 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. — **Lincoln, Slavery, and Race**
Moderator: Frank J. Williams, Lincoln Bicentennial Commission
Speakers: Graham Peck, St. Xavier University; Allen C. Guelzo, Gettysburg College
3:30 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. — **Break**
3:45 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. — **Keynote Address**: David Gergen, Presidential Advisor

Monday April 18

7:30 A.M. to 8:30 A.M. — **Abraham Lincoln Association Breakfast**
Report of the Lincoln Bicentennial Commission
8:45 A.M. — **Welcome**
9:00 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. — **Lincoln at War**
Moderator: Phillip S. Paludan, University of Illinois at Springfield
Speakers: Jennifer Weber, Princeton University; Silvana Siddali, St. Louis University
10:30 A.M. to 10:45 A.M. — **Break**
10:45 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. — **The Great Communicator**
Moderator: Douglas L. Wilson, Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College
Speakers: Richard Carwardine, Oxford University; Ronald C. White, Huntington Library
12:30 P.M. to 1:45 P.M. — **Luncheon Speaker**: Louise Taper, "Collecting Lincoln"
2:00 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. — **Lincoln and Presidential Leadership**
Moderator: Ronald Rietveld, California State University at Fullerton
Speakers: Mark E. Neely Jr., Penn State University; Roger D. Bridges, Abraham Lincoln Association
3:30 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. — **Break**
3:45 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. — **Summing Up: Three Generations of Lincoln Scholarship**
Moderator: Brian Lamb, C-SPAN
Panel: David Herbert Donald, Harvard University; Harold Holzer, Lincoln Bicentennial Commission; Matthew Pinsker, Dickinson College

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Mariah (Bartlett) Vance

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solved in the finding of a probate record for "Black George" Bartlett in Sangamon County disposing of his personal effects—no real estate—on April 25, 1823. This document shows that he was in Illinois prior to that date. No other black, male Bartlett can be found in the county during these early years in question. It is probable that this man was the "husband" of "Phebe" Bartlett. George must have accompanied the Sheltons to Illinois and fathered one or both daughters shortly before his demise. Mariah and her sister had to have been only babies when he died and never remembered him at all.

[1]She could not read or write as late as one year before her death in 1904. Therefore, she never wrote out her own first name as to spelling which has been given both ways in records. See her interview with a reporter for the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), July 13, 1903, p. 5, col. 3. Doug Pokorski discovered this valuable interview and published an article about it in *Heartland Magazine,* an insert for the *State Journal-Register* (Springfield), June [27], 2003, p. 10A.

[2]*Illinois State Journal*, July 13, 1903. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, once Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, reported his conversations with Robert Todd Lincoln and his visit with Robert to see Mariah at Danville in 1896. *Literary Digest,* Aug. 14, 1926, 42. It was not on the 1900 campaign but the 1896.

[3]United States Census, 1850, Springfield, Sangamon County, Ill., p. 120B, l. 35; Marriage License, Sangamon Co.; Temple, *By Square & Compass: Saga of the Lincoln Home* (Mahomet, Ill.: Mayhaven, 2002), 130.

[4]*Williams' Springfield Directory . . . for 1860–61* (Springfield, Ill.: Johnson & Bradford, 1860), 132, 138. They had lived there for several years prior to this listing.

[5]See *Literary Digest,* Aug. 14, 1926, 42.

[6]Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 46.

[7]For an excellent study of Mary Lincoln's personality, see Jennifer Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003). For "darkies," see Tuner and Turner, 61.

[8]Mariah's 1903 interview reported that her mother had been a slave owned by S. Shelton. Federal Tract Book No. 68, p. 13, MS., Illinois State Archives. It was the W1/2, SW1/4, Sec. 33, T 15N, R 6 W, 3 P.M., eighty acres for $100. United States Census, 1830, Sangamon County, Ill., p. 14, l. 16.

[9]John Carroll Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield: Edwin A. Wilson & Co., 1876), 538, 645–647. Power has an error in the birthplace of Shelton and reported the wrong date for his marriage to his second wife. Shelton's true place of birth is taken from the United States Census, 1850, Sangamon County, Ill., p 177B, 11. 19–25, and his marriage to Mrs. Neall from the Sangamon County Marriage Records.

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Part 2 will appear in the next issue of *For the People*.

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Civil War Censorship and the Suppression of the *Chicago Times*

By Roger Waite *

Since the ratification of the Bill of Rights freedom of the press has been considered a basic, constitutional freedom. Furthermore, the opinion has subsequently developed that newspapers need to be independent—substantially unencumbered by the interference of government or by the control of political parties. While these growing concepts have been manifested daily, the true tests of the firmness of these beliefs have occurred only in times of crisis. During the Civil War numerous battles raged over the responsibility of the federal government to swiftly and decisively pursue the war and the rights of newspapers to print freely. One of the most outstanding controversies in this struggle was that over the suppression of the *Chicago Times* in June of 1863. While this incident, in the most direct sense, was a success for supporters of freedom of speech, it failed to significantly affect the public or the government's attitude toward the issue because it was considered a political matter.

The newspapers of Chicago, as with the rest of the nation, were almost without exception political organs. Each one represented some political camp. As one observer enumerated, the *Tribune* was the "most Republican," the *Evening Journal* represented the "Conservative Republican" constituency, the *Post* was the "exponent of War Democracy," and the *Times* was "semi-secession."[1] More than merely favoring one party, many owners and editors had extremely close connections to the structure of political parties. Indeed, the editor of the *Tribune*, Joseph Medill, played an important role in the genesis of the Republican Party by organizing early political meetings in 1854 at his office at the *Cleveland Leader.* He subsequently stated: "It is a fact that none of the other meetings in any state antedated our little gathering."[2] Medill and his fellow editors further "used every resource at their disposal to elect Lincoln."[3] At the other strongly Republican newspaper, the German-language *Illinois Staats-Zeitung,* its first editor during the Civil War, George Schneider, was awarded the position of consul to Denmark, "principally on account of his having sent a memorial through a committee . . . to influence the press in the northern part of Europe." Its second editor, after 1862, was onetime county sheriff and prominent party boss Anthony Hesing."[4] Naturally, strong loyalty to the party had its benefits, as seen by the *Tribune*'s successful effort to have their part-owner John Scripps appointed postmaster of Chicago by Lincoln, while in competition from all the other Republican newspapers of the city.[5] The Democratic newspapers as well represented clearly partisan politics. The major Democratic Chicago newspaper of the era was the *Chicago Times*. When Wilbur F. Storey assumed the editorship of the newspaper in 1861, it was owned by prominent Democratic industrialist Cyrus McCormick, from whose views Storey rarely erred in his editorial opinion.[6] Indeed, Storey's original intent was to align the newspaper with Douglas Democrats, but opted for representing the pro-Buchanan faction because the view was not already represented by a local newspaper and because "it also represented those Democratic leaders who by their wealth were best able to give substantial assistance."[7]

Perhaps the most pervasive forms of censorship were not external but internal, toward their partisan objectives. Often, Chicago newspapers would reprint dispatches from out-of-town publications. Covering the Battle of Antietam on September 23, 1862, for example, both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times* reprinted the report of a correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, identical in most regards except for the fact that the *Times* excised the correspondent's comments in praise of General Hooker's strategy.[8] Things were often not so blunt; often information was not outrightly removed, but manipulated to their ends. Indeed, on assessing one of his principal reporters during the Civil War period, Storey stated that he was "an effective, faithful man . . . but lacking the manipulation of details." Instances of this abound when comparing the reporting of newspapers of different political affiliations. For example, while the *Tribune* reported on the rebel attack of Murfreesboro separately, the *Times* grouped its report with loosely related reports of several other raids in Kentucky and Tennessee, stretching over a week, and emphasized the fact that the attack ended in a federal surrender.[9] This was no secret matter and indeed, when the editors of the *Evening Journal* evidently implied that comments that the *Tribune* made were critical of General Grant's plans for the Battle of Vicksburg, the editors of the *Tribune* tried to clarify their position, stating: "We are for the General that wins; that's our platform, from the first gun was fired and will be, until the last rebel is vanquished." This underscores, however, that the kind of preferences that had merely been political had become, in time of war, a matter of patriotism.

Governmental censorship, though generally not harsh, was quickly and commonly set in place. By April of 1862, the federal government took control of the telegraph wires in Washington, D.C., eventually putting their control under the stewardship of the War Department.[10] Naturally, therefore, newspaper dispatches from the city came under the control of that department. The House of Representatives authorized the Judiciary Committee to investigate telegraphic censorship, and eventually suggested that the government "not interfere with free transmission of intelligence by telegraph, when the same will not aid the enemy."[11] However, this was sometimes interpreted rather loosely, as evidenced by the complaint by an Associated Press

correspondent in 1863 that a routine dispatch was suppressed on the claim of the supervisor of the telegraphs that it was "mischievous and reprehensible."[12] Much more extreme and questionable acts were committed by the generals. Frémont, in command of Missouri, took rather extreme methods to suppress the press of the opposition, suppressing several newspapers as did a variety of military officials in that state and, most extensively in Kansas and Nebraska. These orders varied widely in character and severity, ranging from orders prohibiting the circulation of certain newspapers to, in one instance, the arrest of the editor of the *Missouri Democrat*. The justifications for these actions were rather uniform and largely consistent with the reasoning of the time. The assistant provost marshal at Fulton, Missouri, on ordering the end of circulation of several New York newspapers in April 1863, declared that "the doctrines promulgated by these sheets are of a character only tending to give aid and comfort to the rebels . . . and stir up a spirit of discord and opposition."[13] Thus, the general attitude was that publications need not actually advocate treason but needed only to contribute not specifically to treason, but to "opposition." Lincoln's reaction to one of these incidents, the arrest of the editor of the *Democrat,* again typical of the thinking, was political rather than legal. He reasoned that the action threatened General Schofield's "middle position" and that he should just "spare me the trouble" of the situation.[14]

Ambrose Burnside had been transferred to the Department of Ohio, including the State of Illinois, in March 1863, following his failings at the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862.[15] He soon thereafter became embroiled in several debacles. The first came after the arrest of the prominent Ohio politician Clement Vallandigham. At a speech attended by two military officers on May 1, 1863, Vallandigham specifically voiced his opposition to Burnside's General Order 38 against disloyal speech, though he did not specifically advocate anything illegal.[16] On the strength of this, on May 5, about one hundred soldiers surrounded Vallandigham's residence in Dayton and "then and there seized your petitioner [Vallandigham] by overpowering numbers and carried him to the City of Cincinnati . . . where they imprisoned him . . . in a building . . . then used as a military prison."[17] Vallandigham requested a writ of habeas corpus. Habeas corpus had been suspended in some areas of the rebellion, but suspension elsewhere was highly controversial. His request was denied in a decision by the Circuit Court for the Southern District of Ohio that very loosely interpreted Lincoln's, and thus Burnside's, authority stating of the former that "in dealing with what he may rightfully do under this power where there is no legislative declaration the President is guided solely by his own judgment and discretion," and of the latter that in reason "the President has clothed him with all the power necessary to the efficient discharge of his duty."[18] Despite his status as a civilian, Vallandigham was found guilty of violation of General Order 38, which Burnside treated almost like a conviction of treason.[19] In the interest of keeping Vallandigham from a martyr-like status and increasing popular association of him with the insurgents, Lincoln intervened and ordered that rather than being imprisoned, he should be turned over to the rebels.[20]

The *Chicago Times* was one of the largest newspapers in the Midwest. Initially, its editor, Storey, was very favorable to the war. Many of his editorials into late 1862 were supportive of the Administration, at times supporting enlistment, at others coming out strongly against supposed, secret Copperhead societies, and once even advocating the closure of incendiary newspapers.[21] Like most War Democrats, Storey desired the war only to preserve the Union. Thus, after the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, he became increasingly suspicious of abolitionist tendencies in Lincoln and he became unmitigatedly hostile by the time Burnside took control of the Department of the Ohio in March 1863. Naturally, Storey was particularly angered by Burnside and his actions in relation to Vallandigham and published scathing editorials on the matter.[22]

While the *Times* continued to become more vehement in their attacks, so did others become more concerned by their publication. One of the first to act was the Chicago Board of Trade, which in late December 1862 issued a resolution stating that the *Times* articles were "calculated to give aid and comfort to traitors," and therefore banned its reporters from the exchange and the newspaper from its reading room.[23] Several other local establishments followed suit in banning the *Times*, most notably the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad. At around the same time, Union generals began to ban the circulation of the newspaper within their districts, until all but Grant had banned it.[24]

However, increased pressure began to beg governmental action. In August 1862 Illinois Governor Yates wrote to Secretary of War Stanton and complained about the severity of the draft dodging in Chicago and suggested that martial law be reimposed and, implying that the *Times* was partly responsible, stated: "There is an . . . almost unanimous demand that the *Chicago Times* should be immediately suppressed for giving aid and comfort to the enemy."[25] Martial law was reimposed, but no action was taken against the *Times.* Burnside, rather concerned by the fact that many of the Department's "newspapers were full of treasonable expressions," began to take action against disloyal publications.[26] First there was General Order 38, but on June 1, 1863, Burnside issued General Order 84. The order banned both the publication of the *Chicago Times* and the circulation of the *New York World* in the Department of the Ohio. The order stated that the latter tended "to cast reproach upon the Government and weaken efforts to suppress the rebellion," and that the former contained "the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiments."[27] These orders were reached in Springfield by wire at 1 P.M. of the same day by General Ammen and were sent to the head of Camp Douglas, Captain

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Civil War Censorship and the Suppression of the *Chicago Times*

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Putnam.[28] The proprietors of the *Times* were informed soon thereafter and at about 4 A.M. on June 2, 1863, two companies of the Sixty-fifth Illinois Infantry took control of the *Times* building.[29] No arrests were made and the majority of the day's newspapers were already printed and distributed, though those that remained were destroyed.[30]

Concerned by the growing outcry or the legal implications of the matter, several prominent businessman and political figures of both parties met at the city's courthouse in a private meeting on the night of June 2. The exact circumstances of the convocation of the meeting are not known but it was commonly supposed that Senator Trumbull, who is said to have had an interest in the *Tribune,* convoked the meeting for fear of the destruction of the *Tribune* offices by riots.[31] Eventually, a fairly diplomatic petition was agreed upon and sent to the telegraph office, stating: "In the opinion of this meeting of citizens . . . the peace of the city and State, if not the general welfare of this country, is likely to be promoted by the suspension . . . of the recent order of General Burnside."[32] Along with this petition was a request of Trumbull and Congressman Isaac Arnold for Lincoln to immediately consider the petition.[33]

Outside of the same courthouse, larger and less ruly protests were being staged. A crowd had originally developed outside the *Times* office, but its size caused it to be moved to a larger area before the courthouse as the crowd surged to nearly twenty thousand.[34] While it appeared that the mob was largely spontaneously formed, it has been suggested that members of the crowd were plied with alcohol by supporters of Storey.[35]

On the same night, Storey and his partner Worden filed suit against the three military officials involved in the Federal Circuit Court. Due to the late hour, the case could not be heard until the next morning, but Judge Drummond enjoined the defendants "to take no steps or measures to carry into effect the said order." The suit was not heard on the grounds that the defendants had not been informed. In the intervening time, Drummond had requested the presence of David Davis, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, who arrived on June 4.[36] The trial began on June 4, with a Mr. Joy representing the *Times* and the district attorney representing two of the military defendants, Ammen and Putnam. The day was taken up primarily with opening arguments by Joy in which he pointed to the importance of a free press and the potential of the financial ruin of the *Times.*[37] However, after the revocation of the original order was issued, Joy argued for the case's dismissal on June 5.[38] This action suggests that he was concerned more with immediate concerns than creating legal precedent.

Lincoln swiftly decided to act in the situation. Having received the petition from Chicago, being endorsed by two prominent politicians, Lincoln telegraphed orders suggesting that the order be lifted, to which Burnside followed with an order to revoke General Order 84 on June 4, 1863.[39] However, soon, Lincoln also wrote stating: "I have received additional dispatches which . . . induce me to believe we should revoke or suspend the order suspending the *Chicago Times.*"[40] However, as Burnside had already issued the revocation, he let it stand.[41]

Governmental reaction to the incident was varied, but not strong. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles stated: "The proceedings were arbitrary and injudicious. . . . Good men, who wish to support the Administration, find it difficult to support these acts."[42] This in no way stopped Burnside, as bans that he had issued on other newspapers remained in effect. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* was banned from March 5, 1863, until April 5, 1865.[43] In a later letter concerning Burnside's actions, Lincoln maintained that all his acts were "constitutional and lawful."[44] He went on to justify the treatment of Vallandigham, support Jackson's suppression of New Orleans newspapers during the War of 1812, and declared: "he who dissuades one man from volunteering . . . weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier."[45] Lincoln did subsequently admit: "I was embarrassed with the due to the Military service on the one hand the Liberty of the Press on the other."[46] Nonetheless, it appears that Lincoln was as concerned with political opinion in Chicago toward the matter as with the law, as evidenced by his reliance on the apparent support of Arnold.

The actions of the public, though much stronger, were largely done in narrow political interest. The flyers that called for protests against the order, though they began with mention of "Free Speech and Freedom of the Press," clearly revealed their nature by speaking of "suppressing newspapers always Democratic and consequently always loyal." Indeed, while talk of freedom of the press was pervasive, it was an issue championed almost exclusively by Democrats, as their newspapers were the most common targets. While the Illinois House of Representatives passed a motion of censure that blasted the suppression as "in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States . . . and destructive of those God-given principles," and boldly claimed that it "threatens an act so revolutionary and despotic . . . [that] if carried into effect, we consider it equivalent to the establishment of a military despotism," so many assemblymen opposed it, on partisan lines, and so many refused to respond to roll that a quorum could not be had at the first vote.[47] Naturally, then, the resolutions concluded with request that they be forwarded to Republican Governor Yates.[48] Yet this concedes as much general political dissent and mistrust as genuine legal concern. Republican response was comparably extreme and not a bit less partisan. The revocation was described in one editorial as a new opportunity for "treasonous sheets . . .

to blurt treason in the face of the loyal masses."[49] Indeed, a committee of members of the Union League essentially coerced Arnold into telegraphing Lincoln to explain that his previous dispatch did not represent his support of his petition, and the *Chicago Tribune* took great pain to dispel claims that its stockholders were involved with that petition.[50] The *Tribune,* probably to foster opposition, went as far as to publish forged letters implying that Northern, Copperhead newspapers were in league with Confederate journalists.[51] Even among the more liberally minded of the Republicans, men like Arnold took it for granted that the president did have sufficient power to suppress if needed, and that publications like the *Times* were influenced by subversive, secret societies.[52]

In the estimation of onetime reporter Franc Wilkie, while the suppression of the *Chicago Times* was one of the best things to happen to the newspaper, it was not a major event in terms of freedom of the press.[53] This was not so much due to lack of attempts to attack the perceived injustice, but to a complex series of events. There was the simple matter that the greatest grievances were rectified before any real legal challenge could have been raised. Yet more significantly, the whole matter was dealt in more of a political than legal manner. The end of the suppression, as it came, was more the result of political influence and fears over violence than direct concern about the legality of the issue. The kind of vituperative complaint in which the *Times*, and so many other newspapers, engaged would have been in most times of little concern. Yet in a period when policy of the nation was so tightly wound with agenda of one party in pursuing such a pressing concern, the distinction between expressing political opinions and disloyalty became blurred. It was this situation that made the response to the *Times* incident seem logical. Perhaps another contributing factor was the great divide between those in power and those who challenged this exercise of that power. It was a conflict between men like Storey, who represented the most liberal interpretation of individual rights, and thus also for the press, under the Constitution and the self-sufficient and self-determining agrarian ideals of Jacksonian Democracy, and men like Burnside who represented a more urban view of governmental responsibilities and collective direction. The gulf in this reasoning was so great that one cannot help but to understand why the matter was not solved on common terms. Yet it still represents part of a continuing struggle between the interest of individual liberty and the pursuit of the societal agenda. It was a kind conflict that was, if nothing else, very reflective of its place and time, a budding metropolis built upon the principles of the frontier, and during a thoroughly modern war fought over the contentions of the early modern age.

[1]Fredrick Francis Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 73.

[2]James O'Donnell Bennett, *Joseph Medill: A Brief Biography and an Appreciation* (Chicago, 1947), 11.

[3]Elmer Gertz, *Joe Medill's War* (Chicago: Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 1945), 6.

[4]A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (1884; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1975), 2:449.

[5]John J. McPhaul, *Deadlines & Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 40.

[6]Donald Bridgeman Sanger, "The *Chicago Times* and the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 17 (1931): 561.

[7]Cook, 331.

[8]*Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 23, 1862, 1; *Chicago Times,* Sept. 23, 1862, 1.

[9]*Chicago Tribune,* July 19, 1862, 2; *Chicago Times,* July 16, 1862, 4.

[10]Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), 129.

[11]Ibid., 131.

[12]*New York Times,* June 14, 1863, 8.

[13]Harper, 146.

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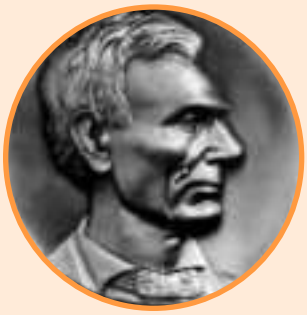

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[14]Ibid., 145.

[15]Theodore J. Karamanski, *Rally 'Round the Flag: Chicago and the Civil War* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1993), 191.

[16]William Marvel, *Burnside* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 235.

[17]"Habeas Corpus Proceedings in the Case of Clement L. Vallandigham," in *The War of the Rebellion: Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), Ser. 2, 5:573.

[18]Ibid., 580, 581.

[19]Frank L. Klement, *Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North*, ed. Steven K. Rogstad (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane, 1999), 125.

[20]Marvel, 237.

[21]Justin E. Walsh, *To Print the News and Raise Hell! A Biography of Wilbur F. Storey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 156.

[22]Sanger, 568.

[23]*Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 1, 1863, 4.

[24]Walsh, 170.

[25]Richard Yates to E. M. Stanton, Aug. 7, 1862, in *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. 3, 2:316.

[26]Craig D. Tenney, "To Suppress or Not To Suppress: Abraham Lincoln and the *Chicago Times*," *Civil War History* 7 (1981): 249.

[27]*Chicago Tribune,* June 3, 1863, 1.

[28]Ibid.

[29]*Chicago Evening Journal,* June 3, 1863, 4.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Tenney, "To Suppress or Not To Suppress," 254.

[32]*Chicago Tribune,* June 5, 1863, 1.

[33]Tenney, "To Suppress or Not To Suppress," 254.

[34]Tenney, "Major General A. E. Burnside and the First Amendment: A Case Study of Civil War Freedom of Expression" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1977), 210.

[35]*Chicago Sun Times,* Oct. 24, 1943.

[36]*Chicago Evening Journal,* June 4, 1863, 1.

[37]Tenney, "Major General A. E. Burnside and the First Amendment," 214.

[38]Ibid., 226.

[39]*Chicago Tribune,* June 5, 1863, 1.

[40]E. M. Stanton to Ambrose Burnside, June 4, 1863, in *War of the Rebellion,* Ser. 3, 3:252.

[41]Tenney, "To Suppress or Not To Suppress," 257.

[42]Gideon Welles, *The Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of Navy under Lincoln and Johnson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 321.

[43]Harper, 220.

[44]*Chicago Tribune,* June 17, 1863, 2.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Abraham Lincoln to Isaac N. Arnold, May 25, 1864, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1952), 7:361.

[47]*Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-Third General Assembly of the State of Illinois, at Their Regular Session, Began and Held at Springfield, January 5, 1863* (Springfield, Ill.: Baker and Philips, 1865), 661.

[48]Ibid., 662.

[49]*Chicago Tribune,* June 6, 1863, 2.

[50]*General Burnside's Order No. 84, Suppressing the Chicago Times and Its History* (Chicago, 1864), 2.

[51]*Chicago Tribune,* June 5, 1863, 1.

[52]*General Burnside's Order No. 84*, 4.

[53]Franc B. Wilkie, *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty-Five Years of Journalism* (Chicago: F. J. Schulte and Company, 1891), 101.

* Roger Waite is the 2003 winner of the Abraham Lincoln Association Student Award.

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