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Benjamin Franklin at the time he retired from the active management of the Pennsylvania Gazette. From an engraving after a painting made about 1748 and known as the Sumner Portrait.

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

A HISTORY OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH 250 YEARS 1690 to 1940

by Frank Luther Mott



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Preface

THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE DEVOTED TO HISTORY FOR HISTORY'S sake. To them the rightness of the record is the thing most to be desired. There are others who are interested in history because they find the men and women of the past and the conditions under which they lived quaint and strange, while many of the incidents of an older time seem as interesting as fiction. And there are those of a third class who look to history mainly for help in understanding present problems and for guidance in facing the future. Each of these concepts of the meaning of history has a certain validity, but it is to readers of the third class that this volume is chiefly directed. Though it would be scarcely permissible to break the narrative or intrude on the historical mood to point out repeatedly correlations of the past with the present, they may be found implicit on nearly every page which follows.

Also evident enough, doubtless, is the author's sympathetic admiration for American journalism. Yet not a few precious scoundrels mix with the high-minded editors in these pages; there is ridiculous clowning along with serious performance, and no effort is made to palliate or condone the sins of the press. The careful student of newspapers and newspaper men finds so wide a difference between the best and the worst of them that he accepts the epigram that the only safe generalization about journalism is that no generalization about it is safe.

The effort to condense the history of 250 years of such a complicated social mechanism as the American press into the limits of a few hundred pages is bound to result in the omission of many important facts. Selection and omission, as well as the proportions of the study given to the various phenomena, must depend upon a judgment of the relative importance of men and events which may easily be at fault.

The more serious student of the history of American journalism will wish to pursue his investigations beyond the general view given in this volume. For him a note is appended to each chapter pointing out further and more specialized treatments of the phases of this study. Books whose full titles (with place and date of publication) are given in these Bibliographical Notes are cited in footnotes by short title only; but an index to the Notes, following the General Index, is provided for ease in locating the main citation.

This is primarily a history of the American newspaper; but it is not always easy to separate magazines and class periodicals from newspapers, and serial productions of the press have many correlations. Therefore some little attention has been given to the magazines of each period.

My obligations to many persons for assistance in the studies which have gone to the making of this book are too many and varied to permit my listing them here. But I must mention the kindness of the scholarly librarians who made available to me the treasures of our early journalism which lie behind the small green door of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, and particularly the kindness of Clarence S. Brigham and R. W. G. Vail. I am equally grateful to the officials and librarians of the Newberry Library of Chicago, especially Stanley E. Gwynn; to the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the New York Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Harper Memorial Library of the University of Chicago, and the Library of the State University of Iowa. These and other repositories I have haunted until I have tried, I am sure, the patience of many librarians and helpers. I am grateful, too, for favors through the inter-library loan system and for the many commissions willingly executed for me by research librarians at distant points.

It is a pleasure to express my thanks to my daughter, Mildred Mott Wedel, for special work in the Library of Congress, and to my wife, Vera I. Mott, for help with the index to the volume.

Frank Luther Mott

State University of Iowa

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The Beginners
1690-1765

CHAPTER I

First Newspapers in "The New England"

THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO LIVED IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN America in the eighteenth century had two sets of interests based upon geographical relationships, and it is necessary to understand both sets if one is to comprehend the situation of the colonists and the conditions under which American journalism began.

These people were, for the most part, English.[1] They had relatives back in England; they nurtured English traditions and ideals; they modeled their institutions and culture on those of England. They were wont to speak now and then of England as "home," and they named their new homes New England, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and so on. Even in arguing for that liberty in the struggle for which they separated from the mother country, they commonly asserted their rights as "free-born Englishmen."

The newspapers and magazines of these English émigrés were formed upon the pattern of publications they received from home. Their chief commerce was with England; among the imports were most of the printing materials used in the new land. Travel to England was common, especially with merchants and men of affairs. A Bostonian could be transported by sailing ships to London with far less inconvenience than he could travel overland to Savannah, Georgia, by dangerous roads and forest trails.

The second set of interests based upon geography was the

[1] There were some Scotch, Scotch-Irish, French Huguenots, and Jews in New England; many Dutch and French Huguenots in New York (which was under Dutch rule until 1664); and large bodies of Germans and Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania and the "back country" of the southern provinces. Other foreign elements were less important, except for the Negroes, who formed a small proportion of the population of New England, a somewhat larger part of the Middle Colonies, and, by 1765, about forty percent of the southern population.

more immediate preoccupation with the colonists' own environment. Here were a million or more white persons [2] scattered in towns and villages and farmsteads along a narrow strip of Atlantic seacoast. Most of the important towns were seaports, for the ocean furnished the highway to England and, indeed, the easiest means of travel between the colonies themselves. Three-fourths of the towns that had newspapers before 1765 were seaports. Settlements followed the rivers inland, however, and by the middle of the eighteenth century much land was taken up in the "back country" and farms and towns stretched out toward the foothills of the Appalachians.

But even that strip of seacoast which might be pointed to as the settled area was, except for the scattered towns and clearings near them, covered with dense forests or dangerous swamps. Settlements were connected by roads some of which were difficult in all seasons and all of which were perilous in rainy weather and in the depth of winter. Ferrying broad rivers and sounds, fording other streams, skirting swamps, chopping away fallen timber, climbing steep and rocky inclines, passing through lonely stretches, the traveler by land was often forced to face risks which were, as one of them wrote, "as hazzardos as varios." By the middle of the century, however, mails were being carried, more or less regularly, from Portsmouth in New Hampshire to Charleston in South Carolina.

COLONIAL CULTURE

These English pioneers in America, like all frontiersmen, had to live rudely and frugally.[3] They had few luxuries and, since the frontier is by its very nature always under-supplied with labor, they had no leisure for the cultivation of aesthetic and purely intellectual values. Schools were generally established in some colonies and sadly neglected in others, but nowhere in America (or, indeed, in England) was there any evidence of the ideal of popular education as it is understood today. There are no figures

[2] In 1730, midway of this period, the white population was about 750,000, but by 1765 it had about doubled that figure. See Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, October, 1887 (Vol. V, p. 22).

[3] Exceptions are to be noted as to gentry, especially of the Middle Colonies, the wealthier merchants in the larger towns, some of the plantation owners of the South, and the provincial governors and their entourages.

of literacy from this period,[4] but there can be no doubt that many thousands of the colonists could not read or write.

Yet, handicapped and limited as these pioneers were by environment and backgrounds, they were generally men of ideas and ideals. In most cases their leaders were of high character and strong mentality, and they labored with a sense of their responsibility in building for the future. That education and the arts seem to have been neglected in the early years is not strange in view of the difficulty the first comers had merely to provide food, protection from the weather and the Indians, and clothes for their bodies. This is well illustrated by the fact that William Brewster, who had come to "Plimoth Plantation" in the Mayflower and was one of the leaders in the new settlement, had been a successful printer [5] and would doubtless have liked to continue the art in the New World; but he had other things to do.

> Now, [writes the historian of the colony] removing into this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with ye rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years.[6]

It was in Holland that Brewster, forced to leave England by religious persecution, had practised printing; and he was doubtless acquainted there with the Dutch news-sheets. It is an interesting coincidence that in the very year and month that the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth (December, 1620) the first known news-sheets in the English language appeared, not in England but in Holland. Other colonists who came to the new England within the next decade had probably seen the news-sheets and news-books published in London from 1621 onward.

[4] The period here designated is that indicated in the part title, 1690-1765—the first of several into which the history of American journalism has been divided for treatment in this volume.

[5] Edward Winslow, another Mayflower passenger who likewise was to become prominent in the new settlement, had also been a printer, having worked under Brewster.

[6] William Bradford, *History of Plimoth Plantation* (Boston, 1900), p. 491.

EARLY PRESSES AND EARLY CENSORSHIP

But it was not until 1638 that a press was set up in the American colonies.[7] Harvard College was then two years old, and the press in question was located at Cambridge and became an adjunct of the College. There, under the watchful eyes of College authorities, the Cambridge printers produced almanacs, sermons, a catechism, a psalter, law-books, broadsides, and—after another press had been added to the establishment—a Bible in one of the Indian languages.

The printing press, wherever it appeared in the world at this time, was regarded by government as a dangerous engine. It was very useful to men in power so long as they could control it absolutely; but the fact that a press sells its product to large numbers of people makes it essentially a popular institution, and as such it was a constant threat to governmental control which was, in the main, autocratic. Thus, strict censorship and licensing were the rule in England almost to the end of the seventeenth century, and severe libel laws were a restraining force for a hundred years after that. Free speech and free printing had no legal standing anywhere in the colonies at the beginning of this period, and very little at its end; a colonial government fighting the encroachments of a royal Governor was as intolerant of popular comment as the Governor himself.[8] The mistrust of popular interference in public affairs is given a rather extreme expression in the oft-quoted report of Sir William Berkeley, for thirty-eight years Governor of Virginia, to his home government in 1671:

But, I thank God, we have not free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both.

[7] This was not the first press on the American continent. The Spanish had set up a printing office in Mexico a hundred years earlier, and in Peru and what are now Bolivia and Ecuador some years before the date of the Cambridge press. Although *relacions* were fairly common in Spanish colonies in the seventeenth century, and such a news-sheet is known to have been published in Mexico as early as 1541, no regularly published newspaper on the continent antedates the earliest Boston papers, *Publick Occurrences* and the *News-Letter*.

[8] It is probable that Benjamin Harris relied on some relaxation of censorship after the downfall of Andros when he attempted his newspaper in the following year, but he was disappointed.

The New England rulers were somewhat more liberal than old Governor Berkeley; they encouraged learning and printing under strict supervision. Harvard supervised the Cambridge press; and when, after repeated petitioning for several years, the government allowed a press to be set up in the growing commercial town of Boston, the General Court continued a censorship which, though lax at times, was an ever-present threat against free expression. Royal Governors of Massachusetts, New York, and other colonies were for many years specifically instructed to restrain the liberty of the press by licensing its output; generally they tried to do so, though not always successfully.

Yet, on the whole, the colonies fared well with respect to printing. The pioneer villages of Boston and Philadelphia both could boast presses before any were permitted in such English cities as Liverpool and Birmingham.

FORERUNNERS OF THE NEWSPAPER

It may be thought strange that printing should exist in the colonies for more than a half century before the appearance of a newspaper. But printers knew they faced loss of business and property and even severer punishments if they offended government, and they knew from the experiences of their brethren in the home country how sensitive officials were to criticism; they knew also that they served a society which was not highly literate and which had little leisure for reading.

Yet people are always news-hungry, and in this the American pioneers were not exceptional. Before colonial newspapers appeared, and even after they had become comparatively common, there were various other agencies in frequent use for the dissemination of news.

In the first place, there were the letters of news written to merchants and men of position by friends abroad and in other colonies. Such correspondence was frequently carried on sporadically between men who had common interests, financial, political, or intellectual; but the writing of news-letters was also sometimes systematized by professional letter-writers located in important news centers, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and London. This organized circulation of written news-letters had been common in Italy, Germany, England, and other countries for hundreds of

years and had been invaluable to statesmen and merchants with international interests.

In the second place, packets of newspapers were sent to some of the colonists by their correspondents abroad and delivered by captains of the sailing ships arriving in the various American ports. Chief of these papers in American circulation was the official London *Gazette*. Founded in 1665, the *Gazette* was the first English news publication regularly issued in what is now recognized as newspaper format. At least two numbers of it were reprinted in the American colonies in the years before the appearance of a regular colonial newspaper.[9] Packets of London papers were also imported by some of the leading coffee-houses and taverns in the larger colonial towns, and files of the *Gazette* and other papers were often maintained for the reading of patrons. Such places of common resort were centers for the distribution of news and oral gossip; official meetings and even courts were sometimes held at taverns, and proclamations and notices were posted there.

Official proclamations, pamphlets dealing with public questions, and ballads founded on news events were among the pre-newspaper output of the colonial press which helped to satisfy the news-hunger of the readers of these years; and such publications continued parallel with newspapers into the nineteenth century. Ballads were common: let a hanging, the capture of a pirate, or a local scandal catch the public interest, and some local rhymester and the printer would collaborate in bringing out a piece of doggerel, set to some well-known tune, to celebrate the event. These were printed as broadsides (that is, on one side of a single sheet) and were hawked on the street for a few pence.

But all such media furnished inadequate news reports, as the Massachusetts government recognized when it permitted the publication in 1689 of a news broadside entitled *The Present State of the New-English Affairs*. Although this looked like the front page of a contemporary English newspaper, its lack of exact date and serial numbering shows that it was only an "occasional." It gave the news of Increase Mather's activities in England in behalf of a new charter for Massachusetts following the "glorious revolution" and the overthrow of Governor Andros. Its sub-head, "This

[9] One in Boston by Samuel Green in 1685 (issue of February 9, 1684), and one in New York by William Bradford in 1696.

is Published to Prevent False Reports," is an acknowledgment that one of the great functions of the printing of news is to correct the inevitable abuses of rumor.

BEN HARRIS AND HIS PUBLICK OCCURRENCES

It was a year later that the first American newspaper was attempted. It was issued in Boston by Benjamin Harris under the title *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* on September 25, 1690, and it was to be "furnished once a moneth (or if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener)." Four days after its publication, the Governor and Council issued a statement declaring that the paper had been published "Without the least Privity or Countenance of Authority." They found, moreover, "that therein is contained Reflections of a very high nature: As also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports," and they declared their "high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet, and order that the same be Suppressed and called in; strictly forbidding any person or persons for the future to Set forth any thing in Print without License first obtained." And thus the first American newspaper ended summarily after the publication of only one number.

This Benjamin Harris who so presumptuously and unsuccessfully defied the Massachusetts government was a London bookseller and publisher who had come to Boston four years before. In London he had edited a Whig newspaper and published Whig books and pamphlets. He had played what now seems an inglorious though prominent part in disseminating that fantastic dream of Titus Oates known as the Popish Plot—an imagined conspiracy of Catholics to slaughter the Protestants and burn London. Harris's London *Domestick Intelligence* "exposed" the "plot," and helped lead the hysterical persecution of the "papists" which followed. But eventually Harris was arrested for printing a seditious pamphlet, tried before the notorious Chief Justice Scroggs (who denounced the prisoner as a wretch who would "set us all by the ears for a groat"), and was sentenced to the pillory and prison. A few years after his release he fled England, with his wife and children and a stock of books, and set up a bookstore and coffeehouse in Boston. But he had not lost his itch for publishing, and his almanacs and his *New England Primer* brought him prosperity

in the new land. The latter was one of America's first best-sellers; and its pious contents, including the alphabet beginning

A In Adam's fall
We sinned all

and continuing, with crude woodcuts, to

Z Zaccheus he
Did climb a tree,

were committed to memory by generations of New England children.

Publick Occurrences was a three-page paper, 6 x 9½ inches, the fourth page being left blank, doubtless for items to be added by hand when Bostonians forwarded their papers to friends at a distance. It was well written and much newsier than its successors in the early part of the next century. It seems clear that the passages which contained the "reflections of a very high nature" were (1) the one which contained some gossip about the immoralities of the King of France, and (2) that which recounted the recent events of the French and Indian War, and particularly the barbarous way in which the Indian allies of the English had used some French captives. "And if Almighty God will have Canada to be subdu'd without the assistance of those miserable Salvages, in whom we have too much confided," the passage on the Indians concludes, "we shall be glad, that there will be no Sacrifice offered up to the Devil, upon this occasion; God alone will have all the Glory."

Meanwhile in England after the revolution, the situation of the Whigs had improved and censorship was about to be abandoned; and Harris grew homesick for London. He returned to the home country after about eight years in Boston, started still another newspaper, declined in wealth and fame, and spent his last years as a querulous and unsuccessful editor and a vendor of "the only Angelical Pills against all Vapours, Hysterick and Melancholy Fits" and other belauded patent medicines. The too frequent occurrence of the ridiculous in the career of Ben Harris prevents our making a hero of him, but in the one episode which gives him an importance in the history of American journalism he seems admirable, though unsuccessful.

Numb. 1.

PUBLICK OCCURRENCES

Both *FORREIGN* and *DOMESTICK.*

Boston, Thursday *Sept.* 25*th.* 1690.

IT *is designed, that the Country shall be furnished once a month (or if any Glut of* Occurrences *happen, oftener,) with an Account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice.*

In order hereunto, the Publisher will take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation *of all such things; and will particularly make himself beholden to such Persons in* Boston *whom he knows to have been for their own use the diligent Observers of such matters.*

That which is herein proposed, is, First, *That* Memorable Occurrents *of* Divine Providence *may not be neglected or forgotten, as they too often are.* Secondly, *That people every where may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, both abroad and at home; which may not only direct their* Thoughts *at all times, but at some times also to assist their* Businesses *and* Negotiations.

Thirdly, *That some thing may be done towards the* Curing, *or at least the* Charming *of that Spirit of* Lying, *which prevails amongst us, worse than any Plague. Reports may be spread maliciously, or by mistake, whereof the Beginners thereof may never be known. Now we suppose that when any Rumour shall be come to a general Notice among the People, they would think it worth their while to know whether there be any truth in it or no: And when they shall hear that no Account of it can be given at the Fountain, they will easily believe that there is no River. Moreover, the Publisher of these* Occurrences *is willing to engage, that whereas, there are many* False Reports, *maliciously made, and spread among us, if any well-minded person will be at the pains to trace any such* false Report *so far as to find out and Convict the* First Raiser *of it, he will in this Paper (unless just Advice be given to the contrary) expose the Name of such person, as* A malicious Raiser of a false Report. *It is supposed that none will dislike this Proposal, but such as intend to be guilty of so villanous a Crime.*

THE Christianized *Indians* in some parts of *Plimouth*, have newly appointed a day of Thanksgiving to God for his Mercy in supplying their extream and pinching Necessities under their late want of Corn, & for His giving them now a prospect of a very *Comfortable Harvest.* Their Example may be worth Mentioning.

'Tis observed by the Husbandmen, that altho' the With draw of so great a strength from them, as what is in the Forces lately gone for *Canada*, made them think it almost impossible for them to get well through the Affairs of their Husbandry at this time of the year, yet the season has been so unusually favourable that they have had little want of the many hundreds of hands, that are now from them: which is looked upon as a Special Providence.

While the barbarous *Indians* were lurking about *Casco*, there were killing at the beginning of this month a couple of Children belonging to a man of that Town, one of them aged about eleven, the other about nine years, both of them supposed to be fallen into the hands of the *Indians.*

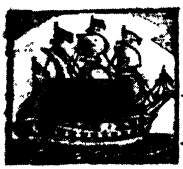
A very *strange* and unusual Happened at *Watertown*, the Husband of this Person, an *Old man*, the cause of his being a Sower and Morose Temper, but one that had long enjoyed the reputation of a Sober and a wise *Man*, having newly buried his Wife, The Devil took advantage of the Melancholy which he thereupon fell into, his Wives Discretion and industry had long been the support of his Family, and he seemed Unmanned with an unjustifiable fear that he should now come to want before he died, though he had very careful friends to look after him who kept a strict eye upon him, least he should do himself any harm. But one evening stepping from them into the Cow-house, they were quickly followed him, found him hanging by a *Rope*, which they had used to tye up their *Cows* withal, he was dead with his feet near touching the Ground.

Epidemical *Fevers* and *Agues* grow very common, in some parts of the Country, whereof, tho' many die not, yet they are sorely afflicted for their iniquities, but in some parts a more *malignant Fever* seems to prevail in such sort that it usually goes thro a Family where it comes, and proves *Mortal* unto many.

The *Small pox* which has been raging in *Boston*, after a manner very Extraordinary is now very much abated. It is thought that far more have been sick of it than were visited with it, when it raged so much twelve years ago, nevertheless it has not been so *Mortal*, The number of them that have

First page of the single issue of the first American newspaper. Size of type page, 4 7/8 x 8 5/8 inches.

NEW-ENGLAND. N° 3.



THE BostonGazette.



Publiſhed by Authority.

From MONDAY December 28. to MONDAY January 4. 1719.

POST OFFICE, January 4.

THE Approbation this Paper has already met with from the better Part of the Town, deſerves a ſuitable Acknowledgment from this Office, with repeated Aſſurances, that it ſhall be carried on in ſuch a manner as to render it both beneficial and entertaining.

And whereas ſome few Merchants have made their Objections againſt the Poſſibility of carrying on and exact Price Currant (in the manner propoſed in the firſt and ſecond of theſe Papers) by reaſon of the different Prices given for the ſame Commodities. This Part therefore is particularly addreſs'd to thoſe of this Town, deſiring their unbiaſs'd Opinions, Whether the continuing of the ſaid Price Currant in the Method already mentioned, will not be a means of promoting in general the Trade of this Place, or the contrary? And it is hereby promiſed, That an entire Regard ſhall be had to the greateſt Part of ſuch Merchants Sentiments, whoſe Judgments in Trade are unqueſtionable; it being the chief Deſign of this Undertaking to endeavour to advance, but not prejudice Trade.

Genoa, October 1.

SIR George Byng received ſome days ago a Letter from Capt. Matthews, Commander of his Britannick Majeſty's Ship the Kent, dated off Palermo the 28th paſt, N.S. which relates that on the 20th about Eleven at Night Captain Scott fell in with a Sattee; it proving little Wind, he ſent his Boat after her, which came up with her: The maſter himſelf fired the firſt Patterero, which wounded Capt. Scott's Cockſwain, cauſed others to be fired, and encouraged his Men to defend the Veſſel; but the Boat clapping him on Board, the Men in her poured in a Volley of ſmall Arms, with which the ſaid Maſter was ſhot dead. They took poſſeſſion of the Veſſel: In her was a Colonel, Aid de Camp to the Marquis de Lede, who had under his Care Packets of Letters from the Court of Madrid, and had juſt time to throw them into the Sea before the Sattee was boarded: He ſaid he left Barcelona on the 21ſt of Auguſt. The Imperial Troops being imbarked the 28th paſt, Sir George Byng let ſail at midnight, and the next morning was in ſight of Corſica: Towards Noon the Wind proved contrary, ſo that he was ſeen off this Port in the Afternoon. But as the Wind was fair all the 30th, we preſume [illegible] conſiderable progreſs in his Voyage.

Hanover, [illegible] his Majeſty has received repeated Advices of the Violences and Severities which of late have been committed and exerciſed againſt the Proteſtant Subjects of the Palatinate. This Perſecution began by the taking away from the ſaid Proteſtants the greateſt part of the Revenues of the Churches of Billigkam, Wolmerſheim and Mozzenheim; was carried on by depriving them of the Church of Creutznach, and of the Church of the Holy Ghoſt of Heidelberg, with the [illegible] thereunto annexed; which not only obliged [illegible] to perform Divine Service in the open [illegible] alſo take from them the means of maintaining their Paſtors; and even the Heidelberg Catechiſm, [illegible] the Principles of the Religion of the Proteſtants, has been forbidden under ſevere Penalties to all the Countries of the Elector Palatine. Inſtances have been made to his Majeſty, by the King of Pruſſia, the States General, and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, to employ his Offices effectually to procure Satisfaction to the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects of the Palatinate, and to provide for their Security for the time to come: Whereupon his Majeſty has been pleas'd to order Mr. Haldane, his Miniſter with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, to repair to the Elector Palatine, and to repreſent to him, That his Majeſty cannot attribute theſe Violences to his Electoral Highneſs himſelf, but rather to the premeditated Deſigns of the Court of Rome, and its Adherents, in order to create Diſturbances in the Empire: That his Majeſty is perſwaded, that when his Electoral Highneſs ſhall be informed of the juſt Grievances of his Proteſtant Subjects, & of the Views wherein they were excited, he will redreſs them as ſoon as poſſible, and thereby prevent the Miſfortunes which may enſue. 1. By reſtoring to his ſaid Proteſtant Subjects the Revenues of the Churches of Billigkam, Wolmerſheim, and Mozzenheim. 2. By reſtoring to them the Church of the Holy Ghoſt at Heidelberg; and the Church of Creutznach, with the Revenues belonging thereunto. 3. By allowing them as heretofore the free uſe of their Catechiſm, their Schools, their Aſſemblies, and their Colleges. That all theſe demands are juſtly founded on the Treaties of Peace of Weſtphalia, and other ſolemn Engagements, and upon Cuſtom & Poſſeſſion: That the Tranquility of Germany being [illegible] eſſentially concerned, and the violent Proceedings againſt the Proteſtant Subjects being ſo directly contrary to the Conſtitution of the Empire, his Majeſty has made it his Requeſt to the Emperor to ſupport and aſſiſt theſe Inſtances with his moſt ſerious Exhortations: to which Exhortations, and to the inſtances which will be made to the Elector by other Proteſtant Powers, His Majeſty hopes he will give due Attention, and apply himſelf as ſoon as may be to prevent the Rupture which his Refuſal may cauſe. The Miniſters of the King of Pruſſia, the States General, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, are to make like Repreſentations to the Elector Palatine on the part of their Principals.

Vienna, Oct. 7. Yeſterday the C. de Wratislaw was carry'd in an armed Chair, guarded by Soldiers, before the Preſident of the Imperial Councils to be examined, about his Correſponding with the Court of Madrid. We know not yet whether he has made any Confeſſion; but 'tis ſaid he was obliged to ſtand all the time where-as he us'd to ſit at former Examinations. That the Gold Key is already taken from him. That his Wife is no longer ſuffered to come to Court. & that ſhe is ordered to retire into the Country. 'Tis added, that C. Colloredo, Gover-

Third number of the Boston Gazette, showing cuts of a ship in full sail and a postrider at gallop, blowing his horn, together with an editorial statement about the first attempt to publish prices current. The type-page measures about 6 1/2 x 11 1/2 inches.

THE FIRST CONTINUOUS AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

After so unfortunate a first attempt, it was fourteen years before the next venture in newspaper publishing. Boston in 1704 was the largest town in the colonies, with about 10,000 population. Its postmaster was John Campbell, a canny, cautious Scotchman; and it was he who, on April 24 of that year, founded the Boston *News-Letter*, the first continuously published American newspaper. Campbell was fifty-one when he began his paper; he had built up a small business as a bookseller, and had been in charge of the post for two years. Capitalizing upon his bookshop acquaintance and the more or less casual news reports brought by the captains of ships arriving in Boston harbor and by his postriders, and employing his brother Duncan as a copying assistant, he had also made a business of writing manuscript news-letters, which he had furnished to a number of public men, including some of the Governors of other colonies.

The newspaper which was the result of Campbell's substitution of the printing press for the pen was on what the printers called a half-sheet; it consisted of a single leaf only a trifle larger than the page of *Publick Occurrences*, printed on both sides, and issued weekly. Sometimes Campbell grew ambitious and printed three or four pages, but this happened seldom; he advertised, however, that those who wanted his "Letter of Intelligence" on a full sheet of writing paper with two pages left blank for correspondence might have it in that format.

In appearance, and in some features of news treatment, the paper was not unlike the London *Gazette*.[10] The entire contents of one of its numbers would scarcely fill two columns of a modern newspaper. With so little space at his disposal, Editor Campbell, knowing probably as well as anyone could the reader-interests of his patrons, filled about two-thirds of his paper with news taken from London journals and dealing chiefly with English politics and court and with European wars. The remainder of an average issue was filled with items, usually very brief, about the arrival of ships, deaths, sermons, political appointments, storms, Indian

[10] Naturally, all early American newspapers imitated London papers, just as those papers imitated each other. There were several London *News-Letters* in the latter years of the seventeenth century.

depredations, privateering and piracies, counterfeiting, fires, accidents, court actions, and so on. Maritime news was always of importance. A few advertisements usually appeared at the bottom of the last column.

The early *News-Letter* seems very unexciting to a modern reader, but its news values should not be underestimated. Campbell had correspondents at several important points, though they were neither regular nor efficient. Too seldom was found the kind of circumstantial, human-interest story that gives life to the dry bones of the news—like one from the Piscataqua (Portsmouth) correspondent in the third number about the capture of a servant maid at a spring near Coheco. But this turns out to be a story "faked" by its heroine—doubtless the first of many stories founded on bold self-defensive inventions from which newspapers and police have suffered. A contemporary marginal comment on the Massachusetts Historical Society copy of the *News-Letter* says the story was "a fiction contrived by the girl to excuse her too long stay at the spring with a young man who met her there." The paper's most sensational news, on the whole, was that which dealt with pirates and piracies, and one of the best stories published during the years when the *News-Letter* was the only paper in the colonies was the account of how the pirate "Blackbeard" (Teach) was slain in hand-to-hand encounter on the deck of the sloop which had engaged the pirate ship.[11]

But the paper did not prosper; the literate, well-to-do public of New England was small, and it was an open question for a time as to whether the people of Boston cared to supplant the old rumor-proclamation-broadside way of newsmongering with the more expensive newspaper or not. The subscription price of the *News-Letter* was twopence a copy, or twelve shillings a year, delivered. That it was considered a luxury is illustrated by the fact that Judge Sewall occasionally presented copies of it to the ladies on whom he called, somewhat as later and less serious gallants present boxes of candy.

The *News-Letter* was suspended twice during its first six years, but it was revived after lapses of two and eight months, respec-

[11] *News-Letter*, March 2, 1719. There is a good account of the *News-Letter*'s stories of Teach by Hugh R. Awtrey in the *Regional Review*, June, 1939 (Vol. II, pp. 11-19), reprinted in *Quill*, August, 1940.

tively. After seven years of publication Campbell complained that he could not "vend 250 copies at one impression." Perhaps a slight increase in page size a few years later and, in 1719, a change in the circulation figure named in his complaint (the publisher now "cannot vend 300 copies at an impression") represented some advance. At least there were no more suspensions.

Campbell's theory of the presentation of foreign news gave little consideration to timeliness. Boston was some two months away from England, anyway, according to the time commonly made by sailing vessels; and a few more weeks or months made little difference, to Campbell's mind, so long as important events were recorded in due order. In short, Campbell thought of news as recent history. But by reason of his meager space and his suspensions, he got further and further behind in his record, so that his recent history at length bade fair to become ancient history. By 1718 he was more than a year behind, and, recognizing some scent of staleness in his "news," he wrote (with characteristically awkward phrasing) at the beginning of the following year:

> After near upon Fourteen Years experience, The Undertaker knows that it's Impossible with half a Sheet in the Week to carry on all the Public News of Europe . . . He now intends to make up that Deficiency by Printing a Sheet [i.e., four pages] every other Week, for Trial, by which in a little time, all will become New that us'd formerly to seem Old.

But the total lack of any English ships bringing London papers to Boston through six months of that fall and winter spoiled Campbell's plan, and he had to try it again the next spring. By the end of May he could write:

> By printing every other Week a Sheet and this Month Weekly a Sheet, we have given you not only the Remarkable Occurrences of Great Britain and Ireland to the 4th of March last; but also all those of Europe beyond Great Britain to the first of October.[12]

This was doing very well with the English news, and about as well as Campbell ever was able to do with his "foreign" or Continental reports.

The *News-Letter* carried a line under its name-plate attesting

[12] For this attempt to "catch up" on his news from abroad, see *News-Letter* for January 12, April 6, May 25, August 10, and September 28, 1719.

to the fact that it was "Published by Authority." This meant that the Governor or his secretary commonly approved the contents of the paper before printing; yet in spite of these precautions Campbell did not wholly escape governmental rebuke.[13] With the suppression of *Publick Occurrences* in his memory, and current examples of the prohibition of pamphlets and broadsides which gave offence coming to his attention, Campbell was shrewd enough to avoid serious difficulties with authority; indeed, small subsidies were paid him from the public treasury in the early years of the *News-Letter*.

Campbell lost his postmastership in 1719, but he carried on his paper for three years more, and then relinquished it to Bartholomew Green, its printer. Campbell was now an old man, but he lived a few years longer, a justice of the peace and a respected citizen of the Boston community.

Green was also a cautious editor, coloring his local news with pious comment, and giving a smaller proportion of space than his predecessor to the "thread of occurrences" from overseas. When he died, after slightly more than a decade of editorship, the *News-Letter* was inherited by his son-in-law John Draper, also a printer. Draper proved to be a better editor and publisher than his predecessors: the paper was enlarged until it consisted of four good-sized pages, and sometimes six, well printed, crammed with advertising, and carrying a respectable quota of news from Boston, from other colonial towns, and from abroad. When John Draper died in 1762 his son Richard inherited the *News-Letter*. Its activities as a Royalist paper will be noticed later; it perished early in the Revolution, at the age of seventy-two—one of the three longest-lived American newspaper in the eighteenth century.[14]

THE BOSTON GAZETTE

The *News-Letter*'s midcentury success was achieved in the face of lively Boston competition. When John Campbell was removed

[13] Campbell lists "Waiting on his Excellency or Secretary for Approbation of what is Collected" as one of the "charges and troubles" of publishing a newspaper. (April 9, 1705.) For the rebuke, see *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1706-1708, p. 231.

[14] The other two were the Boston *Gazette*, seventy-nine years; and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, seventy-two years in the eighteenth century and fifteen years in the nineteenth.

from the postmastership in that town, the new postmaster, William Brooker, seemed to consider the newspaper one of the perquisites of his office; and when Campbell refused to turn it over to him, Brooker started on December 21, 1719, a new weekly called the Boston *Gazette*.[15] But after less than a year of editorship, Brooker was in turn superseded as postmaster. Unlike Campbell, he turned his paper over to his successor, and a series of five postmasters, including Brooker, edited it.

The *Gazette* was much like the *News-Letter* in appearance and editorial policies. It, too, labeled itself as "Published by Authority"; it was, however, a better newspaper—better printed and with later news from overseas. After its five postmaster-editors, it was continued some years by its printers, who greatly improved it;[16] and then it passed into the hands of Benjamin Edes and John Gill, two young men who had just set up a printing business in Boston and who did not hesitate to take a strong position against encroachments of the royal power. By the end of this period Edes and Gill had set the *Gazette* fairly upon the road which it was later to follow in making itself one of the most famous Patriot newspapers of the Revolution.

THE NEW-ENGLAND COURANT

The first printer of the *Gazette* was James Franklin, who had as his apprentice his thirteen-year-old brother Benjamin. But when Brooker lost the postoffice and his paper with it, his successor took the printing of the *Gazette* to another shop. This Franklin resented; and when he was encouraged to bring out another paper by a group of men who chafed under the rule of the civil and religious authorities then in control of the province, Franklin willingly consented to issue the *New-England Courant*.[17] Its first number appeared August 7, 1721.

[15] The prestige of the London *Gazette* and its position as an official paper caused the name to be adopted by many American papers which wished to assume semi-official or authoritative positions. The title became very common in the colonies, and was frequently used as a generic term for any or all newspapers.

[16] Its changes of subtitle, adoption of new series numbering, and one merger have caused some writers to break it up into a succession of newspapers; but its retention of the title Boston *Gazette* without a break for seventy-nine years furnishes good reason for regarding it as a continuous paper.

[17] The name was doubtless taken from that of the first London daily, a bold asserter of the freedom of the press; but "Corant," "Corante," "Coranto," in the

Though it lasted only five years and a half, the *Courant* is one of the most brilliant and interesting of eighteenth century American newspapers. It marked a bold departure from the *News-Letter* and *Gazette* kind of journalism. It was not "published by authority," but rather in spite of it. It had no connection with the post-office, gave comparatively small attention to news, and carried very little advertising. It took for its model, not the London *Gazette*, but such literary essay-papers as the *Spectator* and *Guardian*. It was less anxious to be informative than to be amusing, and with its appearance entertainment may be said to enter the history of American journalism as a definite newspaper function. In his second number Franklin asked for "some short Pieces, Serious, Sarcastic, Ludicrous, or other ways amusing"; and when, about the middle of its short life, an apparent change in management took place, an editorial statement declared: "The main Design of this Weekly Paper will be to entertain the Town with the most comical and diverting Incidents of Humane Life, which in so large a Place as Boston, will not fail of a universal Exemplification." [18]

But the *Courant* did not at first rely upon human-interest essays; it rode in on the crest of excitement over a popular issue. All Boston was talking about inoculation against smallpox; most people were opposed to it, and the *Courant* was launched as an anti-inoculation paper. Smallpox was the great scourge of these times; the first number of the new paper said that over fifty persons had died of that disease in Boston every day for the preceding three weeks. Increase and Cotton Mather, father and son, leaders of the New England religious hierarchy, were strongly supporting the one Boston physician who dared practise the new inoculation treatment.

Some of the writers behind the *Courant* were doubtless less interested in the merits and demerits of inoculation than in a popular attack upon the Mathers, but they had in this newspaper crusade a weapon convenient to their hands. One of the group was an Episcopal pamphleteer-shopkeeper who hated the Puritan rulers because they had once before prevented the publication of

sense of "Messenger," were common names for the earliest English news-sheets. That *Courant* was accented on the second syllable by Franklin is shown by his use of it in verse.

[18] *New-England Courant*, February 11, 1723. This is from young Benjamin Franklin's introductory statement as putative editor.

his religious views; he proved so reckless (if not indecent) that Franklin had to get rid of him after the third week. Another was Boston's leading Episcopal clergyman, another a strongly anti-inoculation physician, another a clever printer-writer, and so on. James Franklin himself wrote for his paper occasionally.[19]

Meanwhile the Mathers and their friends wrote against the new paper in the *Gazette*, the *News-Letter*, pamphlets, and a broadside *Anti-Courant*. A paragraph in the *News-Letter*, supposedly by Cotton Mather and certainly in his literary style, ran:

> And for a Lamentation to our amazement (notwithstanding of GOD's hand against us, in His Visitation of the Small-Pox in Boston, and the threatening Aspect of the Wet-Weather) we find a Notorious, Scandalous Paper, called the *Courant*, full freighted with Nonsence, Unmannerliness, Railery, Prophaneness, Immorality, Arrogancy, Calumnies, Lyes, Contradictions, and what not, all tending to Quarrels and Divisions, and to Debauch and Corrupt the Minds and Manners of New-England. And what likewise troubles us is, That it goes Current among the People, that the Practitioners of Physick in Boston, who exert themselves in discovering the evil of Inoculation and its Tendencies (several of whom we know to be Gentlemen by Birth, Education, Probity and Good Manners, that abhors any ill Action) are said, esteem'd and reputed to be the Authors of that Flagicious and Wicked Paper; who we hope will clear themselves off and from the Imputation, else People will take it for granted, they are a New Club set up in New England, like to that in our Mother England. . . .[20]

The club in "Mother England" to which Mather referred, but which he felt it impious even to name, was the "Hell-Fire Club." Others of the Mather faction did name it, however; and though the members of the *Courant* group (one an Episcopal clergyman) commonly called themselves "Couranteers," the infernal name stuck. A few months later the *Courant*, with appropriate expres-

[19] Worthington C. Ford found what is supposed to be Benjamin Franklin's own file of the paper in the British Museum, with the names of the authors of the longer articles all marked. John Checkley, the pamphleteer referred to above, wrote only the introductory article in the first number and an unfortunate one in the third; he was later tried and fined for libel in a pamphlet. The clergyman was the Rev. Henry Harris; Dr. William Douglass was the physician; and Thomas Fleet, later editor of the *Weekly Rehearsal*, was the printer-writer. For an account of the Franklin file of the *Courant*, see *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, April, 1924 (Vol. LVII, p. 336).

[20] Boston *News-Letter*, August 28, 1721.

sions of condemnation but evidently with a perverse relish, printed an account of the London club—an organization in which members were said to have taken the rôles of God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin, the saints, the prophets, the apostles, the various imps, and the deadly sins; and all were believed to meet together to worship the Devil at an altar of sin.[21]

This first American newspaper crusade did what such campaigns still do: it won the attention of the town, gave a one-sided story, and built circulation, and it made the paper bitter enemies. But it did not accomplish the purpose which alone justifies such efforts ethically: it did not win support for a good cause. For the *Courant* was wrong in the first place. It fought against a beneficent reform, and it used personal attacks in its fight; the facts that it was really warring against the Puritan theocracy and that it employed the same weapons that its enemies used do not form an adequate defense. After a few months, the smallpox epidemic declined, and the crusade was abandoned.

The *Courant* now had more space in its weekly two-page issue for the "Variety of Speculations" which it had promised its readers. "To expose the Vices and Follies of Persons of all Ranks and Degrees, under feign'd Names," wrote the editor, "is what no Honest Man will object against"; and he now proceeded to use the space which his competitors devoted to the proclamations of King and Governor and to foreign intelligence, for that purpose. His writers satirized pretending learning, religious hypocrisy, young Harvard College, and elegiac doggerel (later known to newspapers as obituary poetry). In connection with these themes the Mathers and their friends were still constant objects of attack.

Meanwhile Ben Franklin, the apprentice boy, set type for the paper, worked it off the press every Monday, delivered it to its Boston subscribers, and in his leisure time read Addison and the other London periodical essayists. Ambitious to try his own hand at this game of satire, but certain that his brother would not print his efforts if he were known as the author, Ben stuck his first essay under the door of the print-shop at night; then the next morning he "had the exquisite Pleasure" of hearing the "Couranteers" guessing what learned and ingenious man had written it.

[21] *Courant*, February 12, 1722. The Boston *Gazette* had published, July 17, 1721, a less colorful account of "Certain Scandalous Clubs."

This was the first of the "Dogood Papers," [22] which appeared fortnightly in the *Courant* throughout much of 1722. With what carefully concealed glee Ben must have set these fruits of his candlelight toil in type! Like many other essays in the *Courant*, they were fairly close imitations, in form at least, of Addison's *Spectator* papers, upon which the young writer was striving to form his style; but they dealt with Boston characters and Boston questions. They attracted favorable attention and Ben finally revealed the secret of his authorship; brother James was not pleased, and the series ended.

The aggravating digs at the Mathers entertained the town. Such freedom of criticism of those in authority had never been known before in colonial journalism. One day a dramatic street encounter between James Franklin and the octogenarian Increase Mather provided a new topic for avid but scandalized gossips. The "aged Patriarch," clad in the grave vestments of the Puritan minister, stopped the brash young printer and solemnly admonished him at length, warning him that he was inviting a judgment of God not only on himself but on the whole town of Boston for "bantering and abusing" the ministry. But the next week the *Courant* made capital of the episode. "The Town is become almost a Hell upon Earth, a City full of Lies," wrote Cotton Mather in his diary about this time. "Satan seems to take a strange Possession of it." Among those who must have secretly smiled at the weekly discomfiture of the Mathers was the royal Governor himself, who had been refused support by the popular party (with which the Mathers were allied) in his earlier efforts to license the press.

But when the Governor himself became a target, his smiling stopped. Probably Franklin was emboldened from the first to dispense with "Authority" in publishing his paper by Governor Shute's failures in regard to licensing; but when in the summer of 1722 the *Courant* showed some levity in referring to the government's defense against pirates, the royal Council acted quickly. Pirates were common up and down the coast, and there had been

[22] "Silence Dogood" was the pen-name over which the younger Franklin wrote these essays. Mrs. Dogood was represented as a widow with a keen eye for the foibles of her neighbors. There were fourteen of the essays, and they ran from March to October, "till my small Fund of Sense for such Performances was pretty well exhausted." See Franklin's *Autobiography*.

talk about certain of the Governors being in collusion with them. One day pirate ships were seen off Newport, and the *Courant's* comment came from that town: "We are advised from Boston, that the Government of the Massachusetts are fitting out a Ship, to go after the Pirates, to be commanded by Captain Peter Papillon, and 'tis thought he will sail some time this Month, wind and weather permitting." It was this sarcastic reference to the slowness of the pursuit that offended the authorities; as a matter of fact, Captain Papillon sailed the next day after the *Courant* published its paragraph. Also on the next day James Franklin was summoned before the Council, where he demeaned himself boldly under examination, and was summarily thrown into prison.

During the month that the printer was in jail, the "Couranteers" and the apprentice carried on, without any lessening of the paper's freedom of comment; and after his release there was no little argument, serious and satiric, to show the injustice with which he had been treated. Not until the next year, however, did the government again proceed against Franklin. This time both the royal and the popular parties had been affronted by attacks on Governor Shute and on the ministers of religion, and the General Court took action "That James Franklin be strictly forbidden by this Court to print or publish the *New-England Courant* or any Pamphlet or paper of the like Nature, Except it be first Supervised, by the Secretary of this Province." In order to evade this order,[23] James Franklin resorted to a trick: he canceled his brother's apprenticeship indentures and substituted Benjamin's name for his own in the "imprint" of the paper. Meanwhile he made Ben sign new but secret indentures. This sharp practice was matched by that of the younger brother, who saw that the secret contract was worthless, since it could not be brought into court, and who later ran away to New York and Philadelphia.

But James's ruse was successful so far as the authorities were concerned, and he continued to publish his paper without further interference for three years or more.[24] Though it kept up its enter-

[23] Franklin brought out one issue in defiance of this order. An attempt was made to prosecute him on the basis of this single unsupervised issue, but the Grand Jury refused to indict.

[24] No issues after the middle of 1726 are extant, though the *Courant* may have continued until the beginning of 1727, as Thomas says it did. It continued to bear Benjamin Franklin's name, though he left it in September, 1723.

taining essays, the *Courant* was tamer than before. It had lost its sting.

Some years after he discontinued the *Courant*, Franklin was offered the government printing in Rhode Island if he would set up a press at Newport. There in 1732 he founded the *Rhode-Island Gazette*, first paper in that colony; but it lasted only eight months. He maintained his press in Newport until his death; afterward the widow, her two daughters, and a young son (all of them printers) carried it on. The younger James Franklin, assisted by his Uncle Benjamin, founded the Newport *Mercury* [25] in 1758, today one of the oldest newspapers in America.

OTHER BOSTON NEWSPAPERS BEFORE 1765

But the paper which was, at least in some aspects, the true successor of the *Courant* was Samuel Kneeland's *New-England Weekly Journal*,[26] of Boston. It originated much as had the *Courant:* Kneeland had succeeded Franklin as printer of the Boston *Gazette*, but when a new postmaster-editor took charge of that paper and gave the printing to another shop, Kneeland (as James Franklin before him) decided to start another paper. This was in 1727. The *Courant* had just faded out of the picture, but it had left behind it the example of a more literary journalism, in which the entertainment factor was paramount. Perhaps, thought Kneeland, a paper which would rely largely upon witty essays, but would ally itself with the more conservative majority rather than with a small group of rebels, would be successful.

Kneeland himself had a good literary sense and doubtless wrote some papers for the *Journal;* after a few months he turned the printing over to a partner and devoted himself to his bookstore and his editing. He was fortunate in his contributors. The Rev. Mather Byles was a nephew of Cotton Mather, a Harvard graduate, and a poet and wit of the highest reputation in Boston. The Rev. Thomas Prince was pastor of the famous Old South

[25] "Mercurius," after the messenger of the gods, was the common newspaper title in England in the middle of the eighteenth century, and "Mercury" appears occasionally thereafter.

[26] The "Diurnalls" of the seventeenth century in England were weeklies which gave day-by-day accounts of occurrences; thus the name signifying "daily" did not refer to daily publication (cf. *Acta Diurna*). When the "Weekly Journals" appeared in London early in the eighteenth century, the name had lost the "Daily" significance.

Church. Even Governor Burnet contributed a series of "speculations." Many of the essays were avowed imitations of the admired *Spectator* papers. They dealt with social, human-interest topics rather than with politics—education, the place of women, laughing, dress, contemporary fads. But the *Journal* also printed a considerable amount of news; throughout most of its life it issued four pages, and its news from abroad as well as from the other colonies was equal or superior to that of its competitors. After two or three years the vein of original essays seemed to run out, and articles from London papers on more timely economic and political subjects took their place.

By 1735 there were five newspapers in Boston, a town which still had less than 20,000 population. This situation brought to pass the first American newspaper consolidation: the *Journal* publishers bought the old *Gazette* and merged their paper with it. This happened in 1741, and thereafter for more than twenty-five years Boston was a four-newspaper town. There was the old *News-Letter*, becoming more prosperous under Draper; there was the consolidated *Gazette* and *Journal*; and there were two more recent entries, the *Evening-Post* and the *Post-Boy*.[27]

The *Post-Boy* requires little attention. Begun in 1734 by another of those Boston postmasters who could not persuade their predecessors to pass on to them the editorship of the *Gazette*, it was a commonplace kind of paper. It was suspended for a time in the fifties, but was renewed under a new name and later resumed the old title with some variants. We shall meet it again under the Tory flag in the years just preceding the Revolution.

But the *Evening-Post* was different. It was founded under the title *Weekly Rehearsal* in 1731 by Jeremy Gridley, a young lawyer of literary abilities.[28] For about a year Gridley wrote the essays which filled half or more of each issue; when he tired of the game, Thomas Fleet, the printer who had once written for Franklin's *Courant*, took over the paper. Fleet changed its name to the

[27] *Post*, *Post-Boy*, *Post-Man*, *Flying Post*, and *Evening-Post* were titles of well-known London papers.

[28] Twelve years later Gridley edited the third monthly magazine in the colonies, and the first in Boston—*The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 1743-46. It was modeled closely on the *London Magazine*, and its contents were taken chiefly from the English magazines. No other colonial magazine lived as long as Gridley's. Two weekly magazines had preceded it in Boston. For the first monthlies, see p. 29.

Evening-Post a few years later and made it the best and most popular paper in Boston. Its feature articles were carefully selected, and its news was written with more wit and liveliness than that of most other colonial newspapers. It claimed to be impartial; and, except for its editor's dislike of clergymen generally, it seems to have lived up to that ideal. Fleet died in the closing years of our period, and his sons carried the paper on to Revolutionary times.

CHAPTER II

Early Journalism in the Middle and Southern Colonies

SECOND IN SIZE AMONG COLONIAL TOWNS AT THE BEGINNING OF the eighteenth century was Philadelphia. It was founded in 1683 and William Bradford set up a printing-press there two years later. The town grew steadily, had a rapid increase in population in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century, and about 1740 forged ahead of Boston.

William Bradford was the founder of a great American family of printers and editors.[1] He himself suffered much from the censorship of the Quaker masters of Pennsylvania. In one of the best anecdotes of colonial printing history, we are told how one liberal member of a jury which was considering his disobedience in one instance called for conclusive evidence that the offending pamphlet had been printed in the Bradford shop, and when one of the type-forms from which the press run had been made was brought into the courtroom, "accidentally" stuck his cane through it, and then stood out for acquittal on the grounds that a pile of printer's pi was poor evidence. William Bradford left Philadelphia after eight years of printing there, to set up the first press in New York, but his son Andrew returned to the Pennsylvania metropolis some years later and took over a printing business which had meanwhile been chiefly devoted to the religious literature of the Quakers. On December 22, 1719, the very day after Brooker had issued the first number of the Boston *Gazette*, Andrew Bradford began publication of the *American Weekly Mercury* in Philadelphia. The first newspaper outside of Boston, the *Mercury* was thus the third

[1] The custom of putting the whole family to work in the print-shop often resulted in passing a printing and publishing business from father to son; thus we have such famous printer families as the Greens in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maryland; the Franklins in Boston, Newport, and Philadelphia; the Bradfords in Philadelphia and New York, the Sowers in Germantown, and so on.

continuous paper in the colonies. It was very much like its two Boston contemporaries, though it showed at times somewhat more brightness and freedom in its treatment of local news. It varied from two to three and four pages.

Andrew Bradford, as had his father, occasionally came into conflict with the Pennsylvania authorities. An expression of his "great expectations" that the General Assembly would do something for colonial finances and "revive" the "dying credit of the Province" resulted in the bold printer being summoned before the Council and reprimanded by the Governor. Bradford apologized, and the Governor ordered him "That he must not for the future presume to publish anything relating to or concerning the affairs of this Government, or the Government of any other of His Majesty's Colonies, without the permission of the Governor or Secretary of this Province." This order was not always obeyed,[2] but Bradford managed to keep out of trouble until some years later, when he published an essay on liberty and hereditary power which alarmed the Council again.[3] This time Bradford was arrested; but the authorities were apparently not sure enough of their ground to prosecute, and the matter was dropped. From this time forward the *Mercury* was bolder than ever, reprinting the outspoken English *Cato's Letters* and publishing much on political liberty.

Andrew Bradford died in 1742, and his widow carried on the paper for about four years and then abandoned it.[4] Some years before his death, Andrew had adopted his nephew, William Bradford III, grandson of the founder of the family in America, had taught him the printers' trade, and had made him a partner. But the animosity of his foster-mother had driven William away, and he did not reappear upon the scene until, Andrew dead, he

[2] For example, about a year later Bradford printed a strong criticism of the Massachusetts authorities who had taken action against James Franklin, of the *Courant*, going so far as to call them bigots, hypocrites, and tyrants. *Mercury*, February 26, 1723.

[3] This was next to the last "Busy-Body" paper (see p. 27); it was not written by Franklin but probably by one Rev. Campbell, of Long Island. (Minutes of Provincial Council, September 20, 1729.)

[4] This was the second American paper published by a woman. Elizabeth Timothy published the *South-Carolina Gazette* in 1739; Cathrine Zenger, the New York *Weekly Journal* 1746-48; Ann Franklin, the Newport *Mercury*, 1762-63; and Clementina Rind, the Virginia *Gazette*, 1773-74. Dinah Nuthead conducted a press at Annapolis as early as 1696, but she did not issue a newspaper. All these women were printers' widows. Printers' wives often assisted their husbands.

could at the same time revenge himself upon the widow-editor and establish himself in a good business. He promptly founded the *Pennsylvania Journal* in 1742. Here was a bold paper indeed; in the Revolutionary era it was to become a great Patriot organ and under William Bradford and his son Thomas was to continue for half a century.

FRANKLIN AND KEIMER: THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE

Enter young Benjamin Franklin, runaway apprentice, sauntering down Chestnut Street on a Sunday morning with a great roll of bread under each arm and munching at a third. How Franklin spent the five years between this Sunday morning and the time when he began to plan a newspaper of his own everyone knows who has read his *Autobiography*, a classic of American literature. In 1728 he was established as a rising young Philadelphia printer and was planning to start a newspaper. The only paper in town was Bradford's profitable *Mercury*, for which Franklin had small regard; but there was a third printing office, conducted by Samuel Keimer. Now Keimer, when he heard that Franklin was going to establish another paper in Philadelphia, hastened to start a paper of his own.

Keimer was an eccentric. He had been a religious enthusiast, he fancied himself as a poet, he wore a long beard from religious motives, and he thought himself abused by the world because he had so often failed as a printer. He saw himself as a tragic hero; but in the history of American journalism he will probably always stand as a kind of comic foil for Franklin. And this despite the fact that he probably deserves serious consideration as an early exponent of scientific deism in the colonies. Keimer called his paper *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette*. The preliminary part of the title was in small type; *Pennsylvania Gazette* was the displayed heading. This strange title was adopted because Keimer had the characteristic notion of reprinting serially the whole of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia; Or, an Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, beginning with the letter A and to continue, if the paper lived long enough (Franklin estimated it would take fifty years), relentlessly on down to Z. This was Keimer's contribution to the spread of Rationalism, but from a newspaper view, it was irrational. The first page or so

of Keimer's paper was from the *Cyclopaedia;* the next page or two contained news, including the customary stale news from English papers; then there was a page devoted to some state paper or entertaining essay; and finally the four-page sheet was filled out by a column of advertisements. Later Keimer began Defoe's *Religious Courtship,* the first serial story in an American newspaper. The *Gazette* compared well enough with the *Mercury,* and Franklin thought that it might become permanent and keep him out of the newspaper field in Philadelphia. Therefore he concocted one of those shrewd schemes that were so often effective in his successful career; he and his friends wrote a series of Addisonian essays for the *Mercury* called the "Busy-Body" papers, which attracted attention to that newspaper, satirized Keimer, and thus helped to ruin the newcomer. It seems fairly likely that the impractical Keimer might have failed in any case, but Franklin in his *Autobiography* ascribes to the "Busy-Body" papers a considerable influence on the situation. At any rate, Franklin was able to buy the *Gazette* for a trifle in the fall of 1729.[5] "It not quadrating with the Circumstances of the Printer hereof, *S.K.,* to publish this *Gazette* any longer," wrote Keimer in his valedictory, he had arranged with Franklin to continue it.

Franklin discarded the encyclopedic serial at once; it had progressed only as far as the article on "Air." He beheaded the title, leaving it plain *Pennsylvania Gazette;* he threw out the Defoe serial; he gave the paper a brightness and liveliness unknown before to any colonial paper except his brother's *New-England Courant.* But it was decidedly a better newspaper than the *Courant,* more rounded, with superior news handling, greater advertising, and a handsomer appearance. Franklin was more fully aware of the possibilities, limitations, and responsibilities of colonial journalism than were most of his fellow editors. In his first number of the *Gazette,* he wrote:

We are fully sensible, that to publish a good News-Paper is not so easy an Undertaking as many People imagine it to be. The Author of

[5] The *Saturday Evening Post's* weekly declaration that it was "founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1728" would not be true even if the *Post* were in any sense a continuation of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* since the *Gazette* was founded by Samuel Keimer in 1728 and purchased by Franklin in 1729. Hugh Meredith, Franklin's partner in his printing business, was named as copublisher of the *Gazette* 1729-32.

a *Gazette* (in the Opinion of the Learned) ought to be qualified with an extensive Acquaintance with Languages, a great Easiness and Command of Writing and Relating Things clearly and intelligibly, and in a few words; he should be able to speak of War both by Land and Sea; be well acquainted with Geography, with the History of the Time, with the several Interests of Princes and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners and Customs of all Nations. Men thus accomplish'd are very rare in this remote Part of the World; and it would be well if the writer of these Papers could make up among his Friends what is wanting in himself.

Yet Franklin himself was the most brilliant writer for his own paper. His serious articles and his *jeux d'esprit*, usually printed as though sent in to the editor by a friend of the paper, still interest the reader of American literature. The student of journalism is interested even more, perhaps, in the *Gazette's* evidence of a lively news sense for the unusual and interesting, and in its increasing advertising. By the midcentury, the advertising patronage required a six-page or even an eight-page paper occasionally. The appointment of Franklin to succeed his competitor Bradford as postmaster at Philadelphia was of benefit to the *Gazette* in many ways.

When he was forty-two years old, Franklin was able to retire from active business, a rich man,[6] and devote himself to public affairs and scientific pursuits. His successor was David Hall, a printer whom Franklin had brought from London, and who, in 1766, became sole owner. The *Gazette* was then conducted by Hall and his sons and grandsons, with various partners, until its demise in 1815.

Franklin found both pleasure and profit in encouraging his printers "who had behaved well" in the *Gazette* office by setting them up as printers and publishers in other colonies. Thus he was associated as partner with at least half a dozen newspapers, and he had a hand in the financing of others. These papers are scarcely to be regarded as forming an early "chain"; they were independent, and the only bond between them was Franklin's friendly aid.

[6] Chiefly on the authority of Isaiah Thomas, it is believed that Franklin sold his printing business, bookstore, and newspaper for £18,000, payable £1,000 a year for eighteen years, retaining a partnership interest, itself profitable, until the debt was paid.

THE FIRST FOREIGN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Benjamin Franklin was the publisher and Louis Timothée the translator-editor of the first foreign-language newspaper in the colonies, the Philadelphia *Zeitung* of 1732; but it was abandoned after only a few numbers. There were several similar attempts in Philadelphia and nearby Germantown, in some of which Franklin was interested; but only two of them lasted more than a year or two—Christopher Sower's Germantown *Zeitung*,[7] most popular of eighteenth century foreign-language papers, and Heinrich Miller's *Wochenliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*.[8] Sower was a mechanical genius, master of "26 crafts without a teacher." He not only built his own presses but he and his sons established a paper-mill and type foundry, and made their own ink. Miller had published newspapers in Switzerland and Germany, and had worked as a printer for both Franklin and Bradford. Both of these "*hoch deutsch*" papers were strongly religious in tone.

THE FIRST AMERICAN MAGAZINES

And it was Franklin, the great promulgator of projects, who first conceived the plan of an American monthly magazine. Unfortunately, the man whom he had expected to be his editorial assistant carried the plan to his rival, Andrew Bradford. Just as Keimer had anticipated him in the founding of a newspaper, so Bradford endeavored to get ahead of Franklin with the magazine project. As a matter of fact, the first numbers of Bradford's *American Magazine* and Franklin's *General Magazine* were both dated January, 1741; but Bradford's was on sale three days before Franklin's. Neither was successful, however; Bradford's was continued for only three issues, and Franklin's for six. American society did not yet have the leisure or the culture for magazine literature.

Of the two first magazines, Franklin's was much more varied and interesting. Both published political documents, but the *General Magazine*, unlike its rival, gave not a few pages to poetry

[7] It had various other titles at different times. ("Zeitung" was and is the German generic term for newspaper; compare the English "Journal" or "Gazette.") First published in 1739 as a quarterly, it became a monthly, then a biweekly, and a weekly. It was religious in tone and content, had Tory sympathies during the Revolution, and perished in 1778.

[8] Weekly Philadelphia Public-Post.

and to belles-lettres generally. Both were formed upon English models, but Franklin's was closer to its original.

A second *American Magazine* was published in Boston,[9] and a third was issued for a year (1757-58) by William Bradford III in Philadelphia. This last was easily the most brilliant of the early American monthlies. The Rev. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia (later University of Pennsylvania), was its editor; its chief fare was political and was related to the French War, but its dessert of original satirical essays and poetry was abundant. The "Timothy Timbertoe" essays were directed against the scantiness of "female dress" and were probably written by a group of college students; the "Hermit" essays were religious in subject matter and were written by the editor. A chief purpose of the magazine was to represent the politics and culture of the colonies to the mother country. It had about a thousand subscribers.

WILLIAM BRADFORD IN NEW YORK—THE NEW YORK GAZETTE AND ITS SUCCESSORS

New York was the third colonial city in point of size; likewise, in point of time, it was the third to have a printing press and the third to support a newspaper. The elder William Bradford, chafing under Quaker censorship in Philadelphia and invited to become official printer to New York's Council, moved his press to the Manhattan Island town in 1693. There for many years he was an obedient royal printer to the colony. It was not until he had passed sixty years of age, had seen three papers started in Boston, and had observed his son Andrew's success with the *Mercury* in Philadelphia, that Bradford founded New York's first newspaper, the *Gazette*, November 8, 1725. This forerunner of a great city's journalism was a small two-page paper, poorly printed, and containing chiefly foreign news from three to six months old, state papers, lists of ships entered and cleared, and a few advertisements. One is inclined to agree with a competitor which eventually shattered Bradford's subservient calm that his paper was filled with "dry,

[9] See footnote, p. 22. The early *American Magazines* may be distinguished by their subtitles: Andrew Bradford's was subtitled *Monthly View*; the Boston magazine, *Historical Chronicle*; and William Bradford's, *Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*.

senseless Stuff, and fulsome Panagyrics." [10] Nevertheless, it continued for nearly twenty years.

The New York *Gazette* had two successors, both published by former apprentices of Bradford—the *Weekly Post-Boy* and the *Evening-Post*.[11] Of these the *Post-Boy* was much the more important. Its editor, James Parker, was one of the most enterprising of colonial printers. Enjoying a financial partnership with Benjamin Franklin, he established the first newspapers in Connecticut and New Jersey, published a short-lived magazine,[12] and did the public printing in both New York and New Jersey. The growth of his business made it necessary for him to take in William Weyman as a partner for his New York newspaper, the name of which he changed to *Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*. For some years the *Post-Boy* was the foremost New York paper. It showed a measure of independence and boldness in criticism; and Parker and Weyman were once arrested and brought before the bar of the General Assembly accused of libel against that body, later to be discharged without the threatened punishment. Weyman eventually quarreled with Parker, parted from him, and established his own *Gazette*, which he conducted for nine years (1759-67).

THE ZENGER TRIAL

But the most significant and dramatic of all the events connected with the history of early New York journalism was John Peter Zenger's challenge to authority and his triumphant vindication.

For many years the popular party in New York had been in an almost constant struggle with tyrannical royal Governors. The avaricious, haughty, high-tempered William Cosby, with his love of social gayety and his expensive tastes, was one of the worst of these rulers. Immediately upon his arrival in New York, he plunged into a dispute with the Council of the colony over his salary; the quarrel became bitter, and when Cosby found he could

[10] New York *Weekly Journal*, January 7, 1733.

[11] When Bradford was eighty, at the beginning of 1743, he retired from active work, leaving the *Gazette* in the hands of Henry DeForeest, a former apprentice whom he now made a partner. After about two years, DeForeest discontinued the *Gazette* and started the *Evening-Post*, which he ran for eight years—the first of four *Evening-Posts* in New York. But Parker had already begun the *Weekly Post-Boy* immediately on Bradford's retirement, and had succeeded to the official printing.

[12] See footnote, p. 43.

not control the Supreme Court he removed Lewis Morris, its Chief Justice for many years, and substituted young James Delancey, of the royal party.

Here is where Zenger enters the picture. Zenger had come to New York a poor immigrant boy from the ravaged Palatinate, brought to the new land by charity. He had served his apprenticeship in Bradford's shop, and had later acquired some type and a press and set up for himself. Bradford, be it remembered, was royal printer, and his paper was firmly attached to the "court" party. When Cosby removed Morris, it was Zenger's shop that issued a pamphlet giving the deposed Chief Justice's side of the case. And on November 5, 1733, relying on promises of literary and other aid from leaders of the popular party, Zenger founded the New York *Weekly Journal* to support that faction. James Alexander, a young lawyer, became *de facto* editor.

The new paper was a small, four-page sheet, rather poorly printed. Zenger did not write well himself, but some of his friends did. In the very first number, as colorful and vivid a story as may be found in any paper of this period tells of the recent election of a Westchester assemblyman: Morris had opposed an appointee of the Governor for the contested seat, and though the High Sheriff, who conducted the election, had excluded some Quaker adherents of Morris, the old Chief Justice had been triumphantly elected. There was doubtless a touch of satire in the picture of the dumpy Sheriff, brave in his red uniform complete with cocked hat and sword and mounted on a prancing steed. But there was much more than a touch of satire in the paragraph which, masquerading as one of those advertisements of strayed animals which were so common in colonial newspapers, appeared in the *Journal* a few weeks after the election:

ADVERTISEMENT

A Monkey of the larger Sort, about 4 Foot high, has lately broke his chain and run into the country. . . . Having got a Warr Saddle, Pistols and Sword, this whimsical Creature fancied himself a general; and taking a Paper in his Paw he muttered over it, what the far greatest Part of the Company understood not. . . .

Every reader of the paragraph must have understood that the monkey was a word-cartoon of the doughty Sheriff. It is no wonder

that many of the *Journal's* editions had to be reprinted to satisfy the demand.

But the fight in which Zenger and his supporters were engaged was very serious. Writers of the "court" party rallied to Bradford's support, and a bitter debate ensued. The *Journal* repeatedly accused Bradford of being under the absolute domination of Cosby; the *Gazette* suggested that some variety in language might be attained if the name zenger were introduced as a synonym for *liar*. This was mere sniping, however; the heavy artillery was in the main loaded with articles from English periodical literature. Zenger's writers drew principally upon *Cato's Letters*, the famous contemporary exposition of advanced ideas of liberty and representative government.[13] They also used Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and Addison's essays, the latter already common in colonial newspapers but hitherto used mainly as literary embellishments rather than as weapons in political controversy. Bradford's writers used Addison even more, as well as Clarendon, Hooker, and other famous English authors.

Cosby and his party did not bear the weekly assaults of the *Journal* with equanimity. Chief Justice Delancey, in his charge to the grand jury in January, 1734, called attention to the "seditious Libels" which "with the utmost Virulency have endeavored to asperse his Excellency and vilify his Administration" and "have gain'd some credit among the common People." But the grand jury refused to return any indictments. Again at the October term Delancey urged that it was "high Time to put a Stop to them," but again the grand jury refused to indict. Cosby's Council then tried various methods to punish Zenger, without success, until in November it issued its own warrant for his arrest.

Zenger was closely confined in the jail, and his paper missed one week's issue. The next number contained the following notice:

To all my Subscribers and Benefactors who take my weekly Journall. Gentlemen, Ladies and Others;

[13] These essays by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon were originally published in the London *Journal* and the *British Journal* 1720-23, and in 1724 were issued in a four-volume collected edition. They were very widely reprinted in the American colonies, and their influence in connection with the spread in America of the concept of political liberty can scarcely be overestimated. Early examples of their use in colonial newspapers are in the *New-England Courant*, Andrew Bradford's *Mercury*, and Zenger's *Journal*.

AS you last week were Disappointed of my *Journall*, I think it Incumbent upon me, to publish my Apoligy which is this. On the Lords Day, the Seventeenth of this Instant I was Arrested, taken and Imprisoned in the common Goal of this City, by Virtue of a Warrant from the *Governor*, and the Honorable *Francis Harrison*, Esq; and others in Council of which (God willing) Yo'l have a Coppy whereupon I was put under such Restraint that I had not the Liberty of Pen, Ink, or Paper, or to see, or speak with People, till upon my Complaint to the Honourable the Chief Justice, at my appearing before him upon my *Habias Corpus* on the *Wednesday* following. Who discountenanced that Proceeding, and therefore I have had since that time the Liberty of Speaking through the Hole of the Door, to my Wife and Servants by which I doubt not yo'l think me sufficiently Excused for not sending my last weeks *Journall*, and I hope for the future by the Liberty of Speaking to my servants thro' the Hole of the Door of the Prison, to entertain you with my weekly *Journall* as formerly. *And am your obliged Humble Servant.*

For the next nine months then, Zenger, refused reasonable bail by Judge Delancey, edited his paper "thro' the Hole of the Door of the Prison." The *Journal* contained fewer original articles, but more of *Cato's Letters*. Zenger's attorneys, believing their client could not get a fair trial with Delancey on the bench, boldly attacked the validity of the Chief Justice's commission; thereupon they were summarily disbarred from practice, and an adherent of the "court" party was named to defend Zenger.

On August 4, 1735, John Peter Zenger came to trial. Hopeless though his cause seemed, the whole city was excited and the courtroom was packed with those "common People" among whom the prisoner had "gain'd some credit." The judges entered, impressive in their red robes and great wigs. But attracting more attention than the judges themselves, with his white hair and commanding aspect, was a stranger who sat inside the bar. It was whispered about that he was a Philadelphia lawyer come to defend the printer.

Such was indeed the fact. Zenger's friends had induced Andrew Hamilton, one of the most famous lawyers in the colonies, and then nearly eighty years of age, to brave the New York authorities and appear for the prisoner.

The indictment was based on certain articles in the *Journal* which had asserted that the liberties and property of the people

Numb. XXIII.

THE

New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign, and Domeſtick.

MUNDAY April 8th, 1734.

New-Brunſwick, March 27, 1734.

Mr. *Zenger*;

I Was at a public Houſe ſome Days ſince in Company with ſome Perſons that came from *New-York*: Moſt of them complain'd of the Deadneſs of Trade: ſome of them laid it to the Account of the Repeal of the *Tonnage Act*, which they ſaid was done to gratify the Reſentment of ſome in *New-York* in order to diſtreſs Governour *Burnet*; but which has been almoſt the Ruine of that Town, by paying the *Bermudians* about *l.* 12,000 a Year to export thoſe Commodities which might be carried in their own Bottoms, and the Money ariſing by the Freight ſpent in *New-York*. They ſaid, that the *Bermudians* were an induſtrious frugal People, who bought no one Thing in *New-York*, but lodg'd the whole Freight Money in their own Iſland, by which Means, ſince the Repeal of that Act, there has been taken from *New-York* above *l.* 90,000 and all this to gratify Pique and Reſentment. But this is not all; this Money being carried away, which would otherwiſe have circulated in this Province and City, and have been paid to the Baker, the Brewer, the Smith, the Carpenter, the Ship-Wright, the Boat-Man, the Farmer, the Shop-Keeper, *&c.* has deadned our Trade in all its Branches, and forc'd our induſtrious Poor to ſeek other Habitations; ſo that within theſe three Years there has been above 300 Perſons have left *New-York*; the Houſes ſtand empty, and there is as many Houſes as would make one whole Street with Bills upon their Doors: And this has been as great a Hurt as the Carrying away the Money, and is occaſioned by it, and all degrees of Men feel it, from the Merchant down to the Carman. And (adds he) it is the induſtrious Poor is the Support of any Country, and the diſcouraging the poor Tradesmen is the Means of Ruining any Country. Another replies, It is the exceſſive High Wages you Tradesmen take prevents your being imployed: learn to be contented with leſs Wages, we ſhall be able to build, and then no need to employ *Bermudians*. Very fine, replied the firſt, now the Money is gone you bid us take leſs Wages, when you have nothing to give us, and there is nothing to do. Says another, I know no Body gets Eſtates with us but the Lawyers; we are almoſt come to that Paſs, that an Acre of Land can't be conveyed under half an Acre of Parchment. The Fees are not ſetled by our Legiſlature, & every Body takes what they pleaſe; and we find it better to bear the Diſeaſe than to apply for a Remedy thats worſe: I hope (ſaid he) our Aſſembly will take this Matter into Conſideration; eſpecially ſince our late Judge hath prov'd *no Fees are lawful but what are ſettled by them.* I own a ſmall Veſſel, and there is a Fee for a *Let-paſs*,

Front page of one of the two issues of Zenger's paper on which the indictment against him was based. The type-page measures 5 5/8 x 10 inches.

of New York were in danger from their government, and that the governor had tampered with the rights of trial by jury and the franchise. Hamilton began by making an admission which, in the minds of the court, gave away his whole case; he admitted that Zenger had printed and published the papers in question. As soon as the attorney general recovered from his surprise at this move, he asserted that in view of such a confession, "the jury must find a verdict for the King; for supposing the libels were true, they are not the less libelous for that; nay, indeed, the law says their being true is an aggravation of the crime." This position was unquestionably in line with the decisions which made up the common law in England; but Hamilton was quick to take a larger view and to insist that "the words themselves must be libelous, that is, false, scandalous, and seditious, or else we are not guilty." This was argued briefly, but Chief Justice Delancey soon interrupted with the curt statement: "You cannot be admitted, Mr. Hamilton, to give the truth of a libel in evidence." A further attempt to argue the admissibility of evidence as to whether an alleged libel is true or not was again interrupted by the brusque declaration of the Chief Justice: "You are not to be permitted to argue against the opinion of the Court."

This was the historic moment at which Hamilton made a gesture which was to be highly significant in the long struggle for the freedom of the press. Bowing to the judge, he said, "I thank your honor"; then he turned sharply away from the bench and addressed himself to the jury. "Then, gentlemen of the jury," he said, "it is to you we must now appeal." And putting all the strength of his great personality, all his cleverness as an advocate, and all his historical and legal learning into his speech, Hamilton delivered one of the most powerful court-room addresses of early American history. He appealed to the jury as their own witnesses of the truth of Zenger's statements. He denounced lawless power and appealed to the love of liberty as the only defense against such tyranny on the part of reckless rulers.

Power, [he said] may justly be compared to a great river which, while kept within its due bounds is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed, it bears down all before it and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If this then is the nature of power, let us at least do our duty,

and like wise men use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power . . . .

As you see, I labor under the weight of many years, and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations set on foot by the Government to deprive a People of the right of remonstrating, and complaining, too, of the arbitrary attempts of men in power . . . . The question before the court and you gentlemen of the jury is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of the poor printer, nor of New York, alone; No! It may, in its consequence, affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause. It is the cause of liberty . . . the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing Truth.

After Hamilton sat down, the Chief Justice delivered a brief and confused charge to the jury, which retired and returned shortly with a verdict of "not guilty," upon which there were "huzzas in the hall," and the Chief Justice threatened to send the cheerers to jail.

Hamilton was fêted that night at a celebration at the Black Horse Inn. Zenger was not present, for he was not released from custody until the next day; but we may be sure he was present in the morning when Hamilton, generally hailed as a popular benefactor, sailed for Philadelphia with the salutes of the big guns of ships in the harbor ringing in his ears. Later the board of aldermen sent Hamilton the keys of the city enclosed in a golden box.

This triumph of liberty in New York made a great stir in all the colonies, and in England as well. A Londoner whose letter is printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* observed that nothing published in that city during his recollection had received the attention and applause accorded the pamphlet containing an account of the Zenger trial, and he quoted the opinion of a man learned in law and politics that if the principle stated by Hamilton "is not Law, it is better than Law, it Ought to be Law, and will always be Law wherever Justice prevails." [14]

It is in the nature of an anticlimax to note that the two related principles for which Hamilton pleaded—the admissibility of evi-

[14] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 18, 1738.

dence as to the truth of an alleged libel, and the right of the jury to determine whether the publication is defamatory or seditious—were not firmly established for many years in either England or America.[15] Indirectly, however, the Zenger trial did have a great influence upon the popular feeling as to the importance of the freedom of the press, and upon the development of the concept of liberty in general.

Cosby died the year after the great trial, and the political fight died down. The *Journal*, which had heretofore given little attention to general news, now showed unusual skill in the selection and arrangement of its foreign reports and literary extracts from English magazines. Zenger, who is often thought of as merely an ignorant tool of the political faction, showed, in the eleven years between the trial and his death, real editorial ability. After his death, his widow, and then his son, conducted the paper until 1751, when it perished of non-support.

HUGH GAINE AND HIS MERCURY

After the death of the *Journal*, and the death a year later of the *Evening-Post*, New York had only one newspaper, Parker's *Gazette and Post-Boy*. Hugh Gaine, a young Irishman who had learned the printer's trade in Belfast and later worked for Parker in New York, seized the opportunity in 1753 to found the New York *Mercury*. This paper prospered and by 1760 was often filling five of its six large pages with advertising. Freneau, who later wrote an elaborate satire on Gaine, made him say of these years:

> . . . I set up a press
> And printed away with amazing success,
> Neglected my person and looked like a fright,
> Was bothered all day and was busy all night,
> Saw money come in as the papers went out,
> While Parker and Weyman were driving about
> And cursing and swearing and chewing their cuds,
> And wishing Hugh Gaine and his press in the suds.

The most important episode of Hugh Gaine's earlier experiences with the *Mercury* is his part in a religious controversy be-

[15] The Fox Libel Act of 1792 established the latter principle, and Lord Campbell's Act of 1843 the former one, in England. In the United States, the Sedition Act of 1798-1801 recognized both of Hamilton's principles; but it was many years after that before the states had generally put them into statutory law.

tween the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians as to the control of the projected King's College, later Columbia University. Gaine emerged from the complications of this extended quarrel pocketing profits from both factions.[16] Of his later fame as a turncoat in the Revolution, something shall be said in subsequent pages.

LATER NEW ENGLAND NEWSPAPERS

The first New England newspaper to be firmly established[17] outside of Boston was the *Connecticut Gazette*, of New Haven, which was founded in 1755 by James Parker, of New York. Deputy Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin, who was Parker's business associate, appointed him postmaster of New Haven, and Parker managed printing business, postoffice, and newspaper from New York by assistants. Suspended for fifteen months 1764-65, the *Gazette* was revived for three years more by a nephew of Franklin's, Benjamin Mecom, and then dropped.

New London, Connecticut seaport, had a press many years before New Haven or Hartford. It was conducted by members of that famous family of printers which was descended from one of the managers of the earliest American press, Samuel Green, of Cambridge. But no newspaper was established in New London until Timothy Green, Jr., founded the New London *Summary* in 1758. It was a small paper, but was conducted with ability. On the death of the publisher in 1763, a third Timothy Green immediately supplanted it with the New London *Gazette*, which continued for eighty years.

Late in 1764 the *Connecticut Courant* was established at Hartford by Thomas Green, a brother of the third Timothy. Its important career continues to the present day (1940). But the oldest American paper surviving today is the *New-Hampshire Gazette*, of Portsmouth, founded (in 1756) and long edited by the Boston printer Daniel Fowle.[18]

[16] Two brief periodicals, the *Independent Reflector* and the *Occasional Reverberator* were issued during parts of this controversy, which also involved the *Post-Boy*.

[17] The *Rhode-Island Gazette* was the first one so founded, but it lasted only eight months (see p. 21).

[18] Priority in existing newspapers is as follows: 1756, *New-Hampshire Gazette*; 1758, Newport *Mercury* (now called *Mercury and News*); 1764, *Connecticut* (Hartford) *Courant*. In regard to the last named, it must be noted that the *Connecticut Courant* was discontinued in 1914, at which time it was the weekly edition of the Hartford *Courant*, the surviving daily, which is definitely the outgrowth of the paper

The Providence *Gazette* was begun in 1762 by William Goddard, later associated with newspapers in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and prominent in the development of the post-office system during the Revolution. The *Gazette* continued until 1825.

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS

The earliest newspapers in the South came somewhat later than those in New England and the Middle Colonies. The tendency toward larger farming units, which hindered the growth of populous towns, was perhaps the chief reason for the slower development of the southern press.

Maryland was, however, the fourth colony to have a newspaper. William Parks, who had already been publisher of two English provincial papers, founded at Annapolis in 1727 the *Maryland Gazette*. Parks was a man of education and ability, the equal or superior in his trade of any printer in the colonies, and his paper compares well with any of its colonial contemporaries. The news was generally well written; and the literary department, supported by talented local writers, was for some years distinguished. The *Gazette*'s "Plain Dealer" was the first titled essay series in an American paper. In a few years, however, Parks set up a branch office in Virginia; and though he continued his Annapolis paper through partners for a time, he abandoned it in 1734. Eleven years later another *Maryland Gazette* was begun in the same town by Jonas Green, grandson of that Samuel Green whose progeny were so active in the Massachusetts and Connecticut press. This also was a well-conducted paper, and it continued until 1839.

When William Parks became the first public printer in Virginia, he was not the first who had ever conducted a press in that colony. Despite Sir William Berkeley's pious wish of 1671, a venturesome printer had set up a press in Williamsburg in 1682—the second press in the colonies—only to be met with a flat edict that there was to be no printing in Virginia. But after half a century had passed, and Virginia had become the most populous of all the colonies, her need for a good press was not to be denied, and Parks was invited to Williamsburg. Then, a newspaper being

founded in 1764. All three papers were suspended for varying periods during the Revolution.

a recognized part of a printing business, the *Virginia Gazette* was founded in 1736. Like Parks' Annapolis paper, it was handsome typographically, and it was especially strong in its literary department. The "Monitor" essay series shows a mastery of light social satire unusual, if not unique, in colonial literature. Poetry, too, abounded in the *Virginia Gazette*, much of it, and probably much of the prose, coming from students and faculty of William and Mary College. Parks died in 1750; and William Hunter, later joint Deputy Postmaster General with Franklin, conducted the paper for a little over a decade, maintaining its high literary and journalistic standing and increasing its advertising. Later, with various changes in editorship, introductions of "new series," brief suspensions, and finally a removal to Richmond, it continued until almost the end of the century.[19]

South Carolina had a newspaper before Virginia. The South Carolina General Assembly had advertised for a printer in 1731, and Benjamin Franklin had sent one of his men down there and set him up in one of those partnerships which he found so successful. The next year the *South-Carolina Gazette* was established in Charleston;[20] but the first printer having died of yellow fever within two years, Franklin sent another partner, Louis Timothée (later Lewis Timothy), a Protestant refugee who had learned printing in Holland, had edited the first colonial foreign-language newspaper for Franklin, and had served as the first librarian of America's first public library. After his death some four years later, his son Peter became editor and publisher of the *Gazette* and a man of position and influence in the colony. In its handling of news, the Charleston paper was much like other American papers; but it was perhaps more literary than any of its contemporaries. It published whole numbers of the *Spectator* one after the other, and extracts from the works of the more fashionable Pope, Gay, and Swift; and literary Charlestonians contributed original essay series, satirical and elegiac poetry, and prologues to plays presented

[19] Upon the beginning of the restoration of colonial Williamsburg, a *Virginia Gazette* was established which, after a lapse of some 130 years, continues the original *Gazette*.

[20] Another man who answered the advertisement, Eleazer Phillips, of Boston, founded another paper, the *South-Carolina Weekly Journal*, apparently at almost the same time. But Phillips died six months afterward, and no copies of his paper are known to exist.

in the local theatres. Peter Timothy, and later his widow and their son Benjamin Franklin Timothy, published the paper until shortly after the end of the century.[21]

North Carolina had no newspaper until its government had brought James Davis down from Virginia to do the public printing. He founded the *North-Carolina Gazette* at New Bern in 1751, and continued it, not without suspensions and changes of name, until the Revolution. Davis was not only public printer and postmaster, but Sheriff and member of the House of Burgesses.

James Johnston, a Scotch printer, established the *Georgia Gazette* at Savannah in 1763. He was at that time printer for the colony and a bookseller. Except for a short suspension at the time of the Stamp Act and a long interim during the Revolution, he continued his paper for forty years.

[21] A third Charleston paper, founded in 1758, was the *South-Carolina Weekly Gazette*. As the *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, and finally as the *Royal Gazette*, it had a stormy career as a loyalist organ. Robert Wells and afterward his son John were its publishers.

CHAPTER III

What the First American Newspapers Were Like

ALL BUT TWO OF THE COLONIES HAD NEWSPAPERS AT THE END of this period in January, 1765. The two were Delaware and New Jersey.[1] There were four papers in Boston and three in New York; while in Philadelphia there were two papers in English and one in German, with another German paper in nearby Germantown. In New England, Connecticut and Rhode Island each had two papers; and in the South, the two Carolinas each had two. The other four colonies each had one paper, published at its seat of government, making a total of twenty-three newspapers. All of them were weeklies.[2]

In addition to these twenty-three, there had been an almost equivalent number[3] started which had been abandoned before 1765, most of them very short-lived, but varying in longevity from the single issue of *Publick Occurrences* to the twenty-six years of Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury*.

FORMAT AND MECHANICS OF EARLY NEWSPAPERS

By 1765 most of the papers in the larger towns were being printed on folio or crown sheets; that is, they had four pages, each measuring about 11 x 17 or 10 x 15 inches instead of the smaller pages and half-sheets of the earlier newspapers. A few of them

[1] Thomas is the sole authority for the statement that James Adams, a Wilmington printer, published a Delaware paper "entitled, if my information is correct, the *Wilmington Courant*" for six months in 1762. New Jersey had a monthly magazine (James Parker's *New American Magazine*, 1758-60, at Woodbridge) before it had a newspaper.

[2] Brief experiments with the semiweekly idea were made by the Boston *Gazette* in 1721 and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1729.

[3] Exact statements are perilous for several reasons, the chief of which involves the question of what makes a new paper. In the present calculation, changes of name, adoption of new series numbering, and comparatively brief suspensions have been disregarded.

occasionally issued six or eight pages of this size to accommodate a large advertising patronage. The smaller town, however, had to remain content, in most cases, with sheets or half-sheets of pot or foolscap, especially when the arrival of news was interrupted by bad weather.

The smaller American papers often used worn type, and ink and presswork were sometimes inferior. The front page, however, was frequently "dressed up" with emblematic cuts set at both ends of the title or in the middle of it; these were commonly engraved on type-metal and might represent, crudely or with some artistry, the royal or provincial arms, a ship in full sail, or a postrider at gallop.[4] The first cut in an American newspaper was one of a sea-ensign (indicating colors) in the *News-Letter* January 26, 1707. Factotums, or "facs," were also used for front-page decoration.[5] Caslon type-faces improved the appearance of some papers about 1750. Sizes were usually long primer or small pica. Occasionally a printer was forced to set his paper in two or three sizes of type, not in order to display one article more than another, but because he had too small a supply of any one size.

Headings were usually little more than date lines; anything approaching the headlines of later journalism was rare. There are examples of a label head being displayed in from two to four lines of fairly large type—all single-column width, of course. Unusual indeed were the *Maryland Gazette's* headlines over its news of the birth of the Prince of Wales, the future George IV:

Great JOY to the Nation!
A PRINCE OF WALES is Born
GOD Save the KING[6]

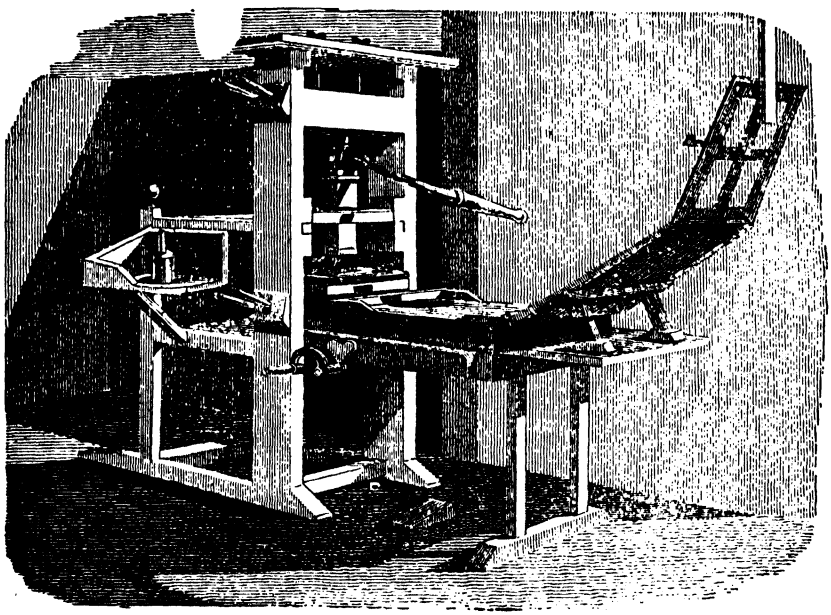
Lack of adequate paper supply was doubtless chiefly responsible for the bad device, not uncommon toward the middle of the century, of printing news and advertisements on margins with the lines running vertically.

[4] See illustration facing p. 11. Zenger had a map of the Louisburg fortifications, by a sailor who had visited there, in his New York *Weekly Journal* December 24, 1733. Rude cuts were used in advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and other papers at an early date (see p. 57).

[5] A factotum is an initial enclosed in an ornamental border. See illustration on page 96. The use of the large initial for an important article was the rule in the typography of the time.

[6] *Maryland Gazette*, October 21, 1762. The type was great primer.

Most printing-paper was imported from England, though nine papermills existed in the colonies for longer or shorter periods before 1765. By a coincidence, the first American papermill was erected in the same year that the first American newspaper was attempted; this was at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1690.[7] But



The common printing press used in the eighteenth century and later. From an old woodcut.

the American mills were crude and small and did not supply more than a small fraction of the colonial demand for stock for newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, books, writing-paper, and wrapping. Eighteenth-century paper was made from rags, and though commonly rough in finish was far more durable than modern wood-pulp newsprint. The two great reasons for the American shortcomings in paper manufacture were the difficulty of procuring rags, and the opposition of English merchants and government to American manufactures.

[7] William Rittenhouse was the first papermaker. He was a Mennonite minister, later the first Bishop of that denomination in America; but he had learned papermaking in his native Holland. William Bradford was associated with him in the Germantown papermill, and later used much of its output in his New York *Gazette*.

Printer's ink was also imported, for the most part, though it was sometimes made up from a printer's own formula. With slight exceptions,[8] presses and type had to come from England. Presses were very much like those used by Gutenberg two and a half centuries before. Made mostly of wood, with a lever-operated screw to bring the platen down to the form on the bed of the press, they wore out after years of service and were not easily repaired. The type was inked by a sheepskin ball filled with wool and attached to a hickory stick; a boy wielded two such balls, transferring the ink from the slab on which it was spread to the form and often bedaubing himself. But it took a man to make the stout pull of the lever which resulted in the impression. Two hundred impressions, or "pulls," an hour was good work. The larger shops had two, or even three, presses.

PRINTERS AND EDITORS

There were some excellent printers in the colonies, as Franklin, Parks, Parker, the Sowers; but there were also many who were careless, lazy, and comparatively illiterate. Some had learned their trade in England or on the Continent; but as time went by, scores of printers came to be scattered through the colonies who had served apprenticeships under the Bradfords, Franklin and his partners, and the Boston printers. Apprenticeship commonly ran for seven years or until the apprentice was twenty-one, and it often began at twelve years or even earlier; during its term the apprentice was the legal servant of his master, and if he ran away could be brought back by force. Apprenticeship was often hard service and it is not surprising that papers contained many advertisements offering rewards for the return of boys who had run away from their masters. Such famous eighteenth-century newspaper men as Benjamin Franklin, Isaiah Thomas, and James Parker could look back on a youthful experience as runaway apprentices. But at the end of a young man's apprenticeship he was a free journeyman-printer and could hire out as he pleased or set up his own business whenever he was able to save or borrow as much as £50 for a second-hand outfit. A new one-press shop could be set up for from

[8] The "handy" Christopher Sower of Germantown built a few presses from 1750 on, probably all for his own use, and also manufactured ink.

£75 to £100. Wages seem to have been low, but figures are deceptive.[9] Hugh Gaine hired out to James Parker in New York in 1745 for nine shillings a week, slightly increased after a few months to take care of his board; but six years later he had saved enough to set up a business of his own, and start a newspaper.

A master printer ordinarily expected to publish a newspaper, and he commonly edited it himself. With but four exceptions,[10] all the American newspapers of this period (as indeed virtually all those of the eighteenth century) were edited and published by printers. This does not mean that these printer-editors wrote all or any considerable parts of their papers. They or their journeymen usually wrote what few local items appeared, compiled foreign news and miscellany by means of scissors and paste-pot, and edited the meagre news from other colonial towns. In some cases, the printer wrote occasional contributions over classical pen-names, addressed "To the Printer of the Gazette." But those to whom the editor referred as his "authors" were commonly professional men with a turn for writing who supplied him with contributions on social topics or public affairs more or less faithfully. In some cases these contributors were rather loosely organized into clubs, such as the "society" organized to produce "speculative entertainment" for the *New-England Weekly Journal*, the *New-England Courant's* "Couranteers" nicknamed the "Hell-Fire Club," and the "Meddlers' Club" of the *South-Carolina Gazette*.[11]

Thus, the editor is to be thought of chiefly as an entrepreneur. He had other affairs besides his newspaper on his hands. He was a job-printer and usually a publisher of books and pamphlets. He was often the local postmaster, sometimes a magistrate, and in many cases public printer. Frequently he kept a bookstore, where he sold his own publications and books imported from London; and occasionally he branched out into general merchandise lines. Franklin advertised coffee, soap, wines, patent medicines, spectacles,

[9] See comment on money, p. 59.

[10] The single number of *Publick Occurrences*, the early Boston *News-Letter* (edited by a postmaster and carried on by him after his removal), the early Boston *Gazette* (also edited by postmasters), and the *Weekly Rehearsal*, of Boston (edited by a lawyer).

[11] The "club" was doubtless sometimes only a literary pretence—a convention derived from the Spectator Club.

Rhode Island cheese, and lottery tickets for sale along with the books and stationery in his store. Keimer sold "English goods," rum, "Melasses," sugar, "plumbs," rice, "fine Pewter," books, and "right good rich Usquebaugh, to be sold at 4s. the bottle." Gaine and many others sold patent medicines. Finally, the printers were usually agents for the local lotteries.

TWO CONCEPTS OF NEWS: AS HISTORY AND AS TIMELY REPORT

News from overseas was the great staple of colonial papers. That is what newspaper readers chiefly expected of their papers; they were English frontiersmen, in the main, connected with England by family ties and commercial and political interests, and they wished to hear the news of English affairs and of Continental matters which affected England.

But the only means which the newspaper had of getting news from England was by sailing ships which crossed the Atlantic in from four to eight weeks, and which could not be depended upon for any regularity even in this slow communication. News from Continental capitals often took two to six weeks to reach London, whence it went out to the colonies. Consequently, news from abroad could be published in America only about two months after it "broke" in London, or three months after an event in Warsaw. This extensive time-lag had a tendency to change the concept of news, originally thought of as new,[12] especially as it applied to foreign reports: the element of timeliness in that concept tended to be subordinated to the idea of an orderly printing of the record long after the event as a matter of historical interest. Campbell in the *News-Letter*, six months or more behind with his "Thread of Occurrences," not because he had nothing which had happened later, but because he wished to give the entire history in order, allowed this history-concept to lead him into a ridiculous situation. His successor Green, though he proceeded to throw away months of the "thread" in order to get down to contemporary times, still

[12] *Newes* originally meant *novelties*, as in Sir Henry More's reference in his *Utopia* (1551) to the "vayne and curious desiere to see newes." Its use in the more limited meaning of *tidings* was common, however, in the sixteenth century, when it was used in the plural, as "these newes." But it was often used in the singular by 1600, as in Ben Jonson's *Staple of News* (1625): "When news is printed it leaues Sir to be news." This quotation emphasizes the newness of news, and that is the connotation of the word in such titles of early English news-sheets as *Courant Newes Out of Italy*, or in Shylock's question, "What news on the Rialto?"

referred to his reports repeatedly as a "history" of politics and public affairs.[13] Parker, one of the best of colonial editors, headed his foreign news "The History of Europe, &c." It should be remembered, however, that this old news was fresh to his readers.

Thus, though the idea of timeliness was never quite lost, colonial editors generally grew careless about it. There were winter issues of Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* in which, no ships having arrived for weeks, stale London stories six months old were inserted in lieu of foreign news. A typical winter number of this paper[14] carried several London items of accidents and crimes five and six months old, a local counterfeiting story, acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly and news of its adjournment, a paragraph about a big snowstorm, the Philadelphia and New York shipping record, a shipwreck story from New York without date, and an important piece of news introduced as follows:

> Saturday last, a Sloop arrived here in about a week from Boston; which brings an Account, that the Day before she sailed, a Brigantine came in from London, with advice that the Peace between England and Spain is concluded . . .

as well as several other important items, which are set forth. Then, witnessing Franklin's superior news sense, the advertising section, which usually came last in the paper, was followed by a heading "Postscript," and another series of items was introduced by the statement, "This Evening the Post came in, and brings the following Advices"; these "advices" consisted of a London political item four months old, a Boston storm item one month old, a clipping from a New York paper of five days before giving Boston shipwreck news and something more about the arrival of the news of the peace in that town, and another New York clipping three days old about the arrival of sloops from Jamaica and South Carolina with war news. By such devious and tardy routes came the foreign news to colonial papers.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS-GATHERING

The papers from overseas usually came by the hands of the ship captains, and such introductory phrases as the one just quoted

[13] Boston *News-Letter*, March 7, 1723; November 5, 1730, etc.
[14] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 19, 1730.

from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* are common. But in addition to these news sources, letters from abroad, received either by the local printer-editor or, more frequently, by a friendly merchant or official, were often used to advantage.

Campbell occasionally complained in his *News-Letter* of "the great Charge he is at for several Setts of Publick Prints, by sundry Vessels from London," [15] and printers starting newspapers commonly assured their prospective readers that they had subscribed for the London papers. Copies of letters from abroad were solicited. "We Desire those Gentlemen that receive any Authentick Account of News from *Europe*, or other places, which may be proper for this paper, that they will please favour Us with a Copy," wrote Andrew Bradford in an early number of his *American Weekly Mercury*.[16]

News from other American towns and colonies was not abundant in the early colonial newspapers, but most printers made efforts to obtain such "intelligence." The *News-Letter* had regular correspondents in New York, Newport, Piscataqua (Portsmouth), Philadelphia, and Salem; but their news was irregular and chiefly maritime in subject matter.

> There is nothing arrived either here or at Philadelphia since my last, [writes the New York correspondent] and therefore not a word of News. It is now a North East Storm of Wind and Snow, blows hard and is very Cold. Cleared Out *Smith* for Curacao and *Sandford* for Barbados. Entered Out *Rolland* for St. Christophers.[17]

These correspondents were doubtless postmasters, as were those of the Boston *Gazette* and some other papers. Certain printers had correspondents in inland villages; Franklin writes: "Our Country Correspondents are desired to acquaint us, as soon as they can conveniently, with every remarkable Accident, Occurrence, &c fit for public Notice." [18]

Eventually, with the founding of newspapers in all the leading towns, the printer-editors came to depend chiefly upon each other for their intercolonial news. By common consent they helped

[15] Boston *News-Letter*, August 10, 1719.
[16] *American Weekly Mercury*, February 23, 1720.
[17] Boston *News-Letter*, February 22, 1713. Date of New York dispatch, February 8.
[18] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 16, 1729.

themselves to one another's news stories without credit, as they had appropriated the contents of foreign papers. But letters were important news sources in this department also.

Weekly publication interfered with timeliness. For example, Louisburg was surrendered to the British on June 17, 1745; and the news arrived in Boston about midnight of July 2 by an officer who brought letters from the besieging army. The *Post-Boy* and the *News-Letter*, whose regular publication days fell on the fourth, got the "break" on this story; but the *Gazette* could not use it until the ninth. The *Virginia Gazette* issued its March 1, 1737, number two days early in order to be prompt with its story of the death of Queen Caroline—an example of unusual enterprise. Rarely, a broadside of news—a true "extra"—was issued between publication dates. The first "extra" was the broadsheet issued from the *News-Letter* office telling of the trial of Quelch the pirate and his hanging June 30, 1704. When news came to Philadelphia of the surrender of Fort Cumberland, Franklin published it July 7, 1755, as a "Supplement" to the *Gazette* three days before the weekly was due. "An Express arrived here *from Halifax* (*via Boston*) in 14 Days and proceeded this Morning to General Braddock," said the "Supplement." "By him we have the following important Intelligence, the immediate Publication of which we hope will be agreeable to our Readers."

So far as local news was concerned, eighteenth-century papers seem very neglectful. We must remember that towns were so small that everyone knew what was going on. "There were too many spectators there to make it now a piece of public news," said the *New-England Courant* in mentioning Boston's demonstration of interest in an eclipse of the sun. The history-concept of news called for a record, to be sure, of the deaths of important personages, great storms, celebrations, and the movements of the Governor; but even the most important events were sometimes passed over from political motives, as when Bradford's New York *Gazette* failed to mention the Zenger trial. Events of no real importance were commonly thought beneath the dignity of print. There were some exceptions to the meagre dullness of the local items, however, as in Thomas Fleet's *Weekly Rehearsal* and *Evening-Post* in Boston and Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Fleet occasionally had such an item as the following:

Saturday last a remarkable Accident hapned at *Cambridge*. A Man whose Name is *Edward Farrow*, a Journeyman Barber of this town, being on the top of one of the Colleges, and as 'tis tho't a little mellow, fell from thence into the Yard; and tho' he lay for dead some Time, yet when he came to himself, it appeared he had only received a slight Hurt in his Back.[19]

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

The news from abroad dealt most often with wars and politics. The War of the Austrian Succession, the attacks of the Young Pretender upon England, and the Seven-Years War furnished events in plenty. The crowning of the three Georges, the rise and fall of ministries, court gossip, and the doings of the great in London town were chronicled, together with no little news of crime, disasters, and monstrosities. Royal proclamations and addresses of Parliament to the king were page-one "musts."

Local and intercolonial news was also largely political, and the habit of filling pages with what the *New-England Courant* referred to contemptuously as "*Speeches, Addresses, Proclamations,* and other *public Notifications*" became a real abuse in some papers. Such documents sometimes crowded out more lively news and even shorter items from overseas. Piracy and privateering furnished news, and fires, counterfeiting, murders, robberies, and suicides were occasions for many paragraphs. Maritime news was always important. There were many items about the weather, though regular records and predictions seem to be absent. Smallpox and yellow fever, with something occasionally of medical controversies, were also news topics. Pious obituaries were common.

But the French and Indian War was the great running story of the period. The colonial campaigns against the French, Braddock's defeat, and the triumphs at Louisburg and Quebec were the big news. Stories of Indian outrages were printed now and then, and the protection of outlying frontiers was a lively question. The plan of colonial union proposed by the Albany Congress in 1754 was published by many papers.

Second only to this leading story were the contests between the popular assemblies and the royal Governors and proprietaries, usually set forth by printing the public papers on both sides. The

[19] *Weekly Rehearsal*, July 1, 1733.

newspapers were generally involved in these struggles whether they wished to be or not; quarrels often hinged on whether certain public documents should be published, and the printer had to adopt one side or the other.[20]

Matters of religion got into the papers also. New England papers, particularly, noted sermons on special occasions, citing texts. New York papers became involved in a long battle between Episcopalians and Presbyterians in that city. But the great story of the period in this field was that of the Rev. George Whitefield's seven visits to America in the course of thirty years. The famous revivalist's sermons from Maine to Georgia aroused the fires of controversy, to which the newspapers often contributed fuel.[21]

Society news consisted mainly of marriage and death notices, and an occasional account of the celebration of the King's birthday. Sports news was extremely rare. One of the earliest of such items and probably the first prizefight story in an American paper was a paragraph from a London daily in the Boston *Gazette* of March 5, 1733, about a match "between John Faulconer of Brentfort, Carpenter, and Bob Russel, who keeps an Alehouse at Paddington," on the "Bowling Green at Harrow on the Hill," witnessed by "as great a Concourse of People as ever was known on such an Occasion." "A great deal of money was laid," chiefly on Russel, who was knocked out after eight minutes of continuous fighting.

EDITORIALS AND FEATURES

Printing the news is but one function of the newspaper; others are commenting on public affairs and furnishing entertainment.

[20] For example, in 1747 the New York Assembly gave James Parker its "Humble Remonstrance" to Governor Clinton to publish in his *Gazette and Post Boy*, and the Governor forbade him to print it. When Parker defied Clinton and published the document, the Assembly passed a resolution asserting "that it is the undoubted Right of the People in this Colony, to know the Proceedings of their Representatives." Yet when, six years later, Hugh Gaine published in his *Mercury* the King's Instructions to the new Governor, he was reprimanded by the Assembly for his "presumption."

[21] Thomas Fleet, of the Boston *Evening-Post*, was especially bitter against Whitefield; while his cause was upheld in that city by the *New-England Weekly Journal*, and after that paper had been absorbed by the Boston Gazette, by the latter paper. The Rev. Thomas Prince is supposed to have been the *Journal-Gazette* "author" on this question. Prince was editor of a weekly Boston periodical called *Christian History* (1743-45), which was devoted to support of the "Great Awakening."

There were no editorial pages and few formal editorial statements in colonial papers. Even so public-minded an editor as Benjamin Franklin printed little editorial comment as such in the *Pennsylvania Gazette;* his comment on "free-born Englishmen" following the obituary of Governor Burnet, of Massachusetts, in an early number, and his remarks on "the present disunited state of the British Colonies" at the time of the Albany Congress are the outstanding exceptions to Franklin's rule against editorial outspokenness.[22] The latter editorial was reinforced with the first American newspaper cartoon—that of the divided snake. This was based on the popular superstition that a snake which had been cut in two would come to life if the pieces were joined before sunset, and it showed a snake in eight pieces representing as many colonial governments, with the legend "Join, or Die." It immediately caught the popular fancy and was reproduced in other papers.[23]

Though formal editorials were rare, discussion of public affairs was by no means neglected. It was carried on through contributed letters or essays addressed to the editors (some of them written by the editors themselves) and signed by fanciful pen-names, as well as by extracts from published books and pamphlets. The bolder newspapers contained many such articles. Thus, the New York *Weekly Journal,* during its fight with the Cosby administration, was filled with political articles until it was more a partisan tract than a newspaper. Likewise, the short-lived Boston *Independent Advertiser* (1748-49) was made up chiefly of the political papers of young Samuel Adams and his friends.

Also it should be remembered that there was much editorial comment in connection with the news—what Roger L'Estrange, once licenser of the English press, had called "convenient Hints and Touches." [24] Sometimes these were merely pious or conventional comments, but they could be made telling arguments.

The pamphlet, however, was considered a more appropriate vehicle for setting forth important views than the newspaper. This was partly because the papers, being small, could not afford adequate space for the extensive arguments which eighteenth-century

[22] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* October 9, 1729; May 9, 1754.
[23] See reproduction on p. 96.
[24] London *Intelligencer,* August 31, 1663.

writers loved. When Franklin wished to present a plan for the reform of the currency, he did so in a pamphlet rather than in his *Gazette*. Moreover, the individual had more freedom of expression in his own pamphlet publication than in another's newspaper. It was an age of pamphlets, and frequently these little fugitive pieces were immoderate and irresponsible.

> Pamphlets have madden'd round the Town,
> And drove poor Moderation down,

ran the carrier's address of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as it reviewed the history of 1764.

But personal controversy could not be kept out of newspapers. Some of the early printer-editors tried to outlaw it, with only moderate success. Thomas Fleet wrote in the *Weekly Rehearsal* that he had resolved "never to publish anything wherein the character or interest of any particular Person is concerned or pointed at," [25] and other editors reprinted his creed; but this was a measure of neutrality neither desirable nor possible, and no paper adhered to it. A common doctrine was that the principles of liberty of the press required the publisher of a paper to open his columns to any and all controversialists, especially if paid for it.[26] Franklin disagreed, declaring that his newspaper was not a stagecoach, with seats for everyone; he offered to print pamphlets for private distribution, but refused to fill his paper with private altercations.[27]

As to the entertainment function of the newspaper, though it was sadly neglected by many of the earlier editors, it came to be very important by the middle of the century. The *New-England Courant* was the pioneer in this field, devoting itself almost wholly to amusing essays. And in his first number of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Franklin expressed his intention to make that paper an agreeable and useful Entertainment." [28] Most colonial papers used essays and poetry, original and borrowed, to lighten their pages from time to time. It must be confessed, however, that such "feature" material was often regarded as mere "filler." "When there

[25] *Weekly Rehearsal*, January 27, 1735.

[26] See Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, Vol. I, pp. 11 ff. The Boston *Gazette* (February 8, 1743) says: ". . . it being well known a Bill is generally expected as the Attendant of a controversial paper." Cf. modern theories of partisan propaganda as paid advertising.

[27] *Autobiography* (Bigelow edition), p. 237.

[28] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 2, 1729.

happens to be a scarcity of News," wrote Richard Draper in his Boston *News-Letter*, "we will insert Pieces of Speculation that may be entertaining to the Reader.[29]

More cavalier is the statement of Samuel Keimer in the first number of his *Pennsylvania Gazette:*

> We have little News of Consequence at present, the *English* Prints being generally stufft with Robberies, Cheats, Fires, Murders, Bankruptcies, Promotions of some, and Hanging of others; nor can we expect much better till Vessels arrive in the Spring. . . . In the mean Time we hope our Readers will be content for the present, with what we can give 'em, which if it does 'em no Good, shall do 'em no Hurt. 'Tis the best we have, and so take it.

And he gave 'em an extract from an encyclopedia!

ADVERTISING IN THE EARLY NEWSPAPERS

Advertising represented the chief profit margin in the newspaper business. In the first unprosperous papers there were few advertisements, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the more successful printers were able to fill three to five pages solidly with the announcements of merchants and traders of many kinds. These announcements varied in length from two or three lines to a column or more, but the majority of them were not more than ten lines long. They were usually set single-column width in ordinary body-type with very little display, so that a page of them looked much more like a modern "classified" section than like a page of department-store advertising. At first not even cut-off rules separated the advertisements; but later, rules, English (14 point) lines, and small rude cuts of ships, horses, and runaways came to relieve the monotony of advertising typography.[30]

There was more variety in the matter of advertising than in the manner, and these pages of announcements hold much of interest to students of social and economic history. Prominent always were the notices of runaways—slaves, apprentices, and bond-servants. To these were added during the French War advertisements of re-

[29] *News-Letter*, January 6, 1763.

[30] There were rare departures from the conventional manner of setting advertising, as in Thomas Trowell's general merchandise "ad" in the Boston *Gazette* in 1734, which is set double-column with a great primer line "For Present Money." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* made copious and varied use of small cuts. The New York *Post-Boy* varied type-sizes up to great primer (18 point).

Just Publiſhed,
And to be ſold by the Printer hereof.

A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS in the Operations of the Conſpirators againſt his Excellency the Governor, and the Reſt of the Gentlemen of the Council, in Boſton, in New-England, in the Year 1768. By a Gentleman of that Town.

Which Court may be juſtly put in Remembrance, by Burning the Effigies of them on Fort Hill, within the ſaid City, on the Anniverſary of the Fifth of *March*, 1765; and ſince by Fire-works, Bonfires and other Demonſtrations of Joy; And by another Attempt made in Proſecution of the ſame Infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Bonfires, kindled within the ſaid City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1769; which was providentially and timely diſcovered and reſcued.

CONTAINING,

I. A Narrative of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the ſeveral Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confeſſions*, with Notes, Obſervations and Reflections occaſionally interſperſed throughout the Whole.

II. An Appendix, wherein is ſet forth ſome additional Evidence concerning the late Conſpiracy and Conſpirators, which has come to Light ſince their Trials and Execution.

III. Lives of the ſeveral Perſons (Whites and Blacks) executed as well as of thoſe who died in Priſon, with their Characters whereto.

Printed by the Recorder of the City of New-York.

And ſold at the Printing-Office in Fanuil's Hall Market.

CHOICE GOOD INDIGO, to be ſold by Samuel Hazard, with Variety of European Goods.

STRAY'D or Stolen, from David Reynolds, of Springfield Township, Philadelphia County, a ſmall black Horſe, well ſet, natural Pacer; neither Brand nor Ear Mark, but hath a Lump on his Breaſt, which happen'd by a Sore, about as large as a Partridge Egg. 6 Years old, 13 Hands high, trim'd Mane, two new Shoes on his fore Feet, no white about him. Whoever ſecures him, if ſtray'd, ſo that the Owner may have him again, ſhall have Twenty Shillings Reward, and reaſonable Charges, but if ſtolen, returning the Horſe, and ſecuring the Thief, ſo that he may come to Juſtice, ſhall have Three Pounds Reward, and all reaſonable Charges, paid by

David Reynolds.

To be SOLD,

A Fine large Tract of Land, in the Township of New Hanover, on the main Branch of Perkiomy Creek, Philadelphia County, containing about 200 Acres. Enquire of Margaret Jekyll, as her Tenure is ſtrict.

To be ſold by Sarah Lynn, of Philadelphia, Widow of Joſeph Lynn, deceaſed.

A WATER LOT in the Township of Briſtol in the County of Bucks, bounded by the River Delaware, 30 Foot in Breadth, and by Briſtol Street 30 Foot in Breadth of 30 Foot; the ſaid Lot is ſituate between the Lots of John Hall and Samſon Cary. Enquire of ſaid Sarah Lynn in Philadelphia, where the Boundaries of ſaid Lot, by the Draft and Title, will plainly appear.

WILLIAM REED,

Intending to decline the Buſineſs of Tanning he now follows, on Thomas Chalkley's Plantation at Frankford, has a Leaſe of four Years to try his Place (which may be prolonged) from the Date hereof, being a beautiful Seat, with Variety of choice Fruit Trees, &c. and pleaſant Gardens; the whole in good Order, and very commodious for a Tanner; alſo a ſmall Piece Parcel of Leather juſt finiſhed, to ſell cheap, for Ready-Money or ſhort Credit.

N. B. A good draft Horſe, to ſmall Cart and Geers, all ſorts of Tanning and Currying Tools, and a large Quantity of Bark well bous'd, with divers ſorts of other Houſhold Goods, on reaſonable Terms.

N. B. All Perſons having any Demands againſt him are deſired to bring in their Accounts for immediate Settlement; and thoſe indebted to him, to comply with their Agreements. 30 Mo. 26th. 1764.

RUN away from the 16th of June, from Redpath Field at Chesterfield in the County of Burlington, my two Servant Men, named Henry Cooper about 19 Years of Age, of middle Stature, thick ſet, had on when he went away a light Hat, ſtrong yellow & Hair, had on when he went away an old Felt Hat, an old olive Jacket and Jacket without Sleeves, new cordaroy Breeches, & that he ſtole many more things, as will appear by their Bookings. Whoever takes up and ſecures the ſaid Servants, & that he may have him again, ſhall have Twenty Shillings Reward, and reaſonable Charges.

Benjamin Field.

To be ſold, Imported in the Ship Mercury Charles Hargrave, Maſter, from LONDON, *And to be SOLD by* CUZZINS and SMYTER, *At their Store in Mr. Hamilton's Wharf.*

HOllands, Tandems, ſeven-eighths Hollands, ſeeling ſtrips, Lambrigs, plaid linnet, muſlin, cambricks, calicoes, ferret tape, cheering and inclining diaper, damaſk table cloths, brown holland, ſheeting check, room and boys thread hoſe, ſome and women corded hoſe, ribbands, ſilk handkerchiefs, plain and mottled, ſtrip'd cottons, dimity, fuſtians, durant, ſarſnet, plain and ſtrip'd calimancoes, plain, ſtrip'd, and ſilk caſhmeers, venetian poplins, crapes, worſted and cotton caps, needle pointers, tapes, bobbins, buttons, mohair, colour'd, plain and ſtrip'd and ſewing thread, ſcythe, wood curlew, pottery, ſtationary, cabinet ware, ſcotch ſnuff, &c. nails, cables, roſſia ducks and ſundry other Goods.

For LONDON directly,



THE SNOW *Brothers*, *JOHN EVANS*, Maſter, WILL Sail in a few Weeks. For Freight or Paſſage agree with Strahan, Rotherham, and Cowper, at their Store in Water-Street, or with ſaid Maſter on board.

RUN away from Richard Foote, in Stafford County, the 16th of June, an Iriſh Servant Man, named William South, he is about 24 Years old, middle Stature, with ſhort black Hair, had a Cut on his Head, and a Mole upon his Noſe between his Eyes. Had on when he went away, a fuſt Hat, one check Shirt, a drugget Jacket of a yellowiſh Colour, and a pair of oſenbrig Trowſers, one pair of ſtrip'd Holland Breeches, a pair of ribb'd Stockings, and this Country Shoes, he has taken two Horſes with him, is a Convict, and has been about 18 Months in this Country, he writes a good Copy Hand, and has ſtrong School over face.

Whoever takes up and ſecures the ſaid Servant, ſo that his Maſter may have him again, ſhall have Fifteen Pounds Reward, beſides what the Law allows, paid by

Richard Foote.

N. B. He went in Company with a Servant Man, belonging to Robert Maſter of the aforeſaid County, he is alſo an Iriſh Man, named James M'Gough, he has red Hair, and writes a very good Hand.

BOOKS
SOLD by B. FRANKLIN.

BIBLES of all Sizes, Teſtaments, &c. young mans companion, horace in uſum delphini, crouch's ditto, dyche's and bailey's dictionaries, greek and latin teſtaments, ſterling's cowd and rhetorick, buchanan's pſalms, clark's eraſmus and cordery, lilly's grammar, hoole's parſing ditto, ſpelling books of all ſorts, ward's young mathematician's guide, pardee's Geometries, locke's ſurveying, protractors, gordon's geographical grammars; gazetters, boerhave's inſtitutions of phyſick, shaw's practice of ditto, quincy's diſpenſatory edinburgh ditto, cheyne of health, ditto's engliſh malady, becket's ſurgery, ſharp's ditto, examer of metals, telemachus, ſtanhope's epictetus, lilly's conveyancer, ſchool of arts, brightland's engliſh grammars, pen's no croſs no crown, eraſm's concordance, quarles's embleems, pomfret's poems, watt's lyrick poems, ſeneca's morals, pilgrim's progreſs in three parts, ditto large edition, bunyan's works two Vols. fol. With great variety of other books. Alſo ſtiter, inkpowder, paper of all ſorts, wax, account books, and all other ſorts of ſtationary ware.

MR. Campbell in Burlington ſtreet of ſeptember next, propoſes to keep the cloth's Aſſizes. Thoſe Gentlemen intend to favour him with their Company, may depend upon Attendance.

N.B. The ſaid Campbell will have room for Horſes.

To be SOLD,

A HOUSE and LOT, ſituate on the Eaſt Side of Front Street, between Sarah Shannon's and Jacob Lewis's, over againſt the Prince, in the Occupation of Mr. Boring on the Premiſes.

CALEB, RANSTED, intending to remove to England, as ſoon as poſſible deſires all Perſons, who have any Demands upon him to make upon the firſt Call; and thoſe that are indebted to him, are deſired to bring in their Accounts, in order to be diſcharged; and thoſe that are indebted to him, are to come and pay off the ſame.

To be ſold by *Caleb Ranſted*,

A BRICK Tenement, in Front Street, where John Jackſon, and Joſeph Wharton now live, 16 Feet Front, from Front to Alley, and 40 Feet in the Yard, to a Street, which Tenement is now Rented at 20 Pounds per Annum, and from From to Alley, and clear of Ground-Rent.

Alſo, one Brick Tenement, in Fourth Street, near Market, 24 Feet Front, and two Story high

wards for deserters. "Likely" Negroes and Indians were offered for sale in the papers from Portsmouth and Boston to Charleston and Savannah. An interesting example of the turning of the tables in the matter of Indian slavery is found in the following announcement:

Whereas an *English* Girl, whose name is Malone, was captivated with her Father some Years ago, either at Contocook or Penicook, and is now at St. Louis Falls in Canada, which Girl is now 16 Years of Age: If the Father (who was released about four Years ago) or any other of the Girl's Friends, will apply to the Secretary's Office in *Boston*, they may be informed how she may be recovered from the Indians.[31]

Long lists of general merchandise appear without prices or descriptions. Women's garments, including mantuas, stays, "hatts and millinary, petty coats, ducapes," and so on; liquors, with the ever-present New England rum and English wines; molasses, sugar, salt; live-goose feathers; millstones and mills—the listings are always suggestive. Advertisements of Bohea tea were staple. Bookstores gave long lists of titles.

Lotteries furnished much profitable advertising. There were English statutes forbidding lotteries except by special permission of the legislature, but these approvals seem to have been granted rather freely to worthy causes in the colonies. Some of the colonial treasuries themselves were replenished by lotteries, as were those of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and Harvard College.

Advertisements of quacks and cure-alls were common. Bostonians were offered

An Excellent Medicine, which cures the Cholick, Dry Belly-Ach, Loss of Limbs, Fevers and Agues, Asthmas, Coughs, and all sorts of Obstructions, Rheumatism, Sickness at the Stomach. Surfeits by Immoderate Eating and Drinking, Weakness, Trembling of the Heart, want of Appetite, Gravel, Melancholy, and Jaundice, and is excellent for the Gout. . . .[32]

Then there were the many announcements of vendues, of real-estate and livestock offerings, of the sailings of ships, houses to be let, lost and stolen items, and so on. The first paid advertisement in an American newspaper (in the second number of the *News-Letter*) was about two lost anvils—strange items to mislay.

[31] Boston *News-Letter*, November 4, 1762.
[32] Boston *Gazette*, January 26, 1741.

Lost on the 10. of *April* last off of Mr. Shippen's Wharff in *Boston*, Two Iron Anvils, weighing between 120 and 140 pound each: Whoever has taken them up, and will bring or give true Intelligence of them to John Campbell Post-master, shall have a sufficient reward.

Theatrical advertisements were common in the papers of Charleston and other southern towns, and after the middle of the century in Philadelphia and New York. Forerunner of the modern circus was that "Lyon (the only one of his kind in America)" which was exhibited in South Boston in 1720-21 and later in other towns; he was soon followed by "a very large camel," and later by "a wild Creature . . . called a Cattamount."

Advertising rates were commonly three to five shillings for the first insertion of an announcement of less than ten lines, and one to three shillings for subsequent insertions.

CIRCULATION MATTERS

Price notations in eighteenth-century America, however, are significant only when considered in connection with depreciated currencies, scarcity of coined money, and general price levels. For example, the subscription price of the *New-Hampshire Gazette* when it was founded in 1756 was "One Dollar a Year," which seems cheap enough to modern ears, until we learn that this Spanish dollar is to be "computed this year at £4 Old Tenor." Printed subscription prices based on the pound sterling ran from six to twenty-four shillings a year, with extra charges if sent by post. A common subscription rate was ten or twelve shillings. Fuel and provisions were sometimes accepted in payment.

Circulations in the period ending in 1765 ranged from a few hundred to a thousand or more. At the middle of the century the Boston papers had an average circulation of 600.[33] Possibly five per cent of the white families in the colonies in 1765 received a newspaper weekly; [34] but papers were passed from hand to hand, and each had many readers.

[33] Thomas, *History of Printing*, Vol. II, p. 187. It may be assumed to have been higher by 1765. Goddard would not return to Providence to revive his *Gazette* unless he could get a list of 800 in 1766. He failed to get it, but this may be taken as an indication that New York and Philadelphia papers enjoyed circulations of 800 or more.

[34] This is on the basis of somewhat less than one and a half million white population, and an aggregate newspaper circulation of about 14,000 weekly.

Distribution within the town was by carrier; usually the same apprentice who had inked the forms delivered the papers, still damp from the wetting-down given the sheets before printing, to the subscribers. Each New Year's Day this carrier was allowed to solicit small gifts from the paper's patrons; this was more than the conventional children's New Year begging, for the carriers went forth armed with a versified address to the subscribers written by some local poetaster. These "carriers' addresses" became a journalistic institution and virtually all newspapers offered them annually until well past the middle of the nineteenth century, while some maintained the custom in more recent times. The addresses usually recounted in doggerel the chief events of the preceding year and ended with the request for a small gift. The beginning and end of a typical address may be quoted:

> Since 'tis a Custom ev'ry Year
> When it begins, for to appear
> In an emphatic Rhimish Mode
> To greet you at your own Abode,
> Relating to you Things again
> Which now are past; in humble Strain
> Wishing you all a happy Year
> With Peace, and plenty of good Cheer
> . . . . . .
> Hoping you will not think it strange
> That *Something's* wanting in Exchange
> *Kind Sirs:*—I do not name the Sum;
> *But what you please*; and I'll be gone.[35]

THE POSTAL SYSTEM

Papers to outlying towns and to points in other colonies were dispatched by the regular official postrider,[36] who carried them, not as a part of the mails, but as an outside bundle. Since the printers were very often the postmasters, and therefore the employers of the postriders, newspapers were by common custom carried from office to office free of charge. Fees were, however,

[35] From "The Yearly-Verses of the Printer's Boy, who carries the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to the Customers. January 1, 1746."

[36] Very few publishers employed special riders in this period. One of the first to do so was James Parker, who for a time in 1755 hired his own rider from New Haven to Hartford to deliver copies of the *Connecticut Gazette*.

charged to subscribers living along the postroads when deliveries were made at their homes; and sometimes a postmaster-publisher would discriminate against a rival newspaper publisher, who would be forced to pay a fee to the postrider in order to get his papers carried.[37]

The postrider was a picturesque figure in colonial life. He rode horseback over lonely and often perilous roads and trails, through all kinds of weather, carrying a locked saddlebag containing a few letters, with a bundle of papers tied on behind. When he came to a village he urged his mount to a gallop, put the brass trumpet which had hung on his saddle-horn to his lips, and blew loud blasts upon it as he dashed "post-haste" into town. Such a spectacular entry was appropriate, for the arrival of the mail was an event of importance.

The early development of the postal system in America, as in England, had been haphazard. When the Boston *News-Letter* was started, the American service was still a private monopoly under a royal patent, and extended only to the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia systems, each with its few tributary villages, and the routes between those centers. The postrider made the journey between Boston and New York in one week, except for the three winter months, when he took a fortnight to it. From New York to Philadelphia the post was carried weekly, though the journey required only two days. Cold and snow in the winter, heavy spring rains, excessive summer heat, long waits at the ferries, and accidents due to bad roads made it impossible to maintain time-schedules. Wrote the postmaster-editor of the *News-Letter* in 1705:

> The Eastern Post came in Saturday and sets out Monday night, who says, There is no Travailing with Horses, especially beyond Newbury but with Snow Shoes, which our People do much use now that never did before. The Western Post came then also in, and sets out on Tuesday Morning who likewise says, 'Tis very bad Travailling.[38]

[37] Complaints of such acts were made in Boston against Postmaster Campbell, of the *News-Letter*, by Brooker, of the *Gazette*; in New York against Postmaster Parker, of the *Post-Boy*, by Weyman, of the *Gazette*; in Philadelphia against Postmaster Bradford, of the *Mercury*, by Franklin, of the *Gazette*; then, after a change in postmastership, against Postmaster Franklin by Bradford.

[38] Boston *News-Letter*, February 5, 1705. The "Eastern Post" was the one to Portsmouth. The "Western Post" rode to Hartford and there exchanged mail with the rider from New York.

When, under the provisions of Queen Anne's Postoffice Act of 1711, the post was taken out of private hands, conditions improved but slowly. Routes were extended to Williamsburg, Virginia, and by the end of this period efforts were being made to get the mail through to Charleston, South Carolina; but letters from Virginia to New York were often six weeks on the way, and those from North Carolina more than twice that time. In 1753 two newspaper publishers were made joint deputy postmasters general for the colonies—Benjamin Franklin, of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and William Hunter, of the *Virginia Gazette*. These men were active in improving routes, time-schedules, and rates, though intercolonial communication remained slow and unreliable for many years.

In 1758 Franklin and Hunter made an important change in the relations of newspapers to the postoffice. They required that subscribers pay postage of ninepence sterling per year for every fifty miles or fraction thereof which a newspaper was carried by a postrider. The riders were to collect subscription money for the printers, as well as their own postage fee; and "Papers exchang'd between Printer and Printer" were to be carried gratis.

This last provision emphasizes the great importance of these "exchanges" to the newspaper editor. Local news being held in such low estimation as it was, editors had to rely upon the arrival of papers or letters by ship or postrider to fill their news columns. Note the complaints of a leading New York paper in 1747:

> The *Philadelphia* Post not coming in last Week at the appointed Time, and the Weather setting in very cold, has occasioned both the *Boston* and *Philadelphia* Posts, to set out a Week sooner than they designed, to perform their Stages but once a Fortnight.—We have very little News and the Posts not expected in till next *Saturday*. But as we have lately been obliged to give several Supplements, we hope all such of our kind Customers, as are upwards of one Year in Arrear, will now think it Time to discharge the Same; as the Weather continues very severe, and the Printer but illy provided to stand the Brunt of a long Winter.[39]

This introduces the villain of the piece—the delinquent subscriber, who was to play such a hurtful part in the story of the American newspaper for many years. Few subscribers paid in ad-

[39] New York *Gazette and Post-Boy*, December 14, 1747.

vance, and many took their obligations lightly after they had received a paper for a long time. Appeals to delinquents are common in colonial newspapers. In the last issue of the New York *Weekly Journal*, John Zenger complains that some of his subscribers are in arrears "upwards of seven years!" "My every Day Cloaths are almost worne out," he tells his heedless patrons, and begs them to "send the poor Printer a few Gammons, or some Meal, some Butter, Cheese, Poultry, &c." Upon this cry the famous asserter of the liberty of the press ended.[40]

NEWSPAPERS AND GOVERNMENT

The struggle for the liberty of the press was but one phase of the relations of the newspapers and government during the early colonial period. The chief episodes in that struggle have already been detailed in connection with the histories of the various papers.

In the political strife growing out of the quarrels with royal Governors, newspapers generally printed the documents impartially and avoided editorial comment. There were exceptions, such as the New York *Gazette's* single-minded service to the Cosby administration, a devotion which brought about the founding of the *Weekly Journal* as an anti-administration organ. But the censorship threat was usually effective in preventing outspoken criticism.

Bold political utterance was to come later, however. There were indications of it, indeed, in the latter years of this period, when the Navigation Acts and the writs of assistance controversy were inflaming men's minds. Especially was this true in New England, where the Boston *Gazette's* news of these events and articles on liberty presaged its subsequent leadership in the Patriot cause.

It was the British Parliament's Stamp Act which caused the first general American opposition to the rule of the mother country, and the date of this Act may be said to mark the end of the period of journalistic beginnings and the opening of a new era largely dominated by political discussion. But in this connection it must not be forgotten that two American colonies had imposed

[40] March 18, 1751. The paper was discontinued with this number. John Zenger was the son of John Peter Zenger.

stamp-taxes on newspapers before Parliament's ill-fated attempt. Both of these taxes were levied for war purposes by the popular assemblies—that of Massachusetts in 1755-57 and that of New York in 1757-60—and the tax in both cases was a half-penny per paper. There was much complaint on the part of the printer-publishers, but the taxes were generally paid.[41]

[41] The New York *Gazette and Post-Boy* sometimes evaded the law and was published without the stamp, leaving off its imprint (the printer's name) for protection. The stamp was a small red impression of the King's arms, usually in the center of the first page.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For the Period 1690-1765

THE best sources for the study of the history of American newspapers are the newspaper files themselves. Files or parts of files of fifteen of some of the most important colonial papers are found in photostat in a few of the larger libraries. The location of files of the original issues is given in Clarence S. Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, now available only in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1913-27, n.s. Vols. XXIII-XXXVII, but eventually to appear in book form. This bibliography also gives dates, periodicity, and changes of title and publisher.

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The Press in the American Revolution 1765-1783

CHAPTER IV

Patriots and Loyalists

THE YEARS 1765-83—FROM THE ENACTMENT OF THE STAMP ACT to the end of the Revolutionary War—mark the distinctively political period of American colonial journalism. The publication of news from abroad continued to be regarded generally as the chief business of a newspaper; but as the struggle against England developed, American political affairs took on more and more importance. Five years before the first musket-shots of the War reverberated in the hills around Lexington, there were a few papers which frankly placed politics first [1] and which allowed contributed articles dealing with the growing resistance against English authority to crowd out the news from the London papers.

THE STAMP ACT

The Stamp Act, which was the first of the measures of the English government to arouse a general opposition throughout the colonies, provided that all legal documents, official papers, books, and newspapers should be printed on stamped paper which carried a special tax. For newspapers, this tax amounted to a half-penny for each copy of a two-page paper and one penny for four pages, and in addition there was a tax of two shillings on each advertisement. This was a high tax; on some papers it amounted to fully fifty per cent. Similar taxes in England had met with little or no opposition, but in America another principle was involved—that of taxation without representation.

The Act was passed in March, 1765, to take effect in the following November; thus there was time before the arrival of the stamped paper for not only a storm of protest but, that failing, the organization of a virtually unanimous resistance. Since the

[1] See the "Proposals" for enlarging the *Massachusetts Spy*, December 13, 1770.

tax struck hardest at the printers, it offered them a special opportunity—almost an invitation—to bring the newspapers into a strong opposition to the Stamp Act. The result was the concerted publication of full accounts of the proceedings of all the colonial legislatures, town meetings, and other bodies which protested against the Act, with their "grievances," and of letters to the editor condemning the tax. Writers in the *Gazette* and *Evening-Post*, of Boston, and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, of Philadelphia, were especially bold.[2] Then when the tax-collectors' names were announced in midsummer, the newspapers printed stories of the mobs which hanged these men in effigy, intimidated them, and caused them to resign; and when the stamped paper arrived some weeks later there were more mob stories telling of the destruction of some of the paper. When the day came for the Act to go into effect—November first—nobody dared to distribute the stamped paper.

What were the newspapers to do now, in the face of a law which forbade them to appear without the stamps? Some of them, especially in New England, came out boldly and defiantly as usual. The New York *Gazette and Post-Boy* published an anonymous letter which its printer said he had received, threatening "imminent Danger" to his "House, Person, and Effects" if he suspended his "useful paper by groundless fear of the detestable Stamp-Act." Printer John Holt then argued that he was justified in continuing to publish on unstamped paper because it was the "unanimous sentiment" that the Act was not legally binding, "the execution of said Act being impracticable" because nobody could deliver, apply for, or receive stamped paper "without certain Destruction to his Person and Property from the General Resentment of his Countrymen."[3] The argument was sound.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* and its contemporary the *Pennsylvania Journal* dressed their last issues before the tax became effective in mourning (by means of black rules) and announced a suspension "in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be

[2] Three new papers appear to have been founded in these months in order to voice opposition to the Stamp Act—the Portsmouth *Mercury*, in New Hampshire; the *Connecticut Gazette*, of New Haven (a revival); and the *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, of Charleston.

[3] New York *Gazette and Post-Boy*, December 12, 1765. The anonymous letter appeared in the preceding issue.



Thursday, *October* 31, 1765. THE NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Refurrection to Life again.

I AM forry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-Act, is fear'd to be oblegatory upon us after the *First of November* enfuing, (the *fatal To-morrow*) The Publisher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to ſtop a while, inorder todeliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable Slavery; which it is hoped, from the juſt Repreſentations now made againſt that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every Individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Diſcharge their reſpective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an Opening for that Purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon. WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Remember, O my friends! the LAWS, the Rights,
The generous plan of power delivered down,
From age to age, by your renowned fore-fathers,
O! let it never perish in your hands!
But piously transfuse it to your children,
Yea these, great Liberty, inſpire our ſouls,
And make our lives in thy poſſeſſion happy,
Or our death glorious in thy defence. Addiſon's Cato.

THAT Man is one of the greateſt Bleſſings, which human beings can poſſibly enjoy: When we are depoſed of this earthly happineſs, we are fettered with the Chains of immortal ſervitude. Nations, who are born for the mutual ſupport of each other, ſhould preſerve a Brotherly attachment to the eaſtern and happineſs of their nations with whom they are united, that their mutual diſintereſt of friendſhip might be ſincere and permanent. Where this union is ſeparated by the chains of encroachments on their Liberty, which is the Soul of Commerce, and the ſupport of Life, it degenerates into implacable Enmity, which no time grows inveterate, and finally recoils upon thoſe who have be a the occaſion of its unhappy diviſion: *The Liberty of the Preſs* has very juſtly been eſteemed one of the main Pillars of the Liberty of the People. While this remains ſtanding, the firſt Steps to Oppreſſion are eaſily oppoſed, and the Attention of the People ſeaſonably awakened. When this is ſuppreſſed, the Subjection of the People, and their Minds may admit of a ſudden attack, for it, ſo renders the Secrets of the firſt ſteps difficult, and the Miſeries attending the latter unavoidable. So dangerous is this to lawleſs Power, that the ſtarried oppreſſors have to of late reſolutely oppoſed, or rigorouſly puniſhed So effectual is this to Tiranny, Property, and Happineſs, that the moſt plauſible Attempts to controul it even in the ſmalleſt Degree, have always been moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the virtuous, free, and unbiaſſed Patriot. It is the Priviledge of Britons to ſpeak Truth with impunity, and even to fear no Danger from ſpeaking Error whether in Religion or Politicks The moſt diſtreading to the human breaſt, is the Fear of being puniſhable Cenſures of what is true in Fact or no more than falſe in Speculation - what how unhappily it is we do learn from this laſt Relief in a dangerous and ſick ſtate! How melancholy to ſuppoſe the Knife, or pernicious Phyſician is allowed to explore the Cauſe, or put from the Cure of our manifeſt Diſorders! The love of Life, and Averſion of Pain in ſome Diſtempers, in a frail ſyſtem of the deſperate Circumſtances of the Patient. And in all political Diſorders the more contracted we are under them, ſo much the more are they, and ſo much the more are we for them It is a very happy Circumſtance attending public Virtue and public Spirit, that the more it is violated, the more vigilance is alſo put upon it. No Falſhood formed againſt it can proſper; for it at once deteſts and confutes the darkeſt and moſt inveterate Calumny But although public Virtue cannot be ſhaken by the Indulgence of the moſt unlimited Freedom of ſpeaking or writing, yet Oppreſſion and Tyranny as it derives all its Influence from its ſecrecy, may be extremely benefited by the Reverſe. For private Vices, in Countries ſubjected to the inſatiable Demands of Power and Avarice, the firſt Attempts to inſpire People with a full Senſe of their Condition, are commonly kept in the Dark It is of the laſt Importance to the Views of deſigning Men to ſhut up the moſt ſucceſsful and univerſal Channel of Information from the People, when they are forming ſuch Schemes as need only to be known to order to be Oppoſed. Beſides the Deprivation of our whole Liberty may be puſhed on the ſame Principles as the Deprivation of any individual Part, ſo that the Liberty of the Preſs undoubtedly is.

How ſtudiable is the Enjoyment of Liberty! But how dear-bought are the Bonds of Servitude! Therefore ſincerely to be hoped, that the old *New-England* Spirit ſo exemplarily freſh in former Times, will never condeſcend to Submiſſion to new and unwarrantable Reſtrictions.

A Day, an Hour of virtuous Liberty,
Is worth a whole Eternity in Bondage.

May we all as loyal Subjects, and free born Britons revere and withſtand to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of our Country, in a Manner that ſhall add Honour to our Endeavours; that future Poſterity may reap the Benefit, and Life, at the Hands which were the Inſtruments of procuring it —

That Glory then, the brighteſt Crown of Praiſe,
Which every Lover of his Country's Wealth,
And every Patron of Mankind deſerves;
Will gracefully adorn both Phinea's Deeds
And leave behind an Honour that muſt live
With Praiſe immortal to the End of Time.

Thurſday laſt arrived here the ſhip Philadelphia Packet, Capt Budden, from London, by whom we have the following accounts.

LONDON, *July* 19.

THE hurried in this country hath not prevailed to good as we hoped. The event hath engaged the congregation eſtabliſhed for ſome time, in ſtudying into the ſupplies of prudence for this capital, to ſeek all poſſible means to prevent a freſh ſcarcity.

St James's, Auguſt 17. The king has been pleaſed to appoint the moſt honourable the Marquis of Rocking ham to be lord lieutenant of the weſt-ridings of the county of York, and of the city of York, and county of the ſame city; and alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum of the north and eaſt ridings in the ſaid county of York and of the city of York, and county of the ſame city; and Aſtley, otherwiſe Aſtley, of York.

The king has been pleaſed to appoint the right hon. William Earl of Dartmouth, baron Jeffrys, Edward Earl of Derby, George Rice, John Roberts, Jeremiah Dyſon, and William Fitzherbert, Eſqrs; to be commiſſioners of trade, and for inſpecting and improving his majeſty's plantations in America, and elſewhere.

The king has been pleaſed to grant unto the right hon. Richard Viſcount How, the office of treaſurer of his Majeſty's navy.

St James's, Auguſt 20. By the laſt letters from Col Dalrymple, his majeſty's commiſſary at Dunkirk, we are aſſured, that orders were given by the French miniſters there, for immediately ſetting about the demolition of ſtip, for immediately ſetting about the demolition of the Jetteres, which are the ſupport of the harbour of Dunkirk.

Berlin, Auguſt 1. The tribunal of Great Poland, reſident at Poſnania, has granted permiſſion to the Lutherans at Lobicuta to open their church, which has been ſhut ſeventy years, to provide a miniſter, and to perform divine ſervice in public.

Geneva, July 31. The detachment of one hundred men detached for Louiſiana, are on the march for Peveral, where they are to embark on board the Dutch frigate with a governor, two captains, a lieutenant, and ſurgeon, and forty ſoldiers.

Calais, July 25. Letters brought by the laſt poſt from Gibraltar ſay, the report before ſpread, that the Algerines have killed their Dey, and declared war againſt all the European powers except England and France, proves falſe.

LONDON.

Auguſt 17. On Thurſday at the king's own tavern in Cornhill, an elegant entertainment was given by the committee of North American merchants to Richard Glover, and Charles Garth, Eſqrs; when thoſe gentlemen received the thanks of that body, for their unwearied pains to prevent the bubbles from being bolted upon the private houſes of their fellow ſubjects in America

Part of a letter from an officer in the Eaſt Indies forwarded from the Weſtern county, January 8, 1765.

"In my laſt I acquainted you that we did at laſt reduce Madure. The army has ſince conquered the Antient country for the Nabob, of 200,000 revenue a year We are now under orders to march another chief, or polygear contiguous to the country, both which have mutually maintained an independency of the Nabob till now; merely on account of the impenetrable woods they are poſſeſſed of You certainly have heard before of the memorable battle Mayor Monro gained at Bengal over Sujah Dowla, one of the moſt formidable powers of India. The conſequence of the battle gives the company the command of trade in the greateſt part of the Mogul's dominions; and, without exaggeration, the Eaſt-India company at preſent may be brought in compariſon with Alexander the Great, whole command, from the river Indus to the river Ganges, was not ſo much reſpected as theirs."

It is ſaid the new m. ——y, taking into conſideration the preſent deplorable ſituation of the Canadians, have determined to take up all the Canada bills at par, with intereſt to the preſent time; and afterwards to demand, in the moſt ſpirited terms, *immediate* and *full* payment of France, under pain of all the conſequences that can reſult from a refuſal.

The new lords of trade and plantations will hold a board on Monday next, for the firſt time, at the Cockpit Whitehall.

We hear the new rolls of the ſeveral proprietary eſtates in America, obtained by former grants under the crown are ordered to be made out, as alſo an eſtimate of the annual produce of their land rot, in order to ſurrender a more equitable ſum of levying his majeſty's revenues on that part of the world.

They write from Gibraltar, that Engliſh officers and ſeamen are engaging both there and at Leghorn by foreign agents, to ſerve on board the Algerine and Emperor of Morocco's ſhips of war in the Mediterranean.

Auguſt 20. The right honourable the Earl Cornwallis, lieutenant colonel to the 1ſt regiment of foot, is appointed one of his majeſty's aids de camp, with the rank of colonel of foot in the army.

We are informed, that a gentleman lately very popular in this county, is ſoon to reſide at Louiſaure, in Sutherland, where he intends publiſhing his famed Ile Churchill's poems, with explanatory notes; and we are told he will then, that he has an intruction of publiſhing, at the ſame place, a hiſtory of England from by himſelf.

By a veſſel arrived at Oſtenday from Bellisle there is advice, that the French have correctly ſeveral boateers at Sandy Bay, on the north ſide of the iſland, and in the great road where the deſerter was taken in the long boat by the Britiſh land troops under Admiral Keppel and General Hodgſon.

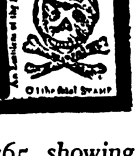
Metz, July 30. We have lord Viſcount Lyndon is likely to be created an earl.

All thoughts of any further changes are ſaid to be entirely laid aſide.

It is reported, that a perſon of high rank, on being lately adviſed a great empire [illegible] of the STAMP-ACT, refuſed it, ſaying, "that he could not poſſibly accept of it, conſiſtently with the love he bore to the Britiſh nation, which would ever be the object of his care and attention."

Monday ſome diſpatches [illegible] to be at Whitehall, were received there from Ruſſia, but as the inſtructions are not yet unſealed

Private letters from Paris mention, that the new regiment



Front page of the Pennsylvania Journal for October 31, 1765, showing the tombstone makeup used as a protest against the Stamp Act.

found to elude the chains forged for us." Methods were soon found.

Most papers evaded the law by issuing their weekly numbers without serial numbering or imprint, and sometimes without the regular nameplate, thus changing their status technically from that of newspapers to broadsides or handbills. For example, the New York *Mercury* was headed merely "No Stamped Paper to be had"; and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried that heading for two issues, and then the title "Remarkable Occurrences."

Many papers, however, underwent brief suspensions. The *Maryland Gazette*, upon its resumption, used the title "An Apparition of the late Maryland Gazette, which is not Dead but Sleepeth." Some papers suspended for much longer periods, especially in the South.[4] But no paper in any of the colonies which were later to form part of the United States appeared over the stamp of the hated Act.

Thus rendered void, the Stamp Act was repealed the following March, though news of the repeal did not reach America until the middle of May. Benjamin Franklin, then agent for Pennsylvania in London, had much to do with obtaining the repeal.

THE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS

This success conditioned the press for its fight against the Townshend Acts, which represented the next effort of the English government to control the restive colonies. Chief of these measures was the one imposing taxes on tea, paper, wines, oil, glass, lead, and paint. To combat these taxes, various non-importation and non-use agreements were entered into in the various colonies, all directed against the trade in English goods. Such an organized popular boycott was very complicated; and the papers were full of proceedings of meetings in which the various agreements were adopted, accounts of the methods used to enforce them, black-lists of merchants who had imported goods contrary to their agreements, and accusations against violators as well as defenses of them.

Paper, sixty-seven grades and sizes of which were taxed by the hated measure, was of the first importance to the printers;

[4] See A. M. Schlesinger, "The Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act," *New England Quarterly*, January, 1935 (Vol. VIII, pp. 63-83).

here again the English government seems to have invited the opposition of the newspapers. Not that some of the papers (like some of the merchants) did not stand out against the great boycott: the first sharp division between the Patriot press and the papers with Royalist sympathies came when the latter opposed non-importation agreements and themselves imported the taxed paper.[5]

EDES AND GILL'S BOSTON GAZETTE

Boston was "the hotbed of sedition," and it was a group of local radicals that filled the columns of the Boston *Gazette* with the kind of political articles which eventually prepared the minds of the people for the idea of independence. The printers of the *Gazette* were Benjamin Edes and John Gill. Both were industrious workmen; Edes had strong political interests and was a member of that radical Sons of Liberty group which John Adams referred to as the "Loyall Nine." During the summer of 1765 they printed the bitterest attacks on the Stamp Act that appeared in any colonial paper, and after the repeal they relented but little in their Patriot propaganda. Governor Bernard referred to the *Gazette* as "an infamous weekly paper which has swarmed with Libells of the most atrocious kind"; and he tried to get a libel indictment against Edes and Gill at one time, and some action in the matter by the House of Representatives at another. The grand jury refused to indict, however, and the House replied by a notable declaration that "the Liberty of the Press is a great Bulwark of the Liberty of the People: It is therefore the incumbent Duty of those who are constituted the Guardians of the People's Rights to defend and maintain it."

Thus protected, the *Gazette* continued to be the spokesman of the radicals and attained the record-breaking circulation of 2,000.[6] "The misfortune is," wrote the Governor in 1770, "that seven eighths of the people read none but this infamous paper." The feeling of the Tories whom the *Gazette* pilloried grew at length so bitter that they circulated a letter among the British

[5] See the long controversy which the Boston *Chronicle* carried on with the local committee in charge of enforcement of the agreements in 1769; also the Boston *Evening-Post*, September 7 and October 12, 1767; and "Brutus" and others in the New York *Journal* in 1770.

[6] See Boston *Gazette*, January 2, 1797.

troops quartered in Boston urging that "those Trumpeters of Sedition, the printers Edes and Gill" and the writers for their paper should be put to the sword.[7] At the beginning of the War Gill withdrew from the partnership and later started another paper.[8] Edes continued the *Gazette* until 1798, though it declined greatly after the Revolution. Both of these Patriot publishers died in poverty.

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE CAUCUS CLUB

The writers for the Boston *Gazette* were, in the main, the members of the Caucus Club—a small and purposely obscure organization designed to control political action. Among them were Samuel Adams, his cousin, John Adams, Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Cooper, and James Otis. John Hancock was another of the group which, as Edes later wrote, "constantly assembled within the confines of the *Gazette* office." [9] There they "cooked up paragraphs" and "worked the political engine," as John Adams wrote; there (if tradition holds) the members of the Boston tea-party donned their Indian disguises.

These men wrote over many pen-names—Samuel Adams is known to have used at least a score of them—and it is difficult today to assign the authorship even of some of the most important pieces. But there is no doubt that Sam Adams was the leader of the group both in number of contributions and in direction of editorial policy. Through his writings in the *Gazette* and his talents for political organization and propaganda, Adams doubtless did more than any other individual to bring independence forward as a practical measure.

Adams's political philosophy, as expounded in the *Gazette*, was based on John Locke's doctrine of the political compact. Every man, he said, is born free; and no man can be a subject of any commonwealth unless he makes himself one "by positive engagement and express promise or compact." On the basis of this doctrine, he argued that the colonists had made such a compact with the King of England but not with Parliament; and so

[7] Boston *Evening-Post*, September 19, 1774.

[8] *Continental Journal*. See p. 81.

[9] Boston *Gazette*, September 17, 1798. Oxbridge Thatcher and Samuel Dexter were also *Gazette* writers. The membership of the Club itself is uncertain; but see John Adams's diary, *Works*, Vol. II, p. 144.

far as that body was concerned, it had no power over them. Such a line of reasoning led easily to the consideration of complete independence. Adams had made up his mind to that solution as early as 1768, and rupture and war were openly discussed in the *Gazette* by 1772.[10]

ISAIAH THOMAS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY

In 1770 another paper appeared in Boston which was to equal and perhaps exceed the *Gazette* in patriotic fervor. This was the *Massachusetts Spy*, founded by twenty-one-year-old Isaiah Thomas.[11]

Thomas is one of the most interesting and important figures in eighteenth-century American journalism. Left fatherless while still a child, he was apprenticed at the tender age of six to the printer Zechariah Fowle. He got his education at the case, setting type for such textbooks as the *New England Primer* and Pater's *New Book of Knowledge*. He ran away to Halifax when he was sixteen, and later, apparently with Fowle's consent, made a trip through the southern colonies. By this time he was a tall, handsome, active young man. In Wilmington, North Carolina, the lady proprietor of a tavern proposed to combine her coffee-house with young Thomas's prospective newspaper; and though his farewells to his temptress upon the wharf took so long that he had to be rowed out to his departing boat, he finally escaped her. When he returned to Boston, he had married a girl from Bermuda, and was ready to settle down.

The original intention of the *Spy* was to be nonpartisan, and it carried a motto "Open to all Parties, but Influenced by None." Thomas was not slow, however, to discover that in these violent times neutrality was impossible. Besides, he was naturally of an independent temperament and was strongly drawn to the Patriot side. Thus, although the Tories had at the beginning hopefully contributed some articles to the new paper, they soon abandoned

[10] Boston *Gazette*, January 6, 27, April 20, September 21, 1772.

[11] His former master, Zechariah Fowle, was a partner of Thomas at first. The *Spy* was begun as a triweekly at only five shillings a year, but the paper was small. Fowle withdrew after a few months and Thomas went on alone, publishing semiweekly. In March, 1771, he gave the paper a fine, large, four-page format and published it weekly. So it continued until driven out of Boston by the British. See illustration on p. 96.

it; and young Thomas was left free to follow his bent and associate himself with men like Otis, Hancock, Warren, Paul Revere, Joseph Greenleaf, and Dr. Thomas Young.

When Greenleaf, writing over the name "Mucius Scaevola" in the *Spy*, called the Governor a usurper, Thomas was summoned before the Council. He ignored the order, however, and snubbed the Council's messenger; and the Attorney General, apparently afraid to stir up further trouble by proceeding against the printer, was forced to content himself by dismissing Greenleaf from his office as justice of the peace.

The *Spy* now filled its news columns chiefly with the proceedings of the town meetings which formulated the non-importation and non-use agreements, addresses to the Governor and his replies, and the activities of the Committees of Inspection, Committees of Correspondence, Sons of Liberty, etc. Political essays anonymously contributed were abundant, and advocacy of independence was outspoken. The successive memorial observances of the anniversaries of the Boston "massacre" were featured. In short, the *Spy* became the most incendiary publication in the colonies. Incidentally, it had a good advertising patronage and reached a new high level in circulation—3,500.[12]

With minute-men training on the greens in New England villages, with Committees of Safety collecting munitions, with rumors of action by the British troops stationed in Boston, affairs seemed, by the middle of April, 1775, to be coming to a crisis. Tory threats against the persons and presses of Patriot printers made it clear that if the *Spy* and the *Gazette* were to be saved to the cause, they must both be moved out of Boston. This was accordingly done, the presses being removed at night. The *Gazette* was taken up the Charles River a few miles to Watertown, seat of the Provincial Congress, where it remained until the British evacuated Boston the next year; the *Spy* went further west to find a permanent home at Worcester.

The *Spy* had difficulty in maintaining the mere breath of life for some years following its removal, but after the war it became prosperous. Thomas established papers in other towns, he branched out in the publishing and bookselling lines, he amassed a fortune

[12] See *Massachusetts Spy*, December 21, 1780. This was the figure reached just before Thomas had to leave Boston.

and became a patron of the arts and sciences. Later he founded the American Antiquarian Society, and wrote the first historical account of American newspapers.

THE BOSTON PRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION

While the Patriot *Spy* and *Gazette* were driven out of Boston by the threatening state of affairs, the Tory papers fared, on the whole, no better. Indeed, some of the Tory printers seem to have been especially unfortunate. Most of them were not drawn to the British side by a sympathy with tyranny, but rather pushed into that alignment by the very impetuosity of the Patriot organization, which brooked no hesitation, no sign of impartiality, no compromise. As we consider the papers which came under the condemnation of the Patriots, we must keep firmly in mind the two points of view on this matter of impartiality: (1) the doctrine that no press is free when it is under the control of one party, and that a self-respecting newspaper must, within reason and decency, print both sides; (2) the immediate political view that all who are not for us are against us, and the printer who publishes both sides is merely carrying water on both shoulders for what he can get out of it. In a time of revolution, there is little or no place for the former view, as several Boston printers found to their cost. All papers not fully aligned with the Patriot cause were generally considered Tory papers; but there were as many degrees of Toryism as there were varying measures of honest devotion to principle and hypocritical venality.

The Boston *Chronicle*, for example, set out honestly to represent both sides of the controversy. Founded by John Mein [18] and John Fleeming, two Scotch printers, in 1767, it was a well-printed and well-edited paper, especially noteworthy for its literary selections; in its second year it became Boston's first semiweekly. But it got into trouble with the Committee which was trying to enforce the non-importation agreements, and was soon embroiled with the fiery controversialists of the *Gazette*. Mein's native stubbornness was aroused, and he did not scruple to devote his paper to attacks on some of the Patriot leaders. Thus he doomed him-

[18] Proper pronunciation of this name is indicated by the line in the verse attached to his effigy when it was carried with insult through the streets of Boston by the Patriots: "Mean is the man—Mein his name."

self: he was hanged in effigy, assaulted on the street, forced to take refuge with the British military. In a final fray he wounded one of the party that attacked him, and after that he had to flee to England to escape prosecution. The *Chronicle* lost its patronage, and it was discontinued in 1770.

The Boston *Evening-Post* was more consistently impartial. It was now edited by two sons of the Thomas Fleet who had made it one of the best of colonial papers. It printed some strong articles on the Patriot side throughout these troublous times, but it also printed some effective letters by the Loyalists. As the fires of party feeling grew hotter, the *Evening-Post* found itself loved by none and hated by nearly all. Just before the outbreak of hostilities, it published an editorial denying that it was being hired to favor "the present arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings of the ministry," including a finely conceived statement that the publishers expected to continue to keep their paper "open for the Insertion of all Pieces that shall tend to amuse or instruct, or to the promoting of useful Knowledge and the general Good of Mankind, as they themselves (who are the sole Directors and Proprietors thereof) shall think prudent, profitable, or entertaining." [14] But after the fateful 19th of April, the *Evening-Post* gave up publication "till Matters are in a more settled State." It was never resumed.[15] So fearful were the Fleet brothers, or so tired of the quarrel, that they printed no story of the Battles of Lexington and Concord; "the unhappy Transactions of last week," they said, in referring to this outstanding news-break of their century, "are so variously related that we shall not at present undertake to give any particular account thereof." [16]

Even the Boston *Post-Boy*, which eventually became a strong Tory organ, had its moments of inclination toward the Patriot side during the year of the Stamp Act [17] and continued to print some Patriot pieces. The *Post-Boy* and *News-Letter* shops both did official printing for the government and became intimately connected, though always under separate ownership. They exchanged type, and for a time they issued a section entitled "The Massachusetts Gazette" in both papers without change. This rela-

[14] Boston *Evening-Post*, March 6, 1775.
[15] The later *Evening-Posts* in Boston were new papers.
[16] Boston *Evening-Post*, April 24, 1775.
[17] See the Boston *Gazette*, August 26, 1765.

tionship has caused the two papers to be called "the Siamese twins of eighteenth-century journalism." The *Post-Boy* became the chosen vehicle for the most brilliant Tory writing of the years immediately preceding the Revolution, including the series of letters attacking the Continental Congress by Daniel Leonard, Boston lawyer, which he signed "Massachusettensis"—such strong letters that John Adams had to reply to them in the Boston *Gazette* in a series signed "Novanglus." The debate was cut short by the Battle of Lexington; indeed the *Post-Boy*, faced with bitter Patriot feeling, suspended publication on the eve of that battle.[18]

Thus, one of Boston's Tory papers ceased publication some years before Lexington and Concord and two others ended their careers within the week of those battles, leaving only the Tory *News-Letter*[19] to carry on, somewhat irregularly, during the British occupation. That old and battered paper gave up the ghost with its issue of February 22, anticipating the British evacuation by nearly a month. After that, Boston was newspaperless for two months; then the *Independent Chronicle*[20] was moved into town from Cambridge to begin a distinguished career, and a month later John Gill, who had been under arrest while the British held the town, started his *Continental Journal* (1776-87). Thus, when Benjamin Edes brought his *Gazette* back to Boston in October, the newspaper picture had changed; his old contributors had scattered; and the *Gazette*, once the leader around which the Patriots rallied, was pushed into the background and an obscurity from which it never emerged.[21]

BRITISH CAPTURE OF NEW YORK: THE JOURNAL AND THE PACKET

Occupation of the various colonial towns by one army or the other, as the fortunes of war shifted, inevitably upset the news-

[18] It was called the *Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser* 1769-75. Young Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks were owners 1773-75; they were afterward associated with Tory journalism in New York as partners of the Robertsons on the *Royal American Gazette*. See p. 86.

[19] Now called the *Massachusetts Gazette; and, the Weekly News-Letter.*

[20] It had been founded as *Essex Gazette* at Salem in 1768, but had been removed to Cambridge shortly after the Battle of Lexington; there it was known as the *New-England Chronicle*. Its Boston history covered an even century; it was called the *Independent Chronicle* 1776-1840, and the *Semi-Weekly Advertiser* 1840-76. See p. 186.

[21] Other papers offered competition in Boston in the latter years of the Revolution—the *Independent Ledger* (1778-86); and a second *Evening-Post* (1778-80), called *Morning Chronicle* in its last few months.

paper situation in each place; some papers were summarily ended, some new ones were begun, and others fled to nearby refuges.

It was six months after the evacuation of Boston by the British that the Patriot forces had to abandon New York. At that time (September, 1776) there were four papers in the town: John Holt's *Journal*, which was a continuation of Parker's *Post-Boy* [22] and was a prosperous and able paper; Hugh Gaine's *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, also a very profitable newspaper; Samuel Loudon's *Packet*, then less than a year old; and a small, strongly anti-British sheet not much older than the *Packet*, called the *Constitutional Gazette*. This last-named paper shut up shop immediately the redcoats appeared in New York, but the other three fled the city to publish their weekly issues from nearby points under the protection of the Patriot army.

Holt was forced to leave his equipment behind him in New York and was chased about Connecticut for several months before he could set up a new printing office and organize a subscription list at Kingston, New York. In his first issue at Kingston, he said: "After remaining for ten months past, overwhelmed and sunk, in a sea of tyrannic violence and rapine, The *New-York Journal*, just emerging from the waves, faintly rears its languid head, to hail its former friends and supporters." [23] For fifteen weeks it printed war news and official notices; then the British army caught up with it, captured and burned Kingston, and again destroyed part of its printing materials. Thereupon Holt took refuge in Poughkeepsie, where he published his paper, with long interruptions caused by lack of supplies and poor support, until the peace of 1783 permitted him to return to New York. Later the *Journal* played some part in the political contests of the new republic. But Holt himself, able writer and ardent Patriot, whose whole life had been filled with conflict and misfortune, died the year after the peace.

Samuel Loudon, a young Irishman who had set up as a New York printer only the year before, escaped just ahead of the Brit-

[22] See p. 31 for the *Post-Boy*. Holt had been a partner of Parker but quarreled with him over finances. In 1767 he started his *Journal* as a successor of the *Post-Boy*, which he had been publishing, continuing the serial numbering; but Parker and others kept up the *Post-Boy* until 1773. Holt had the support of the more radical Patriot group.

[23] New York *Journal* (Kingston), July 7, 1777.

ish occupation and established his *Packet* at Fishkill, where he made it useful to the Patriot cause throughout the remainder of the War. After the peace, he too moved back to New York and published his paper for some nine years.

HUGH GAINE THE TURNCOAT

Hugh Gaine was an Irishman of different character. He had founded his *Mercury*[24] (later *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*) without resources, and had built it up by industry and frugality. Even in prosperity, he still hustled about, in threadbare clothes, working up trade. His business creed emphasized nonpartisanship; and though he was forced to a certain adherence to the Patriot side by threats and organized pressures, he was certainly never a strong Patriot in principle. When the British took New York, Gaine thought it prudent to remove one of his presses to Newark and print his paper there. Even the Newark issues, however, though they refer to the British as "the enemy" and present reports of the doings of the Continental Congress, have an air of dispassionate neutrality.

Meantime New York was left without a newspaper. Not for long, however; the British soon took over the materials Gaine had left behind him in the town and proceeded to issue the New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury* under precisely the same title which Gaine was using in his Newark edition.

But Gaine meantime hungered after the fleshpots of New York. He could make no money in the New Jersey town; he had trouble getting a paper-supply; and, worst of all, Washington seemed no match for Howe and Cornwallis in the New York and New Jersey campaigns of that luckless autumn. So Gaine came back to New York in November, made his peace with the Tories, and took charge of his paper again.

He now became at last a thorough partisan. In December he wrote:

> The shattered Remains of the Rebel Army, 'tis said, are got over into the Jersies. Humanity cannot but pity a Set of poor misguided Men who are thus led on to Destruction, by despicable and desperate

[24] See p. 38 for a note on Gaine and the early history of the *Mercury*, which added the name *Gazette* after the demise of Bradford's paper.

Leaders, against every Idea of Reason and Duty, and without the least Prospect of Success.[25]

His accounts of battles and other events were so strongly colored and distorted that Gaine became a butt for abuse and jibes from all the Patriot papers. "Who is the greatest liar upon earth?" asked a "New Catechism" in the *Pennsylvania Journal*; and the answer, of course, was "Hugh Gaine, of New York, printer." [26] And yet his new Tory friends were not faithful to him; and when Rivington came back from England, Gaine lost much of his patronage to the new rival. After the peace, he made no attempt to continue his paper.

JAMES RIVINGTON, MOST FAMOUS ROYALIST EDITOR

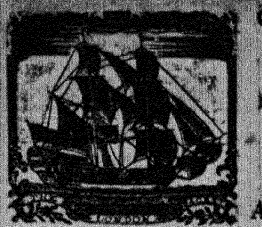
James Rivington, best hated of all the Tory editors during the Revolution, was a very different person from Hugh Gaine. He was the son of a London book publisher of note. Well-educated, he joined his father's business; but racetrack gambling brought him to ruin, and he came to America to recoup his fortune. He set up in New York as "The Only London Bookseller," and later branched out with shops in Philadelphia and Boston; but financial failures forced him to restrict himself to New York, where he eventually added a well equipped printing office to his establishment.

This meant a newspaper, and in 1773 he began to publish one with the resounding title of *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or the Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. Though the geographical optimism of the subtitle was not realized, its publisher claimed for the paper at the end of a year and a half a circulation in all the American colonies, most of the West Indies, and the chief cities in Great Britain, France, and Ireland.[27] The fact is that the *Gazetteer* was one of the best and most widely circulated papers published in the colonies. It had a large, well-printed page, and excellent foreign news and literary miscellany. Its local and colonial news was brighter and better written than that of most of its contemporaries, and it had good advertising patronage. Tory and Whig, Royalist and

[25] New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, December 16, 1776.
[26] *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 19, 1777.
[27] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, October 13, 1774.

THURSDAY, April 18, 1776.

RIVINGTON'S NEW-YORK GAZETTEER OR CONNECTICUT, HUDSON'S-RIVER, WEEKLY ADVERTISER.



RIVINGTON'S GAZETTEER OR NEW-JERSEY, AND QUEBEC WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

To the Subscribers for RIVINGTON'S NEW-YORK GAZETTEER.

GENTLEMEN,

IF Parliaments of the Encyclopædia, I were humble low before the Public, the first Number of the NEW-YORK GAZETTEER, and shall endeavour to explain more fully the Nature of my Plan. I am sensible that I have undertaken a Work of great Importance and Difficulty. When so many Subjects of a vast Variety of Forms and Indimensions are to be handled, at such short Intervals, that neither is it to be expected in time, will be equally disagreeable to others. It will however nothing but Justice, in such Case, that as a Person is pleased when he is presented with what is suitable to his own Taste; so he should candidly pardon the Impropriety when it is not calculated to the humour of his Companion. It likewise Office, and shall be my constant Study, to render this Work as generally useful and amusing as possible. For this Reason, to profound Erudite, and unintelligible Conjectures on the Society or Cafe of Man, shall ever find a Place in this Paper. My generous Mind can be delighted with the Affectations of a Bickerstaff Characters, and the Cant of Trade and Politics can never find in need of additional and annual Inventions. Those ambitious noble Purpose which a Work of this Kind may answer. The general Interests and State of Nations, the Conduct of the Rise and Declensions of Empires, and the interior and important Occurrences that justly to make Quarter of the Globe, under familiarly related, cannot fail of entertaining, entertaining, and in some Degree, informing every Reader. For these Purposes, the Conductor of this Paper, well by Means of an extensive Correspondence, collect the important Transactions, both Foreign and Domestic, and present them to the Public, with all their collateral Circumstances which tend to elucidate them, and with their usual Celebrations: as these, which shall have been made by the intrinsic and learned.

And as it is highly useful and entertaining to observe the gradual Progress and State of the Arts and Sciences, he will carefully collect and record every Discovery or Improvement which may be made in any of their various Branches, that all Paper may contain a History, not only of the Arts, but particularly the Pace of Mankind. He will publish an Account of every new Performance, that I worthy of Notice, and by before the Public such Extracts from each, as may be entertaining or useful, or tend to give a true Idea of the Work. In this Part of his Paper the Gentlemen of the Law shall find a constant Attention paid to the Cafe which may arise, and all Adjudications given of them by the learned Ornaments of the Courts of Westminster, Edinburgh and Dublin: the Physician shall be presented with every material Improvement relating to the healing Art; and the Divine with the Sentiments of every noted Attack and Defence of our most holy Religion.

He doubts not also, but that a regular Journal of the Proceedings of the British Parliament, with the Speeches of its eminent Members, will be highly agreeable and useful. If no most sterling Reasoning and manly Eloquence, on the most interesting Subjects, can claim our Attention, or delight our Minds, the Debates of the British Senators cannot fail furnishing us with the most rational Entertainment.

Neither shall the humbler Improvements of Amusement and Instruction escape his Attention. Much Leisure thrown on public Characters, by drawing Sketches of their Conduct in private Life. The humorous Repartee, the acute Sally, or pleasant Adventure, shall not be omitted; and the interesting Tale of Woe shall ever have a Place in this Paper.

And as the Publication of useful Essays on Subjects of Morality, Decorum, or any Literary Topic, has been found productive of much Advantage, and generally confines a considerable Part in Works of this Nature, the Man of Genius and Learning shall be allowed a free Opportunity in this Paper of rendering his Talents for the Public Good. But fulsome shall be an invariable Rule with the Publisher, never to admit any Performance, calculated to injure Virtue, Religion or the public Happiness, or to wound a Neighbour's Reputation, or inspire Strife in the Days of Private Immunities.

In FAIR Sex forms the most engaging and amiable Part of our Species, and shall therefore never be from Cause to complain, that their Interests and Entertainment are neglected in this Paper. They shall be elegantly made acquainted with the Publications which immediately tend to their Improvement, and such Particulars as may be worthy of their Notice shall be handsomely inserted.

It shall also be especially his Study to furnish the Commercial Interest with all those Information which may be beneficial to Trade, and thus to be friendly and useful to his Readers.

Upon the whole, he assures the Gentlemen who have so generously encouraged his Undertaking, that he will never be wanting in Attention and Diligence, to render this Paper as useful as its title implies and promises. In the Course of this Publication, it is supposed that it is impossible entirely to escape Censure; but he will strongly endeavour not to deserve it. His Correspondents may depend upon all that Secrecy and Impartiality which ought to distinguish a Person in his Department, and the respectable Subscribers for his GAZETTEER may expect his warmest Endeavours, to render it generally useful and pleasing. With sincere Gratitude for their liberal Patronage, he is sensible their much obliged,

and very humble Servant,

JAMES RIVINGTON.

The CENSOR.

No. I.

Quid verum atque decens, curo & rogo, & omnis in hoc sum.
Rectus audis, apprime in vertus Magister. HOR.

Fair I do no dwelling keep, or Title to honor,
The true, the decent shall be all my Care. CONGREVE.



HO is the Author? Where was he Born? What is his Character, his Profession, his place of Abode? Are Questions, which though commonly put on such Occasions as the present, one would conceive can have no Tendency to decide the Merit or Demerits of a Performance. The contemplative Mind would be apt to conclude, that the Name of the Cook could not alter the Taste of the Dishes, and that Truth could receive no Force from the Rank or accurate Knowledge of the Colour and Length of his Advocate's Beard. But Experience corrects the hasty Decisions of Speculation. The Secrets of a Performance, generally as much depends on the Temper of the Reader, as the Relish of a Real on the Appetites of the Guests. I allow you, gentle Sir, the full Force of the old Adage, "*De Gustibus non est disputandum.*" but surely it is, nevertheless, absurd to object to a Suit of Clothes, because the Taylor was Born on the North Side of the Tweed, or to turn off your Shoe-maker because his Nose is an Inch longer than your own. Yet such is the Magic of Prejudice, that *Trybe fight or die*, when put in her Balance, shall outweigh the most ponderous Considerations in the opposite Scale. The same Action, attended with the same characteristic Circumstances, when viewed through her Glass, shall in One Man appear Honourable, in another, contemptible and degrading. It is no small Subject, or Entertainment for to attend to the inconsistencies, which even the more forcible Part of Mankind are hurried into, by this fatal Principle. I have known a Critic who idolized the Writings of Pope, to fret with disgust and find out a thousand Absurdities in one of his Poems, merely because he mistook it for the Production of some modern Wit. I have seen a Politician drowning a Performance with his Eyes, and extolling every Part of it for its Strength of Reasoning and elegance of Stile, till some unlucky Period has discovered that it was written by an Adversary, on which he turned Pale, exclaimed that the whole was fallome and tedious, and gravely ascribed his former Admiration to a hasty Perusal.

"Tis one of the late ingenious and learned Doctor Waterland, that being on a Journey through the Country he put up, very much disordered, at an Inn on the Road, and ordered one of the Family to be first to administer a glyster. The Physician accordingly appeared, when through some unlucky Star, mistaking his Patient for Dr. Warburton, he exclaimed as he approached the Bed, "that he thought it one of the most happy Circumstances of his Life, that he had an Opportunity of affiling the "Author of so incomparable and learned a Book as the "*Divine Legation*"!—Away from my Sight infantly," cried the Man, flarting out of Bed, "or never will I "trust my Health to a Person who has so little Understanding as to approve of such a Performance;" by saying, he hurried on his Cloaths, mounted his Horse, and relinquished from the inconvenience of his Ailment. He arrived at the next Village, which was at a considerable Distance.

Ego hominculo hoc non faciam? If Personages of so much Distinction in the learned World become such Dupes to their Prejudices, can we wonder that the inferior Part of Mankind are subject to the same or greater inconsistencies? Were the Effects of Prejudice however as harmless as ridiculous, as in the above Instances, the Disease would only deserve Ridicule. But when we have constant evidence that it obscures the Distinction between Truth and Falsehood, moral Beauty and Deformity; that it renders us unjust to the Merits of others, and prevents that Search of Duties and Interests so highly to the Community, we can Want no Motives to prompt us to guard against the first Approaches of so fatal a Deceiver. The truly generous Man overlooks the little Difficiences of Place, Party and Opinion, and loves his own Image where ever it may be found. He embraces Truth through disfavoured in a Garb, and through a Lancaster, pours Wine and Oil into the Wounds of even an unfortunate Jew. The Sons of this Disposition shall my future Lucubrations be exclaimed; Malice shall vainly search them to find any Sentiment for her Refreshment, and Wantonness for any Publication of her Folly.

'Tis true the Path I am entering has been heretofore trodden by the most illustrious Wits: But there are still many Beauties in it which they have not collected: and many Flowers capable of Pleasing which they perhaps would not deign to cull. The humble Searcher after Truth, who is confined to a narrow Circle, often discovers those useful Objects which escape the Sight of the elevated Genius; which Prospects are frequently hid from the Eyes of the Great and Learned by the Mists and Vapours arising from the surrounding Majestic Oak of Britain, or the lofty Hills that bound up within the Inclosure of the associated American.

'Tis a common Obstruction that Populations throws, when the Means of raising and supporting a Progeny, are readily obtained. 'Tis much the same with relation to Literature; The *British Merchant*, the Desire of imparting intellectual Offspring is sufficiently Warm among us, and I am Confident that Numbers of my Fellow-Citizens would joyfully gratify it, if they had but I Prospect that their Brats would make but a tolerable Figure in the World. To relieve them Perish also as fast as they are Born, is a Spectacle which no Father can bear. To remove this Impediment therefore, I shall consider myself as a common Parent, and do Promise, by these Presents, to grant a kind Reception to all the Sons and Daughters of the Literary Inhabitants of this Province, referring to myself the full Right of disowning, or returning to their Parents, all that are born of feeble Embraces, or so weak and deformed as to be incapable of Public Service. Look any Bantling be deterred from complying with this Proposal by a Fear of being discovered, a CORNU-COPIA shall be conveniently placed in the Porch of the Printer hereof, in which the good bashful Parents may securely deposit the Fruit of their Labours.

"But who are you Friend, and what is your Business?" Important Questions indeed! The *firft* of which I may perhaps answer, as well as I can, in my next Number, and the *laft*, I cannot better reply to, than in the Words of an eminent Poet, that my Business shall be, to

" Expatiate free o'er all this Scene of Man,
" A mighty Maze! but not without a Plan.
" Together we will beat this ample Field
" Try what the open, what the covert yield;
" The latent Truths, the giddy Heights explore
" Of all who blindly creep, or boldlefs fear,
" Eye Nature's Walks, shoot Folly as it flies,
" And catch the Manners living as they rife,
" Laugh where we muft, be candid where we can,
" But vindicate the Ways of God to Man. Pope.

(The Debates in the Houfe of Commons collected from the firft Advice delivered, laft March, to the Subscribers for the GAZETTEER.

SUPPOSED to be loft, I found that his Majefty's money was difpofed of in an œconomical manner; that the Navy-office had very juftly allowed her eight rotels, from her departure, to the Day of her Return. What did the India Company do? Why, generously allowed a twelvemonth's pay. They have now appointed fix Supervifors, though before there were but three, and thofe are fuppofed to have 10,000l. per annum. The expences, with a table, paid; and it is computed they will be about three years. I would aft any Gentleman, if it is poffible for the India Company to find out a more refpectable character than Lord Clive? Certainly, Commodore Johnftone has as his allowed? What is the Governor of Jamaica allowed? Why, fcarce 5000l. per annum. But it is faid, that much paffion is neceffary; but I anfwer, on the authority of the late Mr. Manfield, that one perpetual Paffion, and that it is a foolifh and weak expence, unneceffarily incurred.

Mr. Rooke. I offer to thank the noble Lord in office, for his extreme tender in affuring us, that no hoftile intentions are defigned againft the Eaft-India Company, and that he wifhes to make it a GREAT and GLORIOUS Company (for thofe are his *pompous* expreffions) and put it upon a permanent footing. Three Kings have entered an unfortunate Kingdom with fire and fword, to conquer, I prefume, to make it alſo a GREAT and GLORIOUS kingdom, and fecure to it its *liberties* and *laws*. They have publifhed a manifeſto to that purpoſe, which the noble Lord has perhaps juſt received; and, be aſſured, to you today will it begin to ſhine no more. But let us examine into this extraordinary matter: India is a conſiderable province, and, from a long and peaceful poſſeſſion, has become valuable, which has produced ſtealing. This was the lawful wife publicly avowed; but finding her barren, they have taken a novitiate for one, which they call; a ſecret connection, and this is her *firſt born*, forſooth. Such the regular deſcription of this extraordinary delivery. I am are to think the ſon reſpectable enough? Yes, after all, what is this *report* but a direct invaſion of the Company's charter? It is, Sir, a bill to fabricate a law of the land; it is neither more nor leſs; and we are, after diſcarding the Company, about to rob them of their charters, and new-frame their conſtitution. In the year 1767, adminiſtration plundered the Company of 400,000l. and this I offer to have accounted at their preſent diſtreſs. If we paſſe this bill to-night, we ſhall, in fact, become the Eaſt-India Company; and you, Sir, will be obliged to chair Clive with a little Lauriſtine, inſtead of the Speaker's. The Treaſury Bench will be the Bar; and on this ſide we ſhall be the Jeſſers. The Senate

Front page of first issue of Rivington's New York Gazetteer. Note factotum in second column. Type-page measures 10 x 16 3/8 inches.

Patriot were allowed their innings in what the editor called his "Ever Open and Uninfluenced Press."

"Jemmy" Rivington himself, in the flush of success, was a brilliant figure. In "a rich purple velvet coat, full wig and cane, and ample frills," [28] he mingled with the patrons of his bookstore, directed his printers, and edited his paper. He was affable and intelligent, a good companion, a wit, and a gentleman.

But Patriots soon began to resent his publication of the Tory arguments in his paper and in pamphlets. Protests increased in violence. The paper was not quite a year old when Rivington was hanged in effigy in New Brunswick, "merely," he told his readers, "for acting consistent with his profession as a free printer." He published a woodcut of the hanging, and declared:

> The Printer is bold to affirm that his press has been open to publication from ALL PARTIES. . . . He has considered his press in the light of a public office, to which every man has a right to have recourse. But the moment he ventured to publish sentiments which were opposed to the dangerous views and designs of certain demagogues, he found himself held up as an enemy of his country.[29]

These words make it clear that Rivington had reached a position of emotional as well as intellectual antagonism to the Patriot cause, and from then on he yielded more and more to his natural alliance with the Royalists. This was especially noticeable in his output of Tory pamphlets. Patriot committees in various localities passed resolutions urging boycotts of his paper, and his office was twice mobbed. On the second mobbing, in November, 1775, the plant was virtually destroyed by Sons of Liberty from Connecticut whose immediate aim was to prevent the publication of a satiric pamphlet against the Patriot cause which Rivington had announced. The *Gazetteer* was, of course, suspended. The War had now begun, and the Patriot army was being recruited throughout the colonies. Rivington was arrested and forced to sign a statement of loyalty to the Continental Congress, but he soon fled to England.

After Howe was in secure possession of New York, however, Rivington returned to publish in that town, from 1777 through-

[28] John W. Francis, *Old New York* (New York, 1858), p. 119.
[29] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, April 20, 1775.

out the remainder of the War, his *Royal Gazette*. It underwent several slight changes of title, but the name by which Patriots throughout America knew it was "Rivington's Lying Gazette." By its warped accounts of battles, its false reports of quarrels among the American leaders, its canards about immoralities and misconduct by Patriot officers, its stories of the financial collapse of the rebels, and its optimistic articles about British power and prospects, it presented a picture which one historian has called "the fool's paradise of the hopeful Tory."

Several lampoons upon Rivington were widely circulated about the time of the signing of the peace; one of them, by Freneau, satiric poet of the Revolution, represented the Devil knighting the editor for services rendered:

> Who late was my servant shall now be my aid;
> Since under my banners so bravely you fight,
> Kneel down! For your merits I dub you a knight;
> From a passive subaltern I bid you to rise—
> The INVENTOR, as well as the PRINTER of lies!

At the end of the war, Rivington was forced to cease the publication of his paper, though he made some efforts to adapt it to the new situation; he did manage to remain in New York, where he ran a bookstore until his death.

OTHER NEW YORK ROYALIST PAPERS

Shortly before Rivington returned from England to renew his *Gazette* in New York, James and Alexander Robertson established in that town their *Royal American Gazette*. The Robertsons were Tory printers who had formed, from time to time, various connections with Royalist journalism in no less than five colonies.[80] This, their second New York paper, was mediocre, filled with official proclamations.

Two of the three papers published in New York during the British occupancy were semiweeklies, and an amicable distribution of publication days was arranged among them. Gaine's *Gazette and Mercury* was issued on Mondays, the Robertsons' *Royal Amer-*

[80] Among other activities, they conducted the *Albany Gazette* (1771-72), the first newspaper in that city. After the peace, James published a *Royal American Gazette* in Nova Scotia, but he ended his active life as he had begun it, as a printer in Edinburgh.

ican Gazette on Tuesdays, Rivington's *Royal Gazette* on Wednesdays, the Robertsons' paper again on Thursdays, and Rivington's again on Saturdays. The Friday gap was filled in by the establishment in 1779 of William Lewis's New York *Mercury*. This combination-daily was doubtless set up with the coöperation of military authorities for the promulgation of orders and propaganda. When the British evacuated New York, all the papers concerned were discontinued.

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION

In Philadelphia the three great papers at the time of the American Revolution were the *Pennsylvania Journal*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

The *Journal*, conducted by William Bradford III, was an outstanding Patriot newspaper from the first. It opposed the Stamp Act with spirit; and on the day before that tax was to go into effect, it came out with its famous tombstone front-page make-up.[31] It was an early advocate of independence, and was the original publisher of Paine's first "Crisis" paper. Bradford was active in business and affairs; he was the proprietor of a large coffee-house and of a marine insurance business, besides conducting a leading newspaper and publishing and selling books. He had been a captain in the French and Indian War, and though he was fifty-seven years old at the beginning of the Revolution, he enlisted in the Army and served with distinction at Princeton and Trenton, rising to the rank of Colonel. His paper was suspended for two months during the campaign just mentioned, but it was then resumed and published until the British occupation of Philadelphia; it was thereupon suspended again until after the British were gone. On its resumption, Bradford found his business ruined and his health broken by the rigors of military service; but his son Thomas carried on the paper for ten years after the peace of 1783. William Bradford III was the outstanding soldier-editor of the Revolution.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was published during the War by two sons of the David Hall who had been Franklin's partner, and William Sellers. Though Franklin now had no financial interest in it, it was still more or less associated with his name and influ-

[31] See reproduction on p. 73.

ence. It followed the Continental Congress to York, Pennsylvania, during the British occupation of Philadelphia, and was published there for six months.

The *Pennsylvania Packet* was established in 1771 by John Dunlap. It was a handsome and well-edited paper, and was soon crowded with advertising. While the British were in possession of Philadelphia, it was published in Lancaster; but it was brought back promptly on the heels of the retreating redcoats, and immediately made a triweekly.[32] Dunlap was also a soldier in the Revolution. The *Packet* was an important paper in the years after the War.

Along with these three papers of undoubted loyalty to the Patriot cause, there were published, for shorter terms, three others of Tory persuasion—the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, and the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*.

The first two of these Tory papers were founded in the same week in January, 1775. The *Ledger* was published by James Humphreys, a Tory of high character; the *Evening Post's* publisher was Benjamin Towne, a clever printer without any apparent principles. Towne at first took the Patriot side, and by constant attacks on Humphrey's Toryism was able to drive him out of town and to win a share of the Congressional printing. His was the first newspaper to print the Declaration of Independence, July 6, 1776. Then when the British took Philadelphia and the other newspapers fled or suspended, Towne stayed and changed his politics. Humphreys now came back to town and resumed the *Ledger*, and James Robertson came down from New York and published the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, Humphreys and Robertson went with them; but not so Towne. Again he stayed on, and succeeded in ingratiating himself well enough with the new masters of the city so that they at least allowed him to continue his paper. Thus, while Gaine's New York *Mercury* had turned its coat once, Towne's paper succeeded twice in that operation. But the *Evening Post* found it impossible to win back its former following, and lingered on haltingly.[33] One

[32] It changed to semiweekly in 1780, but the next year it was back to triweekly publication; it eventually became America's first successful daily (see p. 116). David C. Claypool became a partner in 1780, and he and Dunlap alternated in the position of official printer to the Continental Congress.

[33] It later won a more or less accidental distinction as the first American daily. See p. 115.

day Towne met John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College and a Revolutionary pamphleteer, in a bookstore and asked him to renew the contributions he had once made to the *Evening Post*. Witherspoon promised to do so if Towne would publish a "Confession, Recantation, and Apology" which the learned doctor forthwith wrote out for him. But Towne refused; and no wonder, for he was made to say in the statement that "instead of being suffered to print, I ought to be hanged as a traitor to my country." [84] The recantation travesty, however, was widely published in other papers.

The only German paper being published in Philadelphia when the British took the town was the *Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*. The British seized it and turned its printing materials over to the *Pennsylvania Staats Courier*, published by Christopher Sower III but abandoned when the British evacuated the town. The Sowers eventually lost all their extensive Germantown and Philadelphia property because of their Royalist partisanship.

JOHN DICKINSON'S "LETTERS FROM A FARMER" AND THE PENNSYLVANIA CHRONICLE

Some of the greatest journalists of the Revolutionary period were neither editors nor publishers of papers, but unofficial and pseudonymous contributors to them. Such were Samuel and John Adams, John Dickinson, and Thomas Paine. Dickinson and Paine must be considered in connection with the Philadelphia newspapers, since it was to them that these writers made their memorable contributions.

Dickinson was a Philadelphia lawyer, a member of the Stamp Act Congress and of the first Continental Congress, and the author of a series of brilliant "addresses" issued by the latter body which won for him the sobriquet "Penman of the Revolution." But it was a series of twelve newspaper articles published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* in 1767-68 which made him famous. They were entitled "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies." They were almost immediately reprinted in nearly all the other newspapers of America.

These essays constituted the most brilliant contribution to American political literature before the Revolution. Their tone was reasonable, their argument cogent, their style clear and de-

[84] New York *Packet*, October 1, 1778.

cided. Dickinson opposed any talk of independence, but he regarded parliamentary taxes as invasions of the rights of freeborn Englishmen:

> Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent; but let our complaints speak at the same time the language of affection and veneration. . . .
>
> Let these truths be indelibly impressed on our minds: that we cannot be happy without being free; that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed upon us by parliament do thus take it away.

The *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, which is notable as the paper in which these "Letters" were first published, had been founded in January, 1767, by the able and passionate William Goddard. It had been first printed in Franklin's old shop on a press formerly used by the master. Indeed Goddard had hoped to enlist the support of many of Franklin's friends, the long-standing Franklin-Hall partnership in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* having just ended. But he quarreled with his chief supporters, whom he displeased by his uncompromising boldness in the Patriot cause; he quarreled at length with his partner, the clever and notorious Benjamin Towne;[35] and though his paper had begun as an exceptionally handsome and promising venture, he had to give it up on the eve of the Revolution, while he went on to Baltimore for his own Revolutionary adventures. Before following him there, we must take note of a greater publicist than Dickinson who was identified with Philadelphia journalism.

THOMAS PAINE

When Paine made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin in London, he had been a failure in half a dozen occupations; but the American was a shrewd judge of men, liked Paine's philosophical cast of mind, and advised him to try America. Coming to Philadelphia recommended by Franklin, Paine soon obtained employment as a kind of contributing editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, published by the bookseller Robert Aitken.

[35] Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton, friends of Franklin in the contest with the Proprietaries and at the same time Tories, had financial interests in the *Chronicle*; they foisted Towne upon Goddard as a partner.

Though it ran only through 1775 and the first seven months of 1776, this was one of the best magazines of the period. Paine wrote much for it—on politics, marriage, mechanics—in both prose and verse. President Witherspoon, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and David Rittenhouse were other notable contributors. Political news was not neglected, and the last issue contained the Declaration of Independence.

Meantime Paine began writing for the newspapers. One of his early contributions was a letter to the *Pennsylvania Journal* against slavery, which suggested that independence from England might be necessary in order to put an end to the slave-trade.[36]

But his fame was made by a pamphlet. This was *Common Sense*, which appeared early in January, 1776, and which produced a greater sensation than anything which had ever before been published in America. More than 120,000 copies were sold within three months; it is probable that within the year of 1776 most of the literate men in America had read it either in pamphlet form or in newspapers which published it piecemeal. It was *Common Sense* which forced American public opinion to face the idea of separation from Great Britain, and thus prepared the way for the Declaration of Independence.

The pamphlet was attacked by Provost William Smith, of the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), in a series of letters in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* signed "Cato." Smith was a good Whig, but he was appalled by the idea of separation. Paine replied in the *Pennsylvania Packet* over the name "The Forester," and again his arguments were widely reprinted.

When the war days came, Paine enlisted in the army; he was at Fort Lee when that stronghold was precipitately abandoned, and it was during Washington's harassed retreat through New Jersey that the first *Crisis* paper was written, to be published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* December 19, 1776. Its opening sentences have been memorized by many schoolboys:

These are the times that try men's souls. The Summer soldier and the sunshine Patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man

[36] Signed "Humanus," *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 18, 1775. Paine's first known contribution to an American newspaper appeared in the *Journal* January 4, 1775.

and woman. Tyranny, like Hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated.

Copies of this appeal reached Washington the day before his attack on Trenton, and he ordered it read to each corporal's squad of his dejected army; it was given much credit for the American victory the next day. From then on throughout the war, Paine wrote additional numbers of the *Crisis* (chiefly for Philadelphia papers) whenever occasion demanded, and they were widely reprinted.

Paine was primarily a journalist. He was challenged by the immediate occasion and by the necessity of popular appeal. He had a sense of public feeling and an ability for high-minded propagandic utterance unmatched in his time in America, and rarely matched anywhere.

GODDARD'S MARYLAND JOURNAL

When William Goddard left Philadelphia,[87] he went down to Baltimore, where in 1773 he founded the *Maryland Journal*. Throughout most of the Revolution his sister, Mary K. Goddard, was the active editor and publisher of this paper. She was a practical printer, as well as a bookseller and postmistress of the town. Her brother had little time to give the paper because he was engaged in setting up the "constitutional postoffice" system.

But Goddard was not too busy to engage in two big quarrels with the Whig Club, the local Patriot organization. The first one grew out of the publication in the *Journal* of a letter advising the acceptance of the peace terms which the British ministry offered to America in 1777. Ordered to leave town within forty-eight hours, Goddard stood on his right under the doctrine of freedom of the press and demanded protection from the state government. This was afforded him, and the Whig Club was rebuked by the House of Representatives.

[87] The first paper Goddard founded was the *Providence Gazette* (see p. 40). Then he worked with Parker and Holt in New Haven and New York, later publishing the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (see p. 90).

This did not end the fiery editor's troubles with the Club, however. Two years later Goddard published an article by General Charles Lee which roused the ire of many friends of Washington. The Commander in Chief had cashiered Lee for his conduct at the Battle of Monmouth, and the article in question was quite as much an attack on his former commander as a defense of Lee's own actions. This time Goddard was mobbed, forced to publish a recantation, and narrowly escaped hanging. But again he appealed to state authority, again he was protected, and soon he published a disavowal of his recantation and held the fort against his enemies.

These events are significant for the action of Maryland in sustaining the freedom of the press even in war-time. Goddard, however, was not a Tory; he was simply bold enough to let an unpopular cause have a hearing in his paper, bellicose enough to fight it out, and clever enough to win his case. He lived to be generally accepted by his fellow-townsmen, and the *Journal* continued until near the end of the century.

NEWSPAPERS IN SEAPORTS CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH

Certain seaports suffered capture and partial destruction by the British navy during the war, and in such cases it usually went hard with the Patriot newspapers.

When Newport, Rhode Island, was taken by the enemy in 1776, Solomon Southwick, then proprietor of the *Mercury*, buried his press and types, and engaged in printing in other towns until the British abandoned Newport, when he exhumed the *Mercury* and continued its long career. It was one of the country's leaders in patriot propaganda. When Newport was host to the French fleet, later in the war, a *Gazette Française*, first French paper in the colonies, was published there for a short time.

The British captured Norfolk, Virginia, early in 1775. Before they set fire to the town, they took the printing plant of John H. Holt's *Virginia Gazette* on board one of Lord Dunmore's ships and there issued some numbers of that paper.[38]

When Charleston was taken in 1780, Peter Timothy, editor of the *South-Carolina Gazette* and son of its founder, was made

[38] Published about fifteen months 1774-75. The only copy of the shipboard numbers extant is dated February 3, 1776. John H. Holt was the nephew of John Holt of the New York *Journal*.

a prisoner of war. He was exchanged the next year, and a little later he was drowned in a storm at sea. His paper had been the strongest exponent of Patriot doctrine in the South.

ROYALIST PAPERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA

When the war began, Robert Wells was publisher of the *South-Carolina and American General Gazette* in Charleston. He was an avowed Royalist, and he departed for England in 1775, never to return, leaving the paper in the hands of his son John. John conducted it along Patriot lines, with suspensions when the British fleet threatened the town in 1776 and again at the time of the siege in 1780. Shortly after Charleston was surrendered, John Wells also went to England, and a brother changed the name of the paper to the *Royal Gazette* and made it subservient to the British administration. After the war ended, this paper was moved to St. Augustine, Florida; and, published there 1783-84 as a Tory sheet under the name *East-Florida Gazette*, it became the first newspaper in what was later the state of Florida.

James Johnston, founder of the *Georgia Gazette*, was also a Royalist in sympathies; but by the exercise of impartiality in publication he managed to continue his paper until Georgia's Council of Safety put an end to it in 1776. When the British occupied Savannah, Johnston published for more than three years the *Royal Georgia Gazette*. Declared a traitor at the end of the war, he was forced to leave Savannah; but he was later forgiven, allowed to return, and even made public printer once again.

FIRST NEWSPAPERS IN MAINE, VERMONT, DELAWARE

The first Vermont paper was established by Timothy Green IV and J. P. Spooner at Westminster in 1780; it was called the *Vermont Gazette and Green Mountain Post-Boy*. The first paper in what is now Maine was the Falmouth (Portland) *Gazette*, and the first in Delaware was the Wilmington *Delaware Gazette*; both began in 1785.

CHAPTER V

Covering the Revolution

THERE WERE THIRTY-SEVEN NEWSPAPERS IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION in the colonies on April 19, 1775, the day of the battles of Lexington and Concord, first military actions of the Revolution.[1] Only twenty of these came through the war, and many of them suffered shorter or longer suspensions. The seventeen papers which died do not represent the total war casualties, however, since eighteen new papers were courageously begun but discontinued after a few months or years, all during the term of hostilities. Other papers begun during the war lasted it out, so that when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, exactly six and a half years after Lexington and Concord, there were thirty-five papers in course of publication—only two less than at the beginning of the war.[2]

These were nearly all weeklies, though there were attempts from time to time to issue papers semiweekly and even triweekly; and at the close of the war both New York and Philadelphia had semiweeklies.

Of the seventy papers published during the war, fifteen were of the Tory persuasion during at least parts of their lives.

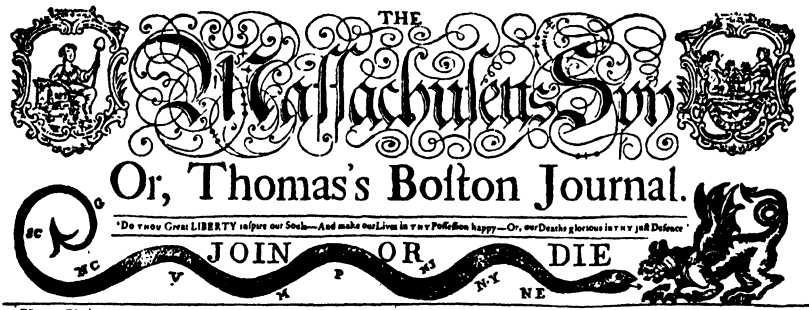
FORMAT AND MECHANICS

Size and format were much the same for the papers of the Revolutionary period as for those of the middle of the century. The tendency toward larger pages was effectually checked by the

[1] This includes the first Boston *Evening-Post* and the first Salem *Gazette*, which published one number each after these battles; but it does not include the Boston *Post-Boy*, which ended with its number for April 17, 1775.

[2] It will be seen that thirty-five is the approximate or exact number of (a) the papers at the beginning of the war, (b) the papers started during the war, (c) the papers which ended during the war, and (d) the papers at the end of the war.

scarcity of paper, and some of those which had been printed on the large demy sheets had to be content during some years of the war with foolscap or whatever else they could get. Therefore the files of many papers show frequent changes in both size and quality of paper.



THE
Massachusetts Spy
Or, Thomas's Boston Journal.

"Do thou Great LIBERTY inspire our Souls—And make our Lives in thy Possession happy—Or, our Deaths glorious in thy just Defence."

JOIN OR DIE

VOL. V.) THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1775. (NUMB. 217.

Political Chronicle.

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY; Or, THOMAS's BOSTON JOURNAL.

NUMBER VII.

To the INHABITANTS of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

My Friends and Countrymen,

WITHOUT any introduction, preface or apology, I shall resume the paper which was the subject of our examination in my last, beginning where we then ended. The last column of our writer is curious enough I can hardly determine, whether profound silence, smiling neglect, or a serious refutation would be best to answer.

When he tells us, with the air of an argument, "if allegiance be due to the *person* of the King, (he might have added, or to the British *crown*) he then appears in a new capacity, as King of America, or rather in several new capacities as King of Massachusetts, of Rhode-Island, of Connecticut, &c &c" He might have full added, and if thefe colonies are three thoufand miles from the King's palace, from Kew, or his place of reſidence wherever it be, he muſt govern them by Deputies, or Viceroys. And what does all this amount to? where is the difficulty? what is his inference; is it to the point?—

a different ſtate from what the colonies are, and that Henry the eighth, and King George the third, God bleſs him, were both defenders of the faith, though the one a Papiſt, and the other a Proteſtant. The prerogatives of the crown are defined and limited with convenient certainty by our ſeveral charters, the ends of government being confined within the circle of doing good.—Prerogatives are not, nor ever will be defined with mathematical nicety, "*or inverted rotes*"; humanity itſelf forbids it. The dividing line between day and night, light and darkneſs, has never been drawn, nor can it be. You may therefore as well argue from the want of ſuch a line, the non exiſtance of light and darkneſs, as from indefinite prerogatives, the coaliſion of ſtates.

But, ſays our pleaſant *monſter*, if, we are not ſubject to the ſupreme authority of the mother country, "where ſhall we find the Britiſh conſtitution that *we all agree*, we are to abide by.—We ſhall ſeek for it in vain in our provincial aſſemblies. Charter governments have no more powers than what is expreſly granted by their ſeveral charters.—The firſt charter granted to this province did not impower the aſſembly to tax the people at all.—Our council boards are deſtitute of the authority of the houſe of lords, and the members of the *ſplendid* appendages of peerage.—Thus the ſuppoſition of our being independent ſtates, or exempt from the authority of parliament, deſtroys the very idea of our having a Britiſh conſtitution." And further,—"the end, or deviate, from foreign practices, the eſſential and conſtitutional remedy is *right purpoſe*." We have then a Britiſh conſtitution, we do have the third branch of our legiſlative aſſembly, and firſt officer in the province, dependent on the people for his ſalary. The officers of the crown in England muſt loſe to the legality of their conduct; if they violate the laws even by royal direction, they cannot take ſhelter behind the throne, or plead in juſtification an illegal command.—A provincial governor ought then to revive the law of the land, and the fundamental principles of ſociety, the rule of conduct, and not the mandate from a *monſter* of ſtate. The houſe of Lords have a negative voice on all acts of the commons, ſo have our council board, on all bills of our repreſentatives. In fact they have in ſubſtance conſtitutionally all the authority of the houſe of Peers.

A Britiſh conſtitution knows of no laws binding upon its ſubjects but what were made, or conſented to, by *themſelves*, or their *repreſentatives*, and what, the *legiſlature* themſelves are ſubject to, in common with every individual in the community. This is a grand ſecurity, a conſtant equal bulwark of liberty.—"Liberty of man, in ſociety, ſays the immortal Locke, is to be under no other legiſlative power, but that eſtabliſhed by conſent in the common-wealth, not under the dominion of any will, or reſtraint of *any law*, but what this legiſlative ſhall enact according to the truſt repoſed in it. Freedom of men in government, ſays the ſame author, is to have a ſtanding rule to live by common to every one of that ſociety, and made by the legiſlative power erected in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where the rule preſcribes not, and not to be ſubject to the inconſtant, uncertain, arbitrary will of another man." Again, "freedom is not, as we are told, a liberty for every man to do what he lift; for who could be free, when every other man's humour might domineer over him? but a liberty to diſpoſe, and order freely as he liſts his perſon, actions, poſſeſſions, and his whole property, within the allowance of thoſe laws under which he is, and therein not to be ſubject to the arbitrary will of another, but freely follow his own." Again, "the end of law is not to abolish or reſtrain, but to preſerve and enlarge freedom." Again, "where there is no law there is no freedom." Again, "liberty is to be free from reſtraint and violence from others, which cannot be where there is no law, but freedom is not, as we are told, a liberty for every man to do what he lift, for who could be free, when every other man's humour might domineer over him?" Again, "the liberty of man in ſociety is to be regulated by laws made by the legiſlative power erected in their commonwealth, according to the truſt repoſed in them; for freedom is a right to nothing but what thoſe laws allow."

Ye Sons of Sedition, how comes it to pass,
That America's typ'd by a SNAKE—in the grass? [3]

The enterprising *Connecticut Courant* used a cut to illustrate the orbit of Lexell's comet, which excited much attention in 1770; the cut-line read: "A Diagram exhibiting (though not the most Accurate yet) a sufficiently true Representation of the late Descent, &c. of the COMET towards the Earth." [4] The *Courant* probably took the idea from the Robertsons' New York *Chronicle*, which used cuts to illustrate some astronomical articles by King's College scholars in 1769. More striking were the four blocks shaped like coffins with a death's-head and the initials of a victim scratched on each, used to illustrate the Boston *Gazette's* story of the Boston "massacre." [5]

The non-importation agreements of the late 1760's gave an impetus to the manufacture of both presses and type in America. Isaac Doolittle, a Hartford watchmaker, built a mahogany press for William Goddard as early as 1769.

Pioneer type-founders were Abel Buell, a Connecticut artisan who cast a small amount of type in 1769; Christopher Sower, who used imported punches; and Justus Fox and Jacob Bay, Philadelphia Germans who made their own punches shortly before the Revolution.

PAPER AND RAGS

But it was the paper supply that caused the most trouble. As one of the taxed articles in 1767, paper could not be imported without violating even the mildest of the non-importation agreements. This placed a heavier burden on the scattered colonial papermills than they could bear; and despite the growth in the number of mills, prices increased alarmingly. Though paper came in again from England when the non-importation agreements broke down in 1770, that source was, of course, almost completely cut off again in 1775. By that time there were probably as many as seventy papermills throughout the colonies, and considerably more than that before the war was over. The need of paper for

[3] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, August 25, 1774. For origin of the symbol, see p. 54.

[4] *Connecticut Courant*, July 16, 1770.

[5] Boston Gazette, March 12, 1770. Imitated in the New London *Gazette* of March 16. The *Gazette's* blocks were cut by Paul Revere.

the army—cartridge-paper for ammunition, writing-paper for official orders, and printing-paper for popular propaganda—led some of the states to offer special subsidies to mill owners to encourage the industry.

Late in 1775 the *Connecticut Courant* built its own mill in East Hartford; the *Courant* had to miss a few issues at the end of that year because it had no paper, the mill not yet being in production, but soon it was well supplied. Goddard also built his own mill to supply the *Maryland Journal;* and many other printers, including Hugh Gaine, of New York, and the Sowers, of Germantown, had interests in papermills.

American paper was generally rough in texture and was often blotched and gray in color because of lack of proper bleaching. To correct this latter defect, a bluing was sometimes added which gave the paper a light-blue tint. But this early printing stock, all handmade from rags, had a permanency approached by few modern papers.

One of the great difficulties in papermaking was the scarcity of rags. During the Revolution the saving of rags was urged as a patriotic duty. In 1776 the Massachusetts House of Representatives ordered the local Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety to appoint agents to receive rags for the mills: "And the inhabitants of this Colony are hereby desired to be very careful in saving even the smallest Quantity of Rags proper for making Paper, which will be a further evidence of their Disposition to promote the public good." [6] The newspapers from one end of the country to the other rang the changes on the call for rags in prose and verse, appealing to sentiment, to thrift, to patriotism. Said the *Massachusetts Spy:*

> It is earnestly requested that the fair daughters of Liberty in this extensive country would not neglect to serve their country by saving, for the Paper Mill at Sutton, all Linen and Cotton-and-Linen Rags, be they ever so small, as they are equally good for the purpose of making paper as those that are larger. A *bag* hung up at one corner of a room would be the means of saving many which would be otherwise lost. If the ladies would not make a fortune by that piece of economy, they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that they are doing an essential service to the community, which with eight pence per pound,

[6] Resolution published in the *Essex Journal,* March 1, 1776.

the price now given for clean white rags, they must be sensible will be a sufficient reward.[7]

The price at the Sutton mill went up before the end of the war to ten shillings a pound for the best rags. In New York and Philadelphia prizes were offered to those who collected the largest quantities. Printers were usually agents of the mills in gathering rags.

COVERAGE OF WAR NEWS

It may seem incredible that newspapers had no organized means of covering the Revolutionary War, but relied almost wholly on the chance arrival of private letters and of official and semi-official messages. They filled their news columns, to a large extent, with clippings from other newspapers—foreign papers and colonial exchanges—and those papers had accumulated their own news in the same haphazard way. Each, however, printed some local stories, and thus contributed to the total fund of news to which all helped themselves.

The only notable exception to haphazard coverage was the "Journal of Occurrences," which was edited by Boston Patriots for distribution throughout the colonies and in England, and which constitutes the first syndicated "column" in the history of American journalism. Its purpose was propagandic, but it was definitely a news feature. The "column" was composed mainly of news of day-by-day events in Boston, emphasizing that town's sufferings under the rule of the British military and under the administration of the Townshend taxes. This weekly budget of news was published for about ten months, beginning with the end of September, 1768. It was called "Journal of Occurrences" in the New York *Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, and "Journal of the Times" in the Boston *Evening-Post*; other colonial papers apparently copied the feature from these originals.

But aside from this propaganda-motivated and short-lived syndicated "column," the papers of the Revolutionary period took their news as it drifted in. They could not even depend upon the nearest paper with a proximate publication day to furnish them promptly with the news of an important event: the best

[7] *Massachusetts Spy*, November 26, 1778.

and most widely copied story of the Boston "massacre" was that of the Boston *Gazette*, published a week after the event; the best story of the Battle of Lexington was not published in distraught Boston, but in Salem by the *Essex Gazette* of April 25. Not that there was not occasionally some news enterprise, as when the Boston papers united to issue a broadside extra May 16, 1766, on the arrival of the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, or when the *Pennsylvania Packet* and other papers published similar "extras" during the war, or when a paper occasionally advanced its day of publication to get news to its subscribers earlier.

War conditions added to the difficulties of communication in the colonies and consequently increased the tardiness of news. The "parliamentary post" was given up in 1775, and the "constitutional post" was inadequate. Military operations increased the obstacles which the postriders normally encountered. Occasionally someone journeying into disputed territory would advertise that he would carry letters,[8] but usually the regular postriders had to be relied upon, and they had to seek roundabout ways to avoid war-blockaded regions. The besieged towns were always ill supplied with news. The *News-Letter*, alone in Boston in the summer of 1775, complained that "almost all communication with the Continent is cut off." [9] English newspapers, always a prime news source, came into the hands of editors irregularly as the war progressed, and this was true for Royalists as well as for Rebels. In this situation, rumors and false news were more prevalent than under ordinary conditions. Hugh Gaine's Royalist New York *Gazette and Mercury* on February 2, 1778, published this report from a month-old Boston paper:

> The Hartford Post tells us, That he saw a Gentleman in Springfield, who informed him that he (the Gentleman) saw a letter from an Officer in Gen. Howe's Army to another in Gen. Burgoyne's, giving him to understand, WAR was declared on the sides of France and Spain, against the MIGHTY Kingdom of Britain.

This report, even by the time it reached New York, was premature as regards France; as regards Spain, it anticipated the fact by more than a year.

[8] See such an advertisement, for example, in the New York *Gazette*, October 5, 1776.

[9] Boston *News-Letter*, May 19, 1775.

It is interesting to note that reports of the battles of Lexington and Concord, which occurred on April 19, 1775, appeared on the following dates in various towns: Boston, April 19 (*News-Letter*, only a few lines with no details); Philadelphia (*Post*), April 25; New York (*Gazetteer* and *Journal*), April 27; Baltimore (*Gazette*), April 27; Williamsburg (*Gazette*), April 29; Charleston (*Gazette*), May 9; Savannah (*Gazette*), May 31.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

The great running stories of the period were, first, the struggle against taxes and duties imposed by Parliament and second, the War of the Revolution. The chief news breaks were the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, the Boston "massacre" in 1770, the Battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775, the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the important battles of 1776-83.

Many papers filled their news columns with the activities of the Committees of Inspection, of Correspondence, and of Safety; the doings of the Sons of Liberty, Whig Clubs, etc.; and the resolutions and proclamations of town meetings and legislatures. Ninety per cent of the nonadvertising space of the war issues of the New York *Journal* was devoted to matters relating to the war.[10] Such a paper was little more than a semiofficial organ of propaganda.

But the American newspapers of 1765-83 did not confine their news to political and military events. Accidents, wrecks, fires, storms, agricultural yields, "remarkables" and monstrosities, gaol breaks, epidemics and medical achievements, and crime news were all frequent. One paper in 1770 commented upon "the late horrid frequency of murders."[11] Deaths and marriages were not noted, as a rule, unless the persons concerned were prominent; conventional terms which now seem quaint were then employed, though a few papers (as *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*) were more informal. Here are three examples of death and marriage notices:

Last Monday there died here Mr. Edward Ashby, a very inoffensive man, in the hundred and ninth year of his Age.

[10] See analysis, C. M. Thomas, "The Publication of Newspapers During the American Revolution," *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1932 (Vol. IX, p. 363).

[11] *Connecticut Journal*, September 28, 1770.

Last Sunday evening was married here Mr. Daniel Shaw, of Marlborough, to Miss Grace Coit, of this Town, a young Lady embellish'd with every Qualification requisite to render a married life agreeable.

On Monday afternoon, the Spirit of that facetious, good tempered, inoffensive Convivialist Mr. JOHN LEVINE, ascended to the Skies.[12]

Big-type headings occasionally appeared over important news. One of the largest was a line two-thirds of an inch high over the Declaration of Independence in the New York *Weekly Journal*, July 11, 1776. But these were seldom more than label headings.

The leads of important stories commonly consisted of editorial comment without factual details. The Boston *Gazette's* account of the Boston "massacre" began: "The Town of Boston affords a recent and melancholy Demonstration of the destructive Consequences of quartering Troops among Citizens in a Time of Peace," and only after two-thirds of a column of editorializing does it begin its "circumstantial Account of the tragical Affair on Monday Night last." [13] The *Essex Gazette*, of Salem, began its story of the Battles of Lexington and Concord as follows:

Last Wednesday, the 19th of April, the Troops of his *Brittanick* Majesty commenced Hostilities upon the People of this Province, attended with Circumstances of Cruelty not less brutal than what our venerable Ancestors received from the vilest Savages of the Wilderness. The Particulars relative to this interesting Event, by which we are involved in all the Horrors of a Civil War, we have endeavored to collect as well as the present confused State of Affairs will permit.[14]

FORERUNNERS OF THE NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL

Such commentary in leads or in paragraphs following a news story definitely pointed toward the newspaper editorial which developed as a separate form somewhat later. Unusual recognition of the distinction between news and comment was shown in the printing of the "Journal of Occurrences" in the New York *Journal*, in which comment appeared in italics. In a number of papers the custom grew up during the war of placing such editorializing on events under the local heading; thus a Boston paper's original

[12] Sources, in order: New London *Gazette*, January 23, 1767; *ibid.*, June 16, 1769; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, April 22, 1773.

[13] Boston *Gazette*, March 12, 1770.

[14] *Essex Gazette*, April 25, 1775.

news pieces were under the Boston heading, and soon anything written by the editor of the paper came to be printed in that position. From this beginning, editorial columns were to grow up in the position under the home-town heading.

But opinion was still expressed mainly by letters signed by pen-names. Doubtless these were occasionally written by the editor; but, in general, editors were printers and publishers, not authors of their newspapers, and their own writing was confined to the local news stories and items—usually a small proportion of the paper. Of course, the resolutions and proclamations of official and semiofficial bodies, so copiously printed in most papers, were effective opinion-forming instruments.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN THE REVOLUTION

Royal Governors and Judges found their efforts to curb the growing boldness of utterance on the part of newspapers during this period to be limited by the unwillingness of grand juries to indict for such offences. To proceed to more high-handed measures would, they recognized, invite a violent opposition. "I agreed with the Gentlemen of the Council," wrote Lieutenant Governor Colden, of New York, in 1765, "that considering the present temper of the people this is not a proper time to prosecute the printers and Publishers of the Seditious Papers." [15] Nor was a "proper time" found later.[16] There were abortive attempts to prosecute the Boston *Gazette* and the *Massachusetts Spy*, but by the end of 1772 Massachusetts authorities had given up in despair. The last of the royal prosecutions was that brought against Thomas Powell, partner of Peter Timothy in the publication of the *South-Carolina Gazette*. In this case the Council, which was the upper house of the Assembly, disagreed with the lower house and, when the Speaker of the latter body released Powell from jail, attempted to commit the Speaker himself. The quarrel was referred to London, and the outbreak of war caused it to be forgotten.

But although there was little censorship of newspapers by legal means in the Revolutionary period, there was much invasion of liberty of the press by mobs and threats of violence on the

[15] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. VII, p. 759.

[16] This leaves out of consideration the McDougall case in New York in 1770, which was based on broadsides rather than on publication in newspapers.

part of the Sons of Liberty and kindred organizations. These pressures were exerted, in the main, against the Tory papers, though they also resulted in the suppression of the impartial Boston *Evening-Post*, inflicted losses on the well-meaning Samuel Loudon of the New York *Packet*, and almost wrecked the Patriot but factious *Maryland Journal*. The outstanding example of mob violence against a Tory paper was the destruction of *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*.

ADVERTISING AND CIRCULATION

On the whole, advertising patronage maintained a high level during the War of the Revolution. Goods and services offered had even more variety than in the preceding period. Want ads were used in connection with recruiting, and gifts of clothing for the army were solicited by the same means. An advertisement which appeared in the *Connecticut Journal* at the beginning of the terrible "Valley Forge Winter" was headed "Ragged, Barefooted Soldiers," and asked "the several towns of this state, which have not sent forward their quota of clothing" to do so at once, "that the soldiers may have them before the weather is severe." [17] Advertising rates, like everything else, went up during the war; ten shillings for a first insertion was a common price by the late seventies.

Occasionally shortage of paper caused the omission of a part of a newspaper's advertisements, which it would promise "shall be inserted in our next." The same cause tended to decrease the number of stock-cuts used and to prevent the growth of display typography. An innovation was the use of borders on many advertisements in the latter years of Rivington's *Royal Gazette*.

Circulations increased in the years immediately preceding the war. The largest claimed by papers before the war were Rivington's 3,600 in 1774 [18] and Isaiah Thomas's 3,500 in the next year.[19] After the evacuation of New York by the British in 1776, the *Connecticut Courant*, of Hartford, leaped into a kind of leadership of Patriot papers in the North for some years. Contributions from

[17] *Connecticut Journal*, November 5, 1777.
[18] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, October 13, 1774.
[19] See this claim for the Massachusetts Spy, p. 78.

some of the chief leaders of the cause gave the Courant a great reputation as a spokesman for the Revolution; and, as it owned its own mill after 1776, is was not hampered by lack of paper. It is said to have reached 8,000 in 1778.[20] This was a circulation of which London papers of those years might well have been jealous. But there were plenty of colonial papers which numbered their subscribers at only a few hundred throughout this period.

Subscription rates ranged from the six shillings eight pence a year of the *Essex Journal* at Newburyport—"as cheap as any newspaper in the four Quarters of the Globe"—to such freak prices as the twenty-six shillings of the *New-Jersey Gazette*, when it was established in 1777 as the first newspaper of that state, and the shilling a number charged for the *Pennsylvania Packet* while it was in exile in Lancaster. Twelve shillings a year was a common price in the middle of the war; but American currency depreciated very rapidly after 1778.

Besides, the stated price of a paper was not of much importance unless subscribers paid their debts. "Delinquents" were the bane of the newspaper business. "The Printers are sorry," says the *Connecticut Journal*, "they can with truth inform the Public, that they have not for this Year past, received from all the Customers of the Journal, so much money as they have expended for the blank paper on which it has been printed; and that they shall be under the necessity of reducing it in size unless subscribers for it are more punctual in their payments." [21] Gaine once dunned Sir William Johnson for ten years' unpaid back subscriptions.[22] There is pathos in "Jemmy" Rivington's appeal to fellow Royalists who were fleeing at the time of the British evacuation of New York to stop long enough before embarkation to pay their arrearages on the paper which had supported their cause.[23]

The partial breakdown of the colonial postal system stimulated a new technique of newspaper distribution which already had some vogue before the beginning of hostilities—the system of private postriders. A postrider might carry competing papers from a town

[20] J. H. Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut* (Hartford, 1886), Vol. II, p. 250.

[21] *Connecticut Journal*, April 12, 1773.

[22] Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, Vol. I, p. 41.

[23] *Royal Gazette*, November 8, 1783.

like Boston to such a village as Amherst, delivering some at other points by the way;[24] he collected the subscription price for the printers as well as his own fee. Within the larger towns the printer's apprentice was succeeded as delivery-boy by men and lads unconnected with the printing.[25]

The "Parliamentary post," directed by the British government, besides being irregular, gave an opportunity for the work of spies and was unfair to Patriot papers. Franklin was dismissed as Deputy Postmaster General in 1774. About this time William Goddard, of the *Maryland Journal*, was busy setting up a "Constitutional," or American, postal system. This was taken over by the Continental Congress the next year; and Franklin was made the first American Postmaster General, to be succeeded, when he was sent on his mission to France, by his son-in-law Richard Bache. But the post was extremely unsatisfactory throughout the Revolution. Peace and prosperity are necessary to the development of a good postal system, and the fighting colonies had neither; they had, instead, bad roads, the interference of military campaigns, and poor financing. In the absence of proper communication, newspapers had perforce to remain local journals.

MONTHLY MAGAZINES

Only five monthly magazines were published in this period,[26] and they were all brief experiments, lasting from three to nineteen months. The one of longest life and greatest importance was the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, which has already been mentioned.

In January, 1774, Isaiah Thomas attempted a magazine, which he turned over after six months to his friend and contributor to the *Spy*, Joseph Greenleaf, who continued it for nine months more and then abandoned it on the eve of the Battle of Lexington. This monthly was called the *Royal American Magazine*; and in spite of its name, its politics were soundly Patriot. Its most memorable feature was a series of cartoon engravings on copper by Paul Revere in which British oppression was held up to obloquy.

[24] As Peter Robinson did in 1777. See his advertisements in the *Continental Journal*, May 22, 1777, and in other papers.

[25] One of the first, if not the very first, to have his name set down in public print was "the egregious and clamorous Lawrence Sweeney," of whom Rivington writes in his *Gazetteer* (May 22, 1773) as distributing Gaine's *Gazette and Mercury*.

[26] This does not include the *Boston Magazine*, begun in October, 1783.

The one other magazine of the period which requires mention, and the only one besides the *Pennsylvania Magazine* that was published during the war, was H. H. Brackenridge's brilliant *United States Magazine* (1779). Its editor was himself a writer of wit and ability, and he had the coöperation of John Witherspoon, his former "prexy" at the College of New Jersey. Here Witherspoon's famous lampoon on Rivington, in which he makes the courtly editor propose himself to the Yankees as a teacher of deportment and dainty manners, appeared at length.

GROWTH OF NEWSPAPERS IN PUBLIC ESTEEM

The student of the times cannot doubt that printers and publishers bore their full share of the sufferings of the country during the Revolution. But by the end of the war journalism had made a distinct gain in prestige. This gain began with the Stamp Act, the repeal of which was recognized as due, to a large extent, to a united opposition to it on the part of the newspapers. "The press hath never done greater service since its first invention," exclaimed one admirer of the campaign against the Stamp Act.[27] Such a triumph not only emboldened the newspapers to defy English authority, but also taught the political organizers and the manipulators of public opinion how useful newspapers could be to them. From this time forward the press was recognized as a strong arm of the Patriot movement. Of the three great media of propaganda in the Revolution—the omnipresent pamphlet, the sermons of the political clergy, and the newspaper—it was the last which made the greatest gain.

The leaders all respected this new power. Washington repeatedly encouraged the Patriot press; he aided in the establishment of the *New-Jersey Gazette* that his army might have a newspaper to read in the winter of 1777; he consigned quantities of worn-out tenting to the papermills to be made into printing-paper.

This prestige was based, of course, on the definitely popular regard for newspapers. They were coming to be a general necessity. Though we have no statistics on the matter, there can be no doubt that the level of literacy in the colonies was rising rapidly. Advertisements show the importance of books, pamphlets, and circulating libraries. A writer in Gaine's paper said in 1766:

[27] *New-Hampshire Gazette*, April 11, 1766.

Every lover of his country hath long observed with sacred pleasure, the rapid progress of knowledge in this once howling wilderness, occasioned by the vast importation of *books*; the many public and private libraries in all parts of the country; the great taste for reading which prevails among people of every rank . . .[28]

This taste for reading was fed largely by journalism. Newspapers probably went into less than 40,000 homes at the outbreak of the Revolution; but each copy was passed from hand to hand, they were read aloud in the coffee-houses and inns, and their articles were discussed and thoroughly digested. Ambrose Serle, temporarily in charge of the Royalist press in New York in 1776, wrote home to Lord Dartmouth:

One is astonished to see with what avidity they [the colonial newspapers] are sought after, and how implicitly they are believed, by the great Bulk of the People. . . . Government may find it expedient, in the Sum of things, to employ this popular Engine.[29]

The Royalist government did attempt so to employ it, but, under adverse conditions, not very successfully; the Patriots, on the other hand, used it with great effectiveness.

Thus the press emerged from the war to face the problem of forming a new nation, armed with a newly found prestige which was to make it a power of the first importance.

[28] *Gazette and Mercury*, June 12, 1766.
[29] November 26, 1776. Quoted in Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, Vol. I, p. 57.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For the Period 1765-1783

THE bibliography of the period 1690-1765 is in many respects the same as that for the present period, and students are referred to the notes on pp. 65-67. The Brigham *Bibliography* and the Thomas *History of Printing* there cited continue as works of the greatest usefulness; and the general histories named, together with Buckingham's *Specimens*, McMurtrie's *History of Printing*, Duniway's *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, and Weeks's *History of Paper-Manufacturing* may be cited from the former list as especially valuable in the Revolutionary period.

Annie Russell Marble, *From 'Prentice to Patron* (New York, 1935) is a fairly comprehensive biography of Isaiah Thomas. P. L. Ford, ed., *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer*, two vols. (New York, 1902) contains not only the journals but a biographical sketch by the editor, a bibliography of the issues of Gaine's press, and other pertinent data. John W. Wallace, *An Old Philadelphian, Colonel William Bradford of 1776* (Philadelphia, 1884) is a rare monograph. V. H. Paltsits, *John Holt, Printer and Postmaster* (New York, 1920) is a helpful pamphlet. L. C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922) has an excellent section on the life of William Goddard, and J. T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press 1777-1790* (Baltimore, 1928) is a good sequel. A score of prominent printer-journalists of the period are treated in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The standard biography of Samuel Adams is William V. Wells, *Life and Services of Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1865), three vols.; and that of Paine is Moncure D. Conway, *Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1892), two vols.

Frank Moore, ed., *Diary of the American Revolution*, two vols. (New York, 1860) contains many news articles and editorial comments from the newspapers of Revolutionary times. Oliver Morton Dicker-

son, comp., *Boston Under Military Rule 1768-1769 as Revealed in "A Journal of the Times"* (Boston, 1936) contains a historical sketch and reprint of the "Journal" referred to in the title. Philip Davidson, *Propaganda on the American Revolution, 1763-83* (Chapel Hill, 1941) contains excellent material and the newspapers of the period.

A useful work related to the history of newspapers is Wesley E. Rich, *The History of the U. S. Post Office to the Year 1929*, Vol. XXVII of *Harvard Economic Studies* (Cambridge, 1924).

Chapters of M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, two vols. (New York, 1905) and V. L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind* (New York, 1927) are helpful.

The Party Press: Early Period 1783-1801

CHAPTER VI

Federalists and Republicans

IN THE MATTER OF THE INCIDENCE OF INDIVIDUAL NEWSPAPERS, there was a remarkably clean break between the Revolutionary period and the one which followed it. Many of the old papers dropped out of the picture about the time of the peace treaty with England, and others began to sink slowly toward oblivion; while more than sixty new papers were started in the mid-eighties. This furore of newspaper founding increased in the next decade, and altogether about 450 new papers were begun in the period now under consideration. Many of these existed but briefly; others lasted—some brilliantly and some obscurely—for many years. But of the old papers which were important in the early years of the Revolutionary War, only about a dozen persisted to the end of the century or beyond.[1]

Yet the most noticeable feature of the journalism of the years 1783-1801 had its roots deep in the Revolutionary press. This was the ardent partisan political propaganda of the period. It was inevitable that political leaders, once they had discovered the usefulness of the press in the heats of controversy, should employ such newspapers as they could enlist to help them fight the battles which presently developed along the new Federalist *versus* Republican alignment.

Indeed, as party feeling grew, a new reason for the existence of newspapers came to be recognized. Whereas nearly all newspapers heretofore had been set up as auxiliaries to printing estab-

[1] These were the Boston *Independent-Chronicle*, *Massachusetts Spy*, *New-Hampshire Gazette*, Newport *Mercury*, Providence *Journal*, New London *Gazette*, *Connecticut Centinel* (Norwich), *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), New York *Journal*, *Pennsylvania Packet*, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and *Maryland Gazette*. In all, 202 papers were being published January 1, 1801.

lishments [2] and had been looked upon merely as means which enterprising printers used to make a living, now they were more and more often founded as spokesmen of political parties. This gave a new dignity and a new color to American journalism.

It resulted also in the emergence of the newspaper editor. Up to this time, conducting a newspaper had been chiefly a matter of selecting, without much initiative, the conventional items of newspaper content, and printing and distributing them. Newspaper conductors were, in the main, mere printers and publishers, and they so regarded themselves. But now we have one newspaper after another coming forward as the expression of the personality of an "able editor" who may or may not be a printer himself; and we find one leading editor writing contemptuously of papers "conducted by mere mechanicks." [3]

NEWSPAPER CONTENT

Yet it must not be thought that the newspapers of the post-revolutionary period were crammed with politics, to the exclusion of other types of content. Foreign news, gathered from English and Continental papers, was still given the place of honor; and doubtless most readers still considered the purveying of news from abroad, and from England especially, to be the newspaper's most valuable service. In spite of the recent triumphal conclusion of the war for political independence from England, the new States were still dependent upon the "mother country" for many things; not the least of these importations were cultural leadership, the models for newspapers and magazines, and the news of English politics and English thought.

There was also a considerable amount of miscellany of a "feature" cast printed in the newspapers. Familiar essays, poetry, scientific articles, and history were common in many papers. Several of them printed the whole of William Robertson's *History of America* serially, and others presented *Captain Cook's Voyages* in the same way. Some papers were distinguished by original literary

[2] There had been exceptions. Zenger's *Journal* and Crouch's *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* were founded for political reasons, as were some of the Royalist papers during the British occupation of New York and Philadelphia; and such papers as the *New-England Courant* and the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* began as organs of factions.

[3] *Farmer's Weekly Museum* (Walpole, New Hampshire), April 4, 1797.

contributions. The work of Dennie and his friends in the *Farmer's Weekly Museum* and the satires of the Hartford Wits in the newspapers of that town were literary performances of importance.

One type of domestic news requires special consideration. From the first, American newspapers had given careful attention to shipping intelligence; and now, with journalistic expansion, came an even greater emphasis on this kind of commercial news, especially in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Closely connected with such news were the paid announcements of wholesalers who had newly imported goods to offer to merchants. Out of this combination designed for the mercantile interests grew the *Advertisers* and *Commercial Advertisers* which became the first daily papers in the United States.

EMERGENCE OF THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

It was the egregious Benjamin Towne who published the first American daily newspaper. His *Pennsylvania Evening Post* had been a triweekly when he established it in 1775; later it had been rather irregular as a semiweekly; then, on May 30, 1783, it began daily publication.

Towne, at this time, was trying his hardest to live down his record as a catchpenny Tory during the British occupation of Philadelphia; but in spite of all his efforts to restore himself in business and public esteem, he was indicted for treason a few months after he had begun his experiment in daily publication. Though he was not formally "attainted" as a traitor for several years, the shadow hung over him throughout all of the seventeen months of his daily's life. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post, and Daily Advertiser* was from first to last a sorry-looking, poverty-stricken sheet—shabby forerunner of the great American daily newspaper. Most of the copies preserved are printed on a half-sheet; that is, they consist each of a single small leaf printed on both sides, two columns to the page. Some of them, especially in the latter part of the file, have four pages; but there was a growing irregularity, some weeks having only five issues. Advertising patronage was small and news coverage was ridiculously inadequate. Its shipping news was the *Post's* best feature. Undoubtedly Ben Towne did all the work on his paper himself during at least part of this experiment, even to selling it on the street. In this

"hawking" he was a pioneer,[4] as well as in daily publication, and his street-cry "All the news for two coppers!" was long remembered by scoffing onlookers.

Towne abandoned his paper about a month after another and a far better daily was established in Philadelphia. This was the *Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser.* The *Packet* had been successively a weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly. Founded by John Dunlap, who later took his former apprentice, David C. Claypool, into partnership, the paper had been prosperous even during the darkest days of the war. Both these men had been, for short terms, soldiers in the Patriot army. When they started their daily paper, September 21, 1784, ten of the sixteen columns of its first issue were filled with advertising; thus it was a success from the start. It continued, under various names and ownerships, for more than half a century.

A few months after the *Packet* had demonstrated the practicability of a daily in Philadelphia, New York had a similar paper—the New York *Daily Advertiser.*[5] Philadelphia and New York long kept the leadership in daily papers;[6] at the close of the century, the former had six of them and the latter five. Boston, though it had two short-lived attempts of this kind, gave no consistent support to daily publication in the eighteenth century. But the rising commercial center of Baltimore supported three dailies by 1800; and further south, Charleston, in size the fourth American city, had two.

REASONS FOR DAILY PAPERS

London had had its daily papers since 1702, Augsburg (Germany) since 1718,[7] and Paris since 1777; but America, of

[4] It may be that Gaine had already employed street hawkers in New York. See reference to a loud-voiced newsboy from Rivington's paper, footnote, p. 106.

[5] The first New York daily, however, was the *Morning Post,* by William Morton and Samuel Horner, made a daily February 23, 1785. The *Daily Advertiser* was founded about a week later, issuing its first number March 1. The *Morning Post* abandoned daily publication in 1792, while the *Daily Advertiser* continued until 1809. The latter was the first New York paper to *begin* as a daily; it was founded by Francis Childs when he was twenty-one years old.

[6] Philadelphia had a "twice-daily" for three months in 1796—S. H. Smith's *New World,* with morning and evening editions.

[7] The Leipzig *Zeitung* (under an earlier title) was a daily for several years beginning with 1660, but the Augsburg *Ordinari-Zeitung* became the first successful German daily in 1718.

WEDNESDAY, March 14. 1787. THE

NEW-YORK DAILY ADVERTISER.

Printed by F. CHILDS and Co. No. 17, Duke-Street, the first Door from the Corner of the Old-Slip and Smith-Street. Price 6d.

FOOD for the MIND

The Sons of Science are respectfully informed, that the

LITERARY BANQUET

is again opened,

At No. 33, Corner of *King* and *Queen-Streets*, precisely. Bill of Fare six in the Evening, at which time the Feast commence,

By public auction

The Sale of a rare, scarce, curious, instructive, and entertaining Collection of

BOOKS,

Adapted to the different tastes of those whose chiefest luxury is the *refinement of reason*, and who wish for an opportunity of becoming purchasers of their favourite authors, by virtue of the *Testimonial Mallet*.

Wm. PRITCHARD, *Auctioneer.*

☞ Catalogues to be had at the Coffee-house, and place of Sale.

March 14th.

TO BE SOLD,

THAT well known FARM, whereon the late Doctor Ogden lived, containing 50 acres of land, lying within one quarter of a mile of the pleasant town of Jamaica on Long-Island, and on the main road leading to New-York. There is on the premises, a large and good dwelling house, two stories high, and well finished; containing four rooms on a floor, and a cellar under the whole, a large Dutch built barn, barrack, bake-house, smoak house and corn crib, and a good well of water: The garden is large and well stocked with all kinds of fruit trees, and two large beds of asparagus, and is in high improvement; on this farm there is two good apple orchards, and one peach orchard of the best grafted fruit: the land is exceeding good, and a very considerable quantity of good English hay is cut yearly on it. There is also between 6 and 7 acres of fine young wood land, lying about three quarters of a mile from the above farm, and about seven or eight acres of salt meadow, lying about two miles from the same. The whole will be sold together, and a good title given.

For further particulars, inquire on the premises, or of *Peter Mesier*, No. 34, Little-Dock street, New-York.

If the above House and Farm is not sold at private sale before Tuesday the 5th of April next, it will then be sold at public vendue: and likewise some household furniture and farming utensils. The sale to begin at 2 o'clock, on the premises.

SITCHER & JOHNSTON,

No. 21, Fair-street, Taylors,

TAKE this method to inform the Public, and their Friends in particular, that they still continue to carry on their Business in its various branches. With pleasure they return their friends and constant Customers their sincere thanks for their past favours, and can only hope for a continuation of them.

WANTED, a Man of a good character, with a small family, to take charge of a little Farm, not 10 miles from N. York, on certain terms to be agreed upon by the parties.—Enquire of the Printers hereof.

To be SOLD,

SEVERAL new Window FRAMES, with sash lights complete.—Enquire at No. 33. Broad-Street.

CHIMNEY-OFFICE,

For the City of New-York.

WHEREAS the subscriber has made application to the Corporation for leave to open a Chimney-office in this city, and they have been pleased to recommend and encourage the undertaking, as promising advantages to the public: therefore the subscriber proposes to procure a number of hands, sufficient to clean all the chimneys of the subscribers to such proposals in this city, as often as may be thought necessary.

He will keep an office where the name of every person who chuses to favor this undertaking shall be registered, with the number of chimneys which are daily used, and the days, from time to time, on which they were last cleaned.

He will engage that every subscriber without the trouble of, sending or searching for a person, shall be waited on every six weeks or month, if required, precisely on the day, from the beginning of September to the latter end of April.

In the summer season, the kitchen chimnies to be swept every two months.

He will engage to pay the fine laid by law, if the chimney takes fire within five weeks after it has been cleaned by his people; unless the chimney be cracked, or the fire begin in some other part of the room.

That the persons employed by the undertaker, shall be distinguished by caps, numbered, and having his name on them; that they shall be under the direction of a deputy, and attend so as not to let fires.

He promises to employ such as have hitherto been in the business.

The payment for cleaning each chimney, shall be no more than the customary price of one shilling and six-pence, paid to the time to the deputy.

In consideration of the great trouble and expence which must attend the establishing so useful a regulation, the subscriber entreats the public the subscription of the inhabitants to an engagement not to engage any other than the persons who may belong to the intended office, in cleaning their chimneys, as long as what is above proposed, engaged and promised, shall be punctually observed by himself and servants.

A copy of these articles shall on the first day of entry on the business, be delivered to each subscriber signed by the undertaker, to furnish the means of forcing a compliance with what is engaged; it is also expected, that the subscribers will pay for the number of chimneys (which will be only those daily used) entered in the book, during the above-mentioned time, though they employ others than the office boys to do the business; unless it appears that they did not attend at the necessary time.

That the hours for cleaning the chimnies shall be from four to eight in the morning, and from two to five in the evening.

That each subscriber, after each season, shall be at entire liberty to withdraw his name from the office.

JOSEPH BECK.

We have become subscribers to this plan.

James Duane, Mayor,
Richard Varick,
B. Blagge,
Tho. Randall,
W. Neilson,
W. Gilbert,
Ab. Lott,
Tho. Ivers,
J. Broome,
} Aldermen.

Robert Benson, Clerk.

To be SOLD,

(And entered upon immediately.)

THAT pleasant country seat situated on York-Island, on the East-river, about six miles from the city of New-York, consisting about 28 acres of land, the whole can be made into meadow if required, the soil being exceeding rich; on it is a two story dwelling house, situated on an eminence, 53 feet front, and 40 feet broad, with four rooms on a floor, and a spacious entry through the whole, and a good dry cellar under the house, with complete milk rooms; adjoining the house 2 rooms and a large kitchen, with three bedrooms on the upper floor; a good old mansion house; outhouses, such as a Dutch barn, a large chair house, fowl, and waggon house, and ash houses, near to the kitchen a well of a never failing spring of water issuing out of a rock; at the rear of the house a large garden; a young bearing orchard grafted with the best of apples, and a variety of other fruit. This seat needs no comment: and any person inclining to purchase, may view the premises and judge of the prospect. For terms apply to

DIRCK LEFFERTS,

In Maiden-lane, No. 21.

Just imported, and to be Sold by

Hugh Gaine,

At his *Printing-Office*, at the Sign of the *Bible* in Hanover-Square,

GUTHRIE'S *History of the world*, 2 vol. *Gaitbrel's grammar*, *Bissbe's* and *Sheridan's American gazetteer*; *Johnson's*, *Bayley's*, *Fenning's*, and *Dyche's dictionaries*; *Cole's* and *Young's Latin dictionary*; *Boyer's French dictionary*, and *grammar*; *Showorell's lexicon*; *Smart's* and *Francis's Horace*; *Erasmus*, *Corderi*, *Ruddiman's rudiments*; *Mair's* and *Clark's introductions*; *Addison's*, *Pope's*, and *Young's works*; *Johnson's* and *Stevens's Shakspeare's beauties of Milton*, *Johnson*, *Shakespear*, *Goldsmith*, *Pope*, *Fielding* and *Swift*, *Buffon's natural history*, *Goldsmith's animated nature*; *Cobbett's* and *Hook's Roman Empire*; *Plutarch's lives*; *Goldsmith's England*; *Rollin's belles letters*; *letters on public liberty*; *Edinburgh pharmacopeia*; *Hervey's meditations*; *Horne's principles*; *Lord Lyttelton's letters*; *Cook's Voyages*; *Knox's early typographia drammatica*; *Gibbon's tracts*; *Robertson's letters*; *Stone's Euclid*; *Martin's philosophy*: *Buchan's domestic medicine*; *Pringle on the army*; *Pemberton's dispensatory*; *Macquer's chymistry*; *Watts's Recreations*; *Clarke's sermons*; *Duncan's logic*; *Boileau's French guide*; *second indifference*; *Anna's Arabian knights*; *Chrysal*; *Female soldier*; *large Dutch and English bibles*, *with cuts*, *small bibles*, *testaments*, *and all other school Books*; *with a great variety of other Books*, *both scarce and valuable*.

Also to be had at the same place,—*Blank books of various sorts*, *viewing paper of all sizes and qualities*, *quills and pens of superior quality*, *sealing wax*, *wafers in boxes*, *red and black ink powder*, *pocketbooks*, *pocketbooks and covers*, *all sorts of pocket books*, *slidderine's pencils*, *pounce and pounce boxes*, *playing cards*, *ladles*, *&c. &c.*

Genuine Harrison Oil, *Ryan's sugar plumbs*, *Pope's balsam*, *Hill's American balsam of honey*, *Anderson's pills*, *British oil*, *Dr. James's fever powders*, *and a most excellent never failing Eye water*, *&c.*

To be LET,

and immediate possession given.

A Very good Tan-yard, near Fresh-water. *For terms apply to the Printers hereof.*

Front page of first successful New York daily newspaper, reduced.

course, had no center of population comparable to those of the European countries. Philadelphia and New York, when the first American dailies were established in those cities, had populations of about 25,000 each.

But it was not emulation of English or French journalism which brought about the first experiments with dailies in America; it was, rather, the wish to provide the mercantile classes with up-to-the-minute news of the arrival of sailing vessels and the offerings of importers. This information had been furnished by the great coffee-houses, which kept such records on file. To these places of resort for gentlemen, then, the merchants had been wont to come every morning, for a cup of coffee, perhaps a "segar," a bit of gossip with friends, and, most important, a look at the lists of "ships entered" and the descriptions of their cargoes. Dunlap and Claypool, and the other men who adapted such information to daily journalism, served the merchants more efficiently. This was definitely class journalism; indeed the price of six cents a copy, which was soon adopted, put these papers beyond the reach of the popular audience.

Once established, the daily was likely, however, to get into politics, and most of these mercantile papers had strong partisan leanings. Political independence, for man or newspaper, was virtually unknown in this era. Moreover, after a few years, dailies whose primary aim was political came to be founded; and they were published alongside the definitely mercantile papers. Though the aims of these two groups seem to be divergent, no sharp line can be drawn between them. Nearly all carried the name *Advertiser* in either title or subtitle; they all discussed politics. Perhaps the distinguishing badge was price: the political papers commonly sold for less than the mercantile journals.

POLITICAL ISSUES

There need be no cause for wonder over the prevailingly political cast of the period. The safety and prosperity of the people obviously depended on the correct answers to certain pressing political questions. Four leading issues of the years 1783-1801 may be named.

(1) *The Adoption of the Federal Constitution.* The Articles of Confederation, the federal agreement under which the country

as a whole was governed from 1781 until after the adoption of the Constitution in 1788, proved inadequate in nearly all respects. The demand for a stronger central government, spurred by spreading disorders and financial distress, grew from month to month. Suggestions for reform appeared in the papers. A convention of delegates from the various states was eventually assembled in Philadelphia to draw up a new plan of government. The deliberations of this Constitutional Convention, which extended over four months, were conducted with the utmost secrecy; the most important of American gatherings was unreported in the public press—and this without any very pointed objection on the part of the papers themselves. But as soon as the Convention had reported the finished document to Congress and it had been referred to the states, the newspapers were immediately filled with discussions of the complicated but fundamental questions involved. Foremost of these arguments was the series of papers by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay called *The Federalist*, which gave an ordered, clear explanation and defense of the great document. This series was published in the New York *Independent Journal*, a semiweekly,[8] and then reprinted in papers throughout the country. It remains today one of the greatest pieces of American political writing. But *The Federalist* was only one of the many discussions of the great issue with which the press overflowed. The fight was bitter, and some of the writing devoted to it was scurrilous and unworthy of a great debate. So strong did the feeling become that one opponent of ratification—Greenleaf's New York *Journal*, suffered the wrecking of its press. Out of this contest over the acceptance of the new Constitution were to come the two great parties of the first quarter-century of our national history—the Federalists, who, in this early phase, advocated adoption; and the Antifederalists, later called Republicans,[9] who fought desperately to keep the various states from ratifying. It was widely charged, in the midst of the contest, that the Federal-

[8] This paper was made a daily under the name New York *Daily Gazette* some months after it finished publishing the *Federalist* series.

[9] They came to be called Republicans partly because of their sympathy with the French Republic during the French Revolution; but they were the direct forerunners of the later Democrats. Indeed, in this period they were sometimes called Democrats, or Republican Democrats. Their opponents frequently called them "Jacobins."

ists had used their control of the postoffice to prevent the circulation of Antifederalist papers.[10]

(2) *High Taxes and Assumption of State Debts.* The difficulty of paying state taxes after the close of the war was reflected in the columns of most newspapers—often linked with criticism of popular extravagance. Such discussions brought home to the people the importance of the financial policies which Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury, adopted. Of these policies, the assumption by the federal government of the debts which the states had incurred during the Revolution was the one most widely debated.[11] Satirical poems and parables, as well as essays in sober earnest, were devoted to the question of assumption. But in the end, Hamilton, by carrying the Federalist party with him, put most of his policies into effect. Thereby he established the national credit; and, incidentally, he solidified the support of the mercantile class of the country behind the Federalist party. And the support of the merchants had the further effect of bringing a large majority of the newspapers into the same partisan alignment.

(3) *The French Question.* But the most bitterly contested issues during the Federalist administrations of Washington and Adams were those which grew out of the relations of the United States with France and England. The failure of the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI came at the beginning of Washington's first administration. American papers generally, friendly to the nation which had so recently assisted the colonies in their struggle against England, watched French leaders sympathetically as they turned to constitutional government; but when the king was sent to the guillotine and Paris brought under the "reign of terror," Americans were shocked, and many of the newspapers turned against France. After England's declaration of war against that country, American sympathies divided on partisan lines: the Federalists, hoping for profitable trade with England, and endorsing Washington's conservative neutrality stand, supported the English position; while the Republicans, maintaining that Americans were still offensive and defensive allies of the French, wore the tri-

[10] New York *Journal*, December 17, and January 23, 1788; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, January 16 and 31, and February 8, 1788. See an official reply in the latter paper, March 24 and 26, 1788.

[11] Others were duties on imports, establishment of the Bank of the United States, the Funding Act, and the excise tax.

colored cockade of the revolutionists and sang *Ça Ira*. The French minister, "Citizen" Genêt, was indiscreet enough to challenge the presidential authority and to become deeply involved in partisan politics. Short-lived French newspapers were published in the leading American cities, including the first American daily in a foreign language, the Philadelphia *Courrier Français* (1794-98). These were wild times, with brawls and fights and celebrations and high words. Newspapers were filled with echoes of the popular demonstrations; later with more sober discussion of neutrality, trade relations, and European politics; and still later with the stories of the undeclared "Naval War of 1798" against France.

(4) *The Treaty with England.* In the midst of these difficult times, John Jay was sent to London as a special commissioner to negotiate a treaty with England. It was impossible to obtain from the British ministry agreements on boundaries, trade, and impressment of seamen which were wholly satisfactory; but the treaty which Jay brought home was doubtless the best that could be negotiated at the time, and far better than none at all. The Republicans assailed it bitterly as an alliance with England against France, disorderly parades hanged Jay in effigy, and many Federalists objected to some of the treaty's trade provisions. The Senate ratified it, however, and the President proclaimed it; it was violently attacked and defended through many columns of newspaper space.

The two elections of Washington were preceded by no electioneering; the decision was supposed to be wholly the business of the electors, and on both occasions it developed that they were unanimous in their choice. But the presidential campaigns of 1796-97 and 1800 were occasions for the airing of political views in serious essays and letters to the editor, in satires in poetry and prose, and in *jeux d'esprit* of all sorts. "The papers are overrunning with electioneering essays, squibs, and invectives," noted a leading paper in the fall of the year 1800.[12] Newspaper argument and propaganda did not end with the choice of electors, but pressure was exerted on the electoral college until its votes were cast two or three months later. In 1797 the Federalist John Adams, who had been supported by some four fifths of the newspapers, was chosen President by the narrow margin of three electoral votes. In the

[12] *Columbian Centinel*, October 11, 1800.

next four years the Federalist majority in the press was reduced somewhat by the founding of new Republican papers, but the Republicans elected Jefferson in 1800 when their papers were still greatly outnumbered (about two to one) by those of the defeated Federalists.

FENNO'S GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES

When the new federal government was established under the Constitution, with its capital in New York, there was, oddly enough, no strong paper of Federalist convictions at the seat of government. Federalist leaders felt the need for such a paper—one which should be distinctively a political organ, and not a mercantile paper incidentally interested in politics. And so when John Fenno appeared in New York early in 1789 with letters from leading Boston Federalists recommending his abilities as writer, editor, and party man, he was encouraged to establish forthwith an administration paper in the capital. The *Gazette of the United States*, semiweekly, was the result; its first issue came out April 15, 1789, in time to tell of preparations for Washington's inauguration.

Fenno was a Boston schoolteacher who had contributed to the local press. He undoubtedly had some notion of editing a kind of "court journal" for the newly established government; he excluded advertising—at first—as interfering with the dignity of his project, he published an index to his first volume, and he aimed at national circulation. His own statement of his conception of the *Gazette's* relation to the administration was admirable—and difficult to adhere to:

> To hold up the people's own government, in a favorable point of light—and to impress just ideas of its administration by exhibiting FACTS, comprise the outline of the plan of this paper—and so long as the principles of the Constitution are held sacred, and the rights and liberties of the people are preserved inviolate, by *"the powers that be,"* it is the office of patriotism, by every exertion, to endear the GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE.[13]

But Fenno was criticized from the first for his interest in ceremonies and titles, his sympathy with monarchism, his alleged sycophancy, and his toadying to the great leaders of Federalism as

[13] *Gazette of the United States*, April 27, 1791.

to members of a nobility. Republican editors affected to despise "such a contemptible creature as Johnny Fenno," [14] and attacked him violently; but his paper, with its contributions from Hamilton, Adams, and other leading Federalists, kept to a fairly high level.

When the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia in 1791, the *Gazette* followed. It was not prospering, however. Its top circulation was 1,400,[15] of which only 1,000 went to bona fide subscribers.[16] Such public printing as it had received had not been sufficient to balance its losses from delinquent subscriptions. By this time it had been driven to solicit advertising; and in the fall of 1793 it had to suspend for nearly three months—partly because of financial difficulties and partly on account of the yellow fever epidemic then prevalent in Philadelphia. At this juncture, Fenno appealed to Hamilton, party leader and the paper's chief sponsor, for a loan of $2,000, without which, he said, he could not resume publication. "Four years & an half of my life is gone for nothing," he wrote sadly; "& worse (for I have a Debt of 2500 Dollars on my Shoulders), if at this crisis, the hand of benevolence & patriotism is not extended." [17] The hand was apparently extended, for the *Gazette* was not only resumed but made a daily. But Fenno fell a victim to the fever five years later. His son John Ward Fenno then edited the paper for less than two years, after which it continued under varying management until 1818, when its name perished in a consolidation.

FRENEAU'S NATIONAL GAZETTE

Washington's cabinet had not been framed on party lines, since there were no political parties, in the modern sense, in 1789. True, the late opponents of the Constitution had sufficient cohesion to furnish the nucleus of like-minded men around which an opposition party might grow up. And Thomas Jefferson, who had been appointed Secretary of State chiefly because of his experience in foreign affairs gained as minister to France,[18] soon developed as

[14] Boston *Independent Chronicle*, August 3, 1795.
[15] *Gazette of the United States*, May 4, 1791.
[16] *Ibid*, December 7, 1791.
[17] C. R. King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (New York, 1894), Vol. I, pp. 501-502.
[18] Washington first offered the State portfolio to John Jay, who had been Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation, but Jay declined.

the logical leader of this opposition. Jefferson's liberal democratic ideas and his ardent sympathy with France quickly brought him into sharp conflict with Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, and later with the President himself. This leadership of the opposition from within the cabinet itself at length became impossible, and Jefferson resigned his porfolio in 1793.

It was in the second year of Washington's first administration that the breach between Hamilton and Jefferson became apparent. Now, Hamilton, who was always journalistically minded, had his newspaper organ at the national capital—the Federalist *Gazette of the United States*—and it was soon suggested to his rival that a strong Republican paper was necessary to protect party interests. Thereupon James Madison, a close friend of Jefferson, undertook to bring Philip Freneau to Philadelphia to edit and publish the desired newspaper. Jefferson's chief contribution to the project was the offer of a position as translator in the State Department to Freneau—a job which required little work and paid only $250 a year. But Freneau eventually accepted it, came to the capital, and founded the *National Gazette*, a semiweekly, on October 31, 1791.

Philip Freneau was a man of some literary and journalistic reputation. From a good French Huguenot family, he had been graduated by Princeton College in the same class with Madison. In his college days, shortly before the Revolution, he had studied the classics and philosophy; but he had learned, above all else, that love of civil and personal liberty which largely motivated his later life. Since then he had been a ship-captain, a poet, and a journalist. His patriotic verse and satires during the war had won him the sobriquet "the poet of the Revolution." Captain of a privateer taken by the British, he suffered cruel hardships when he was confined on an enemy prison-ship. After the war, he was employed on Philadelphia and New York papers.

It was this wit and adventurer who, in the next two years, did more than anyone else to make American political journalism a kind of Donnybrook Fair of broken heads and skinned knuckles. His paper widened the breach between Hamilton and Jefferson, was influential in consolidating the Republican party as an effective opposition, and probably had more than a little to do with

the ultimate dissolution of the Federalist party.[19] Freneau's own favorite method was satire, in parable, versified lampoon, and hyperbole; but such contributors as Madison and Brackenridge [20] supplied profound disquisitions.

The *National Gazette* attacked all of Hamilton's financial measures, and especially the national bank, with vigorous semi-weekly thrusts. Vice-President Adams was also assailed, frequently with ridicule. For example, when Fenno's *Gazette* was reprinting Adams' *Discourses of Davila*, in which he advocated a powerful central government, the following stanza formed part of a squib which Freneau, by way of reply, addressed "To a Would-be Great Man":

> When you tell us of *kings*,
> And such petty things,
> Good Mercy! how brilliant your pages!
> So bright is each line
> I vow that you'll shine
> Like—a glow-worm to all future ages.

Washington was spared direct attack until the French question became acute; but when Genêt appealed to the people over the head of the Chief Executive, Freneau approved his course and allowed the following impudent paragraph to appear in his paper:

> I am aware, sir, that some court satellites may have deceived you with respect to the sentiment of your fellow citizens. The first magistrate of a country, whether he be called king or president, seldom knows the real state of a nation, particularly if he be so buoyed up by official importance to think it beneath his dignity to mix occasionally with the people. Let me caution you, sir, to beware that you do not view the state of the public mind at this critical moment through a fallacious medium. Let not the little buzz of the aristocratic few and their contemptible minions of speculators, tories and British emissaries be mistaken for the exalted and generous voice of the American people.[21]

[19] Jefferson wrote in 1793: "His paper has saved our constitution which was galloping fast into monarchy, & has been checked by no one means so powerfully as by that paper." P. L. Ford, ed., *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. I, p. 231.

[20] Hugh Henry Brackenridge had been a magazine editor (see p. 107), a satirist, and a politician. A strong Republican, he was later associated with the first newspapers established at Pittsburgh, which had become his home (see p. 140).

[21] *National Gazette*, June 5, 1793. This was signed "Veritas," the signature, according to Jefferson, of an Irish clerk in the Treasury department. See Ford, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 244-45.

Moreover, the President was lampooned in verse, the *National Gazette* office became headquarters for French sympathizers, and Freneau collected money to be sent to France to aid the government there.

Determined attempts were made to silence Freneau's *Gazette*. In the summer of 1792, Hamilton, smarting under Freneau's attacks, inserted an anonymous letter in Fenno's *Gazette*, questioning the ethics of "vilifying" an administration from which the editor received a salary. This brought into the open the question of whether the *National Gazette* was Jefferson's personal organ. Freneau published an affidavit in which he stated that "not a line was ever directly or indirectly written, dictated or composed" for his paper by Jefferson. And Jefferson, in a long letter to Washington about the matter, protested "in the presence of Heaven" that he had never written for the *National Gazette*. In the same letter he made the following memorable statement: "No government ought to be without censors: and where the press is free, no one ever will." [22] When Freneau began attacking Washington some months later, his victim was driven to frenzy. Jefferson tells in his diary of the President's rage at the unjust criticisms and of his declaration

> that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that *by God* he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made *Emperor of the World*; and yet they were charging him with wanting to be a King. That that *rascal Freneau* sent him three of his papers every day, as if he thought he would become the distributor of his papers; that he could see in this nothing but an impudent design to insult him.[23]

The end of the *National Gazette* came suddenly at the close of its second year. Three causes brought about its demise: Jefferson, Freneau's idol and sponsor, had recently retired from the cabinet; the yellow fever epidemic, which had caused the temporary suspension of other Philadelphia papers, including Fenno's, was still raging; and Freneau and his printers were virtually bankrupt. The

[22] Ford, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 108. Rufus W. Griswold's statement that Freneau, in his old age, told Dr. John W. Francis that Jefferson did write for the *National Gazette* is scarcely credible.

[23] Ford, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 254.

business of publishing political organs did not pay. Fenno and Freneau had much the same experience: neither had much advertising, both had widely diffused circulations of about 1,500, both had difficulty collecting subscription accounts. But no "angel" came to Freneau's rescue as Hamilton had come to Fenno's.

THE AURORA: BACHE AND DUANE

Some months before Freneau's *National Gazette* succumbed to multiple misfortune, another Philadelphia paper had come forward as a prominent spokesman for the Republican party. This was the *General Advertiser*, soon to be known far and wide under the name *Aurora*.[24] Its founder and editor was young Benjamin Franklin Bache, who was just twenty-one when he started his paper. A grandson of Benjamin Franklin, he had been educated in the liberal arts and in printing at Geneva and under his grandfather's eye in France; he began his paper six months after Franklin's death, giving the old gentleman's wish as his chief reason for beginning a paper of his own.[25] Gay, social, impetuous, Bache was nicknamed "Lightning Rod Junior" in memory of his famous grandfather.

Bache was friendly enough to Washington's administration for a year or two, but his French sympathies naturally made him first an adherent and then the mouthpiece of Genêt and thus a vigorous critic of the President. Soon, with Freneau and his *Gazette* out of the picture, Bache's paper came to be recognized as the chief Republican organ at the seat of government.

During Washington's second administration, Bache carried abuse of the President much further than Freneau had dared. Some weeks after Washington had published his Farewell Address,[26] the *Aurora* declared:

[24] Founded October 1, 1790, under the name *General Advertiser and Political, Commercial, Agricultural and Literary Journal*, it centered the name *Aurora* (which had been used for a London journal) above its former title beginning November 8, 1794. It continued for just half a century.

[25] *General Advertiser*, October 4, 1790. The press and type with which the paper was begun are said to have been bequeathed to Bache by his grandfather. See the more or less scurrilous "history" of the *Aurora* in the *Gazette of the United States*, September 1-3, 1800.

[26] Washington chose *Claypool's American Daily Advertiser*, successor of the *Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* (see p. 88) to publish this famous Address.

If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has suffered from the improper influence of a man, the American nation has suffered from the influence of Washington. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct then be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. . . . [27]

And the day after Washington's retirement, it asserted that

the man who is the source of all the misfortune of our country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States . . . this day ought to be a JUBILEE in the United States.[28]

Instead of treating such partisan nonsense as this with the silent contempt which it deserved, Federalist rowdies wrecked the Aurora printing office and beat the editor. Nor was this the only physical chastisement meted out to Bache for his intemperance; not long before that he had been badly beaten by the son of a shipbuilder who resented the attacks on Washington. Then one day Fenno, of the Federalist *Gazette of the United States*, met Bache on the street and assaulted him. The two editors had accused each other of being in the pay the one of the British and the other of the French. So Fenno hit Bache in the face, and Bache struck Fenno over the head with his cane. This was one of the earliest of a long series of unseemly street encounters between rival editors.

In little more than a year both of these battling editors lay dead of the yellow fever—that scourge which swept Philadelphia repeatedly near the turn of the century. Bache was not yet thirty when he fell a victim to the epidemic. He had lost $14,700 during his eight years' newspaper ownership. He was succeeded by an abler journalist, who continued for a few years his policy of extreme partisanship, who married his widow, and who conducted the paper for a quarter of a century.

This man was William Duane. Born in the state of New York, of Irish parentage, he had been taken back to Ireland by his widowed mother while still a child. As a youth he had practised journalism in London, and then had published a successful news-

[27] Aurora, December 23, 1796.
[28] Aurora, March 6, 1797.

paper in Calcutta. But sharp criticism of the East India Company had led to the confiscation of his property and his own deportation to England. Despairing of recovering anything for the damages he had suffered, he had emigrated to America and obtained employment with Bache.

Duane did much to prevent the imminent war with France, and even more to achieve the election of his hero, Jefferson, to the presidency. A modern historian has said: "His genius in controversy and management, his courage and audacity, the sincerity of his convictions, and his virile style of writing made him the most effective journalist of his time."[29] His chief effectiveness, however, covered only a few crucial years, for when the national capital was removed to Washington in the latter part of 1800, the *Aurora*, remaining in Philadelphia, failed to become the organ of the new administration and soon lost much of its national leadership.[30]

"PETER PORCUPINE"

"As the people of America may not be informed who PETER PORCUPINE is, the celebrated manufacturer of *lies*, and retailer of *filth*, I will give you some little account of this pestiferous animal." Thus wrote an *Aurora* contributor who signed himself "Paul Hedgehog," and who went on to furnish a luridly colored and unfavorable biography of young William Cobbett, who had adopted as pseudonym the name of the little animal which was thought to shoot stinging quills into the tender hides of its enemies. Cobbett had found it expedient to leave England because of the resentment of British army officers over his exposure of their system of graft; he found refuge in France until the imminence of war with England drove him forth again; then he came to Philadelphia, where he earned a living teaching English to the French émigrés who had flocked to that city. But controversy was meat and drink to him (one of his biographers has called him "the Contentious

[29] Claude M. Bowers in *Dictionary of American Biography*. See also *Joel Munsell, Typographical Miscellany* (Albany, 1850), p. 101.

[30] Duane was disappointed in his hopes for government patronage in printing after his party's victory in 1800. All of it went to S. H. Smith, whom Jefferson invited to move from Philadelphia to Washington to set up the new administration organ. (See p. 177.) Duane's son William J., who was his father's assistant on the *Aurora* in his youth, became a prominent lawyer and was Secretary of the Treasury in Jackson's cabinet. For a comment on the later *Aurora*, see p. 187.

Man"), and soon he was drawn into pamphleteering.[31] Eventually he found that pamphlets gave him insufficient outlet, and on March 4, 1797, he established *Porcupine's Gazette*, a handsomely printed daily newspaper.[32]

Porcupine's Gazette was a strongly Federalist paper from the start. "Professions of impartiality I shall make none," declared Cobbett in his first number. "They are always useless, and are besides perfect nonsense." But Cobbett's extremely vituperative style, and that independent aggressiveness of the man which was badly suited to party coöperation, brought him into disrepute with the Federalists themselves. It was at first generally agreed that he was useful as a kind of tongue-lashing fishwife to meet libelous Republicans on their own ground; but a leading Federalist spokesman soon came to the conclusion that "We had better shoot the *foxes, skunks,* and *serpents* of jacobinism, than keep him to hunt them." [33] This, however, is by no means fair to Cobbett, who was a brilliant, clever, and sometimes powerful writer. Judged on the basis of his entire voluminous works (for he had a long career as a political writer after he left America) he is one of the half dozen great English satirists; and his early American work is as good as any he ever wrote. But his strong feelings led him into extravagant ideas, and his boldness and facility carried him too far in personal abuse and billingsgate—as when he slandered the memory of Franklin in order to attack Bache of the *Aurora*.[34]

Like other political sheets, *Porcupine's Gazette* lost money; like other Philadelphia papers, it had to move its printing-office out of the city at the height of the yellow fever epidemic. But its crowning misfortune was a $5,000 verdict against it for libeling Philadelphia's most famous physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush. Cobbett had been right in what he had said about Dr. Rush, if wrong

[31] Cobbett's solicitation of patronage from Jefferson when he first came to America, his association with French émigrés, and his first American pamphlet show his sympathy with the Republican side. His characteristic change of position is well explained in William Reitzen's "William Cobbett and Philadelphia Journalism," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1935 (Vol. LIX, pp. 223-44). Charges of venality are quite unproved.

[32] Its appearance declined rapidly, however, what with poor paper and bad printing. Its advertising patronage was good, announcements filling more than half its four pages folio.

[33] *Columbian Centinel*, April 24, 1799.

[34] E.g.: ". . . his crafty and lecherous old hypocrite of a grandfather, whose very statue semes to gloat on the wenches as they walk the State House yard." *Porcupine's Gazette*, July 31, 1797. See also September 23, 1797, etc.

in the way he said it: he objected to copious bleeding and mercurial purges as a treatment for the fever. At any rate, he fled to New York in November, 1799, saving what he could of his property.[35]

BENJAMIN RUSSELL'S COLUMBIAN CENTINEL

Clearly *Porcupine's Gazette* never attained any degree of leadership in Federalist journalism. Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, the administration organ at the capital, had some such leadership; but it was a Boston newspaper, the *Columbian Centinel*, which enjoyed the highest esteem of Federalist editors generally. It differed from the political papers thus far noticed in that it had begun before there were any distinct parties and was soundly established as a commercial newspaper before it distinguished itself for vigorous partisanship.

Major Benjamin Russell, its founder, had a strong, original cast of mind. As a boy, he learned to set type in Isaiah Thomas's Boston shop. When the Battle of Lexington was fought, he ran away from school to follow the troops, a boy of thirteen; and his father did not find him until three months later, when the outraged parent saw him following a company of soldiers and collared him on the spot and gave him a sound thrashing. The boy was then apprenticed to Thomas, whose *Spy* was newly set up at Worcester. When Thomas was drafted for service, he sent as substitute his apprentice, who came back a major. A few years after he had become a journeyman, Russell set up for himself in Boston, founding the *Massachusetts Centinel*[36] in 1784. A small sheet at first, with only moderate patronage, it managed to live through the first difficult years; it was enlarged in size in 1786 and again in 1790 and 1792, and in 1794 it thanked its public for a liberal patronage, "which of late has been unparalleled in the history of newspaper printing."[37]

Its first great "cause" was the adoption of the federal Constitu-

[35] An unfriendly judge overstepped his authority in his charge to the jury in the libel case, but public opinion was strongly against Cobbett. The trial costs were about $3,000. In New York Cobbett issued a last number of his *Gazette*, and five numbers of the *Rush-Light*, lampoons against "the noted blood-letting physician of Philadelphia." They were Parthian shots as he left America for England.

[36] This was a common eighteenth-century spelling of the word *Sentinel*. William Warden was Russell's partner in the publication of the *Centinel* for the first few years.

[37] *Columbian Centinel*, January 1, 1794.

tion. Russell attended the sessions of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, which were held in a church; the presiding officer sat in the deacon's seat under the pulpit, but the editor perched in the pulpit and used the sacred desk for his writing-pad until certain pious ones objected and found him a more modest location. The *Centinel* overflowed with arguments for the new Constitution, and with exultation as one state after another ratified it. Russell devised a cartoon showing each state as a column for the new federal edifice, adding a new column as word of each ratification came in.

All this display of enterprise and enthusiasm brought immediate recognition of the *Centinel* as a leading Federalist champion, not only in New England but further south and west. Discarding the geographical limitations of its earlier title, the paper now became the *Columbian Centinel.*

Washington was Russell's idol. In the bitter partisan controversy over official titles, he advocated "His Majesty the President" for the chief magistrate.[38] He watched the early phases of the French Revolution sympathetically, but was repelled by the extravagances which began with the execution of the King, and soon became a violent enemy of Genêt and his American followers. He suggested and promoted the wearing of black cockades to distinguish hundred-per-cent Americans from the French sympathizers with the tricolors in their hats. He defended the Jay treaty and attacked the mobs which rallied against it. He indulged in warlike talk against the "French pirates" as the naval trouble developed. And finally, at the end of the century, he was a leader in the vituperation of Jefferson during the campaign of 1800; and when news came of the defeat of the Federalists, he recognized that it meant the ultimate death of the party. Thereupon he printed a long "Inscription" for a monument to "the Deceased," in which he recounted eloquently the achievements of Federalism, now done to death by "the Secret Arts and Open Violence of Foreign and Domestic Demagogues."

Along with this political activity, the *Centinel* maintained its excellence in news and advertising. For many years Russell, instead of inserting articles of European news from foreign papers as his

[38] So did his former master, Isaiah Thomas; and the *Spy* adhered to this form for a year or more.

contemporaries did, wrote admirable summaries, which were in turn copied by his "exchanges."

The *Centinel's* partisan rival in Boston was the *Independent Chronicle*, conducted by Thomas Adams and his brother Abijah, who as we shall see, suffered under the Sedition Act for their "jacobinical" assaults on local Federalists. It had some vigorous writers as contributors, one of whom got into a personal quarrel with Russell, the outcome of which was a suit for damages incurred when the editor spat in his face; the jury awarded twenty shillings for this breach of editorial courtesy.[39] The *Independent Chronicle* was the leading New England representative of the Republican party, as the *Centinel* was of the Federalists, and neither was "weasel mouthed" when the situation seemed, according to the scurrilous custom of early American political journalism, to call for gibes and insults.

NEW YORK'S PAPERS

Before the end of the century, New York had well outdistanced other American cities in the race for population and commercial primacy. In 1800 it had eleven newspapers, most of them depending less on political support than upon the patronage of the mercantile classes. Representative of this type of paper was the *Mercantile Advertiser* (originally named *Diary*), which was founded in 1792 by Samuel Loudon, Patriot publisher of the Revolution, and eventually came to lead all its New York rivals in circulation.

Much more brilliant, however, was the *American Minerva*, edited by Noah Webster. Webster was then known as the author of popular textbooks and a clear and forceful writer on political matters, though he is now remembered chiefly as the most famous of American lexicographers. A graduate of Yale College,[40] he had taught school, been admitted to the bar, written much on government. He had been among the first to urge a new Constitution to

[39] The offended gentleman was Benjamin Austin, Jr., a state senator and chief contributor to the *Independent Chronicle* for many years. It was his son who, in defending him in another quarrel, was killed in a duel.

[40] Few college graduates edited papers in eighteenth-century America. Jeremy Gridley, Harvard, of the *Weekly Rehearsal*, was doubtless the first. Philip Freneau, Princeton, of the *National Gazette;* Peter Freneau, Princeton, of the Charleston *City Gazette;* and Joseph Dennie, Harvard, of the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, were others.

supplant the old Articles of Confederation. As an ardent admirer of Washington and a supporter of the Constitutional Convention, he naturally became a good Federalist; and the leaders of his party urged him to accept the editorship of the new paper which a New York printer was willing to set up.

The *American Minerva* was founded December 9, 1793, and proved to be a good paper. Webster wrote much for it. His series of articles signed "Curtius" [41] was probably the most effective defense of the Jay treaty which appeared anywhere, comparing favorably with a series by Hamilton, most of which was also printed in the *Minerva*. But after about five years, Webster's restless genius drew him into other fields, though he retained an interest in the paper for twice that period. In 1797 the name was changed to *Commercial Advertiser*, a title which it kept for more than a century.

A publishing device which the *Minerva* did much to popularize was the semiweekly or weekly edition "for country readers." Made up chiefly of matter "lifted" from the columns of the daily, it could be sold profitably at a low price. Thomas Greenleaf, of the New York *Journal*, was probably the first to use this method (or a similar one), but his earlier daily lasted only six months in 1787.

It was the Greenleaf [42] who had originated the country edition who later founded in New York a famous political and commercial daily called the *Argus*. This paper was begun in 1795, and plunged at once into the bitter partisan disputes of the time. Affiliated with the Republicans, and particularly with the Burr faction, it excoriated President Adams—though much of its sharpest invective was borrowed from the *Aurora*. When the yellow fever swept New York in the late summer of 1798, Greenleaf's printers fled the city along with a considerable part of its population, while the editor stuck to his post, tried to get out his paper, but died in the attempt. His widow carried on, but in 1800 new owners changed the name to *American Citizen:* its spirited history under that title belongs to the next period.

[41] Nos. 6 and 7 were written by James Kent. The Hamilton letters were signed "Camillus": it is possible that Rufus King collaborated in their authorship.

[42] Thomas Greenleaf was son of that Joseph Greenleaf who, as contributor to the *Massachusetts Spy*, once incurred the wrath of the Tories (see p. 78). Thomas Greenleaf learned printing under Isaiah Thomas in the *Spy* shop. His death was probably caused by tuberculosis rather than the yellow fever.

CHAPTER VII

Weeklies and Magazines; the South and West

THE LARGEST SOUTHERN CITY WAS CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, whose leading papers were the *South-Carolina State Gazette* and the *City Gazette*. The former was the descendant of that *South-Carolina Gazette* which Franklin helped to found; [1] it was now conducted by Benjamin Franklin Timothy and various partners. The *City Gazette* [2] was edited, during the latter years of the century, by Peter Freneau, brother of Philip Freneau.

At Richmond, Virginia, the weekly *Examiner* distinguished itself as a friend of Jefferson and an enemy of the Adams administration. Meriwether Jones was its editor; and James T. Callender, the English political refugee and scandal-monger, wrote for it. But its life was brief.[3] Most Richmond papers changed titles and owners frequently.

In Virginia, the Carolinas, and Maryland, journalistic enterprise flourished throughout the period, many new weekly papers being started.

SMALL-CITY AND VILLAGE JOURNALISM

Indeed the period was notable for the sprouting of many "country" papers—journals published in and for villages and small cities. Nearly a score of places in Massachusetts, and well over that number in New York and in Pennsylvania had their newspapers by the end of the century. The spread of newspapers through the

[1] See pp. 41 and 93. B. F. Timothy was a grandson of the Louis Timothée who had been Franklin's partner.

[2] Begun in 1783 under the name of *South-Carolina Weekly Gazette*. It became a daily in 1786.

[3] December 3, 1798, to January 7, 1804 (last issue known). Its materials were purchased to found Thomas Ritchie's famous *Enquirer* (see p. 188). Callender was its editor for a few months in 1800. See W. C. Ford, *Thomas Jefferson and James Thomson Callender* (Brooklyn, 1897), p. 19.

rural districts is a story of rapid propagation: journeymen trained in one town were quickly tempted to set up for themselves in another promising village as yet unsupplied with a newspaper—often with the financial as well as moral encouragement of the former employer.[4]

Moreover, some of the smaller cities were homes of important newspapers. The *Massachusetts Spy* flourished at Worcester. The *Connecticut Courant*, of Hartford, was a sterling journal; ardent and even reckless in its support of the Patriot cause, a supporter of the Constitution and of Washington and Adams, never after 1789 did it print a line that New England Federalists could not read with hearty satisfaction.[5] Milder politically, though likewise Federalist, was the *Connecticut Journal*, of New Haven, which was published almost to the close of the century by the men who had founded it in 1767, Thomas and Samuel Green, members of one of the greatest of colonial printing families. In Albany the *Register* was a strong Republican organ, while the *Gazette* (a daily after 1797) took the Federalist side. The list of distinguished weeklies and semiweeklies in the smaller cities could be extended indefinitely.

As a representative of the village weekly the strongly Federalist *Ulster County Gazette*, of Kingston, New York, may be named—chiefly because it has gained an accidental fame from the hundreds of thousands of counterfeit copies of its number containing the announcement of the death of Washington.[6] The country papers were, in this period, almost always imitations on a smaller scale of the city papers. They featured foreign and governmental intelligence, carried very little local news, used some literary miscellany, and commonly filled one of the four pages with local advertising.

[4] See examples of this process in Hamilton, *The Country Printer*, pp. 83-85. Even more often they were assisted by the local capitalists (*ibid.*, p. 55).

[5] See note on the early history of the *Courant*, p. 39. Barzillai Hudson and George Goodwin were publishers throughout the present period. The latter was with the paper, as apprentice, journeyman, and publisher for seventy years. See E. Wilder Spaulding, "The *Connecticut Courant*, a Representative Newspaper in the Eighteenth Century," *New England Quarterly*, July, 1930 (Vol. III, pp. 443-63).

[6] There have been at least seventy-five different reprints of the *Ulster County Gazette* for January 4, 1800, nearly all copied from copies. Only two copies of the actual original issue are known; one is in the Library of Congress file, the other in that of the American Antiquarian Society. See R. W. G. Vail, *The Ulster County Gazette and Its Illegitimate Offspring* (New York Public Library, 1931).

Most of their content was acquired by means of scissors and paste-pot.

FARMER'S WEEKLY MUSEUM

One village weekly, however, gained so much prestige, during a part of its career, by means of its literary content, that its circulation reached far beyond its own vicinity. This was the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*,[7] at Walpole, New Hampshire. It was one of the country papers started by Isaiah Thomas, who retained an interest in it throughout most of its life.

But the man who conferred luster upon it was Joseph Dennie, graduate of Harvard College, a briefless lawyer and *bon vivant*, who took over its editorship for three or four years. Dennie's "Lay Preacher" papers were probably the best periodical essays ever produced in America, and they were widely reprinted by admiring newspapers. They were full of Dennie's witty, aristocratic, critical personality. The bright young "printer's devil" of the Walpole shop, sent across to the village tavern to get the copy for which the type-setters waited, saw Dennie in all his magnificence, and wrote, much later, this description of him:

> In person he was below rather than above the middling height, and was of slender frame. He was particularly attentive to his dress, which, when he appeared on the street, on a pleasant day, approached the highest notch of the fashion. I remember him . . . dressed in a pea-green coat, white vest, nankin small-clothes, white silk stockings, and shoes or pumps fastened with silver buckles which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe. His small-clothes were tied at the knees, with ribband of the same color, in double bows, the ends reaching down to the ankles. He had just come from the barber's shop. His hair, in front, was well loaded with pomatum, frizzled and powdered; the ear-locks had undergone the same process; behind, his natural hair was augmented by the addition of a large queue (called vulgarly, the false tail) which, enrolled in some yards of black ribband, reached half way down his back. Thus accommodated, the Lay Preacher stands before my mind's eye

[7] It was originally called *The New-Hampshire Journal: Or, The Farmer's Weekly Museum*. Then, because Walpole was on the Connecticut River, which divides New Hampshire and Vermont, it reached out and called itself *the Newhampshire and Vermont Journal: Or, The Farmer's Weekly Museum*. But after a few years it decided to use its subtitle for the chief name, and ended by calling itself simply *Farmer's Museum*. It was issued from April 11, 1793, to October 15, 1810.

as lifelike and sprightly as if it were but yesterday that I saw the reality.[8]

Dennie's fame soon spread so that he was offered the editorship of the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, which he emphatically refused as contrary to his strong Federalist convictions. He was eventually drawn off, however, to assist with the Philadelphia *Gazette of the United States*, to which he gave a strong literary flavor for a short time; but his greater reputation was made on his own weekly periodical in Philadelphia.[9]

Dennie's boon companion, Royall Tyler, was also a *Museum* contributor, under the heading "From the Shop of Messrs. Colon & Spondee." Tyler was the author of the first American comedy to achieve production, and of a popular two-volume novel. He was a clever satirist, and he continued his writing of belles-lettres even after he was made Chief Justice of Vermont. Thomas Green Fessenden, the versatile eccentric, was another excellent lampooner in verse who wrote for the *Museum*. Indeed, so prominent did the literary content of the paper become that its publisher referred to it as "in fact a Magazine in a minor form." [10]

MAGAZINES OF THE PERIOD

It is often difficult, as has just been noted, to draw the line between newspapers and magazines. It may be said, however, that there were about seventy-five different magazines begun during the years 1783-1801, inclusive. Most of them were very short-lived, and only a few had any considerable importance.

Noah Webster's *American Magazine*,[11] published a few years before his newspaper, was New York's first monthly. Though it lasted only a year from December, 1787, it had unusual variety and spirit. It took a vigorous part in the discussion of the new Constitution, and gave no little space to other political topics and to current events.

In the latter 1780's were founded the four longest-lived magazines of eighteenth-century America. They were the *Columbian Magazine* (1786-92) and the *American Museum* (1787-92), both

[8] Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, Vol. II, p. 196.
[9] See account of Dennie's *Port Folio*, p. 207.
[10] *Farmer's Museum*, February 11, 1799.
[11] Samuel Loudon, of the New York *Packet*, was publisher; Webster was editor.

of Philadelphia; the *Massachusetts Magazine* (1789-96), of Boston; and the *New-York Magazine* (1790-97), of New York City. The *Columbian*[12] was the handsomest American magazine, and carried the most elaborate illustration (by copperplate engraving), of its century. The *Museum* was edited by Mathew Carey, publisher of a Philadelphia newspaper,[13] and the ablest magazine editor of his time in the United States; it is probably the most important repository of political and economic papers among eighteenth-century American magazines. The *Massachusetts* and *New-York* were good miscellanies, with remarkable variety in contents; the former carried a subtitle which ran as follows:

> Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment, Poetry, Musick, History, Biography, Physicks, Geography, Morality, Criticism, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Agriculture, Architecture, Chemistry, Novels, Tales, Romances, Translations, News, Marriages and Deaths, Meteorological Observations, Etc., Etc.

One cannot but wonder what there was left to be included in "Etc, Etc."

But magazines were generally rather scrapbookish miscellanies. A "magazine" was a storehouse or treasury; the term "repository" was sometimes used in the title, and informational articles were the rule. In the autumn of 1789 the *Christian's, Scholar's and Farmer's Magazine* was carrying installments of no less than thirty-eight serial dissertations on such subjects as rhetoric, farming, theology, oratory, manners, natural history, government, painting, music, Greek history, and so on. Christians, scholars, and farmers must have been gluttons for information in 1789. But there were also poetry departments in nearly all the magazines, and satirical essays. Among original contributors were Charles Brockden Brown, Joseph Dennie, William Dunlap, and the Hartford Wits. Such fiction as appeared was in the form of apologues, character sketches, and "fragments"—the last being in effect sentimental short-short stories.

In format, these magazines usually contained 64 octavo pages, though the *American Museum* had 100. The paper was the same

[12] Called *The Universal Asylum, and Columbian Magazine* during the latter half of its life.

[13] The *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, 1785-88.

used for the newspapers—a stiff rag stock—the covers were flimsier and usually light blue in color, and the type was small.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE WEST

Although there was no magazine in the western country until 1803,[14] newspapers followed close on the heels of the early settlers beyond the mountains. At the close of the Revolution, there were well-established settlements in western Pennsylvania and in the Kentucky country. Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted as states of the Union in 1792 and 1796, respectively. The way for the settlers in the "Northwest" had to be cleared by the Indian wars of 1791-95, but Ohio became a state in 1803.

The first newspaper beyond the mountains was the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, founded in 1786 by John Scull and Joseph Hall. Their small press was brought by wagon across the Alleghenies, and their paper-stock had to come by pack-horse train. Sometimes they ran short of supplies and once they had to borrow cartridge-paper from the commandant at Fort Pitt to print the *Gazette* on; but a paper-mill erected not far away in 1797 improved that situation, just as the setting up of a postal route the year after the paper was founded helped in distribution. Hall died a few months after the paper was begun, but Scull lived to see the village which had numbered 300 souls when he had arrived with his press become a great industrial center, dark with the smoke of foundries. The original sponsor of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* was that brilliant man of letters and of the law, Hugh Henry Brackenridge; but Scull's growing sympathy with Federalism brought about a breach with Brackenridge, who eventually brought in a rival paper.[15]

The year after the Pittsburgh *Gazette* was established, the westward expansion of journalism continued with the founding of the *Kentucke* (spelled *Kentucky* after 1789) *Gazette* at Lexington. John Bradford,[16] a Virginia surveyor who had come west after the Revolution, was its founder and first editor. Kentuckians were at

[14] *The Medley, or Monthly Miscellany*, at Lexington, Kentucky.

[15] It was short-lived, though other competitors sprang up. The *Gazette* continues, after a series of mergers in recent years, as the *Post-Gazette* (1940).

[16] These Virginia-Kentucky Bradfords were not related to the Philadelphia-New York printers of that name. But Thomas Parvin, the printer whom John Bradford and his brother employed in Lexington, had learned his trade under William Bradford in Philadelphia, thus affording a link between the two great and influential families of journalistic Bradfords.

this time most anxious to be set off from Virginia as a separate state, and they needed a newspaper organ to promote their cause. Advertisements designed to lure a printer into the wilderness having failed, Bradford, though he knew nothing of the printing art, undertook the business. He dispatched his brother Fielding to Pittsburgh to learn printing of Scull, and ordered press and type in Philadelphia. The Ohio River and its tributaries furnished the great highway for the earliest expansion into the Middle West; thus when the new paper's materials arrived in Pittsburgh, Fielding brought them down the Ohio some 400 miles by flatboat, and then by trail to the new village of Lexington, where a log-cabin office awaited them. The last leg of the journey was the worst, and in negotiating it all the type was reduced to pi. Nevertheless, Bradford issued his first number on the day appointed, April 11, 1787. The *Gazette*, having been founded primarily to promote statehood, was filled with propaganda for that cause. Unlike its Pittsburgh contemporary, it was Republican in politics. Almost its only local news was an occasional report of an Indian outrage; but these were so often unreliable that the editor asked any correspondent sending in such an account to send with it a letter from a military officer by way of verification.[17] The Bradford family remained active in western journalism for many years, and they and printers trained by them are continually appearing in the history of frontier newspapers. The *Kentucky Gazette* itself lasted until 1848.

The first newspaper in what is now the state of West Virginia was the *Potowmac Guardian* at Shepherdstown, established by Nathaniel Willis, who had been a famous Boston publisher.

Tennessee's first newspaper was the Knoxville *Gazette*, begun in 1791, when Knoxville itself existed only on paper as the plan for a state capital. It was published only every other week for its first five years, by George Roulstone, first printer in the state.

Southwestward, journalism reached the limits of American territory when the *Mississippi Gazette* was established in 1799 or 1800 at Natchez on the great river. The river and all the Louisiana territory were under Spanish control. The first New Orleans paper had been founded under the title *Moniteur de la Louisiane* in 1794. It was a small octavo of four pages in the French language,

[17] *Kentucky Gazette*, March 17, 1792.

published for a French population under Spanish rule; it was continued until 1814, long after the United States had purchased Louisiana.

The first paper in what is now Ohio was the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, founded in 1793 in the village of Cincinnati by William Maxwell, who had first tried western printing at Lexington, Kentucky. Like its contemporary up the Ohio River, the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, the *Centinel* printed much about the necessity of opening the Mississippi to American commerce—a measure accomplished in 1795 by treaty with Spain.[18]

In all, twenty-one newspapers were attempted, more or less successfully, west of the Alleghenies before the end of the century. Of these, eight were in Kentucky.[19]

[18] Samuel and Edward Freeman purchased the *Centinel* in 1796, changing its name to *Freeman's Journal*. When Chillicothe was made the capital of the territory in 1800, it was moved to that town and soon afterward merged with the *Scioto Gazette*. The latter paper, founded in 1800 by the same Nathaniel Willis who had edited the *Independent Chronicle* in Boston, is still published under its original name, and as part of the Speidel chain (1940).

[19] The others were in western Pennsylvania (4), and in what now composes the states of West Virginia (3), Tennessee (2), Ohio (2), Mississippi (1), and Louisiana (1).

CHAPTER VIII

Freedom of the Press

ONE REASON FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY SPREAD OF NEWSPAPERS which has been noted is that the press enjoyed more freedom in post-revolutionary America than it had ever before known anywhere in the world. In England newspapers were still crippled by special taxes, and on the Continent by the political and military situation. Greater freedom of comment and a wider range of debatable topics were characteristic of this new and rather wild journalism.

For example, nowhere else in the world could a treaty with a foreign power have been discussed before ratification as was the Jay treaty in America. Washington, indeed, had wished to keep it secret, but Bache and his friends in the Senate quickly defeated this plan. The Senate, however, also entertained some thought of the sanctities of silence in relation to public business, and had been closed to reporters until, after complaints by Freneau, a resolution opening its galleries to the press was passed in 1794. The House of Representatives had already "unofficially" admitted reporters.[1]

The most serious threat against press freedom in the years immediately following the Revolution was the Massachusetts tax on newspapers. As a colony, Massachusetts had obtained revenue in this way, and there was no sinister design against liberty in the taxes levied in 1785 upon newspapers (two-thirds of a penny on each), almanacs, legal instruments, bills of lading, etc. But the

[1] See *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. I, p. 180. The House was by no means wide open, however, "misrepresentations" of debates having caused some restrictions. (*Ibid.*, pp. 952-55, September 26, 1789.) *Greenleaf's New-York Journal* complained June 20, 1798, of "the banishing from the House of all Stenographers but one"; and difficulties continued to occur for many years. The Senate eventually became even more fearful of reporters than in 1789-94. See pp. 177 and 309.

tax-stamp required was reminiscent of the odious British Stamp Act, and an indignant cry immediately went up not only from the papers affected but from sympathizers outside the state. John Gill, hero of pre-revolutionary journalism, withdrew from newspaper work as a protest against the tax. The *Essex Journal* (Salem) announced it would either discontinue publication, move to New Hampshire, or adopt magazine form; but it was "resolved never to print a newspaper burdened with a Stamp, in a land of *Liberty*, and where the Press is said to be FREE!" [2] So great was the protest against stamped paper that this tax was repealed before it went into effect, but a new one was levied on newspaper advertisements —sixpence for twelve lines and one shilling per twenty lines for the longer ones. Again there was loud complaint, though the *Centinel* thought this a fair tax. The *Spy* evaded it by changing to magazine format, not because of the money involved but because Thomas could not "continue the publication of a News-Paper ignominiously fettered with a SHACKLE he has *been taught* to abhor!" [3] Other papers were summarily discontinued. In 1788 the obnoxious tax was repealed.

A more insidious encroachment on press freedom came by way of state printing contracts and legal publications for government. The poverty of most early printers probably made some of them susceptible of such indirect control, though the point may easily be overstressed. Postoffice appointments were perhaps a similar influence.[4]

An interesting episode in the struggle for freedom of the press occurred early in 1800, when Duane was summoned before the bar of the Senate to answer to charges of publishing "false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious" reports of that body's proceedings. In the course of Duane's defense he was ordered arrested for contempt, and went into hiding until the end of the session.

As the state constitutions were adopted, guarantees of the freedom of the press were inserted in nine of the thirteen.[5] But when

[2] *Essex Journal*, June 8, 1785.

[3] Broadside dated April 3, 1786.

[4] There were also accusations of unfair treatment of opposition newspapers by the Postoffice Department. See p. 119. For the "suppression" of the *Courrier de l'Amerique* by the postoffice, see Fay, *Notes on the American Press*, pp. 2-3.

[5] Such provisions were omitted from the constitutions of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey.

the federal Constitution was presented to the states, it contained no such provision. This omission, with that of other guarantees which go to make up a bill of rights, caused widespread debate; and some of the states accepted the instrument only on condition that amendments remedying this defect should be added promptly. Hamilton, defending the omission, argued:

> What signifies a declaration that "the Liberty of the Press shall be inviolably preserved"? What is the Liberty of the Press? Who can give it any definition which does not leave the utmost latitude for evasion? I hold it to be impracticable; and from this I infer, that its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any Constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the Government.[6]

Jefferson, on the other hand, wished Virginia to withhold its ratification until freedom of religion and of the press should be properly acknowledged.[7] At its first session, Congress adopted amendments which embodied a bill of rights, the first amendment providing:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SCURRILITY AND VITUPERATION

Hamilton was right in his statement about the difficulty of defining freedom of the press. Should it be extended to include attacks on character? The town of Dunstable, giving in its vote on the state constitution of Massachusetts, wished to qualify the guarantee of press liberty because, as their semiliterate clerk wrote, "there being no restraint thereon it may be made use of to the Dishoner of god by printing herasy and soforth and like wise Injurious to private Characters." [8] Whatever the outcome as to "herasy," the newspapers of the times certainly printed a great volume of scurrilous attack on personal character.

Abusive attacks on Washington, Adams, Hamilton, and Jeffer-

[6] *The Federalist*, LXXXIV.

[7] Letter to Madison, Ford, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 47. He also wished to include "freedom of commerce against monopolies, trial by jury in all cases, no suspensions of habeas corpus, no standing armies."

[8] Duniway, *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, p. 134.

son became commonplace by 1795. Even the respectable *Columbian Centinel*, which throughout its earlier years carried the motto, "Uninfluenced by party, we aim only to be just," found that statement eventually ridiculous, and dropped it in 1795. Within a few years, it was collecting the bitterest of the assaults on Jefferson under a standing head, "The Enquirer." The bickerings among the editors themselves went too far to be amusing. The *Aurora* called Noah Webster an "impious, disorganizing wretch!" [9] and printed a signed advertisement addressed "To Mr. Fenno: This is to announce you to the world as a scoundrel and a liar; and though you may be generally known as such, I will prove what I say . . ." [10] The New York *Gazette* called Cobbett "the equal of the most atrocious felon ever executed at Tyburn." [11] On the death of Bache, *Russell's Gazette*, of Boston, said: "The Jacobins are all whining at the exit of the vile Benjamin Franklin Bache; so they would do if one of their gang was hung for stealing. The memory of this scoundrel cannot be too highly execrated." [12]

Judge Brackenridge, discussing the pros and cons of newspaper scurrility in a contemporary book, decided that "the American press has been abominably gross and defamatory," and that few papers "have been at all times unexceptionable." [13]

It should be pointed out that American writers found models in English periodicals for much of what the *Centinel* called, when others used it, "epithetical rascality." Such English satirists as William Gifford and "Peter Pindar" indulged freely in vituperation for political purposes, and English refugees editing American papers easily caught the trick. Cobbett, an ardent admirer of Gifford, published that worthy's works handsomely in Philadelphia for the instruction of any American journalists who cared to read them.

Of course, one way to curb such press freedom, or license, was by a suit for damages suffered through a libel. The most famous of such suits in this period was the one which drove Cobbett out

[9] *Aurora*, November 12, 1796.

[10] *Aurora*, April 1, 1800.

[11] Quoted in *Porcupine's Gazette*, January 29, 1799.

[12] *Russell's Gazette*, September 21, 1798. The publisher was a brother of Benjamin Russell, whose notice of Bache's death in the *Centinel* was mildly contemptuous.

[13] H. H. Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1804) ed. Claude M. Newlin, New York, 1937, p. 352.

of the country,[14] but resort to the courts by private parties was less common in these years than in the period immediately following. Another method was beating up the editor, which was recommended—ironically, but with underlying earnestness—by Benjamin Franklin, in the year before he died, as a better method than legal restriction. "My proposal then is," wrote the aged wit, "to leave the liberty of the press untouched, to be exercised in its full extent, force, and vigor; but to permit the *liberty of the cudgel* to go with it *pari passu*." [15] And yet a third method, little used, was prosecution for sedition under the common law, which some judges held to be within the jurisdiction of the federal as well as the state courts.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

"There is a liberty of the press," declared the *Columbian Centinel*, after quoting a "treasonable" statement of the *Independent Chronicle* in 1797, "which is very little short of the liberty of burning our houses." [16] A year later, when war with France was imminent, a Federalist Congress hurriedly enacted what it apparently looked upon as a series of virtual war-time measures to curb seditious utterances and deport troublesome aliens.

These measures, passed in the early summer of 1798, were four in number. Three dealt with aliens, the first extending the term of residence required before naturalization from five to fourteen years, the second giving the President power to deport or imprison any alien whom he regarded as dangerous, and the third empowering the President to deport or restrain subjects of any country with which the United States might be at war. Large numbers of French émigrés had come to America during the French Revolution, and they, as well as the English and Irish refugees, were considered by many as dangerous to American interests. The significance of these Alien Acts to journalism lies in the fact that several of the leading Republican editors were refugees—including the most prominent of them all, William Duane, who, though actually born in America, had spent most of his life as an English

[14] Also note the $5,000 verdict against "Anthony Pasquin" (John Mason Williams) which crushed his *Columbian Gazette* in New York.

[15] *Federal Gazette*, September 12, 1789.

[16] *Columbian Centinel*, June 21, 1797.

citizen.[17] But the deportation laws were not actively enforced; many of the French refugees left the country of their own volition, and there was no war to bring the third of the measures into effect. The only editor really affected by the Alien Acts was John D. Burk, of the New York *Time Piece*. Burk was a romantic Irishman,[18] a talented and vigorous writer, and founder of Boston's first brief daily, the *Polar Star*. He had been indicted for libeling President Adams, and fearing the operation of the Alien Acts, he went into hiding for two years. Later he was killed in a duel in Virginia.

With the fourth of the measures enacted in the summer of 1798, the case was different. It was the Sedition Act, and it provided that any person convicted of writing, printing, or uttering any "false, scandalous, and malicious" statement "against the Government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, with intent to defame . . . or to bring them . . . into contempt or disrepute" should be imprisoned not over two years and pay a fine not exceeding $2,000. The law was to expire with the current administration. However acute the war-scare may have been, and however outrageous the vituperation of some newspapers, the fact remains that this law was, in effect, an attempt to muzzle the opposition press and prevent criticism of the Federalist administration. The Alien and Sedition Acts immediately became a partisan issue.

One of the interesting features of the Sedition Act was a double provision which had been urged upon its authors by Hamilton (who, high Federalist though he was, feared the measure might "establish a tyranny") to the effect that the accused might plead the truth of his statement as a defense, and that the jury should determine both the law and the fact. These were precisely the points upon which Andrew Hamilton had insisted in the famous Zenger trial, but which had not taken root in the common law. Nor did their inclusion in the Sedition Act give them any effectiveness beyond the brief life of this particular statute. But the

[17] Including also John D. Burk, James T. Callender, Dr. Thomas Cooper, and "Anthony Pasquin" Williams.

[18] Having aided in the rescue of a condemned political prisoner, he escaped from Ireland in women's clothes, lent him by a Miss Daly, whose name he thereupon adopted in gratitude, signing himself John Daly Burk. In Boston he wrote his famous play, "Bunker Hill."

provision did give the Federalists a saving argument. Wrote a Federalist editor a few years later:

> Why did the Democrats call the Federal sedition-law the "gag-law"? It only punished them for lying, while it left them free liberty to publish truth.—"Aye, there's the rub!" Nothing can so completely gag a Democrat as to restrain him from lying. If you forbid his lying, you forbid his speaking." [19]

But the fact is that the difficulty of establishing the truth, and the mere threat of prosecution, may operate as a gag. "The traverser must prove every charge to be true: he must prove it to the marrow," said Judge Chase in the Cooper trial. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Sedition Act was part of a campaign of intimidation.

This campaign consisted of a series of prosecutions, some under the federal Act and some under the common law of seditious libel. There were some twenty-five arrests under the Sedition Act itself, fifteen indictments, and eleven trials resulting in ten convictions. Actions under the common law brought the total of convictions to at least fifteen, of which eight related to newspapers. President Adams was not active in enforcement, but left the initiative to his Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering.

Some of the cases seem frivolous. A harmless Massachusetts eccentric who put up a liberty pole with signs on it protesting against the Alien and Sedition Acts was fined $400 and sent to jail for eighteen months. A talkative fellow in Trenton who had said he wished the wadding of a cannon fired in salute to the President had hit the official so honored in the rear of the presidential breeches was fined $100. But there were several prosecutions of importance. Three or four of the country's leading Republican newspapers were attacked.

The *Aurora* was the spear-head of the opposition press. Its editor, Bache, was indicted,[20] but died before trial; his successor, Duane, boldly refusing to modify his criticism of Adams in the face of this threat, was the defendant in several actions under the

[19] *Wasp* (Hudson, New York), January 6, 1803.

[20] This indictment, found just before the enactment of the Sedition Act, was on the basis of the common law; but the action, as well as that in the Haswell case, is closely correlated with actions under the statute.

law pending when it expired. But however much the *Aurora* may have been annoyed, it was not injured by the Sedition Act.

The *Argus*, leading Republican paper of New York, was less fortunate. It reprinted an item which had been going the rounds to the effect that Hamilton, by this time a private citizen but still a leader of his party, was at the bottom of a scheme to buy and silence the *Aurora;* and Hamilton insisted on prosecution. Greenleaf, the editor and publisher, had recently died; and the paper was being conducted by the widow, who, with one of her printers, was arrested. The prosecutor dropped the case against Mrs. Greenleaf, but tried and convicted the eight-dollar-a-week printer, who was fined $100 and sent to jail for four months.[21]

The *Independent Chronicle*, of Boston, leading Republican paper in New England, was attacked under the common law while the Sedition Act was in force. Thomas Adams, the editor, and his brother Abijah, "bookkeeper," or circulation manager, were both indicted on the basis of a pointed but scarcely abusive criticism of the Massachusetts legislature for refusing to join in the protests of Virginia and Kentucky against the Alien and Sedition Acts. Thomas, who was then seriously ill, was not prosecuted; but Abijah was tried, convicted of publishing a libel against the government, sentenced to thirty days in jail, and forced to give bail for good behavior. Later, on the death of his brother, Abijah became editor of the *Chronicle*.

James Thomson Callender, an English refugee with a special talent for digging up scandals, had fled Philadelphia on the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Acts and attached himself as contributor to the Richmond *Examiner*. There he wrote a pamphlet containing unmeasured abuse of President Adams, and was tried before the bullying Judge Samuel Chase, who has been called "probably the most violent partisan who ever sat upon a bench." [22] Callender was fined $200, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. When Jefferson became President he took steps to repay

[21] This case was prosecuted by the state of New York under the common law. David Frothingham, who had formerly been editor of the first paper on Long Island, *Frothingham's Long Island Herald*, was the printer.

[22] Frederick Trevor Hill, *Decisive Battles of the Law* (New York, 1907), pp. 1-26. But the English Judge Scroggs, who presided at Benjamin Harris' trial, was surely quite as bad. An attempt was later made in the Senate to impeach Chase for his behavior at this trial.

the fine; but Callender, angry because he had not been appointed postmaster at Richmond, acquired an interest in another paper and turned his batteries on his former patron, Jefferson, and his former sponsor, the *Examiner*. He was responsible for most of the vile stories circulated about the personal life of Jefferson. Never a successful newspaper man, he was finally drowned in the James River, finding his grave, it has been said, "in congenial mud." [23]

One of the most interesting politician-journalists of the era was Matthew Lyon, known by some as "the roaring Lyon of Vermont." Born in Ireland and emigrating to the new land when very young, he had taken a lively part as one of the Green Mountain Boys in the Revolution, founded a town, a papermill, and a newspaper in Vermont, and been sent to Congress. He had contributed one of the more riotous incidents in a disorderly House of Representatives when he had replied to another member's insult by spitting in his face. In the summer of 1798 he founded a political periodical called the *Scourge of Aristocracy*, but the indictment against him under the Sedition Act was based not on anything in this new journal, but on a letter of his against Adams which had been printed in an unfriendly paper. When he was arrested and thrown into prison, and treated with great severity, there was almost a popular uprising, at once restrained and fanned by Lyon's brilliant letters from his jail. He spent four months there and was forced to pay a fine of $1,000; but while he languished in durance he was reëlected to Congress by a large majority, and the money to pay his fine was raised by his friends in various parts of the country. Later Lyon moved to Kentucky, where he again founded a town and was active in politics and journalism, and was again elected to Congress; in his old age he went west once more, and was elected the first Congressional delegate of the Territory of Arkansas.

Anthony Haswell, editor of the *Vermont Gazette*, leading Republican paper of that state, advertised a lottery to raise money to pay Lyon's fine, making some remarks about the Federalists which caused him to be convicted of seditious libel himself.[24]

One of the most famous trials under the Sedition Act was

[23] B. E. Martin in *Magazine of American History*, April, 1887 (Vol. XVII, p. 286).

[24] This was, again, under the common law. Haswell had taken part as a youth in the Boston Tea Party and had served in the army. Apprenticed to Isaiah Thomas,

that of Dr. Thomas Cooper, refugee from England, and a scientist, lawyer, and publicist. He had called Adams an incompetent in the Reading *Weekly Advertiser*, for which he was fined $100 and thrown into prison for six months. At his trial he tried to get Adams as a witness in order to show the truth of his statement, but the court refused to issue the subpoena. Cooper was later president of the College (now the University) of South Carolina, and lived to be toasted as "the father of nullification."[25]

Charles Holt, editor of the *Bee*, of New London, Connecticut, was fined $200 and imprisoned three months for some aspersions on the army.

William Durell, of the *Register*, of Mt. Pleasant, New York, was fined $50 and sentenced to three months in jail for reprinting from another paper a libel on the President; but Adams pardoned him after he had served only a small part of his term of imprisonment—the only such clemency shown by Adams in connection with the libel and sedition convictions.

The agitation against the Alien and Sedition Acts grew in intensity as the prosecutions developed. Resolutions against them, drawn by Madison, were adopted by the Legislature of Virginia; and another set, written by Jefferson, was passed by the Kentucky Legislature. The "Kentucky Resolutions" were virtually a party platform for the Republicans in the campaign of 1800, and aversion to the Acts did much to defeat Adams and elect Jefferson, and thus put an end to Federalist rule.

The Sedition Act was no doubt unconstitutional, but no case under it was ever appealed to the Supreme Court. When Jefferson became President, he pardoned all those convicted under this "unauthorized act of Congress." [26] The House Judiciary Committee of the 22d Congress denounced the Act as unconstitutional, and fines imposed under it were restored, with interest. There have been no trials for seditious libel in the United States since those under the Sedition Act.[27]

he was for a short time one of the publishers of the *Massachusetts Spy*; and Thomas had a part in setting up the *Gazette*. Haswell was a writer of very popular ballads.

[25] See *Niles' Register*, July 30, 1833.

[26] See Jefferson's letter to Abigail Adams in W. C. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 44; see also Ford's "Jefferson and the Newspaper," *Records of the Columbian Historical Society*, Vol. VIII (1905), pp. 94-95.

[27] No common law against seditious libel can be said to exist in the United States. See Henry Schofield, "Freedom of the Press in the United States," *Proceed-*

THE EMERGING EDITORIAL

It must not be supposed that the editors who fed the fires of controversy in this period had editorial pages or departments at their disposal. Up until the last few years of the century, no American paper had what might be called an editorial column. Though English papers had recently developed the "leader," or editorial essay, American editors until about 1796 depended upon "letters" signed by pen-names, paragraphs of comment interpolated in the local news column or in news stories, or similar "letters" or comment clipped from other papers, for their expression of opinion.

Noah Webster, who began his *American Minerva* in 1793, frequently placed editorials under his "New York" column heading.[28] But by 1796, his editorials appeared regularly under a head or "flag" consisting of the words "The Minerva." The *Columbian Centinel* followed somewhat the same course of development very little later. And by 1800 the *Aurora* used its second page frankly as its editorial page, with regular articles employing the editorial "we." [29] Other papers were following these leads, so that by the end of this period many of them were ready for the definite recognition of a column or two of comment by the editor as a part of the standard newspaper.

NEWS EDITING

There were a few editors who made excellent features of their summaries of news gathered from other papers. Such articles usually contained a certain amount of editorial comment. Usually they were widely copied by editors who had neither time nor talent to do such a task themselves. Chief among these summaries were those in three New England papers: Major Russell's, in the *Columbian Centinel*; Joseph Dennie's, in the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*; and the Rev. William Bentley's, continued for

ings of the American Sociological Society, Vol. IX (1914), p. 67ff. The Croswell case, though argued largely on the grounds of seditious libel, was really for defamatory libel (see p. 169). Theodore Roosevelt's actions against the New York *World* and Indianapolis *News*, which were apparently intended to be tried on such grounds, were decided on jurisdictional questions (see Chapter XXXV).

[28] See p. 102 for the beginnings of this custom in earlier papers.

[29] Cobbett used the first person singular for his editorial statements in *Porcupine's Gazette*.

nearly thirty years, first for the Salem *Gazette* and then for the Salem *Register*. The first two had the Federalist slant, and the last a Republican interpretation.

Foreign news, that staple of American journalism, presented many difficulties in this period. Not seldom did the editors complain of the dullness of the foreign prints. Matthew Carey wrote in his *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* that the European news is

> all, all equally flat, equally insipid. Hard, indeed, is the lot of the poor Printer! obliged to furnish out his bill of fare, at all events; he must run through piles of papers, glean an article or two amidst heaps of trash, and yet be liable to the charge of stupidity and dullness.[30]

And sometimes ships by which foreign papers were expected did not arrive. "We have not a syllable of foreign intelligence to lay before our readers this day," complains Major Russell in the *Centinel*. "The first arrivals must, we imagine, be full freighted with great events from *Holland, Switzerland,* and the frontiers of Italy. We expect them with impatience." [31] With the increasing importance of news from France, Parisian papers (especially the *Journal de Paris*) were used by such papers as could command translation.[32] The leading Dutch paper, the Leyden *Gazette*, and somewhat later a number of German papers, were drawn upon.

Foreign news was usually about two months old when it appeared in American papers, though its age varied with the speed of the sailing vessels and accidents of voyage. Likewise, the transmission of domestic news was limited in time by the speed and regularity of the posts which brought "exchanges" and letters from other cities. In 1790 such outlying papers as the Augusta, Georgia, *Chronicle* and the Lexington *Kentucky Gazette* were from one to two months late with their New York news, depending on weather and accidents. Complaints of lateness of the post were common in the papers as excuses for meagreness of news.

It is interesting to note the time-lag of the announcement of Washington's death, a major news-break, in the various papers. Washington died on Saturday night, December 14, 1799, and

[30] *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, September 10, 1785.

[31] *Columbian Centinel*, November 6, 1799.

[32] The editors of the *National Gazette*, the *Aurora*, and *Porcupine's Gazette* were familiar with French, and the *Massachusetts Spy* also apparently made its own translations.

the first news of the event was published in his home paper, the daily Alexandria *Times*, the following Monday. It was in the weekly *Virginia Centinel*, at Winchester, on Wednesday, and the following day it was in the Philadelphia *Aurora*. By Saturday, the 21st, it had reached New York and was in the *Argus*. On Christmas, eleven days after the event, the news was printed in the *Columbian Centinel*, of Boston, and the *Massachusetts Spy*, of Worcester. The semiweekly Salem *Gazette* had just pulled the last sheet of its Tuesday edition when the news came, so it had to wait until the 27th to publish it. The weekly *Connecticut Journal* was likewise unlucky in the break, and the news was two or three days old in New Haven when it was published there. Up in New Hampshire, the *Farmer's Weekly Museum* did not print it until December 30, while the *Kentucky Gazette* had it on January 2 and the *Western Spy*, of Cincinnati, on January 7.

It is significant that nearly all these papers took the news at either first or second hand from the Alexandria *Times*. All newspapers relied mainly on the paper nearest any happening of great importance to cover it and to furnish it to them by the system of exchange of newspapers. Most of the smaller papers seldom had any home news of major importance, and therefore paid little attention to local affairs. The case was different, however, with the Philadelphia papers, published at the seat of government. There the first professional reporters—such men as Gales,[33] Duane, Callender, and James Carey—assisted the editors in covering government news.

The lack of a proper system of news-gathering made for far too much reliance upon rumor. Sometimes rumors were printed, with warnings against them; and the heading "Important—If True" was not uncommon. The editor usually tried to give the sources of a rumor, as in the following from a Boston paper in regard to an entirely false report:

We are informed, that a vessel arrived in Cape-Ann last Friday, the Captain of which says, he spoke with a British packet, bound to Halifax in a short passage from England, the Commander of which

[33] The elder Joseph Gales, father of the senior member of the firm of Gales and Seaton (see p. 176). He had been a newspaper publisher in England, and was working as a printer for *Claypool's Daily Advertiser* (successor of the *Pennsylvania Packet*) when Claypool assigned him to cover the sessions of the House of Representatives.

gave him to understand that War was declared by England against Spain.[34]

Moralists occasionally animadverted on the prevailing tendency to emphasize sensational features of the news. Wrote Fisher Ames in the *New-England Palladium:*

. . . Yet there seems to be a sort of rivalship among printers, who shall have the most wonders, and the strangest and most horrible crimes. . . . Now, Messrs. Printers, I pray the whole honourable craft, to banish as many murders, and horrid accidents, and monstrous births and prodigies from their gazettes, as their readers will permit them; and, by degrees, to coax them back to contemplate life and manners; to consider common events with some common sense . . .[35]

The form of the news story offered latitude for comment on events, as well as for occasional "fine writing." Following is the lead used in the *Massachusetts Centinel's* story of the Fourth of July celebration in Boston in 1785:

Monday last, being the anniversary of the ever-memorable day, on which the illustrious Congress declared the then Colonies of North-America, to be Free, Sovereign and Independent States, all ranks of citizens participated in the celebration of the happy event, and even Nature put on more than usual mildness, expressive of her joy on the occasion—Ere the Eastern ocean was yet bordered with the saffron hue, the feathered choristers sang their early matin, and to usher in the auspicious day, Aurora unbarred the ruddy gates of the morn, with sympathetic smiles.—The roar of artillery . . .[36]

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

The chief running story of foreign news in this period was that of the French Revolution, followed by the war of England and Spain against France; and of this story the great news-breaks were the execution of the French King and the declaration of war by England which soon followed. The report of these two events came to New York after three months which had been totally barren of authentic news and created a great sensation.

National politics furnished the leading domestic story. The

[34] *American Herald,* August 30, 1790.

[35] First published in the *Palladium* in October, 1801; quoted in *Works of Fisher Ames* (Boston, 1809), p. 224.

[36] *Massachusetts Centinel,* July 6, 1785.

state conventions called to ratify the Constitution in 1787-88, the inauguration of Washington the next year, and the various actions of Congress—especially the chartering of the national bank and the approval of the Jay treaty—were high lights in this continuous story. The publication of the Jay treaty was a beat for the Aurora and that of the Farewell Address a deliberate gift-beat for *Claypool's American Daily Advertiser* from Washington himself. The death of Washington was one of the great stories of the period, ranking with the beginning of the European war and the election of Jefferson.

Among the chief stories founded on outbreaks of violence were Shays' Rebellion in New England in 1786-87, St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in 1791, the Pennsylvania Whisky Rebellion of 1794, and the Fries tax revolt in eastern Pennsylvania in 1799. The great popular demonstrations were those on the occasion of Lafayette's visit in 1784 and the "civic feasts" of 1793 in sympathy with Republican France.

The great disasters were the Wyoming Valley flood of 1784 and the yellow fever epidemics of 1795 and 1798.

ADVERTISING

Increased quantity of advertising was a feature of American journalism in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The mercantile dailies, filling ten or twelve of their sixteen columns (later often sixteen of twenty columns) with advertising, led the procession; but such politico-commercial papers as the Boston *Independent Chronicle* and *Columbian Centinel* were scarcely less prosperous, while the *Argus* in New York and the *Aurora* in Philadelphia filled half or more of their space with advertising.

Double-column spreads, cuts, and large type broke up the dreary monotony of many advertising pages about 1785. The New York *Daily Advertiser*, the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, and several of the weeklies were notable for display lines and borders. But the shortage of paper and the increase of patronage combined in the later nineties to bring advertising typography back to small type and single-column measure. Most dailies in these years used page one for advertising, sometimes saving only one column of it for reading matter.

Indeed, many editors found themselves in a dilemma: they

desired abundant advertising revenue, but they had to provide a decent proportion of reading matter to keep circulation. Said the *Centinel:*

> The liberality of our advertising friends, while it draws from our bosoms the most lively gratitude, urges an apology to our sentimental patrons—But if Centinels extra can make compensation, they shall not be wanting.[37]

Accordingly, it issued many "extras" and "postscripts," and they were also filled with advertising! The mercantile papers were little troubled by such qualms as the *Centinel* suffered from, for their subscribers took them as much for their advertising as for anything else.

The unit of measurement was the "square," counted at about twelve lines; and the usual price in the larger papers was three shillings for the first insertion and two for the second. Runaway slaves, apprentices, and livestock; miscellaneous merchandise, liquors, and books; real estate, lotteries, and ship sailings were commonplaces of the advertising pages. The mercantile dailies specialized in importers' announcements, "vendues," theaters, legal notices, and sailings of ships. Patent-medicine advertising increased, not a little of it clearly vicious; and testimonials were widely used.

CIRCULATION; THE POSTAL SYSTEM

The increase of advertising was doubtless an encouragement to printers to found new papers; another inducement was found in the growth of literacy and of newspaper-mindedness. But doubtless both factors were effects as well as causes; we have one editor pointing out in his first number that increase of presses increases reading and writing.[38] Another salutatory, that of Noah Webster, contains some significant statements:

> Most of the Citizens of America are not only acquainted with letters and able to read their native language; but they have a strong inclination to acquire, and property to purchase, the means of knowledge. Of all these means of knowledge, Newspapers are the most

[37] *Massachusetts Centinel*, April 23, 1785.

[38] William Butler in the *Hampshire Gazette* (Northampton, Massachusetts), September 6, 1786.

eagerly sought after, and the most generally diffused. In no other country on earth, not even in Great-Britain, are Newspapers so generally circulated among the body of the people, as in America.[39]

Circulations were still small, however. The semiweekly *Columbian Centinel* probably topped the list, with over 4,000. *Porcupine's Gazette*, a daily, claimed over 2,000 early in 1799; this was as large a circulation as that of any English daily. The *Aurora* in its prime had about 1,700. Among the country papers, the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, which had some 2,000 at the height of its popularity, was probably the leader. But the average for dailies, semiweeklies, and weeklies was very low even at the end of the century—perhaps between 600 and 700.

Doubtless more people read a single copy of a newspaper in this period than later. Coffee houses and taverns maintained files of papers from all parts of the country,[40] and Reading Rooms advertised "every paper of note, either in Europe or America."

Subscription rates for dailies varied from $6 to $10 per year. The common price in 1800 was $8, while a barrel of flour sold for $9. Weeklies and semiweeklies varied from $1.50 to $5, but the common price by 1800 was $2 or $3. Frontier papers were likely to put the price at the start at $4 to $5 and then scale it down. Country papers frequently offered to receive produce on subscription accounts: one of them in 1799 advertised that it was willing to accept "Corn, Wheat, Country made Linen, Linsey and Sugar, Whiskey, Ash Flooring Plank, and a few well cured Bacon Hams." [41]

If carried by postrider, there was sometimes a slight addition to the price, but the publisher usually paid his postrider himself by allowing him half of his collections. This arrangement passed on to the postrider the difficult business of collecting from subscribers who became "delinquent"—so-called patrons who were really the publisher's worst enemies. The rider for one paper turned poet, and was allowed to perpetrate the following doggerel by way of expressing convictions which might well have been entitled, "What Abner Felt":

[39] *American Minerva*, December 9, 1793.

[40] "Went to the Coffee House and saw the Virginia paper," wrote John Adams in his diary for August 23, 1774.

[41] *Kentucky Gazette*, May 16, 1799.

You think that I can ride, I say,
Two years without a farthing's pay;
So full of dark ingratitude,
Pray don't complain if you are sued.
A Sheriff soon I mean to send,
And on my word you may depend,
And if you wish to know my name,
I will make known to you the same;
'Tis *Abner Felt*, your poor post rider
So poor he can't buy wine, nor cider! [42]

Occasionally a country editor and publisher rode his own routes, thus solving the problem of a reliable carrier, saving half of his rural circulation receipts, and getting out among his subscribers.[43]

As the United States postal system developed, the private post-rider could be dispensed with along the government routes. By the postoffice ordinance of 1782 a main route was established from New Hampshire to Georgia; soon thereafter the Great Post Road was developed from Wiscasset, Maine, to Savannah, Georgia. Cross-posts were rapidly established, reaching back from the coast. Stages were commonly used for transportation of mail along the Great Post Road, but the horse-and-rider method was necessary for a large part of the system. By the end of the period, mail was carried between Philadelphia and New York in twenty-two hours three times a week; but it took almost as many days to carry it from Philadelphia to Lexington, Kentucky, and even that schedule was seldom maintained. The papers were full of complaints of late mails, especially in the winter. When the Philadelphia-New York postroad was too bad for the stage, the rider commonly refused to carry papers at all.

The Postoffice Act of 1792 fixed the postage on newspapers at one cent each,[44] and declared that "exchanges" should be carried free. Both of these provisions were of great importance. The former gave newspapers a postal standing they had never before

[42] *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, August 21, 1797.

[43] Charles H. Freer, of the *Ulster County Gazette*, not only carried his own paper but its rival, the *Plebeian*.

[44] Except when a paper was carried more than 100 miles, when the postage was one and a half cents. A little later the one-cent rate was extended to all papers not sent outside of the home state.

had;[45] but it was the latter provision which definitely established a privilege which was vital to American journalism in this period. It has been pointed out that the exchange system was the heart of the news-gathering method of the papers. If free mailing of exchanges had been rescinded or greatly limited (and at least one Postmaster General had made efforts in this direction), this system would have been destroyed, and certainly many of the western papers would have had to suspend publication.[46] Said the *Columbian Centinel* in 1792:

> The present Post Office establishment renders the exchange of papers between the respective printers on the continent more sure than ever it was before since the birth day of America. Postmasters are now bound by law to forward all exchange papers to the printers—before they were not—of consequence, the circulation of news is more certain and extensive.[47]

MATERIALS AND LABOR

The page size of most city newspapers in this period increased to comfortably large four- and five-column papers.[48] Columns were wide and type small, with little display. Papers in the smaller cities and villages were usually smaller in size. The Pittsburgh *Gazette* began with a crown sheet, making pages about 15 x 20 inches; but some early westerns began with the smaller foolscap size. The *Gazette* was printing on a royal sheet by the end of this period, and the frontier papers generally were quick to enlarge as they were able. Four-page papers were the rule, though some issued "Postscripts" and "Extraordinaries" to meet emergencies.

Greater expansion might have taken place had it not been for the general shortage of paper. Papermills multiplied after the war, but the work was done by hand and the industry could not keep up with the demand. Sometimes a paper had to reduce its size temporarily on account of paper shortage.

[45] Franklin's provision of 1758 (see p. 62) had made carriage of papers by the government legal, and the principle had been continued; but the Act of 1792 regularized a practice which had been subject to many abuses.

[46] See J. P. Bretz, "Some Aspects of Postal Extension Into the West," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1909*, pp. 146-47. Bretz also points out that the heavy exchange mail and the newspaper's sense of its importance had much to do with improvement of postal roads in the West.

[47] *Columbian Centinel*, September 12, 1792.

[48] Royal and super-royal sheets were used, making the pages about 12 x 20 and 14 x 20 inches in size.

The first successful type-founder in America was John Bain, who brought his tools to Philadelphia from Scotland in 1787. Before the end of the century there were two or three other good foundries in the United States; the leading founders for many years were Binny & Ronaldson, of Philadelphia, who began in 1796. There were also some good press makers; and in 1796 Adam Ramage, a Scottish immigrant, introduced a stronger and faster screw press which, bearing his name, slowly superseded the old model. A press and enough type to start a small paper could be procured at small investment, especially if the printer was willing—as many were—to work with second-hand material; $200 to $800 would buy such a plant at the end of the century.[49]

The standard wage for journeyman printers was six dollars a week, and twenty-five cents per 1,000 ems of composition. Hours were often long, and some of the work—that of the press, for example—was hard. The first printers' strike occurred when Philadelphia employers attempted to cut a few cents off the weekly wage in 1786. The organization won its strike and then dissolved. Short-lived unions in New York raised wages first to a dollar a day in 1794 and then to eight dollars a week in 1799. Country printers often had itching feet, and the wandering journeyman was sometimes a romantic figure.

Not only the country newspapers but all alike conducted a business in job-printing, and most of them published pamphlets, almanacs, and books. In spite of the emergence, on some papers, of the professional editor, most newspaper men were themselves printers, working with their journeymen as masters in the craft. Indeed, not a few of the country editors, or printers as they commonly styled themselves, had small competence as writers and depended for what literary work their vocation demanded upon the assistance of friends who liked being "contributors to the press" without fee.

On the whole, however, the standard of editorship definitely advanced during the period under consideration. This may be said despite our remembrance of occasional vituperation and lack of literary facility.

[49] See advertisement of comparatively new press, cases, and four fonts of type for $200 in Poughkeepsie *Journal*, September 18, 1798. Cited in Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Also see *ibid.*, p. 57.

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For the Period 1783-1801

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See Bibliographical Notes for preceding periods, pp. 65-67, 109-10.

The Party Press: Middle Period 1801-1833

CHAPTER IX

The Dark Ages of Partisan Journalism

CERTAIN EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED NEAR THE TURN OF THE century mark these years as the beginning of a new period in the history of American journalism. Such were the moving of the national capital from Philadelphia to Washington, which took place in the summer and fall of 1800, and resulted in the rise of a new series of administration newspapers; the defeat of the Federalists by the Republican-Democrats in the national campaign of 1800 and the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President on March 4, 1801, ushering in a second and more blatant phase of American political journalism; and the purchase in 1803 of the vast Louisiana territory, which extended the field for the expansion of newspapers and offered a challenge for a vigorous new western journalism.

NUMBERS OF PAPERS

Expansion, indeed, was a chief characteristic of the journalism of this period. The total of papers published simultaneously in the United States increased from about 200 at its beginning to about 1,200 at its close. The increase in dailies alone was less rapid: there were about twenty of them at the beginning of the period and more than sixty-five at its end.[1] This was not only such a growth in journalism as the world had never before seen, but it gave the United States a larger number of newspapers and a larger aggregate circulation of them than any other country could

[1] The figures for the beginning of the period are based on Brigham, as of January 1, 1801, and are very close to the round numbers named. The general total for the end of the period is based on the figures of the *American Almanac* for 1835, which are not inconsistent with W. T. Coggeshall's estimates (*The Newspaper Record*, 1856). The total for dailies at the end of the period is A. M. Lee's estimate for 1830 (*The Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 717).

boast.[2] The omnipresence of the American newspaper was a continual wonder to visitors from abroad. Wrote one of them:

> The influence and circulation of newspapers is great beyond anything ever known in Europe. In truth, nine tenths of the population read nothing else. . . . Every village, nay, almost every hamlet, has its press. . . . Newspapers penetrate to every crevice of the nation.[3]

A PARTISAN PRESS

Foreign visitors were, furthermore, impressed by the political activities of the newspapers. The American press, wrote de Tocqueville, "is the power which impels the circulation of political life through all the districts of that vast territory. . . . The power of the periodical press is second only to that of the people." [4]

Even more than in the preceding period, the newspapers emphasized politics. To be sure, there were still, in the large cities, those prosperous mercantile papers which stressed commercial news rather than politics; but even they took sides in partisan controversy. Other city dailies, and many of the weeklies and semi-weeklies in the smaller towns, found their chief interest in politics; not a few of them, indeed, lived by and for political groups. "The press is now so conditioned in the United States," wrote Hezekiah Niles, one of the soundest observers of his times, "that nearly every publisher is compelled to take a side in personal electioneering." [5]

So far as scurrility and vulgar attack on personal character were concerned, the period now under consideration exceeded all that had been known before. Some periodicals, like Croswell's *Wasp*, at Hudson, New York, existed only for vituperative political attack, making a kind of nasty humor out of it. Humor, indeed, has always played a considerable part in political lampooning, but vile innuendo and open accusation of personal turpitude are scarcely funny.

[2] See *Niles' Register*, October 19, 1811, and October 28, 1826. Toward the end of the period England gained on the United States in aggregate annual circulation (total number of copies of all newspapers in a year) and may have equalled or surpassed the American figure by 1833.

[3] Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America* (Philadelphia, 1833), Vol. II, pp. 72-73.

[4] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Démocratie en Amérique* (Paris, 1835), Part I, Chapter XI.

[5] *Niles' Register*, February 19, 1825 (Vol. XXVII, p. 286).

Indeed, the whole period of 1801-1833 was in many respects disgraceful—a kind of "Dark Ages" of American journalism. Few papers were ably edited; they reflected the crassness of the American society of the times. Scurrility, assaults, corruption, blatancy were commonplace. Journalism had grown too fast.

JEFFERSON AND THE PRESS

Jefferson was the chief sufferer, though by no means the only one, from personal attacks. A sample of the kind of wild talk that was prevalent during Jefferson's campaign for the presidency is the following from a Boston organ of Federalism:

> Should the Infidel Jefferson be elected to the Presidency, the *seal of death* is that moment set on our holy religion, our churches will be prostrated, and some infamous prostitute, under the title of the Goddess of Reason, will preside in the Sanctuaries now devoted to the Most High.[6]

Jefferson was elected, the churches did not fall, and the vituperation continued. Of all the papers, probably the most vindictive and foul was the Richmond *Recorder* during its short term under the President's erstwhile supporter, the notorious Callender. It circulated the vilest possible stories about Jefferson's personal life. The *Gazette of the United States*, Fenno's old paper, published in 1802 a four-column justification of attacks on the President's character which was widely reprinted in Federalist papers. The House of Representatives of Virginia rebuked "the extreme licentiousness of the Federal editors in their abuse of the President," but with the Sedition Act prosecutions in recent recollection, it had to admit that it would be "impolitic and unconstitutional to restrict" their liberty to print.

In New York, however, an action was brought at common law against Harry Croswell, of Hudson, New York, editor of the lampooning sheet called the *Wasp*. This paper had printed worse accusations against the President than the one on which the indictment for libel was found,[7] namely, that "Jefferson had paid

[6] From the *New-England Palladium*, quoted in the Hudson *Bee*, September 7, 1802. Leading series of articles against Jefferson in the campaign of 1800 were the "Jeffersoniad" by "Decius" in the *Columbian Centinel;* that of "Burleigh" in the *Connecticut Courant;* and Dennie's articles in the *Gazette of the United States.*

[7] These viler statements were used in the trial to show malice.

Callender for calling Washington a traitor, a robber, a perjurer." [8] Croswell was convicted, the court refusing to admit testimony as to the truth of the accusation in the evidence submitted to the jury. The chief importance of the incident lies in the fact that Alexander Hamilton, in his argument for a new trial in the Croswell case, made one of the most famous of American pleas for freedom of the press. Hamilton argued that men as well as measures must be canvassed by the people, since it is the men behind the unwise measures who furnish the real danger to popular government; but he deprecated "abuse and calumny" as a "pest of society." He also urged that the truth of an allegation must be admitted in evidence before the jury. Though the Supreme Court by an equal division upheld the decision of the trial judge,[9] Hamilton's argument was so effective that even before the case was decided the New York legislature enacted a statute making it possible to introduce the truth, when published with good motives, as a defense in a criminal libel suit. This "Hamiltonian doctrine" was later made part of most state constitutions. Croswell soon thereafter discontinued his *Wasp*, its stinger having been removed, and some years later he became an Episcopal clergyman.

Jefferson's own reaction to this campaign of vilification is interesting. Before the adoption of the Constitution, he had written: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter." [10] Later, he had defended the right of newspapers to criticize Washington's administration. Consistent with this position was that expressed toward the end of his own second administration, after he had suffered from unparalleled vituperation. He then wrote:

[8] This refers to statements made by Callender in his famous campaign pamphlet, *The Prospect Before Us*, for which Callender suffered under the Sedition Act. Since writing that pamphlet, Callender had turned against Jefferson. See p. 151. Croswell's statement of the matter, though not actually clipped from another paper, merely repeats an allegation that had been going the rounds of the Federalist press. See Croswell's own story of how it came to be printed, in the *Hudson Balance*, August 16, 1803 (Vol. II, p. 258).

[9] Several other libel cases grew out of that against Croswell, including one in which Charles Freer, of the *Ulster County Gazette*, was convicted for libeling one of the judges. Hamilton was defense attorney in this case also.

[10] Letter dated January 16, 1787. Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. IV, p. 360.

. . . I have lent myself willingly as the subject of a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration conducting itself with integrity and common understanding cannot be battered down even by the falsehoods of a licentious press, and consequently still less by the press as restrained within the legal and wholesome limits of truth. The experiment was wanting for the world to demonstrate the falsehood of the pretext that freedom of the press is incompatible with ordinary government. I have therefore never even contradicted the thousands of calumnies so industriously propagated against myself. But the fact being once established that the press is impotent when it abandons itself to falsehood, I leave to others to restore it to its strength by recalling it within the pale of truth. Within that it is a noble institution, equally the friend of science and of civil liberty.[11]

Yet Jefferson cannot be said to have been newspaper-minded, or judicious in his press relationships. Though he refrained carefully from direct contributions to newspapers, he encouraged some of the most reprehensible journalism by gifts or subsidies;[12] his most admirable specific action in relation to practical journalism was his encouragement of the *National Intelligencer*.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

Although the Croswell trial is the chief contribution of this period to the continued story of the fight for the liberty of the press, other incidents were almost as important.

In 1805, Joseph Dennie was brought to trial in Philadelphia on a charge of seditious libel because he had climaxed a series of articles in the *Port Folio*, a notable politico-literary weekly,[13] by declaring his conviction that "the institution of the scheme of

[11] Letter dated February 11, 1807. Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. IX, p. 30. Cf. passage on the press in Jefferson's second inaugural. Less important is a letter written by Jefferson to a boy who planned to enter journalism, in which he made the statements: "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle." As *Niles' Register* observed on publishing the letter (September 30, 1826), "It was probably written at some moment of peculiar excitement. Even Jefferson was not *always* wise." That Jefferson had not changed his mind about the press in his old age is shown by his statement to Lafayette in 1823: "The only security of all is in a free press." *Writings*, Vol. X, p. 280.

[12] He defended his payments to Callender on the ground that they were mere charity. (See Ford, *Jefferson and Callender*, p. 44. But see also the conclusion of Ford, "Jefferson and the Newspaper," *loc. cit.*)

[13] For Dennie's earlier journalistic history, see p. 137. For the *Port Folio*, see p. 207.

polity so radically contemptible and vicious [as the present government] is a memorable example of what the villainy of some men can devise, the folly of others receive, and both establish, in despite of reason, reflection, and sensation." Dennie was acquitted after a brilliant defense by Joseph Hopkinson, famous lawyer and author of "Hail, Columbia." Thus "justified," Dennie was able to thumb his nose again at democracy, which he called in his next issue "a fiend more terrible than any that the imagination of the poets ever conjured up from the vasty deep of their Pagan hell."[14] Nevertheless Dennie became less violent thereafter, and desisted from the low but clever lampoons which he had been wont to level against the President.

Libel cases—both prosecutions for seditious libel and private suits for damages—multiplied in the earlier half of the period under consideration.[15] Some papers had to defend several such suits within a year. The papers indicted or sued were on both sides of the political fence, for it would be a great mistake to think that the Federalist vilifiers of Jefferson had a monopoly on calumny. Abijah Adams, leading Republican editor in Boston, who had suffered under the Sedition Act, was convicted of seditious libel a second time. William Carlton, of the Republican Salem *Register*, was indicted at the end of a bitter congressional campaign on the motion of Federalists who had not proven good losers, and his subsequent term in jail is said to have been a cause of his death somewhat later. John S. Lillie, editor of the Boston *Constitutional Telegraphe* and ardent Republican, when convicted of libel, dated his paper's valedictory from "Boston Gaol, 19th Day of Imprisonment." But by the end of this period (1833) many of the eastern states (including Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts) and all of the new western states had either constitutional provision or statutory enactment which permitted the introduction of evidence as to the truth of alleged libels dealing with public men.[16] These provisions operated to reduce the number of criminal libel cases.

In 1826 the St. Louis *Enquirer* published "a respectful criticism" of a decision by Federal District Judge James H. Peck,

[14] *Port Folio*, December 7, 1805 (Vol. V, p. 583).

[15] A similar development may be noted in England in the 1820's. See *Quarterly Review*, March, 1827 (Vol. XXXV, p. 568).

[16] See *American Quarterly Review*, March, 1829 (Vol. V, p. 75).

written by a lawyer involved in the litigation discussed. The judge brought editor and lawyer into court, dismissed the former with a reprimand, but sentenced the latter to fine and prison and suspended him from practice. For this high-handed action impeachment proceedings were brought against Judge Peck in the Senate of the United States, James Buchanan prosecuting; but they failed by a twenty-one to twenty-two vote, two thirds being necessary for impeachment.

An interesting episode occurred in the West when, in the frontier town of Detroit, in 1828, the *Gazette* editor criticized a court for waste of time and was jailed for contempt. John P. Sheldon, the offending editor, became a popular hero; his fine was paid by a great number of sympathizers no one of whom was allowed to contribute more than twelve and a half cents, and after his release he was the guest of honor at a huge banquet given in the jail's courtyard.

Somewhat less significant was the jailing of P. T. Barnum, later famous as a showman, for libel. Barnum, a young man of twenty-one, had rushed out and bought a printing press when his home-town paper in Danbury, Connecticut, had refused to print his proffered contributions, and had then reveled in expressions so free that he was sued for libel repeatedly. When he was forced to serve sixty days in jail, however, the sympathy of his fellow townsmen was with him, he edited his paper from the jail, and upon his release was given an ovation—with brass bands, orations on the freedom of the press, and salutes of cannon—the memory of which he always cherished as not the least spectacular episode of a life filled with "mammoth" displays.

Nathaniel Rounsavell, of the Alexandria *Herald*, was brought before the bar of the House of Representatives in 1812 and ordered into custody for refusing to divulge the source of his information regarding certain secret proceedings. Rounsavelt stood firm, as did a dozen or more journalists arrested by the House for a similar purpose in the next few decades. Thus was established the principle of the reporter's duty to protect his news source.[17]

[17] See Ben: Perley Poore in *Harper's Monthly*, January, 1874 (Vol. XLVIII, pp. 226-30}.

THE WAR OF 1812-1814

Though the expression of press opinion is always hampered in war times, the Federalist opposition to the Second War with England was remarkably outspoken, especially in New England. Benjamin Russell wrote in the *Columbian Centinel* again and again of the "waste of blood and property" in a "useless and unnecessary war," and other Federalist papers followed his lead. Their news columns might exult in Yankee victories, but their editorials still spoke of the "bloody hands" of Democratic leaders.

In the states where the war was more popular, however, such boldness was not always permitted to the opposition. In Baltimore, where the *Federal Republican* had protested strongly against the declaration of war, a mob stormed the printshop, wrecked the presses, and tore down the building. The editor retreated to Georgetown, where, with the encouragement of a group of friends, he printed another edition and brought the papers down to Baltimore to distribute them from his house in that city. Meantime the mob had been running wild, destroying property, assaulting bold Federalists, and overawing the city government; and the friends of the *Federal Republican*, knowing the editor's house would be visited by the mob, fortified it for a siege. Two veteran generals of the Revolution were among the defenders.[18] The mob came promptly. After its first efforts to take the house were driven off, it brought up a cannon and prepared to blow the place up. City authorities then intervened and obtained the promise of the mob leaders to disperse if the garrison would surrender and go to jail. As soon as the men were marched off to the jail, however, the mob destroyed the house, and then stormed the jail and killed all the prisoners they could lay hands upon.

This bloody assault upon the liberty of the press roused a fury of partisan denunciation of Baltimore officials, the Democratic party, and "Madison's War," which died down only as other events of the war crowded the incident out of men's minds.

CUDGELS AND PISTOLS

Violent protest against newspaper comment also took the various forms of individual assaults and duels. Most of these en-

[18] "Light Horse Harry" Lee and General J. M. Lingan. The former was crippled and the latter killed in the fight.

counters are scarcely significant, except as they show the customs of the times.

The most famous duel of American history, however, was the result of a newspaper paragraph. When Alexander Hamilton was in Albany for the Croswell trial, he had made, in conversation, some derogatory remarks about Aaron Burr, whose political course he strongly disapproved. These remarks were communicated to the Albany *Register*, and their publication formed the basis for Burr's challenge of Hamilton to a duel. The two men met one July morning in 1804 under the heights of Weehawken, and Burr killed his opponent. In still another sense, this was a newspaper duel, for both men, leaders of rival factions, had their personal newspaper organs, which had attacked each other bitterly.[19]

Challenges to editors were not uncommon, especially in the South and West. When Joseph M. Street, editor of the *Western World*, of Frankfort, Kentucky, published his exposures of the great conspiracy against the American government headed by Burr in 1806, he received many challenges from Kentuckians who had been involved. He fought one duel, and then announced that he had "concluded to file the challenges regularly as they are received, and from time to time give a list of them in the *Western World*." [20] Street was later seriously wounded by a would-be assassin, but he continued his paper until it was stopped by libel verdicts. It had done its work, however.

THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS"

Attacks upon President Madison were less personal and less vitriolic than those upon his predecessor Jefferson. It was Madison who had presented the freedom of the press guaranty to Congress as a part of the first amendment to the Constitution. In a letter which he wrote a few years after his presidency, Madison was farsighted enough to suggest the printing of both partisan viewpoints in one paper—which, however, he thought at that time "ideal" and impracticable.[21]

[19] The New York *Morning Chronicle* (1802-07), edited by Washington Irving's brother Peter, was the Burr organ. It defended Burr's course in regard to the duel. (See issue for July 6, 1804.) The *Evening Post* (see p. 184) was Hamilton's organ.

[20] *Western World*, November 2, 1806.

[21] Letter dated April 23, 1828. *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, Vol. III, p. 630. The founding of new papers and the decay of Federalism gave the Republicans (Jefferson's party) a slight majority in newspaper support by 1812.

Monroe was elected to the presidency at the time of a shift in party alignment. Federalists in large numbers were becoming identified with the National Republicans, and the real division upon issues was being made along sectional lines. Shortly after his inauguration, Monroe made a visit to New York and New England, and the cordiality and acclaim with which he was everywhere received served to emphasize the fact that the old party hatreds had disappeared. Accordingly, when that veteran Federalist organ, the *Columbian Centinel*, in welcoming the President to Boston, referred to the new times as "The Era of Good Feelings," the epithet stuck and was widely adopted. In view of the contests which ensued over the United States Bank, internal improvements, the tariff, and the extension of slavery into the new territories, this term may seem a misnomer for Monroe's two administrations; but so far as New England politics were concerned, it was apt enough. The ancient enmities of the *Centinel* and the *Independent Chronicle* died out, and the two were eventually merged.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER

First of the important papers in the new capital, and in some respects greatest of the long line of Washington papers, was the *National Intelligencer*.

To trace the genesis of this paper, we go back to the youth of Joseph Gales, Sr. Young Joe learned the printer's trade in the industrial district of middle England, and had a paper of his own by the time he was twenty-five years old. But his advocacy of parliamentary reform caused him to be driven from England, and he eventually sought a career in Philadelphia. There he first worked as a printer, and later became one of the first reporters regularly covering the sessions of Congress. He purchased an important Philadelphia paper, the *Independent Gazetteer*,[22] but a recurrent epidemic of the yellow fever induced him to sell out after a few years and move to Raleigh, North Carolina, where he founded another paper.[23]

The man to whom Gales sold his paper was Samuel Harrison

[22] Founded by Eleazar Oswald, the fiery jacobinical editor, soldier, and duelist—one of the few American sympathizers with the French revolutionary party who fought in the Republican army

[23] See p. 189 for the Raleigh Register

Smith, a young journalist who had learned shorthand from him and who had won a reputation for brilliance in Philadelphia literary circles. Smith had been publishing his own paper for three years when the capital was removed from Philadelphia, and none other than President-Elect Jefferson himself suggested to him that he should move his printing office to the new and rude village of Washington and issue a paper which should serve as the official organ of the new administration. The *National Intelligencer*, a triweekly established October 31, 1800, was the result.[24]

Samuel Harrison Smith was a man of social qualities, as well as a good writer and publisher. He kept his cellar and larder well stocked; his wife was a successful hostess; and many political leaders, including the President, frequented the Smith soirées. The *Intelligencer* became, true to Jefferson's promise, the authoritative spokesman for the executive branch of the government.

The House of Representatives, however, evenly divided between Federalists and Republican-Democrats, made Smith some difficulty and for a time denied him access to a position in the chamber adapted to the reporting of its proceedings. But at the second session after the founding of the *Intelligencer*, the Democrats having gained control, Smith became a semiofficial reporter; his record of the debates was, indeed, for several years the only one made.[25] This gave the *Intelligencer* a preëminence in American journalism which it retained for a long time. For the first quarter of the century all papers based their news of the government on the reports of the *National Intelligencer*. At this time it was a modest, four-page paper, its first and last pages devoted to advertising and its second page to the proceedings of Congress or editorial matter. Politically it was not combative, and one com-

[24] Smith had changed the name of the *Independent Gazetteer* to *Universal Gazette* when he bought it from Gales; this name he kept for the weekly edition of the *Intelligencer*.

[25] Gales and Seaton's *Debates and Proceedings of Congress* (binder's title: *Annals of Congress*), in book form, though they begin with the first Congress, were not published until 1834-56. Much of this material had been printed in the *Intelligencer* at the time the debates occurred; nearly all had been taken down by the Galeses, Smith, Seaton, and their employees. In 1824, however, Gales and Seaton began their *Register of Debates*, and from that date onward there was a non-newspaper record of proceedings. Blair and Rives began their *Congressional Globe* in 1834, and it was a competitor of the *Register* until 1837, when the latter was discontinued. The *Congressional Globe* was continued until 1873, when the Government Printing Office started the official *Congressional Record*.

petitor nicknamed it "Mr. Silky Milky Smith's National Smoothing Plane."

In 1810 Smith retired, leaving the paper in the hands of Joseph Gales, Jr., who had been trained in journalism by his father and in the liberal arts by the University of North Carolina. Two years later Gales was joined by W. W. Seaton, who had also worked for the elder Gales and had married his daughter. These brothers-in-law, Gales & Seaton, proved to be a strong journalistic team. Carrying out the Gales tradition, both were trained shorthand reporters; and one would sit at the left hand of the Speaker of the House and the other at the left hand of the President of the Senate (sharing snuff-boxes with those officers, we are told), in order to compile the record of congressional proceedings.

In 1813 the paper became a daily. Its building was sacked by the British during the War of 1812-14, while its editors were with the American forces, each going home on leave on alternate days to put out the paper. Through the "Era of Good Feelings" the *National Intelligencer* maintained its position as presidential organ and printer to Congress, and so it continued until Jackson's administration.[26] Displaced then by rivals for official favor and government fees, it continued until after the Civil War, first as a Whig paper and then as an advocate of the small compromise parties.[27]

For half a century Gales & Seaton's *National Intelligencer* was a leading American newspaper, ever dependable and informative. Gales was generally given credit for the sententious political philosophy, mildness, learning, and "sound" conservatism of the paper's compact editorial paragraphs; but there is good reason to believe that Seaton wrote his share of them, and certainly Daniel Webster was an occasional contributor and frequent ad-

[26] During Monroe's second administration a quarrel with Secretary of State John Quincy Adams caused a temporary shift of patronage to the *National Journal* (1822-42), begun as *Republican*, edited by Thomas L. McKinney, famous as a student of Indian affairs, and later by Peter Force, famous as a historiographer. But the *Intelligencer* was reinstated in Adams' good graces during his own administration. The *Gazette* (1815-26), Jonathan Elliot's paper, had some government patronage through William H. Crawford's interest; it was the predecessor of the *United States Telegraph*.

[27] The *Intelligencer* was much attached to Daniel Webster. It was an official government organ again for a short time under Harrison and Tyler, when Webster was Secretary of State; and once more under Fillmore, with Webster in the same position. See p. 255.

viser. Both editors maintained Smith's tradition of lavish social hospitality; both were highly regarded personally, and the handsome and aristocratic Seaton was long mayor of the city of Washington. Though their paper was very profitable in its best days, they were not good enough financiers to build it up on the business side; they never made an accounting to each other, and always helped themselves from the till when either was in need of money.[28]

JACKSON AND HIS NEWSPAPERS

Friends of Andrew Jackson established the *United States Telegraph* in Washington in 1826, the year after the western hero had lost the presidency to John Quincy Adams. Duff Green, a St. Louis lawyer, journalist, and promoter who had struck up a friendship with Jackson when both were Washington-bound passengers on an Ohio River keel-boat, became editor and publisher of the new paper. Green proved to be of the hard-hitting, politician type of editor.[29] He helped elect "Old Andy," and his paper was then made the official organ of the Jackson administration. But Green immediately became involved in intrigues against the President, and in 1830 friends of Jackson set up a new Washington paper to which, in due time, the administration patronage was transferred. The *Telegraph* survived this loss for several years, becoming an organ of the John C. Calhoun faction.[30]

The new paper which was set up in 1830 and dowered with public printing amounting to some $50,000 a year was the *Washington Globe*. Francis P. Blair, of Frankfort, Kentucky, a banker, plantation owner, and an editor of the *Argus of the Western World*, who had written some fiery articles which defended Jackson and pleased him, was selected as the editor. He was a brilliant writer, who could blister his opponent with a paragraph. Amos

[28] Said a spiteful political adversary: "Government patronage enough has been bestowed upon the profligate Englishman, Gales, to make fifty prudent men rich." *New-Hampshire Patriot*, February 25, 1833.

[29] Both he and his editorial assistant Russell Jarvis were involved in minor physical combats in the Capitol in April, 1828; and as a result President Adams sent a special message to Congress asking if something ought not to be done about such things. Nothing was done.

[30] Calhoun's son had married Green's daughter. The paper enjoyed some advantage from Calhoun's vice-presidency, but it was filled chiefly with attacks on the *National Intelligencer*, the *Globe*, the Richmond *Enquirer*, etc. In later years Green became a prominent railroad promoter.

Kendall, the former editor of the *Argus*, had already been brought to Washington and given a government job, and was now installed as an editorial contributor to the *Globe*. Another Kentuckian, John C. Rives, completed the trio which conducted the paper; Rives was a shaggy giant who stood nearly six and a half feet tall, weighed 240 pounds, and had a genius for business.

These three men not only conducted the *Globe*, but they composed a board of political strategy for the President. The "kitchen cabinet," as the group came to be called, sometimes exerted more power than the official cabinet. They were the intimate companions of the President. "Old Andy" would lie on a couch and smoke and dictate his ideas to Kendall, the scholar of the group, and then Editor Blair or Kendall would write and rewrite the paragraphs which were to crackle in the *Globe* the next day. Throughout both of Jackson's administrations and that of his successor Van Buren the *Globe* continued as government spokesman and beneficiary, waxing rich under Rives' good management.

Jefferson had been an idealist who had never quite understood the rough-and-tumble journalism of the times; Jackson was thoroughly practical in his relations to the press, taking the papers as he found them, molding them, and using them—though he never won a majority newspaper support. He was criticized for "suborning" the press by appointments to jobs, and the *National Intelligencer* in 1832 published a list of fifty-seven journalists who had been handed federal appointments by the President. He certainly had no great reverence for the abstract principle of freedom of the press.[31]

[31] See his attempt to prevent circulation of abolition papers in the South, Chapter XVIII.

CHAPTER X

Political and Mercantile Newspapers

WASHINGTON WAS NOT THE NEWSPAPER CAPITAL OF THE country, however significant its political papers may have been. That distinction belonged to New York, the metropolis whose population by the end of this period was equal to that of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore combined. Here, at almost any time during the first third of the nineteenth century, a half dozen or more daily papers were being published, and as many weeklies and semiweeklies.

Most prosperous of these papers were such mercantile dailies as the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Mercantile Advertiser*, and the *Daily Advertiser*. The word "Advertiser" was no misnomer in these titles, for mercantile papers sometimes appeared with nearly all of their space given to commercial announcements. Dull as these newspapers now seem to the general reader, they led the field in circulation through much of this period.

Of the three named, the *Commercial Advertiser* was the best newspaper. It was the successor of Noah Webster's *American Minerva*. Colonel William L. Stone, a Federalist who had edited political and literary papers in upstate New York and Connecticut, became its editor in 1821, and some excellent writers contributed to its columns. Stone himself gained a reputation as a writer of tales and of history.

Of this mercantile group, but somewhat different, was the *Journal of Commerce*. Founded in 1827 by Arthur Tappan, who was prominent as a merchant and reformer but untrained in journalism, it soon became the property of two good newspaper men, Gerard Hallock and David Hale. Tappan had designed it as a commercial paper with strong religious bias; it did not accept theatre or lottery advertising (though its patent-medicine "ads"

were not above reproach), and it opposed slavery, Sabbath-breaking, and intemperance. Hallock's experience had been in religious journalism, and Hale came of a famous religio-journalistic Boston family; thus the new owners were well fitted to carry on along some of the lines laid down by the founder. But whereas Tappan had lost heavily during his brief ownership, Hallock and Hale soon began to make money. They became the most enterprising newsgatherers in New York—and that not only in the coverage of Wall Street, where their paper's chief interests lay, but also in obtaining the earliest foreign news from incoming vessels. Hallock was a fearless and independent editor, Democratic and pro-slavery. At one time some of his friends advised him that his editorial course was losing subscribers, and he replied, "I do not consult my subscription list to ascertain my principles." This independence was to make him trouble at the beginning of the Civil War.

Scarcely a newspaper of its times had a more interesting history than the *Courier and Enquirer*, edited by the doughty Colonel James Watson Webb. In 1827, the same year which had seen the *Journal of Commerce* founded, Webb purchased the brand new *Morning Courier*, and two years later he bought Mordecai M. Noah's clever New York *Enquirer* [1] and merged it with the *Courier*. With the *Enquirer* came Noah and young James Gordon Bennett, a talented pair of journalists. The merger gave the *Courier and Enquirer* a circulation of 4,000—the largest in the city—and the paper gained a reputation for a brightness and aggressiveness uncommon in the mercantile press. For a decade or two it was one of the best-known papers in America. Like its owner, it was bellicose; [2] and like him also, it was always enterprising. Its competition with the *Journal of Commerce* did much to develop advertising, the size of newspaper pages, and more adequate newsgathering. Politically, it started out to support Jackson, but deserted him on the issue of the United States Bank and became Whig. Webb never lived down the accusation that the real reason

[1] Noah had founded the *Enquirer* in 1826. A self-appointed "Judge and Governor of Israel," he had planned "Ararat," an early Zionist movement, designed to settle Jews on Grand Island, in the Niagara River. He was a brilliant writer, connected with several papers at various times, and a successful playwright in the field of military melodrama.

[2] See pp. 260-61 for the character of Webb, and the later history of the *Courier and Enquirer*.

for this change was a $52,000 loan which the Bank made to him. The paper was opposed to abolition, but later joined the Free-Soilers.

CHEETHAM'S AMERICAN CITIZEN

The mercantile papers could scarcely keep free of partisan issues, but there were other papers which were much more definitely devoted to politics.

Such was the *American Citizen*. It was a continuation of Greenleaf's *Argus;* when that paper was sold in 1800 the purchaser did what new owners so often did in this period—he changed the name and began a new volume numbering, thus taking a fresh start. The old *Argus* had been strongly Jeffersonian, without distinguished editorship; but the new *American Citizen* soon acquired an editor who attracted national attention by his lucid and even sparkling style in political disquisition, as well as by his reckless vituperative powers. This editor was James Cheetham, an English radical who had fled to America after the Manchester riots.

Cheetham was large and robust physically; and his style was admired for its rich fluency and feared for its abusiveness. He made the *Citizen* the organ of the Clinton faction of the Democratic party in New York; and thus it opposed Aaron Burr, who once sued it for libel. Libel suits were a commonplace of Cheetham's existence, however; thirteen such actions were brought against him in the first two years of his editorship of the *Citizen*,[3] and as many as fourteen were pending against him at one time. By the beginning of Jefferson's second administration, Cheetham was in a very influential position, Burr was politically dead, Clinton was the new Vice-President of the United States, and the *American Citizen* was generally recognized as sharing with Duane's Philadelphia *Aurora* the leadership of the Democratic press. But Cheetham's English sympathies caused him to reject Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, and the *Citizen* rapidly lost influence. Cheetham died in 1810, and his paper was soon discontinued.[4]

[3] Hudson (New York) *Bee*, June 14, 1803.

[4] After Cheetham attacked Jefferson and the Embargo, he was expelled from Tammany, and Charles Holt's *Columbian* was established as the Tammany organ; it in turn fell into disfavor in the campaign of 1812, and the *National Advocate* (1812-29) was founded by Tammany, to be conducted by such distinguished editors as Henry Wheaton, M. M. Noah, and James Gordon Bennett.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE NEW YORK EVENING POST

The Federalists had to have a New York paper to stand up to the *American Citizen* and exchange lusty epithets with it. It was immediately after Cheetham was installed as editor of the *Citizen* that Federalists began making plans to establish the New York *Evening Post*, the first number of which was issued November 16, 1801.[5]

It was a sad time for Federalism. Jefferson had just been inaugurated at Washington, and in New York state and city virtually all Federalists had been kicked out of office. Alexander Hamilton, leader of the defeated party, felt keenly the need for a strong partisan organ, in order to afford a rallying standard. Hamilton had little difficulty in raising some $10,000, chiefly from rich merchants and ambitious (though temporarily disappointed) politicians, for the establishment of the *Evening Post*. This money was not used to establish a joint-stock company, but was lent to the new editor; eventually the sponsors were prevailed upon to cancel the notes which they held. This was a common technique in the founding of political papers.

The editor who was placed in charge was William Coleman. A lawyer and court reporter, thirty-five years of age, vigorous and robust, tall, with an animated, intelligent face crowned by a mop of curly black hair, Coleman always made an excellent personal impression. He had a good education and some journalistic experience, but he was a poor financier and had been unsuccessful until his accurate shorthand and careful law reporting in a case in which General Hamilton was engaged brought him to the great man's attention. Hamilton got him an appointment as clerk of the Circuit Court, and when the Democratic landslide threw him out, made him editor of the new paper.

Hamilton himself has many claims upon a position as a leading American journalist. It was a newspaper story which had lifted him out of the obscurity of his West Indian birthplace and procured him an education in King's College (now Columbia University). While he was a student there, his anonymous contributions to the New York *Journal* in behalf of American liberty were

[5] The New York *Post* is thus today (1940) the oldest American paper having a direct line of daily publication.

widely noticed and reprinted. The literary reputation thus made was tremendously increased by his "Federalist" papers in the *Independent Journal* during the debate over the adoption of the Constitution. While he was Secretary of the Treasury, he was the chief sponsor, if not the effective founder, of Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*; and he had somewhat the same relation to Noah Webster's *American Minerva*. He wrote for both of these papers. He had the instincts of a journalist and a talent for the popular presentation of ideas. Just before the founding of the *Evening Post*, he had proposed a wide-spread association of Federalists each of whom should contribute $5 annually for eight years for partisan publicity.

From the *Evening Post's* establishment until his death two and a half years later, Hamilton was virtually the editorial director of the paper. Coleman described his reliance on the famous statesman in these words:

> Whenever anything occurs on which I feel the want of information I state matters to him, sometimes in a note; he appoints a time when I may see him, usually a late hour in the evening. He always keeps himself minutely informed on all political matters. As soon as I see him, he begins in a deliberate manner to dictate and I to note down in shorthand; when he stops, my article is completed.[6]

But Coleman was by no means a mere amanuensis, and he soon took from the discouraged Russell of the Boston *Centinel* the distinction of leadership in the Federalist press of the nation. The *Evening Post* fought the Gallic craze, attacked the Embargo, opposed the second war with England from its beginning to its end (calling it "unjust and calamitous"), and continually satirized Jefferson. Coleman's arguments were not always on a high plane: he reprinted certain infamous stories about the President's private life invented by the treacherous Callender, and he did not hesitate upon occasion to call a rival editor a "vile reptile" or "a black-hearted and malignant calumniator." Yet he was less violent than Cheetham and certainly no more so than Duane. These two leaders of the Democratic press he characterized in the famous quatrain:

[6] [G. J. Clark, ed.] *Memoir, Autobiography and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason* (Cambridge, 1873), pp. 31-32.

Lie on, Duane, lie on for pay,
And Cheetham, lie thou too;
More 'gainst truth you cannot say
Than truth can say 'gainst you.

Coleman once challenged Cheetham to a duel, as a result of an outrageous lie about the former's personal life; peace officers put a stop to the encounter, but another duel grew out of this quarrel in which Coleman killed his man. Some years later Coleman was attacked on the street by a man who had been offended by a news story and so badly beaten that he never recovered perfect health.

The *Evening Post's* mercantile news was as good as that furnished by the more strictly commercial papers. Its reviews of books and plays were well done, and it had some literary distinction. In 1819 it published the "Croaker Papers" of Fitz-Greene Halleck and Joseph Rodman Drake, satires in verse which immediately won a deserved popularity. The *Post's* circulation increased steadily; by 1815 it had passed 1,500, and in the early twenties it reached 2,000. Its advertising grew likewise, and by the end of this period it was making its owners well over $10,000 a year.

In 1825 the young Massachusetts poet William Cullen Bryant came to town to help edit a literary magazine, the *New York Review*. It was a short-lived periodical, as most such ventures then were; and the next year Bryant was glad to accept the offer of an assistantship to Editor Coleman, who was in failing health. His chief died in 1829, and Bryant took complete charge; he continued to edit the *Evening Post* for half a century. He supported Jackson and fought the protective tariff, thus swinging the old Federalist paper into the Democratic column.

BOSTON NEWSPAPERS

Boston was an active newspaper center in these years. It has been pointed out that the *Columbian Centinel*, famous Federalist paper, losing heart after the defeat of Adams in 1800, managed to continue its opposition to Jefferson and to "Madison's War." But it grew more and more neutral during the latter part of the present period, and was eventually part of a merger in which it lost its identity. Its former political opponent, the *Independent Chronicle*, was part of the same merger, which may be said to



William Cullen Bryant in his early years as editor of the New York Evening Post. From a contemporary engraving.

mark the belated end of an era in Boston journalism by consigning to oblivion no less than five of the old-line, outgrown papers.[7]

The newspaper which took over all five of these old papers had put new life into Boston journalism. It was the *Daily Advertiser*, founded in 1813, which in its second year had come under the control of Nathan Hale, nephew of the Patriot spy of that name in the Revolution. It was the first successful daily in New England. It was essentially a mercantile paper, with only a few of its twenty-four columns devoted to reading matter; but Hale early won a reputation for his brief editorial comments, and eventually the *Daily Advertiser* became a strong Whig and Webster paper. Its chaste columns contained much criticism of literature, art, and drama; and such men as Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, and William Ellery Channing contributed from time to time. The *Daily Advertiser* lived for well over a century.

Joseph T. Buckingham's Boston *Courier* (1824-64) was perhaps the most lively and literary of the city's dailies for many years. Buckingham (born Joseph Tinker) was a self-made man, a printer, and a fluent writer. He had a turn for books and the theatre. His paper was a pioneer New England advocate of the protective tariff, and supported Webster and the Whig party.

In the last few years of this period, Boston saw the founding of a group of small, low-priced papers, proper consideration of which belongs to a later chapter.

PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE

In Philadelphia the *Aurora*, under William Duane until 1822, continued a leading Democratic spokesman. Duane's influence was weakened by factional quarrels among Pennsylvania Democrats, however, and the *Democratic Press* (1807-29) existed chiefly to fight the *Aurora*. Though President Jefferson clearly relied much on Duane's bold and dogmatic political comment, the *Aurora* was too bellicose and too reckless; some sixty or seventy libel suits against Duane had accumulated by 1806.

[7] The *Independent Chronicle* absorbed the *Boston Patriot* (1809-17) in 1817, and in 1840 the *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot* was combined with three other papers to form the semiweekly edition of the *Daily Advertiser*. These three were the *Centinel*, its old-time ally the *New-England Palladium* (which had begun as *Massachusetts Mercury* in 1793), and the *Commercial Gazette* (founded as *Price-Current* in 1795 and later published by a brother of Benjamin Russell as *Russell's Gazette*).

The *Aurora's* old rival, the *Gazette of the United States*, was called *United States Gazette* through most of this period. Edited chiefly by Enos Bronson, "a brisk journalist," it also accumulated some libel suits, but continued until 1847. Meantime, Robert Walsh's *National Gazette* (1820-41) became Philadelphia's most quoted political paper. Walsh was an able writer, originally a Federalist, but later an advocate of more liberal doctrines, including abolition.

Philadelphia had more than a dozen dailies in course of publication in the early thirties. Of these, the only one to survive to the present (1940) is the *Inquirer*, founded in 1829.[8]

Even more vigorous a city, but less overrun by newspapers, was Baltimore, which in 1830 forged ahead of Philadelphia in population and became the second city in the Union. There the *American* had begun a career of 129 years in 1799.[9] It soon became the leading mercantile journal of a hustling commercial city.

One of Baltimore's weeklies achieved a wide and deservedly high reputation. This was *Niles' Weekly Register* (1811-49). Though not without editorial opinion, the *Register* was mainly devoted to the publication of facts, statistics, speeches, and documents on both sides of political and economic questions. It was octavo in size, and indexed. Its editor, Hezekiah Niles, was a printer and a man of sterling integrity; after his death in 1839, the paper declined.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOUTH

The greatest paper of the southern states in these years was Thomas Ritchie's semiweekly Richmond *Enquirer*, successor of Meriwether Jones's *Examiner* (1798-1804). First issued in 1804 with the encouragement of President Jefferson, it was soon recognized as one of the chief voices of the Democratic party in the nation. Ritchie became the boss of Virginia's Democracy. But he was more than that; he was a good writer, a shrewd editor, and a social leader. He was tall and aristocratic, and always dressed in the silk stockings and low shoes of the old style. He was manager of most of Richmond's public balls, chairman of most of its meet-

[8] It was called the *Pennsylvania Inquirer* until 1860. The *Bulletin* was founded on the basis of the *American Centinel* (1816-46).

[9] Its name remains (1940), however, as that of the Sunday edition of the *News-Post*.

ings, and toastmaster at most of the banquets held in that city for many years. Though thin and ascetic, he could perform tremendous labors. He maintained his position for a long time; Jackson, though he did not like Richmond's powerful editor, did not try to unseat him. "Old Nous-Verrons" his enemies nicknamed him, because of his habit of adding that phrase knowingly to a political prediction.

The only opposition paper to challenge Ritchie's power in Virginia was the Richmond *Whig*, founded in 1824 by John H. Pleasants. The political rivalry of the *Whig* and *Enquirer* flamed high in later years.[10]

In Raleigh, North Carolina, Joseph Gales, Sr., founded the *Register* in 1799. He became Raleigh's leading citizen, served as Mayor for nineteen years, was state printer for thirty years, and published a sound Democratic journal. For a short time his son-in-law W. W. Seaton was his partner; [11] in 1832, when Gales was past sixty, he transferred his paper to his son Weston Raleigh Gales and went to Washington to compile the *Annals of Congress* for his elder son.

Charleston had from four to six papers throughout this period. The *Courier*, founded in 1803 by A. S. Willington, became the city's leading mercantile paper. It showed some enterprise in gathering news by boarding incoming ships, and in its office James Gordon Bennett received his initiation into journalism. The *Courier* was the spokesman of the Unionists during the Nullification crisis in South Carolina; while the *Mercury*, founded in 1822, was perhaps the chief advocate of secession. The *Mercury*, which was well edited and which printed communications from many of the great southern leaders, came to be looked upon by northern editors as the mouthpiece of the more extreme pro-slavery views.

The first paper in Florida after the United States took possession in 1821 [12] was the *Florida Gazette* (1821-22) at St. Augustine. Its founder, Richard W. Edes, was a grandson of the famous Patriot editor of the Boston *Gazette*; he died of yellow fever shortly after he had launched his paper.

[10] See account of Ritchie-Pleasants duel, p. 257.

[11] Thus, the famous partnership name of Gales & Seaton existed in Raleigh before it was known in Washington. See p. 177.

[12] For an earlier Florida paper, see p. 94.

The Mobile *Centinel* (1811-12) was the first paper in what is now Alabama. Mobile itself was in territory still Spanish, and the *Centinel* was published at a fort some twenty miles to the north.

A remarkable paper was the *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828-34) printed at New Echota, Georgia, in characters invented by Sequoyah, the "Cherokee Cadmus," for readers of his race.

WESTERN PIONEERS

The westward movement of population was retarded by the War of 1812-14, but the years that followed the peace saw an unparalleled migration to the western states and territories. The Indian treaties, which cleared the country east of the Mississippi for settlement, and the new land laws combined to encourage pioneering. The press shared the hardships of the earliest village settlements.[13]

The first paper in Indiana was established at Vincennes in 1804 by Elihu Stout, one of the many western printers trained in the office of the *Kentucky Gazette* at Lexington. It was first called the *Indiana Gazette*, later the *Western Sun*, and is still published (1940) as the *Sun-Commercial*.

The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 stimulated the expansion of the press west of the great river. By 1820 there were five newspapers being published in New Orleans. Interesting is the indignation of these representatives of the new land against "the gross falsehoods and ignorant philippics published against the Jefferson administration concerning the purchase of Louisiana." [14] Among the printers who came to New Orleans immediately after the purchase was one of the Lexington Bradfords, who began the *Orleans Gazette* in 1804.

Joseph Charless, an Irish refugee who had practiced printing in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, started the first paper in what is now Missouri—the *Missouri Gazette*—at St. Louis in 1808. It began as a very small four-page paper at a subscription price of $3 a year in cash or $4 in produce; but like most pioneer papers, it enlarged as it was able to do so, and in a year or two was printing

[13] For an account of the pioneer presses in what are now Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, see pp. 140-42.

[14] *Missouri Gazette*, May 31, 1809.

much sound Democratic doctrine, a page of advertising, some literary material, and some news. Part of its contents was in the French language. This paper later became famous as the *Missouri Republican*, taking its name long before the birth of the Republican party and retaining its Democratic faith.

Even more important politically among St. Louis papers was the *Enquirer*, begun in 1815 as the *Western Journal*. Thomas H. Benton, who later had a distinguished career in the United States Senate, was one of its early editors and used it in a brilliant advocacy of the admission of Missouri to the Union with a constitution which did not forbid slavery. While editor of the *Enquirer*, Benton was drawn into several duels, in one of which he killed his opponent. Another editor for a short time was Duff Green, later prominent in Washington journalism.

The first Michigan paper was the *Michigan Essay*, produced briefly in Detroit under the patronage of Father Gabriel Richard, a Catholic missionary. Only one issue of it is definitely known—Number 1, August 31, 1809. The first Michigan paper of longer life was the Detroit *Gazette* (1817-30).

It was in 1814 that Matthew Duncan, hearing of the establishment of a land-office at Kaskaskia, Illinois, brought his press up from Kentucky and founded the *Illinois Herald*, first newspaper in that territory. This paper was later moved to the new capital at Vandalia and renamed the *Illinois Intelligencer*. Like many another pioneer paper, it had to depend largely on revenue derived from public printing. A federal law passed in the year of the founding of the *Illinois Herald* required the publication of all laws passed by Congress in two papers in each state and territory; four years later this was increased to three.

The *Illinois Emigrant* (later *Gazette*) was the second paper in that territory. It is famous chiefly for the editorship in 1820-22 of James Hall, the foremost figure in the early literature of that region.[15] Its home was Shawneetown, on the Ohio River; most early settlements were located on the waterways. A paragraph from the *Illinois Gazette*, printed after the paper had been suspended throughout the spring of 1821, indicates the difficulties of the pioneer publisher. Paper ordered the preceding fall, he says, had just arrived, having been carried past to St. Louis. "High and low

[15] See p. 208 for Hall's Illinois magazine.

water," he complains, "are equally our enemies; the one sweeps the boats containing the printer's supplies past Shawneetown, and the other delays all freight." [16]

In the Southwest, the *Arkansas Gazette* was established in 1819 at the Post of Arkansas, but removed to Little Rock when that settlement was named as capital of the territory two years later; it is still published there (1940). First established paper in the Texas country was the *Texas Republican* (1819) at Nacogdoches, edited by Horatio Biglow, who had been the Boston *Daily Advertiser's* first editor.

[16] *Illinois Gazette*, May 26, 1821.

CHAPTER XI

Developments of the News Function

THE WESTWARD EXTENSION OF THE PRESS WOULD HAVE BEEN A fantastic impossibility without the enterprise of an ambitious postoffice system. The web of postal routes which covered the country east of the Mississippi, and reached out into the Far West before the end of the period under consideration was a basic necessity to rapid newspaper development.

The mail service, especially in the West, was far from regular, however. The western papers teem with complaints about late mails. The St. Louis mail from the East was due on Tuesdays when the *Missouri Gazette* was founded there, and the editor promised his paper on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, as "regulated by the arrival of the mail." But the mails were too irregular even for such an arrangement, and sometimes in the winter the village was without postal service for weeks. Or sometimes a western carrier missed connections with the postman from eastward and the precious New York and Philadelphia papers were missed: "The Eastern Mail again barren," notes the Natchez *Gazette*, which is itself barren in consequence—"no papers beyond Kentucky." [1]

The War of 1812-14 did something to awaken the newspapers to the inconvenience of tardy news reports; and a growing feeling for timeliness as a quality of news caused some eastern papers to employ express riders, or firms which hired such riders, to carry dispatches more swiftly than the mails could travel. At first this was done only for special events, such as the delivery of President Monroe's message to Congress; but by the mid-thirties such enterprise was fairly common. Meanwhile, in 1825 the government itself instituted an "express post" between leading cities. It charged

[1] Natchez *Gazette*, January 8, 1808.

triple postage, but cut the time to less than half; the sixteen days between New York and New Orleans, for example, were reduced to seven.

No news had ever traveled faster over long distances than Jackson's 1829 message. Private pony express brought it to Baltimore in an hour and a half, according to the claim in the *American's* extra; it reached Philadelphia in about ten hours and New York in twenty hours from Washington.[2] Carried to St. Louis by riders of the express post, who covered ten miles an hour and changed horses hourly, it was less than a week in reaching that point.

Such speed was not possible in all weathers. At certain times of the year roads were almost impassable; this was the chief cause of the irregularity of the ordinary mails. Poor mail service was the great popular leverage for "internal improvements," and the dependence of newspapers on the mails enlisted many of them in this cause. More than ninety per cent of the mails consisted of newspapers by the end of this period.[3] "Let us conquer space," wrote John C. Calhoun; "it is thus that a citizen of the West will read the news of Boston still moist from the press. The mail and the press are the nerves of the body politic." [4]

BOAT RACES

The tendency to emphasize timeliness as a characteristic of news publication was evident also in the department of foreign news. It still required five or six weeks for most ships to cross the Atlantic, though one clipper made a record of fifteen days for the westward voyage. There was, however, an opportunity for prompt handling of the news on the arrival of the sailing ships which brought foreign papers.

The news-gathering technique which consisted of boarding incoming ships and receiving packets of newspapers before the ship came up the harbor was probably invented by Samuel Topliff in 1811. Topliff was not a newspaper man, but an employee, and

[2] See *National Intelligencer*, which thinks the time to Baltimore impossible; and also Joel Munsell, *Typographical Miscellany*, p. 138.

[3] Report of Committee on Post Roads to Congress, 1832. Rich, *History of the U. S. Post Office*, p. 146. Only a ninth of the postal revenue came from the newspapers, however, according to the report.

[4] R. K. Crallé, ed., *Works of John C. Calhoun*, Vol. II, p. 190.

later the owner, of the Exchange Coffee House in Boston. This coffee house maintained one of the reading rooms such as were found in all the larger cities, at which subscribers could read newspapers from other cities and from abroad, and where they could also read the newsbooks which the management kept up from day to day chiefly for merchant patrons. It was to supply these newsbooks that Topliff kept a small boat constantly manned by two men and ready to row out to meet every new arrival.

Boston papers utilized Topliff's newsbooks, but it was in Charleston, South Carolina, that a young editor who had grown up near Boston put the new technique to work for a newspaper. This was A. S. Willington, of the Charleston *Courier*. With him for a few months worked James Gordon Bennett, who, when he shortly returned to New York, taught the news-boat device to the papers there. The New York papers clubbed together in the purchase and the $2,500 annual upkeep of a boat for the purpose—just as certain of them had sometimes joined in paying the cost of a special pony express.[5]

The sharp rivalry of the *Courier* and the *Journal of Commerce*, both founded in 1827, disrupted the news-boat association. The Sabbatarian *Journal of Commerce* soon withdrew, giving as its reason its objection to working the boat on Sunday, and immediately purchased a schooner of its own. The *Courier* then withdrew and provided itself with a clipper.[6] Thus competition went on until in the early thirties there was a small fleet of fast news-boats in New York harbor. When the approach of a ship was signaled, these boats would set out on a race which often took them well out to sea.

COVERING THE WAR OF 1812-1814

But the foreign news, for the early securing of which this enterprise was designed, had sunk in the scale of relative importance. From the beginnings of the American newspaper, news from overseas had been more important than home news in the country's papers; it had indeed bulked larger than any other categories,

[5] These joint enterprises were the tentative beginnings of the coöperative news-gathering which later led to the formation of the great press associations.

[6] There are conflicting statements as to the priority of these withdrawals and the reasons for them. See *Courier and Enquirer*, September 21, 1831; *Journal of Commerce*, September 29, 1927.

except in later years when advertising and politics often crowded it. This dominance of foreign news came to an end during the second war with England. The running story of that war, with its alternating defeats and victories, brought home to editors and readers the importance of domestic news.

The coverage of the campaigns and incidents of the War of 1812-14 was, however, almost as haphazard as that of the Revolutionary War. News of battles often came from Washington after official reports had arrived there; but it sometimes came by more devious ways—by mail and express from some friendly correspondent near the scene of an engagement, through messages from officers to friends at home, or by newspapers more conveniently located for getting early reports. Young William L. Stone, later to become prominent in New York city journalism, would meet the night stage when it passed through Herkimer, New York, where he edited a paper during the war, and, while the driver changed horses, question the passengers to obtain news from the fighting further west.[7]

Organized war correspondence was unheard of. But the Kentuckian James M. Bradford, whilom editor of the *Orleans Gazette*, who had established the *Time Piece* at St. Francisville, Louisiana, just before the war, has some claim to the title of war correspondent—perhaps the first in American journalism. Bradford enlisted in Jackson's army which was defending New Orleans, and wrote a series of letters home to his paper describing the military operations.[8]

The slowness of news reports made the public impatient. For example, New York, whose merchants had large investments in New Orleans cotton, knew in January, 1815, that the British might take the Louisiana city any day—might, indeed, have taken it already. There was the utmost anxiety to know what had happened. "It is generally believed here," said the New York *Evening Post* of January 20, "that if an attack has been made on Orleans, the city has fallen." But there had been no news from that quarter for a month, and three weekly mails were overdue. On January 23 the *Evening Post* said, "We have cause of apprehension that to-

[7] Memoir of Stone prefaced to his *Life and Times of Red Jacket* (New York, 1866), p. 15.

[8] See Elrie Robinson, *Biographical Sketches of James M. Bradford, Pioneer Printer* (St. Francisville, 1938).

morrow's mail will bring tidings of the winding up of the catastrophe." But two weeks more passed without news and with increasing tension before the story of Jackson's amazing victory of January 8 came through. The month-old news stirred the *Evening Post* to something not unlike modern headlines.

Five days later the news of the signing of the peace treaty in London reached New York. But the treaty had actually been signed on December 24, two weeks *before* the bloody battle at New Orleans.

LOCAL, MERCANTILE, AND WASHINGTON NEWS

The new importance of American news and the new impatience with slow transmission caused the development of the express posts; but local or home news, which would have been easy to obtain, remained largely an untilled field. Characteristic is an editorial paragraph in the *Orleans Gazette* of 1805:

> No mail yesterday—we hardly know what we shall fill our paper with that will have the appearance of *news*. If we can get no mail—nor any papers by sea,—we shall either have to print without, or get it manufactured at home. We therefore propose petitioning for leave to have established in some eligible part of this city a *manufactory of news*, on such principles as will always afford a sufficiency for current use—[9]

The point is that Editor Bradford thought the very idea of producing news at home funny. Papers in the smaller places usually printed the deaths and marriages, gave a few lines to a bad fire or storm, and "played" at greater length any political meetings or important crime events that might occur. But such home events were meagrely treated in the weeklies, and the larger dailies were little better in this respect.

Especially were the mercantile papers neglectful of local happenings, except for their marine and shipping news. It was said that the New York *Commercial Advertiser* would ignore floods, earthquakes, and wars; but if the editor missed a single ship clearance he had to be restrained from blowing out his brains.[10] And it is a remarkable fact that even the mercantile papers were poor reporters of the local prices of either commodities or stocks. The

[9] *Orleans Gazette*, New Orleans, May 28, 1805.
[10] Nevins, *Evening Post*, p. 78.

larger cities each had a specialized weekly *Price Current* dating from the latter years of the eighteenth century.

The importance of Washington news was recognized by all the papers. Most of them supplied themselves with it by rifling the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, and later those also of the *United States Telegraph* and the *Globe*. These papers carried little news except that of Congress and the various government departments. Some papers were occasionally supplied with bits of Washington news by the representatives of their districts in Congress, and by the mid-twenties a few of them had their own correspondents at the capital for shorter or longer terms. Nathaniel H. Carter, of the New York *Statesman*; Robert Walsh, of the Philadelphia *National Gazette*; [11] James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Enquirer*; and Matthew L. Davis, who signed himself "The Spy in Washington," of the *Courier and Enquirer*, were among the first out-of-town occupants of the Washington press gallery. Davis, the most famous of the early Washington corps, wrote also for the London *Times*. The nearby Baltimore *American* took over a share of reporting Congress to the press of the nation as soon as the capital was removed to Washington, and was the first out-of-town paper to print a stenographic report of important debates.[12] Probably the first of Washington news bureaus was that operated by Elias Kingman from 1822 to the Civil War; it supplied several of the best papers in the country.

Bennett was the pioneer Washington gossiper. Reading the letters of Horace Walpole in the Library of Congress, he was so charmed by those epistolary masterpieces that he resolved to do for the court of John Quincy Adams what Walpole had done for that of George II. His letters to the *Enquirer* in 1828 therefore told much of Washington society, related in a half bantering, half poetic style, and much more on other topics of a light, satirical nature.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

The great running story of the foreign news in this period was that of the Napoleonic wars. In this story, the news-breaks

[11] Bennett claimed that Walsh wrote his reports from his easy chair in Philadelphia. Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts*, p. 23.

[12] *Journalist*, November 8, 1890, p. 2.

of greatest popular interest were those relating to the English Orders in Council enforcing the blockade against neutrals, out of which grew the American embargo, and those which, occurring late in 1814, may be grouped together as "the fall of Napoleon." The embargo itself was, of course, big news. The American war with England, a part of the general world war, presented a series of thrilling victories and dismaying defeats which whipped up a high degree of interest in news but which brought out very little brilliant reporting. With fortuitous and haphazard war correspondence, no professional pride in such work was to be expected.

There was other war news, too. The naval war with the Barbary States and the Indian wars in the Northwest and in Florida, and finally the Black Hawk War, of 1832, produced stories of the first magnitude. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the acquisition of Florida in 1819-21, western emigration thrusts, and the great Oregon boundary dispute all threatened or involved war issues.

But the one great continuous news story of the period was that of national politics—the recurrent presidential elections, the messages of the President (always big news), the embargo, the Missouri compromise, the National Bank, the activities of the abolitionists, and South Carolina nullification.

The death of Hamilton at the hands of Burr, and Burr's subsequent leadership in a conspiracy to separate the western states from the Union, and his trial for treason at Richmond, Virginia, made great sensational stories. The *Western World*, of Frankfort, Kentucky, was begun in 1806 by Joseph M. Street and John Wood chiefly to expose the Burr conspiracy; and it forced two successive grand jury investigations into the intrigue.

The mystery of the disappearance of William Morgan in 1826 had important repercussions in politics and journalism;[13] some papers gave it much space, while others avoided it in order not to give offense to the Masons, who were thought by some to have been implicated in the man's murder.

There were a number of strikes in 1805-10, especially by the tailors and shoemakers in Philadelphia. When the strikers were tried for conspiracy to raise wages in 1806, Duane's *Aurora* was their chief defender in the press.

[13] See discussion of Thurlow Weed's early life, p. 265.

Brilliant stories marked the visit of Lafayette to America in 1824, an event which evoked great popular enthusiasm.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND THE EDITORIAL COLUMN

Politics were paramount in most newspapers; they dominated the news, furnished the subject matter of the essays and letters to the editor, and pointed the editorial paragraphs. "Gazettes and journals are now chiefly filled with political essays," wrote old Isaiah Thomas in 1810; "news does not appear to be always the first object of editors." [14]

The editorial column, placed under the local heading on the second or third page, had become a fixture in many papers by the thirties. Yet this column was rarely given over wholly to editorial opinion; it was as likely to contain any news of first-rate importance. Editorials were commonly short, and limited to a single paragraph. The custom of appropriating other papers' news stories, upon which the system of editing and news-gathering had so long been founded, led to abuses in "pilfering paragraphs" of an editorial nature; and complaints against this practice are common throughout the period.

Good editorials were, after all, comparatively rare. Too often such writing was badly informed and in poor taste. Could one expect more from the printer-editors of a relatively uncultivated society? It is the exceptions of the period that are surprising—Gales and Seaton, Blair and Kendall, Hale and Hallock, Nathan Hale, William Cullen Bryant.

SIZE, MAKE-UP, FEATURES

Although the country weeklies in the East and the pioneer western papers kept to fairly small sizes, the metropolitan dailies had a tendency to expand in area. They retained their four-page format, but as press facilities improved their pages were enlarged to accommodate six or seven wide columns.[15]

There was no standard make-up for American newspapers in this period. A typical paper, however, might fill three fourths of its first page with advertising, using the remainder for literary miscel-

[14] Thomas, *History of Printing*, Vol. II, p. 189. The campaign paper, published only for the duration of a political contest, seems to have originated in 1828.

[15] Columns were 2½ to 2¾ inches wide. The so-called "blanket sheets" did not appear until the next period, however.

lany or a political essay; give over page two to foreign and domestic news, with a political speech or letter to the editor; place the editorial column and local items on page three, leaving room for more advertising and some miscellany; and then devote the last page wholly to advertising.

There was little development in headlines. A few papers—notably the Boston *Gazette* (formerly *Russell's Gazette*)—flamed into type which was large for that day; but for the most part even war news was carried under small-type heads. The old dead label head, however, was occasionally supplanted by one with life in it, as when the *National Intelligencer* headed its story of the defeat of the British in New Orleans, "ALMOST INCREDIBLE VICTORY!" or when the *United States Telegraph* used a double-column head for Jackson's "GLORIOUS TRIUMPH." [16]

Miscellany, or features, had a considerable space. When Dennie joined the staff of the *Gazette of the United States*, that paper promised "seven or eight columns a week to the motley tribe of miscellany readers"; [17] but it gave much more than that. Essays of the lighter variety, anecdotes, and poetry were common fare in the newspapers of the day. Somewhere in the paper—usually on the first or fourth page—there was likely to be a poet's corner with a fanciful departmental heading. The *Columbian Centinel* used successively the titles "Helicon Reservoir," "Sentimental Sustenance," and "Castalian Fount." "The Star-Spangled Banner" was first published in the Baltimore *American* a few hours after Francis Scott Key wrote it on a historic occasion.

ADVERTISING

The typical paper of the period devoted more than half its space to advertising. Indeed some of the mercantile papers commonly sold four fifths of their space, and sometimes nine tenths of it; while even the political papers were occasionally three fourths advertising.

These proportions were necessary if the papers were to pay, for rates were low. Most papers charged fifty cents a square (about twelve lines of nonpareil) for the first insertion, and half that for

[16] *National Intelligencer*, February 6, 1815; *United States Telegraph*, October 22, 1828.

[17] *Gazette of the United States*, July 25, 1800.

succeeding insertions until the late twenties, when a period of expansion enabled some of them to raise the price to seventy-five cents. But nearly all papers had also a yearly rate of $32 to $40, which paid for an advertisement for an entire year with a subscription thrown in. Legal notices were more profitable.

Advertising typography was more than ever like that of the modern classified pages, with little or no display, small type, and only tiny stock-cuts for illustration, if any. This compression was due to low rates, press limitations which kept papers at four pages, and the increasing amount of advertising.

CIRCULATION

The growth of newspapers, which made the United States in this period the greatest newspaper-reading country in the world, was due partly to the decrease of illiteracy, which at the end of our period was about nine per cent of whites over twenty years of age. Reading habits are illustrated by figures available for 1831-32 from the postoffice records of Jacksonville, Illinois, then the largest town in that frontier state, which indicate that virtually every family was provided with at least one paper by mail.[18] The *Boston Daily Advertiser* asserted that:

> Almost the total reading of at least half the people of this country, and a great part of the reading of the other half, is from the newspapers. . . . The insatiable appetite for *news* . . . has given rise to a general form of salutation on the meeting of friends and strangers: *What's the news?* [19]

Yet the circulation of American papers remained small; the growth was in number of newspapers rather than in individual circulations. The New York *Courier and Enquirer*, claiming 4,500 in 1833, was undoubtedly the largest paper in the country;[20] few

[18] The Census of 1830 gave the town itself only 446 population, but 486 persons getting their mail there in 1831-32 subscribed to at least one periodical by mail. The figures for the local newspaper, circulated by special delivery, are not included. A large proportion of the 133 different publications received were religious newspapers or religious and reform organs. One merchant received nine papers, and eighty-nine received at least two by mail. See Frank J. Heinl, "Newspapers and Periodicals in the Lincoln-Douglas Country, 1831-32," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, October, 1930 (Vol. XXIII, pp. 371-438).

[19] Boston *Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1814.

[20] Meantime the London *Times* and two or three Paris papers were leaping to circulations of 15,000 to 20,000.

others had half of that, and the average daily circulation seems to have remained throughout the whole period in the neighborhood of 1,000.

Subscription prices varied. Weeklies were commonly priced at $1.50 to $2.50, semiweeklies and triweeklies at $4 or $5, and dailies at $8 or $10. Pioneer western papers were often priced higher, and settlement with country weeklies might often be made in produce. An Auburn, New York, editor, for example, asked his subscribers for wood for winter fires; "also, wanted Butter, Cheese, Lard, Wheat, Corn, Oats, Rye, Feathers, Flax, Wool, at fair prices—also a little *Cash*." [21]

And settlements were often difficult to enforce. Dunning notices were frequent in the papers. The editor of the Abington, Virginia, *Intelligencer* wrote bitterly in 1808:

> In three weeks' time our stock of paper will be out, and we have not a dollar to help in the purchase of a new supply. When we ask such as have not paid for their papers, we generally receive this answer, that they only subscribed for encouragement. Fine encouragement, to take a man's labor and never pay him for it![22]

When William Duane sold the *Aurora* in 1822, he had accumulated $80,000 worth of bad subscription debts.[23] The same figure represented the delinquent subscriptions of the *United States Telegraph* after its five years as a Jacksonian organ.[24]

PRESS, PAPER, AND INK

Slight improvements in the old Gutenberg type of press were introduced from time to time in the early years of the nineteenth century, but the first radical departure from this ancient model was the "Columbian press" invented by George Clymer, of Philadelphia, about 1813. It abandoned the screw principle and substituted pressure by a series of levers; built entirely of iron, it had great firmness. It cost about $400, and was adopted by most of the New York papers, as well as by many in Europe.[25]

But it was the steam-driven cylinder press which revolutionized

[21] Cayuga *Republican*, December 26, 1821.

[22] Quoted, with other dunning notices, in the Natchez *Gazette*, November 19, 1808.

[23] Wharton, *State Trials*, p. 390.

[24] *Niles' Register*, May 7, 1831 (Vol. XL, p. 167).

[25] See Munsell, *op. cit.*, under 1816.

newspaper printing. The first American paper to install such a press was the New York *Daily Advertiser*, which purchased a Napier capable of delivering 2,000 papers per hour in 1825. This press had been invented by Frederick Koenig, a German-English printer, promoted by the London *Times*, and improved by David Napier. It cost $4,000 to $5,000. In 1832 it was enlarged by Richard Hoe of New York, who soon after invented a double-cylinder press with a capacity of 4,000 papers an hour. This at last pointed the way to the fast press which was to make possible the gigantic circulations of later years.

Meantime new inventions were revolutionizing papermaking. The Fourdrinier machine, developed abroad, was anticipated by the American papermakers Thomas Gilpin and John Ames. The principle was in general use in American papermills by 1830. It was still difficult to find enough rags; and American printing-paper, at about thirteen cents a pound and protected by an import duty, was higher than European print-stock.

Jacob Johnson, of Philadelphia, was the first successful manufacturer of printing inks on a considerable scale; in 1804 he set up his assistant and his son in a firm called Wrigley & Johnson, which, by the end of this period, was supplying a considerable proportion of American printers with their ink. Previously printers had generally made their own inks.

Improvements and competition in type-founding brought about better quality and lower prices. Hand-casting gave way to machine work after the invention of David Bruce's casting-machine in 1822. A foundry was established in Cincinnati in 1820, and that city became the great western distributing center for printers' supplies.

PERSONNEL

The apprentice system was still the rule. When a young printer had attained the status of journeyman, he often set out on a kind of printer's grand tour. Printing offices were everywhere, and temporary "sits" were easy to obtain. But printers acquired a bad reputation on two counts—itching feet and parched throats.[26] Wages for typesetters in New York and Philadelphia were $8 a week. Unions of printers were little more than beneficiary societies.

[26] See Weed, *Autobiography*, pp. 44, 58; Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 33, 49; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

It was in the late twenties, however, that the earliest papers devoted to labor interests were published. The *Journeyman Mechanics' Advocate*, published in Philadelphia for a short time in 1827, was the first of such papers; but the most important of them was the *Working Man's Advocate* (1829-47),[27] edited in New York by George H. Evans, famous leader in the early labor movement.

In spite of the prominence of some professional—or political—editors, the majority of them were still printers. Editors of weeklies were often their own reporters, typesetters, pressmen, and circulation and advertising managers. Indeed, even on the largest papers, the editor was commonly his own reporter; if the paper was prosperous, he might have an assistant who shared the work of reporting with him, but with the prevailing disregard for local news, reporting had as yet no standing. Two exceptions may be noted: a few papers had special ship-news men,[28] and there were a few congressional reporters both for Washington and outside papers.

The editor was usually owner and publisher as well. The great majority of papers made very modest incomes on small investments. Probably not a dozen papers were netting over $10,000 a year at the end of the present period.

WEEKLY PERIODICALS

One phase of the remarkable journalistic activity which characterized this period was the growth of weekly religious and literary periodicals which became noticeable about 1820. In some cases weekly newspapers in the larger cities, tired of competing with the dailies, turned to literary miscellany; of such origin was the famous Boston *Saturday Evening Gazette*, which made its change in 1821. In Philadelphia in the same year Samuel C. Atkinson and Charles Alexander founded the *Saturday Evening Post*, a literary miscellany; while two years later the brilliant *New York Mirror* was begun by two poets who are each remembered today for a single popular ballad—George Pope Morris, of "Woodman, Spare That Tree!" and Samuel Woodworth, of "The Old Oaken Bucket." These are only three of a flood of weekly miscellanies, many pub-

[27] It was called *Young America* 1844-48. Its daily edition was the *Sentinel* (1830-33) and later *Man*. See pp. 228-29. Evans was editor 1829-36.

[28] As the *New-England Palladium's* "Harry" Blake. See Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

lished in smaller cities and towns, which were poured forth in the twenties and thirties.

College students also edited weeklies which were chiefly devoted to literary composition. Perhaps the first was the *Dartmouth Gazette* (1799-1820), to which Daniel Webster contributed when a collegian. Yale had its *Literary Cabinet* in 1806, and Harvard its *Lyceum* in 1810-11.

A phenomenon of the times was the "religious newspaper"—a weekly journal which printed some secular news and much denominational intelligence and religious miscellany. Thus, it was really a newspaper of a special class, and it often competed successfully with the secular papers. By the end of this period there were about a hundred of these religious newspapers scattered over the country. Among the more important were the Congregational *Recorder* in Boston, the Episcopal *Recorder* of Philadelphia, and the Methodist *Christian Advocate* and the Presbyterian *Observer* in New York. Many of these papers were conducted with great vigor and ability.

The earliest abolition and antislavery papers were founded shortly before 1820. Two of the most important periodicals devoted to this cause were Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (1821-55) and William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* (1831-65). Lundy was a heroic figure. He began the *Genius* in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, without capital and with only six subscribers; each month he would walk twenty miles to Steubenville to get his paper printed, and return with the edition on his back; later he walked to Baltimore, made his paper a weekly and published it there, but a local slave-dealer assaulted and almost killed him. Recovering, he walked thousands of miles throughout the country preaching abolition and colonization and continuing his paper. He journeyed up to Vermont on foot to invite young Garrison to become his assistant; but Garrison parted with Lundy after a few years on the issue of immediate as opposed to gradual abolition, and established in Boston his own spokesman for immediate freedom of all slaves. This was the *Liberator*, most eloquent and effective of all anti-slavery papers.

MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY MAGAZINES

A weekly during its period of greater influence, but later a monthly, was Joseph Dennie's Philadelphia *Port Folio* (1801-27).[29] During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the *Port Folio* was the most respected literary journal in America; but it also gave much attention to politics. Dennie was more than a Federalist; he was really a monarchist, and his attacks upon Jefferson were barbed indeed. A wit, a writer of unusual literary skill, and a severe critic, he gave his periodical high distinction.

Perhaps it was fortunate for so confirmed an anglophile as Dennie that he died before the War of 1812-14. After that conflict was over and the peace signed, a third American war with England began—a paper war—which raged with surprising fury in the magazines and newspapers for many years. Leaders on the American side were two quarterlies—the *American Quarterly Review* (1827-37), of Philadelphia, and the *North American Review*. Robert Walsh, editor of the former,[30] was the generalissimo in this paper war; but his *Review* was too heavy ever to attain any popularity. The *North American Review* was begun in 1815 as a bimonthly under the auspices of the Anthology Club of Boston. It became a quarterly three years later, and from that time to this it has alternated between monthly and quarterly publication. It was from the first associated with Harvard College, and such editors as Jared Sparks and Edward Everett gave it in this period a very high standing, especially among many scholarly readers.

Magazines grew more and more numerous. Wrote a doggerelist in one of them in 1824:

> This is the Age of Magazines—
> Even skeptics must confess it:
> Where is the town of much renown
> That has not one to bless it? [31]

Such blessings were often of short duration, however. Certainly several hundred quarterly, monthly, and weekly periodicals were published, for longer or shorter terms, during the first third of the

[29] For Dennie's earlier paper, see p. 137, for his famous libel suit, see p. 171.
[30] Also editor of the *National Gazette*; see p. 188.
[31] Cincinnati *Literary Gazette*, February 28, 1824 (Vol. I, p. 72).

nineteenth century. Charles Brockden Brown, first important American novelist, edited four magazines in the first decade of the century, none of which was really successful. The Philadelphia *Analectic Magazine* (1813-21) had Washington Irving as a rather bored editor for two years; the Baltimore *Portico* (1816-18) was severe in criticism; the Philadelphia *Casket* (1826-40), forerunner of the more important *Graham's Magazine*, was founded by the owners of the *Saturday Evening Post*; and the Boston *Polyanthos* (1805-14) and the *New-England Magazine* (1831-35) were published by Joseph T. Buckingham, who had Hawthorne for a contributor to the latter monthly.

In the South and even in the West there were some important magazines. Judge James Hall founded the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (1830-32) at Vandalia, but later moved it to that western Athens of culture, Cincinnati, where it was called the *Western Monthly* (1833-37). The *Southern Review* (1828-32) was Charleston's learned but undeniably heavy offering.

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For the Period 1801-1833

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The Party Press: Later Period 1833-1860

CHAPTER XII

Sunrise

THE SPECTACULAR PHENOMENON OF THE PERIOD 1833-60 WAS the advent of the penny paper, with its addition of a new economic level of the population to the newspaper audience. Related to this great event in the history of journalism was the introduction of new facets of the news concept; and these developments, when aided by the new speed in communication furnished by a rapidly advancing mechanical age, produced nothing less than a revolution in news.

These changes are all connected with what is sometimes called the Industrial Revolution in England and America; the cheap newspaper, especially, was a phase of that widespread transformation of the industrial system and upset of class relationships and traditional ideas which go by that name. Behind it all was the machine. Mechanical inventive genius supplied machines which threw men out of work, and in their protests the working classes began to realize a power they had not known before. At the same time, other machines—the new, fast, steam-driven presses—brought them a new consciousness and new ideas. And still other inventions in many cases brought new types of jobs.

But we must remember that, important as the penny paper was in all these changes, there were, in the America of this time, other classes of papers which exceeded the penny press in numbers and influence. The great mercantile dailies, from which the penny papers represent a reaction, kept to the comparatively even tenor of their ways throughout the period, while the political papers continued in many respects to dominate the scene. In other words, the penny paper, revolutionary as it was, did not immediately cause a sharp break with the past in American journalism.

Political partisanship was still almost inescapable. Even the

penny papers were infected by it, just as the mercantile papers had been. "Neutrality in this country and this age," said one paper in 1844, "is an anomaly—it is a hybrid state." [1] The 1850 census listed only five per cent of the newspapers as "neutral" or "independent." [2] Thus, it is appropriate to call this the third or "later" period of the party press.

The number of newspapers kept pace with the growth of population, and in the present period was multiplied two and a half times.[3] Beginning with about 1,200 papers in 1833, the number grew to about 3,000 by 1860. But these figures give no idea of the thousands of short-lived papers which were born and died within this period of great expansion. Very soon after 1840 the dailies made ten per cent of the total and in 1850 and 1860 they made eleven per cent, but it was the weeklies that swarmed through all settled territory and followed the pioneers into the wilderness.

There were three times as many newspapers in the United States in 1833 as in England or France,[4] and the proportion was much larger by 1860.

Periodicals—the magazines and class journals published weekly, monthly, and quarterly—increased from a few hundred in 1833 to more than a thousand in 1860.

BOSTON FORERUNNERS OF THE PENNY PAPERS

The subscriber to a mercantile newspaper paid $8 or $10 a year for it and received four large pages, chiefly advertising, six times a week for his money. This price was out of balance economically, when skilled labor was paid only $8 to $10 a week.

Cheaper papers appeared on various fronts about 1830. The year before that, Seba Smith founded the first daily north of

[1] Richmond *Times and Compiler*, August 27, 1844.

[2] Its categories were: political, neutral and independent, religious, scientific, and literary and miscellaneous. It is evident that the first two classes refer mainly to newspapers and the other three mainly to periodicals.

[3] The Census of 1840 was the first to enumerate publications, but its categories were unsatisfactory. In 1850 and 1860 the classification was by frequency of issue; if dailies, semiweeklies, tri-weeklies, and weeklies are counted as newspapers and a deduction of 750 made for class weeklies, the result will not be far wrong. "Religious newspapers" may fairly be counted as the newspapers they claimed to be at any time before the Civil War. Census enumerations doubtless missed some papers.

[4] See *American Almanac*, 1835, pp. 100, 103.

Boston at Portland, Maine, and made it famous by writing the humorous "Major Jack Downing" papers for it. It was called the *Daily Courier*, had a much smaller page size than the Boston papers, and sold for $4 a year.

The success of this diminutive daily suggested the idea of such a paper for Boston to the mind of Lynde M. Walter, a well-born young Harvardian who had found his father's shipping trade uncongenial. The convenient suspension of the Boston *Evening Bulletin*, a short-lived $4 paper and the only evening journal in the city, offered an opportunity; and the Boston *Transcript* was founded in 1830.[5] This venture was modest, conservative, nonpartisan, and in good taste. The page measured about 10 x 15 inches, the first one being given over to advertising. Literature and the theater were specialties, and the paper was strong enough editorially to defend the Irish immigrants who were flocking to Boston and often making trouble. The founder died in 1842; and his sister, Miss Cornelia W. Walter, followed him in a five-year term. Though too conservative to approve Emerson or Lowell, and too pious to condone Asa Gray's conjecture that it took millions of years to form the earth, Miss Walter was a bright and spirited editor. Her contemporaries called her "the brilliant lady editor of the *Transcript*"; and after she had attacked Poe in her account of his Boston recital, he called her a "pretty little witch"—which she resented. The page size of the paper was enlarged and it became more than ever an organ of Boston culture, especially under the poet Epes Sargent, who became editor when Miss Walter married and retired from journalism. This position and function it has never relinquished.

The year after the establishment of the *Transcript*, Charles G. Greene founded the Boston *Morning Post* as another $4 daily. It was a strong Democratic paper, and it soon became the undisputed leader of its party's press in Massachusetts, if not throughout all of New England. Greene was a man of wit, and he softened the asperities of political controversy with his native good humor and that of "Mrs. Partington." His paper crusaded for free bridges and against debtor's prisons. For forty-eight years the *Post* pros-

[5] The printers Dutton & Wentworth were partners in the venture, and the control remained in the hands of the Dutton family for over a hundred years.

pered under Greene's editorship,[6] and it prospers more than ever as a centenarian.

A third $4 daily was established in Boston in 1833 with the name of *Mercantile Journal*. Its editor, Captain John S. Sleeper, gained some popularity for it by means of a series of sea tales which he wrote over the pen-name "Hawser Martingale." But the paper's great asset was Stephen N. Stockwell, a reporter who made good use of shorthand in his reporting of Webster's speeches, and who later became editor. Captain Sleeper was less enterprising than his reporter, and when Stockwell once suggested that he might drive over to a neighboring town and make a report of a speech Webster was to make, the editor pushed his spectacles back over his forehead and said, "Well, no, I guess not, Mr. Stockwell; somebody will send us in something about it in two or three days." Stockwell was later editor of the *Journal* (it had dropped *Mercantile* from its title), then one of the best and most prosperous of Boston newspapers.

These successful $4 papers in Boston were forerunners of the penny press. Boston printers tried penny dailies—unsuccessfully—in the summer of 1833,[7] but we must turn to New York for an earlier penny-daily attempt as well as for the first successful venture in that type of journalism.

HORACE GREELEY AND THE NEW YORK MORNING POST

With the first abortive attempt to publish a cheap-for-cash daily newspaper in New York was associated one of the most famous names in the history of American journalism—that of Horace Greeley.

Greeley was born near the village of Amherst, New Hampshire, where he was early put to work on a rocky farm. But his father had to flee to Vermont to avoid debtor's jail in the hard times of the Embargo Act. The frail, tow-headed boy, despite these unfavorable backgrounds, made some progress in learning; he took to reading as to his natural heritage, read the Bible through by the time he was five, became a phenomenal speller, and devoured

[6] Greene had been connected with several papers before he founded the *Morning Post*, particularly with the Boston *Statesman* (1825-29), conducted by his brother Nathaniel, and in its time the leading Democratic paper in Boston.

[7] See p. 238.

all the books and newspapers he could lay his hands upon. At fifteen he apprenticed himself to a country printer, whose business failed; thereupon Horace went wandering among printing offices over the border in New York state. At twenty, he arrived in the country's metropolis with $10 in his pocket and all his personal property either on his back or tied up in a bandanna handkerchief slung over his shoulder.

Horace Greeley had come to town, but the town did not get out the band for him. Though New York had not yet reached its first quarter-million of population, it seemed very large and very harsh to its future premier journalist. Horace was an odd-looking figure in his shapeless, shrunken homespun with high country boots and a queer hat, walking with his shambling gait along New York's ill-kept streets. Possible employers were amused by the high-pitched whine of his voice and by his mild little blue eyes in a singularly round and guileless face. The editor of the *Journal of Commerce* told him curtly that he looked like a runaway apprentice and had better return to his master. A few days after he did get employment on the *Evening Post*, Editor Leggett happened into the composing room and, seeing the new man, exploded: "For God's sake, fire him; let's have decent-*looking* men around here, at least!" [8] But he managed to live a year or two by short-term jobs, and then set up with another printer, Francis Story, in a business of their own on credit and a capital of $200. They printed, on contract, a small weekly whose chief revenue was derived from lottery advertising; later they took on a triweekly which was of similar character.

But the prospect which had mainly drawn young Greeley into this partnership was that of publishing a daily paper. One Dr. H. D. Shepard, who had done some medical publishing and who was understood to have money, wished to start a penny paper to be sold on the streets. This, wrote Greeley many years later, was "a novel idea, daily papers being presumed desirable only for mercantile men." [9] Novel it was, both as to price and method of sale. Daily newspapers were sold by the year; and many publishers would not sell single copies at all. Those who did sell single copies

[8] James Parton, *Life of Horace Greeley* (New York, 1854), p. 133. The story may be apocryphal.

[9] Greeley, *Recollections*, p. 91.

over the counter charged six and a quarter cents for each one.[10] The young printers persuaded Dr. Shepard to price his paper at two cents instead of one, and on January 1, 1833, they brought out the first number of the New York *Morning Post*. A heavy snow the night before spelled disaster to the first cheap-for-cash paper in New York; the streets were obstructed, the wind was cold, and the newsboys found few people abroad. So it continued for some days; but even when weather conditions improved, the paper did not find popularity. It was not a snowstorm that killed the *Morning Post*, but Dr. Shepard's inadequacy as an editor. Nor did he or his printers have sufficient funds to give the cheap daily a real trial; so, after two weeks of failure at two cents, he tried publishing it for a few days at one cent, and then quit.

This almost wrecked Greeley & Story's business, but state lottery printing enabled the firm to recoup and continue. A few months later Story was accidentally drowned, but we shall meet Horace Greeley again.

FIRST SUCCESSFUL PENNY DAILY: THE NEW YORK SUN

The idea of the small penny daily remained very much alive, especially among New York's printers. They had seen the small-sized Boston papers, had been interested in Dr. Shepard's experiment, had heard of unsuccessful Boston and Philadelphia penny dailies, and were familiar with the phenomenal success of the English *Penny Magazine*.[11] They knew that the Fourdrinier machine had made print-paper cheaper. Out of the discussion of these things among printers grew the determination of one of them, Benjamin H. Day, to give the penny daily a better chance than it had yet had to prove itself. Day was one of the first of many well-known journalists to come out of the Springfield *Republican* office. Like Greeley, he had come to New York when he was twenty; and, again like Greeley, he had gone into the printing

[10] Foreign coins were in general circulation in those days. The half-real, a Spanish coin worth six and a quarter cents, was known in New York as sixpence (not to be confused with the English sixpence), in Philadelphia and Baltimore as a "fip" or five-penny bit, and in Louisiana as a picayune.

[11] This weekly was one of the projects of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, headed by Lord Brougham, and was founded in 1832, attaining within a year a circulation of 160,000. (See *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine*, Sept. 30, 1833.) It was being reprinted in the United States from the English plates.

THE SUN.

NUMBER 1.] NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833. [PRICE ONE PENNY

PUBLISHED DAILY,

AT 220 WILLIAM ST.. .. .. .. BENJ. H. DAY, PRINTER

The object of this paper is to lay before the public, at a price within the means of *every one*, ALL THE NEWS OF THE DAY, and at the same time afford an advantageous medium for advertising The sheet will be enlarged as soon as the increase of advertisements requires it—the price remaining the same.

Yearly advertisers, (without the paper) Thirty Dollars per annum—Casual advertising, at the usual prices charged by the city papers

☞ Subscriptions will be received, if paid in advance, at the rate of three dollars per annum

FOR ALBANY—PASSAGE ONLY $1.



The large and commodious steamboat COMMERCE, Capt R H Fitch, will leave the foot of Courtlandt street on Friday, at 6 o'clock P M for Albany stopping at the usual landing places to land and receive passengers Passage $1 For particulars apply to the Captain on board

Returns as usual

From New York, Mondays Wednesdays, Fridays
From Albany, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays

s29

FOR NEWPORT AND PROVIDENCE.



The splendid steamboat BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Capt S B Dunker and the PRESIDENT, Capt R B Dunker will leave New York at 5 o'clock P M and Providence at 12 o'clock M every Monday Wednesday and Friday For further information apply to the Captain on board foot of Courtlandt st or at the office, 11 Broad st s2

FOR HARTFORD—PASSAGE 1 DOLLAR.

THROUGH BY DAYLIGHT



The fast sailing low pressure steamboat EAGLE, Capt Vanderbilt, leaves the foot of Catherine street every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings at 6 o'clock, and arrives in Hartford at 7 o'clock the same evening *Passage One Dollar*—meals extra

The above boat leaves Hartford on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at the same hour. s2 tf



FOR LONDON.—To sail 10th of Sept.—The new packet ship Montreal Champlin, Master, will sail as the 10th inst. For freight or passage having elegant accommodations, apply to the Captain, on board, Pier 6t, where or to s2 JOHN GRISWOLD Agent, 56 South st.



FOR LIVERPOOL.—The fast sailing ship Tallahasse, S Glover, Master, will be ready to receive cargo in a few days, and have despatch She has excellent accommodations for 30 cabin and steerage passengers. For freight or passage apply to s2 WOOD & TRIMBLE, 197 Maiden-lane.



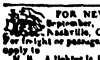
FOR HAVRE.—The Packet ship Formosa Drew master, will sail on the 8th Sept. For freight or passage apply to the captain on board, or to WM. WHITLOCK, Jr 56 South st. s2



FOR LIVERPOOL.—Packet of the 6 Sept.—The packet ship Hudson, J C. Delano, master, is now in readiness to receive cargo For freight or passage apply to the captain on board, foot of Maiden lane or to s30 FISH, GRINNELL & CO. 134 Front st.

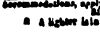


FOR KINGSTON, JAM.—Packet 10th Sept. The elegant coppered ship Orbit will sail as above For freight or passage, having splendid accommodations, with state rooms, apply to s2 B AIMAR & Co. 34 South st.



FOR NEW ORLEANS.—Packet of the 8th September, the very fast sailing coppered ship, Nashville, Capt Matthews, will sail as above For freight or passage, having handsome accommodations, apply to E K COLLINS, 56 South st.

N B. A lighter is in readiness to receive cargo at Pine street wharf. s2



FOR NEW ORLEANS.—Packet of Sept. 15, the fine ship Tennessee, Capt Sears, will sail as above. For freight or passage, having handsome accommodations, apply to MILAS HOLMES & CO 62 South st.

s A lighter is in readiness to receive cargo. s3

AN IRISH CAPTAIN.

"There are as sweet a pair of pistols at any in the three kingdoms," said an officer, shooting a pair to a young student of his acquaintance, "and have done execution before now, at the slightest touch off they go as sweet as honey, without either sconcing or dupping I never trust without them"

"I never heard of highwaymen in this part of the country"

"Nor I" replied the officer, "and if I had I should not trouble myself to carry the pistols on their account—highwaymen are a species of snakes who are not fond of attacking us lobsters, they know we are a little too hard to crack No, my dear sir, highwaymen know that soldiers have not much money, and what they have they fight for"

"Since that is the case, how come you to travel always with pistols?"

"Because," answered the officer, "I find them very useful in accommodating any little differences I may accidentally have with a friend, or which one friend may chance to have with another"

"Do you often settle differences in that way?"

"Why I was twice out before I arrived at your age—The first time was a hasty affair of my own, who said he would see my courage tried before he would contribute with the others towards the purchase of my first commission, so I sent him word that I would be happy to give him one proof the next morning, as I was sure we never touched him so smartly in the leg, that he has halted ever since But all his doubts being now removed, he cheerfully contributed his quota with the rest of my relations, and we have been very good friends ever since"

"Pray what gave you occasion for the second?" said the young student.

"How it began originally is more than I can tell," answered the captain, all I know is, that a large company of us dined together, we sat long and drank deep as I went to bed rather in a state of forgetfulness, and was awaked in the morning from a profound sleep, by a gentleman who began a long story, how I had said something that required explanation, and also, that I had accidentally given him a blow, but he supposed I had no intention to affront him, and so he continued talking in a roundabout kind of way, without coming to any point. So I was under the necessity of interrupting him, "upon my conscience, Sir, (said I) I am unable to declare, with certainty, whether I had any intention of affronting you or not, because my head is still a little confused, and I have no clear recollection of what passed, nor do I fully comprehend your drift at present, but I conjecture that you wish to have satisfaction, if so, I must beg you will be kind enough to say so at once, and I shall be at your service." Finding himself thus cut short, he named the place and the hour I met him precisely at the time His first pistol missed fire, but hit him in the shoulder At his second shot, the ballot passed pretty near me, but miss lodged in his hip, and then he declared he was quite satisfied So as I had given a blow the preceding night, and two wounds that morning, upon declaring himself satisfied, I said I was contented."

"You would have been thought very hard to please, if you had made any difficulty."

"I thought so myself," rejoined the captain, "and so the affair ended, he being carried home in a coach, and I marching from the field of battle on foot"

"Pray, may I ask if you ever was in a battle?"

"No," replied the captain with a sigh, "I never was, I never had that good fortune, though I would give all the money I have in the world, and all the money I am owing, which is at least treble the sum, to be in one to-morrow."

"Provided you had a good cause" replied the young student.

"I should not be squeamish respecting the cause, provided I had a good battle for that my dear, is what is the most essential to a conscientious officer, who wishes to improve himself in his profession I have much reason therefore, to wish for a war, and at the present juncture, it would be much to the advantage of the nation in general as it is dwindling into a country of ploughmen, manufacturers, and merchants And you must know, too, that I am pretty fortunate, having already stood thirteen shots, and I never was hit but once"

"Thirteen! what, have you fought thirteen duels!

"No, no!" replied the captain, "the last shot fired at me completed only my six and duel."

Wonders of Letterers.—Pliny and Elian relate that Myrmecides wrought out of ivory a chariot, with four wheels and four horses, and a ship with all her tackling, both in so small a compass, that a fly could hide either with its wings Nor should we doubt this, when we find it recorded in English history, on less questionable authority, that in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign a blacksmith of London, of the name of Mark Scalior, made a lock of iron, steel, and brass of eleven pieces, and a pipe key, all of which only weighed one grain Scaliot also made a chain of gold, of forty three links which he fastened to the lock and key, and put it round the neck of a flea, which drew the whole with perfect ease The chain, key, lock, and flea, altogether weighed but one grain and a half!

Hadrianus Junis saw at Mecelin in Brabant, a cherry-stone cut into the form of a basket; in it were fourteen pair of dice distinct, the spots and numbers of which were easily to be discerned with a good eye.

But still more extraordinary than this basket of dice, or any thing we have yet mentioned must have been a set of turnery shown at Rome, in the time of Pope Paul the Fifth, by one Shad of Mitelbrach, who had purchased it from the artist Oswaldus Norbagerus It consisted of *sixteen hundred* dishes, which were all perfect and complete in every part, yet so small and slender that the whole could be easily enclosed in a case fabricated in a peppercorn of the ordinary size! The Pope is said to have himself counted them, but with the help of a pair of spectacles, for they were so very small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye. Although his holiness thus satisfied his own eyes of the fact, he did not, we are assured, require of those about him to subscribe to it on the credit of his infallibility; for he gave every one an opportunity of examining and judging for himself, and among the persons thus highly favored, particular reference is made to Gaspar Schioppius, Johannes Faber, a physician of Rome.

Tarriano, of whose skill so many wonderful things are related, is said to have fabricated iron mills, which moved of themselves, so minute in size, that a monk could carry one in his sleeve; and yet it was powerful enough to grind in a single day, grain enough for the consumption of eight men.

A Whistler.—A boy in Vermont, accustomed to working alone, was so prone to whistling, that, as soon as he was by himself, he unconsciously commenced. Whenever asleep, the muscles of his mouth, chest, and lungs were so completely concatenated in the association, he whistled with astonishing shrillness. A pale countenance, loss of appetite, and almost total prostration of strength, convinced his mother it would end in death if not speedily overcome; which was accomplished by placing him in the society of another boy, who had ceased to give him a hint as soon as he began to whistle.

The front page of Vol. I, No. 1, of the New York Sun. The type-page measures about 7 1/2 x 10 inches.

business for himself on small capital after he had been in the city a year or two. His purpose in starting a cheap paper was merely to create a profitable adjunct to his printing business.

The *Sun* appeared the morning of September 3, 1833,[12] with four pages, each about the size of a sheet of business letter-paper and divided into three columns. The paper was neat, the type small, the news concisely stated. The fresh, even flippant, style of the *Sun's* news items, and its emphasis on local, human-interest, and often sensational events caught the town's fancy; and that news treatment and the one-cent price brought a circulation of 2,000 in two months and 5,000 in four months. This put the new paper ahead of the whole New York field so far as mere distribution was concerned.

One of the *Sun* features which made it immediately popular was its police-court report. The humorous treatment of police-court news was a journalistic technique first utilized by the London *Morning Herald* in its report of the Bow Street court; such amusing, though crude, exploitation of the tragicomedy of drunkenness, theft, assaults, and street-walking had hoisted the circulation of the *Morning Herald* to a point which made it rival that of the *Times.* The little human-interest stories of the Bow Street Court, gathered together in books illustrated by the great Cruikshank, had gained a considerable circulation in America; and it had not been long until some of the American papers, especially the *Enquirer* and the *Morning Courier* in New York, had tried their hands at the trade. Other papers had condemned the practice, however, and the *Sun* was the first to give full trial to it. Many years later Day told the story in an interview:

> George W. Wisner, a young printer who was out of work, had a knack for writing. The paper had been going for about a week when Wisner came to me and said that if I would give him $4 a week he would get up early every morning and do these police reports. The court was held at 4 o'clock . . . He agreed to attend it regularly and write out what was interesting, besides working daytimes at setting type and doing whatever else he could. . . . I [later] agreed that if the paper was a success we would share the profits, I retaining his share until it amounted to enough to pay for half the establishment. . . . Along in

[12] A typographical error made the date line on page two say "1832"; so the facsimile reprints which correct that error may easily be distinguished from the original.

the Spring of 1834 the profits had paid Wisner's share and he was joint proprietor with me. . . . He was a pretty smart fellow, but he and I never agreed. We split on politics. You see, I was rather Democratic in my notions; Wisner, whenever he got a chance, was always sticking in his damned little Abolition articles. We quarreled, Wisner and I. I . . . kept the paper, paying him $5,000 in cash for his share.[18]

During the time that Wisner was chief writer for the paper—nearly two years—he made the facetious police-court report such an important phase of American journalism as to justify the quotation here of the entire report as it appeared in one issue:

POLICE OFFICE

Margaret Thomas was drunk in the street—said she never would get drunk again "upon her honor." Committed, "upon honor."

William Luvoy got drunk because yesterday was so devilish warm. Drank 9 glasses of brandy and water and said he would be cursed if he wouldn't drink 9 more as quick as he could raise the money to buy it with. He would like to know what right the magistrate had to interfere with his private affairs. Fined $1—forgot his pocketbook, and was sent over to bridewell.

Bridget McMunn got drunk and threw a pitcher at Mr. Ellis, of 53 Ludlow st. Bridget said she was the mother of 3 little orphans—God bless their dear souls—and if she went to prison they would choke to death for the want of something to eat. Committed.

Catharine McBride was brought in for stealing a frock. Catharine said she had just served out 6 months on Blackwell's Island, and she wouldn't be sent back again for the best glass of punch that ever was made. Her husband, when she last left the penitentiary, took her to a boarding house in Essex st., but the rascal got mad at her, pulled her hair, pinched her arm, and kicked her out of bed. She was determined not to bear such treatment as this, and so got drunk and stole the frock out of pure spite. Committed.

Bill Doty got drunk because he had the horrors so bad he couldn't keep sober. Committed.

Patrick Ludwick was sent up by his wife, who testified that she had supported him for several years in idleness and drunkenness. Abandoning all hopes of a reformation in her husband, she bought him a suit of clothes a fortnight since and told him to go about his business, for she would not live with him any longer. Last night he came home in a state of intoxication, broke into his wife's bedroom, pulled her out

[18] New York Sun, September 2, 1933, sec. 2, p. 3.

of bed, pulled her hair, and stamped on her. She called a watchman and sent him up. Pat exerted all his powers of eloquence in endeavoring to excite his wife's sympathy, but to no purpose. As every sensible woman ought to do who is cursed with a drunken husband, she refused to have anything to do with him hereafter—and he was sent to the penitentiary.

Dennis Hart was fighting in the street. Committed.

John Movich, of 220 Mott st., got drunk and disturbed his neighbors. Committed.[14]

Not very funny, on the whole, nor very edifying. But for the first time in American journalism, domestic tragicomedy was featured in the newspapers: it was "as good as a play," and readers were vastly amused.

The *Sun* had an abundance of short, breezy items, with some theatrical notices, paragraphs about monstrosities and prodigies, and an emphasis on crime news. Of politics there was little, though the paper did print President Jackson's message to Congress on December 5, 1833. In short, the *Sun* broke sharply with the traditional American news concept, and began to print whatever was interesting and readable regardless of its wide significance or recognized importance. This does not mean that the paper did not treat serious subjects, but even these were not allowed the great length and heaviness which they were likely to have in the six-cent papers.

On the business side Day was not less revolutionary. Again taking his cue from English practice, he sent newsboys on the street to cry his paper. Since he charged the boys only sixty-seven cents a hundred if they paid cash, and seventy-five cents if they took their papers out on credit, he soon had his street sales on a cash-in-advance basis; and the boys collected six cents a week from the subscribers on their regular routes. This was known as "the London plan" of circulation management.

By November, 1834, the circulation reached 10,000, and increased advertising patronage followed. At the beginning of the next year, the *Sun* installed one of the new Napier presses and enlarged the size of its pages. By the middle of that year it claimed 15,000 circulation—"far surprassing that of any other daily paper

[14] New York *Sun*, July 4, 1834.

in the Union, and with one, perhaps two, exceptions in London, in the whole world." [15]

About this time Wisner retired, and Day employed in his place one of the best newspaper writers in New York, Richard Adams Locke. He paid Locke three times as much as Wisner's beginning salary—as much, indeed, as he paid his printers—$12 a week. Locke was English born, had edited London periodicals, and was on the *Courier and Enquirer* when Day hired him.

Late in August, 1835, the *Sun* printed a short paragraph about "astronomical discoveries of the most wonderful description" which had just been made by Sir John Herschel by means of "an immense telescope on an entirely new principle." Sir John was the son of Sir William Herschel, discoverer of Uranus; he had recently set up an observatory in South Africa, and there was much interest in his work. A few days after it printed the paragraph referred to, the *Sun* filled its first page with an announcement of the new Herschel discoveries, said to have been copied from a "Supplement of the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*." In addition to a good deal of fine writing, this article declared that the new telescope

> has discovered planets in other solar systems; has obtained a distinct view of objects in the moon, fully equal to that which the unaided eye commands of terrestrial objects at the distance of one hundred yards; has affirmatively settled the question whether this satellite be inhabited, and by what orders of beings . . .

Naturally, this article aroused interest in certain circles, but it was confessedly introductory; and not until the next day, when the *Sun* continued the series by getting down to "facts" about life on the moon, did readers become excited. The flora and fauna discovered by Sir John Herschel were, it appeared, extraordinary indeed; this installment ended with "a glimpse of a strange amphibious creature of a spherical form, which rolled with great velocity across the pebbly beach." Other New York papers, swallowing their chagrin at being scooped by the *Sun* on such an amazing story, republished the articles in whole or in part. "No article has appeared for years that will command so general a perusal and publication," said the *Daily Advertiser*. "Sir John has

[15] *Sun*, June 30, 1835. The two exceptions were the *Times* and the *Morning Herald*. In the next year, however, Girardin founded his *La Presse* in Paris, and it soon reached 38,000—a world's record.

added a stock of knowledge to the present age that will immortalize his name." The third article was devoted chiefly to the topography of the moon; but the fourth—most sensational of all—introduced readers to the man-bat inhabitants of the satellite. By this time the whole country was excited. Yale sent a delegation down to see the original article; papers everywhere commented; there was a demand for pamphlets and pictures. The series concluded by telling of an injury to the telescope which had caused a suspension of observations. Meanwhile *Sun* circulation had leaped to 19,000—proudly announced as greater than that of any other newspaper in the world.

Of course, the bubble soon burst. Locke confided to a reporter for the *Journal of Commerce*, over a too social glass, that he had written the entire series out of whole cloth; and that paper immediately exposed the deception.

Locke's moon hoax was probably the greatest "fake" of our journalistic history. While other papers turned upon the *Sun* with criticism for the falsehood, the public in general accepted it all in good nature. The *Sun* took some credit to itself for "diverting the public mind, for a while, from that bitter apple of discord, the abolition of slavery." Showmen realized on the passing craze for the story by using it on the stage and in panoramas. But it ruined a similar narrative which Edgar Allan Poe was just beginning in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, entitled "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall." Poe called Locke's performance "the greatest hit in the way of sensation—of merely popular sensation—ever made by any similar fiction either in America or Europe," [16] and he left his own story unfinished.

The next year the *Sun* was forced to enlarge to twice its original size, and it was making money at the rate of $20,000 a year net. Its advertising sometimes occupied three fourths of its space and its circulation grew to 30,000. But in 1837 Day suddenly sold his paper. He later declared this was the silliest thing he ever did; but the reduction of his profits to zero in the financial panic of that year, the failures of certain other penny papers, and a libel verdict against him, apparently decided him to relinquish the *Sun*. Later he re-entered journalism, eventually becoming owner of the

[16] Stedman and Woodberry, *Works of E. A. Poe*, Vol. VIII, p. 144. Poe's sweeping generalization may need amendment; cf. *Robinson Crusoe*.

Brother Jonathan, a monthly and weekly literary miscellany which pirated English novels. Day spent his last years in comfortable retirement, living to see the *Sun* in a new effulgence under Charles A. Dana after the Civil War. His son Benjamin invented the benday process used in engraving.[17]

Moses Y. Beach, Day's brother-in-law and bookkeeper, was the new owner and manager of the *Sun*. He brought into the business his two sons, who succeeded him when he retired in 1848.[18] The Beaches were all talented in mechanical matters, and they provided the *Sun* with the best presses and equipment to be had; they even invented some improvements of their own. Not great editors, they were excellent managers and were able to hire good writers. Poe's balloon hoax, telling of a "steering balloon" which had crossed the ocean in three days, was published as an extra April 13, 1844; while it "took in" many readers, it did not create a sensation comparable to that caused by Locke's masterpiece. The paper had a seven-column page by the fifties, and its range of news was far greater than formerly. The Beaches were leaders in developing the new agencies for increased speed in news transmission. The *Sun* came to give some attention to politics, holding Democratic but moderate views. Its serial stories were a prominent feature; Mary Jane Holmes and Horatio Alger, Jr., amused its readers with sentimental romance. Its low price (for it kept to one cent when its leading rivals in the cheap field raised their price to two) caused it to find its clientele among the poorer classes. This in turn brought it a lower class of advertising. But it kept the circulation lead among American dailies for twenty years, losing it in the fifties to the *Herald*.

[17] Another son, Clarence Shepard Day, is the father in *God and My Father*, by Clarence Day, grandson of Benjamin H. Day.

[18] The sons were Moses S. and Alfred E. The latter soon became one of the proprietors of the *Scientific American*, and retired in 1852, leaving his brother in control.

CHAPTER XIII

The Penny Press of the 1830's

AS SOON AS BENJAMIN DAY HAD SHOWN THAT IT COULD BE DONE, many other printers and publishers attempted penny dialies in cities throughout the whole country. But the leadership in the one-cent field remained in New York, where at least a dozen penny dailies [1] were founded during the five years in which Day was building up the *Sun*. Most of these succumbed after a few weeks or months; but some had a certain importance, and one of them quickly made a place for itself among the great newspapers of the country.

The New York *Transcript* was one of the *Sun's* first rivals. It was published for five years, beginning in 1834, by three printers, who hired the humorist Asa Greene as editor and William H. Atree, an English-born printer, as police-court reporter. The *Transcript* imitated the *Sun* in its format and its news and circulation policies. It emphasized humorous court reporting, using more wit, exaggeration, and ribaldry than the *Sun;* also it specialized in illicit sex relations, prizefights, and criminal trials. It was a pioneer in its play of sporting events. Politics it eschewed more consistently than its rival. This news policy, combined with an energetic business management, brought its circulation to 9,000 in its first six months; and thereafter it kept only slightly behind the *Sun*. Patent medicines furnished two thirds of its advertising. But it was crippled by the panic of 1837, enlargements in size brought increased expense, and it gave up in 1839. The *Transcript* is important in the history of sensational journalism.

Man (1834-35) was a forerunner of the modern union labor

[1] Amazing as it may seem, at least thirty-four dailies were begun during these five years, 1833-37, in New York City. (See *Union List of Newspapers.*) They represented varied political ideas and economic classes; nineteen of them seem not to have outlasted the year of their founding.

daily.[2] It was founded by George Henry Evans, intellectual leader of the first labor party in America.

The *Ladies' Morning Star* of 1836-37 was an interesting experiment. It was established by William Newell primarily for women's reading. Though it dropped the word "Ladies' " from its title [3] after six months, it remained what it had been from the first—a rather heavy protest against the supposed immorality of the *Sun* and its imitators.

The *New Era* (1836-39) represented the attempt of Richard Adams Locke, who had just left the *Sun*, to conduct a paper of his own.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT FOUNDS THE NEW YORK HERALD

But by far the most important of the one-cent rivals of the *Sun* was the *Herald*, which was begun on May 6, 1835, by James Gordon Bennett.

"Shakespeare is the great genius of the drama," wrote Bennett in 1837, "Scott of the novel, Milton and Byron of the poem—and I mean to be the genius of the newspaper press." [4] Genius or not, he did become one of the three or four outstanding newspaper men of his time, and one of the half dozen preëminent figures in the history of American journalism.

Born in Scotland, Bennett was twenty-four before he came to America. After several trials at school teaching, he was drawn to journalism. He worked for some months as reporter on the Charleston *Courier*, in South Carolina, and then in the same capacity on New York papers. At length he gained some reputation as Washington correspondent of Noah's *Enquirer*; and when the *Courier* and *Enquirer* were combined, Colonel Webb made him associate editor. His Washington experience had given him an interest and insight into politics, both of which were enlarged through his work

[2] *Man* had a daily predecessor, however, at a somewhat higher rate—the *Daily Sentinel* (1830-33). Evans, its last editor, used his *Workingman's Advocate*, most famous of early labor papers, as the weekly edition of *Man*. See p. 205.

[3] There were other *Stars* in the New York sky in these years. M. M. Noah's *Evening Star* (1833-40), a Whig organ, was merged with the *Times* (1838-41). The *Times* itself, a lively Democratic morning paper, was merged with the *Commercial Advertiser* ten years before its more illustrious namesake was born. A morning *Star* was also published by Noah in 1834 and perhaps later, while three other *Stars* twinkled in the 1840's.

[4] *Herald*, February 28, 1837.

on the *Courier and Enquirer;* therefore when Webb deserted Jackson in 1832, Bennett decided to try his own hand in political journalism, stick to the President, and start a paper of his own. But his two-cent *Globe* lived only a month; he was repulsed when he tried to join the administration paper at Washington; and his boldest venture, the purchase of the *Pennsylvanian,* in Philadelphia, failed when the political friends to whom he had looked for financial support turned the cold shoulder. It is clear that the political leaders mistrusted and feared him; and on his part, Bennett decided to forsake politics entirely.

Thus, at forty years of age, Bennett was out of a job, with only $500 to his name. He had some reputation as a brilliant, though rather flowery, writer, with a dangerous talent for personal controversy. He was a wiry, energetic man, with squinting eyes which had been injured by too close application to books and papers. Nobody underestimated his Scotch shrewdness, and many feared him. Day and Wisner refused to employ him on the *Sun;* and when he suggested a partnership to Greeley, who had recently lost money on a newspaper venture, that young printer refused. Thereupon Bennett decided to start a penny paper of his own.

He took his $500 to the firm which was doing the mechanical work for the *Sun* and the *Transcript,* and made a contract for the printing of his new paper. When the *Morning Herald* came out, it looked much like the other penny papers. But it soon developed an individuality of its own. Bennett made up for being late in the penny-paper scramble by his superior experience and shrewdness. He discarded the comic police-court stories, with which he had formerly had some experience on the *Enquirer,* as already overplayed; but he had more variety in his local coverage, better foreign news, more of what he called "theatrical chit-chat," fresher and more personal editorial paragraphs adhering to no political party, and Wall Street reports more thorough and candid than any New York had ever known.

Bennett had a talent for economics. He had studied the subject in Aberdeen, taught it in Nova Scotia and Maine, and lectured on it in New York. Though he never speculated himself, he knew more about the stock market than most men who did. His first "money article" appeared in the second issue of the *Morning Herald,* and he was soon claiming that there was "not a person in

business in the lower part of the city that does not read the *Herald* every day" and that "some of the banks take half a dozen copies every day." [5] For the first few years Bennett covered the Wall Street beat personally and wrote the "money article" himself; it became an established institution; and even after the size of the *Herald* organization had curtailed Bennett's activities to management, he always took a personal interest in this feature. It was the forerunner of the modern financial page.[6]

Bennett worked hard. He rose at five, wrote a lot of his sharp paragraphs before breakfast, and spent most of the morning and part of the evening in the work of his business department. He waited on patrons who came to his cellar office, where he had a table made of planks laid on two barrels. Much of the afternoon he spent in Wall Street and other news centers. Such were the humble beginnings of a great newspaper.

At the end of six months' publication, the *Morning Herald* was rapidly overhauling the *Sun* and the *Transcript*. Then came the great Ann Street fire, which totally consumed the plant which had been doing Bennett's printing. The other two papers were uninjured, the *Sun* having outgrown its original printers and set up its own plant, and the *Transcript* having also deserted Ann Street in time to avoid the conflagration. And it was during the time when Bennett was fuming at the slowness of the workmen who were installing the Napier press for the new plant which he was equipping for his paper, that the *Sun*'s circulation was bounding upward under the impulsion of the moon hoax.

But that Bennett did much more than wring his hands during the nineteen-day suspension of his paper, any student of the file must admit. For when it was resumed, the *Herald* (it had dropped the *Morning*) was almost a new paper. "We are again in the field," wrote the editor,

> larger, livelier, better, prettier, saucier, and more independent than ever. The Ann Street conflagration consumed types, presses, manuscripts, paper, some bad poetry, subscription books—all the outward material appearance of the *Herald*, but its soul was saved—its spirit is exuberant as ever.[7]

[5] *Morning Herald*, August 7, 1835.

[6] Prices current had appeared in certain specialized American newspapers for many years, but Bennett's "money articles" were broader in scope.

[7] *Herald*, August 31, 1835. It began again with Volume I, Number 1.

More exuberant, indeed. Its columns sparkled. Everything was personalized. Wit supplanted dignity; recklessness took the place of conservatism. Objective reporting suffered and news reports were editorialized. The penny press already had a reputation for piquancy; the *Herald* came to be thought of as "spicy" and "saucy" —adjectives it liked to apply to itself.

Bennett had evolved a philosophy of journalism which was half sheer opportunism and half humanitarian idealism. Undoubtedly he saw that his chance lay in outbidding the *Sun* and the various *Stars* which the penny press movement had brought out. But he must be given credit for some sincerity in his too rhetorical proclamations of his desire to regenerate American society. He was a thoroughgoing democrat. He sincerely believed in the doctrine *vox populi vox dei;* and he translated it into newspaper policy, as witness this paragraph written before he began the *Herald:*

> An editor must always be with the people—think with them—feel with them—and he need fear nothing, he will always be right—always be strong—always popular—always free.—The world has been humbugged long enough by spouters, and talkers, and conventioners, and legislators, *et id genus omne*—this is the editorial age—and the most intellectual of all past ages.[8]

This rebellion against the dictatorship of humbuggery carried Bennett to extremes which shocked proper and conventional persons. He flouted the prudery of the times which prescribed the use of the word *limbs* for *legs*, of *linen* for *shirt*, of *unmentionables* for *trousers*. He made a bold bid for reality in reporting murders, Wall Street conditions, and the city scene in general. All this was done to the end of making the people face things realistically, because only an informed people could regenerate society. "I speak on every occasion the words of truth and soberness," he wrote. "I have seen human depravity to the core—I proclaim each morning on 15,000 sheets of thought and intellect the deep guilt that is encrusting our society." [9] And again:

> What is to prevent a daily newspaper from being made the greatest organ of social life? Books have had their day—the theatres have had their day—the temple of religion has had its day. A newspaper can

[8] *Courier and Enquirer*, November 12, 1831.
[9] *Herald*, July 27, 1836.

be made to take the lead of all these in the great movements of human thought and of human civilization. A newspaper can send more souls to Heaven, and save more from Hell, than all the churches or chapels in New York—besides making money at the same time. Let it be tried.[10]

Bennett is not the only man who has tried to make money out of saving souls, nor the only one to incur suspicion through such a combination of aims.

Whether or not he saved any souls by his stories of crime, he certainly made money by them. He built up the Robinson-Jewett murder trial to such a height of interest as no similar case had ever reached; he made it the first American murder story involving persons of no social standing to reach great newspaper proportions. Helen Jewett, a prostitute, was found murdered in her room, and a young clerk named Robinson was tried for the crime. Bennett himself did some detective work on the case, became convinced of the prisoner's innocence, and gave the matter many columns of space. Indeed, during the trial itself, the *Herald* printed scarcely anything else. Other penny papers followed this example, even those of Boston and Philadelphia being filled with the sordid details. Verbatim reports of the testimony were given, with questions and answers. It was a great field-day for the penny press. Finally Robinson was acquitted; Bennett was overjoyed, not only at the result of the trial but at its effect on his circulation, which had tripled during the run of the story.

Another type of news which made readers for the *Herald* was that of Society with a capital S. Stories of expensive parties given by the oldest and wealthiest families, with names gutted by dashes (as P——p H——e for Philip Hone), were always spiced by a bit of satire. Society was at first aghast, then amused, then complacent, and finally hungry for penny-press stories of its own doings. Such were the origins of the modern society page.

In more objective reporting Bennett had notable abilities, moreover. His story of the great Wall Street fire of 1835 places him among the most brilliant of reporters.[11]

Meantime the *Herald* directed many quips and some outright abuse at the *Sun*, the *Transcript*, and the *Courier and Enquirer*. One day Bennett's former employer, Colonel James Watson

[10] *Herald*, August 19, 1836.
[11] New York *Herald*, December 18, 1835.

Webb, editor of the last-named paper, met Bennett on the street, knocked him down, and beat him with his cane. Bennett published an account of the affray in the *Herald*, beginning, "I have to apologize to my kind readers for the want of my usual life today," continuing with a description of the assault, in which a gash was inflicted on Bennett's head, and then adding: "The fellow, no doubt, wanted to let out the never-failing supply of good humor and wit which has created such a reputation for the *Herald*, and appropriate the contents to supply the emptiness of his own thick skull." [12] A few months later, Webb attacked him again; and Bennett again made capital of the incident by writing it up at length in the *Herald*. So it was with other assailants until, it may be presumed, they tired of this method of furnishing spicy material for Bennett's pen.

The *Herald's* second year was not far advanced when Bennett raised its price to two cents a copy. This was a bold stroke, especially in view of the fact that the *Sun* and *Transcript* were both still ahead of the *Herald* in circulation and kept to the penny price; the *Sun*, indeed, did not increase its price until the Civil War sent costs upward. But Bennett had 20,000 steady buyers, and he wanted to enlarge and improve his paper. He set out the matter frankly:

Receipts per day at one cent, 33 per cent off	$133.34
Receipts per day at two cents, 25 per cent off	300.00
Difference in my favor per day	166.66
Difference, clear, a week	999.96

"With this sum," he wrote, "I shall be enabled to carry into effect prodigious improvements, and to make the *Herald* the greatest, best, and most profitable paper that ever appeared in this country." [13]

The increase in price seems not to have interrupted for a single week the circulation advance of the paper. It did enable Bennett to enlarge the *Herald* page, improve its equipment, establish a European correspondence, set up a Washington bureau, procure his own correspondents in the leading American cities, and buy a small fleet of boats to outstrip his rivals in meeting the news-

[12] *Herald*, January 21, 1836. Bennett was not the first editor to capitalize in his paper on a street encounter of which he was the victim. See p. 19.

[13] *Herald*, August 19, 1836.

bearing vessels from abroad before they entered New York harbor. These things were all done within a few years.

THE "MORAL WAR" ON THE HERALD

When the *Herald* deserted the penny press by raising its price and increasing its facilities, and at the same time kept the pungency and "sauciness" of its infancy, it virtually set itself up as a target for the attack of all the other papers in the city.

Certainly there was reason for criticism of the *Herald*. It exploited crime news. It seemed to delight in stories of illicit sex relations—scandalous incidents recounted without names, some of them probably more or less fictitious. It shocked many readers by criticism of the revival meetings of the times, and it was often disrespectful of the church and church leaders. It was reckless in its attacks on individuals, particularly on rival editors. It showed execrable taste in its editor's articles about his own personal affairs.

This last peculiarity of the *Herald* deserves special note. Bennett believed in advertising himself—"selling" his own personality to the public. He compared himself with Napoleon, with Moses. As a flamboyant self-advertiser Bennett anticipated Barnum. This was objectionable only to the more fastidious, perhaps; but when the editor used the same blatancy in regard to his own marriage, many were disgusted. The announcement of that event was given as prominent a heading as the *Herald* had in its repertoire, with a signed statement which follows (in part):

> I am going to be married in a few days. The weather is so beautiful; times are getting so good; the prospects of political and moral reform so auspicious, that I can not resist the divine instinct of honest nature any longer; so I am going to be married to one of the most splendid women in intellect, in heart, in soul, in property, in person, in manner, that I have yet seen in the course of my interesting pilgrimage through human life. . . .
>
> I cannot stop in my career. I must fulfill that awful destiny which the Almighty Father has written against my name in broad letters of light against the wall of heaven. I must give the world a pattern of happy wedded life, with all the charities that spring from a nuptial love. In a few days I shall be married according to the holy rites of the most holy Christian church to one of the most remarkable, accomplished, and beautiful young women of the age. She possesses a for-

tune—a large fortune. She has no Stonington shares or Manhattan stock, but in purity and uprightness she is worth half a million of pure coin. Can any swindling bank show as much? In good sense and elegance another half a million; in soul, mind and beauty, millions on millions, equal to the whole specie of all the rotten banks in the world. . . .

In the new and holy condition into which I am about to enter, and to enter with the same reverential feelings as I would heaven itself, I anticipate some signal changes in my feelings, in my views, in my purposes, in my pursuits. What they may be, I know not—time alone can tell. My ardent desire has been to reach the highest order of human excellence by the shortest possible cut. Association, night and day, in sickness and in health, in war and in peace, with a woman of this highest order of excellence, must produce some curious results in my heart and feelings, and these results the future will develop in due time in the columns of the *Herald*. . . .[14]

What the lady thought of this effusion has never been told. That Mrs. Bennett suffered keenly from the personal attacks upon her husband, as well as from insults to herself personally which grew out of the war on the *Herald*, there is no doubt; as soon as her two surviving children were old enough for school, she left this country to educate them in Europe, and returned only for infrequent visits.

It was just before his marriage that the so-called "moral war" on Bennett and the *Herald* was begun. Park Benjamin, who had founded a paper the year before called the *Evening Signal*, was a cripple, and Bennett alluded to this misfortune as a "curse by the Almighty." Thereupon Noah, then publishing the *Evening Star*, and Webb in the *Courier and Enquirer*, wrote wrathful articles which, with those in the *Evening Signal*, called upon "respectable people" to boycott the *Herald* and ostracize its editor. This movement was carefully organized by committees in which politicians, stockbrokers, ministers, and men of social distinction were active. The movement spread to papers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Albany, and other cities: all excoriated Bennett as a disgrace to journalism. Rather tardily, English newspapers and reviews joined the hunt. The vocabulary of vituperation was searched for its most insulting epithets to apply to this ink-smeared Satan

[14] *Herald*, June 1, 1840.

of the press: the *Signal* called him an "obscene vagabond," a "polluted wretch," and a "venomous reptile"; to the *Evening Star* he was a "common bandit" and a "turkey buzzard"; while the *Courier and Enquirer* said that its former associate editor was an "unprincipled adventurer" whose "reckless depravity" made the *Herald* a "ribald vehicle" of "moral leprosy."

Meanwhile the *Herald* went on with little more than jocular replies to this amazing barrage of printer's ink; and some of the boycott efforts acted as boomerangs upon the organizers. But on the whole, the *Herald* suffered from the "moral war," losing about a third of its circulation.[15] Bennett was constrained to promise more care to avoid offense, and there is no doubt that the tone of the paper improved. The organized assault lasted only a few months; but it had become the fashion to hold Bennett up as a kind of bogey-man of journalism, and never in his own lifetime did he entirely emerge from the cloud of obloquy that the moral warriors of 1840 threw over him.

But the more solid qualities of the *Herald* enabled it to survive all that bitter rivalry, personal enmity, and sincere disapproval could contrive against it. Its excellent news service, its unrivaled enterprise in reporting the Mexican War, and its brilliant business management brought it a circulation of over 30,000 by 1850; and, more than doubling that in the next decade, it at last outstripped the penny *Sun* and became the leader in American circulations.[16]

Frederic Hudson, one of the ablest journalists of the period, became its managing editor. He had come to the *Herald* in 1836 at the age of seventeen, and served the paper for thirty years. In the forties and fifties it gave much space to politics, at first on a nonpartisan basis but later with a strong Democratic bias and a sympathy with the cause of the South.[17]

By the end of this period the *Herald* was an eight-page paper crammed with five pages of news, miscellany, and editorial in fine

[15] This is contrary to Seitz (*The James Gordon Bennetts*, p. 83), but see sworn statement of circulation, *Herald*, July 2, 1845.

[16] The *Herald* claimed 77,000 and the *Sun* 59,000 in 1860. These were the days of "circulation liars," and there were few reliable audits. Circulations of daily, weekly, and other editions were sometimes lumped together.

[17] See pp. 348-50 for its course in this regard. It supported the Republican Frémont, however, in 1856.

print, six columns to the page, and three pages of very solid advertising "renewed every day."

BOSTON PENNY PAPERS

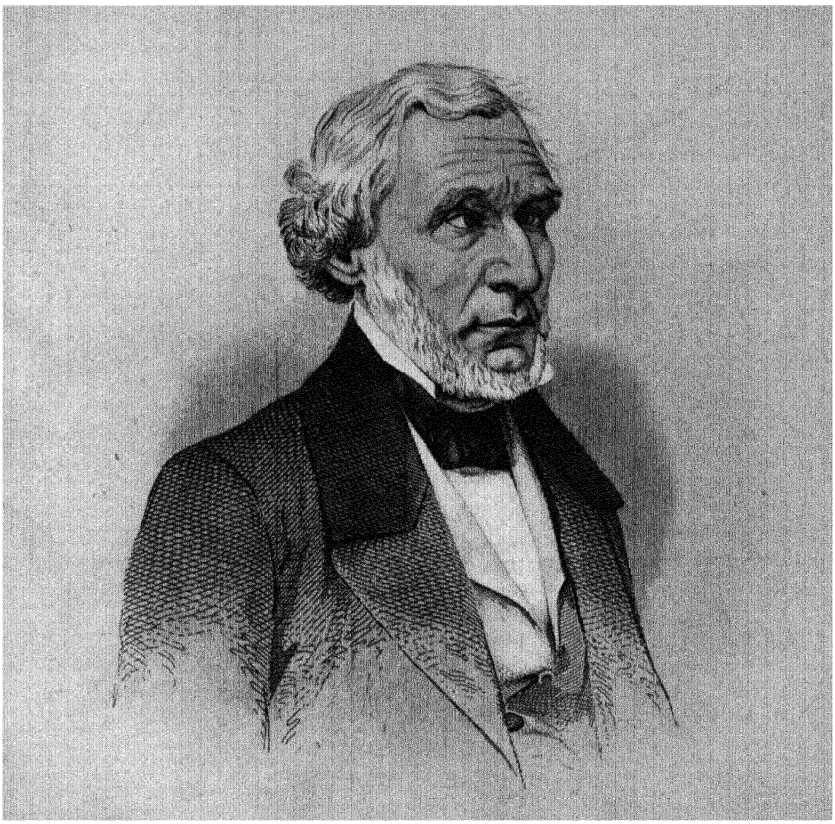
The penny-paper idea was not slow in spreading to other leading American cities. Boston had played an important part in the early development of the idea; its smaller, cheaper dailies pointed in that direction, and it produced two short-lived penny dailies before the New York *Sun* was founded. These two papers were the *World in a Nutshell*, published by Benjamin F. Bond, a printer, for about two months; and the *Daily Penny-Post*, by William B. English and J. B. Dill, which lasted three weeks. Both were begun in August, 1833, and were very small, four-page papers. The next year came several other unsuccessful attempts,[18] and still more in 1835-37. "Our streets have been flooded during the past two years with daily penny papers, and many of these attempts have entirely failed," said one of the better-established papers in 1837.[19]

But in 1836 appeared the Boston *Daily Times*, a penny daily which, under George Roberts and William H. Garfield, made a considerable success and lasted for twenty-one years. It was clearly an imitation of the booming New York penny dailies. The same humorous treatment of police-court news, the same emphasis on crime, and the same taboo on political controversy which characterized the *Sun* and *Transcript* were adopted by the newcomer. Like the New York *Herald*, the *Times* was inclined to argue in grandiloquent phrases about the nobility of its mission in educating the common people, but its exploitation of the morbid details of the Robinson-Jewett trial and the Maria Monk "confessions" made many of its contemporaries doubt its sincerity.

The *Daily Times* boomed in circulation from the first. It used the "London plan" of circulation, and had regular carrier systems in all the larger towns of eastern Massachusetts. It claimed 12,000 circulation at the end of four months, and installed a new double-cylinder Napier press to care for it. Its growth was retarded by

[18] Among them the *Daily News*, by B. Hammatt Norton; the *Bostonian*, by Joseph S. Hart; the *Gleaner*, also by Hart; and a second series of the *World in a Nutshell*.

[19] Boston *American*, October 21, 1837.



James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald. From a contemporary engraving.



William M. Swain Arunah S. Abell Azariah H. Simmons

The founders of the Philadelphia Public Ledger *and the Baltimore* Sun. *From a daguerreotype of 1836. Courtesy Baltimore* Sun.

the panic of '37, however, and its circulation probably never went much above 20,000, which was the 1850 figure. By that time it had lost its aversion to politics and was definitely a Democratic sheet; it had also been outstripped in the circulation race by the *Mail* (1840-56) and the *Herald*, other penny dailies.

In 1844 a group of printers seceded from the *Daily Times* and started a new penny paper devoted to the Native American cause. It did not prosper; but two years later they began another, this time neutral in politics, with the name *Herald*. The new paper was nearer to the standard type of penny daily; it rapidly gained in popularity, displayed Whig sympathies, forged far ahead of all its Boston competitors in circulation, and absorbed the *Daily Times* in 1857. It was a lively paper, edited for a time by W. J. Snelling, the writer of western tales. By 1860 it published 54,000 copies daily.

THE PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER

In Philadelphia, Dr. Christopher Columbus Conwell had been probably the first to experiment with penny journalism in America when he issued the few numbers of the *Cent* in 1830. William L. Drane had founded the *Daily Transcript* there as a penny daily in 1835 and was publishing it when three New York printers invaded Philadelphia and started the *Public Ledger* on March 25, 1836.

William M. Swain was a friend of Day's and had advised him against risking his money on the *Sun* venture; but he had later become foreman of the *Sun* printing force. Arunah S. Abell had worked at printing in Providence and Boston; coming to New York, he had made Day's acquaintance, but he too had ridiculed the penny-daily idea. The success of the *Sun* turned the scoffing of these two printers to admiration, however; and, enlisting the help of a third, Azariah H. Simmons, they made the descent upon Philadelphia.

The *Public Ledger* was much like the New York penny papers when it first appeared in 1836, though it was edited with rather less offence to the "respectable" than the *Herald*. It gave much space, however, to crime news; it had a comic police-court column; and it featured the Robinson-Jewett murder, which "broke" soon after it was founded. Its editorials on that case, written by Russell

Jarvis, lawyer-journalist, severely criticized judge, jury, counsel, and witnesses in the trial. Jarvis later lived in New York while he continued to write editorials for the *Public Ledger*. The paper was fearless in attacking local abuses; and it suffered under libel suits and, on one occasion, an attack by a mob. Though it did not advocate abolition, it stood fearlessly for the right of the radicals to free speech even though the militia might have to be called out and blood might "run deep in the streets." Likewise it defended Catholic rights against the rioters and church-burners at the time of the Native American movement.[20]

Though Jarvis wrote most of the editorials, Swain was very much the editor. It is said that he looked over every line of proof every day for more than twenty years to make sure that nothing improper should be printed. He was also the business manager, and under his shrewd policies circulation grew steadily. The *Public Ledger* soon absorbed the *Transcript*, and claimed 20,000 at the end of eighteen months; though it was set back by the hard times of 1837-40, it soon recovered and had 44,000 by 1850. A chief reason for this success was Swain's unusual enterprise in taking advantage of the new means of speed in communication as they developed, and in installing the best new presses in order to improve and enlarge the paper. Swain had left a $12-a-week job in New York to found the *Public Ledger*; when he retired in 1864, he was worth $3,000,000.

THE BALTIMORE SUN

Not all of Swain's money was made in Philadelphia, however, for the firm of Swain, Abell & Simmons carried the penny-paper idea to Baltimore shortly after the *Public Ledger* had passed its first birthday.

It was Abell who became the manager of the Baltimore *Sun*, which first rose to shine upon the third largest city in the United States on May 17, 1837. In format and policy it was another *Public Ledger*, with its facetious police-court reporting, its attention to local happenings, and its critical temper. Less than a week before the first appearance of the *Sun*, the banks of Baltimore, following the example of those of New York, had suspended specie

[20] The Philadelphia *Daily Sun* (1841-57), a penny paper edited by Lewis C. Levin, was strongly Native American at this time.

payments; and the new paper made capital of the crash by vigorous attacks upon the banks. These were difficult times in which to start a newspaper, but the *Sun* was claiming 12,000 circulation by the end of its first year; it went on to 30,000 in 1850, and probably 40,000 by the end of this period. The paper was repeatedly enlarged; new presses and new quarters were supplied from time to time; and in 1851 it erected its famous Iron Building, at that time the finest newspaper structure in the country.

The three partners owned the two papers equally; but Swain devoted himself to the *Public Ledger* and Abell to the *Sun*, while Simmons remained chiefly a Philadelphia man until his death in 1855. The papers were alike in their use of the telegraph, expresses, and trains for rapid news transmission; and the two, working with the New York *Herald*, made journalistic history in covering the Mexican War. But the *Sun*, on account of its proximity to Washington, made a special feature of its correspondence from the national capital. It established a bureau there in its first year; western papers soon came to look to it for the news of Congress and the federal departments almost as much as to the papers published in the capital; and its Washington correspondence has remained outstanding for a hundred years.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PENNY PRESS

Thus the great and influential penny dailies of the thirties were the *Sun* and the *Herald* in New York, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, and the Baltimore *Sun*. In a second rank were the *Daily Times* in Boston and the New York *Transcript*.

What these papers did, primarily, was to make newspaper readers of a whole economic class which the six-cent dailies had scarcely touched. They enlarged America's newspaper-reading public tremendously. Said the *Public Ledger* in 1836:

> In the cities of New York and Brooklyn, containing a population of 300,000, the daily circulation of the penny papers is not less than 70,000. This is nearly sufficient to place a newspaper in the hands of every man in the two cities, and even of every boy old enough to read. These papers are to be found in every street, lane, and alley; in every hotel, tavern, counting-house, shop, etc. Almost every porter and dray-man, while not engaged in his occupation, may be seen with a paper in his hands.[21]

[21] Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, March 25, 1836.

This constituted a great societal change. The drayman with a newspaper in his hands was a far more important social and political unit than he had been in the days when his information came down to him from the mercantile and educated classes. The penny papers "reach the very depths of the social state," declared a magazine of the times, "and move the mighty waters that lie undisturbed and stagnant below the reach of our daily mammoth sheets." [22]

But newspapers for the uneducated draymen and porters must necessarily be different from those prepared for the rich merchants. They had to be more direct and more sensational. They required the spice of wit, or (as in the case of the police reports) the cayenne of a rather brutal human comedy. The penny press, said a magazine writer of the early fifties, "answers the purpose of a pepper-box for diseased or slow stomachs, but it affords very little food for a healthy organization." [23] This was the general opinion of politicians, whose party organizations were flouted by the penny press; and of the professional and mercantile classes, whose institutions were commonly ignored or attacked. Yet the penny press contained plenty of healthy food, especially after it had passed its first brief experimental period; and its energy and enterprise enabled it to pyramid its success by building great and speedy news-gathering systems on a basis of wide popular support.

How fully aware of the implications of their work were the founders of this great democratic movement? The question is not an easy one to answer. With the exception of Bennett, they were printers looking for profitable opportunities in the line of their trade. When Day was an old man, he confessed that "for a long time the principal object of the newspaper was to advertise the job office." [24] Yet almost without exception the penny papers published paragraphs from time to time setting forth their creed, which may be summarized as follows: (1) The great common people should have a realistic view of the contemporary scene, and this in spite of taboos; (2) abuses in churches, courts, banks, stockmarkets, etc., should be exposed; (3) the newspaper's first duty is to give its readers the news, and not to support a party

[22] *Family Magazine*, May 17, 1834 (Vol. II, p. 40).

[23] *Democratic Review*, April, 1852 (Vol. XXX, p. 365).

[24] Interview in New York Sun, September 4, 1833, reprinted in centennial number, September 2, 1933, sec. 2, p. 3.

or a mercantile class; and (4) local and human-interest news is important. To these doctrines Horace Greeley later added, when he founded the penny *Tribune*, the reformer's ideal of social amelioration.

At the same time, the penny-press revolution was itself attended with great abuses. Bad taste, coarseness which sometimes became indecency, overemphasis on crime and sex, and disreputable advertising were outstanding sins of these papers.

THE REVOLUTION IN NEWS

The attitude of the early penny papers toward news itself eventually changed, throughout the whole American press, that most fundamental of journalistic concepts—the idea of what news is. Of course, generally speaking, news is the report of any new thing; but from the newspaper man's point of view, news is limited to those reports which he thinks his public wishes. Thus, news to the colonial editor was chiefly a compilation of clippings from London papers some months old; thus, news had continued to be a composite of matters understood to be deemed "important" by the "respectable" public. These "important" matters dealt with political policies (the outstanding story of almost any biennial period was the President's message to Congress), and with the larger questions of trade and commerce.

But note what happened when the newspaper public was no longer quite "respectable." Since the newspaper man's definition of news is conditioned by what his public looks for, the great change in that public occasioned by the advent of cheap dailies inevitably caused a shift in the news concept. There were three main elements in this shift—all of them moving away from the old ideas of "important" news: (1) an increase of local or home-city news; (2) a much greater emphasis on sensational news, especially that of crime and sex; (3) the appearance of what was later called "human-interest" news—stories of persons who are interesting merely as human beings, and not for their connection with either significant or sensational news.

During the Baltimore *Sun's* first months, there occurred one of those bloody street-fights between fire companies which enlivened the dull evenings of early Baltimoreans. The *Sun* carried a short story on this bit of gang warfare, but its "fipenny" contem-

poraries descended to no such vulgarity. The next day the *Sun* said:

> We looked at the *American* of yesterday morning with some eagerness, expecting [in a Pickwickian sense of expectation, no doubt] to find a full report of the riot of Monday evening; and we looked at it with the more confidence from the fact that the outrage was committed at the very doors of that office, and the wounded were carried into its rooms for protection. We looked, however, in vain. The *American* was silent on the subject.[25]

Modern reporting by no means sprang into full vigor upon the inauguration of the penny papers, however. At first, names and details were sadly lacking. News accounts were full of editorializing. Most papers were contemptuous of the new ideas developed by the penny press, seeing only the evils of sensationalism, and the novel concept of the news made its way slowly; it did make its way, however, enforced by the object lesson in the mounting circulation figures of the penny dailies.

"MIRACLES OF SPEED" IN COMMUNICATION

Emphasis on timeliness as a feature of news had begun before the era of the penny papers; but it was these papers, with their great resources derived from big circulations and resultant advertising, which were able to push enterprise in speed to a degree which amazed even themselves. These results were obtained, of course, through the utilization of three "miracles" of nineteenth-century communication—the steamship, the railroad, and the magnetic telegraph.

The competition in speedboats which met incoming sailing vessels bearing the foreign news continued to enliven New York, Boston, and Charleston journalism. But even the clipper-ships made poor enough communication. "It is seldom," said a New York newspaper in the winter of 1834, "that two months elapse without bringing intelligence from Europe to the United States. Such, however, is the fact at present." [26] It was never again the fact after the coming of transatlantic steamship service in 1838; communication between England and America was then cut to

[25] Baltimore *Sun*, June 7, 1837.
[26] New York *Christian Advocate*, February 26, 1834 (Vol. XII, p. 95).

less than three weeks, and a few years later, with the Cunard line, to less than two weeks.

Horse expresses also continued to be used in news-gathering competition. The New York *Courier and Enquirer* was running frequent expresses from Philadelphia in 1832; and the next year its great rival, the *Journal of Commerce*, set up a regular service from that city with eight relays. Other New York papers, which had combined for the purchase and operation of news-boats, now entered the horse-express competition; but the *Journal of Commerce* service usually led the trio of daily Philadelphia expresses. The *Courier and Enquirer* soon sold its line to the Postoffice Department; but the *Journal of Commerce* extended its expresses to Washington, running the 227 miles in twenty hours with twenty-four horses. This brought the *Journal's* messages through at least a day earlier than those that came by the postal express, and sometimes that paper cut its own record from Washington to New York to fifteen hours. After the advent of the penny papers, the *Courier and Enquirer* and the *Journal of Commerce* joined forces one winter to maintain a daily express from Washington, at a monthly cost of $7,500.

When the penny papers came into the picture, they also employed horse expresses, sometimes in combination; but it was not long until the extension of railroad lines brought about a shift from the horse to the locomotive, or sometimes a combination of the two. Further west, the horse expresses continued to be used for many years, as they were required in regions not yet served by railroads; and the "pony express" became famous for its speed in communication with the Far West.

In Boston, competition became as keen as in New York. Richard Haughton, of the *Atlas*, had been a leader in quick gathering of election returns when on the New York *Journal of Commerce*; in Boston he elaborated his methods, using horse and locomotive expresses. The Boston penny press rivaled his enterprise, sometimes combining in a group against another group headed by the *Atlas*. A contemporary observer writes:

> In one case, an editor nearly lost his life by excitement in riding on the locomotive from Worcester to Boston, about forty miles, in as many minutes. In a state of syncope, he was hurried in a carriage to Congress

Street, where with the greatest difficulty the President's message was taken from his clutched fingers.[27]

Another New England paper which gained a reputation for such enterprise was the Providence *Journal.*

At first the expresses were used for two kinds of news—the President's messages and election returns. Later came the daily expresses of the New York papers designed to get all Washington news through quickly. Then when steamship service with England was established and the Cunarders made Boston instead of New York their port, papers of the latter city used special locomotives to bring the steamship news to them. In this last enterprise the *Herald* and *Sun* were sharp rivals, the former commonly winning the race.

Later, Halifax, the North American port nearest England, became the point at which the first news was obtained from the English vessels. In 1845, when the excitement over the Oregon question was at its height and war with England seemed imminent, sixteen scattered papers united for fast service from England by steamer, riders, and locomotives. The *Herald* was left out of this combination, which it called the "Holy Alliance." The next year there were repeated races by "Halifax express" to bring the news from that point; now the *Herald* won, now one of its rivals.

It was in connection with bringing foreign news from Halifax that Daniel H. Craig established his private news agency employing carrier pigeons.[28] The New York *Sun* had been using pigeons for three or four years, and had a dovecote for them on top of its new building. Craig used them successfully, until the coming of the telegraph, all the way from Halifax to Washington. The *Herald* was his chief client and paid him bonuses for beats. After the telegraph was extended as far as St. Johns, Newfoundland, Craig devised an effective boat service to feed the telegraph wire. The regular steamship course from English ports to New York passed close enough to Cape Race to allow boats to put out from there to intercept New York bound vessels, which at that point had made about two thirds of their voyage. Craig arranged that

[27] Pray, *Memoirs of Bennett,* p. 372.

[28] Private expresses were not new. (See p. 193.) William F. Harnden instituted such an express on the railways between New York and Boston in 1839; it soon developed into the Adams Express Company.

such vessels should signal Cape Race on their approach, his boat would put out to sea and meet the steamer, a water-tight canister containing the latest Liverpool or London papers would be tossed overboard, the boat would pick it up, and Craig would get the news on the wire three or four days before the ship docked in New York harbor. Though Craig's work was not limited to the penny papers, he had many of them as clients.

The Baltimore papers—especially the *Sun*—played a large part in all these efforts to develop speed in news transmission. They were favorably situated to use the earliest railroad line[29]—the Baltimore & Ohio—as well as that first telegraph wire strung from Washington to Baltimore. The first telegraphic news dispatch was not sent to a newspaper, however, and the newspapers paid no attention to it. It contained the news of the nomination of Clay and Frelinghuysen at the national Whig convention held at Baltimore May 1, 1844. Washington papers that day got their Baltimore news as usual, from papers published in that city, which arrived by a late train. The first telegraphic dispatch published in a newspaper appeared on May 25 of that year in the Baltimore *Patriot*. It told of congressional routine as follows: "One o'clock.—There has just been made a motion in the House to go into committee of the whole on the Oregon question. Rejected,—ayes, 79; nays, 86." When the Baltimore *American*, a few weeks later, used the telegraph wire, it had to pay one cent for each character sent, cash in advance.[30] But the price was soon reduced.

William M. Swain, of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, was one of the incorporators of the Magnetic Telegraph Company, and later its president. In this organization he was associated with the inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse, and the chief promoter, Amos Kendall. Kendall, who had been a newspaper man in Frankfort, Kentucky, and in Washington, was the chief force behind the earliest extension of the telegraph network. Before the middle of 1846, the Baltimore *Sun* exulted over the progress of the magnetic telegraph, which was "now almost on the eve of connecting the four great commercial cities of the Union by a mystic band with

[29] There were many short lines of railroad by the time the *Sun* was founded, however. The first steam locomotive on the B. & O. was used in 1830; from that time forward there was a mania of railroad planning and building, until by 1840 there was a broken line of railway from New Hampshire to North Carolina.

[30] *Journalist*, November 8, 1890, p. 2.

the National Capital." [31] This "mystic band" was soon complete, and before the end of the year it was extended north to Portland, Maine, and west to Buffalo and Harrisburg; in 1847 it reached St. Louis in the West and Charleston in the South, and the next year Chicago and Milwaukee. By 1846 all the New York papers had followed the *Herald's* example of printing a column of news headed "By Magnetic Telegraph." The first presidential message to be transmitted by wire was Polk's in 1846, when the Baltimore *Sun* was the enterprising recipient. Two years later the transmission of Polk's unusually long message by telegraph to St. Louis was regarded as one of the miracles of the century.

COVERAGE OF THE MEXICAN WAR

When the War with Mexico began in May, 1846, the telegraph extended only as far south as Richmond, and southern railroad systems were fragmentary. It was necessary, therefore, to depend either on the regular post-riders or on private horse expresses for much of the route along which news from the seat of war must be brought. The common mail from New Orleans to New York required, under ordinary weather conditions, about ten days.[32] By using horse expresses over the great gap in the railroad system through Mississippi and Alabama, and putting the news on the wire at Richmond (or Petersburg when the line was extended late in the war), important gains in speed of transmission could be accomplished. But such enterprise was costly, and combinations of newspapers were made to share both expense and news. Of these the two most important were the Charleston *Courier* and New York *Sun* service, and the one set up by the Baltimore *Sun* and Philadelphia *Public Ledger* (using "60 blooded horses") and later extended to the New York *Herald* and other papers. In addition, the *Herald* made early attempts of its own to maintain an express service.

In spite of these handicaps in communication, the news coverage of the Mexican War was far more copious than that of any

[31] *Sun*, May 19, 1846. See also the *Sun* for November 14, 1846, for a letter from Kendall reprinted from the Washington *Union* detailing progress.

[32] King (*Newspaper Press of Charleston*, p. 135) says seven days, but a study of papers and dates shows a longer time for ordinary all-mail transmission.

previous war in any part of the world. It marked the beginning of modern war correspondence. For this achievement much of the credit is due to the New Orleans papers, since it was upon their reports that all other American newspapers chiefly relied for war news. This was quite according to the tradition of news-gathering, by which the paper or papers nearest important news-breaks had the responsibility of covering them.

New Orleans was the chief base of supplies for the invading armies. In 1847 it had no less than nine daily papers, between which there was sharp news competition. The *Picayune*, *Delta*, and *Crescent* did notable work; and the *Tropic* and *Bee* were not far behind. These papers spent large sums for "beats" on the war news. The *Picayune* sometimes sent fast boats equipped with composing rooms out to sea to meet the slower steamers from Vera Cruz; and by the time the boat had returned to harbor the type for the latest story was set and ready to be rushed to the *Picayune* presses. All these papers had their correspondents at the front, and some had two or three.

The outstanding Mexican War correspondent was George W. Kendall.[33] He was a Yankee printer who had worked on Washington papers and on Greeley's *New-Yorker*. In 1836 he and Francis Lumsden founded the *Picayune*,[34] which immediately gained a reputation for wit and cleverness. Kendall was himself a humorist and he gave the paper that reputation for amusing sketches which it was to retain for many years. He was also an adventurer, and five years before the war he had been captured by the Mexicans while accompanying a trading expedition and held as prisoner in Mexico City under the worst of conditions for several months. He urged war with Mexico in the *Picayune*, and as soon as hostilities began he attached himself to General Taylor's army. He was at the fall of Monterey and the Battle of Buena Vista; in the former engagement, he captured a Mexican flag which he sent

[33] Kendall is usually called the "first" American war correspondent, but see p. 196. Also there were probably as many as a score of other war correspondents in the field in 1846-47. A modern war correspondent is a non-combatant, but Kendall rode with the McCulloch Rangers and was later attached to General Worth's staff. He was, however, recognized as a war correspondent, and was the first outstanding regular reporter of military movements and action.

[34] The name was that of a coin worth six and a quarter cents—the price of the paper. See footnote, p. 220.

home to his paper as a trophy. He witnessed the capture of Vera Cruz, accompanied Scott on his march on Mexico City, and was wounded in the knee in the last battle of the war.

Kendall's dispatches gave accurate accounts of military movements and were, besides, infused with color and human interest. He set up pony expresses to get his dispatches out of Mexico; these were dangerous as well as expensive to operate. Some of the riders lost their lives when ambushed by Mexican guerrillas, but "Kendall's Express" was reliable enough to be used occasionally for official messages. Kendall is said to have once chartered a special steamer from Vera Cruz to New Orleans at a cost of $5,000.

The *Delta's* leading correspondent was James L. Freaner, an adventurer, who occasionally acted as an official dispatch carrier. At the Battle of Monterey he killed a Mexican officer and took his horse; thereafter he signed his letters "Mustang." Kendall's partner Lumsden also saw service as a correspondent. Many soldiers wrote letters from time to time to their home papers. Some of these were carried eastward over the Santa Fé Trail or up the Mississippi to St. Louis and Cincinnati.

It must be remembered that, despite newspaper enterprise, reports of the Mexican War could not be published in the eastern papers until from two to four weeks after the events which they narrated. Two thousand miles, much of which was through hostile country, across the Gulf of Mexico by slow steamers, and overland on poor roads, took time to traverse. Thus even the Baltimore *Sun's* famous "beat" on the fall of Vera Cruz was printed twelve days after it happened; and the Boston *Journal*, publishing the news of the victory of Buena Vista on April 1, fully five weeks after the event and when the public had been led to expect Taylor's annihilation, was accused of perpetrating an April-fool joke.

A new development of this war was the camp newspaper, nearly a score of which were published by soldier-printers on small hand-presses to serve the various army corps. The most important of these was the *American Flag*, of Scott's army, which was first published at Matamoras and was used by many papers as a chief source of their news from the seat of war; after the war it was continued at Brownsville, Texas. William C. Toby, a correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* published a *North American* in Mexico City during the occupation.

THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dissatisfaction with the transmission of news of the Mexican War, alarm at the increasing bills for telegraph tolls, and the success of certain early attempts at coöperation in news-gathering led in the years immediately following the war to the organization which later came to be called the New York Associated Press.[35] This association appears to have originated at a meeting held in the office of the New York *Sun* in May, 1848, and to have had for its purpose the procuring for all members of the association in one telegraphic transmission the foreign news received from ships arriving at Boston. Six papers joined in the organization: the *Sun*, *Herald*, *Tribune*, *Express*, *Courier and Enquirer*, and *Journal of Commerce*.

At first the association was very informal; it was never incorporated. Soon there was also a Harbor News Association with the same membership to coöperate in the meeting of ships coming into New York harbor; and in 1856 a more definite organization was formed,[36] with Gerard Hallock, of the *Journal of Commerce*, as president, and the scope of the service was greatly extended. Expenses were shared equally by the six papers, and a general news office was maintained. In charge of this office was a "general agent"; Dr. Alexander Jones was the first to fill this responsible position, and he was followed after three years by the aggressive Daniel H. Craig, who had operated the famous pigeon express. When the *Times* was founded in 1851, the number of papers in the association was increased to seven. The news gathered by the New York Associated Press was also sold to papers in Boston,[37] Philadelphia, and other cities. The scope of its news was greatly broadened, and soon correspondence was established at all important points.

The early history of the New York Associated Press is filled

[35] There had been an upstate association of papers located between Buffalo and Albany for the same purpose before the successful New York Associated Press was organized.

[36] The name then adopted was "General News Association of the City of New York," but this was later dropped in favor of the more popular "New York Associated Press."

[37] There was at one time an ambitious Boston Associated Press; but the New York association discouraged local organizations, which interfered with its own domination.

with its effort to control the news-gathering field, if not to monopolize it; this effort was fairly successful by 1853. Prominent also were the contests with the telegraph companies over rates and special privileges. When the Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1855, agreements were made which gave the A.P. low rates and the Western Union a monopoly of newspaper business.

CHAPTER XIV

The Political Newspapers

BUT WHATEVER MAY BE SAID OF THE ENTERPRISE AND SUCCESS of the penny press, and however important its part may have been in the news revolution, the fact remains that up to the time of the Civil War it was not the independent penny press but the partisan political press that dominated American journalism.

The penny press, when it suffered under the barbed criticism of the party press, was wont to retort by calling its partisan critics venal, corrupt, and dull. That there was a close alliance between the party papers and the politicians, often extending to financial aid and patronage, no observer doubted. "Every shade of political persuasion," wrote a spokesman for the Democratic press,

> has its organ. . . . Each of these organs is a propagandist after its own fashion. . . . The leading presses of the country, even with the best intentions, are in continual danger of becoming the mere tools of public men, to whom they act as sycophants.[1]

Let a political leader come forward, and one or more newspapers were immediately to be found devoted to pushing his interests; let a party schism develop in a state organization, and soon certain papers came to be known as "organs" of the two factions. Politicians arranged such newspaper affiliations with care, and considered them essential to success. Martin Van Buren, boss of the New York Democratic machine, wrote to a lieutenant in Albany concerning financial aid to the Argus: "Without a paper thus edited [*i.e.*, 'soundly and discreetly' edited] at Albany, we may hang our harps on the willows." [2]

The Democratic party of the period was, until 1854, the party

[1] *Democratic Review*, April, 1852 (Vol. XXX, pp. 359, 361).
[2] Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, p. 276.

of Andrew Jackson—nationalist, and opposed to a protective tariff and the National Bank. The Whig party was formed at the very beginning of this period by a union of several anti-Jackson groups—chiefly the National Republicans, the Anti-Masons, and southern anti-Jackson Democrats. Its great leaders were Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. But in 1854 the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused a realignment of parties on the slavery issue: the Democrats emerged as the proslavery party, the Republican party was established on the basis of opposition to slavery, and the Whig organization dissolved. Two minor parties were the Free-Soilers of 1848 and the American or Know-Nothing party, which gained a considerable support in the fifties for its opposition to immigrants and Catholics.

The period of 1833-60 was in the main a Democratic era. Except for the four years of the Taylor-Fillmore administration, Democratic ideas prevailed.[3] The Democrats won five of the seven national elections. The Whigs, however, maintained throughout most of the period a substantial leadership over the Democrats in the number of newspapers; and this was more marked among the dailies than among the weeklies.[4] Thus, as in former periods, there seems to be no significant correlation between the proportion of papers adhering to a given party and the proportion of votes polled by that party in national elections.

The fact that mercantile classes, from which most of the advertising came, were generally aligned with the Whigs, gave the press of that party a great advantage; and for the same reason it was hard for the Democrats to keep papers going in the large cities. The Census of 1850 classifies only one New York paper as Democratic, two in Boston, two in Philadelphia, and one in Baltimore.

It would be wrong, however, to think of the Whig papers as a purchased or "kept" press. They had financial advantages in the

[3] The Whigs elected Harrison and Tyler in a whooping campaign in 1840; but Harrison died a month after inauguration, and Tyler ran fairly true to his earlier record as a Democrat.

[4] This proportion of Whig papers was occasionally a matter of remark among newspapers and reviews; e.g., *Democratic Review, loc. cit; Leisure Hour*, July 23, 1864 (Vol. XIII, p. 478); and *Fraser's Magazine*, December, 1855 (Vol. LII, p. 685). J. G. C. Kennedy's *Catalogue of Newspapers and Periodicals* (New York, 1852) shows Whig papers forming fifty-two per cent of those which reported party affiliation, but of the dailies sixty per cent were Whig.

cities, to be sure, but their editors usually were ardent Whigs by conviction. In 1846 they risked popular wrath by their opposition to the Mexican War. The vigor of this attack on the war, and its continuance after the country was fully engaged, were extraordinary. The crusade ranged from Lowell's "Biglow Papers" in the Boston *Courier* to declarations that it would be moral treason to enlist in the American army and the expression of a desire that "the hordes of Scott and Taylor" should "every man of them be swept into the next world." [5] "People of the United States!" shouted the New York *Tribune*, "your rulers are precipitating you into a fathomless abyss of crime and calamity. Why sleep you thoughtless on its verge?" [6] The tolerance of such expressions on the part of the government was a remarkable object lesson in freedom of the press.

Moreover, if the Whig press benefited by the "annual advertisements" of the mercantile class, the Democratic papers in the national capital, in some of the state capitals, and in other cities received considerable subsidies in the form of public printing.

THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC TRIUMVIRATE

Three great Democratic cliques, or machines, came to power shortly before the beginning of this period, and in one way or another retained much of their influence for many years. Each of these dominant groups had a newspaper organ. The three were the "Kitchen Cabinet" of Jackson's administration, with the Washington *Globe*; the "Richmond Junta," with Ritchie's *Enquirer*; and the "Albany Regency," with the *Argus*, of that city. This trio of political groups wielded great power upon the policies, nominations, and appointments of the party.

The "Kitchen Cabinet" [7] and its *Globe*, famous in the Jackson regime, continued its influence through Van Buren's administration; but when the Whigs elected Harrison, he chose the old *National Intelligencer* as the administration organ. It was a very brief sinecure for Gales & Seaton this time, however; for upon Harrison's death, Tyler, never a good Whig, was soon at outs with

[5] See quotations from Boston *Daily Chronotype*, Louisville *Journal*, New York *Tribune*, *New-Hampshire Statesman*, and other papers in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 498.

[6] *Tribune*, May 12, 1846.

[7] See p. 180.

the *Intelligencer*. A strong believer in the power of the press, Tyler set up a new paper, the *Madisonian*, in Washington, and an organ in nearly every state, all of them bound to the administration by patronage. These tactics were a complete failure so far as Tyler's personal fortunes were concerned, and Polk became the next President. Naturally, the *Globe*, as the old Jacksonian and Democratic organ, now came into power again; but the political enemies of its editor, Francis P. Blair, were active and eventually forced him to sell the paper to men of their own choosing. Thus history repeated itself: as Jackson had once supplanted the established Democratic editors by Blair and Rives, whom he brought from Kentucky, so now Polk replaced them by new managers from Virginia and Tennessee. The dismissal of Blair removed from position a man who was thought by some observers to have exercised greater political power in his heyday than either Van Buren or Tyler.[8] Later he became one of the founders of the Republican party and an adviser of Lincoln.

The name of the official paper was now changed to the *Union*, in honor of the Nashville *Union*, Polk's leading champion. Jeremiah G. Harris, conductor of the Nashville paper, was offered the editorship of the national organ but refused; and the job went to Thomas Ritchie. Polk's new editor was one of the outstanding journalists of the party, for forty years powerful conductor of the Richmond *Enquirer*.[9] "Father Ritchie" was now an old man, and as events proved he was unable to control affairs in the national capital as firmly as he had those of Virginia.

It was in connection with the fight on Ritchie that the rule was adopted in 1846 which required the letting of the government printing to the lowest bidder. Heretofore the large sums involved in these contracts had been a reward for partisan editorial leadership in the national capital.[10] It was a system which invited corruption, but the editors who worked under it seem to have kept relatively free of scandals.[11] But after it was discarded, no administra-

[8] McClure, *Recollections*, p. 43.

[9] See pp. 188-89 for the early *Enquirer* and the character of Ritchie.

[10] Government printing was not bestowed in one contract, but the different units —executive departments, Senate, House of Representatives—each selected its printer. The President, however, commonly had much influence in the whole system.

[11] There was some scandal about the purchase of the *Globe* in 1845, but Ritchie himself was not involved.

tion organ exerted more than a tithe of the old influence. There remained some politics in the awarding of the printing, to be sure, until the establishment of the Government Printing Office in 1860; but the Washington organs never regained their power and prestige after 1846.

President Taylor, nevertheless, set up a new paper, the *Republic*, as his mouthpiece; and upon his death Fillmore reverted once more to the *National Intelligencer* to speak for the administration. The next Presidents, Pierce and Buchanan, turned, like good Democrats, to the *Union*. But the old force of inspired editorial utterance was gone; while even for the news, the country (and Washington itself) came to depend increasingly upon the Baltimore papers.

When "Father Ritchie" went to Washington to edit the *Union*, he left the Richmond *Enquirer* in the hands of his two sons, who kept up something of the old prestige of the "Richmond Junta." A notable incident in the subsequent history of that paper was one of the most savage of newspaper duels, fought with both pistols and swords by Thomas Ritchie, Jr., and John H. Pleasants, of the Richmond *Whig*. Ritchie killed his opponent, and was later tried for murder and acquitted.

The Albany *Argus* was the organ of the "Albany Regency" in the palmy days when that organization was able to send one of its members to the White House, three to the United States Senate, and others to the national House of Representatives.[12] These men wrote for the *Argus* party pronouncements which were accepted as authoritative the country over. The chief name connected with the editorship was that of Edwin Croswell, a nephew of the Harry Croswell of the famous libel suit. When the Democratic party controlled the state, the *Argus* waxed fat on state printing; and even in the later unhappy days of the Regency's dissolution and factional quarrels, it got its share.

NEW YORK EVENING POST

The chief, and at times the only Democratic paper in New York was the *Evening Post*. While its editor, William Cullen

[12] Martin Van Buren, John A. Dix, William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, etc. The paper's first editor was Jesse Buel, formerly of the *Ulster Plebeian*. It was founded as a weekly, in 1813, became a daily in 1824, and ended in 1920.

Bryant, was abroad in 1834-36, his associate, William Leggett, was in charge of the paper. Leggett was a fiery writer, bitter in attack, strong in opinion. Ever a champion of the poor and downtrodden, he became one of a small group of proletarian writers in New York who furnished a literary support for the organization of the early labor unions. Leggett defended the abolitionists and their rights to free speech, and attacked the United States Bank, the monopolies, and the speculators. All this naturally displeased the New York merchants upon whom the *Evening Post* had to depend for its advertising; and when Bryant returned to his editorial chair, he found the paper's business in a sad state. He did not renounce Leggett's opinions, for they were, in the main, his own; but it was his nature to write more temperately.

Bryant has seldom been done full justice by modern writers because most of them have insisted on disregarding his fifty years of editorship of a great newspaper and basing their estimates on a comparatively small poetical production. Bryant brought a strong moral nature, fortified by the study of English liberalism, to the task of interpreting current economic, social, and political questions. He supported the Democratic party because that was the only practical way to oppose Whig support of monopoly and industrial domination; but he found the growing proslavery control of his party more and more galling, and in 1848 he went over to the Free-Soilers. When the Republican party appeared, he gave the new organization the support of the *Evening Post*. Bryant was a great liberal, ever defending free commerce, free speech, free soil.

Moreover, his paper was edited with better literary taste and generally in a more refined tone than most of its contemporaries. The *Courier and Enquirer* was wont to scoff at the idea of poets as editors, and referred to Bryant and Leggett as "the chanting cherubs [13] of the *Post*," but New York journalism needed the *Post's* refinement. It developed a widespread American news correspondence, enlisted European writers, and maintained a considerable prestige for many years without a large circulation.

Parke Godwin, a socialist who had been devoted to the Fourier system, joined the staff in 1836. He married his chief's

[13] This was a reference to Horatio Greenough's sculptural group "The Chanting Cherubs," much discussed in the public prints.

daughter, proved an able journalist, and remained with the paper forty years. In 1848 John Bigelow bought a one-third interest; he was valuable on both the business and editorial sides of the paper. When Bigelow retired in 1860 to enter the diplomatic service, the *Evening Post's* circulation had increased materially and it had a very prosperous business.

OTHER FAMOUS DEMOCRATIC PAPERS

In New England, the great Democratic journals were Charles G. Greene's Boston *Post* and the *New-Hampshire Patriot.* The *Patriot* was begun in 1808 and became powerful under the vigorous partisan editorship of Isaac Hill, who was later a United States senator and governor of his state.[14]

Philadelphia's leading Democratic paper was the *Pennsylvanian* (1832-61). Its career was very uneven, and it had many editors and owners. James Gordon Bennett tried his fortune with it for a short time, but its most successful editor was John W. Forney, who was later to have a long and important political and journalistic career in connection with other papers—especially the Philadelphia *Press.*

The Baltimore *Republican* (1827-63), whose title became a misnomer after the founding of the Republican party, was for many years its city's strongest Democratic organ. Further south, the Charleston *Mercury* continued the spokesman for the more extreme proslavery views. The Nashville (Tennessee) *Union* (1835-75) had a position of prominence chiefly because it was the leading paper to promote Governor Polk's presidential candidacy.

In the Northwest, the *Ohio Statesman,*[15] of Columbus, was the great Democratic newspaper. For several years it was edited by Samuel Medary, a vigorous and belligerent writer, who became the boss of Ohio Democracy. A later editor was S. S. Cox, widely known as "Sunset" Cox because of a grandiloquent description of that daily phenomenon which he wrote for his paper. Cox later

[14] The *Patriot* was merged with the *Daily Monitor* in 1923 and is now published under the name *Monitor and New Hampshire Patriot.* See pp. 217 and 560 for notes on the *Post.*

[15] The *Statesman* was begun in 1816 as the *Ohio Monitor.* In later years it had various names, ending as the *Columbus News* in 1907. For Medary's Civil War activities, see p. 357.

served many years in Congress, and became famous as a traveler and humorous lecturer.

WHIG PAPERS IN WASHINGTON AND PHILADELPHIA

The *National Intelligencer* was the leading Whig organ at Washington—the "ablest oracle of the Whig party," according to President Buchanan. Its influence declined with the waning power of its party and with the death of Webster, its great patron, in 1852, and that of Joseph Gales, its senior editor, in 1860.

In Philadelphia the *North American* prospered as one of the country's great conservative Whig newspapers. Founded in 1839 as a commercial journal with religious convictions, it absorbed several other Philadelphia papers, and in a few years came under the editorship of Robert T. Conrad, who made it a strong Whig spokesman. Morton McMichael was for many years part or sole owner. Both McMichael and Conrad were mayors of Philadelphia, and it is difficult to overestimate the respect in which the *North American* was held by the mercantile and educated classes. It was distinctly literary. Conrad was a poet and dramatist; Robert M. Bird, the novelist, was an associate editor; George R. Graham, long director of *Graham's Magazine*, was a part owner for some years; and McMichael himself had edited several literary weeklies, including the *Saturday Evening Post*. The paper, however, was excellent also on the news side. In 1847 it purchased its most respected Whig rival, the *United States Gazette*.[16] The *North American* turned to the Republican standard upon the dissolution of the Whig party.

JAMES WATSON WEBB AND THE COURIER AND ENQUIRER

In New York the chief Whig paper prior to the appearance of Greeley's *Tribune* was Colonel James Watson Webb's *Courier and Enquirer*. It was primarily a mercantile paper; but it was livelier than most others of its class, and it took strong partisan positions. For several years it engaged in sharp competition with its rivals, particularly with the *Journal of Commerce*, in news-gathering enterprise. By news-boats and horse expresses it endeavored to keep ahead, and in the late fifties it enlarged its page to a

[16] Formerly the *Gazette of the United States*, founded by Fenno. See pp. 122-23.

"blanket" size so that it could boast of being the largest paper in New York.

Webb was a man of strong, assertive character. As a boy, he had run away from home to join the army during the War of 1812-14, and had then renewed his enlistment to fight Indians in the Northwest. Indians were not enough for him, however, and he fought two duels with fellow officers. When he resigned from the army and bought the *Courier*, later the *Courier and Enquirer*, he brought a picturesque element into New York journalism. Tall and well built, with massive head, florid face, piercing eyes, flaring hair, and side-whiskers which, as he grew older, became pure white, he was a striking figure on the street or at public meetings. Age did not soften his asperities or impair his pugnacity. When Congressman Cilley, of Maine, attacked his character in debate in the House, Webb took the first train to Washington in order to challenge him to a duel; Cilley refused to deal with Webb, but did fight a duel with Webb's second, and was killed. When Duff Green, of the *United States Telegraph*, denounced him, Webb again went down to Washington, this time to give Green a caning; but he found his enemy armed with a pistol, and satisfied himself with telling him off and then printing in his paper a brief résumé of what he had called the "cowardly puppy." When Congressman Marshall, of Kentucky, made some unkind allusions to the fiery editor, there was another duel; and Webb got a bullet in his leg and eventually a sentence of two years at Sing-Sing for violating New York's antidueling laws. While he was in jail, Bennett, whom he had twice attacked on the street, sent him a box of cigars; Webb rejected the gift angrily; and Bennett got a snappy paragraph out of the occurrence. Governor Seward pardoned Webb before he was taken to the penitentiary.

Despite the temptation to regard Webb as only a modern Bombastes Furioso, it must be remembered that he made the *Courier and Enquirer* for many years one of the chief papers in New York and a leading spokesman of the Whig party. It was consolidated with the *World* in 1861.

OTHER WHIG PAPERS

Another important Whig paper in New York was the *Express*, which was founded in 1836 by James and Erastus Brooks, who

had been trained on the Portland *Advertiser*. James, the elder brother, had become famous for his Washington correspondence and for his travels on foot through Europe. The two made their paper known for certain kinds of commercial news (as hotel lists), for its vigorous political comment, for its separate morning and evening editions, and for its election returns. This latter type of news was available only at Albany; and on one occasion the *Express* chartered a Hudson River steamer, fitted up a composing room on board, and had the returns in type and ready for the press as soon as the boat arrived at New York. The morning *Express* was the first daily to publish regularly what was called a "double sheet," *i.e.*, an eight-page paper. While James Brooks was in Europe in the early fifties, Erastus was swept into the Know-Nothing party and carried the paper with him; when the elder brother returned, he steered the *Express* into the Democratic column, where it remained until its end in 1881.

Boston was full of Whig dailies, but the leader of the Whig press not only in that city but in New England during the forties was the *Atlas* (1832-61). It was, of course, a Webster organ, but it was also a leader in news enterprise. The Boston *Courier*, that lively and literary journal, was another Webster organ. Its long-time editor, Joseph T. Buckingham, was one of the most respected newspaper men in New England. James Russell Lowell, sending his satires on the Mexican War to the *Courier*, makes Hosea Biglow say that his parson has advised sending them to that paper. "send It to mister Buckinum, ses he, i don't ollers agree with him, ses he, but by Time, ses he, I *du* like a feller that aint a Feared." After Buckingham's retirement in 1848, the *Courier* became strongly proslavery. Another Boston paper, the *Journal*, was a prosperous Whig organ.

Comparatively unimportant as a newspaper, but interesting as a political organ, was the Knoxville (Tennessee) *Whig*, edited and published by "Parson" Brownlow. A picturesque mountaineer figure was William G. Brownlow, tall, robust, intense; he had been a carpenter and an itinerant Methodist preacher before he got into politics by opposing nullification in South Carolina. His writing was brilliant, often coarse, and vituperative beyond anything since the days of "Peter Porcupine" and the egregious Callender. He often engaged in physical combat with his enemies, sometimes

suffering serious injuries. He once called Tyler "that long-eared Virginia ass who occupies the Presidential chair." [17] In the fifties his paper gained a larger circulation than any other weekly in the South. But the "fighting parson's" greater fame was to come later.[18]

Another picturesque character in the journalism of the time was Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky politician and soldier. Duels and street encounters were common in Clay's career, and he commonly went about armed with two pistols and a bowie-knife. When he founded his antislavery *True American* in Lexington in 1845, he fortified the office with two cannon and an armory of Mexican lances and rifles. Nevertheless, after the paper had been running two months, a "committee" of men who disapproved of antislavery journalism in Kentucky got possession of the plant, boxed it up, and sent it north to Cincinnati. Clay continued to edit the paper in Lexington and publish it in Cincinnati until he went off to the Mexican War.[19] Afterward he had a long and picturesque career in politics, war, and diplomacy.

Another interesting Kentucky newspaper of Whig opinions was the Louisville *Journal*, founded in 1831 by the Connecticut poet and journalist, George D. Prentice. It gained a national reputation by the wit of its editorial columns, and probably no paper of its day was more generally "clipped" by its Whig contemporaries. "Prentice," wrote a contemporary, "was full of wit and fire and his paragraphs exploded like nitroglycerine; he fought out his quarrels with pen or pistol, as the case required." [20] A few typical paragraphs of "Prenticeana" may be quoted:

> Place confers no dignity on such a man as the new Missouri senator. Like a balloon, the higher he rises, the smaller he looks.
>
> You may wish to get a wife without a failing; but what if the lady, after you find her, happens to be in want of a husband of the same character?
>
> The editor of the *Star* says that he has never murdered the truth. He never gets near enough to do it any bodily harm.

[17] Jonesboro *Whig*, September 22, 1841. Brownlow began the *Whig* in 1839, at Elizabethton, and moved it to Jonesboro in 1840 and to Knoxville in 1849.

[18] See pp. 361-62 for his history in the Civil War period.

[19] In his absence the paper was moved to Louisville and its name changed to the *Examiner;* on his return, Clay published it until 1849.

[20] Stanton, *Random Recollections*, p. 18.

About the only person we ever heard of that wasn't spoiled by being lionized was a Jew named Daniel.

A woman always keeps secret what she does not know.—*Exchange.* It is a pity that all men do not imitate her discretion.[21]

BEGINNINGS OF THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN

The first Massachusetts daily outside of Boston was the Sprinfield *Republican*, another strong Whig journal. Samuel Bowles had brought a press and type up the Connecticut River on a flatboat to found the *Republican* as a weekly in 1824. Its original purpose was chiefly political: the National Republicans had no organ with which to fight Federalism, which was at this time making its last stand in such back-country districts as that which centered in the town of Springfield. Bowles therefore fought the local Federalist candidates, supported John Quincy Adams, and achieved a modest success for his paper. In due time Jackson became the target for the *Republican's* attacks, and the paper came naturally into the Whig ranks.

A son, also named Samuel, now began to urge the elder Bowles to start a daily. Samuel Bowles III [22] was eighteen years old in 1844, when the daily was begun. He had been taken out of school, to his lifelong displeasure, the year before ; and he was full of ambition, though not of a very robust physical constitution. His father put the chief management of the daily into the boy's hands, and "Young Sam," as he was called, at once gave it distinction by devoting it largely to local news and local interests. It was slow in getting started, with very small circulation for the first years. A physical breakdown forced the young editor to go South for a time. But with the establishment of a competing paper in 1846, and the coming of the telegraph to Springfield in the same year, the *Republican* took on new life. Its local and telegraph news became strong departments; editorially it gave sturdy support to Whig policies until that party was wrecked on the rocks of the slavery dispute in 1854-55; and in its literary miscellany it was especially distinguished. Dr. Josiah G. Holland, teacher, physician,

[21] From *Prenticeana* (New York, 1859), which contains a collection of Prentice's paragraphs from the Louisville *Journal*.

[22] The first Samuel Bowles was a grocer. The founder of the *Republican* was the second Samuel Bowles. The third Samuel Bowles in direct and uninterrupted line was the second of three Samuel Bowleses to control the *Republican*.

journalist, preacher,[23] was for several years a popular contributor of social essays (signed "Timothy Titcomb"), fiction serials, and a "History of Western Massachusetts." Dr. Holland was for a time a part owner of the paper and brought it much prestige.

Other efficient journalists were added to the staff, and by 1856 Greeley declared the Springfield *Republican* to be "the best and ablest country journal ever published on the continent." An outstanding feature of the *Republican* was its condensation. Bowles, disgusted with the wordiness of the current literary style, made his paper famous for straightforward, concise news-writing. The elder Bowles died in 1851, and his son made the paper, though a supporter of the new Republican party, an independent force in political thought.

Much of the paper's fame, like that of the *Tribune*, came from the circulation of its weekly edition. Westerners who still looked on New England as home prized it. The daily had only 5,700 circulation in 1860, but the weekly had twice that.

THURLOW WEED AND THE ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL

A great politician established himself in a strategic position when Thurlow Weed founded his *Evening Journal* in Albany, New York, in 1830. Weed had been a printer, boy and man, for some eighteen years before he came to Albany. As editor of a Rochester paper, he had found himself suddenly in the midst of the hysteria which followed the disappearance of William Morgan on the eve of the publication of a book which purported to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry. Weed urged an investigation, was forced as a consequence of his activity to sell his paper, led in the prosecutions of Masons for the kidnaping and murder of Morgan, and finally became chief organizer of a political party directed against the Masons. Thus the Albany *Evening Journal* was established to take the leadership of the already extensive Anti-Masonic press. But the attempt to make a national party out of a sensation was given up after 1832, when its candidate for President failed to make a respectable showing; and the Anti-Masons joined with the new Whig party.

The *Evening Journal* had made a good start, however, and Weed's genius is shown by the fact that he was able to make a

[23] And later the famous editor of *Scribner's Monthly*.

political movement which was in itself a failure, a personal success for Weed. This was because he unhesitatingly turned his paper over to the enthusiastic Whigs and allied himself with the young party's most promising New York statesman. Weed had all the talents of the political "boss," and his alliance with Seward was hard to beat. He made Seward governor and was, more than any other single person, responsible for the election of the two Whig Presidents.[24]

Weed was a good newspaper man and a hard worker; in the early days of the *Evening Journal* he was reporter, proof-reader, and often compositor, as well as editor and political manager. His paper and its political rival the *Argus* both had larger circulations than any political paper in New York City until the *Tribune* passed them in the late forties. The *Evening Journal* also benefited by the state printing when the Whigs were in power. It became a Republican paper on the dissolution of the Whig party, and lasted until 1925.

[24] Both of them died in office, however—Harrison and Taylor—and Weed was unable to control the patronage of either of the Vice-Presidents who succeeded them.

CHAPTER XV

Founding the Tribune and the Times

WE LEFT HORACE GREELEY SETTING TYPE, WORKING THE HARDER after the first cheap-for-cash paper in New York had died in his shop.[1] But Greeley was not a mere printer; he was a born editor with a need for expression; and in 1834, besides helping to edit a Whig campaign paper called the *Constitution*, which he printed on contract, he started a weekly paper of his own. Greeley's paper was the *New-Yorker*, a weekly literary miscellany. It published essays, fiction, informative articles, poetry, and music—most of which was acquired by the judicious use of shears and paste-pot. But it also had an editorial page in which Greeley expressed opinions of a Whig cast, and it carried a news résumé with especial attention to reports of elections.[2] It was a good paper and gained a circulation of 9,000, but it was not profitable.

Meantime Weed had decided to run Seward for governor in 1838. It had now been the custom for ten years to publish campaign papers in the leading cities whenever a strong political drive was planned; these were low-priced sheets filled with party propaganda and financed by campaign committees. Weed wanted such a paper for Albany during the 1838 state campaign, and he looked about for an editor. He knew nothing of Greeley, but he had noticed in the *New-Yorker* some excellent Whig editorials and decided to go down to New York, find out the author of those paragraphs, and ask him to edit the new campaign paper. When he walked into the office of the *New-Yorker*, he found the proprietor, an ill-dressed, boyish figure, standing at the case, setting type. Greeley readily admitted the authorship of the editorials in

[1] See p. 220.

[2] Greeley always prided himself on being an expert in the exacting work of preparing accurate reports of election returns.

question, and almost as readily consented to edit the campaign paper. The *Jeffersonian* was a real success. It was more than a campaign paper; it was an important factor in electing Seward, and it gave Greeley a reputation. Incidentally, it marked the beginning of the long political alliance of Weed, Seward, and Greeley.

Two years later Harrison was fairly sung into office to the tune of

> What has caused this great commotion-motion-motion
> Our country through?
> It is the ball a-rolling on
> For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
> For Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
> And with *them* we shall beat Little Van—
> Van, Van is a used-up man,
> And with *them* we shall beat Little Van!

In that wild and hilarious campaign of log cabins and hard cider, Greeley published for six months another campaign paper, the *Log Cabin*. It sold at fifty cents for its half-year, and its circulation leaped to the phenomenal height of 85,000.

BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

This success determined Greeley to start a regular daily penny paper of his own. There were two other reasons also; first, the two successful cheap papers in the field both had Democratic leanings, and Greeley thought a low-priced Whig paper should flourish in this new birth of party spirit; and, second, the existing cheap papers all battened on sensationalism, while Greeley, with the 1840 "Moral War" against the *Herald* fresh in his mind, thought a more conservatively edited penny paper would benefit by the current reaction.

Greeley was right on all counts. With about $3,000, one third of it borrowed and another third in his printing plant, the thirty-year-old editor issued the first number of the *Tribune* April 10, 1841. Each of its four pages carried five wide columns, and it was well edited and well printed. At the end of three weeks it claimed a circulation of 5,500, and in seven weeks 11,000; here it stuck for several years, but after 1848 it began to increase its list again, gained rapidly in the fifties, and just before the Civil War had over

45,000 subscribers. In its early months, the *Tribune* was advertised by the ill-natured attacks of the *Sun*, its chief penny competitor.[3] Like the other cheap papers, the *Tribune* distributed its circulation by the London plan, selling to carriers; and the *Sun* carried opposition so far as to organize attacks on the *Tribune* newsboys—probably the first example of a type of blackguardism which was to be used in later newspaper wars.

Greeley was never a money-maker, however. None of his various enterprises thus far had been profitable; and even in later years, when the *Tribune* was showing large profits, he received little more than a salary—having allowed nine tenths of his proprietary stock holdings to pass into other hands. But in the *Tribune's* fourth month, he was fortunate enough to find a partner who was an able business manager. This was Thomas McElrath, who was persuaded to buy a half-interest in the paper (then losing $200 a week [4]) for $2,000, and remained a partner for more than a decade. At the end of the paper's second year its price was raised to two cents; subscribers by the week, however, paid only one and a half cents an issue. The increase caused virtually no loss in the *Tribune's* list. One result of the change was to make the two-cent *Herald* rather than the one-cent *Sun* its chief competitor. The daily *Tribune* was always behind both the *Sun* and *Herald* in circulation.

But none of its rivals could match the immense success of the *Tribune's* weekly edition. The *Weekly Tribune* was first published on September 2, 1841, at $2 a year; in it were merged the old *New-Yorker* and the *Log-Cabin*. Clubs of twenty enjoyed a rate of $1, and the club system became very popular in small cities and towns. Premiums were also used. In election years, moreover, Greeley employed his old campaign-paper techniques.[5] As a result, the circulation of the *Weekly* soon forged far ahead of that of the daily, and by 1860 it had attained the record-breaking figure of 200,000. It was the *Weekly Tribune* which made the name of Horace Greeley a household word throughout the nation.

Greeley's first editorial assistant was Henry J. Raymond, a bright young graduate of the University of Vermont, who had been

[3] The *Herald* was now selling for two cents.

[4] McElrath statement in *Tribune*, December 24, 1887.

[5] The *Clay Tribune* was a cheap campaign daily published for a few months in 1844.

working for some months on the *New-Yorker*. Raymond had been under twenty-one when first given a job on that paper at $8 a week. This salary was continued on the *Tribune* until Raymond's insistence brought an increase to $20, but Webb, offering $5 more per week, drew him away in 1843 to help edit the *Courier and Enquirer*. Another youngster who had his first baptism of journalism on the *Tribune* and later became famous was Charles A. Dana; but Dana, unlike Raymond, became a *Tribune* veteran, serving in various capacities for nearly twenty years. For more than half of this time he was managing editor,[6] having complete charge of the paper during Greeley's many absences and sharing the work of the editorial page.

The *Tribune* was enterprising in gathering the news. It joined in financing some of the special expresses run by the newspapers of the time, and it used the system of typesetting aboard Hudson River steamers in order to expedite news from Albany.

In its literary phases, the *Tribune* developed unusual excellence. Lectures were reported fully, extracts were made from English books, Dickens and lesser novelists were sometimes serialized, and poems long and short were not unusual. Short book notices had been common on the editorial pages of many newspapers, but the *Tribune* appears to have been, in 1856, the first daily to establish a regular department for such reviews. This work was under the care of George Ripley for some thirty years. Margaret Fuller was a distinguished member of the staff for two years; she had gained a wide reputation by her feminist and transcendental writings. Bayard Taylor, traveler and poet, was another famous writer who became a member of the *Tribune* organization. It was, on the whole, the most brilliant staff any American newspaper had yet assembled.

Ethically, the paper took high ground. Its original bid for circulation was directed to those who wished a cheap but moral paper; and its first announcement declared its aversion to "the immoral and degrading Police Reports, Advertisements, and other matter which have been allowed to disgrace the columns of our leading Penny Papers." [7] In its second week the *Tribune* published a ring-

[6] Dana is believed to have been the first "m.e." in the history of American journalism, the title having been borrowed from London *Times* usage.

[7] Advertisement in *Log Cabin*, April 3, 1841.

ing editorial in which it said that the "damning guilt of making murderers" rested upon the souls of the editors of papers which published the "loathsome details" of murder trials,[8] but it was not long until the *Tribune* itself was building circulation on the basis of Raymond's elaborate reporting of the Colt murder case.[9] Likewise Greeley was quick to condemn "the atrocious and abominable advertisements" in the *Sun* and *Herald;*[10] but a few months later, he answered critics of the *Tribune's* own advertisements by denying "any control over them." A third moral position which Greeley took was that against the theatre, basing his opposition on the statement that "each Theatre contains within its walls a grog-shop and a place of assignation" and that "a large proportion of those connected with the Stage are libertines or courtezans." The *Tribune*, however, did not refuse theatrical advertising—though Greeley stated that it did not seek it.[11] This showing might seem to indicate a half-hearted or even hypocritical ethical attitude; what it does mean, however, is that Greeley thought wise on more than one occasion to yield to business-office pressure.[12] On the whole, however, the *Tribune* was published on a definitely higher ethical plane than were its rivals among the cheap newspapers. Its nickname, "The Great Moral Organ," was not inappropriate.

THE EDITORIAL INFLUENCE OF HORACE GREELEY

It is to the editorial page and its pronouncements on social, economic, and political affairs that we must finally turn to see the greatness of the *Tribune*. One of the best social historians of the period writes:

The New York *Tribune* for a whole generation, the fateful generation in which the struggle against slavery rose to a climax, stood pre-

[8] *Tribune*, April 19, 1841.

[9] See *Tribune*, January 20-24, 1842. On the last of these days the Colt trial took the whole of the *Tribune's* front page. There was much other crime news.

[10] *Tribune*, April 28, 1841.

[11] *Tribune*, May 11, 1841.

[12] This is said without disregard of Greeley's definite agreements with the business office, allowing full control, or of what Greeley says about McElrath's indulgence of editorial vagaries (*Autobiography*, p. 140). Greeley was by no means in complete control of the *Tribune*, and sometimes threatened to resign his editorship (Wilson, *Dana*, p. 171). When Dana resigned from the *Tribune*, he complained of its "twenty masters" (*ibid.*, p. 172).

eminent among the organs of opinion in the United States; it was one of the great leaders of the nation, and its role in the particular drama which ended with the Emancipation Proclamation was as great as any statesman's save Lincoln.[13]

This estimate properly stresses the leadership of the *Tribune*, but the word most commonly used in evaluating Greeley's editorial page is "influence." Let it be remembered that leadership and influence are not synonymous; so far as opinion is concerned, leadership crystallizes and organizes, while influence forms and controls.

It would be easy to fill several pages with statements attesting the influence of Horace Greeley—statements from contemporary friends and foes alike, as well as from the later historians. Beecher, speaking at the editor's funeral, said: "Today, between the two oceans, there is hardly an intelligent man or child that does not feel the influence of Horace Greeley." [14] The historian Rhodes, writing of the fifties, said, "The greatest single journalistic influence was the New York *Weekly Tribune*." [15] How direct and decisive this "influence" was it is not easy to ascertain. One way to throw light upon the matter is to pass in review Greeley's chief "causes" and inquire as to what decisions were made upon the issues raised.[16]

It should be noted, before listing these "causes," that they were nearly all based upon Greeley's deep desire to improve the lot of the poor, the unemployed, the suffering, and the degraded. In the *Tribune* the cheap-paper movement reaches its highest point in democratic ideals and reformatory zeal. "The great, the all-embracing reform of our age," said Greeley in a lecture, "is the Social Reform—that which seeks to lift the Laboring Class, as such—not out of labor, by any means—but out of ignorance, inefficiency, dependence, and want." [17]

It was Greeley's observations of the sufferings in New York slums during the hard-times winter of 1837-38 that made him a

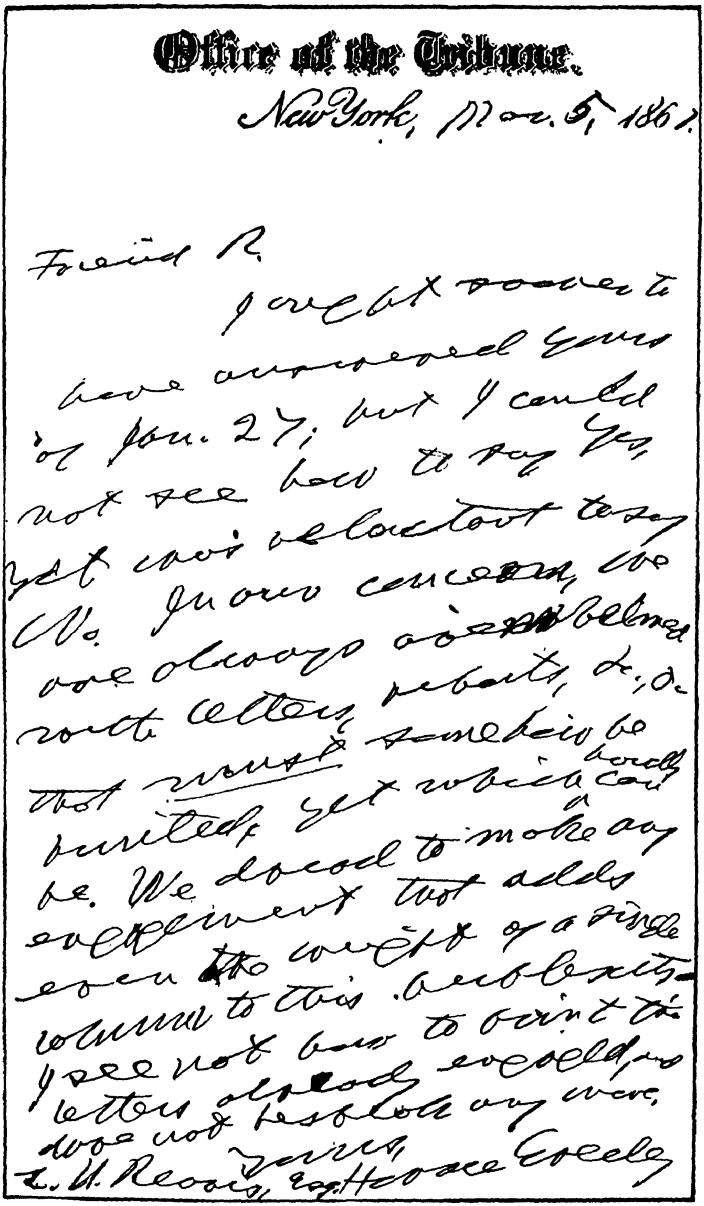
[13] Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, pp. 112-13.

[14] *Tribune*, December 5, 1872. The library of Cornell University has a collection of 2,000 newspaper editorials on the death of Greeley.

[15] James Ford Rhodes, *Historical Essays* (New York, 1909), p. 90.

[16] The circumstances of each "cause," with the amount of collaboration and support which Greeley had, the practical chance of a decision, and the degree and nature of actual results need to be analyzed. Here it is impossible to do more than summarize.

[17] *Autobiography of Horace Greeley*, p. 508.


Office of the Tribune.

New York, Nov. 5, 1861.

Friend R.

I ought to have answered yours of Jan. 27; but I could not see how to say Yes, yet could not bear to say No. In view of the whole case, the doubts, rebuffs, &c., &c., that must sometimes be encountered, yet which can hardly be. We decided to make any engagement that adds even the weight of a single column to this. And besides, I see not how to print the letters already received, so does not resolve any more.

Yours,

Horace Greeley

L. U. Reavis, Esq.

A specimen of the notoriously bad chirography of Horace Greeley. L. U. Reavis, to whom this letter was written, was later a biographer of Greeley.

Socialist.[18] The particular brand of Socialism which he espoused was that which Albert Brisbane was preaching in New York the year the *Tribune* was founded—the system devised by Charles Fourier, the French Communist, who had died in 1837. Fourierism meant to Greeley a joint-stock investment in lands and homes, in which the accretions in value as well as the chief share of the production should go to labor; the organization of society by the phalanx system into sections in which all talents and abilities should find proper articulation; and the most complete education and the pleasantest social relationships for all. Of the *Tribune* staff, Ripley, Dana, and Miss Fuller had been associated with Brook Farm, in Massachusetts, which had turned wholly to Fourierism in its latter phase. The *Tribune* company itself was reorganized as a joint-stock concern in 1849, a considerable number of its staff taking shares; this was considered a modification of the Fourier plan. Greeley wrote and lectured much on Fourierism during the years 1841-46,[19] though he did not endorse all details of the Association system. The new theories excited much interest, and a number of phalanxes were established in various states by 1843, but none lived very long. In 1846-47 there was a formal newspaper debate on the subject by Raymond, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and Greeley, of the *Tribune*; the debate lasted six months and consisted of twelve articles on each side. It virtually closed the serious discussion of Fourierism in the United States, and Greeley had little to say about it thereafter.

Closely related to his belief in Associationism was Greeley's advocacy of labor unions. He was the first president of the New York Printers' Union, now Typographical Union No. 6. In this movement the *Tribune*, however, furnished encouragement rather than leadership.

An outstanding crusade of Greeley's was the one in behalf of the "Maine law"—state prohibition of the sale of liquor. But in

[18] It should be remembered that "Socialist" is a deceptive word; though Greeley called himself a Socialist on occasion, Fourierism was very different from Marxian Socialism. Greeley was not even a thorough-going Fourierist, rejecting the basic Communistic principle (*Autobiography*, pp. 154-55). He was of the Utopian type of Socialist. However, Dana's letters to the *Tribune* from France in 1848 favor violent class revolution.

[19] Brisbane supplied the *Tribune* with a series of articles (at first daily and later triweekly) in 1842-44; they were published in purchased space, but McElrath later claimed they were never paid for. See *Tribune*, December 24, 1887.

this editorial position the *Tribune* was merely riding the high tide of a movement which tended to subside after a few years. The *Tribune* was also a leader in the opposition to capital punishment, though it had many collaborators. Several states abolished hanging in these years.

Antislavery was one of Greeley's greatest "causes," and good observers have named the *Tribune* editor as the chief influence responsible for freeing the slaves.[20] But one must not forget Garrison and his *Liberator* and the many other antislavery periodicals, nor the organized propaganda of the antislavery societies, nor *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, nor Abraham Lincoln. Yet there is ample ground for the common testimony to Greeley's leadership in the great crusade.

More definitely Whig party attitudes were his opposition to the Mexican War and his advocacy of internal improvements and a protective tariff. His life-long defense of the protective tariff looked only incidentally to the welfare of the industrialist: what Greeley was interested in was the maintenance of American labor on a higher level than that of Europe.

Parts of the *Tribune* program for westward expansion were its advocacy of internal improvements, government aid to a Pacific railway and telegraph, and a homestead law. Here too was a design for the improvement of the condition of the underprivileged; and for these Greeley provided a slogan: "Go west, young man; go west!" [21] Of course, America was going west, but Greeley's continual advocacy of all that would promote that westward migration was doubtless helpful. His westward program, and particularly his championship of a homestead law, were tied in with his insistence on the superiority of the country over the city, his devotion to new and more scientific methods in agriculture, and his own personal interest in farming. Here again he fell in with a large and important movement, and he made the *Weekly Tribune* not only a newspaper but one of the growing number of agricultural periodicals.

[20] See Rollo Ogden, ed., *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin* (New York, 1907), Vol. I, pp. 255-56, for Godkin's statement; and the New York *Sun*, December 5, 1872, for Dana's.

[21] This advice was first given to Josiah B. Grinnell; Greeley gave him not only the advice but a commission to do some reporting in Illinois. (See Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years* (Boston, 1891), p. 86).

Of his more definitely political alliances, it may be said that no candidate for President whom the *Tribune* ever warmly supported during Greeley's lifetime was elected, except Abraham Lincoln.[22] The political firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley represented merely Weed's use of the *Tribune's* circulation for political ends so far as that political master could control it. Greeley, himself, hard though he tried to be a practical politician, was too sincerely a theorist and reformer to maintain for long the attitude of a mere political manipulator. It is true that he wished for political recognition, that he never received such a reward beyond a short term in Congress, and that he dissolved the firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley in a famous and peevish letter. But what this man, trained from childhood to respect and marvel at the mechanics of political action, did not fully see, was that neither the association with Weed nor the worship of office had been quite worthy of him from the first. That his was a decisive influence in the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860 is little credit to him; he chose Lincoln only because only by the nomination of the Illinoisan could Seward be defeated. Nevertheless, Greeley was a sincere promoter of the Republican party and an important factor in its early organization.

Such, then, were the leading editorial positions of Horace Greeley up to the time of the Civil War. A study of them, of correlative propaganda, and of the decisions upon the issues they involved leads to the conclusion that Greeley's influence was less a matter of enforcing conclusions than a skilful and effective encouragement of attitudes already more than half formed. Where the press is free, no paper can force unwelcome doctrines down readers' throats. The newspaper formation of a public opinion is largely a matter of fanning flames already started—or, at the most, touching a match where the fuel is dry. The *Weekly Tribune's* heaviest circulation was in New England and among the transplanted New Englanders of the Middle West; this was the case because the people of those regions were like-minded with the New England Greeley. Emerson said that Greeley did "all their thinking and theory" for midwestern farmers "at two dollars a

[22] It reluctantly supported Taylor in 1848 and Grant in 1868. It was never a thoroughgoing Lincoln paper, and opposed him for the nomination in 1864 (see p. 343). Indeed, it cannot be said to have favored him for the 1860 nomination.

year." [23] This is true only if by "thinking and theory" Emerson meant the ordering of these readers' attitudes and ideology in an acceptable form. The Illinois farmer is represented as not making up his mind until he had read the *Tribune* and seen "what Horace thinks," but he always knew in general how he wanted his mind made up. All this does not detract from Greeley's greatness; indeed, it emphasizes his greatness as a *journalist.*[24]

GREELEY'S TOLERANCE

By no means the least phase of this greatness was the tolerance of novel ideas so characteristic of Greeley's mind. An early expression of this attitude follows:

> Thousands will flock together to drink in the musical periods of some popular declaimer. . . . They go away delighted with the orator and themselves. The next day they may be engaged in lynching some unlucky individual who has fallen under their sovereign displeasure, breaking up a meeting of an obnoxious cast, or tarring and feathering some unfortunate lecturer or propagandist whose views do not square with their own, but who has precisely the same right to enjoy and propagate his opinions, however erroneous, as though he inculcated nothing but what everyone knows and acknowledges already. The shamelessness of the incongruity is sickening.[25]

And many years later, Greeley declared that it was the aim of the *Tribune* "to accord a generous welcome to every novel suggestion, every unselfish effort" to elevate the masses.[26] "Full of error and suffering as the world yet is," he wrote at another time, we cannot afford to reject any idea which proposes to improve the Moral, Intellectual, or Social condition of mankind." [27]

These ideas were expressed in an effective form. An excellent contemporary critic said that Greeley had "an English style which, for vigor, terseness, clearness, and simplicity, has never been surpassed, except, perhaps by Cobbett." [28]

[23] C. E. Norton, *Correspondence Between Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1883), Vol. II, p. 266.

[24] Greeley himself thought the news in the paper had more influence on public opinion than the editorials. See his examination before a committee of the House of Commons in 1851, reprinted in Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, p. 548.

[25] *New-Yorker*, July 8, 1837.

[26] *Tribune*, April 25, 1859.

[27] *Tribune*, April 10, 1845.

[28] E. L. Godkin, quoted in Ogden's *Life and Letters of Godkin*, Vol. I, p. 255.

A modern critic, V. L. Parrington, has called Greeley an "incorrigible idealist":

> An incorrigible idealist, clearly, was this Yankee plebeian whom Cooper believed a vulgarian, Godkin held in contempt, and Bryant turned his back on and would not speak to—a strange, child-like figure, with his round moon-face, eyes blinking through spectacles, and a fringe of whiskers that invited the pencil of the cartoonist—yet carrying the sorrows of the world in his heart and vexing his soul with all the problems of society; an idealist who, in the most sordid place in America, and after years of fruitless experiment, could still stand before his fellow Americans and thus sum up his social philosophy: "The avocations of Life, and the usages and structure of Society, the relations of Power to Humility, of Wealth to Poverty, of served to servant, must all be fused in the crucible of Human Brotherhood, and whatever abides not the test rejected." [29]

FOUNDING OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The increase of the population of the city of New York to half a million by the middle of the century and the powerful stimulus to newspaper reading given by the brighter and fresher news and the lower prices of papers, had combined to increase vastly the newspaper audience. Three young men—a journalist and two financiers—decided in 1851 that there was ample room for still another cheap paper in the New York field. These young men were Henry J. Raymond, George Jones, and Edward B. Wesley.

After Raymond had left the *Tribune*, he had been associate editor of the *Courier and Enquirer* and a member for two terms of the state legislature. Of Raymond, Greeley later wrote: "Abler and stronger men I may have met; a cleverer, readier, and more generally efficient journalist I never saw." [30] A small man, black-bearded, quick of motions, he was a tireless worker and could turn out a miraculous amount of legible copy. His political independence had annoyed Colonel Webb, his chief on the *Courier and Enquirer*, and by the late forties he was looking for a new berth. He had become acquainted with George Jones, also a Vermonter, when both had worked on the *Tribune* in the first years of the paper—Raymond on the news side and Jones in the business

[29] Parrington, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 257. Quotation is from Greeley, *Hints Toward Reforms* (New York, 1850), p. 400.

[30] *Autobiography*, p. 138.

office. Jones had left the *Tribune* to enter the banking business in Albany; there he had made a small fortune discounting the wildcat currency of the times. Wesley was a banker, and a friend of the other two.

In 1848 Thurlow Weed had tried to sell the Albany *Evening Journal* to Jones and Raymond, but the deal had fallen through because one of the stockholders would not part with his share. Then one day early in 1851, when the two friends were crossing the frozen Hudson on foot, Jones remarked that he had just heard that the *Tribune* had made a profit of $60,000 in 1850. Raymond said he was sure that a new paper on the right principles could do as well, and Jones agreed and promised to join his friend in such a venture if a certain bill then pending, which limited the kind of banking in which he was engaged, should be passed. The bill was passed; and Jones, Wesley, and Raymond thereupon formed a company to found a new penny paper in New York City.

But the world had changed since Greeley had begun his *Tribune*, only ten years before, with $3,000. The new company was capitalized at $100,000, half of which was required for the mechanical plant. Raymond was given a one-fifth interest "as an equivalent for his editorial ability." The other two partners put up $40,000 at the start, but found it necessary to sell some stock and put in more cash themselves before the paper was on a paying basis.

On September 18, 1851, the New York *Daily Times*[31] issued from the press, with Raymond as editor and Jones as business manager. It was a large sheet, with four pages each bearing six wide columns; and it was sold, on the London plan, at one cent a copy. It was unusually well edited; its front page was crowded with foreign and local news. In ten weeks it had leaped to 20,000 circulation—an unprecedented growth for a new paper. But its expenses were likewise enormous for those days—$78,000 for its first year, more than half of that going for print-paper. It was therefore forced at the beginning of its second year, to increase its subscription price to two cents, as the *Herald* and *Tribune* had done before it.[32] It dropped nearly a third of its 26,000 circulation when

[31] The word *Daily* was dropped from the title in 1857.

[32] The *Herald* had been eighteen months old when it increased its price from one to two cents; the *Tribune* and *Times* each took the step at twelve months.

it took this step, but the loss was only temporary. When it doubled its price it also doubled its number of pages; and by 1860 it was not far behind the *Tribune* in circulation.

About a year after the paper started, Jones became ill and Wesley sold his business and took over the publishing job on the paper. In 1853 Fletcher Harper, publisher of books and of *Harper's Monthly*, came into the firm and became business manager. Harper was a friend of Raymond, who had once been employed as a departmental editor of *Harper's*; but the magazine publisher did not fit into the *Times* organization, and after a few years Wesley bought him out and himself remained as business manager until he disposed of his stock to Raymond at the end of 1860.[33]

The *Times* may be regarded as the culmination and highest achievement of the cheap-for-cash newspaper movement which was begun by the *Sun* and other papers in the early thirties. Raymond, surveying the field with the eye of a highly intelligent and experienced journalist, had realized the possibilities for a paper which, like the *Tribune*, should take a higher moral tone than the *Herald* or *Sun*, but which, unlike Greeley's paper, should avoid "isms" and eccentricities of doctrine. But with all its morality and conservatism, the *Times* became, under Raymond's management, preëminently a *newspaper*. Its news was well balanced, well edited, and copious, with special attention to foreign affairs; thus Raymond set the pattern to which the *Times* has adhered throughout most of its history.

In his desire for adequate foreign news, Raymond himself went to Italy to cover the war of 1859, in which the French and Italians attempted to drive Austria out of Piedmont; he distinguished himself there as a capable war correspondent.

Another characteristic of the *Times* was its self-possessed good manners. It had strong opinions, and it was fond of controversy; but it never descended, as Greeley sometimes did,[34] to billings-

[33] See Wesley's narrative in *Eclectic Magazine*, March, 1906 (Vol. CXLVI, pp. 262-66). "Nobody remembers Wesley," wrote Joseph Howard, Jr., in the New York *Press* in 1889. "But I remember very well when nothing but Wesley's brains and pluck and money saved Henry J. Raymond and George Jones from bankruptcy." Reprinted in the *Journalist* November 9, 1889, p. 13.

[34] For example, when he called Raymond a "little villain." The epithet stuck to the *Times* editor throughout life.

gate. It was modeled on the London *Times* rather than on any existing American paper.

It was not a "hidebound" partisan organ. Begun as a Whig paper in the twilight of the Whig party, the *Times* soon turned to the Free-Soilers, and then to the Republicans. Raymond, indeed, played midwife at the birth of the Republican party: he wrote the first platform of the party in 1856. His strong predilection for politics and his ability in deliberative oratory made him conspicuous in the great conventions. In 1854-56 he was Lieutenant Governor of New York, but he refused the Republican nomination for governor in 1856. Later he was to take an even more active part in independent politics, to the detriment of the *Times*.

CHAPTER XVI

The Westward Movement of Journalism

MEANTIME JOURNALISM WAS SPREADING WESTWARD IN A MIGHTY wave. The railroads and telegraph had covered the country east of the Mississippi with a network which brought the Middle West close to the eastern seaboard, and they were pushing still farther west. There were about 10,000 miles of railroad in the country by 1850; ten years later there was three times that mileage. Wherever a town sprang up, there a printer with a rude press and "a shirt-tail-full of type" was sure to appear as by magic. It was not magic, however; these pioneer towns all wanted and secured newspapers for both promotional and political reasons. In the first place they wanted them as "boosters," and the pioneers sent these sheets, filled with propaganda for the new country, back to the East, where they were effective in keeping up the flow of emigration. An eastern reader of these glowing descriptions tells of them:

> Every particular locality is the garden spot of the Union; every little community is the most energetic and intelligent; every State the most patriotic, and every city a true exemplar of public virtue.[1]

And besides, these pioneers were politically minded, and they wanted newspapers in order to promote the spread of their favorite partisan doctrine. Hence it was that villages of only a few hundred would often have two papers, of differing political faiths. In some cases a third motive—religious propaganda—was the chief reason for the pioneer journalism.

The westward movement of population was tremendous. By the end of our period, in 1860, Illinois was the fourth state in the

[1] *Democratic Review*, April, 1852, Vol. XXX, p. 362.

union, and it had well over 400 newspapers.[2] Missouri was the eighth state, and St. Louis was, until overhauled by Chicago in the late fifties, the metropolis of the upper Mississippi valley.

Cincinnati disputed with New Orleans the fifth rank among the country's big cities. It had eight to ten daily papers throughout the fifties. Of these the *Gazette* was one of the leaders; founded in 1815 and made a daily twelve years later, it had as its editor from 1824 until his death in 1840 one of the strongest Whig writers in the country—Charles Hammond. The *Commercial*, established in 1843, soon overtook the *Gazette* in circulation.[3] Cincinnati had a growing reputation as a cultural center; and twenty-six monthlies, semimonthlies, and quarterlies were published there by 1860.

The growing city of St. Louis, though considerably smaller, had six dailies by 1850 and ten in 1860. The *Missouri Republican* gained wide influence, especially through its weekly edition. The *Missouri Democrat* began in 1852.[4]

NEWSPAPERS IN CHICAGO

Chicago was a little boom-town in the mud, with dreams of grandeur, when John Calhoun, a young journeyman printer, founded the *Weekly Democrat* there in 1833. Articles in support of "Old Hero" Jackson, descriptions of Indian life, clipped miscellany, and a minimum of local news, most of which was devoted to recording the town's rapid growth, filled the paper's four small pages. When navigation closed in the winter, the *Democrat's* paper supply was cut off and it had to suspend for some weeks. When it was three years old, a young giant from New England came striding barefoot along the sand-dunes to the town of great prospects, his huge shoes slung over his shoulder. "Long John" Wentworth, his Dartmouth sheepskin fresh in his pocket, intended to follow the law; but new Chicago friends, impressed by his keen mind and powerful personality, helped him to buy the *Weekly Democrat*. "Long John" made it a good paper, with a strong influence on

[2] Figures derived from Daniel J. Kenny's *American Newspaper Directory*, published in 1861. The 1860 Census, which missed many papers, gives a much lower figure.

[3] The *Times* was founded in 1840 by Calvin W. Starbuck (for many years its editor) and others, as *Spirit of the Times*. The *Enquirer* was founded in 1841.

[4] The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* since its merger with the *Globe* in 1875. For these papers in the Civil War period, see p. 362.

political topics and on local affairs. In 1840 it became a daily, and in 1848 it published the first telegraphic dispatch received by a Chicago newspaper. Its editor represented his district in Congress for twelve years, and then served two terms as mayor of Chicago. Once when a nest of shanties on "the Sands" had become notorious as the center of vice, Wentworth, instead of crusading against them in his paper or signing orders in the mayor's office, took an axe in hand and led a squad of officers in demolishing the gang headquarters. In 1861 he sold his paper to the burgeoning *Tribune* and retired from journalism. He was doubtless alarmed by the war which threatened, though the *Democrat* had gone over to the Republican party.

The Chicago *Daily Tribune* was founded June 10, 1847, by three business men. John L. Scripps, a cousin of the Scripps who later founded the chain which bears his name, was editor for a few years. The paper had a hard time until Joseph Medill and five partners (including Dr. Charles H. Ray and Alfred Cowles) took it over. Medill was born in Canada, studied law and practised at the bar in Ohio, and got into journalism and politics in that state. With his brothers, he bought the Coshocton *Whig* in 1849, renaming it the *Republican*. In 1852 he founded a paper in Cleveland, and the next year bought the Cleveland *Leader* and merged his paper in it. Like many Ohio Whigs, Medill was profoundly interested in the founding of the Republican party. He was probably the first to suggest the name of the new party.

Medill bought into the Chicago *Tribune* in 1855. Though he was one of several partners in the control of the paper, he soon became its chief driving force and after he gained control of its stock in 1874 he directed its destinies until his death twenty-five years later. He made the paper a lively news medium, and it soon became profitable.

Joseph Medill is best remembered as a chief editorial advocate of Lincoln for President. He and his partner Dr. Ray built up the Lincoln "boom" with a zeal and political sagacity which placed them among the few chiefly responsible for the Illinois rail-splitter's nomination and election. Their industry in promoting Lincoln was indefatigable, and Lincoln often came to the *Tribune* office for conferences. Medill wrote editorials about him and followed him from one town to another to report his speeches. But when he tried to report the address which his hero made before the Illinois

state convention in 1856, Medill was so carried away that he "joined the clapping and cheering and stamping" and forgot to take notes. But the other newspaper men present had been affected in the same way, none had any exact report of just what the speaker had said, and the address has gone down in history as "Lincoln's lost speech." It was during the Civil War that the Chicago *Tribune* became a great national paper.

Chicago had two or three dailies throughout the forties, but the number increased greatly in the next decade, and by 1860 there were eleven. In addition there were twenty-two weeklies, many of them denominational religious papers, and a number of monthlies.

BEGINNINGS IN THE MIDDLE WEST

About two weeks after John Calhoun started his Chicago *Democrat*, the first paper in "the country west of Lake Michigan," which was to be called Wisconsin Territory, was founded in Navarino, later Green Bay. It was called the Green Bay *Intelligencer* and was announced as a biweekly; but it was not issued with great regularity, and it came to an end a few weeks before Wisconsin Territory became an established fact in 1836. Milwaukee's first newspaper was founded just ten days after the birth of the Territory, when the village was little more than a swamp with prospects. It was called the Milwaukee *Advertiser*, and its publisher was Daniel H. Richards. It underwent two or three changes of title, became a daily in 1845, and continued as the *Wisconsin News*. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* was founded in 1837, and became Wisconsin's first daily in 1844.

The first paper in what is now Iowa was begun in 1836, while that region was still a part of Michigan Territory and several weeks before the establishment of Wisconsin Territory. It was founded by John King at Du Buque Lead Mines, and was called the Du Buque *Visitor*. King, like Wentworth, Richards, and others engaged in publishing these pioneer "boosting" papers, was not a printer, and had to bring compositors and pressmen from the East.

James M. Goodhue, a Yankee printer, established the first paper in Minnesota. It appeared at St. Paul in 1849 and was called *Minnesota Pioneer*. Goodhue had planned to call it *The Epistle of St. Paul*, but was persuaded to change his mind by more pious

persons who scented sacrilege. The *Pioneer* commented freely on local politics, and the various physical encounters which grew out of its pungent personalities were detailed by the pugnacious editor in his paper. Goodhue died after three years, but the paper lived to become the famous St. Paul *Pioneer Press*.

Several early Nebraska papers were printed in Iowa for circulation in the East as well as in Nebraska Territory. The *Nebraska Palladium*, which had been begun in Iowa, was moved across the Missouri River to Belleview late in 1854 and published for several months in the new Territory. The first paper actually printed in Omaha was the *Nebraskan*, 1855-65.

First of South Dakota papers was the *Democrat*, begun at Sioux Falls in 1858; the name was changed the next year to *Northwestern Independent*. Indians sacked the town in 1862 and carried off the type; later they molded the type-metal into ornaments for the pipes which they made from the local red pipe-stone and sold to the whites in more peaceful times.

KANSAS JOURNALISM

The first paper in what is now Kansas was a missionary sheet in an Indian language, called in English *Shawnee Sun;* it was printed in 1835 at the Baptist Mission. The first English paper was the *Kansas Weekly Herald* at Leavenworth, 1854-61.

By far the most interesting phase of early Kansas journalism was the newspaper war between the Free State and Proslavery parties, precipitated by the passage in the national Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Since it was left to the settlers themselves, under that Act, to determine whether Kansas was to be a free or a slave state, proslavery and antislavery factions both rushed settlers into the new territory. The two parties, of course, became vocal at once with newspapers. Prominent among these publications were the *Kansas Free State* and the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence and, on the other side, the *Squatter Sovereign* at Atchison—all begun in 1855. The next year the *Herald's* office was destroyed by "Border Ruffians," but that did not check it for long. Some months later it gave its type to be used for molding the balls with which to charge a six-pound cannon for the attack on Fort Titus, and the discharges of this cannon were accordingly called "new editions" of the *Herald of Freedom*.

BEGINNINGS IN SOUTHWESTERN STATES

As in Kansas, so in Oklahoma the first paper was a Baptist missionary organ. It was printed in an Indian dialect, was called the *Cherokee Messenger*, and was published in 1844-46 near the present town of Westville. Another Indian paper, the *Cherokee Advocate*[5] (1844-1907) was begun in the same year and was much more distinctively a newspaper. It sometimes carried English translations of its stories in parallel columns. Though interrupted by a suspension of nearly twenty years in the fifties and sixties, this Cherokee paper continued, largely as an organ of missionary and agricultural matter, for many years. Since what is now Oklahoma was all reserved for Indians until 1891, nearly all the newspapers until that year were organs of either mission schools or Indian tribes. Many of them were published and edited by Indians. After the Civil War, however, there were some free-lance papers.

Texas papers multiplied after that state had won its independence from Mexico. One of the chief papers of the era of the Republic of Texas was the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, founded by Baker & Borden at San Felipe in 1835.[6] The paper was made the official organ of the provisional revolutionary government. The approach of Santa Anna's army necessitated flight from San Felipe, and the enemy later seized the printing plant and threw it into Buffalo Bayou, whence it was salvaged eventually by a Houston paper. Meanwhile the *Telegraph* was continued on another press, and ultimately became the first Houston newspaper. By 1850 there were about forty papers in Texas, and ten years later that number had tripled.

Apparently the first paper in New Mexico was *El Crepusculo*, a tiny sheet issued in Santa Fé in 1834 by Antonio Barreiro, who used it to help him in his campaign for election to Congress, and then dropped it when it had served its purpose. Thus if it was "the Dawn," it was a false dawn; and New Mexican journalism was really ushered in by the Santa Fé *Republican* (1847-49), two pages of which were in English and two in Spanish.

[5] This was the successor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, of Georgia, the famous Sequoyah paper. See p. 190.

[6] The Bordens were Gail, Jr., and Thomas H. The former later invented a process of condensing milk which made him famous and wealthy.

The *Weekly Arizonian*, begun at Tubac in 1859, was the first Arizona newspaper. Printed on a press brought around the Horn the preceding year, the paper was suspended after two years when one of its publishers was shot while resisting arrest for a stage robbery; it was later revived and ultimately became the present *Citizen*, of Tucson.

EARLIEST NEWSPAPERS IN THE FAR WEST

The *Oregon Spectator*, the first newspaper in the Pacific Coast region, was founded as a semimonthly at Oregon City in 1846 by an association of local promoters who hired its successive editors and printers. The first Portland paper was the *Weekly Oregonian*, founded in 1850 and made a daily in 1861, to become famous throughout the Northwest and the nation.

The old Ramage screw-press on which the first number of the *Oregonian* had been printed did service in 1852 to produce the first newspaper in what is now the state of Washington. It was called the *Columbian*, was published at Olympia, and was devoted largely to the advocacy of separation from Oregon during its first year or two; later, its name changed to *Washington Pioneer*, it was notable for those announcements of new discoveries of gold which caused single copies to be sold in distant cities for five and sometimes ten dollars.

The *Deseret*[7] *News*, famous Mormon paper, was established at Salt Lake City by the Church in 1850, three years after the arrival of the first band of Mormons, with their press, following their extraordinary journey overland from Nauvoo, Illinois. Troubles with paper supply were even greater than those of the average pioneer publication, for the Mormon settlement was distant and isolated from civilization; but by dint of local manufacture to supplement importations, and biweekly publication for some time, the paper was kept going. During the troubles of 1857-58, when the territorial governor sent a military expedition against the Church, the *News* took to the camp and its press was hauled about with the Mormon "army." In 1867 it became the first successful religious daily in the English language; and it still flourishes.

[7] "Deseret," which means, according to the *Book of Mormon*, "Land of the Honey-Bee," was the name proposed for the new state which the Mormons planned to carve out of the wilderness.

The first printed paper in Nevada was the *Territorial Enterprise*, begun in 1858 at Genoa, soon moved to Carson City, and in 1860 to Virginia City. It was in the last-named town that it became a great spokesman for mining and the miners of the Comstock Lode. Mark Twain, who was its city editor for a few years in the early sixties, received valuable training on the paper and helped to make it famous. Some of Mark's hoaxes, written for the *Enterprise*, "took in" many of the Eastern papers—for which they were chiefly intended. Lively, full of local affairs, belligerent toward California and all its newspapers, the *Enterprise* was an amusing journal. Mark wrote editorially:

> Our duty is to keep the universe thoroughly posted concerning murders and street fights, and balls, and theaters, and pack-trains, and churches, and lectures, and school-houses, and city military affairs, and highway robberies, and Bible societies, and hay-wagons, and a thousand other things which it is in the province of local reporters to keep track of and magnify into undue importance for the instruction of the readers of this great daily newspaper.[8]

GOLD AND NEWSPAPERS IN CALIFORNIA

The first newspaper in California, the *Californian*, of 1846, was a small sheet about the size of a letterhead, printed on one side only. It was printed at Monterey, with old type found in the cloister of one of the Spanish missions; and it was little more than a circular, in both Spanish and English, conveying the orders of the naval and military authorities in the Mexican War. Since the Spanish alphabet has no W, the editors had some difficulty in printing in English with their Spanish font: for the present, they explained, "vve must use tvvo V's." Moreover, they added, "our paper is that for vvrapping segars." The *Californian* was moved, after some months, to Yerba Buena—later called San Francisco. There Mormon colonists had already established the *California Star* on January 7, 1847, a newsier and better paper.[9] These two were absorbed, early in 1849, into the new *Alta California*—a famous paper which the next year became San Francisco's first

[8] Quoted in Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, a Biography* (New York, 1912), Vol. I, p. 228. The *Enterprise* was continued until 1916.

[9] In spite of its original auspices, this was not a Mormon paper, and its publisher soon withdrew from the sect.

daily, and lived to give hospitality to the productions of such men as Bret Harte and Mark Twain.

Gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in January, 1848, and the rush of adventurers reached a great height the next year. San Francisco was suddenly a city; by 1853 it had a dozen daily papers. Here was a turbulent society; editors assailed their political and editorial enemies in unmeasured terms, nor were they themselves safe from assassination. The murder in 1856 of James King, of the *Bulletin*, which had been founded the year before to attack bad government and the lawless elements,[10] brought about the organization of the Vigilantes.

The first California newspapers had to rely chiefly on steamers to bring them their news from the eastern states, and there was sharp competition in meeting the ships and getting condensed résumés on the streets quickly. The Overland Stage from Kansas City, which was established in 1858, made no better time than the steamboats—about three weeks—but it brought more regular and frequent mails. Two years later came the famous pony express, carrying two mails a week, and making the trip in half the time of the stage. Stations had been built about fifteen miles apart along the whole route, with two men in charge of the mustangs kept at each station. The riders themselves were young men selected for jockey-weight and nerve. The *Bulletin* told of the reception given to the last pony of the relay which made the first trip:

> It took 75 ponies to make the trip from Missouri to California in 10½ days, but the last one . . . had the vicarious glory of them all. Upon him an enthusiastic crowd were disposed to shower all the compliments. He was the veritable Hippogriff who shoved a continent behind his hoofs so easily; who snuffed up sandy plains, sent lakes and mountains, prairies and forests, whizzing behind him, like one great river rushing eastward.[11]

Eastern papers fed special California editions to the news-hungry forty-niners. California papers multiplied rapidly, but the miners were homesick for home news and familiar papers; and the *Tribune*, *Herald*, and *Evening Post* each sent out from New York

[10] It survives (1940) as the *Call-Bulletin*, after a combination with the *San Francisco Call* (1856-1929). See Chapter XXXIII.

[11] San Francisco *Bulletin*, April 16, 1860.

about 10,000 copies of its California edition by monthly steamers. Brought around the Horn, their news was not very fresh when it arrived; but the papers sold readily, and often for a dollar or more apiece. Soon the Boston *Daily Journal*, Boston *Transcript*, Philadelphia *Press*, New Orleans *True Delta*, and the New York *Times* were also issuing California editions.

By the end of our period in 1860, California had about 100 papers, of which forty (fourteen dailies) were in San Francisco.

"PIKE'S PEAK OR BUST!"

Shortly after the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858-59, William N. Byers, an Omaha surveyor, conceived the idea of publishing a paper in the Pike's Peak region. He organized a company, bought press, type, and paper, and set out westward across Nebraska. Streams were flooded and trails were rivers of mud. When the caravan reached Fort Kearney, Byers learned that another printing plant bound for the gold regions had passed that way a few days earlier. They hurried their pace, and the press and type arrived in what is now Denver April 20, 1859, only to find a printing establishment from St. Joseph, Missouri, on the ground and getting ready to issue a paper. A race then ensued to determine which outfit could issue its paper first. For three days the printers worked frantically. Every settler was excited; bets were placed; a committee, appointed to judge the contest, rushed back and forth between the two shops. Byers' paper won by twenty minutes, and his rival sold out immediately and left to dig for gold. Thus was born the *Rocky Mountain News*.

Byers became a leader in the new community, standing for law and order and statehood. He won the enmity of the lawless element and was once kidnaped by a band of desperadoes, but escaped. He made the *News* a daily when it was sixteen months old. By the end of 1860, indeed, three dailies were being published in the booming town of Denver. News reports, coming part way by wire and the rest by pony express, were expensive, and the papers were priced at $24 a year during the Civil War.

Eastern papers sent some famous correspondents to observe and write about the mining camps. Among the visitors were Horace Greeley and A. D. Richardson, of the New York *Tribune*, and Henry Villard, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*.

CHAPTER XVII

Developments in Format and Content

MEXICAN WAR NEWS BROUGHT IN THE COMMON USE OF HEADlines in multiple decks over big stories; gold rush news made them a custom. Such papers as the New York *Herald*, Baltimore *Sun*, and New Orleans *Picayune* were leaders in this development. When the New York *Times* was established in 1851, it carried at least one head of six single-line decks in each issue; and a few years later leading papers were using several such heads in an issue. These heads were only one column wide, however, and often occupied only two or three inches of space. By the late fifties there was a tendency to extend them vertically for big stories, spacing them out and adding more decks until they might occupy nearly half a column. Verbs were generally avoided, and each deck was a "label" head.

News leads were often editorial comment, or they consisted of information about how the story had been received. The Baltimore *Sun's* story of the fall of Matamoras, which carried a seven-deck head, began:

> We received by telegraph last evening at five o'clock, exclusively for our use, and issued in an extra, by which the city was flooded during the evening, an intelligent synopsis of the following highly important, highly gratifying and joyfully welcome news from our chivalrous and noble army—small in numbers but great in deeds of valor and of skill.[1]

With a three-inch head and twelve inches of this kind of lead, it was only in the last quarter of the column that the reader began to find the facts of the story. In the fifties, however, there was a noticeable tendency to abandon this type of editorialized lead,

[1] Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1846.

THE SUN.

VOL. XIX ---NO. 2.] BALTIMORE, TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 19, 1846. [PRICE ONE CENT.

THE SUN.

Glorious News from the Army.

The Campaign opened with Victory!!

MATAMORAS REDUCED TO ASHES!

THE AMERICAN ARMY TRIUMPHANT!

700 MEXICANS KILLED!

One American only Killed.

A General Blockade of the Mexican Ports Ordered!

We received by telegraph last evening at five o'clock, exclusively for our use, and reused in an extra, by which the city was flooded during the evening, an intelligent synopsis of the following highly important, highly gratifying and joyfully welcome news from our chivalrous and noble army—small in numbers, but great in deeds of valor and of skill. We also issued a more detailed statement in a subsequent edition, after the arrival of the mail

The news was received at New Orleans, first and mainly by the steamship New York, which had taken down reinforcements from that city to Point Isabel, and returned on the 9th inst at 9 o'clock, P M to New Orleans.

We acknowledge our indebtedness to our brethren of the entire press at New Orleans, for their attention in furnishing us with ample means for obtaining all necessary information. In introducing this intelligence we make use of the following paragraph from the New Orleans Tropic as indicative of the feeling with which sources in stratagem to accomplish their object. Gen Taylor anticipated a formidable and desperate opposition to his march, but determined to accomplish it or perish

Thus reasons the News, and accordingly anticipates intelligence of a decisive general action. We are greatly inclined to doubt whether the Mexicans would venture to attack Gen Taylor's whole force, although they so out number him, but should they do so, we are confident that we shall have a glorious victory to recount.

One account before us states, however, that Gen. Taylor had not left Point Isabel, and probably would not leave there before the arrival of further reinforcements, he having full confidence in the ability of the troops left to camp to maintain their position against any odds.

The arrival of the New York at Point Isabel was most opportune It will be recollected that she had nearly 200 regular troops on board under Lieut McPhail, as well as several field pieces These were all safely landed Even without the arrival of further reinforcements, the post at Point Isabel must have been so strengthened as to place its safety beyond reasonable doubt. Martial law has been proclaimed there and at Santiago, and every man pressed into the service But ere this, further support has reached Point Isabel from this city and Pensacola.

The accounts from Texas in regard to volunteers are by no means satisfactory The greatest apathy seems to prevail throughout the country

Col Hays, of the Rangers, with his force of about 400 men stationed in the San Antonio country, determined to march at once for Gen Taylor's camp, as soon as he learned that it was in a critical situation, nor would it surprise us to hear hat Col. Harney, with his dragoons, had done the same thing

While Gen Taylor was at Point Isabel he despatched a schooner to Vera Cruz, with intelligence of the proceedings upon the Rio Grande We presume that Com Connor will at once formally blockade every Mexican port on the Gulf

With great pleasure we see it mentioned in the Bulletin that the commander of the U S schooner Flirt having observed a small encampment of Mexicans on the island at the mouth of the Braz a Santiago, and knowing the great danger of the point at the entrance of the harbor being in possession of the Mexicans, landed with his men and dispersed the camp The reader will recollect that the utmost fear was felt that Capt Mendizabal, Voltigeurs, Lt Comdg Rolez, Eclaireurs d Orleans, Capt Lambert, Yagers, Capt Antz, Louisiana Dustiers, Capt. Dippe chez; Orleans Feuiliers, Lt Comdg Horn, Sapeurs de Geue, Capt Surgi, Volontaires Catalans, Capt Vionca, Orleans Guards, Lt Comd'g Dubuc, Brigadier General D Austin, commanding the Legion, Col J Dufour, commanding Infantry, Major L. Gally, commanding Artillery.

REQUISITION FOR MORE TROOPS —We learn from Head Quarters that Major General Gaines, commanding the Western Division of the U S A., has made a requisition upon the Governors of the following States for additional troops, to proceed as soon as ready to the Rio Grande

Tennessee to furnish 4 Regiments, of 600 men each	2,400
Kentucky the same	2,400
Mississippi two Regiments	1,200
Louisiana two Regiments	1,200
Alabama two Regiments	1,200
Total amount of men	8,400

The above are all to be infantry and riflemen.

And one Regiment to comprise 1000 mounted men men to be raised in Louisiana, under command of Col Lafayette Saunders, an "old veteran" who was with Gen. Carroll during the late war, and performed most valuable service, and is at this moment [illegible] 1,000

Total of requisition 9,400

Gen Gaines, with the promptitude which characterizes all his actions, has requested each of the Governors of the above States to anticipate the requisition of the President of the U States, by mustering and forwarding the men called for, even should that requisition not reach them before they are ready Thus waiving all formality so as to aid in procuring a prompt and decisive victory over our Mexican foes.—*New Orleans Delta*

MILITARY FEELING IN NEW ORLEANS.—A letter from New Orleans, dated the 8th inst., says —

"New Orleans has lost much of her honor in suffering a draft to be made, to fill up the required requisition

"Things were commenced laugnably—no public meeting was called until several days after the receipt of the war news, and half of the city knew nothing about matters until late on Saturday. Captain Perno, of the Native American Artillery, has the honor of having the first to make an active move, which was soon followed by Senator Marks and others.

"The worst effect on the public mind had been produced, by the non-payment of the paltry Sergeant Juan N Lawson the standard taken from the ruthless Dastardans.

The day previous to this decisive triumph an expedition, consisting of about 300 men, had sailed from Monterolos, for the purpose of taking possession of the town of Maldonado, which had been left ungarrisoned, in consequence of the troops stationed there having marched to join Col Barrios, but, as on their arrival, things were found to be in quite a different state from what was anticipated, the design was relinquished Probably the scheme of sending Pachuca and Otho up the Uruguay with another expedition, to attack the Paysandu or Marcedes, will also undergo reconsideration.

Still Later.—By the brig Oriole, Capt. Barstow, which arrived at New York on Sunday night, having sailed from Rio on the 9th ult., regular files of Rio de Janeiro papers have been received, together with intelligence from the seat of war on the Parana.

It appears that on or about the 1st of March, according to verbal information by persons from that region, a severe engagement took place between the troops of Buenos Ayres and those of Montevideo The army of the latter is stated to have amounted to about 6,000 men. The Buenos Ayreans, it is said, were completely victorious, and put the enemy to the route. Buenos Ayres itself, still continues under a strict blockade, the English men of war keeping watch over the port with the utmost severity Every American vessel is obliged to undergo a strict search by the French and English frigates.—Three Spanish and two Italian men-of-war were in port.

A long diplomatic correspondence had taken place between the English and French Ministers and the Buenos Ayrean government, which appears to have had no further result than to irritate both parties, and confirm each of them universally in their previous position of animosity and bad feeling

Buenos Ayres persists in refusing a right of way to the Parana, and the two nations in question persist in claiming the right of free ingress and egress, for commercial purposes, to the vast countries and rich provinces, to which the Parana is the only passage.

Such is the position of affairs, and such the temper of the parties. Meantime, young Mr. Brent, the American consul, is busy in aiding the Buenos Ayrean government, by paper bullets and letters of argument and remonstrance, addressed to the allied monsters, and threatens to send them "some further communication on this subject." We hope his counsellor-ship will not lead to the unprudently involving us in a quarrel, in which, if our sympathies are for Buenos Ayres, our interest, and the interest of commerce, is all on the other side, since it is evident that a great trade might be opened with Paraguay, Entre Rios, and other countri s, if Buenos Ayres, from her geographical position at the mouth of the great river Pa-

Dry Goods, &c.

MOST GORE.—The subscribers are now receiving their Spring supply of DRY GOODS, which they will sell at the lowest market prices. Their assortment consists in part of 4-4 Bleached and Brown Muslins, 7-8 do do do, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 Bleached and Brown Shirting Muslins, 4-4 Irish Linens, 7-8 do do, 5-4 do do, 6-4 do do, 7-8 Bleached and Brown Diapers, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Table Cloths, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Damasks, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Table Diapers, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Damask Diapers, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Huckaback Diapers, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Huckaback Diapers, 5-4 do do do, 6-4 do do do, 7-8 do do do, 4-4 Bleached and Brown Damask

though modern techniques of news-story construction did not come until later.

There were rare examples of illustration by means of woodcuts. The Albany *Evening Journal* used a big spread-eagle occupying nearly a page to celebrate Whig victories in 1838 and 1840. The New York *Herald* carried a few cuts in its early years, and in 1845 created a sensation by a full page of engravings of the Andrew Jackson funeral procession. The next year the *Herald* issued an eight-page Christmas pictorial edition containing woodcuts of Mexican War scenes and a variety of other subjects.[2] Maps illustrating war operations were occasionally printed in various papers, as were cuts of the early transatlantic steamers. Single-column portraits were not unknown in the New York *Tribune* in the forties and fifties. But wood engraving was expensive and the process was too slow for timely news illustration; thus the *Herald's* pictures of the Jackson funeral were printed two weeks after the event.

SIZES OF NEWSPAPERS; THE "BLANKET SHEETS"

With the advent of cylinder presses, it had become possible to print large sheets; and page sizes began to grow larger before 1830. By 1835, the *Mirror* could say:

> There is a mania in the United States for papers of large dimensions. It is said that one of our mammoth dailies is still to be enlarged to an unheard-of extent, so that it will require two boys, at least, to hold it for perusal.[3]

This elephantiasis followed the example of papers in England, where the tax on newspapers per page stimulated it. In America, once the blanket-sheet idea took hold, there developed a curious competition for size. Thus the New York *Observer* advertised itself in 1840 as "the largest religious newspaper in the world," with seven three-inch-wide columns to the page. But the six-cent dailies increased to eight and ten wide columns. The largest size reached for regular daily publication [4] was that of the New York

[2] New York *Herald*, December 26, 1846. The funeral procession cuts appeared on June 25, 1845.

[3] New York *Mirror*, May 23, 1835 (Vol. XII, p. 375).

[4] The annual pictorial holiday papers were larger: the Boston *Illuminated Quadruple Constellation* of July 4, 1859, had thirteen columns to the page, and each of its eight pages measured 4⅙ x 8⅓ feet.

Journal of Commerce in 1853—eleven wide columns on a page measuring about 3 x 5 feet. These overgrown sheets were not trimmed at the top, and folding them back to read the inside pages was almost a feat of engineering.

Doubtless the six-cent papers were stimulated to page-size increases by their penny-paper competition. The penny papers had to be small to maintain their price, and the blanket sheets wished to emphasize the pigmy offering of their cheap competitors. But though the *Sun* and the *Herald* started out with very small pages, they increased in size as their business grew. For example, the *Herald* page carried six columns in 1840, and measured 15 x 22 inches. Ten years later it was issuing six and eight pages daily in this convenient size. This was the size adopted by the *Times* when it began as a penny paper. The *Times*, *Herald*, and *Tribune* all had eight pages to the issue by the mid-fifties, though the penny *Sun* and the old "blanket-sheets" kept to only four.

Country weeklies generally had four pages, which tended to increase by the end of the period to large sizes. There was great variety among these papers, however.

EDITORIAL PAGES

The editorial page as a department of the newspaper came into general acceptance in the latter part of this period. From one to four columns of editorials, often preceded by a column summary of important news, shared the page with a Washington letter, book reviews, and other material. News on this page was not fully divorced from editorials; it was on its way to become no longer a news story but the "informative editorial."

Greeley's was the chief influence in the making of the modern editorial page—a department which discusses in an adequate literary style a large variety of contemporary topics. The editorial page of the *Tribune* came into full flower in the fifties, after the paper had enlarged to eight pages. The page was produced by a number of good writers under Greeley's supervision; it discussed political, social, economic, and literary topics; it represented wide information; and it held to high aims.

The New York *Herald's* editorials, always readable, were distinguished by their short paragraphs, often flippant and cynical. The *Times*, at the opposite extreme, was characterized editorially

by an unusual fairness: Raymond usually saw both sides of questions he discussed. The *Evening Post* in the fifties became a militant and eloquent advocate of free soil and free men. The Springfield *Republican* specialized in short and pungent paragraphs, though it also printed the longer editorial articles—"leaders," as they were usually called, after the English fashion—which were characteristic of these years.

Country weeklies, following these examples according to their bent, commonly made politics their main editorial topic. Editors in the smaller towns were just as definitely expected to discuss national politics at length as the preachers were to expound on eternal punishment: it was a function of their calling.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

Three great continuing stories ran through the newspapers of this period, or parts of it. They reported national politics, the Mexican War, and the gold rush.

Chief among the news-breaks in the political story were the withdrawal of funds from the National Bank, the passage of the tariff of 1842, the enactment of the Wilmot proviso, the compromise of 1850, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, followed some years later by the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, and the various presidential elections. The most exciting campaigns were the Log Cabin canvas of 1840 and the Buchanan-Frémont-Fillmore contest in 1856.

The Texan war for independence excited great popular interest in 1836. The papers were full of the defense of the Alamo, the Battle of San Jacinto, and meetings throughout the country to raise men and money for the support of the Texans. The successive moves throughout the ensuing decade toward the annexation of Texas made important newspaper stories. The coverage of the War with Mexico has already been described. The chief breaks in that story were General Taylor's victories at Palo Alto, Monterey, and Buena Vista; and General Scott's successive captures of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and Mexico City.

The gold rush in its various phases furnished the chief story for the years immediately following the Mexican War. In the eastern newspapers it disputed position with the great political developments of the slavery dispute. A government official at

Monterey who was also a correspondent of the New York *Herald* sent Bennett a sample of gold dust which was one of the first tangible evidences of the "strike" of 1848 to reach the East; featured in the *Herald,* this did much to start the famous rush. California journalists made money out of correspondence for the eastern papers; but both they and the writers sent out there did more prospecting than writing, and gold rush news was at a premium for many months. Bennett issued a series of three extras in December, 1848, and January, 1849, called the *California Herald,* which gave maps, official reports, and data about how to reach the gold fields.

The trouble about the Oregon boundary made many stories of the first magnitude before its settlement by the treaty of 1846, as did the filibustering in Nicaragua and Cuba. Good copy was also made by the many outbreaks of violence during this period—from the Seminole War in Florida to the anti-rent uprisings of the late thirties. The "Aroostook War" over the Maine boundary in 1839, the "Dorr War" in Rhode Island in 1844, the conflicts in "bleeding Kansas" in 1855-56, and the wars against the Mormons at Nauvoo, Illinois, and later in Utah were all sensational episodes. Besides these, there were the Know-Nothing mobs against the Catholics in the thirties, and many strikes in Massachusetts and the Middle States in the forties and fifties.

In the murder sensations of this period the penny papers found stories in which they could bring out to the full all the phases of the "pepper-pot" news concept.[5] The Robinson-Jewett case produced, with penny-paper exploitation, the first overplayed murder story. The Colt hammer murder of 1842, the famous murder of Dr. George Parkman by Professor John W. Webster, of Harvard, in 1849, the mystery murder of Dr. Harvey Burdell in 1857, and the murder of his wife's lover by General Daniel E. Sickles in 1859 were the leading sensations of the kind in this period. Inevitably other papers were drawn by the penny press into elaborate coverage of such news—though it must be admitted that the cheap press by no means invented the murder story, and some six-cent papers gave a considerable space to such news even before 1830.

There were some sports stories, especially of horse racing, cricket, and (at the very end of this period) prizefighting. The

[5] See p. 242. For the Robinson-Jewett case, see p. 233.

first sports paper in the United States was the *American Turf Register* (1829-44), soon followed by the famous *Spirit of the Times* (1831-1902). William T. Porter founded the former, and he edited the latter for many years. The first great newspaper hero of the prize ring was John C. Heenan, the "Benecia Boy." Some papers would not stoop to reporting a prizefight; but Heenan's match with Morrissey in 1858 was pretty fully reported.

Several popular dementias of the period received much space in the papers—phrenology, the "Rochester Knockings" and the doctrines of spiritualism, and the cult of Millerism. This last was featured by tremendous revival meetings; it drove many of its followers to the madhouse; and it finally blew up when the day of October 21, 1844, which it had set for the end of the world, passed quietly like any other day and the sun rose on the 22nd.

Few events of the period excited more enthusiasm or were more generally played up by the newspapers than the arrival of the first steamships to cross the Atlantic, the Sirius and the Great Western, which made the first trip in 1838. Three visitors to our shores from abroad during this period were first-class national sensations—Charles Dickens (1842), Jenny Lind (1850), and Louis Kossuth (1851).

Finally, at the very end of the period came one of the biggest stories of the whole quarter-century—John Brown's assault on Harper's Ferry.

MID-CENTURY ADVERTISING

Front pages were more or less filled with advertising until the fifties. Not until the coming of the eight-page papers did leading publishers banish advertising from their front pages, and even then there were plenty of them, like the four-page New York *Sun* and the Boston *Transcript*, to mention no more, that continued to give this premier position to the advertisers. The eight-page papers would commonly give three or four pages to advertising, but the big four-page mercantile blanket-sheets often gave three fourths to five sixths or more of their space to such matter.

There was little display advertising in American newspapers during this period; the usual type-size was agate, and it was set in single-column width. There were some papers in certain years which tried display and double-column measure, only to abandon

these devices as wasteful of space and unfair to smaller advertisers. The first penny and two-cent papers, comparatively small in size, had to economize in space; the Boston *Transcript* explained in 1833 its change from the usual agate type for its advertising to an almost unreadable diamond by saying that its readers liked the paper's small size and the only way it could accommodate increased advertising was to make the type smaller. Most "ads" were comparatively short, though some column lengths are found. The fact is that readers preferred the small advertisements, which they found meaty and newsy.

James Gordon Bennett made the *Herald* the pace-setter for advertisers in the larger papers in the forties and fifties. After trying double-column "ads," he reduced everything to agate in single-column measure, without stock-cuts or two-line initials. This "agate rule" was very widely adopted by the larger eastern papers, though in the West, and in the weekly papers generally, it was less regarded. Then Bennett attacked the problem of the annual advertisement or "standing ad." First he ordered that no advertisement should be accepted for more than two weeks' insertions; then in 1847 he went the whole way and required daily change of copy. His purpose, apparently, was less to serve the advantage of the advertiser (which the change, nevertheless, did serve) than to maintain the fresh, newsy quality of the advertising pages. "Advertisements Renewed Every Day," he announced at the head of each of these pages.

As business developed in the fifties, some enterprising advertisers invented devices to overcome the deadly monotony enforced by the "agate rule." One was that used by the famous early photographer Brady, who formed the agate words of his announcement into the large figures 359, his street number. Others devised variants of this logotype composition (see illustration opposite page 401). Another stunt was Robert Bonner's iteration copy. Bonner was publisher of a story-weekly called the New York *Ledger*. He would take a two-line advertisement like "Don't go home tonight without the New York *Ledger*. It contains Cobb's sensation story," and then have it repeated to fill a whole column. On May 6, 1858, Bonner bought seven solid pages of the *Herald* for this type of advertising chiefly in order to announce a new serial by Emerson Bennett. This was the largest advertisement which had

ever appeared in a newspaper. Bonner would also print the first chapters of one of his serials in the *Tribune* or *Herald*, ending the excerpt just where the heroine cried, "Unhand me, villain!" or something like that, and then adding: "No more of this interesting serial will be printed in the *Tribune*. For the remainder see the New York *Ledger*, on sale at all the leading news depots today." Thus Bonner built the largest circulation of the times for his paper.

Advertising rates were in confusion. Many papers continued the old $40-a-year annual contract, which allowed the advertiser to keep a standing advertisement, sometimes nearly half a column long, for that amount. The penny papers started at fifty cents a square, but as their circulations swelled they reduced the number of lines in a square from sixteen to six and less. Rates at length became a matter of bargaining, except for the transient advertiser, who paid his fifty cents or one dollar a square. Bonner is said to have paid the *Herald* $2,000 for his seven-page advertisement of 1858, which would be slightly under $50 a column. The New York *Sun* early initiated the rule of advance payment for advertising, and this was followed by the *Herald*; but many papers throughout the country suffered from unpaid advertising accounts. Some had to take "payment in kind" and were loaded down with dry goods or patent medicines which they had to sell or give away.

The early advertising agencies only added to the confusion. These agencies were established by men who had worked for individual papers as advertising salesmen and had then seen the opportunity of enlarging their fields. Volney B. Palmer had an office in Philadelphia early in the forties, and later established branches in New York, Boston, and Baltimore. John L. Hooper, of New York, was another early advertising agent; in the fifties S. M. Pettengill, one of Palmer's clerks, established an agency which soon grew to become the foremost in the country. The Parvin-Doughty agency was operating in Cincinnati in the fifties. These early agents took advantage of the confusion in rates by clever bargaining which sometimes left them a third or even a half for their commission. Once they had secured the business of a patent-medicine advertiser, they could obtain from many smaller papers authority to represent them fully, even to fixing rates. Thus the agent grew rich on the poor management of the small publishers, and agencies multiplied.

Some publishers considered that if they solicited advertising they would lose face. George Jones, of the New York *Times*, boasted that he never asked anyone to advertise in his paper. The Boston *Transcript*, Baltimore *Sun*, and others took a similar position.

But if a few refused to solicit, virtually all refused to censor. Greeley, who had attacked abortionist advertising in the *Herald* and *Sun*, printed the following paragraph in the *Tribune:*

A friend writes us to complain of the ingenuity of our advertisers in writing commendations of their medicines. He should complain to our advertisers themselves, who are not responsible to us for the style of language (if decent) of their advertisements, nor have we any control over them.[6]

This was the usual position until abuses became too flagrant in the late forties. The Boston *Daily Times* used the *caveat emptor* alibi:

Some of our readers complain of the great number of patent medicines advertised in this paper. To this complaint we can only reply that it is for our interest to insert such advertisements as are not indecent or improper in their language, without any inquiry whether the articles advertised are what they purport to be. That is an inquiry for the reader who feels interested in the matter, and not for us, to make. It is sufficient for our purpose that the advertisements are paid for . . . One man has as good a right as another to have his wares, his goods, his panaceas, his profession published to the world in a newspaper, provided he pays for it.[7]

One of the worst offenders was the New York *Herald*, which printed the most meretricious of quack advertisements. To a complainant against the space given to Dr. Brandreth's pills, Bennett wrote:

Send us more advertisements than Dr. Brandreth does—give us higher prices—we'll cut Dr. Brandreth dead—or at least curtail his space. Business is business—money is money. . . . We permit no blockhead to interfere with our business.[8]

But some months later, having quarrelled with his quack, presumably over the higher rates which he was said to require of his more

[6] New York *Tribune*, December 20, 1841.
[7] Boston *Daily Times*, October 11, 1837.
[8] New York *Herald*, June 26, 1836.

objectionable advertisers, Bennett "cut Dr. Brandreth dead"; furthermore, he denounced the pill-maker as "without a doubt the most superlative quack that ever appeared in the world." [9]

The one- and two-cent papers were the least critical in this matter of lying and indelicate advertising; but as they grew more prosperous, all but the *Herald* grew more fastidious. The *Times*, a late comer, was more careful from the first; it said in 1852:

> It may save others, as well as ourselves, some trouble to state that Advertisements of certain classes of Medicines, Doctors, Books, &c, &c, will not be inserted in the *Daily Times* at any price . . . This class of advertisers has a special organ in this city with whose monopoly of the business we have no wish to interfere.[10]

The *Times* a few weeks later called the *Herald* "the recognized organ of quack doctors" and alleged that "it compels the doctors to pay double price for their advertisements." [11]

Some papers of a high class had excluded patent-medicine advertising long before the *Times* took its stand; the New York *Evening Post* and the Boston *Daily Advertiser* may be named as examples. Lists of articles for sale, usually without prices, were common in all papers. Steamship and railroad advertising, legal notices, auctions, books, liquors, theaters and "museums," and real estate helped make up the offerings of the advertising pages.

When an advertiser really "let himself go," the effect was often amazing. Witness the following poetical effusion, quoted only in part:

> Thus Alexander knelt at beauty's shrine
> And Anthony thought Cleopatra's charms divine:
> Celestial beauty—daughter of the skies—
> Fair-skinned, rose-cheeked and lily-necked arise!
> Try RADWAY'S CHINESE MEDICATED SOAP!
> This, this alone each form will purify
> And make the ugliest handsome to the eye!
> This for pimples, blotches, tetters, rheum,
> Will banish all before its rich perfume . . .[12]

[9] *Ibid.*, March 29, 1837.
[10] New York *Daily Times*, May 28, 1852.
[11] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1852.
[12] This gem doubtless appeared in many other papers besides the New Haven *Palladium* of March 1, 1851.

CHAPTER XVIII

Attitudes Toward the Press

THE TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER READERship in the middle of the century was one of the wonders of the times. In the quarter-century now under consideration, the number of papers tripled, they spread thickly over the settled parts of the country and appeared even on the outposts of the frontier,[1] and their circulations grew to unheard of figures. The great dailies, the national weekly newspapers, and the popular weekly miscellanies boasted of continually mounting circulations. The New York *Herald* at 77,000 in 1860 was the world's largest daily paper,[2] while the New York *Weekly Tribune's* 200,000 and the New York *Ledger's* 400,000 were considered marvelous. These figures will inevitably be compared with the far larger circulations of a later date, but it should be remembered that at the beginning of 1833 no American newspaper had as many as 5,000 subscribers.

However, the great mass of weeklies had only a few hundred circulation each, and most of the dailies only a few thousand. The story was told of a Boston citizen who wished to suppress a story published in one of that city's papers; he bought up the whole edition at a cost of $19.[3]

Many causes combined to bring about this amazing growth in American newspaper readership. In the first place, the popula-

[1] Only four of the present list of states of the Union were without papers in 1860—Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota.

[2] The Crimean War of 1853-56 had brought the circulation of the London *Times* to 70,000, however. The removal of the English stamp taxes on newspapers, the duty on advertisements, and the duty on printing-paper, all of which occurred 1836-61, greatly stimulated the circulation of English papers generally. Penny (two-cent) papers were established in the fifties, but the first halfpenny paper—the *Echo*—was not founded until 1868. In Paris *Le Siècle* and *La Presse*, the largest papers, were well under the *Herald* figure.

[3] "Juan" in Chicago *Tribune*, June 23, 1865, writing of twenty years earlier.

tion of the country multiplied two and a third times between 1833 and 1860. Secondly, the development of public education made the United States a nation of readers. Illiteracy was about nine per cent throughout most of this period.[4] Not to be disregarded as a factor in the development of the national reading habit was the improvement in the lighting of homes: reading newspaper fine-print by candlelight was trying, and the coming of oil lamps in the thirties and forties and gas lighting in the cities a little later made it much easier. A third basis of the popularity of newspaper reading was that interest in public affairs which springs from the democratic political system. Men took their politics seriously, and the chief source of political information was the newspaper. In many respects the thirties and forties formed a period of social and economic awakening and of reform movement.

A fourth and very important cause of the increase in the number of newspaper readers was the drop in the price of the papers. This was, in turn, due largely to improvements in presses and papermaking machinery. It was accompanied by lowered postal rates. And finally, an important new element in the newspaper readership of these years was furnished by the women. Wrote Raymond in an early issue of the New York *Times:*

> English women seldom read the [London *Times*]. . . . American women read newspapers as much as their liege lords. The paper must accommodate itself to this fact, and hence the American sheet involves a variety of topics and a diversity of contents. . . . Our dailies have domestic habits. They possess the requirements of the family journal.[5]

DOMINANCE OF THE NEW YORK PRESS

In these developments and changes the press of New York City played a leading part. Since the decay of the prestige of the Washington political organs, the great New York papers had usurped the limelight. They had led in the contests in news transmission, in coöperative news-gathering, in large circulations, and in political influence. The New York Associated Press had been able by 1860

[4] It rose to eleven per cent in the 1840 census but was reduced again to nine per cent in 1860. Percentages of illiteracy were calculated on the basis of whites over twenty years of age. If it had included free Negroes the percentage would have been less than one per cent higher. See Edwin Leigh's study, "Illiteracy in the United States," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1870* (Washington, 1875), pp. 467-502.

[5] New York *Daily Times*, Oct. 14, 1852.

to dominate and almost monopolize the chief news-gathering and news-transmitting agencies of the country. New York itself had become clearly the preëminent American metropolis.

And yet two factors were to prevent New York from becoming such an unrivaled press center as London was for England or Paris for France. These factors were the geographical extent of the country and the coming of the telegraph. Chicago was too far from New York to be served by that city's newspapers, especially when the telegraph had made it unnecessary to wait for the receipt of those papers to learn the news. James Parton wrote in the sixties:

> A few years ago it seemed probable that the people of the United States would be supplied with news chiefly through newspapers published in the city of New York. . . . Since the introduction of the telegraph, the news outstrips the newspaper and is given to the public by the local press. It is this fact which forever limits the circulation and national importance of the New York press.[6]

This limitation cannot, of course, be said to apply in the same degree to the weekly or monthly press.

NEWSPAPERS AND THE POSTOFFICE

Local circulation of daily papers was handled by carriers, but out-of-town circulation was delivered through the postoffice. Wecklies followed the same rule until the free local delivery provided in 1845 caused them to send their entire output through the postoffice.

Exchange of papers between publishers had been carried gratis since 1792; to the papers enjoying this privilege of free transportation were added by the Postoffice Act of 1845 all copies mailed to an address within thirty miles. This was repealed in 1847, but four years later the Postoffice Act provided that all circulation within a paper's home county should be carried free. Despite protests of Postmasters General this free county delivery was maintained for many years.

The Act of 1852 cut newspaper postage in half when prepaid and provided that either the sender or the addressee might pay it. Thus some weekly publishers were led to absorb the twenty-six

[6] *North American Review*, April, 1866 (Vol. CII, pp. 373-74).

cents a year postage on each out-of-the-county subscription,[7] instead of leaving their subscribers to make quarterly payments at the postoffice as formerly. These new postal arrangements, more favorable than had ever been known anywhere before, did much to stimulate newspaper circulations.

"Innumerable complaints are made about the failure of the mails," observed *Niles' Register* in 1833. One paper headed its news about the arrival of mails with an engraving of a snail, and another pictured a mud-turtle in a similar connection. But the *Register* wisely remarked: "Great allowances should be made for the wretched state of the roads and the excessive weight of the mails." [8]

One should recognize also the political animus which suggested some of the criticism. Anti-Jackson men delighted in attacking the Postoffice Department, which had become, under President Jackson, the chief political arm of the administration. Amos Kendall, himself a newspaper man, became Postmaster General in 1835. Improvements in service followed better highways and the spread of railroads in the fifties.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

It was through Kendall that the period's chief attempt to limit freedom of the press was made. During his first year at the head of the Postoffice Department, Kendall learned that the Charleston, South Carolina, postmaster had refused to deliver the *Liberator* and other abolitionist papers. He approved that action because he believed that such papers incited to violence. Before that approval was received, the postmaster allowed the mails to be rifled and the papers burned by a local "committee." In his annual report for 1835, Kendall suggested that the President ask Congress to empower the Postoffice Department to refuse "giving circulation to the obnoxious papers in the southern states." Jackson did recommend such a censorship in the form of a penalty for using the mails to circulate in the South papers "intended" to instigate servile insurrection. John C. Calhoun, chairman of the committee to which the proposal was referred, declared that such a measure would be unconstitutional, but brought in a bill which forbade

[7] This was required later. See p. 508.

[8] *Niles' Register*, April 6, 1833. Much of the weight came from newspapers.

postmasters to forward antislavery periodicals in any state where their circulation was forbidden by state law. This bill was finally defeated in the Senate by a narrow margin. Some southern states had laws against "incendiary publications," but the popular southern taboo against antislavery opinion was really all that was necessary in this period to control the occasionally indiscreet nonconformist in the South.[9]

It was the abolition papers that really tested not only the constitutional guarantee of liberty of the press but also the will of the people that such liberty should be maintained in the face of popular disapproval of the cause advocated. On the whole, the American tradition of press freedom was, with some notable exceptions, fairly well preserved. At least, the Charleston committee and similar agencies in the South did their work peaceably, the Lexington committee of sixty which seized Cassius M. Clay's *True American* merely sent it out of Kentucky, and the more violent Boston mob which manhandled Garrison in 1835 did not prevent the continuance of the *Liberator*. But mobs did wreck and destroy antislavery newspaper plants on several occasions. The office of the Utica *Standard and Democrat*, an abolition paper, was sacked in 1835; the poet Whittier's *Pennsylvania Freeman* in Philadelphia was sacked and burned in 1838; James G. Birney's *Philanthropist*, which had been driven out of Kentucky, was mobbed three times in Cincinnati in the latter thirties; William Bailey's *Free South*, of Newport, Kentucky, was wrecked in 1859.

The chief outrage in the history of early abolition propaganda was the murder of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy by a mob at Alton, Illinois, in 1837. Lovejoy had engaged in journalism in St. Louis, had been converted and had entered the Presbyterian ministry, and had then established the *Observer*, a religious newspaper with antislavery leanings. He moved his press across the river to Alton in the hope of finding there a greater freedom from molestation in his crusade against the slave system, but his press was destroyed and thrown into the river by mobs three times in one year. As he

[9] This was scarcely true for the border states, nor was it always true in Virginia before 1833. After the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831, the leading Richmond papers, the *Enquirer* and the *Whig*, both expressed themselves as against slavery; but condemnatory resolutions of public meetings ended such talk. See Clement Eaton, "Freedom of the Press in the Upper South," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1932 (Vol. XVIII, p. 479).

was setting up a fourth press, another mob attacked the building; a pitched battle ensued, and the editor was shot. Lovejoy thereupon became one of the great martyrs of the antislavery cause.

Another assault on the liberty of the press was the conviction in 1836, under an old Massachusetts statute, of Abner Kneeland for blasphemous libel in his freethinkers' weekly, the Boston *Investigator.*

War is commonly an enemy to press freedom, but the Mexican War was an exception to the rule. Papers opposed to that conflict were allowed extraordinary license of criticism.[10]

Libel suits, another limitation on press freedom, declined in number during the period, as states enacted more liberal laws. The most famous libel suits of the time were those brought by the novelist James Fenimore Cooper in his war against the press in the years 1837-45. Cooper sincerely believed that American newspapers exercised a profoundly evil influence upon the whole country. In an essay written at the beginning of his personally conducted "war," he said:

> The entire nation breathes an atmosphere of falsehoods . . . The country cannot much longer exist in safety under the malign influence that now overshadows it. . . . [The press] as a whole owes its existence to the schemes of interested political adventurers.[11]

So Cooper set out to attack the monster, and in a few years he brought fourteen private libel suits against newspapers and instigated two prosecutions for criminal libel. Among his defendants were Thurlow Weed, of the Albany *Evening Journal;* William L. Stone, of the New York *Commercial Advertiser;* and Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune.* The criminal suits were brought against James Watson Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer.* The first of the suits grew out of a neighborhood quarrel in which Cooper was involved; later actions grew out of comments on the early suits; and still later ones were based on angry criticisms of certain of Cooper's books. In his *Homeward Bound* and *Home As Found,* Cooper drew as nasty a portrait of a newspaper man as has adorned any of the contributions to that considerable American literature which has been devoted to the severe criticism of the country's

[10] See p. 255. Texas newspapers, however, suffered in the years of the struggle for independence from Mexico. See p. 287.

[11] *The American Democrat* (Cooperstown, 1838), p. 129.

press. This helped fan the flame. Hundreds of editors joined the fight, and many of those involved in court actions failed to take the matter very seriously. Cooper won verdicts in virtually all the cases, recovery ranging from $55 to $400; but Webb was not convicted in his trial for criminal libel. After all, the "war" was scarcely creditable either to the editors who baited the novelist, or to the irascible and belligerent Cooper. One result was the subsequent extension to civil suits of the principle that the truth of allegations is admissible in defense of a libel action.

Though the House of Representatives no longer made any attempt to exclude the press from its regular sessions, the Senate restricted its reporters to those representing local papers until 1846, when the fight on Ritchie, of the Washington *Union*, brought about a greater liberality to out-of-town papers. Bennett, of the New York *Herald*, had attacked the Senate five years earlier for its addiction to secrecy. There were some troubles with reporters in these years. Once the New York *Tribune* reporters were excluded from the House press galleries for a time because one of them had described in his paper how Congressman Sawyer, of Ohio, brought his lunch of bologna sausage and crackers to the House chamber and ate it behind the Speaker's desk, later wiping his hands on his bald head and picking his teeth with his jackknife. Ever after, the congressman was called "Sausage Sawyer." [12] At another time a New York *Herald* reporter was committed for contempt by the Senate when he published a treaty which was pending in executive session.[13] But by 1860 the accrediting of correspondents to both houses was managed systematically and fairly, and at that time seventy-five reporters were so approved.

The censorship of cudgel and horsewhip was active in the period, but editors usually defended themselves effectively. Duels were not uncommon, as readers of the foregoing pages know. Notable was the record of the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, whose editors in the present period engaged in four duels and endless single-combats on the streets; four of its editors were killed, one drowned himself, one was imprisoned, and others were wounded. One is reminded of Mark Twain's sketch, "Journalism in Tennessee," which goes back to these times. In it, the old editor, who has just

[12] The correspondent was "Persimmon"; it was not William E. Robinson, who wrote under the pen-name "Richelieu."

[13] John Nugent was the reporter. See Nugent vs. Beale, *Fed. Cas.* No. 10375 (1848).

shot one man, leaves his new assistant in charge of the office, saying:

> Jones will be here at three—cowhide him. Gillespie will call earlier, perhaps—throw him out of the window. Ferguson will be along about four—kill him. That is all for today, I believe. If you have any odd time, you may write a blistering article on the police. The cowhides are under the table, weapons in the drawer, ammunition there in the corner, lint and bandages up there in the pigeon-holes. In case of accident, go to Lancet, the surgeon, downstairs. He advertises; we take it out in trade.[14]

Editorial billingsgate declined toward the middle of the century, though western papers generally used rougher speech, and though Horace Greeley could screech, "You lie, you villain; you sinfully, wickedly, basely lie!" at William Cullen Bryant, of the *Evening Post;* and Bennett could fling at Greeley such unamiable epithets as "crazy, contemptible wretch," "monster," and "ogre." But such language was frowned upon in many quarters. Even in Kentucky, and as early as 1837, editors got together and resolved to "abstain from all disrespectful personal allusions or epithets toward each other." [15]

CRITICISMS OF THE PRESS

The period's leading attacks on the press were those of Cooper, Dickens, and Wilmer.

Charles Dickens visited the United States in 1842, and in the same year published his *American Notes,* in which he distributed praise and blame on American institutions and customs as he understood them. This was just at the end of the Cooper "war," and the criticisms of Dickens sound remarkably like those of Cooper. What they both chiefly objected to was what they conceived to be a corrupt control of every phase of American life by the press. Wrote Dickens in the last chapter of *American Notes:*

> While that Press has its evil eye in every house, and its black hand in every appointment in the state, from a president to a postman; while, with ribald slander for its only stock in trade, it is the standard literature of an enormous class, who must find their reading in a newspaper, or they will not read at all; so long must its odium be upon the

[14] Mark Twain, *Sketches Old and New* (New York, 1875).
[15] *Niles' Register,* April, 1837 (Vol. LII, p. 80).

country's head, and so long must the evil it works be plainly visible in the Republic.

The next year Dickens began the publication of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, in which were introduced two caricatures of American journalists—Colonel Diver, publisher of the New York *Rowdy Journal*, and that worthy's chief writer, Mr. Jefferson Brick. Indeed the hero's first impression of New York was one of shouting newsboys:

"Here's this morning's New York Sewer!" cried one. "Here's this morning's New York *Stabber!* Here's the New York *Family Spy!* Here's the New York *Private Listener!* Here's the New York *Peeper!* Here's the New York *Plunderer!* Here's the New York *Keyhole Reporter!* Here's the New York *Rowdy Journal!* Here's all the New York papers! Here's full particulars of the patriotic locofoco movement yesterday, in which the Whigs was so chawed up; and the last Alabama gouging case; and the interesting Arkansas dooel with Bowie knives; and all the Political, Commercial, and Fashionable News. Here they are! Here's the papers, here's the papers!"

The first book devoted wholly to criticism of the American press was Lambert A. Wilmer's *Our Press Gang; or, A Complete Exposition of the Corruptions and Crimes of the American Newspapers*. Wilmer, whose own journalistic life had not been altogether fortunate, had gathered together a collection of accusations against newspapers and newspaper men. His book, published in Philadelphia in 1859, was a curious and sometimes instructive compilation of strictures on the press.

NEWSPAPER PERSONNEL

A writer in one of the current reviews of 1851 declared that "writing for the press is a profession—a craft." [16] Greeley, however, testifying in London before a committee of the House of Commons, said journalism was not a "profession apart," since it drew on men who had been "brought up to the bar, to the pulpit, as printers, and so on." Yet the professional attitude became, in the forties and fifties, far more noticeable in the American press than it had been before. Men of high attainments engaged more and more frequently in journalism. Raymond, Dana, Bryant, Ripley,

[16] *Whig Review*, November, 1851 (Vol. XIV, p. 417).

Bigelow, Hallock, Prentice, and Bowles were prominent among those who helped to raise the level of the new "profession." Though Greeley was outspoken in his contempt of college men in the newspaper office, well-educated journalists became more and more common in the prominent positions—especially in the East.

At the same time, the decline of what is sometimes called "personal journalism" had set in. This was an inevitable effect of the revolution in news brought about by the penny press. The emphasis on news as the chief function of the newspaper and the growing size and complexity of the newspaper organization detracted from the personal prestige of the editor-in-chief. A magazine writer of 1855 said:

> The newspaper-press has taken a more extensive scope, called into its service a greater variety of talent, entrusted its leading specialties to men peculiarly qualified to do them justice; the great journals are now rather corporate institutions than individual organs; and hence the former autocratic influence of men like Horace Greeley is on the decline.[17]

Greeley himself had recognized this situation some years earlier.[18]

Reporters did not become necessary to newspaper staffs until the penny papers had placed an emphasis on local news. Not until the forties did even the largest papers generally have reporters for "local items." [19]

Women began to find places on some newspapers. For many years women had set type in printing offices,[20] especially in the smaller towns; but the first woman editor of an important daily paper was Miss Cornelia Walter, who edited the Boston *Transcript* 1842-47. Margaret Fuller brought a greater reputation, however, to the New York *Tribune* during her editorial service on that paper 1844-46. In Washington the picturesque Mrs. Anne Royal conducted her weekly *Paul Pry*, later the *Huntress*, for twenty-five years; these papers may be described as forerunners of the modern Washington gossip columns. Mrs. Royal was once con-

[17] *Putnam's Monthly*, July, 1855 (Vol. VI, p. 76).
[18] See p. 277, footnote.
[19] See Boston *Herald*, August 6, 1847.
[20] Wives and widows of printers and publishers had engaged in journalism before this, though never very prominently. See footnote, p. 25.

victed as a common scold and sentenced to be ducked according to the penalty prescribed by an old law, but the sentence was suspended. Jane Grey Swisshelm attained some fame by her clever editing of the Pittsburgh *Saturday Visiter* in 1848-52, and her letters from the national capital to her own paper and the New York *Tribune* earned her distinction as the first woman of the Washington corps. The reformer Frances Wright was an editor on two or three reform papers. Several women edited famous magazines, notably Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, of *Godey's Lady's Book*, and Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, of *Peterson's Magazine*. Mrs. Sara Willis Parton gained much fame as a contributor to the New York *Ledger* under the pen-name of "Fanny Fern."

The highest editorial salaries were said to be $3,000 in 1851,[21] and below the editor-in-chief they ranged from $500 to $2,500. It is doubtful whether they went much higher in any instances before the Civil War.

The printing trade still furnished most of the journalists. This was particularly notable among the country weeklies and the western papers. A job-printing business was still a necessary adjunct to any newspaper. "The local patronage of advertising, and particularly *jobbing*, is the *main* support of a newspaper establishment," declared a Chicago daily.[22]

Typographical unions, which had in a few instances been effective in raising wages in the latter years of the eighteenth century but had later suffered a relapse, became active again in the thirties. A national organization was formed in 1836, but it was wrecked by the hard times which ensued; and not until eight or ten years later were the local unions reorganized. In the meantime printers on New York newspapers had been receiving since about 1830 a weekly wage of $12. Morning papers raised this about 1844 to $15. In Boston the rate was only $9, and the 1848 strike of the Boston printers, which was aided by the New York union, stimulated printers throughout the country to new unionization efforts. As a result, the National Typographical Union was organized in 1850, later to become the present International Typographical Union. By 1860 it numbered thirty-four locals and about

[21] Greeley's London testimony in Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, p. 547; also Whitelaw Reid, *American and English Studies* (New York, 1913), Vol. II, pp. 246-47.

[22] *Daily Chicago American*, July 12, 1839.

3,500 members. It is a significant fact that several of the great New York papers encouraged the organization of the printers.

State conventions of editors were held as early as 1837, though there had been "typographical festivals" much earlier. Press associations were organized in western and southern New York, and in Connecticut and Wisconsin in 1853.[23]

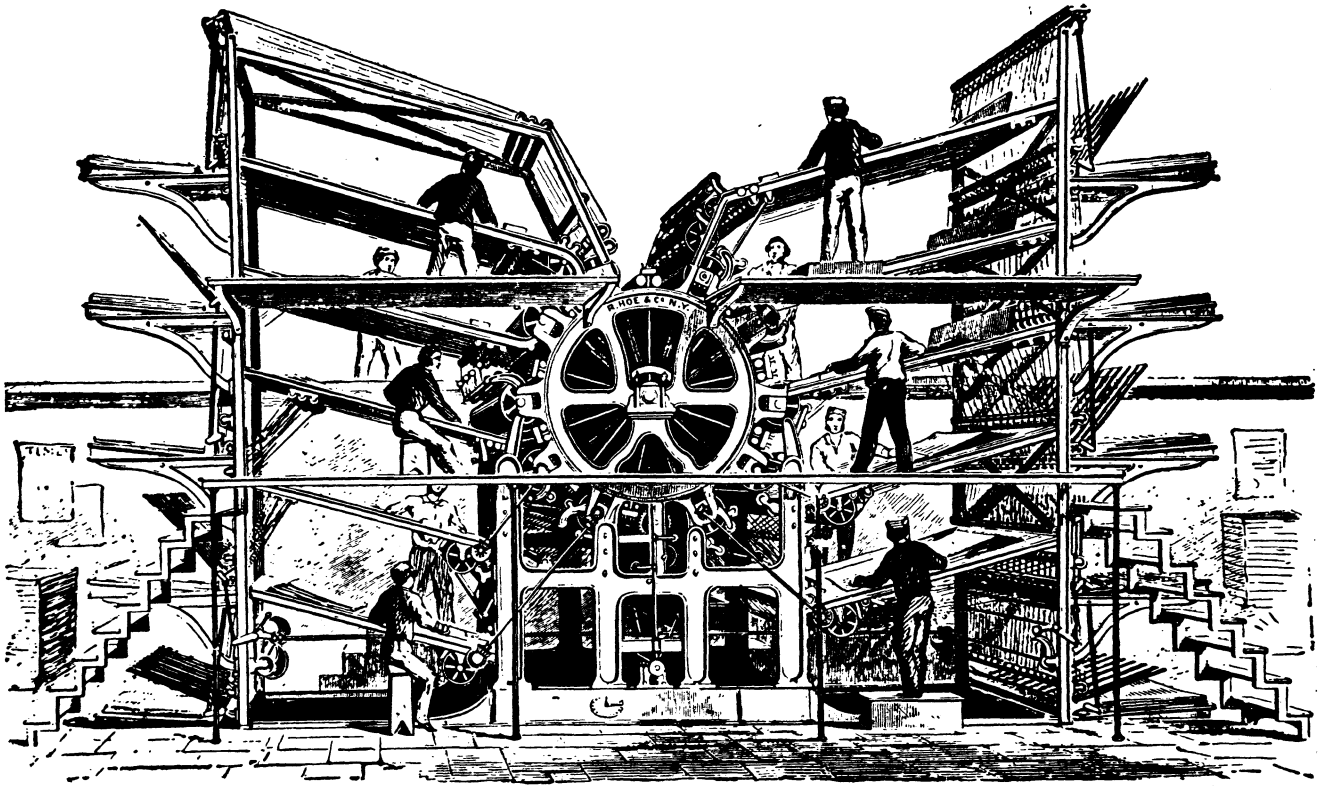
Humblest of the journalists were the newsboys. The unwritten story of their rise would be a romantic chapter in the history of American journalism. They appeared on the streets of the large cities as soon as the penny papers became established—a heterogeneous, loud-voiced, shrewd lot. The ragged, shouting, insistent New York newsboy of the 1830's was something new in the world. Often he was a thorough street gamin, with virtually no home except the streets and alleys of the city, and developed into a "rough," a gambler, or saloon-keeper. But again, he was the sole support of a widowed mother, and selling papers was for him a stepping stone to independence and fortune: such as he were the heroes of many edifying novels and plays. The newsboys were "gallery gods" at the Bowery Theatre, they were smart and tough, and they furnished one of the most picturesque elements of city streets.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINTING PRESS

The large circulations of the cheap papers would have been impossible without the improvements in papermaking which reduced the price of newsprint paper, and the startling developments in fast printing presses. Improvements in the Fourdrinier papermaking machine continued; and prices, variable in the period, ranged from fourteen to eight cents a pound for the rag paper used for printing.

More remarkable, however, were the improvements in presses. The penny papers of large circulation were printed on Napier presses built by Richard M. Hoe & Company, of New York. These were at first single-cylinder, flat-bed presses capable of about 2,000 impressions per hour and turned by cranks manned by stout laborers. As circulations expanded, they soon gave way to

[23] See *Niles' Register*, April, 1837 (Vol. LII, p. 80); John W. Moore, *Miscellaneous Gatherings* (Concord, 1886), pp. 253-69; Frederick Follett, *History of the Press in Western New York* (New York, 1920), Preface, p. v. A Nebraska association was organized in 1859.



One of Hoe's ten-cylinder "lightning" presses. From a contemporary woodcut

double-cylinder presses with two feeders and capable of 4,000 impressions an hour. In 1835 the New York *Sun* installed steam power, setting an example which was soon followed by the other successful penny papers.

The next development was the Hoe "lightning press" of 1847. This was a rotary press (*i.e.*, it had a revolving printing surface), the type form being locked on the cylinder; the form itself was curved to fit the cylinder, which thus became the "bed" of the press. To fasten the type in such a curved form, V-shaped column-rules were used, tapering toward the feet of the type; and these column-rules were securely locked on the press. Even then, it seems strange that the centrifugal force of the rapidly turning cylinder should not dislodge the type, but the device worked. In contact with the type form were four smaller impression cylinders, each of which carried a sheet of paper, and each of which had its own press-feeder and its own delivery-table. Thus one revolution of the type-cylinder printed four sheets, quadrupling the 2,000-per-hour rate of the old flat-bed Napiers. The first "lightning press" was installed by the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. In later presses built by Hoe the number of impression cylinders was increased until it reached ten, giving the press a capacity of 20,000 sheets an hour.

These presses cost $20,000 to $25,000. No longer was it possible to establish a successful metropolitan newspaper "on a shoestring."

Meanwhile, there were country papers that used the old style of hand-press up to the middle of the century. These were especially convenient for the pioneer western country, being easily transported. The Washington hand-press represented the furthest advance in this type of flat-platen press; developed from Clymer's "Columbian" press, it was patented by Samuel Rust in 1829 and was for many years the standard country-newspaper press.

CHAPTER XIX

Class Papers and Magazines

AMERICA'S FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS, WHICH HAD BEGUN WITH A few German papers in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, showed no considerable increase until the thirties. But from 1830 onward, impelled by the large German immigration, many newspapers in that language were founded in nearly all the states. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and Buffalo were the chief American centers for German journalism. By 1850 there were 133 German publications in the United States, and in another decade the number nearly doubled, while there were twenty-seven daily newspapers published in German in fifteen American cities in the year 1860.

The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, founded by Jacob Uhl as a weekly in 1834, eventually became the foremost of American German-language dailies. Oswald Ottendorfer, a revolutionist refugee, found employment on the *Staats-Zeitung* in 1850, later married the widow of the founder, and edited the paper until his death in 1900.

No other nationalities had considerable numbers of newspapers, though the French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, and Welsh languages were represented. The *Courrier des États-Unis*, founded in New York in 1828, has ever since represented French culture in this country. Though New York was then, as now, the leader in foreign-language newspapers, San Francisco in 1860 had daily papers in German, French, Spanish, and Italian.

Large quantities of these papers were sent back to the old homelands. Also the New York *Herald* had its weekly *Herald for Europe* for export after 1846, and the New York *Sun* began its *American Sun* for similar circulation two years later.

SUNDAY PAPERS

The first Sunday newspapers in America were extras issued during the Revolutionary War. No regular Sunday paper was attempted until in Baltimore, on the Sunday before Christmas, 1796, Philip Edwards, whose daily *Journal* had just been burned out, issued his *Sunday Monitor*. He issued only one number of it; but at the beginning of the next year other publishers in the same city commenced another Sunday paper under the name of the *Weekly Museum*, and it ran five months. Thereafter there were other Sunday papers in various cities, as well as many Saturday papers published for Sunday reading. These were miscellanies, but contained some news. Examples were the *Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia, the *Sunday Mercury* in New York, and the *New England Galaxy* in Boston. As the years passed, these weeklies multiplied prodigiously; all cities had them, and Philadelphia could list sixteen of them in 1852.

Daily newspapers often issued larger papers on Saturday, with an eye to Sunday reading; but the first attempt on the part of a daily to publish a Sunday edition was made by that bold originator, James Gordon Bennett, with his *Sunday Herald* in 1835. It met with so much opposition that Bennett thought best to discontinue it after a few numbers, but he made the trial again for three months in 1838. It was not until 1841, however, that Bennett successfully established a regular Sunday edition of the *Herald*. About this time French and German papers, especially in New Orleans, began Sunday editions. In 1844 the St. Louis *Reveille* followed the fashion, and three years later the Chicago *Tribune* took over the weekly *Gem of the Prairie* and used it as a Sunday edition.

Sabbatarians made long and loud objection to such "desecration" of the Sabbath. Resorting to legal action under Pennsylvania "blue laws," they had the Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch* fined $4, a fine which it paid with some glee every week. Newsboys crying the *Herald* in New York on Sunday were arrested for disorderly conduct, "while swindling hypocrites," said the *Herald* the next day, "were on their way, like honest people, to church." By the end of our period in 1860 the Sunday *Herald* had topped the daily issue by 10,000 copies.

MAGAZINES

The popular Saturday and Sunday miscellanies were more like magazines in content than like newspapers; they flourished upon stories, moral essays, and verse, with some admixture of travel sketches, science, art, and a few woodcuts. The greatest of them was Robert Bonner's New York *Ledger*, which attained a circulation of 400,000 by 1860—stupendous for that day. It was in 1855 that Bonner, a printer, took over a moribund mercantile newspaper and transformed it into a literary miscellany. By an unparalleled campaign of newspaper advertising [1] and a shrewd selection of his contributors he made the *Ledger* a phenomenon of the time; people made fun of it as a cheap story-paper, but nearly everyone read it at some time or other. As it prospered, Bonner bought big names—Longfellow, Bryant, Bancroft, etc.

The first great pictorial weekly was *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (1851-59), of Boston. It was a sixteen-page paper copiously illustrated by woodcuts and modeled upon the *Illustrated London News*.

The first really popular general monthly magazine in America was the *Knickerbocker*, published in New York 1833-65, most of that time under the editorship of Lewis Gaylord Clark. Clark was a wit, with excellent literary taste and a wide acquaintance among writers. The *Knickerbocker* published the best New York writers and many from Boston and the South and West. Its chief rival after 1841 [2] was the Philadelphia *Graham's Magazine*. Edgar Allan Poe was literary editor of *Graham's* 1841-42, and among the contributors were Longfellow, Bryant, Lowell, and Cooper. Lavish illustration by engravings on copper and steel was a feature of the magazine and had much to do with its popularity. It had 40,000 circulation by its second year. George R. Graham, its owner and chief editor, took his profits from it and put them into two or three Philadelphia newspapers—chiefly the *North American*—and into mining stock, and eventually lost his fortune. From then

[1] See p. 299. Bonner is said to have paid $150,000 for one year's advertising and to have spent a million dollars with S. M. Pettengill & Company, advertising agents.

[2] Graham bought the *Casket* (1826-40) in 1839, and the next year *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* (1837-40), and united them to form *Graham's Magazine* (title varies) in 1841.

on the magazine went into a decline from which not even its colored fashion plates could revive it. One of its chief distinctions was its adequate payment to its best authors.

Equally praiseworthy as a paymaster was the publisher of the famous *Godey's Lady's Book*, founded in 1830 in Philadelphia. This most important of the early women's magazines is best remembered for its charming hand-colored engravings of fashionable costumes of the times—the pretty ladies with their great beruffled hoopskirts and the almost equally pretty gentlemen with their nankeen trousers and narrow waists. But *Godey's* contained sentimental stories and poems by nearly all the most famous American authors of its time, and it set a new record for the circulation of women's magazines with 150,000 in the late fifties. Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, author of "Mary Had a Little Lamb," was co-editor with the owner, Louis A. Godey, in the years 1836-77. The magazine lasted until 1898.

Running *Godey's* a close race in circulation by 1860 was *Peterson's Magazine* (1842-98), also in Philadelphia. It, too, was a women's magazine with colored fashion plates, but it sold for $2 a year—a dollar less than its competitor. Charles J. Peterson, its founder, had been a partner of Graham in the ownership of the *Saturday Evening Post* and later in the editorship of *Godey's*. Mrs. Ann S. Stephens was an associate editor and a writer of interminable serials for the magazine. During the Civil War *Peterson's*, whose full title underwent no less than thirteen variations, outdistanced *Godey's* in circulation.

The most famous southern magazine of these years was the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834-64), of Richmond. Poe's editorship of it in 1835-37 and his contributions to it constitute its chief claims to fame, but it was a good literary magazine throughout most of its life. Less literary but valuable for its economic and social articles was *De Bow's Review* (1846-80), of New Orleans. This monthly was a peerless interpreter of the ante-bellum South, especially in its economic phases.

The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (1837-59) was published first in Washington and then in New York. Its literary reputation rests on contributions by Hawthorne, Simms, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Whitman; but it was

devoted largely to public affairs treated from a partisan angle. Its Whig competitor, the *American Whig Review* (1845-62), of New York, though it had less literary distinction, published Poe and Lowell, as well as the great Whig statesmen of the period.

The *Dial*, literary spokesman of New England transcendentalism, published sixteen quarterly numbers in Boston 1840-44. It was edited first by Margaret Fuller and then by Ralph Waldo Emerson, with some help from George Ripley. It was never popular, and it was the butt of the ridicule of those who found it hard to understand; but it occupies an important position in literary history.

In 1850 was founded a monthly which introduced a new and highly successful formula into the business of magazine publishing. This was *Harper's Monthly*, of New York, begun by a firm of book publishers which had grown prosperous largely through the reprinting of the works of English authors in the United States. This was not only before the time of international copyright, but also before the days of the "gentlemen's agreements" by which payments were made to English authors by American publishers of their works. The formula by which *Harper's* made an immediate and long-continued success consisted of three parts: (1) the republication in serial form of novels of the immensely popular English novelists—Dickens, Reade, Collins, and others; (2) twice as many pages as the older magazines had offered; and (3) illustration by woodcuts. The early pirating of English material soon gave place to payment for "advance sheets." After a few years many American contributions were introduced, but the serials were chiefly English for many years. Doubtless it was chiefly the pictures that made *Harper's* an instant success and brought it to a circulation of 200,000 before the Civil War, placing it far ahead of any other monthly magazine in the world.

CLASS PERIODICALS

There was a growing tendency toward specialization in periodicals as the number of them increased.[3] The religious group was the largest of these classes of periodicals; every denomination and every school of thought within a denomination must have its

[3] There were about 600 periodicals, as distinguished from newspapers, in 1860.

organ, and many had one for each city or state or region. Thus, each of the leading denominations had a score or more of periodicals—quarterly, monthly, and weekly—before 1860.

Some forty agricultural periodicals were being published in 1860. It had been discovered that differences in climate and soil limited such papers to regional circulation, and in the fifties they sprang up as far west as Oregon and California. Notable were the old *American Farmer* (1819-97), of Baltimore; the *American Agriculturist*, founded in 1842, long published in New York City, and now, at Ithaca, New York, the oldest of American farm journals; and the *Country Gentleman*, founded at Albany in 1853 and now published in Philadelphia.

There were also many journals in the fields of medicine, law, and education. And there were periodicals for the bankers, insurance men, druggists, hardware dealers, railroad men, telegraphers, and coach-makers.

The children had their papers, too, of which the *Youth's Companion* (1827-1919) lived to become the most famous.

Many colleges had magazines conducted by students. The oldest survivor is the *Yale Literary Magazine*, founded in 1836.

ANTISLAVERY JOURNALS

The antislavery papers of the northern states were both cause and effect of the mounting feeling against the "peculiar institution" of the South. The movement was nursed by the few early papers devoted to it and by some of the religious journals, and as it grew it followed the general law of propaganda for all widespread crusades and developed new organs.

Some of these were devoted to the colonization gospel, by which Negroes were to be freed gradually and transported from the United States; some were organs of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its subsidiaries; others were independent abolition journals.

Outstanding was William Lloyd Garrison's Boston *Liberator* (1831-65). An outspoken abolition paper, it found the opposition in its home city almost as bitter in the thirties as it was in the South, but Garrison's eloquence and courage had their effect. He advocated disunion, calling the constitutional "compact" with the South "a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell."

But when the Civil War seemed the only way to emancipation, Garrison supported the Union cause. The persistent, intense attack of the *Liberator* upon a hated institution every week for a third of a century was an extraordinary performance. Said the *Nation* at the end of the war, commenting on the demise of the *Liberator* after its work was done: "It is perhaps the most remarkable instance on record of a single-hearted devotion to a cause." [4]

Another famous antislavery journal was Dr. Gamaliel Bailey's *National Era* (1847-59), of Washington, which published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial. A famous Negro freedman edited *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in Rochester, New York, 1847-60.

[4] *Nation*, January 4, 1866 (Vol. II, p. 7).

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Journalism in War and Reconstruction 1860-1872

CHAPTER XX

Reporting the War Between the States

IT IS SOMETIMES THOUGHT THAT THE EXTRAORDINARY DEMAND for news in time of national conflict makes war desirable from a newspaper standpoint. But in spite of the "bull market" in news created by an appeal to arms, newspapers in such years have to face high costs of paper and labor and heavy taxes, as well as hampering restrictions on their freedom. In addition, newspapers must share in the confusion and hazards of war; and if they chance to be in ravaged territory, they will probably be destroyed.

Even the circulation increases which, under fortunate circumstances, commonly accompany a state of military activity depend upon greatly increased outlays for the collection of news. Such was the case in the Civil War.

COVERING THE CIVIL WAR

Probably no great war has ever been so thoroughly covered by eye-witness correspondents as the American Civil War. Newspapers have printed far greater volumes of material about later wars, and more prompt and accurate news; but Civil War conditions allowed for more uncensored, on-the-scene reporting than did those of later wars. And though volume was less, the proportion of newspaper space given to military news was quite as great as in subsequent wars. Such famous New York papers as the *Times*, *Tribune*, and *World* had only forty-eight columns to the issue; but they often gave a third of it to their news from the various battle-fronts.

Such news was sometimes tardy because telegraph facilities were not always available. Telegraph lines were not the thick network which they later became, and the news frequently broke far from wire or railroad. Sometimes the special correspondent

had to make a long ride on horseback through enemy territory, or even such a journey afoot, to get the news to a point from which it could be transmitted safely. Even then wires were often refused to the correspondents for one reason or another—the government's need of them, military censorship, press of commercial business, breaks in the service. Often the correspondent, exhausted and looking like a tramp, brought the story personally into the office of his paper. Published reports from the front were very commonly three or four days old, and sometimes much older.

"Grapevine telegraph"—slang for rumor—played an important part in news communication during the war. The heading "IMPORTANT—IF TRUE" was common in all papers. The Baltimore *Sun*, during the first few weeks of hostilities, headed a front-page column "RUMORS AND SPECULATIONS" and published the following editorial paragraph:

> Rumors of every kind multiply. Every hour gives rise to the most extravagant reports. . . . The press North and South seems to have entered upon a war of crimination and recrimination, and instead of calming the excitement and allaying unfounded prejudices, to rejoice in adding to the excitement of the moment.[1]

The importance of the condition thus pointed out by the *Sun* in the formation of a belligerent public opinion can scarcely be exaggerated. Rumor was stimulated by an inefficient censorship, and it is doubtful if any paper came through the war without becoming the victim, at some time, of lies and canards.

The modern news-story lead had not yet been developed, but news writing was more direct than in ante-bellum days. Official reports from the field, instead of being summarized in the main story, were usually presented in full. Dispatches were likely to be printed chronologically, the oldest at the head of the column. Following the story of a battle, there would be the long list of killed, wounded, and missing, in small type. The great newspapers occasionally published war maps; this was a type of enterprise in which the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the New York *Herald* were leaders, with the New York *Times* not far behind.

Only the largest papers could afford to keep special correspondents in the field. The others got their news from their Wash-

[1] Baltimore Sun, May 27, 1861.



The New-York Times.

VOL. XI—NO. 3346. NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1862. PRICE TWO CENTS.

THE PURSUIT OF JACKSON.

Further Particulars of the Battle of Cross Keys.

Jackson Very Badly Defeated by Gen. Fremont.

The Dead and Wounded Left on the Field.

Flight of the Rebels on Sunday Night.

Advance of Gen. Fremont to Port Republic on Monday.

Communication with General Shields to be Opened.

The Casualties in the Battle of Sunday.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS.

Sketch of the Battle-ground of "Fair Oaks," or the Seven Pines, on May 31, 1862, by Lieut. E. Walker West, A. D. C. to Brigadier-General Casey. Drawn Especially for the New-York Times.

NEWS FROM THE MISSISSIPPI.

Favorable Condition of Affairs at Memphis.

Cotton Beginning to Come Forward.

Opening of Trade on the Mississippi.

Commodore Farragut's Fleet at Vicksburgh.

The Demand for the Surrender of the City.

Top half of a Civil War issue of the New York Times, showing the use of a battle-field map and lists of killed and wounded.

ington bureaus, from the Associated Press, or second-hand from other papers. Even the New York *Sun* had but little correspondence directly from the front, and that irregular. Many papers, however, including the weeklies, sometimes supplemented their regular war news by letters from officers and privates in the service.

THE WAR CORRESPONDENTS

Special correspondents in the field representing individual papers ("specials," they were called for short) were not recognized as noncombatants. They were quite as liable to attack by the enemy as enlisted men and were sometimes attached to officers' staffs and served as aides, dispatch carriers, or signal officers. Some were killed in action, some wounded, and some captured.

More than 150 "specials" served northern papers during the war.[2] The New York *Herald* used more of them than any other paper; in the last year of the war it was said to have had thirty or forty writers in the field with the various Union armies. During the four years of the conflict it spent at least a half-million dollars for special war correspondence. Sometimes the *Tribune* and the *Times* had a score of "specials" apiece scattered along the various fronts. And such papers as the Boston *Journal*, the New York *World* and *Evening Post*, the Philadelphia *Press* and *Inquirer*, the Cincinnati *Gazette* and *Commercial*, and the Chicago *Tribune* had their own correspondents. The Associated Press had men with some of the armies, but its chief service was in handling the news after it reached Washington and other distributing centers. The two great pictorials—*Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*—each had sometimes as many as a dozen artists in the field drawing pictures—sometimes under fire—for reproduction by woodcuts.

Before the beginning of the war, some of the New York papers had representatives in the South; and as hostilities began, some of these narrowly escaped hanging as spies. When John Bigelow, of the New York *Evening Post*, inquired of R. B. Rhett, editor of the Charleston *Mercury*, if it would be safe to send Brantz Meyer to report the South Carolina secession convention in De-

[2] George Alfred Townsend's monument to Union war correspondents on the summit of South Mountain, in Maryland, bears the names of 157 correspondents and artists who reported the war from the field.

cember, 1860, he received the reply that Meyer "would come with his life in his hand, and would probably be hung." [3] But "Jasper," of the *Times*, did report Charleston affairs up to the firing on Sumter, was finally arrested as a northern spy, and escaped to Washington in disguise.

Never before had newspapers organized the coverage of a war from their home offices. That, however, is precisely what the great northern papers were forced to do as soon as it was apparent that this conflict would last longer than a few weeks and would be spread over a wide territory.

Editors of some of the northern papers took their turns as "specials" in the field. Among these, Raymond, of the *Times*, was unfortunate. He had seen some service as a war correspondent in connection with the Austro-Italian war of 1859, and he was on the ground at the battle of Bull Run. At two o'clock on the day of the battle he was sure that the Union army was completely victorious, and he went back to Washington and wired his paper that all that remained was for McDowell to march on Richmond. In the evening he returned to the battlefield, to find the northern forces in disorderly retreat. But his substitute story to the *Times* was held up in the telegraph office by a censor, and his paper was beaten. Raymond thereafter left the field correspondence to others. Whitelaw Reid, later editor of the *Tribune*, made a better record. As a "special" for the Cincinnati *Gazette*, writing under the pen-name "Agate," he was the only correspondent to witness the battle of Shiloh, his story of which filled ten columns of his paper. Reid was later hired by the *Tribune*, and his stories of Gettysburg in that paper are among the classics of war reporting. Another great editor who occasionally visited the front was Joseph Medill, of the Chicago *Tribune*. And Murat Halstead, later famous as editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, was a "special" in the Civil War and later in the Franco-Prussian War. John Russell Young, after the war a brilliant managing editor of the New York *Tribune* at twenty-five years of age, was a war correspondent for the Philadelphia *Press*.

It was Henry Villard who scored the beat on the battle of Bull Run, and he did it for the New York *Herald*. Villard had come to this country from Bavaria at the age of eighteen, taught

[3] Nevins, *Evening Post*, p. 317.

school, edited the *Volksblatt* at Racine, Wisconsin, covered the Lincoln-Douglas debates for the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, and acted as the correspondent of the Associated Press at Springfield, Illinois. As a war "special," Villard was shrewd and active. In the second year of the contest he left the *Herald* to become chief correspondent of the *Tribune* in the eastern theatre of war. In achieving his famous beat on the battle of Fredericksburg, he had to ride for miles through almost impassable roads, defy orders of General Burnside that no news of the disaster should be carried north, outwit one of the ablest of war correspondents for a rival paper, trick the captain of a freighter into allowing him passage to Washington, and finally—the wires being closed to reports from the battle—send his story to New York by train. And even after it reached the office, the *Tribune*, appalled by the news, modified Villard's story before it was issued in an extra.

The man whom Villard outwitted on the journey from Fredericksburg was Charles Carleton Coffin, who wrote, under his middle name, for the Boston *Journal*. The only "special" who served from one end of the war to the other, he became one of the most famous, as he was one of the most indefatigable, correspondents of the great conflict. A biographer sums up his qualities:

> Refusing assistants and messengers, he became the *Journal's* bureau and staff in the field, and he did the work of a corps of "specials" through the four years. His powers of toil were prodigious. Several times he was on the verge of starvation. Never reckless, he freely exposed himself when necessary to see the fighting; placing no trust in mere rumors, he once rode 40 miles to probe a report which was important if true. His social qualities made him welcome everywhere, and his simple honesty won him the confidence of most of the commanding generals. He knew engineering and surveying, and to his topographical skill was due some of the clearness of his descriptions. His tall figure and his equipment—cape overcoat, binoculars, watch, pocket compass, and notebooks—were soon familiar to the men of both the West and the East.[4]

Albert D. Richardson, of the New York *Tribune*, was one of the most intrepid of "specials." He volunteered to travel through the South in the spring of 1861, when to be recognized as a northern correspondent would have meant hanging; he sent his cipher

[4] Bullard, *War Correspondents*, p. 381.

letters to New York banks, to be passed on to his paper. Later Richardson reported the battles in the West. He watched the bombardment of Fort Henry from the top of a tall tree which stood between the gunboats and the fort, and he witnessed the attack on Island No. 10 from the hurricane deck of Commodore Foote's flagship. In company with other "specials"—among them Junius Henri Browne, also of the *Tribune*—he attempted to run the blockade at Vicksburg; but their boat was raked by the enemy batteries, its captain was killed at the wheel, its boilers were exploded, and Richardson and Browne leaped into the water, whence they were later picked up by the Confederates. They were sent to various military prisons in the South and suffered great deprivations, but finally escaped and made their way northward. On foot, wading streams waist deep and full of ice, befriended by Negroes and mountaineers, passing close to Confederate camps, guided by bushwhackers and finally by "a nameless heroine" who appeared mysteriously to lead them through dangerous passes and then disappeared just as secretly, they at last reached the Union lines. With tears in his eyes, Richardson saluted the flag which now protected him, then rushed to the telegraph office to wire his paper: "Out of the jaws of death; out of the mouth of hell."

One of the most famous of the Civil War correspondents was George W. Smalley, also of the *Tribune*. At the battle of Antietam, Smalley rode with General Hooker, carried dispatches for him, and lost two horses by gunfire. After the battle, exhausted as he was, he rode for six hours before he reached a telegraph office. After he had persuaded the operator to accept his message, it was sent not to his paper but to Washington, where it was held up for twelve hours before being forwarded to New York. This was the first news of the battle to reach Washington. Smalley could not get a wire for his main story and had to carry it to New York himself, writing it on the train. It occupied six columns of the *Tribune* the next morning, and has been acclaimed by good judges one of the greatest battle-stories that came out of the war.[5]

The most famous naval correspondent of the war was B. S. Osbon. He was hired first by the New York *World*, and he supplied that paper with a beat of the first magnitude when he brought

[5] Smalley, a graduate of Yale and of the Harvard Law School, later had a distinguished career as European correspondent of the *Tribune*.

in an eye-witness account of the surrender of Fort Sumter. Later he went to the *Herald,* and his greatest performances were in connection with the activities of Admiral Farragut. He was signal-officer for that naval hero, and he won the highest praise for saving the life of his commanding officer and getting the flagship out of a critical situation in one desperate battle. He had many hair-breadth escapes. In the action at Fort Royal, a shell-fragment cut off most of his luxuriant red beard. Osbon was artist as well as writer, and furnished many sketches for *Harper's Weekly.*

It would be wrong to idealize the Civil War "specials," however, and think of them as all heroes. A contemporary journalist, speaking of how they were sometimes driven out of certain army corps and "forced to hover around the rear of the armies, gathering up such information as they could," concludes: "There were honorable and talented exceptions, but the majority of those who called themselves war correspondents were mere news-scavengers." [6] Somewhere between this estimate and that of the leading historian of war correspondence to the effect that the Civil War afforded "the heroic age of newspaper enterprise," [7] the true appraisal doubtless lies.

WAR CORRESPONDENTS AND CENSORSHIP

It is true that the work of these "specials" met with violent criticism on many hands; but actual censorship, though frequent, was sporadic and disorganized.

Freedom of the press beyond anything ever before known in the world had become a fixed national tradition in America before the beginning of the Civil War. Recognized by all as a necessary factor in democratic government, such freedom was not easily attacked. Under the stress of military conditions, the administration felt that some restrictions were necessary; regulations were consequently imposed here and there by civil and military authorities, but there was no consistent enforcement of any fixed body of rules controlling the press.

The 57th Article of War provided court-martial, with a possible sentence of death, for giving military information to the enemy "either directly or indirectly." That newspaper correspond-

[6] Poore, *Reminiscences,* Vol. II, p. 127.
[7] Bullard, *War Correspondents,* p. 376.

ents wrote such information and their papers printed it are facts beyond question. President Davis and his Confederate generals, it was well known, were at pains to secure northern papers especially for their news of the destinations of troops and vessels.[8] In August, 1861, the War Department issued a sweeping General Order calling attention to the 57th Article and forbidding the printing of any news whatever of camps, troops, or military or naval movements, except by express permission of the general in command. This order was generally disregarded.

A loyal border paper declared that Cincinnati papers had printed information which had "delayed and thwarted our armies, caused the death of our soldiers." [9] General Sherman, who was especially bitter against the newspapers, wrote to his brother, Senator John Sherman, that they were "doing infinite harm." They revealed every plan for a surprise movement, he said. "The only two really successful strokes out here," he wrote in the midst of the Vicksburg campaign, "have succeeded because of the absence of the newspapers, or by throwing them off the trail." [10] The story is told that Sherman was one afternoon informed that three correspondents had just been killed by an exploding shell, and that he replied, "Good! Now we shall have news from hell before breakfast!" [11] After the war, Sherman once refused to shake hands with Horace Greeley because, he said, the *Tribune* had revealed certain details of his Carolina campaign of 1865, the publication of which had resulted in heavy losses.

The better correspondents, of course, used much skill in concealing information of value to the enemy; generally they were as devoted to the Union cause as any soldier. Editors, too, imposed their censorship, and some exercised very great care in such matters. Newspapers, however, are not the proper agencies to be charged with a distinctively military censorship of their own columns.

[8] For this whole matter, see James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in Its Bearing Upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, January, 1918 (Vol. XXIII, pp. 303-23).

[9] Louisville *Democrat*, February 16, 1862.

[10] Rachel S. Thorndike, ed., *The Sherman Letters* (New York, 1893), pp. 187-89. Dated February 18, 1863. See also article from the New York *Sun* reprinted in the *Journalist*, October 16, 1886, p. 14.

[11] W. E. Woodward, *Meet General Grant* (New York, 1928), p. 260; cf. Browne, *Four Years in Secessia*, p. 238.

Early in the war General McClellan called all the eastern correspondents together and exacted promises from them as to what they would refrain from writing. This "gentlemen's agreement" was only moderately effective. Sherman banished all correspondents from his army in 1861, but he later allowed some to return; Henry Villard became a favored companion, and there were "specials" with him on his march through Georgia. Halleck expelled all newspaper men from his army in May, 1862. Other generals were almost as severe. A *Herald* correspondent was once court-martialed and sentenced to six months' hard labor for a slip he had made.

All the telegraph lines from Washington, including most of the strategic lines, were placed under censors of the State Department in April, 1861, and the transmission of information as to army movements and actions was very strictly limited. This censorship was administered under inadequate rules, apparently; and its inconsistencies brought about an investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the House, which reported March 20, 1862, that wholesome discussion and criticism were being restrained.[12] The censorship was later taken over by the War Department and an assistant secretary made "military superintendent of all telegraphic lines and offices in the United States."

Early in the conflict the War Department, in an attempt to fix responsibility, requested papers to use by-lines in connection with their publication of war stories. This device had one effect not contemplated: it made the pen names of many war "specials" famous.

A real abuse resulted from the efforts of the correspondents to cultivate the favor of the generals in command of the armies to which they were attached. "Specials" thus became press agents for their generals and built up popular and even political reputations. Such promotion encouraged jealous rivalries and improper ambitions.

[12] *House Report 64*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session.

CHAPTER XXI

Editorial Criticism of the Conduct of the War

THIS "PUFFING" OF CERTAIN MILITARY LEADERS OFTEN FITTED nicely with the editorial policies of papers. Never was there a war in which arm-chair generalship from newspaper offices was more vociferous, in which more editors became military strategists over night. Of course, the desperate effort of the Lincoln administration to find generals who could win victories, the confusion which occurred when a nation was plunged into a great war without preparation, and the too evident floundering of many months encouraged this practice; and the traditional attitude of editorial omniscience helped to sustain it.

Criticism of the administration was perhaps natural enough in view of the political situation. The choice of Lincoln had been more or less fortuitous. There was little confidence anywhere in his abilities to cope with a crucial situation; in the East there was virtually none. Public opinion on many questions connected with the war was confused.

New York, the great journalistic metropolis, boasted seventeen daily newspapers at the outbreak of the war.[1] Only five of them can be thought of as measurably loyal to the administration throughout the four years' conflict; these were the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, the *Tribune*, the *Sun*, and the *Commercial Advertiser*.[2] Of the others, two or three were negligible politically; but nine were proslavery, and from them five may be named as defi-

[1] There were, in addition, three in Brooklyn.

[2] The *Commercial Advertiser*, lineal descendant of Noah Webster's *American Minerva*, had long been an anti-slavery paper. Its Civil War editors were Francis Hall (1844-63) and William Henry Hurlbert (1863-67). Frequently critical of the conduct of the war, it was nevertheless a supporter of the administration. It had only four pages, largely filled with advertising and miscellany, and was not very important politically except during Thurlow Weed's postbellum editorship in 1867-68. Hugh J. Hastings followed Weed, editing the paper for many years.

nitely pro-Confederate or Copperhead. New York was scarcely representative, as it was prevailingly unfriendly to Lincoln, having voted against him two to one in 1860 and by an even larger proportion in 1864; but every great northern city had its proslavery or Copperhead newspaper.

Nor did the "administration papers" withhold their criticism of Lincoln, his cabinet, and his generals in the field. Indeed, some of the foremost of them were from time to time quite as severe in condemnation of the administration policies as out-and-out opponents of the war.

GREELEY AND LINCOLN

To understand Greeley's attitude toward Lincoln, it is necessary to recall the political situation in New York. Greeley had broken away from his old political partners, Weed and Seward. Largely instrumental in the nomination of Lincoln over Seward at Chicago, Greeley was generally believed after the election to be in an advantageous position for the control of political patronage in New York, and he naturally expected to have the ear of the President. But Lincoln, to unite the party, made Seward his Secretary of State. Thus Greeley's arch-enemy, installed as head of the President's official family, cut off the foremost Republican editor's ready access to the administration. Greeley's friends received few and inferior appointments; Seward and Weed were in control again, as they had nearly always contrived to be. In this situation Raymond, of the *Times*, found his opportunity, and the old firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley became Seward, Weed & Raymond. And thus Greeley was not only left free to criticize the administration, but was even stimulated to vigorous attack.

Immediately after the election and before the secession of South Carolina, Greeley defended the right of peaceable disunion in these words:

> If the Cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. . . . Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in.[8]

[8] New York *Tribune*, November 9, 1860.

This position Greeley was forced to modify as the rising anger of the North reacted to southern aggressiveness; and editorials along the line of General Scott's advice, "Let the erring sisters depart in peace," gave way to threats of armed force. Greeley would not listen to any of the compromises proposed to retain the seceding states.

Then when Sumter was fired upon, and the martial spirit of the North burst into flame, the *Tribune* thundered and fulminated against the "traitors," and began at once to prod the administration into immediate major military action against them. A week after it published the news of the fall of Fort Sumter, the *Tribune* said editorially:

> If good Uncle Abe wants to read the Secessionists another essay proving that he never meant them any harm, or Gov. Seward has another oration to deliver to them on the glories and blessings of the Union, let the performances come off by all means, but this will have to be before Jeff. Davis and Wise capture Washington.[4]

The slogan "On to Richmond" was suggested by Fitz-Henry Warren, a Washington correspondent of the *Tribune*, in June, 1861.[5] It suited Greeley's impetuosity and was employed effectively in a little editorial which appeared June 26 and remained standing on the paper's editorial page for a week:

> THE NATION'S WAR-CRY
>
> *Forward to Richmond! Forward to Richmond! The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July!* BY THAT DATE THE PLACE MUST BE HELD BY THE NATIONAL ARMY!

How effective Greeley's importunity was in causing the ill-prepared movement of Union troops which resulted in the Bull Run disaster is problematical. After his shout of "Praise be to God!" on the receipt of the premature news of victory in that engagement, Greeley subsided into deep dejection. On July 25 he published an editorial entitled "Just Once," in which he promised to sustain the administration charged with managing the war and refrain from "all criticisms on army movements." It was about this time that Dana was dismissed from the *Tribune*, presumably

[4] New York *Tribune*, April 22, 1861.

[5] As to the origin of the slogan, see Dana's article in the New York *Sun*, December 5, 1872.

on account of disagreements with the editor-in-chief. Half crazed by the criticism of those who blamed him for forcing the government into disaster, Greeley suffered an attack of brain fever.

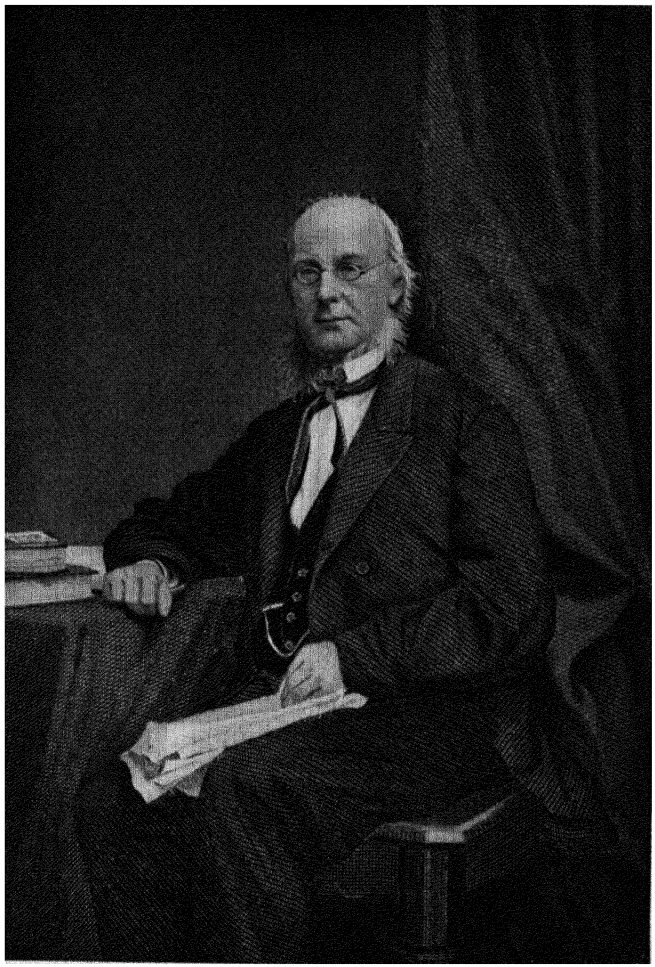
By the beginning of the next year, however, the *Tribune* was bitter in its criticism of President Lincoln and General McClellan. Many of its editorials during the remainder of the war related to the abilities and motives of the various commanding generals. Greeley attacked especially those officers whom he believed to entertain proslavery opinions, thinking they could not be effective in a war whose aim, he had become convinced, was largely the emancipation of the slaves. Exasperated General Halleck once exclaimed that Greeley thought that the conflict was "a damned *Tribune*-abolition war!" [6]

At the beginning of the war Greeley had agreed, apparently, with President Lincoln that its object was the preservation of the Union rather than the extinction of slavery. But by the summer of 1862 the *Tribune* was strongly urging emancipation as a military measure; and on August 20 it printed the famous editorial entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," in which it beseeched the President to free the slaves at once. When notice of the Emancipation Proclamation was issued in September, Greeley shouted in capitals: "GOD BLESS ABRAHAM LINCOLN!"

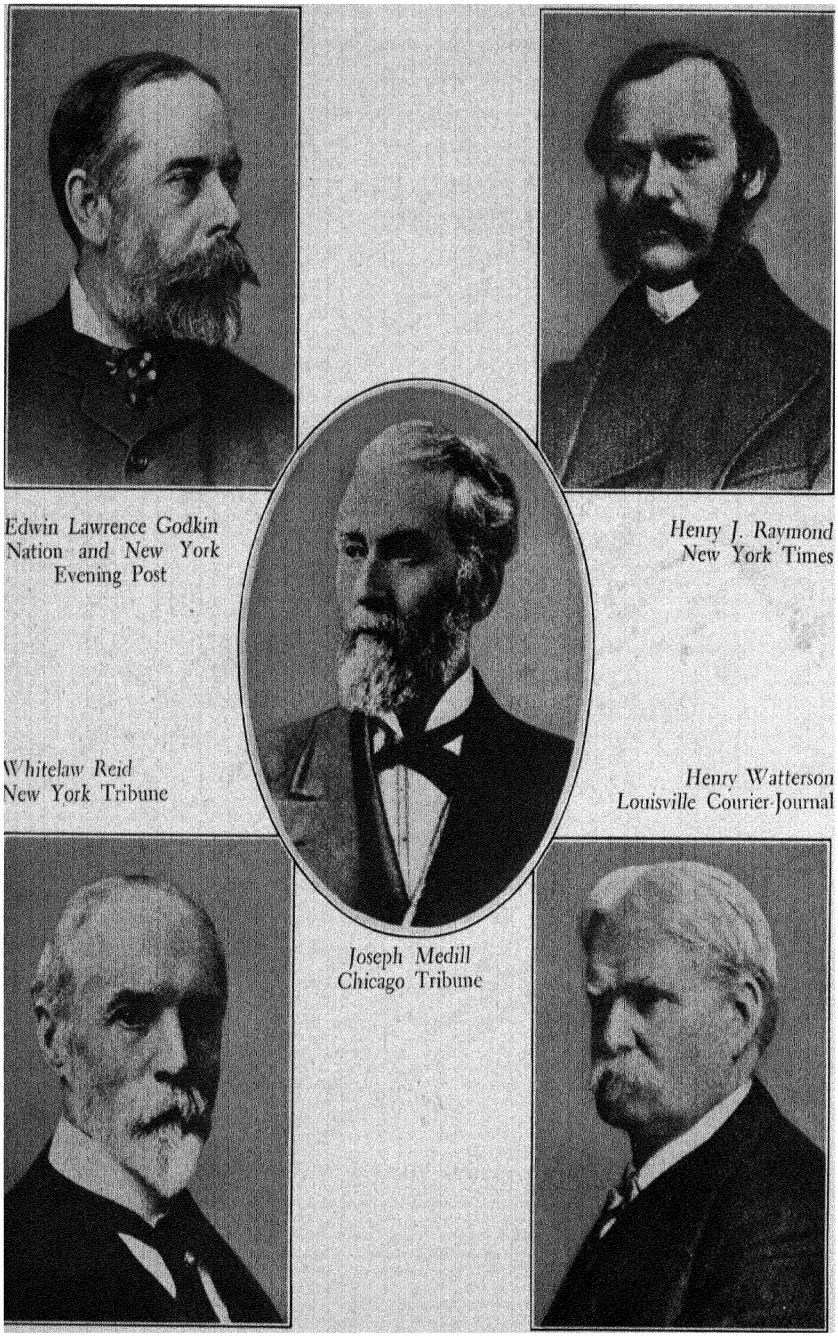
The *Tribune's* course with regard to Lincoln and the war throughout 1863 was erratic. Greeley seemed to lose what little faith he had once had in the President, and he was now confident and now despondent over the reports from the field. He hoped foreign mediation might bring an end to hostilities, declaring that it was "almost impossible to make a good war or a bad peace." [7] In the summer of 1864 he became the dupe of agents of the Confederate government in Canada who pretended to be suing for peace but were actually dealing with northern Copperheads, and obtained Lincoln's permission to talk with them at Niagara, only to find they were not empowered to treat with the federal government.

When the New York draft riots occurred in July, 1863, the office of the *Tribune* was sacked by a mob which sang, "Hang Horace Greeley to a sour apple tree!" Much property was de-

[6] New York *Tribune*, December 15, 1863.
[7] *Ibid.*, January 10, 1863.



Horace Greeley. From an engraving on steel of 1868.



Famous editors of the period following the Civil War.

stroyed, the building set on fire, and the rioters finally repulsed by police. The *Tribune* office became a fortress thereafter, fully armed against possible attack.

Greeley preferred Chase, Frémont, Rosecrans, and others to Lincoln for the presidential nomination in 1864; but he gave a half-hearted support as the choice of Lincoln became inevitable. During the presidential campaign he was unenthusiastic until September, when, stimulated by Union victories and perhaps by a promise of a position in Lincoln's new cabinet,[8] he wrote that "henceforth" the *Tribune* would urge the President's reëlection. Thereafter, indeed, Greeley's support of Lincoln was fairly consistent.

What was Horace Greeley's real opinion of Abraham Lincoln? Quotations from *Tribune* editorials written in the heat of controversy might be presented to show now the lowest and now the most exalted estimates of the war President. It seems clear, however, that Greeley generally respected Lincoln's sincerity and basic motives, and equally clear that he had little faith in the President's executive ability or intelligence.

Perhaps it is more important to ask what Lincoln thought of Greeley. Lincoln had a deep respect for the press. Like most politicians of the period, he watched the newspapers carefully. He maintained some correspondence with many editors, and was always accessible to them. He kept up a correspondence with Greeley, and when the "Prayer of Twenty Millions" was addressed to him as an open letter, he thought it necessary to make a public reply. There is evidence that the *Tribune's* captiousness wore his patience thin, however, and that his early respect for its great but erratic editor declined. Gideon Welles wrote in his diary in 1864: "Concerning Greeley, to whom the President has clung too long and confidingly, he said today that Greeley is an old shoe—good for nothing now, whatever he has been." [9]

[8] Seitz (*Greeley*, pp. 267-70) tells a story of Lincoln's promise of the place of Postmaster General to Greeley, Seward to be transferred to the post of minister to England to make room for another New Yorker in the cabinet. But Lincoln died before any such change was made.

[9] John T. Morse, ed., *Diary of Gideon Welles* (New York, 1911), Vol. II, p. 112.

THE EVENING POST ON WAR ISSUES

The New York *Evening Post* shared with the *Tribune* the advocacy of what came to be called the "radical" Republican doctrines during the Civil War—namely, emancipation, the need of strong and swift military measures, and the removal of pro-slavery and Democratic leaders from the government and army. The *Evening Post's* editorial course differed from that of the *Tribune*, however, by the difference in the temperaments of Bryant and Greeley. The one was relatively steadfast, far-seeing; the other was impetuous and eccentric. Both were sincere and high-minded, and both were eloquent and effective editorial writers.

Bryant was an early Lincoln man; and when the Illinois lawyer made his début before an eastern audience at Cooper Union early in 1860, it was the venerable, white-bearded Bryant who presided at the meeting. The *Evening Post* supported Lincoln for the nomination and in the presidential campaign.

Bryant had but one opinion on secession. He believed that it was rebellion, and that the seceders were traitors.[10] After the firing on Fort Sumter and the call for troops, he wrote his eloquent editorial, "The Union, Now and Forever," which was printed April 15. Just two months later, his usual foresight failing in the general northern expectation of a short war, and encouraged by the Confederate evacuation of Harper's Ferry, he printed an editorial of jubilation entitled "The Beginning of the End." But the war dragged on; like Greeley, he became impatient of the delayed triumphs of northern arms; through the summer and fall of 1861, the *Evening Post* urged action and speed. Lincoln's "whole administration has been marked by a certain tone of languor," it complained on July 7; and the next day: "We have been sluggish in our preparations and timid in our execution." Such criticisms of the President continued for many months. In the summer of 1862, Bryant wrote of "Mr. Lincoln's want of decision and purpose," and offered evidence that "no such thing as a continued, unitary, deliberate Administration exists." [11]

Bryant was one of the widespread corps of editorial generals, and had a fancy for military strategy. He and his assistant, Parke

[10] New York *Evening Post*, November 12, 1860.
[11] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1862.

Godwin, maintained correspondence with several leading officers in the field, so that they were fairly well informed.[12] The *Evening Post* lost patience early with McClellan, and attacked Halleck. Though it had praised Burnside, after the battle of Fredericksburg it called him a criminal; and it said that Hooker's strategy at Chancellorsville was insane.[13] Grant it began to praise immediately after the capture of Fort Donelson, and it continued a warm partisan of his, evincing confidence in ultimate victory when he was made commander in chief in the spring of 1864.

The slavery question was prominent in the *Evening Post's* war editorials from the fall of 1861; like the *Tribune* and such weeklies as the *Liberator* and *Independent*, it was strong in its demands for emancipation throughout the spring and summer of the next year, and rejoiced when the proclamation freeing the slaves was announced. At first lukewarm toward Lincoln's renomination and reëlection, it was not outspoken in opposition and in the end supported him heartily.

THE CIVIL WAR RECORD OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The New York *Times*, though it definitely represented William H. Seward in the period 1860-65 inclusive, was very far from being the mere mouthpiece of that statesman. Its Civil War editor, Henry J. Raymond, was an individualistic thinker; but he made the *Times* the leading popular advocate of the administration before the country.

As a Seward paper, the *Times* opposed Lincoln for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860, regarding him as a local "favorite son" candidate from Illinois. After his nomination, however, it supported him, as did other regular party papers, and rejoiced in his election.

Though there was some talk in the *Times* of conciliation when the secession issue arose, and a degree of support for one of the compromise measures,[14] for the most part Raymond stuck to the principle of the coercion of the seceding states. His series of four open letters to William L. Yancey, of Alabama, were perhaps the

[12] Nevins, *Evening Post*, pp. 289, 291.

[13] New York *Evening Post*, July 3, 23, 1862; December 18, 1862; May 7, 1863.

[14] *Ibid.*, February 14, 1861. See Henry R. Dwire, "The *New York Times* and the Attempt to Avert the Civil War," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1903 (Vol. II, pp. 273-80).

ablest presentation of the latter point of view. The *Times*, like many other Republican papers, rebelled against Lincoln's seeming inactivity in the weeks during which he was forced to await developments in the border states and overt aggression in the South: on April 3 it published its editorial "Wanted—a Policy," in which it accused the administration of "a blindness and a stolidity without a parallel in the history of intelligent statesmanship," and admonished President Lincoln that "he must go up to a higher level than he has yet reached, before he can see and realize the high duties to which he has been called." After Sumter and the call to arms, the *Times*'s support of Lincoln and his administration was fairly consistent, though, following the defect of General Pope's army at the second battle of Bull Run, Raymond joined other editors in demanding a reorganization of Lincoln's cabinet and the adoption of a policy "clear in its aims and distinct in principles." [15]

The *Times* was a consistent Lincoln paper in 1864. Raymond, as chairman of the national Republican committee, had charge of the campaign which reëlected the President, and was himself elected to Congress.

OTHER LEADING REPUBLICAN EDITORS ON THE WAR

Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*, kept an editorial course throughout the war very similar to that of Raymond in the *Times*. At the beginning of the secession movement, he conceded the right of states to withdraw, provided they touched no federal forts, arsenals, or customs-houses; and he looked with favor on some of the compromises proposed to placate the South. But once these measures were found to be impracticable, Bowles was all for the appeal to arms. It is clear that, like most Republican editors, he sometimes doubted the ability of Lincoln to rise "to the height of this great Argument," as is shown by his criticism of the President for interfering with army strategy and on other points. But the *Republican* followed with approval Lincoln's entire course in delaying and finally proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves, and it attempted, though vainly, to unite the whole of the Massachusetts press in general support of the administration and the war. Bowles suffered from ill health during these

[15] New York *Times*, September 13, 1862.

years; but with the aid of Dr. J. G. Holland and others, he maintained a strong and independent editorial page.

John W. Forney was the leading Republican editor of Philadelphia and Washington during the Civil War. His journalistic career had begun in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he had edited a strong Democratic paper. Political appointments and a part-ownership of the Democratic *Pennsylvanian* led to editorial writing and finally a partnership in the *Union*, the Washington organ of the Pierce administration. In 1857 Forney founded the Philadelphia *Press* as a Democratic paper; but the next year, when Buchanan recommended the admission of Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton constitution, he deserted the leader he had helped elect, turning first to Douglas, but soon going the whole way into the Republican party. From 1860 to 1865 the *Press* was recognized as the chief Republican paper in Pennsylvania. Thousands of copies of its weekly edition, the *War Press*, were distributed in the Union army. In 1861 Forney established the Washington *Chronicle*,[16] which came nearer to being the Lincoln administration organ than any other newspaper. With his two daily papers, each having a weekly edition, Forney supported the Lincoln policies perhaps more fully than any other prominent editor of the war period. A great political editor, he was always candid and courteous, never angry or vituperative.

Another loyal Philadelphia paper which was widely distributed in the Union armies was the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, published by William W. Harding, whose father, Jesper Harding, had edited it for thirty years as a Whig paper. The younger Harding took over the old and conservative *Inquirer* just before the war, reduced its price to two cents, and made it the most enterprising sheet in Philadelphia. Its war maps were the largest and most frequent in any American paper, it had good correspondence from the battle fronts, and its circulation mounted to 60,000 in 1862. Though not as important politically as the *Press*, the *Inquirer* supported the Lincoln administration with fidelity.

Joseph Medill, of the Chicago *Tribune*, who had been active

[16] First issued as the *Sunday Chronicle*, but made a daily the next year. Its existence as a daily ended in 1877, but it continued as a weekly until 1911. Forney sold it in 1870. An administration organ in the old sense was scarcely possible after the establishment of the Government Printing Office, but Forney managed to obtain a considerable administration patronage.

in advancing Lincoln's fortunes, generally supported him throughout his presidency. The *Tribune* was uncompromising toward the South from the first, and it became a spokesman for the "radical" wing of its party, demanding a more active prosecution of the war, and urging emancipation and the confiscation of southern property upon the President. By its news enterprise and its strong editorial position during the war, the *Tribune*, which had been a bankrupt in 1860, established itself for the first time in a position of leadership in Chicago journalism. Medill was one of the chief movers in the project by which soldiers at the front cast ballots in the national election of 1864.

Thurlow Weed continued his strange career of frustrated successes and ironical failures in politics and journalism. After his candidate Seward was defeated by Lincoln at Chicago, he hurried home to campaign for the ticket through his Albany *Evening Journal* and his political organization. After the election, the President recognized the great prestige of the firm of Seward, Weed & Raymond by making the head of it the head also of his cabinet. In due time Seward appointed his friend one of three commissioners to promote the Union cause among leaders of thought and policy in France and England. But from the first of the secession movement, Weed the politician had believed that the issues could be compromised; he correlated his *Journal* editorials with Seward's early speeches for pacification; he urged tolerance upon northern hotheads; he promoted peace movements; he fought the idea of emancipation. He was so sure for so long that difficulties could be adjusted that ultimately he found himself out of step not only with the "radical" Republicans but with the conservatives as well, with Raymond, and even with Seward. Appointment to a second mission abroad had been promised him; it was abruptly cancelled without explanation. At the beginning of 1863 he sold the *Journal* and withdrew from active journalism and politics, tired and disappointed.[17]

THE DEVIOUS COURSE OF THE NEW YORK HERALD

It must not be supposed that the Democratic papers were all disloyal during the Civil War: that was far from the case. They

[17] After the war, he was editor for a year or two of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. See footnote p. 339.

might distrust President Lincoln and his cabinet, but so did many of the leading Republican papers. They might defend slavery, attack the conduct of the war, and even seek means of peace, without overt disloyalty to the federal government. Some Republican papers did all these things. Many northern Democratic papers supported the war with unflagging zeal.

Perhaps James Gordon Bennett's zeal sometimes flagged, but after Sumter the *Herald* was a loyal paper. It bludgeoned Lincoln and the emancipationists, but it supported the war.

At the beginning of the secession movement, Bennett maintained the "right of revolution" in their behalf, and declared that any attempt to restrain them would be madness. He advised the southern states to hold a constitutional convention and submit their demands to the northern states separately; New England, which might repudiate such a method, could well be left outside the new confederacy.[18] Bennett headed secession news "The Revolution," and called "both governments," north and south, "revolutionary." [19] Lincoln and his advisers were rebuked for "selfishness, fanaticism, and suicidal imbecility." [20] Lincoln and Seward, crediting the *Herald* with a considerable influence abroad, if not at home, sent Weed to remonstrate—to no effect.

A more efficacious remonstrance was that of the mob which visited the *Herald* office after the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call to arms, and demanded that Bennett display an American flag. True, the whole matter was explained away in characteristic Bennett fashion the next day, when the *Herald* claimed there was no mob at all except in the imaginations of its rivals; the crowd in the street in front of its building had merely come to get the *Herald* bulletins, which had been, as usual, obtained "in advance of any other journal"—and it wanted to display a flag anyway. But the paper executed the quickest about-face of its eccentric career, dropped its argument against coercion, and declared that the rebels must be crushed, and crushed immediately by guns and bayonets.

Throughout the four years of conflict the *Herald* was often bitter in its denunciation of the President; on more than one

[18] New York *Herald*, January 4, 1861.
[19] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1861.
[20] *Ibid.*, March 19, 1861.

occasion it demanded the removal of the "radicals" in his cabinet; it consistently opposed liberation of the slaves, attacked all abolitionists, and hoped the Emancipation Proclamation would not be enforced. Late in the campaign of 1864, however, it came to the aid of the Republican party. The reason for this tardy support of Lincoln, probably, was the promise of a major diplomatic appointment for the editor.[21]

Lincoln made several efforts to enlist and keep the *Herald's* support. That he overestimated the paper's editorial influence seems likely.[22] The *Herald's* endorsement of Lincoln in 1864 certainly did not stem the avalanche of McClellan votes in New York city. Its policy was too inconsistent to make it influential: the readers of its editorials could not believe fully in its sincerity. The paper's news enterprise, however, brought it a larger body of readers than any other paper of the period could boast.

THE NEW YORK WORLD

Alexander Cummings, a Philadelphia journalist,[23] was the founder of the New York *World*, which was originally designed as a religious, or at least a highly moral, daily. It excluded theatre advertising, lottery reports, details of criminal trials, divorce proceedings, and everything of a sensational cast. It advertised church and Sunday School supplies, and was itself advertised in the backs of hymnals. Large sums were advanced by religious business men of New York to establish it, and its first number was issued June 14, 1860, at one cent a copy. The paper lost money rapidly and in November went to two cents to ward off disaster. July 1, 1861, it absorbed the old *Courier and Enquirer*, which had played so notable a part in American journalism.[24] This expansion, though it required additional capital, did not place the paper on a paying basis; and the original stockholders, who had already put in $200,000, became discouraged and got rid of their holdings as

[21] See a discussion of the probabilities in this matter in Seitz, *The Bennetts*, pp. 191-95. The Paris post was later offered to Bennett by Lincoln and declined.

[22] See a contrary view in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1909), Vol. III, p. 517.

[23] In Philadelphia he had founded the important *Evening Bulletin*, first called *Cummings' Evening Telegraphic Bulletin*. It was begun in 1847 and was the first successful evening paper in Philadelphia. Gibson Peacock was its Civil War editor and kept it a sound Republican paper.

[24] See p. 260. Colonel Webb had recently been appointed minister to Brazil.

best they could. The ownership came into the hands of such Democratic financiers and politicians as August Belmont, the banker, and Fernando Wood, mayor of New York. Under Cummings, the paper had been Republican in politics; now Manton Marble, a Democratic editor, was placed in charge. The religious element was no longer emphasized, and the *World* took its place as a general newspaper. Soon it was making both ends meet and had the fifth circulation among New York papers—less than that of the *Times*, more than that of the *Evening Post*.

Manton Marble, though not so well remembered as other leading editors of his period, was well fitted to take his place with Greeley, Raymond, Bryant, and Bennett. He had worked on Boston papers and on the New York *Evening Post*. Scholarly, poised, a writer of taste and fluency, he was an effective editor. The *World* under Marble was as well edited, in both news and editorial departments, as any paper in the country. In 1869 Marble purchased majority control of it.[25]

In its earlier, or Republican, phase, the *World* was a thoroughgoing Lincoln paper, rejoicing in his election, advocating coercion of the seceding states, and urging vigor in military measures. Under Marble, it breathed rancorous hostility against the President and the more radical members of his cabinet. It condemned the Emancipation Proclamation as fanatical, unconstitutional, and impossible to execute.[26] It became a leading spokesman for the Peace Democrats.

CENSORSHIP OF THE WORLD AND THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

In May, 1864, the *World* and the *Journal of Commerce* were suppressed for two days by General John A. Dix, provost marshal for New York, acting under orders from Washington, because they had printed a forged presidential proclamation purporting to order a draft of 400,000 men. The forgery was the work of Joseph Howard, Jr., city editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, who expected to realize extensive gains on the stock market as a result of the publication of his hoax. Other papers to which the forgery

[25] The *World Almanac* was issued annually 1868-76 inclusive, and then resumed in a second series in 1886. The *Tribune Almanac* was a continuation of the *Whig Almanac* of 1838-55, called *Politicians' Register* 1839-41; it ended with the 1914 issue.

[26] New York *World*, September 24, 1862.

was sent suspected a "fake," and attempted verification: the *World* and *Journal* were less careful, and suffered more than papers usually do for careless editing. In New Orleans, the *Picayune* copied the proclamation, and was suspended for two weeks by General Banks as a punishment. Howard was confined in a military prison for three months and then discharged. Later he became one of the best-known writers of the New York press, and in 1897 was elected president of the International League of Press Clubs.

This was not the only time the *Journal of Commerce* had felt the heavy hand of government censorship. Under Gerard Hallock's editorship, it had for a quarter of a century maintained a strong proslavery attitude, supported the rights of the South with respect to fugitive slaves, and opposed the Free-Soil and Republican parties. As the cotton states seceded, it defended their entire liberty to do so and decried any attempt at coercion as suicidal. When the mob which had forced Bennett to hang out a flag visited the *Journal* office, Hallock made the required gesture; but his support of what he called "this unholy war" was only partial and grudging. In August a federal grand jury asked the court if disloyal conduct of newspapers was "subject to indictment and condign punishment," naming the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Daily News*, the *Day-Book*, and the weekly *Freeman's Journal*, all of New York, and the Brooklyn *Eagle* as indulging "in the frequent practice of encouraging the rebels now in arms against the Federal Government." A week later the Postmaster General ordered the New York postmaster not to accept for mailing the papers thus named by the grand jury. The result of this order, so far as the *Journal* was concerned, was to cause the retirement of Hallock, who sold his holdings to his two associates. The *Journal* was readmitted to the mails, and adopted a less aggressive attitude; but it remained throughout the war stoutly opposed to the administration.

THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

The New York *Daily News*, second of the papers named in the grand jury presentment, was on a different level of journalism. It had been founded by W. Drake Parsons in 1855 as an organ of the Tammany Democracy. A good, one-cent morning paper of four pages, it had prospered moderately for six years, increasing its size to eight pages and its price to two cents. Then Benjamin

Wood bought it, filled its advertising pages with legal publications, and made it even more a radical proslavery and Tammany organ. Benjamin Wood was the brother of Fernando Wood, the mayor of New York who urged in 1861 that his city join the cotton states in the secession movement. Benjamin was a member of Congress during the Civil War, at the same time that he was editor of the *Daily News;* and though his opposition to the war and to any use of force against the Confederacy caused charges to be brought against him in that body, the committee to which they were referred took no action on them.

The *Daily News* never surrendered to the northern war fervor. It continued to talk about "the emptiness and folly of this war against brethren," and declared, "You may conquer, but you can never subdue them." [27] It denounced President Lincoln repeatedly: "The bone, sinew, and intelligence of America utterly repudiate Mr. Lincoln and all his works." [28]

After postal privileges were denied the paper in August, 1861, it used express transportation for a time. Late in that month, 3,000 copies sent to Philadelphia were seized by the United States marshal there. In September publication was suspended, but eighteen months later the *News* resumed as an evening paper. Though it was as bitter as ever, it was not subjected to further governmental interference. During the campaign of 1864, Wood wrote as follows about Lincoln:

> No influence except compulsion can induce any respectable proportion of the people to cast their votes for that compound of cunning, heartlessness, and folly that they now execrate in the person of their Chief Magistrate.[29]

Up to Lee's surrender Wood maintained that the South could never be conquered by force of arms, and scoffed at all news of the northern victories.

The *Daily News,* like other papers, was forced to raise its price to three and later to four cents; but, unlike the others, it reduced its price radically when paper went down. In 1867 it became New York's only one-cent paper,[30] and the next year it carried under

[27] New York *Daily News,* June 11, 1861.
[28] *Ibid.,* June 28, 1861.
[29] *Ibid.,* May 23, 1864.
[30] Attempts to publish other papers at one cent, like Charles H. Sweetser's *City* (1869-70) were generally unsuccessful in these years.

its nameplate the legend: "The Largest Circulation of Any Daily Paper in the United States." It then had about 80,000, but by 1870 it had reached 100,000. During much of the next thirty years it led all American daily papers in circulation; yet, as the leading advertising agent of the times pointed out, "many residents of the city do not see a copy of it from one year's end to the other.[31] This was because its circulation was generally limited to the tenement-house districts. Its four pages of five columns each were filled with sensational news of the police-gazette type and advertising not much better. It is said to have made a fortune for its owners—Benjamin Wood, editor, and Colonel William L. Brown, business manager.[32]

OTHER PROSCRIBED PAPERS

The *Day-Book* was founded in 1848 by N. R. Stimson to promote the proslavery cause among the commercial interests of New York. It made good its claim to be "saucy, racy, and spicy." When it lost its mailing privileges in August, 1861, it abandoned its daily edition and changed the name of its weekly to the *Caucasian*; resuming its title as the *Weekly Day-Book* two years later, it continued until 1868.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* was on a higher journalistic plane than the *Daily News* and *Day-Book*. It had been founded in 1841 by Henry Cruse Murphy and Isaac Van Anden as a Democratic organ; the latter remained as proprietor for many years. Richard Adams Locke, of moon-hoax fame, was an early editor. For two years, beginning early in 1846, a young printer and reporter named Walter Whitman acted as editor.[33] In the fifties the paper came into a strong proslavery position. Its Civil War editor was Thomas

[31] George F. Rowell & Co., *The Centennial Newspaper Exhibition* (New York, 1876), p. 176.

[32] The career of the *Daily News* covered, altogether, half a century. Its Sunday edition, begun in 1866 at five cents; its German edition, the *Tages Nachrichten*, begun ten years later; and its weekly edition, reduced in 1882 from $1 to fifty cents—all reached high circulation figures. In spite of its leadership of the Copperhead press during the Civil War and its long circulation primacy, it has been a forgotten newspaper in the history books. It is not to be confused with the *Daily News* of 1844-46 or with the more recent tabloid. For its end, see p. 555-56.

[33] See "A Journalist in Brooklyn," Book I of Emory Holloway's, *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York, 1926) for a good account of the poet's editorship of the *Eagle*. He had already been editor of the New York *Aurora* for a time in 1842.

Kinsella; during the conflict it enlarged its news service and gained in political influence as well as in material prosperity. Though it was sharp in its criticism of the Lincoln administration, it was by no means disloyal. The action of the Postoffice Department against it seems to have had little effect upon its course.

It was different with the weekly *Freeman's Journal*, which had to depend upon the New York postoffice for distribution; it suspended publication for eight months. Moreover, its editor, James A. McMaster, was confined throughout this period in a military prison. The *Freeman's Journal* was a Catholic paper, founded in 1840. McMaster, who had purchased it eight years later, was a convert from Presbyterianism who chose to serve his Church in journalism rather than the priesthood. A man of strong opinions, he had supported Buchanan and states rights; but when Sumter was fired upon he urged support of Lincoln and the government. Discouraged by the slow progress of northern arms, however, he was inclined to desert the cause. He was especially vehement in his protests against the suspension of the right of *habeas corpus* in extension of military rule in the North. After his release from Fort Lafayette, he was more defiant than ever.

THE COPPERHEAD PRESS

A copperhead is a very poisonous snake; the fact that it has no rattles makes it the more dangerous. Northern sympathizers with the Confederate cause who discouraged enlistments in the Union army, cried down federal bond issues, and protested against the draft, were at first called "Doughfaces," but were later nicknamed "Copperheads." Probably the latter term was first so applied by the Detroit *Free Press* in 1861.[34] To draw the line between loyal critics of the conduct of the war and Copperheads was not then and is not now always easy. Certainly the 154 "peace papers" listed by the *Journal of Commerce* in 1861 [35] as "opposed to the present unholy war" were not all Copperhead sheets, but many of them were. As the war progressed, these papers became less bold and more crafty, but even then their fangs were discernible. The New York *Evening Post* in 1863 set forth the Copperhead formula:

[34] See Joe Skidmore, "The Copperhead Press and the Civil War," *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1939 (Vol. XVI, p. 345).

[35] *Journal of Commerce*, August 13 and 15, 1861. See similar lists in New York *Daily News*, August 12, 1861, and *Day Book*, August 14, 1861.

(1) to magnify Confederate victories and depreciate those of the Union arms, (2) to parade reports from southern papers boasting of the size of their army and the skill of their generals, (3) to calumniate the efficient northern generals and laud the incompetent, (4) to seize upon a northern reverse as basis for demands for the end of a hopeless war, (5) to sneer at the northern financial system, (6) to abuse the President and his cabinet without consistency or truth, (7) to rail about the "niggers" in the army, and (8) to clamor against the draft.[36]

The New York *Daily News* and the *Day-Book* were doubtless Copperhead papers; but the New York *Express*, though strongly Democratic, was not disloyal. Still edited by James and Erastus Brooks, the *Express* was a four-page paper rather carelessly put together but representing faithfully commercial interests in the metropolis which felt keenly the loss of millions of dollars' worth of monthly orders from the South. James Brooks was sent to Congress in 1864 and there proved himself an able debater, but he was eventually disgraced in the scandals of the Crédit Mobilier. The *Express* advocated peaceable secession and decried coercion, and displayed the American flag only when the mob of April 18 threatened it. Brooks was constant in his criticism of Lincoln and Stanton throughout the war.

The New York *Copperhead* was a violent weekly paper published in the summer of 1863 chiefly to advocate the cause of Vallandingham.

In Philadelphia the *Evening Journal* was the chief Copperhead paper until January, 1863, when it was suppressed by order of General Schenck; and its editor, Albert D. Boileau, was committed to Fort McHenry, whence he was released a few days later upon written apology and promise of reformation. But his paper perished soon thereafter. In the same year, leading Philadelphia Democrats founded the *Age*, a morning daily which was about as bold and violent as its predecessor and was several times threatened by mobs.[37] A Philadelphia religious weekly, the *Christian Observer*, which had a radical secessionist policy, was seized and suppressed by the United States marshal in August, 1861.

[36] New York *Evening Post*, May 20, 1863.

[37] Reorganized in 1865, the *Age* lasted until 1875, when it was absorbed by the *Times*.

In Boston it was the Courier that was looked upon, especially in the last year of the war, as a Copperhead journal. The Albany Argus was known as an extreme sympathizer with the South. Both the *Staats-Zeitung* and the *Courrier des États-Unis*, leading German and French papers in New York, also had strong southern sympathies. In Cincinnati the *Enquirer*, leading Democratic journal of the city, was sometimes referred to as Copperhead and as such was contraband across the river in Kentucky. It gradually worked itself into a peace-at-any-price position before the end of the war.

Chief Copperhead paper of Ohio was the *Crisis*, founded at Columbus by Samuel Medary. Medary had long been "almost a party dictator in Ohio,"[38] editor of the *Ohio Statesman*, and a man of deep-seated convictions. He took the position that the southern states were wrong in seceding, but the northern states were even more mistaken in using military force against sister states. The *Crisis* supported C. L. Vallandingham for governor of Ohio while that famous opponent of the war was in banishment from Union territory. The *Crisis* office was totally wrecked by a mob in 1863, and the *Statesman* office was saved with difficulty. Medary was indicted the next year by a federal grand jury, his bail being furnished by the editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer;* but he died before he came to trial.[39]

If Medary was a high-minded martyr to his convictions, what shall we call Wilbur F. Storey, of the Chicago *Times?* To some patriots, Storey was a very ogre of Copperheadism. He was at least picturesque: tall and athletic, with thick white hair and a long white beard, he was formed adequately to defend himself against frequent assaults made upon his person. Not the least notorious of these attacks was the horsewhipping attempted by Miss Lydia Thompson, robust star who headed the "British Blondes," earliest of famous burlesque troupes, as punishment for a published insult. The *Times* was a bold, free-spoken, sensation-mongering sheet without much conscience or principle. In its earlier years it had been an honest Democratic journal, as Lincoln was once at pains

[38] *Dictionary of American Biography*. For earlier note on Medary, see p. 259. Also see O. C. Hooper, *The Crisis and the Man* (Columbus, 1929), 35 pp.

[39] The *Crisis* was continued to 1870, when it was absorbed by the *Ohio Statesman*.

to make clear;[40] after Storey bought it in 1861, it was something else. It remained Democratic; and it supported the war and the Washington administration until, alienated by the Emancipation Proclamation, it began a series of virulent onslaughts on Lincoln and the northern generals. It defied boycotts and military orders, and its office was equipped with guns to prevent mob attacks. In June, 1864, General Burnside, commanding the military department of Ohio, of which Illinois was a part, issued an order for the seizure and suspension of the *Times*. After three days of protests from both Democrats and Republicans in Illinois, President Lincoln himself requested that the order be rescinded. One *Times* editor always claimed thereafter that General Burnside had saved the paper from ruin, since its circulation benefited greatly from the excitement attending this incident.[41]

It was immediately after the suppression of the *Times* that a meeting of New York journalists representing fifteen daily and weekly papers, under the chairmanship of Horace Greeley, passed a set of resolutions denying the right of the press to uphold treason or rebellion, but affirming its right to criticize the acts of the government, both civil and military. The distinction was not always easy to make. Except for the cases cited, however, and some further acts of officious postmasters, there was little official interference with the press of the loyal northern states.

On the other hand, much pressure was exerted upon Democratic and Copperhead papers by mobs and threats of violence. At least half a dozen weekly newspaper plants, chiefly in the eastern states, were wrecked in August, 1861, by mobs which disapproved what they regarded as Copperhead utterances of the editors. In the same month New York was placarded by warnings which read: "The freedom of the press is subordinate to the interests of a nation. Let the three southern organs issued in this city beware!" There were few assaults on newspapers in the next two years of the war; but in 1864, with the increasing boldness of

[40] In a note to the Washington *Chronicle;* see Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), Vol. VIII, p. 293. The paper had been founded in 1854 chiefly by James W. Sheahan, whom Lincoln respected. It was sold in 1860 to Cyrus McCormick, of reaper fame, who combined it with the *Herald* and disposed of it to Storey, who came to Chicago from the editorship of the Detroit *Free Press.*

[41] Wilkie, *Thirty-Five Years*, p. 101. For the last years of Storey, see p. 466.

utterance against the draft and in favor of peace at any price, there were again scores of instances of mob violence against newspapers in the northern states.[42] In Oregon at least half a dozen papers suffered violence from "loyal citizens";[43] the same may be said of Ohio. So the mobs raged in the black spring and summer of 1864. Following Lincoln's assassination in 1865, a San Francisco mob destroyed, wholly or partially, the offices of no less than five papers of varying degrees of Copperheadism.[44]

[42] For lists, see *American Annual Cyclopaedia* for the war years under "Freedom of the Press," and North, *Newspaper and Periodical Press*, p. 154, footnote. Both of these lists, however, are inaccurate and incomplete. In 1861 the New York *Daily News* and the *Journal of Commerce* noted attacks on the Copperhead press under the standing heads, "Progress of Despotism" and "Freedom of the Press," respectively.

[43] Charles Henry Carey, *History of Oregon* (Chicago, 1922), p. 664.

[44] A good account of this episode is to be found in the California letter in the Chicago *Tribune* of June 2, 1865.

CHAPTER XXII

The Southern Press in the War; Reconstruction

NORTHERN TOWNS MIGHT SUFFER FROM AN OCCASIONAL MOB, but the plight of the border city of Baltimore was far worse; there respectable citizens faced not only mobs but a long military occupation. The two great papers were the *Sun* and the *American*: the former sympathized with the South, though it opposed secession; the latter was a strong Union organ. When General Butler took command of the city, the *Sun* adopted a policy of complete silence on political issues, and thus preserved its existence. Eight other Baltimore papers fell under Butler's ruthless policy of suppression and imprisonment. Even the *American*, the city's most loyal defender of the administration, had its evil day, when the editor was imprisoned for a short time in Fort McHenry through a misunderstanding.

Kentucky papers also suffered throughout the war. Prentice's *Journal* is commonly given much of the credit for the state's failure to secede. Prentice had two sons who were officers in the Confederate army, and he himself was an uncompromising critic of Lincoln; yet he continued his support of the Union. The strain of the contest broke him down physically, and his paper declined. On the other side of the street was the Louisville *Daily Courier*, a secession paper whose editor, Walter N. Haldeman, joined the Confederate forces when the federal authorities closed up his plant in September, 1861.[1] After the war, Haldeman returned, resumed the *Courier*, bought the *Journal* in 1868 and the *Democrat*[2] the next year, and built up a great paper under the name of the *Courier-Journal*. With the *Journal* he obtained an editor who, in

[1] It was issued, however, at Bowling Green while the Confederates occupied the southern part of the state.

[2] The *Democrat* was the third great Louisville war paper. Under John H. Harney, it was at first a Union organ and later a leader of the Peace Democrats.

a long and brilliant career, was to make the name of the new consolidation famous throughout the whole land—Henry Watterson. Only twenty-eight, Watterson was an experienced journalist and a writer of unusual ability.[3] He was, in spite of his war record in the Confederate army, an ardent admirer of Lincoln; and he made the *Courier-Journal* a leading opponent of carpetbag rule at the same time that it demanded political rights for the Negro.

Tennessee was the last state to leave the Union, and Parson Brownlow's Knoxville *Whig* was the last Union paper in the South. The "fighting parson" became the leader of the East Tennessee "rebellion" against the Confederacy in the autumn of 1861, and his diatribes against Jefferson Davis and other southern leaders in his paper were the most potent force in arousing the spirit which led to the burning of railroad bridges and such overt acts in that region. Brownlow suspended his paper in October, and then ensued one of the strangest "persecutions" on record. The parson expected to be arrested, and he repeatedly invited such a course; Davis and his cabinet wished to avoid making him a martyr, and refused to take action; neighbors and soldiers annoyed the "union-screamer" to the top of their bent; while the civil authorities, unwilling that Brownlow's followers should be punished for bridge-burning while the parson escaped, decided to imprison him. The government at Richmond spent much time on the case, sent several thousand troops into the district, finally managed to get Brownlow safely through the lines northward, and then breathed a gigantic sigh of relief. As for the parson, as soon as he reached Union territory and saw the stars and stripes, he shouted, "Glory be to God in the highest, on earth peace and goodwill to all men, except a few hell-born and hell-bound rebels down in Knoxville!" [4] Almost immediately he started on a tour of the principal cities of the North, where, before vast audiences, he sang his hymn of hate against the rebels and aroused prodigious

[3] He had worked on Major John P. Heiss' secessionist *States* (1857-61) in Washington before the war, had helped edit the Chattanooga *Rebel* (see p. 364) in 1862, had worked on the Cincinnati *Times* and the Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, and had helped revive the *Republican Banner* (a Democratic paper) at Nashville.

[4] Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee 1833-75* (New York, 1912), *p.* 315. Quoted in Coulter, *Brownlow*, p. 210. The incident may be doubted; Temple was a journalistic opponent of Brownlow. For the earlier story of Brownlow and his *Whig*, see p. 262.

patriotism. He became as well known as Lincoln, and more popular. Back in Knoxville on the heels of Burnside's army, he resumed his newspaper, with the enlarged title of Knoxville *Whig and Rebel Ventilator*. Elected "reconstruction" governor of his state, he pursued a vengeful course, disfranchising former Confederates and maintaining a military rule for four years. In 1869 he was elected to the United States Senate, sold his paper, and, though too infirm to take part in debate, served out his six-year term in a wheel-chair. One of the most picturesque of American editors, Brownlow, with all his force and undisciplined emotional vigor, is to be remembered chiefly as a type of the vituperative backwoods journalist.

Missouri was also border ground, and many of its newspapers felt the heavy hand of military control. Three St. Louis papers were suppressed by General Frémont—one of them a Union paper which had offended the commander by its criticism of his military strategy. An oddity of nomenclature existed in the fact that the two leading St. Louis papers contradicted their titles in their editorial policies: the *Missouri Democrat* was a Republican journal, while the *Missouri Republican* was Democratic.[5] The *Democrat* had been founded in 1852 in the Free-Soil cause; during the war it was a critic of President Lincoln and a leader in emancipation propaganda; it belonged to the political group known as the "radical" Republicans. The *Missouri Republican* was, for nearly a century, the most influential paper in its state. Its war policy, though Democratic, was carefully conservative. In the controversy over secession, it printed articles on both sides; but it was, on the whole, rather kinder to the administration than its Republican rival was. The *Westliche Post* (1857-1938), greatest antislavery organ among German-speaking Americans, was edited throughout the war by Emil Preetorius, and for five years after the conflict by Carl Schurz.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS IN THE WAR

But the newspapers which suffered most during the Civil War were those of the South. Their troubles were mainly of three kinds.

First, only about five per cent of American papermills were in

[5] The *Republican* later improved the situation by shortening its name to *Republic*. See p. 191 for the earlier history of this paper.

the South; and they did not, even in normal times, manufacture half enough of their product to supply the demand in that region. Thus, when shipments from the North were cut off, importations from abroad largely prevented by the blockade, and even southern transportation often disorganized by military activities, newspapers had to adopt small sizes and sometimes to use wrapping paper or wallpaper.[6] Good printing ink was almost unobtainable.

In the second place, southern papers suffered even more acutely than those of the North from a labor shortage. When printers, and even editors, were called to the colors, papers often had to be suspended. Slaves had seldom been made printers, but there was now some attempt to teach them the typographical mysteries. "Indispensable" editors and printers were often specifically exempted from military service, as in Virginia; but labor prices, like those of all commodities, skyrocketed. A Virginia paper, publishing its notice of suspension, said:

> The proprietor has been reluctantly compelled to come to this decision in consequence of the lack of paper, ink, editors and printers, and all other material necessary to issue the paper. He furthermore begs to state that in consequence of the editor, the compositors and the printers having gone off to war, the devil only is left in the office.[7]

The southern papers which survived raised subscription prices to fabulous heights. The flood of Confederate paper money so demoralized commerce that price figures mean little; but Confederate dailies were generally priced at $16 a year by the end of 1863, at $50 by the middle of the next year, and as high as $100 and $125 in the spring of 1865.[8] And these were small, two-page papers.

Finally, southern papers were destroyed, suspended, and severely censored by the military commanders. During federal occupancy of Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, the papers of those cities were closely supervised, and some of them suspended.

[6] Of the thirteen or more papers using wallpaper, the Vicksburg *Daily Citizen* for July 2, 1863, has often been reproduced as a curiosity. See Clarence S. Brigham, "Wallpaper Newspapers of the Civil War" in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Cambridge, 1924).

[7] Hamilton Court-House *Gazette*, June 1, 1862. Quoted in *Leisure Hour*, July 30, 1864 (Vol. XIII, p. 494).

[8] But a loaf of bread cost a dollar in Richmond in November, 1864. Richmond *Enquirer*, November 4, 1864. Some, like the Galveston *News*, carried the legend "$8 gold," but there was very little gold.

The Memphis Argus was for a time under the control of two northern war correspondents, by order of the federal general in command; the same course was followed as to the *Republican* when Sherman took Savannah, Georgia.

The Memphis *Appeal* fled its home city just before its capture in June, 1862. Loaded on a flatcar, its press and type were taken successively to the Mississippi towns of Hernando, Vicksburg, and Grenada, in each of which it continued to publish; always routed out by the approach of Grant or Sherman, it gained the nickname of the "Moving *Appeal*." It was suddenly forced from its next refuge, Jackson, Mississippi, by shellfire announcing the indomitable Sherman; and it crossed Pearl River while the shells dropped around the press. On the Southern Railroad it fled to Meridian, and thence to Atlanta, where it was issued for over a year. The paper got out of that city just before Sherman marched in. It was published thereafter in Montgomery, Alabama, and three other Georgia towns, finding itself at last, by a perverse fate, once more squarely in the path of Sherman's march to the sea. Despairing, its editor, Colonel Benjamin Franklin Dill, loaded a proof-press on a mule's back, put some type in his saddlebags, and took to the mountains—where bluecoats finally caught up with him near Columbus, Georgia, and ended his odyssey of the press. The *Appeal* had been published in ten towns and four states.[9]

Other papers were moved about, as the chess-game of war progressed, but less frequently. The Chattanooga *Rebel*, of which Henry Watterson was one of the editors, attached itself to the Army of the Tennessee, and followed Bragg into Georgia.

The mortality among southern papers was very great. In the state of Georgia, for example, lack of materials, high prices, labor shortages, and the ruthless invasion of the Union armies killed off about half the newspapers and magazines published there during the Civil War.[10] Nearly all were suspended for longer or shorter periods.

[9] It was reëstablished at Memphis after the war by its former owners, McClanahan and Dill, and now exists as the *Commercial Appeal*. The episode of Dill's capture in the mountains is not well authenticated. See Thomas Fauntleroy's "A Romance in Southern Journalism," issued as a pamphlet by the *Commercial Appeal*; also a Chattanooga *Gazette* story published in the Chicago *Tribune*, June 9, 1865. But the Atlanta *Constitution*'s story, "The Old Colonel" (reprinted in the *Journalist*, June 30, 1888), keeps the story as here retold.

[10] Brantley, *Georgia Journalism of the Civil War*, pp. 38-54.

Nor were southern papers during the war free of censorship imposed by the Confederacy. Their reporters were generally excluded from the military fronts, though letters from semiprofessional correspondents and soldiers were often spirited and graphic. In January, 1862, all newspaper correspondents were banished from the Army of the Potomac; and in the same month the Confederate Congress made it a crime to publish any news of "the numbers, disposition, movements, or destination" of southern land or naval forces. A stricter control of the press was maintained in the South than in the North, and in general Confederate censorship was more consistent and effective.[11] As a result of these measures, and of failures in the telegraph and mails, the news quality of the southern papers was relatively poor. A Union editor in Kentucky in 1862 declared that southern publishers were "in happy ignorance" of what was happening, except for three Confederate victories.[12] The Charleston papers in 1864 were publishing the advertisements of the "Confederate Reading Room," which kept the "latest Northern papers" on file.[13] Three southern press conventions were held during the war, at which resolutions asking concessions from the government were passed, to no effect. Indeed, President Davis once urged the passage of a bill, introduced in the lower house of the Confederate Congress, which would have made his Secretary of War a press dictator.[14]

SOUTHERN EDITORIAL ATTITUDES

The confusion of editorial counsel in the North before Lincoln's call to arms was matched by a similar discord among southern editors. Just a month before South Carolina seceded, the New Orleans *Bee*, a leader among the moderate papers, observed:

> Most of those papers of the South which, during the late Presidential campaign, had assumed a conservative position, are now endeavoring to shape a course through the troublous period we have encountered which may possibly secure the rights of the South without entailing upon her the stern necessity of dissolving the Union.[15]

[11] Randall, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-16.
[12] Louisville *Democrat*, February 5, 1862.
[13] Charleston *Mercury*, April 13, 1864.
[14] Brantley, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
[15] New Orleans *Bee*, November 19, 1860.

And the editor of the Wilmington *Daily Herald* was at about the same time asking in impassioned tones if "the enlightened and conservative people of North Carolina" would "submit to be dragged into revolution and anarchy, and all to please the State of South Carolina." [16] Between such papers as these and the out-and-out secessionists were found editors expressing many gradations of opinion.

The Charleston *Mercury* was the leader among the extremists. As early as March, 1860, it said:

> For the last ten years the people of South Carolina have thought the dissolution of the Union afforded the only adequate remedy to check Northern aggression upon the South, and to secure Southern institutions and civilization from the fierce and increasing assaults of that inimical section.[17]

The *Mercury* had been the leading exponent of nullification back in 1832, and it had never abandoned its "ultra views," as they were called. During the war it was edited and owned by Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., an able writer of an independent cast of mind, and son of the former United States senator of that name.[18] Rhett, though intensely loyal to the Confederate cause, fulminated against the "imbecility" of Davis and his cabinet, the inefficiency of southern generals, the "star chamber" meetings of the Confederate Congress, and the suspension of the right of *habeas corpus* in the South. Reduced to a single two-page sheet during the rigors of the long blockade of Charleston, the *Mercury* headed each issue by the number of the day of the siege, until, on the 589th day it recorded the burning of the city by the departing Confederate troops.

Quite as famous a spokesman of the South, and an even more severe critic of Jefferson Davis, was the Richmond *Examiner*. Its editor was John M. Daniel, who founded the paper in 1847, won fame as principal in nine pistol duels, most of which grew out of his forthright editorial policies, and anticipated Greeley's "On to Richmond!" cry by urging Virginians to proceed upon Washington without waiting for regular arms or military organization.[19]

[16] Wilmington *Daily Herald*, November 9, 1860.
[17] Charleston *Mercury*, March 10, 1860.
[18] The family name was Smith but the senior Rhett took the name of a colonial ancestor when he first went to Congress.
[19] Richmond *Examiner*, April 28, 1861.

The *Examiner* was sometimes spoken of during the war as a "school of journalism," because some of the most brilliant young Virginia writers contributed to it—men like Dr. George W. Bagby, E. A. Pollard, Basil Gildersleeve, and John R. Thompson. The last number of the *Examiner*,[20] published on the eve of the evacuation of Richmond, carried the story of Daniel's death.

While many of the leading southern papers allowed no word of criticism of Confederate policies to enter their columns, others were constant in their fault-finding. "Newspaper generals," complained a Mississippi paper, "sit in a comfortable chair and put up forts, plan campaigns, fight battles, and win victories by the hour." [21] Thus, southern journalism followed, in general, the pattern to which the northern press adapted itself. The Copperheads, with their Order of the Golden Circle, had southern counterparts in the "union-screamers," with their Order of the Heroes of America.

To this last group belonged the *North Carolina Standard*, of Raleigh, most powerful of the papers in its state. The *Standard* fought secession and even condemned the firing on Fort Sumter; but when Lincoln called for arms, it admitted that the South must unite and, "if it be forced upon them," resort to armed conflict.[22] During the war, its editor, W. W. Holden, opposed conscription, bitterly attacked both state and Confederate governments, and became the leader of the peace party. He alleged that the war was being conducted in the interests of wealthy slave-holders: it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." So strongly did feeling rise against him that he suspended his paper for two months early in 1863; and later in that year, when a Georgia regiment was passing through Raleigh, it paused long enough to destroy the *Standard* office. But Holden and his Order of Heroes were strong enough in Raleigh to retaliate by wrecking the office of the *State Journal*, a violent secession organ. After the war Holden became reconstruction Governor of North Carolina, but was later impeached and convicted of gross corruption and malfeasance in his office.

A propaganda newspaper published abroad was the weekly

[20] It was resumed, however, on December 10, 1865, and continued until its merger with the *Enquirer* in 1867.

[21] Natchez *Daily Courier*, June 4, 1862.

[22] *North Carolina Standard*, April 20, 1861.

London *Index* (1862-63), edited by Henry Hotze, a "commercial agent" employed by the Confederacy.

CAMP NEWSPAPERS

Edited and printed by soldiers for the reading of soldiers were the various army and navy papers issued, usually for brief periods, in both the northern and southern forces. Opportunities for such papers came when printer-soldiers were able to secure presses and to use them during intervals between the requirements of active service. On the northern side, which was the more active in this irregular journalism, the presses were sometimes commandeered from captured Confederate printing establishments. Among camp papers were the *Swamp Angel*, published on Morris Island in Charleston Harbor during the siege; the *Red River Rover*, printed on ruled foolscap on board the steamer Des Moines; the *Yazoo Daily Yankee*, issued "semi-occasionally" during the siege of Vicksburg; and the *Camp Kettle*, "published at every opportunity by the field and staff officers of the Roundhead Regiment," which was the 100th Pennsylvania.

RECONSTRUCTION

The sufferings of the southern press under reconstruction were not much less than they were during the war itself. The "carpetbag" governments, supported by military force, commonly subsidized newspaper support through liberal printing contracts and forced opposition papers to "sing low" or to suspend. In Georgia the corruptionists finally bought the Atlanta *New Era* and bestowed the patronage on themselves, and somewhat the same game was played in South Carolina through the Columbia *Union* and other papers, and in Louisiana through the New Orleans *Republican*. It was a reign of terror which ended only as the "carpetbag" administrations were gradually dislodged in the various states during the seventies.

In the North occurred the bitter fight between the Radicals, led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, who were determined to reconstruct the southern states on the basis of full Negro suffrage, by military force if necessary and even by disfranchisement of ex-Confederates; and the moderate party, led by southern-

born President Johnson, which wished to follow more lenient methods.

For the northern press, this contest meant a division which followed party lines rather closely: the Democratic papers advocated the moderate course, while the Republican journals nearly all took position with the Radicals.[23] This brought more than sixty per cent of the northern daily papers into opposition to Johnson.[24] Such leading journals as the New York *Tribune*, the Springfield *Republican*, the Chicago *Tribune*, and the Philadelphia *Press* were prominent in the assault on Johnson and the reconstruction policies which led to the impeachment proceedings. The New York *Tribune*, however, harbored no vengefulness against the ex-Confederates. Greeley lost subscribers for his paper and incurred the severe criticism of long-time friends by signing Jefferson Davis's bail bond. The *Tribune* at the same time adhered to its old sympathy for the Negro and urged the protection of black suffrage; its double slogan, "Universal amnesty and universal suffrage," seemed to many inconsistent. The Springfield *Republican* took a position very similar to that of the *Tribune*, though it wanted an educational test before admitting Negroes to the suffrage; like its New York contemporary, however, it was drawn fully into the fight against Johnson. The Chicago *Tribune*, edited in 1866-74 by Horace White, was one of the leaders of the Republican Radicals. Representing the more moderate Republicans who, much as they might condemn many of Johnson's acts, opposed his impeachment, were the New York *Times*, *Evening Post*, and *Sun*, the last of which had just come under the control of Charles A. Dana. The "independent" New York *Herald* often defended Johnson with spirit; and the *World*, as soon as the President was disowned by the Republicans, was prompt to come to his defense.

The position of the New York *Times* in this great controversy has a special importance. Its editor, Henry J. Raymond, took his seat in Congress in March, 1865. He soon found himself in active opposition to Stevens and the other radical leaders of that body. By speeches and by *Times* editorials he defended the right of the southern states to constitutional government; and when, in August,

[23] See discussion of the press in 1866-67 in Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (New York, 1930), pp. 315-29.

[24] A count of dailies giving political affiliation in Rowell's *Directory* for 1868 shows the proportions exactly 3 to 5 in favor of the Republican party.

1866, the National Union Convention met in Philadelphia to advocate this theory, Raymond formulated its platform or "address." But unfortunately for the *Times* and its editor, that Convention was attended and controlled chiefly by Copperheads; and the effect of the whole incident upon the country was to raise a tremendous chorus of disapproval. Raymond later confessed that it would have been worth $100,000 to the *Times* if he had not attended the Philadelphia convention, for the paper lost heavily in subscriptions and advertising as a result of its editor's unpopular position. Basically, however, Raymond's theories were doubtless correct; and the episode did produce one happy effect: it drove Raymond out of practical politics and back into his newspaper office. Raymond is commonly held up as the outstanding example of the alleged folly of combining political office and journalism. At any rate, he was distinguished as one of the most effective journalists of his time, and it was a great career that was cut short by his death in 1869 at the age of forty-nine. Said the *Nation* at the time of his death:

"In this art of making a good newspaper, we need hardly say he was the master. The *Times* under his management probably came nearer the newspaper of the good time coming than any other in existence." [25]

During his presidency, Johnson was probably closer to the New York *Herald* and the *National Republican*, of Washington, than to other papers. He was the first President to be formally interviewed for a newspaper story; J. B. McCullagh, of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, got the interview.[26]

PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE PRESS

Grant evidenced no sympathetic understanding of newspapers. He had been annoyed to the point of exasperation by the press during the war; and he had often committed acts against newspapers which, however excusable and even necessary on the grounds of military policy, were not the less arbitrary. During his presidential campaigns, in both of which he was supported by a majority of the newspapers, no little effort was made by the secre-

[25] *Nation*, June 24, 1869.

[26] Francis A. Richardson, "Recollections of a Washington Correspondent," *Records of Columbia Historical Society* (1903), Vol. VI, p. 32.

tary of the national campaign committee to control important sections of the press by influence of advertisers and by actual purchase of ownership.[27] Schuyler Colfax, who had begun his career as an Indiana journalist, was Vice-President during Grant's first term, but the President's relations with newspaper editors and correspondents were—with one or two exceptions, such as his friendship with George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*—far from intimate.

GREELEY'S CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY

The mistakes and misfortunes of Grant's first administration brought columns of acrimonious criticism upon the hero of Appomattox. Among the critics were some of the most important and high-minded newspapers of the Republican party, and it was out of this group that the Liberal Republican movement emerged. It was hoped that the Cincinnati convention of the Liberals, held early in May, 1872, would nominate for President a man of high standing who had not been deeply involved in politics and who could be depended upon to defeat Grant.

The men who expected to control this "conclave of cranks," as the regular Republican press called the Cincinnati convention, were a group of editors known as the Quadrilateral—Horace White, of the Chicago *Tribune*; Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*; Murat Halstead, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*; and Carl Schurz, of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*. But there were more than four journalists with fingers in the pie; indeed, as one of them —Henry Watterson—later said, "one might have mistaken the group for an annual meeting of the Associated Press." [28] And the irony of the outcome of this politico-journalistic effort lay in the fact that the nominee who was finally chosen was disapproved by every member of the Quadrilateral, but was at the same time one of the most famous American journalists—none other than Horace Greeley.

Greeley's nomination was, however, greeted with a considerable degree of enthusiasm, and some weeks later was endorsed by the regular Democratic convention. But many of the leading liberals

[27] William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), pp. 130, 281.

[28] Watterson, "*Marse Henry*," Vol. I, p. 252.

could not support Greeley—for example, the New York *Evening Post* and the *Nation*—and many of those which did support him were lukewarm. All the eccentricities and personal failures of the aged editor were lampooned unmercifully by the opposition, and Thomas Nast's cartoons of him in *Harper's Weekly* seem now unnecessarily cruel. Perhaps the worst insult was the ironical support given him by Dana in the *Sun*.

This campaign of 1872, with the smashing defeat of Greeley, was a tragic anticlimax to a career which, though marked by error and inconsistency, was, on the whole, noble and idealistic. It was tragic because it was followed in a few weeks by the mental breakdown and death of its victim.

CHAPTER XXIII

Dana and the Sun; News Developments

AMONG THE PAPERS PROMINENT IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AFTER the war was the New York *Sun*. Throughout the great conflict it had been Democratic, but it was loyal and criticised Lincoln no more than many of the Republican papers. Its limited space had curtailed its editorial comment, in comparison with that of the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Herald*.

It was just before the war, in the summer of 1860, that Moses S. Beach, who had for some years been in entire control of the *Sun*, leased his plant and sold the goodwill of his paper for $100,000 to a rich young man of religious enthusiasms named Morrison. The new owner, though he did not omit crimes and calamities, inserted much about religious meetings and missionaries. Thus the *Sun* followed the example of its new contemporary, the *World*, in the religious field. This emphasis on religion was doubtless an effect of the Great Revival of 1858. Morrison saw to it that a prayer meeting was held every day at noon in the *Sun* editorial rooms; and after the war had begun, he urged that Union generals should be instructed not to fight battles on Sundays.[1] By the end of 1861, however, Morrison was ready to abandon his experiment in mildly evangelical journalism; and the *Sun* went back to Beach and the fleshpots.

The New York *Daily Witness* (1871-79) was another unsuccessful attempt to publish a religious daily in New York. The Boston *Daily News* (1869-76), a "moral, religious daily," came to grief because its clergyman-editor became involved in financial irregularities. These were both penny papers.

[1] New York *Sun*, July 23, 1861.

DANA AND THE SUN

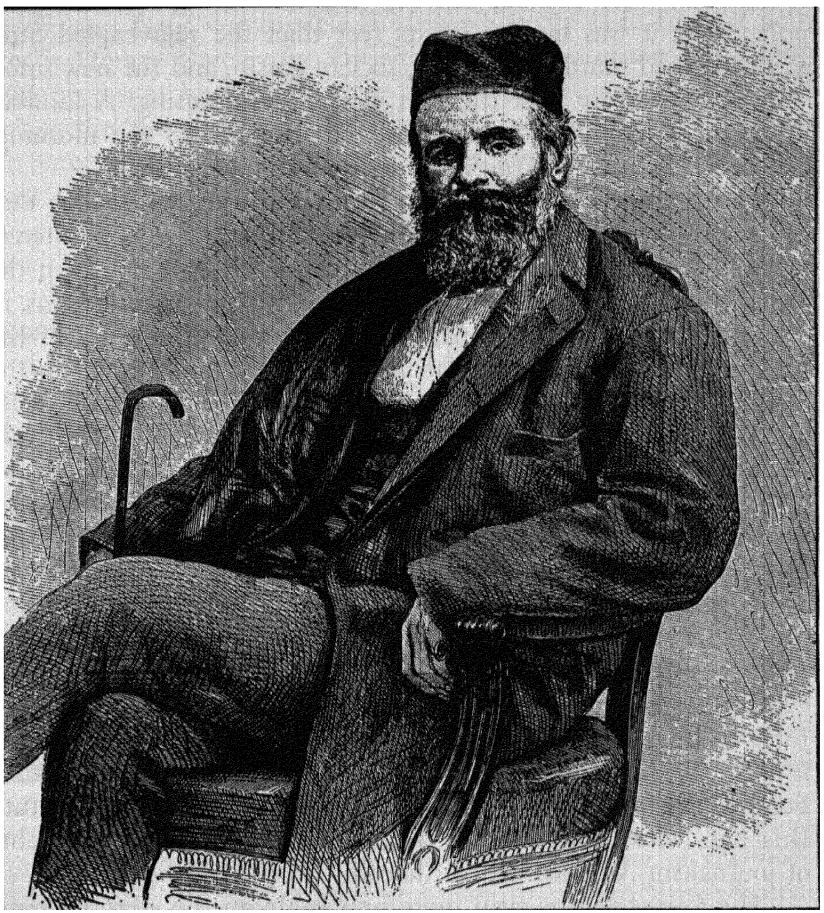
Charles A. Dana's purchase of the *Sun* in 1868 marked a new era for a paper which was scarcely holding its own in the competition of the postbellum period. Civil War conditions had at last forced it to raise its price to two cents, while it kept to its four-page format. Dana was an experienced journalist. During his fifteen years on the *Tribune*, much of the time as managing editor, Dana had won a high reputation as an able journalist. After leaving that paper on account of differences with Greeley, he was sent by President Lincoln as a special observer on the western front and later made Assistant Secretary of War. After the war, Dana spent a year as editor of the newly founded Chicago *Republican;* but, dissatisfied with his prospects in the western city, he returned to New York with the intention of starting a new paper there. When Beach offered him the *Sun* for $175,000, he induced the stock company which he had formed in order to found a new journal to buy the *Sun*. With Dana in the company were several leaders in New York politics and finance.

The *Sun* had 43,000 circulation when Dana and his partners bought it; two and a half years later it was advertising in its four-cent rival, the *Herald*, that it was "ahead of all competitors" with an average daily issue of 102,870. By 1876 it had reached its high-water mark of 131,000.

Why this spurt in popularity? Its two-cent price in competition with the four cents of the other leading papers perhaps gave the *Sun* some advantage; but it had been declining at two cents when Dana came on the scene.[2] After all, the papers which cost twice as much had twice as many pages as the *Sun*. The great reason for the outstanding success of Dana's *Sun* in the seventies was stated exactly in its advertisements in other papers in 1870: "Its news is the freshest, most interesting and sprightliest current, and no expense is spared to make it just what the great mass of the people want." [3] In its news columns the *Sun* under Dana did somewhat

[2] Several other two-cent papers competed on that level with the *Sun* for longer or shorter periods. Most prominent were the *Daily Star* (1868-91); the *Evening Mail* (1867-1924), called *Mail and Express* 1882-1904; and the *Evening Telegram*, Bennett's evening paper, established in 1867. But the Sun was the only successful two-cent paper of the period.

[3] New York *Herald*, May 29, 1870, p. 10.



Charles A. Dana, of the New York Sun, *as he appeared in the 1870's. From a contemporary woodcut.*

the same thing (though more expertly) that the *Herald* had flourished by doing in the thirties: it was pert, novel, and sometimes sensational. The *Herald*, indeed, had not changed its original policy; but it was heavier on its feet than the rejuvenated *Sun*. Both featured murders, scandals, society gossip, and the new interview style of story. But the *Sun* was always amusing. A familiar quip had it that "the *Sun* makes vice attractive in the morning, and the *Post* makes virtue unattractive in the evening."

The *Sun* used a kind of feature which it called by a name that has adhered to it in spite of its inadequacy—the "human-interest story." This was a little article which was interesting not from the significance of the person or event reported, but because (as in fiction) it was amusing or pathetic or meaningful as a bit of the texture of our universal human life. Thus the *Sun* picked up the story of a Chinese laundryman, a witty policeman, a lost child, and made each readable. This would have been banal without good writing. Indeed, it may be said that the *Sun's* chief contribution to the journalism of these years was good writing—colorful, witty, zestful writing. That is what Dana was always looking for. Men like Amos J. Cummings, Isaac W. England (later business manager), and James S. Pike worked with Dana, and helped him find the bright young men, many of them college graduates, whom the *Sun* encouraged by good salaries, fairly assured tenure, and an excellent system of training. "When a dog bites a man," remarked John B. Bogart, city editor of the *Sun*, to a young reporter, "that is not news; but when a man bites a dog, that is news." The remark became one of the best-known adages of the profession. Arthur Brisbane, who worked under Bogart, called him the best teacher of journalism America had yet known.

The *Sun* style was even more noticeable on the editorial page. There Dana and such assistants as William O. Bartlett and Francis P. Church displayed such an incisiveness and wit as had never been seen—over a long period of years—in any great newspaper. Their editorials were often short and amusing essays on fads, or social questions, or language. Most famous of them all was Church's "Is There a Santa Claus?" which is still widely reprinted every year.[4] Political matters were also treated in a lively, and often a

[4] It appeared December 21, 1897, but was in the old *Sun* tradition.

cynical, style; it was part of Dana's policy to make his paper interesting by slashing attacks on many victims. These onslaughts were often full of whimsy and wit; sometimes they were cruel and malicious. Dana was capable of such perversity as to support nominally Horace Greeley for President at the same time that he was poking fun at him. There were those who called it blackguardism when the *Sun* attacked those whose only offence was to be related in some way to the *Sun's* declared enemies.[5] The paper's amusing but clearly irrelevant and frivolous positions on what were often important questions undoubtedly reduced its actual influence to a rather low level.

The *Sun* had long been an independent paper with Democratic sympathies. Dana as a young man had been a rather extreme liberal —a Brook Farmer and a Socialist. Later he had taken a part in the organization of the Republican party, and had held office in a Republican administration. When he took over the *Sun*, his personal friendship for Grant made him a strong supporter of the Republican nominee for President in 1868. But he was quick to note the early mistakes of the Grant administration and soon became one of its sharpest critics. His ironical support in 1872 of Greeley, "the Woodchopper of Chappaqua," was characteristic of the new Dana. This use of a clever epithet or slogan became a favorite device of the *Sun:* against Tammany it used the rhyme "No King, No Clown, to rule this Town"; against the second Grant administration, the slogan "Turn the rascals out!"; and against Hayes, the reiterated word "Fraud" in scores of connections.

A study of the *Sun's* editorial policy under Dana shows the growth of conservatism. The eager, idealistic Dana of the forties had become the disillusioned and cynical—though always brilliant —editor of the seventies. He had come a long way from Brook Farm to bitter condemnations of all labor movements, enthusiasm for high tariffs, and opposition to income taxes.

Purely as a newspaper-maker, Dana must be accorded a very high position.[6] He made a sparkling, interesting, always well-written paper. Other editors generally admired the *Sun;* it was

[5] Stone, *Dana and the Sun*, pp. 385-92.

[6] See defense of Dana against the imputation of being a "yellow" journalist in O'Brien, *Story of the Sun*, pp. 411-20.

called "the newspaperman's newspaper." Eugene Field, who once worked for Dana, wrote a tribute to him in dialect verse which ended

> But bless ye, Mr. Dana! May you live a thousan' years
> To sorta keep things lively in this vale of human tears;
> An' when it comes your time to go, you'll need no Latin chaff
> Nor biographic data put in your epitaph;
> But one straight line of English truth will let folks know
> The homage 'nd the gratitude 'nd reverence they owe;
> You'll need no epitaph but this: "Here sleeps the man who run
> That best 'nd brightest paper, the *Noo York Sun*."

INFLUENTIAL WEEKLIES

Several New York weeklies became famous and influential during the period of war and reconstruction.

The *Independent* was a Congregational paper, founded in 1848. It was a "religious newspaper"—a kind of weekly publication which had long flourished in America, printing secular as well as denominational news, but often more important for its miscellany and editorial discussion. The *Independent*, first under the editorship of Henry Ward Beecher, and then under that of Theodore Tilton, became famous as a radical antislavery paper. It paid little attention to Congregationalism, but much to national policies. It was almost wrecked by the great scandal which attended Tilton's sensational suit against Beecher for alienation of his wife's affections, but it recovered under later distinguished editorship and lasted until 1928. After Beecher left the *Independent*, he became the first editor of the *Christian Union* (1870-1935), called the *Outlook* after 1893.

Frank Leslie's original name was Henry Carter. He was an English engraver on wood who came to New York in 1848 and was associated with Barnum, the showman, in a publishing venture or two. Accustomed to sign his engravings "Frank Leslie," he legally adopted that name. He was a pushing, lively fellow, with a head full of projects. He was soon in the publishing business for himself, issuing periodicals for women, story papers, and miscellanies. He sometimes had ten periodicals going at once, but the greatest of them, in this period, was *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, begun in 1855. It was a sixteen-page weekly selling at ten cents a

number and illustrated by large and striking woodcuts. These pictures usually followed the events they portrayed by about two weeks—a promptitude in illustration hitherto unknown and not matched by any competitor until after the Civil War. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* liked sensation, and though it often recorded and pictured more dignified events, its artists seemed to do their best work with murders, prizefights, and disasters. Its Civil War pictures made a fine series. Its published serial fiction, travel sketches, and so on, and it carried on some excellent crusades against local abuses. It lasted until 1922, called, in later years, *Leslie's Weekly*.

Of the same type, though stronger editorially and more dignified, was *Harper's Weekly* (1857-1916). Issued by one of the largest publishing houses in the country, edited for thirty years by one of the most graceful and eloquent writers of the times, George William Curtis, and enlivened by the inspired cartoons of Thomas Nast, this paper came to be a force in American life. It had 100,000 circulation during the war, and 160,000 by the end of this period in 1872.

The *Independent* was a religious journal, and *Leslie's* and *Harper's Weekly* were miscellanies. The first weekly journal of opinion to achieve long life and wide influence was the *Nation*,[7] founded by Edwin Lawrence Godkin in 1865. Born in Ireland of English parents and educated in Ireland and England, Godkin had come to America a few years before the Civil War. He had been a newspaper correspondent since he had reached his majority, and his immediate purpose in crossing the Atlantic was to write a series of articles for a London paper; but he liked the new country and decided to remain. He was admitted to the bar in New York in 1858; but he was a born publicist, and when the opportunity presented itself to organize a stock company and edit a paper of the type of the London *Spectator*, he was quick to seize it. The *Nation* was a sixteen-page quarto filled with literary criticism, commentary on American life and problems, and political editorials of the highest type. A list of the contributors to the early *Nation* would enroll most of the famous American scholars and writers of the sixties and seventies. Though its circulation never got above 12,000 in

[7] The *Round Table*, published first for seven months 1863-64, and then after an interruption of thirteen months resumed 1865-69, was likewise a journal of opinion and a vigorous paper, though short-lived.

these years, it was read by men of the highest type and undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence through them. Independent in politics, but with Republican leanings and conservative views, it was always high-minded and dignified. Perhaps its two greatest virtues were its authoritative criticism and its uniformly excellent writing.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

The great news stories of the period were, of course, those of the war and reconstruction, already discussed; but there were others which are an essential part of the journalistic history of the times because they filled thousands of columns in the newspapers.

The two greatest news-breaks of the period occurred within a few days of each other in April, 1865—the surrender of Lee at Appomattox and the assassination of Lincoln. The impeachment proceedings against President Johnson in 1867 furnished a great front-page story for many weeks.

The war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria was so brief that the war correspondents from America had no chance to get into action. George W. Smalley, C. C. Coffin, Henry Villard, and other American correspondents seasoned in Civil War reporting arrived after the fighting was over. Colonel Finley Anderson made journalistic history by sending to the New York *Herald* the first extensive cable dispatch; it gave the speech of the King of Prussia announcing the end of the war, and cost $6,500 in gold.[8]

The Indian fighting in the West in 1866-67 was reported with many inaccuracies and some outright faking; but later conflicts, such as the Modoc War of 1872-73, were much better covered.[9]

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 furnished a far greater story. Led by Smalley, Murat Halstead, Moncure D. Conway, and others, war correspondents from the United States taught English newspaper men what came to be called "the American way"—the use of the quickest available means of transmitting a story, but chiefly that of the telegraph. It was Joseph Hance, of the *Tribune*, who sent the first telegraphic story of a European battle. During this war the custom of combinations of an Ameri-

[8] Interview with Anderson in Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, May 26, 1889.

[9] See Elmo Scott Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1940, Vol. XVII, pp. 301-12.

can with an English paper for European news coverage was inaugurated; thus the New York *Tribune* worked with the London *Daily News* and had the benefit of Archibald Forbes' work, while the *Sun* got William Howard Russell's reports by its alliance with the London *Times*. But the New York *Tribune*, with Smalley at the head of its corps of correspondents, eclipsed all other American papers in the thoroughness of its coverage of this war. It spent $125,000, exclusive of cable tolls, to cover the seven months' hostilities.

"Black Friday," September 24, 1869, when Fisk and Gould tried to corner the nation's gold supply and were defeated only by the sale of $4,000,000 in gold by the government, made big news; as did the failure of Jay Cooke & Company, precipitating the panic of 1873. It was Fisk who, stung by the Springfield *Republican's* sharp criticism of his audacious swindling operations, brought a $50,000 libel suit against the paper, and, on the occasion of a visit of Samuel Bowles, its editor, to New York, had him seized by Tammany henchmen and thrown into jail for a night. Fisk made major news many times, but never more spectacularly than when he was shot by Edward S. Stokes, his rival in love and business, on the stairway of the Grand Central Hotel in New York January 8, 1872. This occurred just after a hearing in the Stokes-Fisk libel suit. The magnificent funeral which Tammany gave for him was a great newspaper story.

The great Chicago fire of 1871 and the equally terrible conflagration in Boston the next year were the chief disasters of the period. The bloody Orange Riot in New York on July 12, 1871, and the depredations of the James and Younger gangs in the Middle West were all good copy.

The outstanding murders of the times were those of Fisk and Richardson. A. D. Richardson, the famous war correspondent, was shot in the office of the New York *Tribune* in 1869 by Daniel McFarland, who had recently been divorced by his wife and was jealous of the attentions being paid her by Richardson. The story was built up by the marriage of Mrs. McFarland and Richardson just before the latter's death, the ceremony being performed in the hospital by Henry Ward Beecher. During the trial, the *Tribune* "played" the signed story of Mrs. Abbie McFarland Richardson, who was a talented writer and speaker, on its front page.

Visits of foreign notables to America made much newspaper copy. This was especially true of the coming of the Prince of Wales in 1860—a national event of tremendous popular interest. In the same year came the delegation of Japanese in connection with a diplomatic matter; the newspapers found these Orientals very funny, but the amusement was probably reciprocal. The second visit of Dickens to this country in 1868 was a triumphal tour, one of the chief events of which was the dinner which the New York Press Club, forgetting his acrimonious criticism of American newspapers, made a quarter-century before, gave to the famous novelist.

The two great prizefights of John C. Heenan, "the Benicia Boy," with English champions were the premier sports events of the period. The first was with Sayers in England in 1860, when *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* sent a staff of correspondents and artists to England to cover the fight, had blocks engraved hurriedly by sections, and twenty-four hours after the desperate battle was fought to a draw with bare fists at a place thirty miles from London, had an illustrated street extra on sale to amazed Londoners. Rushing on shipboard with 20,000 printed copies, the Leslie staff was able to scoop not only London but New York. Heenan's defeat in twenty-five rounds by the mighty fists of King in 1863 was mourned in some quarters as much as a Union loss in the Civil War. Some papers refused to "play" the fights, and many condemned their brutality while detailing them at length. Second only to the interest in prizefighting and horse racing was that in the walking races of the seventies. The greatest of the pedestrians was Edward Payson Weston, who had been a police reporter on the New York *Sun*, and who was, according to the punster historian of the *Sun*, the best "leg man" in the history of journalism.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TWEED RING

The most famous of newspaper crusades against official corruption was that of the New York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly* against Tammany in 1870-71. Probably no group of political corruptionists ever gained greater power in America than the group headed by William M. Tweed, the Tammany boss. Later investigation established the fact that Tweed and his fellow thieves robbed

the city of $200,000,000.[10] Many devices were employed in these robberies, but the courthouse in progress of erection in 1870 was perhaps the most profitable. The record which the *Times* eventually showed to an incredulous world disclosed that one plasterer supposed to be working on that building had drawn $50,000 a day for an entire month; this "prince of plasterers" was paid for his season's work $2,807,464.06, and the *Times* suggested that he could afford to devote the six cents to charity. Of course, it was the Ring, not Garvey the plasterer, who actually received most of this.

After Raymond's death, his partner and business manager, George Jones, had remained in chief control of the paper. The brilliant Louis J. Jennings (editor 1869-76) was the writer of most of the editorials attacking the Tweed Ring, and John Foord (editor 1876-83) was responsible for the analyses of city finances which furnished the most effective proofs of Tammany corruption. The *Times* began stirring things up for the Ring in the fall of 1870, but it was not until the next year, when an accident brought an honest man into the county auditor's office, that irrefutable records became available and war was on in earnest.

The records referred to had been first offered to the *Sun*, which refused to use them. The *Evening Post* and the *Tribune* had attacked Tammany before, with little success; and crusading spirit was low. After the *Times* had laid the scandal wide open, some other papers, like the *Herald*, joined in the fight; but the attitude of a large proportion of the score of daily papers then being published in New York was far from creditable to journalism. The Ring had put out great sums of hush-money, much of it in the form of payments on fat advertising contracts. A contemporary historian says there were eighty-nine newspapers on the payroll of the Ring, "of which twenty-seven so depended on this plunder for subsistence that when the Ring was broken they gasped and died." [11] Some of these were in Albany, and many were weeklies owned by Tammany politicians. Of the dailies, a labor paper called the *Star*, the *Evening Express*, the old *Commercial Advertiser*, and the Albany *Evening Journal* seem to have been leading Ring

[10] Matthew J. O'Rourke, an official in the county bookkeeper's office, in an article in the New York *Herald*, January 13, 1901, quoted in Paine, *Thomas Nast*, p. 177.

[11] James Parton in *Harper's Monthly*, July, 1874 (Vol. XLIX, p. 274).

spokesmen. Controller Connolly came to Jones shortly after the *Times* gained possession of the city records and offered him $5,000,000 not to publish them. "I think that the devil will never bid higher for me than that," replied Jones, as he showed the boodler the door.

Shoulder to shoulder with the *Times* fought *Harper's Weekly*. It was Thomas Nast, the great cartoonist, who probably did more to crush the Ring than any other one man. His bold and dramatic pictures, often carried on the front page of the *Weekly*, were quite the most effective cartooning of the era. Nast was strongly supported by Fletcher Harper, manager of the paper. When Tammany in retaliation took away the textbook contract held by Harper Brothers, the firm wavered; in the midst of a conference, Fletcher Harper seized his hat and said, as he stood at the door, "Gentlemen, you know where I live. When you are ready to continue the fight against these scoundrels, send for me. Meantime, I shall find a way to do it alone." But they did not let him go, and the fight went on. Nast, who had been threatened repeatedly and had actually removed his residence from the city, was generously offered $100,000 by a banker to go to Europe "to study art." Nast asked if the donation could not be raised to $200,000. "Perhaps it could," said the Tammany emissary; "you have great talent." "On second thought," replied Nast, "I have decided not to go to Europe. I shall be busy here for some time getting a gang of thieves behind the bars!" [12]

Eventually, under the impulse of the *Times*' exposures and Nast's cartoons, a citizens' committee of seventy was formed to prosecute the swindlers, Tweed was arrested, and an election went against Tammany. The Ring eventually broke up: some confessed, some fled to Europe, some died in jail.

TRIUMPH OF THE NEWS PRINCIPLE

From the time of the success of the penny papers in the thirties, it was inevitable that news should triumph over editorial comment as the leading function of the American newspaper. After the Civil War, there were still many papers published chiefly

[12] It was Nast who invented the tiger as a symbol for Tammany and the elephant for the Republican party, and popularized the donkey to represent the Democrats.

for political reasons; but long before that time, the great advances in news-gathering techniques joined with a certain relaxation in party lines and loyalties to put news far ahead of editorials in popular interest. In 1870 an English observer could safely generalize as follows: "The American reader will abandon a paper of his own political creed for one that has superior enterprise in publishing the latest and fullest items of events." [13] Spiced with exaggeration, but true in principle, were the remarks on the same subject made in the *North American Review* in 1866 by James Parton, Greeley's biographer:

> The prestige of the editorial is gone. . . . There are journalists who think the time is at hand for the abolition of editorials, and the concentration of the whole force of journalism upon presenting to the public the history and picture of the day. The time for this has not come, and may never come; but our journalists already know that editorials neither make nor mar a daily paper, that they do not much influence the public mind, nor change many votes, and that the power and success of a newspaper depend wholly and absolutely upon its success in getting, and its skill in exhibiting, the news. . . . The news is the point of rivalry; it is that for which nineteen-twentieths of the people buy newspapers; it is that which constitutes the power and value of the daily press; it is that which determines the rank of every newspaper in every free country.[14]

A corollary of this principle is found in the statement of another writer in the contemporary magazines: "For the majority of readers it is the reporter, and not the editor, who is the ruling genius of the newspaper." [15] Civil war journalism, with its emphasis on the importance and heroism of the war correspondent, did much to raise the reporter's status. The greatest newspaper success of the years following the war—that of the New York *Sun*—was mainly dependent upon bright and clever reporting. "Reporting," said Dana, "is really a high art, and it may be carried to an extraordinary degree of perfection." [16]

[13] *Chambers's Journal*, June 25, 1870, p. 406. Compare Greeley's statement to the House of Commons committee in 1851; see footnote, p. 277.

[14] *North American Review*, April, 1866 (Vol. CII, pp. 375-76). But see the *Nation's* disagreement, May 8, 1866 (Vol. II, p. 585).

[15] John Lesperance in *Lippincott's Magazine*, August, 1871 (Vol. VIII, p. 180).

[16] Lecture to students of Union College, October 13, 1893, in Dana's *The Art of Newspaper Making* (New York, 1895), p. 54.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERVIEW

With the rise of reporting came a new technique—that of the interview. Perhaps the first formal interview with a famous man was Greeley's story of his talk with Brigham Young in the *Tribune* August 20, 1859.[17] This type of interview with a famous public figure was taken up by other papers and was occasionally used by Washington correspondents during the Civil War.

The interview, with its intimate details of the behavior and words of the great, was frequently criticized as unwarranted invasion of privacy. One leading magazine writer of the period called it "the most perfect contrivance yet devised to make journalism an offence, a thing of ill savor in all decent nostrils." [18] And the *Nation* averred, "The 'interview' as at present managed is generally the joint product of some humbug of a hack politician and another humbug of a reporter." [19] Though soon adopted in England and France from the American model, the interview made its way but slowly in the journalism of those countries.

CRITICISMS OF NEWS POLICIES

Magazines were freer with criticism of newspapers in this period than formerly, chiefly because they themselves were coming into closer contact with every-day problems. The "personal journalist" who announced engagements of marriage, described the appearance of ladies, and otherwise "invaded privacy" was frequently condemned. "Jenkins" was a name of reproach given to the reporter who overwrote insignificant items, particularly in flowery accounts of society events. The emphasis given to scandals and crime was severely censured.

To this last criticism Charles A. Dana had a facile and famous reply. "I have always felt," he said, "that whatever the Divine

[17] See George S. Turnbull, "Some Notes on the History of the Interview," in *Journalism Quarterly*, September, 1936 (Vol. XIII, pp. 272-79). Of course, stories based on interviews had been common from journalism's earliest years. The Boston *News-Letter's* story of the death of Blackbeard the pirate (March 2, 1719) was apparently based on an interview with a ship captain. Bennett's interview with Rosina Townsend in connection with the Robinson-Jewett murder case (New York *Herald*, April 16, 1836), with its Q. and A. form as commonly used then in reports of trials, sounds more like an unofficial deposition (an official was present) though it has been called the first interview.

[18] Richard Grant White in the *Galaxy*, December, 1874 (Vol. XVIII, p. 827).

[19] *Nation*, January 28, 1869 (Vol. VIII, p. 66).

Providence permitted to occur I was not too proud to report." [20] Years earlier, Parton had written: "The skilled and faithful journalist, recording with exactness and power the thing that has come to pass, is Providence addressing men." [21] And long before that, it was said of a pious Baptist preacher that, "a newspaper having been brought into the room, he held out his hand to receive it, saying, 'Be kind enough to let me have it a few minutes, till I see how the Supreme Being is governing the world.' " [22] Here we have the journalist's ultimate alibi.

TELEGRAPH AND CABLE; THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

One reason for the heightened regard for news is found in the extension of the telegraph system. The Civil War caused a great increase in the amount of telegraph news used in the papers. The successful operation of the Atlantic cable in 1866 suddenly brought European events closer to the American people than ever before.[23]

Agreements with the Western Union Telegraph Company gave the seven members of the New York Associated Press a virtual monopoly of wire news. This news they sold, under contracts, to "outside papers." The dictatorial methods of the association at length provoked a rebellion among midwestern papers, which organized in 1862 the Western Associated Press. This was at first an informal organization, but in 1866 it was strong enough to defy the parent association and threaten to set up a competitive news-gathering agency. Peace and coöperation were restored on the basis of regional reports and more equitable charges; and the way having been shown by the midwestern group, other sectional associations soon demanded and received similar concessions.

[20] In the lecture to the Wisconsin Editorial Association, July 24, 1888. Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[21] *North American Review*, April, 1866 (Vol. CII, p. 378).

[22] *Southern Quarterly Review*, January, 1842 (Vol. I, p. 11).

[23] The opening of the cable in 1858 was a great event; but after a few weeks of operation, communication failed, and the experiments had to be renewed.

CHAPTER XXIV

Expansion and Development

EVERY HISTORICAL PERIOD IS A TRANSITION PERIOD; BUT THE confusions of war tend to break down established conventions and clear the way for new developments, so that war years are apt to mark transitions. Thus, in this period, certain phenomena of change are noticeable. Among these are the growth of independence from party bonds, the growth of feature material in the place of long political disquisitions, and the accelerated expansion (especially immediately after the war) of midwestern journalism. To be added to these are certain developments resulting from the application of new mechanical devices to journalism—particularly stereotyping, the web-perfecting press, and wood-pulp paper. These changes will be considered in the present chapter.

EDITORIAL INFLUENCE AND INDEPENDENCE

Despite the gain in news interest as compared with editorial interest in newspapers, the pronouncements of the great editors were regarded as highly important during the years of the war and reconstruction; and political leaders generally courted the support of the newspapers assiduously. This was true of Lincoln, who, nevertheless, except in the last few months of his life, never had the whole-hearted support of a majority of the newspapers of the country. Elected in 1860 by a minority of the popular vote, he probably had at that time less than a third of the papers behind him. Four years later, even many of the Republican papers preferred other candidates for the nomination and were tardy and lukewarm in coming to his support after the convention. But Sherman took Atlanta early in September, 1864, and Sheridan followed by pushing the Confederates southward out of the Shenandoah valley. These victories electrified the North's discouraged

patriotism; the newspapers reacted to the enthusiasm; and, with a large proportion of the newspapers of the loyal states behind him, Lincoln was swept into office by fifty-six per cent of the popular vote and an overwhelming majority in the electoral college. But it was Sherman and Sheridan, not Greeley and Raymond, who had elected him.

Grant had a majority of the papers with him in both of his campaigns. His margin of newspaper support was smaller, however, in his second campaign; though in spite of that fact, his percentage of the popular vote was larger.[1]

But the assault which the penny papers had made on the party-press system in the thirties and forties, coupled with the break-up of the Whig party in the early fifties, had brought an increasing tendency toward neutral and independent journalism. This was bound to happen as the papers came to recognize news rather than editorial opinion as their paramount function. News had been twisted and abused for partisan purposes; it was now more respected for itself. The old political journals had maintained the fiction that the party leaders of their allegiance could do no wrong; there was now a far greater freedom of criticism. Wrote one journalist at the end of the period under consideration:

> A radical change has been, and still more is being, wrought. Men think for themselves. They want no ready-made opinions. They demand the *data* for forming independent conclusions, and they get them, too. Both sides get a hearing in the news department, which is now the great department of any journal worthy to be called a newspaper.[2]

The New York *Times*, in stating its own policy, declared that a newspaper's "proper business is to publish *facts*, in such a form and temper as to lead men of all parties to rely upon its statements of facts, and then to discuss them in the light of truth and justice, and not of party interest." [3] Many great papers which were seldom or never neutral came to be looked upon as independent because they frequently criticized the parties with which

[1] In 1868, with about 58 per cent of the newspapers he received 52.6 per cent of the popular vote; in 1872, with about 52 per cent of the newspapers he received 56 per cent of the vote.

[2] Frank Gilbert, Chicago newspaper man, in the *Lakeside Monthly*, August, 1872 (Vol. VIII, p. 113).

[3] New York *Times*, March 22, 1860.

they were nominally identified and thus could scarcely be counted upon through thick and thin by the partisan leaders. Such were the *Herald*, *Sun*, *Evening Post*, and *Tribune* in New York, the Springfield *Republican*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and so on. In 1872, as has been seen, this potential independence of national party control came to a head in the "bolt" of Grant's second nomination by many Republican papers.



EDITORIAL WASHING-DAY IN NEW-YORK.

Washing Their Dirty Linen with U-Lye.

A Cartoon by H. L. Stephens in Punchinello *(May 28, 1870) Satirizing the Controversies of New York Editors. Left to right are shown: Manton Marble,* World; *Horace Greeley,* Tribune; *George Jones,* Times; *John Russell Young,* Standard; *and Charles A. Dana,* Sun. *In the background are Hugh Hastings,* Commercial Advertiser, *and Theodore Tilton,* Independent.

In connection with editorial practice, mention may be made of a general improvement in manners. This was more noticeable in the East than in the West. Even the eastern press, however, had its epidemics of vituperation. There was such a one in the spring of 1870 in New York; concerning it the *Tribune* remarked:

We observe that most of the newspapers in this city and Brooklyn have allowed themselves during the past week to attack each other in

a highly personal manner. . . . Why cannot Editors learn that the public wants of them nothing but the publication of news and temperate, dignified, gentlemanly explanation and criticism of current events? . . . Imitate in this, as in all other things, the *Tribune*, and be happy.[4]

And yet, not two weeks before this, the *Tribune* had declared that the *Times* "lies deliberately, willfully, wickedly, and with naked intent to defame and malign." [5] This was perhaps the truth, but it was not temperate, dignified, or gentlemanly. Greeley found it hard, in times of stress, to live up to his own code of the editorial amenities.

FEATURES: POETRY

Growing independence from partisan bonds was accompanied by more freedom from journalistic conventions. There were more variants from the normal in format, makeup, and content than ever before; and it becomes increasingly difficult to generalize satisfactorily.

In the matter of features, for example, there was great variety. The New York *Times* printed little feature material outside the news reports; the New York *Daily Democrat*, on the other hand, was valued- chiefly for "Brick" Pomeroy's humorous articles. Weekly papers generally printed a larger proportion of miscellany than dailies, four-page papers sometimes giving over most of page one to selected essays, articles, stories, humorous paragraphs, and poetry.

Newspaper poetry had a considerable importance in the Civil War. The best of the John Brown poems, Stedman's "How Old Brown Took Harper's Ferry," first appeared in the New York *Tribune* November 12, 1859. But of all the New York dailies, the *Evening Post*, edited by a great poet, was preëminent in Civil War verse. "We have received verses in celebration of the late victories enough to fill four or five columns of our paper," said the *Post* four days after Lee's surrender. "We Are Coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand More!" was printed in the *Evening Post* after Lincoln's call for troops in the summer of

[4] New York *Tribune*, May 4, 1870. The *Punchinello* cartoon, reproduced on p. 390, refers to this outbreak of personalities.

[5] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1870. The occasion for this diatribe was the attempt of the *Times* to besmirch the *Tribune* with the charge of sympathy with "free love" in connection with the Richardson murder case.

1862; it is still sometimes attributed to Bryant, but it was written by John S. Gibbons, the paper's financial editor and an authority on banking. Bryant's own incomparable poem, "Death of Lincoln," was printed in the *Post* on April 20, 1863.

Southern poets were active contributors to their newspapers. Henry Timrod, one of the best of them, was engaged in newspaper work throughout most of the war; but the paper of which he had become associate editor, the Columbia *South Carolinian*, was burned out by Sherman's army. Father Ryan's "The Sword of Robert Lee" appeared in the Richmond *Enquirer*.

FEATURES: WIT AND HUMOR

But if the minor versifiers brightened the "poetry corners" of the papers, the crop of new American humorists sprouted here, there, and everywhere. Their comic misspellings and bad grammar, their sketches of character oddities, and their satirical comment on society and politics were copied from one paper to another until their pen-names and the papers for which they wrote became known throughout the nation.

Mark Twain was familiar with newspapers from childhood, and he never lost the journalistic touch. As a boy he worked on his brother's paper in Hannibal, Missouri, and later on papers in Iowa, Nevada, and California. When he first visited the eastern cities, it was as a wandering printer. He gained his first fame when a roar of laughter swept over the country as his "Jumping Frog" story was clipped and reprinted by hundreds of papers; it appeared first in the New York *Saturday Press* in 1865. After his marriage, Mark Twain bought a one-third interest in the Buffalo *Express*, but he was unable to tie himself down to routine newspaper work and soon sold his holdings at a loss. His sketches, his speeches, and the anecdotes attributed to him long remained good newspaper copy.

Another printer-humorist was Artemus Ward (Charles F. Browne). After setting type on various New England papers, he made his way west to Ohio and worked on Cincinnati, Toledo, and Cleveland papers. It was while he was local reporter on the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* in 1858 that he invented the character of the old showman who was continually writing letters to the paper about his "collecksion of Living Wild Beasts." This included

a kangaroo—"a amoozin little Raskal; twould make you larf yerself to deth to see the little cuss jump up and squeal"—as well as some snakes "under perfek subjecshun." Artemus Ward the showman, with his queer spelling and sly digs at this and that celebrity, tickled the fancies of many thousands of readers and made the *Plain Dealer* famous. Artemus later went to New York to edit *Vanity Fair*, and then became a successful lecturer.

A third newspaper humorist who had for a time belonged to the fraternity of "tramp printers"—wandering compositors who knew that in any city or town they could at almost any time get a little work at the case—was David R. Locke. Beginning as printer in central New York, he went west to found and edit various papers in Ohio, finally getting a controlling interest in the Toledo *Blade*. It was in the early years of the Civil War that Locke, fired by the success of Artemus Ward, invented Petroleum V. Nasby, an illiterate Copperhead postmaster at "Confedrit X Roads, wich is in the stait uv Kentucky," who hated "niggers" and loved whiskey. Nasby is such a coarse clown that his very hypocrisy is funny—or it once was to readers who scanned his letters almost as eagerly as they read the accounts of the battles in the South. The vogue of these sketches was remarkable, and not the least enthusiastic of Nasby's admirers was President Lincoln. Perhaps the most effective argument against the Copperhead was that which made him ridiculous by exaggerating his defects and vices.

Also political was the work of Robert H. Newell, who occupied important editorial positions on several New York papers, but who won his chief fame by his sketches satirizing the small office-seeker who made life miserable for Lincoln and others. These pieces were signed "Orpheus C. Kerr," which the pun-lover may recognize as "orfice-seeker."

In the South, the tragedies of war were lightened by the letters to "Mr. Abe Linkhorn" by Bill Arp, which appeared in the *Southern Confederacy*, of Rome, Georgia. "Bill Arp" was the pen-name of Charles Henry Smith; he was later associated with several important southern publications, writing for them non-political sketches of southern rural character in dialect.

Charles B. Lewis, whose letters in the Detroit *Free Press* signed "M. Quad" extended over more than twenty years, dealt in social satire of the middle class American family, such as the Bowsers;

played with Negro comedy, as in the proceedings of the Lime Kiln Club; and parodied western newspaper extravagances. Somewhat similar was the satiric wit of James Montgomery Bailey, "the Danbury *News* man." Bailey made his Connecticut weekly famous, won for it a circulation of 30,000 by 1873, and made it a daily ten years later. Melville D. Landon (Eli Perkins), Charles Henry Webb (John Paul), and A. Miner Griswold, the "Fat Contributor" (whose copy and not whose person was fat), of various Cleveland, Cincinnati, and New York papers, were other newspaper wits of the time.

Mark M. ("Brick") Pomeroy gained a national reputation by his exaggerated political and social satires in the columns of his LaCrosse, Wisconsin *Democrat;* then he came east in 1868 and founded the New York *Daily Democrat* and the weekly *Pomeroy's Democrat.* These were strong party papers, enlivened by "Brick's" characteristic sketches, and the weekly gained a very large circulation.

Most of these men capitalized their newspaper popularity on the lecture platform and in books. They were the forerunners of the later columnists.

There were many short-lived papers devoted wholly to humor in this period. The best was *Vanity Fair* (1859-63), edited for a time by Artemus Ward. Intended as a revival of this was *Mrs. Grundy* (1865), but the new periodical soon followed the old into the thickly populated graveyard of the joke-papers. *Punchinello* (1870), financed by Tweed and his fellow rascals, made its best joke when it took its sponsors' money, lost it, and died laughing at them. These were all well-illustrated New York weeklies.

MONTHLY MAGAZINES

Harper's Monthly continued the most successful of the general magazines, but in 1870 a rival appeared in *Scribner's Monthly,* edited by Dr. Josiah G. Holland. Holland had made a journalistic success on the Springfield *Republican* and with his long poems in book form. *Scribner's Monthly* (which in 1881 became the *Century,* and is not to be confused with the later *Scribner's Magazine*) was, like *Harper's,* fully illustrated by woodcuts and crowded with interesting fiction and well-written articles.

Without pictures but on a higher literary level was the *Atlantic Monthly*, begun in Boston in 1857. James Russell Lowell was its first editor, and it was favored by the contributions of all the famous New England school—Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, and the rest. The *Galaxy* was set up in New York as a rival to the *Atlantic* in 1866; a dozen years later it was merged with the Boston magazine, which it had never really equalled in literary prestige.

Philadelphia—home of such women's magazines as *Godey's*, *Peterson's*, and *Arthur's*—produced in 1868 a high-class general monthly in *Lippincott's Magazine*, which continued, with varying fortunes, for nearly half a century.

Out in San Francisco, the *Overland Monthly* appeared, also in 1868, under the editorship of Bret Harte. In its second number was printed Harte's "The Luck of Roaring Camp," a story which made a great and immediate success, bringing fame to both author and magazine. Other stories by the editor were scarcely less popular, but when Harte deserted the *Overland* in 1870, it declined.[6] Another westerner of high quality was the *Lakeside Monthly* (1869-74), of Chicago.

Expansion and specialization were leading trends in periodical publication in the years immediately following the war. The number of periodicals (exclusive of newspapers) in 1865 was about 700; by the end of the period under consideration the number had approximately doubled. One observant weekly was fearful lest what it called "a mania of magazine starting" should "spend itself by every successful writer becoming possessed of a magazine of his own." [7] Religious papers showed a marked tendency to desert the general news field and become either denominational reporters or journals of opinion. Medical, legal, agricultural, educational, industrial, and trade journals flourished; and there were periodicals begun in the single year of 1868 for such diverse groups as the stamp collectors, the brewers, the spiritualists, the booksellers, the dentists, the railway men, the insurance men, the Odd Fellows, the Masons, communists, artists, and sportsmen.

[6] It was suspended 1876-82; as a more local magazine it persisted until 1935.
[7] *Round Table*, November 23, 1867 (Vol. VI, p. 337).

WESTERN EXPANSION

The biggest increases in numbers of newspapers were in such midwestern states as Iowa and Kansas; the normal increase for the period was about one third, but in these states the number nearly doubled. In the Pacific Northwest, too, papers were multiplying as towns were founded. Washington Territory had a dozen papers by 1870 and Oregon had thirty. The first paper in what is now Idaho was the *Golden Age*, founded at Lewiston in 1862. Idaho Territory was set up the next year; and the Boise *News* was established at Idaho City to serve the Boise Basin, which was being settled rapidly and was 300 miles from any other newspaper.

Eastward, the *Montana Post* was founded in 1864 as the first paper in that Territory. Begun in the cellar of a log cabin at the Virginia City gold camp on a press brought from St. Louis, it was moved to Helena four years later, soon to perish there as the result of a disastrous fire which had swept the city. Wyoming is the only state which can boast of a daily for its pioneer paper: Fort Bridger was the home of the *Daily Telegram* in 1863. Another fort in the next year was the seat of North Dakota's first paper—the *Frontier Scout*, of Fort Union.

COUNTRY WEEKLIES

A large proportion of the new midwestern and far western papers were, of course, weeklies. These were four-page papers with six to nine columns to the page, and had circulations usually less than 1,000. They published some local news and advertising, a considerable amount of miscellany, usually a column or two of political comment, and legal and patent-medicine notices. Nearly every village of 1,000 inhabitants had two such papers.

During the Civil War the device known as "patent insides" was employed for country papers. A Wisconsin publisher, A. N. Kellogg, of the Baraboo *Republic*, found his staff so depleted by war-time enlistments that he could not get out a full-sized paper; thereupon he ordered two pages made up from type set for the *Wisconsin State Journal* at Madison and printed with pages one and four left blank for his own type. This example was followed by other publishers, and soon the *Journal* had a flourishing business supplying these syndicated "insides," or in some cases "out-

sides," to understaffed country weeklies round about. Soon space was sold to advertisers who wished to reach the readers of all the papers on the syndicate list, thus reducing the price of the "patent insides." The war over, the economy of this device had so commended it to country publishers that the list continued to increase, competing syndicates were established, and by 1872 over 1,000 papers were supplied in this way. By this time the leading syndicate was the one set up in Chicago by Kellogg himself in 1865.[8] This type of syndication, often called "readyprints," was to develop even more widely in later years and to play an important part in the progress of the small-town weekly.

SUNDAY PAPERS

The eagerness with which readers watched for news during the Civil War stimulated the establishment of Sunday editions of the regular daily papers. There had been such editions in four cities before 1860, always sternly condemned by the sabbatarian associations; but during the war and after it the idea spread much more widely. Sunday editions gradually came to contain more miscellaneous reading than the daily issues, but they were commonly no larger than the week-day editions.

Meanwhile, the Sunday papers which were associated with no daily editions continued to flourish and multiply.

ADVERTISING

Newspaper advertising increased after the war. It is probable that the annual total for the early years of the seventies was $12,000,000 to $15,000,000.

The growing importance of news caused many of the better papers to reserve their front pages for their leading stories and remove all advertising to inside pages. Even the four-page New York *Sun* did this in 1862, though it went back to the old system later. The New York *Herald* also returned to front-page advertising in 1870, and thereafter filled pages one and two with paid matter.

[8] The first use of such a device is said to have been the syndication of President Tyler's message of 1841 by Moses Y. Beach, when he took the type of the New York *Sun* and printed supplements for New York and New England papers. The English publisher Cassell had printed syndicate pages for papers in the English "provinces" as early as 1850.

Thus the ban on first-page advertising could not be said to be general throughout the country.

Advertising agencies multiplied. George P. Rowell founded a small business in Boston in 1865, moved to New York and enlarged his field two years later, and eventually became the leading advertising agent of the country. He devised the method of the "advertising list," by which space in a large number of papers was offered to advertisers for a lump sum—as, for example, his famous offer of "an inch a month in 100 papers for $100." Like other agents, he bought his space low and sold it high, making twenty-five to seventy-five per cent commission. But he guaranteed payment, and thus won the confidence of publishers accustomed to large losses on collections. He published the first important paper for publishers, the *American Newspaper Reporter and Advertiser's Gazette* (1868-84), and, beginning in 1869, the first annual directory of newspapers and periodicals.

N. W. Ayer & Son was founded in 1869 by Francis Wayland Ayer, who named the business after his father. It soon gained a high standing in the field. Lord & Thomas was begun in 1872.

Rates varied greatly. A common rate among the larger dailies was twenty-five cents an agate line, but the New York *Herald's* regular rate for its most expensive page (the fifth) was $1 in 1871, and the *Sun* normally asked forty cents at that time. The more prosperous weeklies sometimes asked ten cents a line, though on contract rates were apt to be much lower. Agents often bought a column of space in a country weekly for a year at $25.

A three per cent tax was levied by the national government on newspaper advertising during the war. It went into effect August 1, 1862, and was repealed March 2, 1867. The complaints of publishers caused certain exemptions and allowances to be made in this tax from time to time, the most important of which was one of 1864 which relieved from this burden all papers whose average circulation did not exceed 2,000.

It was an age of patent-medicine advertising. Dr. H. T. Helmbold's Extract of Buchu, Drake's Plantation Bitters, S. T. 1869 X, and Radway's Ready Relief were familiar names to every newspaper reader. Cosmetics, baking powder, sewing machines, and pianos were also advertised nationally. The biggest single advertising campaign known up to that time was that of the govern-

ment war loans, placed by L. F. Shattuck, of Peaslee & Company, in all American newspapers. Shattuck also handled the Pacific Railroad bonds campaign.

Advertising writers often utilized current events to attract attention. Dr. Bellingham, who was taking much space to advertise his Stimulating Onguent for promoting the growth of the beards which had become suddenly popular at the beginning of the sixties, made much of the beard which President-Elect Lincoln was just then growing; and if he did not declare that Lincoln had used the famous Onguent, he at least inferred as much. A later advertisement apparently represents a collaboration between Dr. Bellingham and P. T. Barnum: it is a blatant testimonial by the bearded lady of Barnum's Museum. During the war there were many advertisements of this type:

BEAUREGARD'S RETREAT FROM CORINTH

It is currently reported that Beauregard's flight from Corinth was caused by a panic. A reliable gentleman informs us that a Secession picket captured a Union man wearing one of Knox's elegant Summer Hats. The rebels, on comparing it with their own dilapidated tiles, became completely demoralized and fled. They are to be had at No. 212 Broadway, corner of Fulton-street.[9]

TYPOGRAPHY

The tyranny of agate, which had never been so marked in the smaller cities and the western states as in the large eastern centers, began to relax its hold everywhere in the sixties. Even the New York *Herald*, sworn enemy of display, permitted lavish use of white space and even admitted cuts early in that decade. An advertisement of Van Amburgh's circus in 1863 contained separate pictures of fifteen wild animals. Trademarks and similar symbols were among the first advertising illustrations in this development. Macy's department store was using great primer capitals in the New York *Tribune* by 1865, and in the Chicago *Tribune* of that year nearly all advertising, except classified, contained display.

In the leading papers, all this was done in single-column measure until shortly before 1870; but at last Macy's and Lord & Taylor came out in double-column "ads" in the *Times* and the *Tribune*, and the old taboos seemed broken.

[9] New York *Times*, June 13, 1862.

Headlines on news stories, however, kept to single-column measure. Six to twelve decks were commonly used, according to the importance of the news; each deck consisted of one or two lines, the last of which might be "Etc., Etc., Etc." Often half a dozen different kinds of type were used in one head, with variations of roman, boldface, capitals, lower-case, and italics. Often the decks were separated but little, but some papers got better effects by the liberal use of white space.

ILLUSTRATION

The chief illustration in newspapers of the period consisted of the war maps. There were a few papers, like the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, which occasionally also printed woodcut portraits of generals and forts.

The first daily paper to use cartoons regularly was Bennett's New York *Evening Telegram*, though the *United States Telegraph*, of Washington, had campaigned against Jackson in 1832 with some small cartoons, accompanied by verses, by Peter Pindar, Jr. (Henry S. Ellenwood). The *Evening Telegram* was begun in 1867. It was a four-page pink sheet, with six wide columns, and sold for two cents. It specialized in Wall Street news, cable dispatches, crime stories, and features; and every Friday its front page was embellished by a big cartoon (sometimes by C. G. Bush) with a sketch, poem, or playlet to accompany it. The subject was usually a political situation or a personage prominent in the news.

Illustration had become common in the weeklies and monthlies. *Harper's Magazine* and *Scribner's Monthly* were filled with woodcuts. *Harper's Weekly*, all the Frank Leslie periodicals, and all the comics were lavishly illustrated. Steel plates still adorned the women's magazines, *Appleton's Journal*, and other magazines. Political cartoons appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, most of the comics, and the weekly *Day Book*.

PAGE SIZES; STEREOTYPING; PRESSES

Nearly all the old "blanket sheets" had disappeared by 1872.[10] The New York *Journal of Commerce* and Louisville *Courier-*

[10] See p. 294 for note on this page-size. For note on their disappearance, see *American Journalist*, July, 1873 (Vol. III, p. 298).

Journal kept the old size until the mid-seventies. The Boston *Daily Advertiser* had become a curiosity before it finally adopted a smaller page in 1881. The *American Journalist* said of the Toledo *Blade* in February, 1875: "The weather is too cold to read it in the apple orchard, and the paper is too large to unfold in any ordinary house in Ohio."

The breaking of column rules for the double-column cuts and advertisements was made possible by the introduction of stereotyped forms. The older Hoe type-revolving presses required the full-length column rules to hold the type on the curved surface of the cylinder; but when stereotyping was introduced, a solid plate produced from the type-form was itself curved to fit the cylinder, and variety in makeup was no longer limited by column rules.

Stereotyped plates had been used for many years in book printing before they were successfully applied to newspaper production. In 1861 R. Hoe & Company produced a newspaper press using stereotyped plates, and within a few years all the larger papers were using the process. Printing speed was greatly increased by the production of as many plates as the press equipment could employ from a single type form.

The next development in newspaper printing was the web-perfecting press. This machine printed both sides of the paper, which was fed into the press automatically from a reel unwinding a continuous sheet. Printing both sides from one feeding was called "perfecting," and the continuous sheet was known as the "web." The first press of this type was constructed by William Bullock for the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1863. R. Hoe & Company brought out a superior web-perfecting press eight years later.

PRICES AND PROCESSES OF PAPER

Prices of newsprint paper soared sky-high in the Civil War. In 1861 the prevailing price for good paper in large quantities in New York was seven and a half cents a pound, but war conditions of labor and lack of raw materials for the mills forced it up to twenty-two cents in 1863. Some papers had to pay as much as twenty-eight cents. The price varied during the latter years of

the war, and by 1874 was down to eight and a half cents.[11]

One factor in the decline of newsprint prices at the beginning of the seventies was the advent of mechanical wood pulp. Up to that time the only thoroughly satisfactory newsprint paper was made of rags, though there had been much experimentation with straw, bark, and wood. A pulp made of wood fibres chemically "digested" was developed in the fifties and sixties, but it was not until the cheaper method of mechanically separating the fibres by grinding was developed that wood seriously threatened rags as the raw material for printing-paper.

It was in Germany that Friedrich Gottlob Keller, examining a deserted wasp nest, noted that the insects had matted wood fibres into a coarse paper; and he thought that if wasps could make paper by chewing up vegetable fibres he could invent a machine for doing the same thing. Thence came his invention of a process of papermaking from wood fibres without chemicals. The Pagenstetcher brothers imported Keller machines in 1867 and made pulp successfully for Massachusetts papermills.

Wood pulp did not wholly supplant rags in newsprint immediately, however; less than half the content of the sheet furnished the pioneers in the use of wood-pulp paper was composed of wood fibres, and the remainder was rags. Thus, the New York *World* of June 22, 1870, announced that it was printed on paper made forty per cent of mechanical wood pulp and sixty per cent of rag. The *Staats-Zeitung* experimented with wood pulp in 1868, and the Brooklyn *Eagle* and Providence *Journal* in 1871. Not until the eighties did rag stock tend to disappear from standard newsprint.

CIRCULATIONS

Despite high paper costs and consequent increases in subscription and single-copy prices, circulations of daily papers in the United States mounted during the war and reconstruction periods. During the sixties, dailies increased about nineteen per cent in average circulation,[12] though weeklies kept about the same average.

The daily news was as much a necessity as food during the war. Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing in 1861 of the deprivations of everyday life, said:

[11] See table of New York *Tribune* prices, A. M. Lee, *Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 743.

[12] Census figures. The average circulation of the 574 dailies enumerated in 1870 was 4,532; in 1860, 387 dailies averaged 3,820.

Bread and the Newspaper—this is the new version of the *Panem et Circenses* of the Roman populace. . . . We must have something to eat and the newspapers to read. Everything else we can give up. . . . The newspaper is as imperious as a Russian Ukase; it will be had and it will be read. To this all else must give place.[13]

The phenomenal circulation of the period was that of the New York *Herald*. Beginning with 77,000 at the end of 1860, it skyrocketed to 107,520 on April 13, 1861, just after the firing on Fort Sumter. On Sunday, April 14, it sold 135,600 copies, which it boasted was "the largest issue of any daily paper that has ever been printed." By the end of that year it was claiming a daily circulation of 100,000.

The New York *Times* had in the meantime increased from 45,000 to 75,000. It was skeptical of the *Herald's* claims and in December, 1861, offered to put up $2,500 for the families of volunteer soldiers if an audit should not prove the *Herald's* daily sales less than those of the *Times*. "The practice of betting," replied Bennett drily, "is immoral; we cannot approve of it," and he continued his claims.

Other New York papers enjoyed increases only less than those of the *Herald* and *Times*. In Boston, the *Herald* of that city reached 90,000 for one of its issues in April, 1861; it averaged 65,000 in 1862. In Philadelphia, the *Inquirer* reached similar heights; and in Chicago, the *Tribune* attained an average circulation of 40,000.

After the war, however, the big circulations declined, reaching levels even below those of 1860 in the years 1867-68. The one exception was the New York *Daily News*, which, cutting its price to one cent, had tapped an immense tenement-house readership and shot up to 80,000.

There was a general recovery in circulations in the ensuing years, and Rowell's directory for 1872 lists both the *Daily News* and the *Sun* at 100,000, the New York *Herald* at 95,000, the Boston *Herald* at 100,000, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* at 81,000, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* at 55,000, and the New York *Times* at 50,000. Not half a dozen other papers in the country were credited with as much as 30,000.[14]

[13] *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1861 (Vol. VIII, p. 346).

[14] Meantime certain Paris and London newspapers had passed the New York leaders in circulation. *Le Petit Journal*, founded in 1863 at one sou (about one

Increases in the price of paper stock necessitated rises in subscription rates for virtually all papers in 1862. Some two-cent papers went to three cents and some to four cents. The New York *Times*, for example, raised its price to three cents in 1862, and to four in 1864. The *Evening Post*, and later the *World*, went to five cents, and the *Journal of Commerce* to six. The leading papers became stabilized at four cents after the war, though there were a number of three- and two-cent papers, and, as noted below, one penny paper.

The four-page penny papers also had to increase rates during the war. The Boston *Herald* went to two cents in 1862; and in 1864, when the other Boston papers rose to five cents, it went to three, but fell back to two the next year. The New York *Sun* tried to meet the crisis by reducing type- and page-sizes, but finally went to the two-cent level in August, 1864. The New York *Daily News* made its increase a year earlier, but it dropped to one cent after the end of the war. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* was sold to George W. Childs and the banking firm of Drexel & Company in December, 1864, and the new owners brought the price at once to two cents. At the beginning of 1865 the Baltimore *Sun* took similar action.

INCREASING NUMBERS OF NEWSPAPERS

American newspapers increased in number by one third in the decade of the sixties, so that there were about 4,500 of them by 1870.[15] Dailies multiplied more rapidly than weeklies, increasing fifty per cent in the decade. As a basis of comparison, it may be noted that in 1870 the United States had about three times as many newspapers as the United Kingdom,[16] and more than a

cent), soared within a few years to about a quarter of a million; though this was greatly reduced for a time by the national disaster in the Franco-Prussian War, the paper soon recovered and rose to greater heights. The London *Daily Telegraph*, first modern English penny (two-cent) paper, was founded in 1855, soon passed the *Times* in circulation, and by 1870 had about 175,000. Another London penny paper, the *Standard*, had 140,000 for its morning and evening editions together. The London *Echo*, first modern English halfpenny (one-cent) paper to succeed, was begun in 1868, and had about 80,000 circulation by 1871. London dailies and New York dailies were about equal in aggregate circulation at the end of the period (1872), at half a million for each city.

[15] These are census figures for daily, triweekly, semiweekly, and weekly publications, with deduction for class weeklies. Rowell's figures do not differ greatly.

[16] *Leisure Hour*, April 15, 1871 (Vol. XX, p. 234).

third of all the newspapers in the world.[17] An English writer explained the American phenomenon thus:

> America is the classic soil of newspapers; everybody is reading; literature is permeating everywhere; publicity is sought for every interest and every order; no political party, no religious sect, no theological school, no literary or benevolent association, is without its particular organ; there is a universality of print.[18]

THE PROFESSIONAL IDEA IN JOURNALISM

The professional phases of journalism, as distinguished from its commercial and mechanical elements, may be said to be: first, those which emphasize public service; and, second, those which relate to proficiency in writing and editing. The skill of a Franklin and the devotion to principle of a Bryant may be said to have been professional in kind; but as long as newspapers were produced chiefly by printers as adjuncts of printing establishments, the degree of professionalism was likely to be small. Certainly some printers—as Franklin himself, Thomas, Russell, Greeley—had attained a high level of professionalism; but the generalization remains tenable nevertheless.

By the midcentury, journalism had attracted such a number of men of high character and educational attainments as to command a more general respect for the calling than it had formerly enjoyed. Many came to look upon it as, in some of its phases at least, a profession. This attitude was strengthened in the period immediately after the Civil War. Writing of that period, Whitelaw Reid, Greeley's assistant and successor on the *Tribune*, could say:

> Our greatest newspapers are carried on rigorously upon the idea that journalism is a profession. . . . The preliminary education of the mass of journalists is much better now, I fancy, than that of the corresponding classes in the profession ten or twenty years ago. I know that on the *Tribune*, about which there has been a popular idea, once falsely attributed to its editor, that "of all horned cattle, he least liked to see a college graduate in his office," there is scarcely a writer who is not a college graduate; while, indeed, two thirds or more of its reporters are,

[17] Eugene Hatin, historian of French journalism, estimated the total number of newspapers in the world in 1870 at 12,500. James Grant, *The Newspaper Press* (London, 1871), Vol. II, p. 433.

[18] *British Quarterly Review*, January, 1871 (Vol. LIII, p. 4).

to use the vague phrase, men of liberal education. I presume the same thing is true of the other leading papers.[19]

The first gesture toward special college education for journalism was made in 1869 by General Robert E. Lee, who was at that time president of Washington College.[20] He offered fifty scholarships to boys who intended to enter journalism, and made arrangements for them to work out their tuition at the printing trade. But no special journalism courses were set up and no scholars appeared. General Lee died the next year; and education for journalism remained only an idea, laughed at by most observers.[21]

Editors on morning papers in New York received only $25 to $60 a week after the war, and those on evening papers somewhat less. Reporters were paid $15 to $30.[22] Writers in whatever field were ill paid.

Women became more important as newspaper workers. Mrs. Emily Verdery Bettey is said to have been the first woman to do general reporting on a New York paper; she began work on the *Sun* in 1868. Gail Hamilton for the *Tribune* and Grace Greenwood for the *Times* wrote famous Washington columns.

THE END OF AN ERA

The year 1872 seems to mark the end of an era. Bennett died in the summer of that year, and Greeley five months later. Raymond had died in 1869. Bryant, in partial retirement from editorial work, was translating Homer.

Perhaps even more significant than the passing of these great editors from the scene was the declaration which Greeley made in the *Tribune* shortly before his death: "Henceforth it shall be my endeavor to make this a thoroughly independent journal." Independence from party bonds had been making great advances. Greeley's declaration may be taken as marking the end of a long period dominated by great party newspapers.

[19] Wingate, *Views and Interviews*, p. 30.

[20] Later Washington and Lee University. Education for journalism was not actually established there until 1926.

[21] Two of the earliest journalism manuals were *Haney's Guide to Authorship* (Jesse Haney & Company, 1867), and *Hints to Young Editors* ("By an Editor," 1872).

[22] Maverick, *Raymond*, p. 325; Julius Wilcox in *Galaxy*, November, 1867 (Vol. VIII, p. 798).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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The Rise of the Independent Press 1872-1892

CHAPTER XXV

The Established Leaders of the New York Press

THE 1870's WERE A DECADE REMARKABLE FOR THE NUMERICAL increase in American publications. The number of newspapers almost doubled in these years, reaching about 7,000 in 1880. Population increased only thirty per cent in the same time; moreover, the decade's newspaper growth was gained in spite of the financial depression which retarded expansion in 1875-76.

The eighties showed only a slight slackening of the ratio of newspaper increase as compared to population growth, and by 1890 there were over 12,000 newspapers in the United States.[1]

The growth of the West, the economic improvement of the South, and the thorough popularization of the newspaper the country over contributed to this phenomenon. "Journalism is describing wider circles," said the *American Journalist* in 1872.[2] The American newspaper press became a great turgid flood, carrying over the whole land its popular education, its millions of words of information about matters important and trivial, its stimulation of commerce through advertising. The difficulty of following the main lines of development becomes greater as the complexity of the phenomena increases, and we must guard against over-simplification by means of those too easy generalizations which are the bane of historical study.

GROWTH OF INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM

One of the notable changes in the journalism of the times was its emergence from the domination of party. New papers

[1] The 1890 census gives only 12,652 daily, triweekly, semiweekly, and weekly publications; while Ayer's *American Newspaper Annual* lists the names of 16,152 in those classes. From these totals must be subtracted about one-fourth for class weeklies.

[2] *American Journalist*, July, 1872 (Vol. I, p. 120).

were generally independent of political control. By 1880 one-fourth of the newspapers were listed in the directories as "independent," "neutral," or merely "local"; and by 1890 the proportion had reached one-third.

A chief reason for this change was the shift in emphasis from editorial comment and preoccupation with affairs of government to wider fields of news and to more intimate human interests. This change in the news concept [3] took the newspapers away from the politicians and put them in the hands of reporters. Doubtless the widespread loosening of party bonds and relaxation of party loyalties contributed to newspaper "independence," though it is probable that the contribution was reciprocal—that is, the changing function of the newspaper, caused by the advent of the popular cheap press, probably did much to weaken the old party solidarity. After all, the partisan newspaper had been one of the leading means of keeping party members convinced and faithful.

Much was written during the period about independent journalism. Whitelaw Reid, Greeley's successor as editor of the New York *Tribune*, wrote shortly before his chief's death:

> Independent journalism! that is the watchword of the future in the profession. An end of concealments because it would hurt the party; an end of one-sided expositions . . . ; an end of assaults that are not believed fully just but must be made because the exigency of party warfare demands them; an end of slanders that are known to be slanders . . . of hesitation to print the news because it may hurt the party . . . of doctoring the reports of public opinion . . . of half truths . . . that is the end which to every perplexed, conscientious journalist a new and beneficent Declaration of Independence affords.[4]

This says nothing about neutrality, or about "bolting" the party nominations. Reid believed in freedom to "bolt," but he did not use that freedom. What Reid and many others who advocated journalistic "independence" meant was such freedom from party discipline as would allow them to criticize policies and leaders from within.

For such editors, "bolting" was always a possibility. But those who actually did "bolt" came immediately into another category.

[3] See p. 384. However, government and politics continued to occupy a larger proportion of space than any other classification.

[4] *Scribner's Monthly*, June, 1872 (Vol. IV, p. 204).

A name of contempt once common in New England was applied to them by the Indianapolis *Sentinel* in 1872; it called them "mugwumps," and the name was later picked up and popularized by Dana in the New York *Sun*. They were deserters—unfaithful, unreasonable, and never again to be depended upon. But Dana himself at length became a mugwump; one could never tell which way his famous office cat was going to jump.

In 1872 a number of important Republican papers refused to support Grant for reëlection. These papers were for the most part back in the fold, however, in 1876 and 1880.[5] But when it came to the Cleveland-Blaine campaign of 1884, a greater mugwump movement than any before known took place among Republican papers. The "bolt" of Blaine was led by such papers as the New York *Times* and *Evening Post*, the Philadelphia *Times* and *Record*, the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, *Transcript*, and *Herald*, the Springfield *Republican*, the Brooklyn *Union*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *Nation*, and the *Independent*. This revolt proved to be epochal: never again was rejection of the party's candidate quite so hard for any paper, no matter how closely identified it had been with the organization.

No doubt contempt for the party yoke was helped along by the growing realization that the most successful papers—those belonging to the New Journalism—were, in the main, papers which flouted partisan control. Horace White went so far as to say that "business prosperity has increased with all papers in the proportion that they have maintained their independence and their freedom." [6] White and many of his fellow editors believed

[5] As had happened many times before (see pp. 121 and 254) the candidate supported by a majority of the newspapers received a minority of the popular vote in 1876; Hayes, supported by virtually all Republican papers, was that candidate. He was chosen President by the Electoral College, however, amid cries of fraud. In 1880 Garfield, with very similar support, also received a minority of the popular vote, but had a slight edge over the candidate of the other major party. In Cleveland's three candidacies he seems to have had the support of a slight majority of the papers, and was twice successful. In 1888, Harrison received a smaller popular vote than his opponent Cleveland, but had a comfortable margin in the electoral college. Figures of newspaper support of candidates are lacking; and as the number of independent papers increased, estimates become more different. But see the well-informed chapter, "The Republican Party Press" by Charles M. Harvey in Francis Curtis, *The Republican Party—A History* (New York, 1904).

[6] Quoted from the Chicago *Tribune* in Wingate, *Views and Interviews*, p. 81. See a similar observation in *Westminster Review*, October, 1887 (Vol. CXXVIII, p. 856).

that readers did not like to be bludgeoned into one political camp or another. Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*, saw a new public in "the free-thinking, independent voters who find their leadership and their expression through the daily and weekly journals." The press, he thought, was "the voice rather than the creator of public opinion," and "the test of a true journalist" was "the capacity to see quickly and to express correctly the tendencies of public opinion." [7]

Yet we must not get a false idea of political independence in this period. A majority of the papers were under party discipline. Moreover, many editors who talked loudly and long about independence were always found toeing the line on partisan issues. And certainly the worst sin of the old party papers—coloring and shaping the news to support partisan attitudes—was very widely practised in the seventies and eighties.[8]

CRUSADES

The old traditional battling for the party was supplanted in some instances by the emphasis of the New Journalism on crusades to correct local abuses and to promote certain phases of social welfare. To be sure, such efforts had not been unknown in the past; and the New York *Times*' battle against the Tweed Ring, the Chicago *Tribune's* fight against the local ice monopoly, and *Leslie's* war against contaminated milk in New York had been outstanding. But crusades now assumed a novel prominence and importance. The fresh-air fund which the New York *Tribune* began to promote in 1881; the New York *World's* campaign to build a pedestal for the Statue of Liberty, its free-ice and free-medical-service funds, and its attacks on monopolies and boodlers; similar crusades by the New York *Herald;* the Kansas City *Star's* community improvement programs; the efforts of the Pittsburgh *Press* directed toward social work among the youth; the Chicago *Daily News'* fresh-air sanitarium; the San Francisco *Chronicle's* community projects, and the eleemosynary activities of the *Examiner* in the same city—these represent only a few of the many extra-political crusades of the eighties and early nineties.

[7] Wingate, *Views and Interviews*, pp. 44-45.

[8] For criticism of this practice see *Nation*, August 12, 1880 (Vol. XXXI, pp. 107-08) and *North American Review*, August 1885 (Vol. CXLI, p. 149).

The more political crusades against municipal misgovernment were, in the main, independent; they tended to replace the old partisan activities. City "rings" and "gangs" were in control after the Civil War as never before, and papers often led reform movements against them. The assault on the Tweed Ring, the Philadelphia *Times*' fight on the boodlers of its city, and the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat's* campaign against the Whiskey Ring were leading episodes of the seventies. When Pulitzer brought to New York the technique of multiple crusades against local abuses, he was repeating a phase of journalism practised by himself in St. Louis and by Scripps papers in Cincinnati and Cleveland.

The leading event in the history of New York journalism during the two decades 1872-92 was Pulitzer's invasion of the field when he purchased the *World* midway of the period and affected circulations, prices, and news and editorial policies of the other papers. The practices thus introduced soon came to be called the New Journalism. The Pulitzer phenomenon must be kept in mind; but it is necessary for a clear understanding first to review the careers in this period of such other New York papers as the *Herald, Sun, Tribune, Evening Post,* and *Times.*

THE NEW YORK HERALD IN THE SEVENTIES

James Gordon Bennett, Jr., succeeded to the management of the New York *Herald* upon his father's death. Spoiled and erratic though he was, and living abroad much of the time, his paper did not lose ground in the face of the advances made by Dana's *Sun* in the seventies; and not until Pulitzer came to town was the *Herald* robbed of its own peculiar leadership. A clear-eyed observer of the journalistic scene wrote in the eighties:

> For a whole generation, previous to 1883, the *Herald* had no successful rival in the collection and publication of the news. It spent money as no other newspaper ever dreamed of doing before. . . . At home it employed more reporters and correspondents than did any of its contemporaries, and paid them better; and its cable dispatches filled pages, while those of other New York newspapers filled columns. It was proverbial, not only in the United States but in Europe, that whatever else might be said of the New York *Herald,* it printed *all* the news: that was not then said of any other New York newspaper.[9]

[9] *Westminster Review,* October, 1887 (Vol. CXXVIII, pp. 855-56).

STANLEY AND LIVINGSTONE

Moreover, the *Herald* under the younger Bennett was very successful with spectacular "stunts." "I *make* news," declared Bennett. First and greatest of these achievements was the famous expedition of Henry M. Stanley to the heart of Africa to find Livingstone.

Stanley, whose original name was John Rowlands, was an English foundling who had run away to sea, and had been eventually befriended by a rich New Orleans merchant. When his benefactor died, young Rowlands took his name, Henry Morton Stanley. After a varied experience in the Civil War, during which he wrote his first newspaper correspondence, Stanley adventured in the West, and later in Asia Minor; then, returning to the United States, he covered the Indian wars in the Northwest for the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* at $15 a week and expenses. Supported by this journalistic record, he persuaded Bennett to make him a war correspondent for the *Herald* to accompany General Napier's expedition against King Theodore of Abyssinia in 1868, provided he paid his own expenses. On this, his first major assignment, Stanley did distinguished work which earned him the respect of his fellow writers and a regular berth on the *Herald* as roving foreign correspondent.

Meantime David Livingstone, missionary and explorer, whose reports of his travels in "darkest Africa" had for many years interested readers throughout Europe and America, had disappeared. He had set out to find the sources of the Nile and Congo Rivers; but for three years there had been no direct word from him. Rumors sometimes came to the coast towns that he was alive and in want. Here was a mystery which interested the whole civilized world; and in it the younger Bennett, who had taken over the management of the *Herald* on his father's retirement a few years before, saw a great journalistic opportunity. He summoned Stanley to meet him in Paris. The correspondent's diary tells the story of the interview:

> Mr. Bennett asked me, "Where do you think Livingstone is?"
> "I really do not know, sir."
> "Do you think he is alive?"
> "He may be, and he may not be!" I answered.

"Well, I think he is alive, and that he can be found, and I am going to send you to find him."

"What!" said I. "Do you really think I can find Dr. Livingstone? Do you mean for me to go to Central Africa?"

"Yes, I mean that you shall go and find him wherever you may hear that he is, and to get what news you can of him, and perhaps"—delivering himself thoughtfully and deliberately—"the old man may be in want: take enough with you to help him should he require it. Of course you will act according to your own plans, and do what you think best—*but find Livingstone!* [10]

The Royal Geographical Society of England, which had sponsored Livingstone's explorations, did not have enough money to send an expedition to find him. Bennett, however, with characteristic *Herald* prodigality when determined upon a great news coup, authorized Stanley to draw upon the paper, $5,000 at a time, for as much as he needed; "*but*," said the publisher, "*find Livingstone!*"

The interview with Bennett took place in the fall of 1869; it was December, 1871, before Stanley, after many difficulties, had outfitted in Zanzibar an expedition consisting of three white men, thirty armed natives, and 150 pack animals. Six months were required to traverse the swamps of equatorial Africa; the ravages of fever and a war with a native chief caused the loss of one of the white men, most of the natives, and nearly all the pack animals. The reorganized expedition went on toward the lake region for two or three months more before Stanley heard from friendly blacks of a white man who was said to be ill in the village of Ujiji on Lake Tanganyiki.

The story of the meeting of Stanley and Livingstone in a barbaric, tropical land until then unknown to white men soon became familiar to newspaper readers the world over. The natives sensed drama in the occasion, and there was wild singing and beating of drums as Stanley strode toward the emaciated figure of the aged missionary:

Doffing my helmet, I bowed and said in an inquiring tone, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"

Smiling cordially, he lifted his cap, and answered briefly, "Yes."

[10] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, p. xvii.

These words of greeting, perfectly banal as they were, were everywhere seized upon as the climax of one of the great adventure stories of that generation and became familiar catch-phrases: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" "Yes."

This *Herald* exploit was indeed not only one of the chief newspaper feats of the seventies, but a leading hero-tale in the history of journalism. Stanley covered later events in Africa, and on Livingstone's death two years later, took up the unfinished work of exploration in central Africa under the joint auspices of the *Herald* and the London *Daily Telegraph*. He crossed the continent east to west, traced the Congo River from mouth to source, and organized Congo Free State.

THE YOUNGER BENNETT AND HIS PAPER

Africa was not the only field of exploration reached by *Herald* representatives. The DeLong expedition to seek the North Pole was, however, unfortunate, the crew perishing in the summer of 1881, when their ship was sunk by collisions with ice. Experiments in balloon navigation and archaeological projects were also sponsored by the *Herald*.

An even more adventurous correspondent than Stanley was Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, reporter of European and Asiatic wars for the *Herald* from 1871 to 1876. An extraordinary performance was MacGahan's horseback journey through central Asian deserts to overtake the Russian military column which was marching against Khiva. In this exploit he defied the commands of the Czar and of the general in charge, and escaped the Cossacks on the one hand and the Turcomans on the other. He was the only correspondent present at the capture of the city, and eventually made friends with the Russian officers. MacGahan's greatest achievement was the series of letters on Bulgarian atrocities which provoked the Russo-Turkish War, but this work was done for an English paper.

One of the *Herald's* most spectacular "stunts" was what came to be known as "the wild animal hoax." Monday morning, November 9, 1874, the entire front page of the *Herald* was occupied by a detailed story of the escape of all the wild animals from the Central Park zoo, "awful combats between the beasts and the citizens," "terrible scenes of mutilation," and "a shocking Sabbath

carnival of death"—to quote some of the headline phrases. The carnage committed by the lions, leopards, tigers, jaguars, elephants, anacondas, and all the beasts of the jungle was recounted with a bloody realism which threw the city into a panic. The heroic conduct of Governor Dix in shooting a Bengal tiger in the streets did not reassure the hysterical New Yorkers, many of whom barricaded their doors after they had read the story, while others armed themselves and went out looking for some big-game hunting on their own front stoops. Of course, the few who were patient enough to read to the very end of the long, small-type story were relieved to find this statement:

> The entire story given above is a pure fabrication. Not one word of it is true. . . . It is simply a fancy picture which crowded upon the mind of the writer a few days ago while he was gazing through the iron bars of the cages of the wild animals in the menagerie at Central Park. . . : How is New York prepared to meet such a catastrophe? How easily could it occur any day of the week? . . .

James Gordon Bennett, Jr., though much of the time an absentee editor, never relinquished his control. He was brilliant and alert, and often daring. At the same time he was an insolent egotist, a tyrannical employer, self-indulgent, and vain. Though he inherited one of the world's greatest newspapers and ruled over it for half a century, he left little impress on journalism. The idea of the large-scale expedition sponsored by a wealthy newspaper was his only contribution. He was contemptuous of men, and often hired and fired by whimsy. He frequently summoned members of his staff to Paris for conference; and when the editor in charge once complained that one of the men thus sent for was "indispensable," Bennett cabled for a list of the men on his staff who were considered to be equally important. He then discharged them all, saying, "I will have no indispensable men in my employ." [11] He liked champagne, but two glasses of it would make him tipsy; and many are the stories told of the younger Bennett in his cups. Once during a drinking spell he felt an upsurge of his father's old anti-Catholicism and ordered his secretary to write an editorial attacking the Catholic Church. His orders were obeyed; he was delighted with his secretary's effort, which bore the head-

[11] This incident and the one following are vouched for in Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts*, pp. 243, 231.

ing, "To Hell with the Pope"; and, aware even in his exhilaration that pieces written under such circumstances in the past had not been cabled according to order, he himself drove to the cable office and dispatched it. However, the watchful secretary was able to issue a countermand, for which Bennett was thankful when he recovered.

The circulation of the *Herald* through the seventies sometimes ran up to 150,000 when stimulated by events of great interest. It was normally about 100,000 for a few years after 1873, and when the price per copy was lowered from four to three cents in 1876 it rose to considerably above that mark, surpassing the circulation of the two-cent *Sun*. But when the *Herald* came to fight the Pulitzer menace in 1883, it dropped to two cents itself, without gaining circulation proportionately. The highest point it reached was 190,500 in 1885, while Pulitzer's *World* passed that the next year and then went on to much greater heights.

When the *Herald* made its reductions in price per copy in the mid-seventies, newsdealers complained bitterly of a disproportionate cut in their own margin of profit; but Bennett forced them to accept his rate. Then when the drop to two cents came in 1883, and dealers got only a third of a cent in comparison with over half a cent on the other two-cent papers, there was organized resistance, with gigantic parades and mass-meetings against Bennett and the *Herald*. How much aid the *World* gave to these demonstrations would be hard to tell, but it certainly gave the news of them a good "play." Bennett cabled orders to defy the dealers and to set up 500 news-stands for the *Herald* alone, and this was done; but the paper got little benefit from its lowered rate until it quietly met the demands of the dealers in the summer of 1884.

When it cut its price in 1883 to meet that of the *World*, the *Herald* raised its advertising rates. For a generation it had enjoyed the heaviest advertising business of any American paper—probably the heaviest in the world. Moreover, Bennett stuck to agate type and single-column measure long after the *World* and other papers had abandoned those old rules and conventions. Consequently the *World* soared far above the *Herald* in advertising as well as circulation by 1886. Only in "classified" announcements did the *Herald* hold its leadership.

Editorially the paper had little influence, though its editorial writers were usually men of ability. Thoroughly "mugwump," Bennett won the reputation, deserved or not, of supporting the candidates whom he believed to have the best chance of winning.

It has been estimated that the younger Bennett drew $30,000,000 from the *Herald* and spent it during his lifetime.[12] The paper was losing money, however, when he died in 1918.

DANA AND THE SUN

The New York *Sun* sold 220,000 copies on November 8, 1876, in the heat of the Hayes-Tilden election dispute. This, it claimed, was a single-day sale "never before equaled or approached" by any American newspaper. During the preceding summer it had reached a daily average of 132,000, but in 1877 it fell off badly; the *Herald*, with a lowered price, got ahead of it for a year or two, and then, at the beginning of the eighties, the two papers, with circulations ranging from 130,000 to 150,000, ran a close race.[13] This was the highest point Dana's *Sun* ever reached in regular circulation. It suffered from the competition of Pulitzer's *World;* in the latter eighties it dropped to 80,000, which was the figure it continued to quote for several years. The change from its traditional four large pages to eight smaller ones in 1887 did not help circulation.

The *Sun* continued to be the clever, well-written "newspaperman's newspaper." The literary form of its presentation of news has perhaps never been surpassed by a great daily paper, though there was much which was distinctly sensational. Two great journalists directed the news side of the paper for many years—Chester S. Lord, managing editor 1880-1913; and Selah M. Clarke, night city editor 1881-1912. "Boss" Clarke, as he was affectionately called by his reporters, came to be recognized as one of the best teachers of newspaper work in the profession. Julian Ralph and Arthur Brisbane, both ace reporters, were his pupils. The good influence of Clarke and Lord on journalistic writing can scarcely be exaggerated; it spread far beyond the limits of the *Sun*'s own big city-room (a novelty in the days of "private offices") among

[12] Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts*, p. 377.

[13] The New York *Daily News*, a penny paper, also was in that range in these years.

admirers of the paper everywhere. Incidentally, a number of two-cent imitators of the *Sun's* condensed, light, often sensational style sprang up in New York in the early eighties, only to perish.

The *Sun*, like the *Herald*, was quite independent of partisan control during these years. Nor was its course any more consistent. Dana's prejudices and animosities gave a high color to the *Sun's* editorial course, and doubtless color and brilliance were what he sought. An ardent supporter of Tilden, he followed Hayes throughout his administration with almost daily repetition of such epithets as "His Fraudulency Mr. Hayes" and "the fraudulent executive." In 1880 he gave General Hancock, the Democratic candidate, the same kind of cynical support he had given Greeley eight years before: "he is a good man, weighing 240 pounds," wrote Dana. The *bon mot* was more damaging than open opposition. Again he was cynical in 1884, when he supported the egregious Butler, who got only 3,500 votes in New York City, against both Cleveland and Blaine; his support of Butler was essentially antagonism to Cleveland, as was Butler's whole candidacy. Dana, however, was for Cleveland in 1888, but swung round to oppose him once more in 1892. Championship of protection, opposition to Tammany, an Americanism that bordered on jingoism, opposition to strikes, and in general an alignment with business interests characterized the editorial page of the *Sun*.

WHITELAW REID AND THE TRIBUNE

The New York *Tribune* emerged from the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872 wounded and reeling. Its famous editor had suffered grievously in mind and heart, and died before the end of the year. The many readers to whom Greeley was the *Tribune* did not expect the paper to survive; hence the familiar story of the upstate farmer who, upon hearing the *Tribune* mentioned a year or two later, exclaimed: "The *Tribune*? Why, does it still print? I thought Greeley was dead!" There was reason for this impression: the circulation of the *Weekly Tribune* dropped off more than half, while the daily descended to 40,000 and was destined to lose still more before it struck an upward curve that carried it to 75,000 at the end of our period in 1892.

The *Tribune* was owned by a stock company, and there was a lively dispute over who should be Greeley's successor as editor.

The whole country was interested, and other papers commented freely. A strong political and financial faction wished to install Schuyler Colfax, who had been vice-president in Grant's first term and had newspaper backgrounds. But this would have meant a reversal of the paper's political position; and the protests grew so strong that Whitelaw Reid, who had been associate editor, was finally allowed an option on a majority of the stock. In raising the money, Reid called upon Jay Gould; though Gould probably never had any direct influence on *Tribune* policies, the paper's enemies thereafter took advantage of his connection to link it with sinister finance.

Whitelaw Reid was thirty-six years of age in 1873, when he gained control of the *Tribune*. A graduate of Miami University, he had been part owner of an Ohio weekly and later city editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. During the Civil War he made a great success as a "special" in the field, and later as a Washington correspondent, under the pen-name of "Agate." Greeley brought him to the *Tribune* as chief editorial writer (then commonly called "first writing editor") in 1868, and he was virtually John Russell Young's successor as managing editor the next year. A scholarly, thoughtful man (the *Times* called him "Professor"), Reid commanded the respect of his generation for his good taste and high-mindedness. Though he never shrank from controversy, he did not indulge in vituperation. He was naturally a conservative, and more and more as the years passed he was found aligned with the wealth, the culture, and the conservatism of financial and political leaders. His wife was an heiress. He was a strong protectionist, a "sound money" man, an opponent of labor-unionism. During the great railway strike of 1877, the *Tribune* declared that "authority ought not to rest until it has swept down every resisting mob with grape-shot," and that labor violence must be subdued "though it cost a thousand bloody corpses." [14] A strike of printers against the *Tribune* began in 1877 and lasted for fifteen years; in 1884 the fight of the union against the *Tribune* became so bitter as to swing the New York labor vote against Blaine, the *Tribune*'s candidate, and perhaps to play a decisive part in his defeat.[15] The paper's shop was finally unionized in 1892.

[14] New York *Tribune*, July 31, 1877; August 9, 1877.

[15] The result was close in New York state, and New York's vote was decisive in the electoral college. The Typographical Union always claimed the credit for

Though Reid continued his paper's strong opposition to the Republican administration throughout Grant's incumbency, the *Tribune* was back in the party fold in 1876, supporting Hayes and fighting Tilden. One of its greatest coups of the seventies was the securing of the letters written in cipher by Tilden managers to their southern agents in which they planned, apparently, to buy the contested election. Decoded through the cleverness of *Tribune* men, and shrewdly used in news and editorial columns, these letters blasted the hopes of a Tilden recovery.

The *Tribune's* waving of the "bloody shirt" of sectionalism in connection with its support of Garfield in the 1880 campaign was scarcely consistent with the paper's tradition, nor was its championship of Blaine quite in line with its former attacks on the scandals of Grant's administration. But the *Tribune* had by this time become the leading newspaper organ of the Republican party.[16] Reid was high in the councils of the leaders, and himself a political manager. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him minister to France, and for the next three years he was, like Bennett and Pulitzer, an absentee editor. When he returned to the United States in 1892, it was only to plunge more deeply into politics, for he was the vice-presidential candidate of the unfortunate Republicans that year. Meanwhile Donald Nicholson and an able staff carried on the work of the *Tribune*.

Much of the *Tribune* personnel Reid inherited from his old chief, but as changes occurred he added many college men and writers of attainment and cultivation. John Hay, who had been one of Lincoln's private secretaries and was later to be McKinley's Secretary of State, a poet and essayist of ability, was for a time his assistant editorial writer. John R. G. Hassard, a writer of charm and a critic of the arts, was managing editor until a failure of health in the early eighties caused him to retire in favor of Nicholson. William Winter, another writer of real literary distinction, was dramatic critic. Julius Chambers, a Cornell graduate, was a great *Tribune* reporter at home and abroad until he became managing editor of the *Herald* in 1886. George W. Smalley remained

defeating Blaine. A paper called the *Boycotter* was published 1883-86 to attack the *Tribune*; it was later the *Union Printer*. Attempts to persuade advertisers to blacklist the *Tribune* were made without much success.

[16] The New York *Press*, a one-cent morning paper, contested Republican leadership in New York in the early nineties. See footnote, p. 448.

in charge of the London bureau, becoming very much anglicized. "Nelly" Hutchinson was one of the best of feature editors during her service on the Sunday *Tribune* in the eighties and nineties.

In a period in which sensational journalism played an important part, the *Tribune* was not always high-brow. It did not shut its eyes to murder trials, disasters, or scandals. Its intellectual plane, however, was definitely higher than that of most of its competitors. Reid once indicated his ideal of journalism as a Macaulay covering a news-beat.[17] In this connection there is significance in the fact that an *Index* to the paper was issued from 1876 to 1907, the first of modern newspaper indexes. "No one can deny," said the *Nation*, "that since the war the *Tribune* has done a great deal to elevate the general tone of the press." [18] And William Cullen Bryant complained that the course of the *Tribune* had caused the *Evening Post* to lose "the distinction of being the only paper for gentlemen and scholars." [19]

One of the features of the *Tribune* in this period was the publication of "extras" containing a lecture, a novel, or a speech. Scientific work by Agassiz, Tyndall, and Huxley was published in that way. A *Tribune* "extra" sold for ten to twenty cents according to size. Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd* required sixteen newspaper pages and was priced at twenty cents. The *Tribune Monthly* (1889-92) included the "extras" of those years.

BRYANT TO GODKIN ON THE EVENING POST

The *Evening Post* remained one of the most distinguished papers in America. William Cullen Bryant, its venerable editor, was a chief citizen whom New York delighted to honor. He presided at important civic meetings; and the erect figure of the aged editor-poet, his noble features, and flowing white beard marked a character respected by his fellow-citizens and all Americans. But Bryant went into semiretirement in 1870 to pursue a project, long entertained, of translating Homer. For the conduct of the *Evening Post* he then relied much upon his son-in-law and associate

[17] Whitelaw Reid, *Some Newspaper Tendencies: An Address Delivered Before the Editorial Associations of New York and Ohio* (New York, 1897), p. 40.
[18] *Nation*, June 26, 1879 (Vol. XXVIII, p. 432).
[19] Cortissoz, *Whitelaw Reid*, Vol. I, p. 305.

editor, Parke Godwin, and a series of brilliant managing editors.[20] One of the special interests of the paper during these years was the improvement of housing by the introduction of modern apartment buildings, or "flat houses" as they were called. Literary matters, always important in the *Post*, were under the care successively of John R. Thompson and George Cary Eggleston.

Politically Bryant still maintained a considerable degree of independence, though he never failed to support the Republican candidate for President from the foundation of the party until his own death. In the 1876 campaign he was probably led to oppose the Democratic Tilden, with whom he had many ties and whom he had supported as Governor, by the persuasion of the business manager of the paper; yet it would doubtless be wrong to say that business interests controlled the decision.

Bryant died in 1878. He had been editor-in-chief of the *Evening Post* for forty-nine years lacking one month, but he had been in virtual control of the paper for more than a half century. He had been a great editor, clear-sighted and lucid in comment, fundamentally liberal in thought, whose dignity and good taste often "made him a power for sanity in a scurrilous generation." [21]

Godwin now became editor-in-chief of the paper. An idealist and an able writer, Godwin was embarrassed by his apparently well-founded mistrust of Isaac Henderson, business manager, who owned half the stock in the paper. It was this situation that brought about the sale of the *Evening Post* in 1881 to Henry Villard.

Villard, the immigrant boy who had become a successful "special" during the Civil War, had made millions during the seventies by building railroads in the Northwest. He now purchased both the *Post* and the *Nation*, making the latter the weekly edition of the former. Villard had married the only daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, the famous abolitionist editor; and Mrs. Villard's brother, Wendell Phillips Garrison, was literary editor of the *Nation* and now assumed that place on the *Evening Post*. Villard,

[20] In the seventies the following men, all writers and scholars of ability, were managing editors of the *Evening Post*: Charles Nordhoff, Charlton T. Lewis, Arthur G. Sedgwick, and Sidney Howard Gay.

[21] V. L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860* (Vol. II of *Main Currents in American Thought*, New York, 1937), p. 239. See, *loc. cit.*, "William Cullen Bryant, Puritan Liberal," pp. 238-46.

wishing to separate the financial control wholly from the editorship, placed his ownership in the hands of trustees who were bound to refrain from interference with editorial policy.

For editor-in-chief in the new organization Villard chose Carl Schurz, whose journalistic-revolutionary activities had caused him to flee from Germany a few years before Villard himself left that country. Schurz, by his powers as an orator, his services as a general in the Civil War, his editorship of the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis, and his position as Secretary of the Interior in Hayes' cabinet, had become the leading German-American of the country. With him in editorial control were placed Edwin Lawrence Godkin and Horace White. Godkin came to the *Evening Post* with the *Nation;* on the latter paper he had won a high reputation as an independent commentator on political and social affairs. White, a business associate of Villard, had been editor of the Chicago *Tribune* for several years, and had given that paper a reputation for independent liberalism unknown upon it before or since.

This triumvirate of great editors was foredoomed, however. There were sure to be disagreements among such independent minds. The break came after two years, over a discussion of the telegraphers' strike, in which Schurz thought Godkin was too extreme in his opposition to the labor cause. Schurz thereupon retired, and Godkin became editor-in-chief, with White as associate editor.

In spite of his opposition to strikes, Godkin was what might be called a moderate liberal. He was a disciple of the *laissez-faire* system. His opposition to tariffs, to jingoism, to the spoils system, and to Tammany and all its works was fundamental and consistent. The pungency and tartness of his style, his never-failing conviction of his own rightness, and his prevailingly critical attitude became the *Evening Post's* recognized characteristics. An opponent once said Godkin approved of nothing since the birth of Christ.

Two of the leading features of the Godkin editorship in the eighties and nineties were a strong support of Cleveland and a great fight against Tammany. The *Evening Post's* championship of Cleveland in opposition to Blaine placed it finally in the mugwump column. Its fight on Blaine was almost a crusade. In "deadly parallel" columns it showed what it called the "ten lies" of Blaine,

and fastened upon him the reproach of corrupt railroad bargains which defeated him. But Cleveland was a statesman after Godkin's own heart, and he always had the support of the *Evening Post* except in connection with the Venezuelan incident in 1895-96.

The *Post's* long war on Tammany reached its climax in the early nineties. In connection with it, Godkin developed the "Voter's Directory" technique—a compilation of biographical sketches of the candidates. Before the municipal election of 1890, the paper published not less than nine columns of such sketches, embodying all the rascality not only of the candidates but also of the campaign organization of Tammany. Racy in style, ruthless in exposure, this was in itself a remarkable document. Libel suits resulted, and Godkin was persecuted with repeated arrests. The rogues were strongly intrenched; and it was not until the exposures of protected vice by the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst had awakened the city's conscience and a legislative investigation had been obtained, that the *Evening Post's* efforts at last bore fruit in the election of a reform mayor in 1894.

Meantime the paper's news enterprise scarcely kept pace with its editorial initiative. It changed from its traditional four large pages to six and then eight smaller pages, and its price came down to three cents; but many cheaper contemporaries were offering much more. Its literary reviews were unexcelled, and it was free of morbid sensationalism. Its circulation in the seventies fell below 10,000 about as often as it rose above that figure; and though it went up in the eighties, it was not much above 20,000 at the end of this period. But it had a faithful following, and it consistently made a small profit.

GEORGE JONES AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

The history of the New York *Times* from the death of Raymond in 1869 to its purchase by Ochs in 1896 is the story of the decline of a powerful and profitable newspaper. During most of this time it was under the control of George Jones, one of the original founders. Jones had the largest holding of stock; threatened with loss of control in 1876, he purchased a majority ownership, and when he died in 1891 he owned nearly the whole paper. Circulation varied between 45,000 and 30,000.

Throughout most of the seventies the profits were large—often

100 per cent on the capital investment. The successful attack on the Tweed Ring had given the paper prestige. In 1876, the *Times* played a decisive part in the early stages of the electoral dispute. In 1881 it took the lead in exposing the Star Route frauds in the Postoffice Department—a great public service—and ten years later it conducted a successful single-handed crusade to clean up abuses in the conduct of the New York Life Insurance Company.

But the *Times* was comparatively free from sensation, and when Pulitzer bought the *World* and began turning New York journalism upside down, it was rather out of the picture. It cut its price in 1883 from four to two cents, without increasing its circulation more than twenty per cent. Next year came another presidential campaign; and the *Times*, which had been growing more independent, left the Republican party and whatever there was of value in party support for the rôle of a mugwump. But probably the true reasons for the rapid decline of the paper in the later eighties and early nineties were not political. It was growing too old-fashioned. It was still an eight-page paper, carried no pictures, had very modest heads, and was dropping behind in advertising. In addition it had erected too expensive a building.

George Jones, owner and manager, never called himself editor of his paper. Editors in the seventies were Louis J. Jennings and John Foord. In 1883 Charles R. Miller, a graduate of Dartmouth and the Springfield *Republican*, came to the editorial chair. He was a man of culture and varied interests, but he was not adapted to the New Journalism which had just come to town. After Jones's death, with the paper facing losses and the heirs threatening to sell it "down the river," Miller organized a group of his associates on the *Times* and friends outside, with himself as president, and bought the property, without its fine new building, for $950,000. Then came the panic of 1893, and the famous paper seemed to be tottering on its last legs when Ochs appeared on the scene to work a miracle.

*

CHAPTER XXVI

Joseph Pulitzer and the New Journalism

THE MAN WHO WAS TO OVERTURN THE NEW YORK NEWSPAPER situation and to do more toward setting the pattern of modern journalism than anyone else was Joseph Pulitzer, who had already made a success in newspaper work in the Middle West.

The son of a Magyar-Jewish father and an Austro-German mother, Pulitzer was born into a home of wealth and refinement and received a good private-school education. The death of his father, the breakup of his home, the war excitement of the times, and the examples of two officer-uncles determined the boy of seventeen to set out upon a military career. His thin physique and weak eyes, however, caused him to be rejected successively for a cadetship at Buda-Pesth, the Foreign Legion in Paris, and the Indian service in London. But he was accepted by one of those American agents who, in the last year of the Civil War, were searching Europe for emigrants willing to join the Union army. These agents collected the enlistment bounties of the recruits, for passage money and their own commission; but young Pulitzer and another lad decided to collect their own bounties, and when the boat reached Boston harbor they slipped over its side at night and swam ashore. Pulitzer enlisted in a New York cavalry regiment, but his nine months' military service was unsatisfactory; he got on badly with both officers and men and saw little fighting. His boyish dream of a military career over, he found himself penniless and jobless in New York.

Like many other discharged soldiers, he eventually struck out for the Middle West. Presumably he "bummed" his way on the railroads to East St. Louis. When he arrived there, rain and sleet were falling and he had no overcoat. There was no bridge across to the city which he had determined to make his home, and he

had not a cent to pay his passage on the ferry. Hungry, cold, desperate, at last he got a job firing the boiler of the ferryboat for that night, and earned his passage to St. Louis. His poor command of English had been a chief disadvantage to him thus far in America, but in his new home he found German spoken on every hand.

His first job in St. Louis was caring for sixteen mules at the army barracks; afterward he worked on river boats, on construction jobs, and at whatever other employment he could find. But soon he made a connection with the Deutsche Gesellschaft founded by Carl Schurz and Dr. Emil Preetorius to assist German youths; and from then on, his ambition, industry, and enterprise made his rise rapid. He formed friendships, read law, was admitted to practice, became secretary of the Gesellschaft. In 1868 Schurz and Preetorius, who were owners of the *Westliche Post*, leading German-American paper of the Middle West, hired the youthful immigrant as a reporter.

The eager young journalist was occasionally the butt of rival newspaper men's ridicule. His speech was not yet perfect, and his very energy was amusing to the more indolent. With his tall, gangling frame, long neck, bulbous head with an unusual beak of a nose, a receding chin carrying a small tuft of reddish whiskers, and his heavy-lensed glasses, he did make a surprising figure when he sprinted down St. Louis streets, a pad of paper in one hand, a pencil in the other, his coat-tails flying. But he had remarkable facility for getting the news, and editors of rival papers were soon advising their own men to spend less time making fun of "Joey" and more time imitating him. Young Pulitzer wrote columns for the *Post* every day, and his extraordinary vigor and hard-working habits were highly valuable to the paper.

He had been with the *Post* a little over a year when a Republican district convention nominated him, more or less as a joke, as a candidate for representative in the state Legislature. The district was Democratic; also Pulitzer was under the age required. He accepted the nomination in earnest, however, made a strenuous campaign, and was elected by a good majority. In the legislature he fought the grafters, and during a dispute with one of the corruptionists shot him in the leg. Friends made up the sum of his fine and costs, the anticorruption bill which had caused the trouble

was finally passed, and Pulitzer found himself, for the first time in his life, something of a popular hero.

Returning to St. Louis, Pulitzer plunged deeply into politics. He took an active part in the Liberal Republican movement which was founded on opposition to the corruptions of Grant's administration, and was one of the secretaries of the Cincinnati convention which nominated Greeley in 1872. He made German speeches in Greeley's behalf during the campaign; after the election he took advantage of the demoralization of some of the *Westliche Post* stockholders who feared the defeat of its candidate had ruined the paper, and bought his first newspaper property—a share in the ownership of that newspaper. He was then twenty-five years old. But Pulitzer could not settle down again into the old routine; the pace was too slow for him now, and he soon sold his holdings to Schurz and Preetorius at a good profit.

After a visit to his relatives in Hungary, Pulitzer returned to St. Louis and looked over the newspaper situation there anew. The *Morning Globe* had been started in 1872 and was now under the control of J. B. McCullagh, a great newspaper man. But it needed an Associated Press membership. Pulitzer saw his chance, bought up at a nominal sum an expiring German sheet which had such a membership, and sold it to McCullagh for $20,000 of easy money. This made it possible for McCullagh to engineer the consolidation of the *Globe-Democrat*, which he made a powerful paper, with the largest circulation in St. Louis up to the end of the century. In the next few years Pulitzer made many political speeches, having largely overcome his German accent. He went over to the Democratic party, and campaigned for Tilden. He married, visited Europe again, unsuccessfully sought newspaper openings in New York, and acted for a short time as the New York *Sun's* Washington correspondent.

THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

At the end of 1878, Pulitzer bought, at a sheriff's sale, the worthless St. Louis *Dispatch*, which had been founded as the *Union* in 1862 by Frank P. Blair; and three days later he combined it with the *Post*, which John A. Dillon had established in 1875. Dillon remained as a partner for about a year, but John A. Cockerill was soon brought in as Pulitzer's chief editorial assistant. Cockerill

had a wide newspaper experience in all departments, and had even been abroad as a war correspondent covering the Russo-Turkish conflict. The *Post-Dispatch* under such management came forward rapidly and was soon very profitable and the leading evening paper of St. Louis. It enlivened its columns by many local crusades, such as one for cleaning and repairing streets, and others against lotteries, gambling and tax-dodging.

A tragic incident of 1882, however, interrupted for a time the paper's advance. In the course of a political dispute, the *Post-Dispatch* had attacked the personal and professional honor of a prominent attorney, who then invaded the office and was shot dead by Cockerill. The editor was never tried in court, but much feeling was aroused against the paper. It was this incident, producing a temporary unpopularity in St. Louis, together with Pulitzer's persistent wish to get into the New York field, which brought him east in May, 1883. Perhaps another factor was the establishment the year before of the New York *Morning Journal* by his brother Albert Pulitzer, with whom he was not on friendly terms. Albert had come to America shortly after the Civil War and had worked on the New York *Herald* before getting into business for himself.

Joseph Pulitzer was now thirty-seven years old, ambitious, self-confident, at the height of his powers. He had attained the dignity of an intellectual, cultivated, somewhat introverted personality; but he still radiated an electric energy wherever he went. He had a love for music, and an insatiable interest in economic, social, and political problems. He was aloof and, on the whole, unfriendly; but he had a high regard for good men and for brains. Erect, he stood six feet two and a half inches tall. His black hair was abundant, and he wore a short red beard. His large nose and high forehead gave his features an effect of dominant power.

PULITZER BUYS THE NEW YORK WORLD

The New York *World*, though it was a good paper in the seventies, suffered perhaps more than any other paper from the great circulation increases of the *Sun*.[1] It was owned and edited in these years by the able Manton Marble; but Marble, having played a losing hand in the Hayes-Tilden electoral game, was dis-

[1] See New York *Evening Telegram*, January 7, 1870.

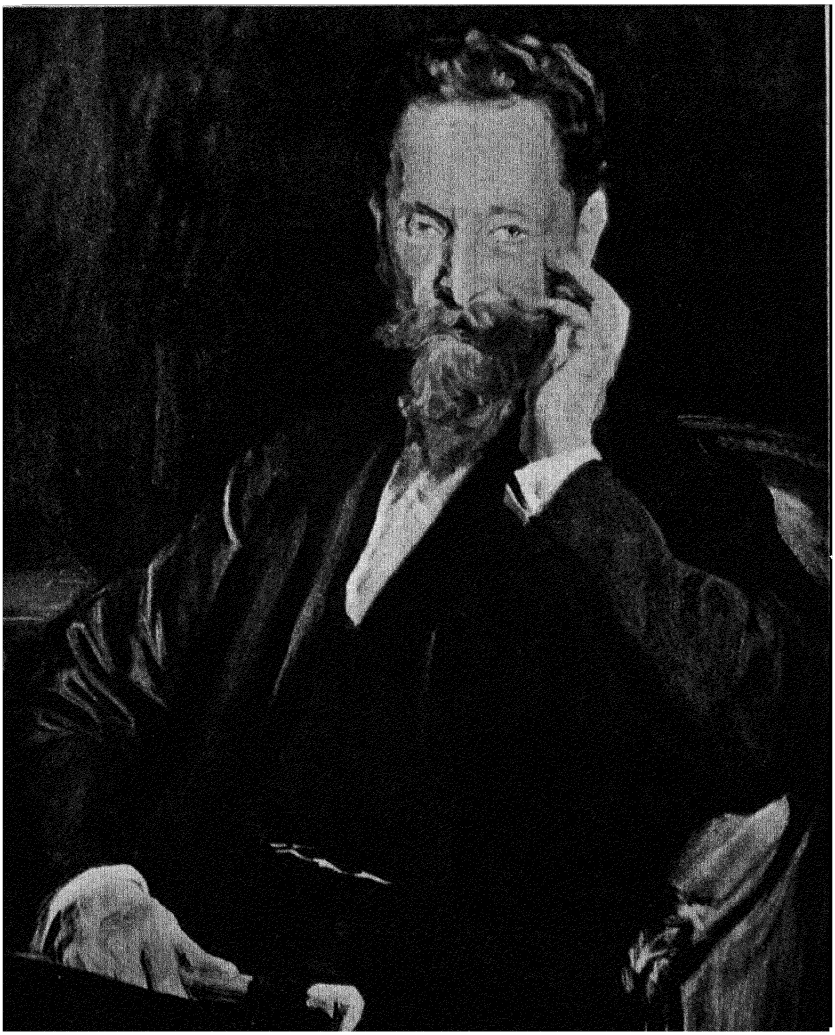
gusted with political journalism and anxious to retire. The *World* was therefore sold in 1876 to a group of which the new editor, William Henry Hurlbert, was the ostensible head, but which was controlled by Thomas A. Scott, the Pennsylvania Railroad magnate. Three years later Scott unloaded the property, in connection with a railroad deal, on the powerful and unscrupulous Jay Gould. Hurlbert was a brilliant editor, but the paper continued to decline. The reduction of its price to two cents in 1882 helped not at all.

Gould had been losing $40,000 a year on the *World*, and he was delighted to sell out to Pulitzer for $346,000—a sum which represented what he had paid for it plus his losses for four years. Pulitzer later said Gould was the only man he had ever known who could capitalize his losses. The new owner, who never signed notes, made the first payment out of *Post-Dispatch* profits and pledged the remainder at stated times; these later payments were all made out of *World* profits.

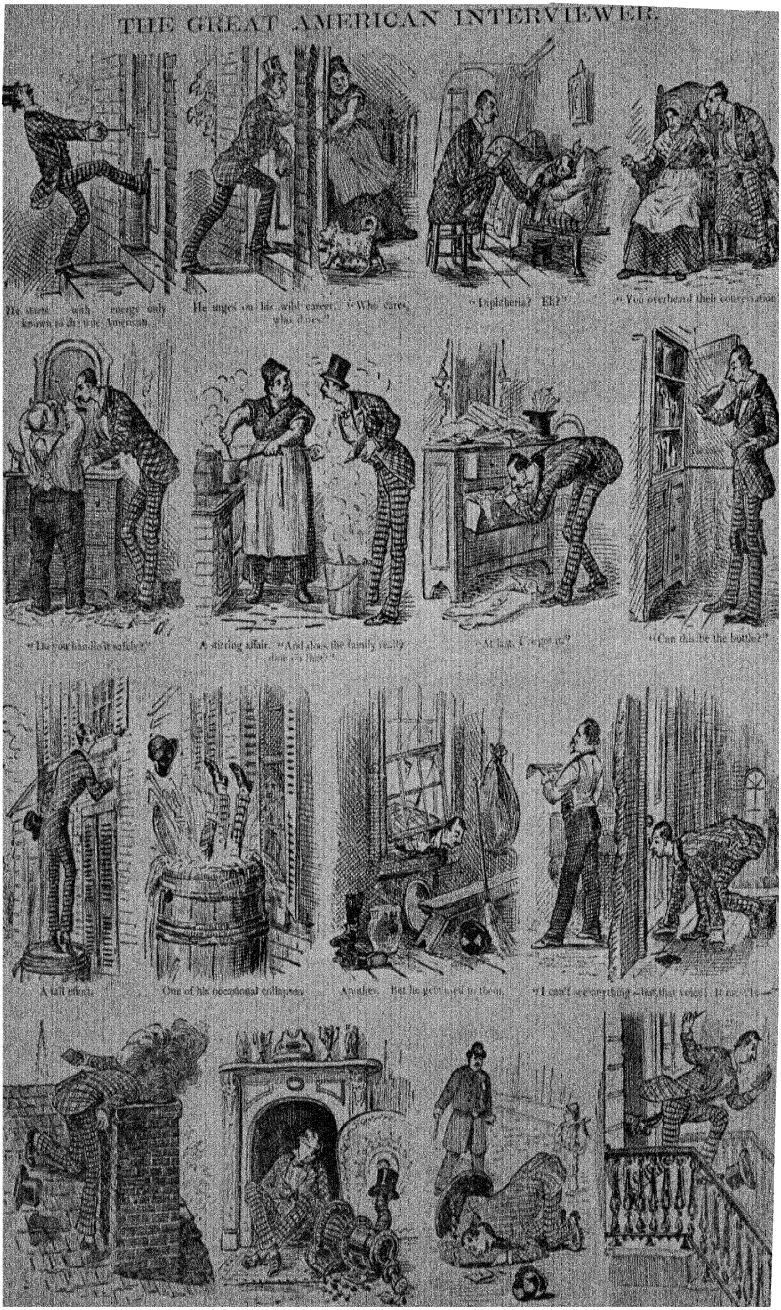
Newspaper salutatories are usually of little significance, but Pulitzer's on this occasion is worth quoting almost in full:

> The entire *World* newspaper property has been purchased by the undersigned, and will from this day be under different management—different in men, measures, and methods—different in purpose, policy and principle—different in objects and interests—different in sympathies and convictions—different in head and heart. . . .
>
> There is room in this great and growing city for a journal that is not only cheap but bright, not only bright but large, not only large but truly democratic—dedicated to the cause of the people rather than to that of the purse potentates—devoted more to the news of the New than the Old World—that will expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuses—that will battle for the people with earnest sincerity.
>
> In that cause and for that end solely the new *World* is hereby enlisted and committed to the attention of the intelligent public.
>
> *Joseph Pulitzer.*

The new publisher brought Colonel Cockerill on from St. Louis as managing editor, employed new reporters and taught them to seek for lively, "human-interest" news, with no little emphasis on gossip, scandal, and sensation in general. A new typography was adopted—neater and more modest than that of Hurlbert's *World*, with headlines in smaller and lighter-face type. But



Joseph Pulitzer of the New York World. From the Sargent portrait.



A series of drawings from Puck (March, 1877), satirizing the new "art" of interviewing.

the content of these demure heads was often about as sensational as those of the *Police Gazette*. A few woodcuts—chiefly single-column portraits—were used in these early months. Another less important innovation was the use of "ears" at either end of the nameplate, containing boasts about the *World*. The first crusades in a long succession of them were soon begun.

New York reacted immediately to this energetic new policy. In four months the old *World's* 20,000 circulation had doubled, and its competitors were feeling the pressure. In September the *Herald* came down to meet the *World* at two cents a copy, and a few days later the *Times* and the *Tribune* reduced their single-copy prices to two and three cents, respectively. The *Herald* lost the immediate value of its cut by its fight with the newsdealers; and even when it got that cleaned up, it gained for only about a year before it began to fall off again. An extraordinary incident in connection with this contest with the *Herald* was the insertion by that paper of a full-page advertisement (a size almost unknown in the advertising of the time) for six days in the *World*, to say:

HERALD AT 2 CENTS
CHEAPEST PAPER
IN
AMERICA

Bennett, said the *World* editorially, "takes an entire page of the *World* for a week and pays full rates. He thus shows his appreciation of the *World* and its army of readers." [2]

But *World* circulation continued to skyrocket. When it reached its first 100,000 on September 2, 1884, Pulitzer had 100 guns fired off in the City Hall Park and gave every employee a tall silk hat. In 1886 the *World* passed even the one-cent *Daily News;* when it reached 250,000 it had a silver medal struck, and presented it to its editors and advertisers to commemorate the event.[3] The establishment of the *Evening World* in the fall of 1887 cut into the circulation of the morning paper, but their combined circulation—374,000 in 1892—remained greater than that of any two other New York papers. Meanwhile the Sunday edition reached 250,000 by the late eighties. Advertising followed circulation; before the end

[2] New York *World*, October 1, 1883.
[3] *Journalist*, March 26, 1887, p. 10.

of 1884, the *World*, with a lower price, had passed the *Herald* in volume of advertising, and by 1886 it often ran to sixty columns a day in a fourteen-page paper. The Sunday paper consisted of thirty-six to forty-four pages, about half advertising. The rates were raised, but the advertising remained. The *World* had become the most profitable newspaper ever published.

THE NEW JOURNALISM

No wonder newspaper publishers everywhere studied the *World* and imitated its policies until a New Journalism grew out of them. An acute observer wrote in 1887 that the *World* had "affected the character of the entire daily press of the country." [4] The "wild Missourian," as the Kansas City *Journal* called Pulitzer,[5] had upset the *status quo* and furnished a new formula for the metropolitan daily.

What was this formula? Looking back upon it, we may analyze it as a six-fold program.

First, and foremost, was the news policy. A staff of alert and persistent reporters scoured the city for incidents, events, and situations which could be made interesting. These were presented as colorfully as possible, and given heads which were unusual and often sensational. So with the telegraph and cable news. The use of the cable for gossip and trivial news was carried further than ever before. But it would be wrong to suppose that trivial sensationalism filled the paper. Important and significant news was by no means neglected; it was the backbone of the paper. *World* news coverage on serious topics was excellent; the lighter and more exciting types served to enliven the paper. Moreover, sensationalism in the *World* declined noticeably after 1887.

Second, the *World* crusades and "stunts" were of great importance in the program. One of the most popular was the collection of the fund to build the Statue of Liberty pedestal. When the citizens' committee had failed and Congress had refused an appropriation, Pulitzer declared: "The *World* is the people's paper, and it now appeals to the people to come forward and raise this money." [6] More than 120,000 men, women, and children made

[4] Z. L. White, "A Decade of American Journalism," *Westminster Review*, October, 1887 (Vol. CXXVIII, p. 858).

[5] Quoted on the editorial page of the *World*, October 3, 1883.

[6] New York *World*, March 16, 1885.

small contributions—many of five and ten cents—to raise the $100,000 necessary to erect the gigantic statue which had itself been given to the American people by a great popular subscription among the French people.

But perhaps the most spectacular "stunt" was Nellie Bly's voyage around the world against time. "Nellie Bly" was Elizabeth Cochran, who, after an apprenticeship on the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, had joined the *World* staff as a "stunt" reporter. She feigned insanity to get into the asylum at Blackwell's Island, and then wrote an exposé of conditions there; she turned pitiless publicity upon prison conditions, "mashers," and Albany lobbyists. November 14, 1889, she sailed from New York to beat the record of Phileas Fogg, the hero of Jules Verne's romance, *Around the World in Eighty Days*. The *World* built up the story by daily articles and a guessing contest in which the person who came nearest to naming Nellie Bly's time circling the globe would get a trip to Europe. There were nearly a million guesses. Nellie rode on ships and trains, in jinrickshas and sampans, on horses and burros. On the final lap of her journey, the *World* brought her from San Francisco to New York by special train: she was greeted everywhere by waving flags, the blare of brass bands, songs, shouts, and fireworks. Her time was 72 days, 6 hours, 11 minutes, and 14 seconds.[7]

One enterprise that proved abortive was the expedition to rescue a white girl among the Indians, reputed to be the lost daughter of a slain army officer. The girl proved to be the offspring of Pretty Guns, a squaw. In 1889-90 there were a number of censuses—of church-goers, of births, etc.,—and various polls of opinion—of senate and house members on the location of the proposed world's fair, of citizens of New York and Brooklyn on the consolidation of those cities.

World crusades were directed against the New York Central, the Standard Oil Company, the Bell telephone monopoly, the Pacific Railroad lobbyists of 1887, a contractor who erected dangerous tenement houses, the Louisiana lottery, the white slave traffic

[7] A great newspaper stunt of 1936—nearly half a century later—was the race around the world of Dorothy Kilgallen (dubbed "the modern Nellie Bly"), representing the New York *Journal*; Leo Kiernan, of the New York *Times*; and H. R. Elkins, of the New York *World-Telegram*. Elkins won in 18 days, 14 hours, and 56 minutes.

of a pseudo-astrologer, a police officer charged with assaulting a little girl. The paper brought about a reform of the reception of immigrants at Staten Island. One of its biggest crusades was that against the New York aldermen who accepted bribes in connection with a streetcar franchise—the long-drawn-out "Broadway Boodlers" case. The *World* provided free ice and coal, summer excursions and Christmas dinners for the poor. It kept a staff of thirty-five doctors to furnish medical service to the needy.[8] In June, 1891, it gave a strawberry festival for 10,000 children in Madison Square Garden.

Third, the editorial page of the *World* was of high character. Pulitzer was more interested in this department of the paper than any other. He thought of it as the heart of the paper and the chief reason for its existence. The crusades which were promoted through the news columns came to a head on the editorial page. The *World* became in this page a leading spokesman for liberal ideas in America. Pulitzer came on the scene just in time to help build up Cleveland for nomination and election in 1884, though he attacked the President and his administration without mercy later on. The paper was strongly antimonopoly, favored income and inheritance taxes, and commonly sided with the unions in strike situations.

Fourth, size is a factor not to be forgotten in accounting for the success of the *World.* The first of its "ears" boasted that the *World* was "the only two-cent eight-page paper," but in a few years it was publishing twelve pages more often than eight, and by the end of this period usually fourteen or sixteen pages—always at two cents.

Fifth, the *World* was a leader in newspaper illustration. Beginning with rare single-column portraits, a cut of the new Brooklyn Bridge, and occasional pictures in the Sunday issue, the *World* progressed slowly in this direction. There were diagrams of scenes of crimes, made with type, with X marking the place where the body lay. Illustration that now seems sparse was copious for that time. It is said that Pulitzer had no liking for pictures and once ordered them out, but a drop in circulation reinstated them.[9] After

[8] See an enumeration of "Public Services" running to several columns in the *World's* Souvenir Supplement for December 10, 1890; also a list in the issue of May 11, 1890, p. 17.

[9] *Journalist,* August 22, 1885.

1885 most issues had a few single-column cuts, but there were not many double-column pictures in the daily edition until about 1890. The *World's* political cartoons began with a series of five by Walt McDougall and Valerian Gribayédoff during the campaign of 1884. A few years later McDougall cartoons became a regular fixture in the Sunday paper, and by 1890 the daily issue carried a cartoon on the front page, and single-column cuts of portraits, meetings, street scenes, or fires on the other pages.

Sixth, promotion was an important part of the *World's* program. Coupons and voting contests did their part. The paper's boastfulness and blatant self-praise offended some, but there can be no doubt that most of it was good advertising to the average reader.

Thus there were six factors in the success of the *World* during the eighties and early nineties: [10] good news-coverage peppered with sensationalism, stunts and crusades, editorials of high character, size, illustration, and promotion.

THE BLIND EDITOR AND HIS AIDES

Pulitzer drove his men hard, but none harder than himself. His energy was enormous. He worked long hours under a severe nervous strain. Politics as well as more strictly journalistic activities occupied him. He was elected to Congress in 1884; but he resigned after a few months, finding that his service in Washington kept him too much away from his paper. But the crusades in which the *World* engaged brought him into political fights, and it was after such a campaign that he suffered the physical breakdown from which he never recovered. His nervous system, abnormally sensitive to noise, and his weak eyes were especially affected. After trying to get relief by changes of scene in America, he sought help of European specialists, and was told that he must give up business cares and take a trip around the world.

This was in the midst of his plans for the erection of a $2,500,000 *World* building, but Pulitzer at once assented in the hope of saving a remnant of health. As he stood by the rail of a ship leaving Constantinople one evening late in 1889, he remarked to his secretary, "How quickly it grows dark in this latitude!"

[10] In the later nineties color printing (especially of comics) and banner heads would have to be added.

"But it is not dark," replied the secretary, alarmed. "It is for me," said Pulitzer. For nearly twenty years thereafter he lived in a world of deep twilight which made reading impossible and reduced faces to mere shadows; for the last few years of his life his blindness was total.

Pulitzer yielded to his doctors and published a notice of his withdrawal from direct control of the *World* in 1890. But it was not so easy for an active mind to forego its interests with a gesture; and Pulitzer retained a very real command and direction of both the *World* and the *Post-Dispatch* until his death in 1911. He rarely visited New York, however, and never St. Louis, after 1890, but lived in such resorts as Cap Martin on the Mediterranean and Bar Harbor, Maine, and cruised about the world in his 1600-ton steam-yacht *Liberty*—one of the largest ships ever under private ownership. His living expenses were enormous—$200,000 a year for his yacht, besides the upkeep of four homes, and salaries and expenses of a staff of five or six secretaries. His secretaries, who had to be men of brilliant intellectual abilities as well as socially acceptable, read to him, digested and summarized the latest economic and social ideas, and kept him in touch with contemporary literature and art.

Pulitzer thus followed the *World* carefully day by day and issued detailed directions, particularly upon the conduct of editorial policy. His creed as to newspaper writing he once summed up as follows: "What a newspaper needs in its news, in its headlines, and on its editorial page is terseness, humor, descriptive power, satire, originality, good literary style, clever condensation, and accuracy, accuracy, accuracy!" [11] He had many troubles, of course, in the proper adjustment of authority among the editors and managers in active charge. Contemporary newspaper men generally thought he made a mistake when he parted with two of his best aides in 1891. They were Colonel Cockerill, thought by many to be the true "father" of the New Journalism;[12] and George W. Turner, commonly regarded as the ablest newspaper business manager in America. S. S. Carvalho, Colonel Charles H. Jones, Ballard Smith, Colonel George Harvey, and William H. Merrill were among the men upon whom Pulitzer relied in the early nine-

[11] Ireland, *Joseph Pulitzer*, p. 116.
[12] See *Journalist*, May 8, 1886, p. 2.

ties. Some of these were undoubtedly great newspaper men; but the *World* remained, after all, Pulitzer.

Joseph Pulitzer was not an original genius, in the sense of being an inventor of novelties. In this respect Bennett in 1835-50 far outshone him. His greatness lay in his intelligent adaptation, development, and correlation of techniques and ideas, his immense mental energy, and his liberal and high-minded editorial policy.

And yet the contradictions in Pulitzer's character and work must always be disturbing. His was not a simple nature. Chief *World* paradox was the union of sensationalism in the news with an editorial page of remarkably sound character. Pulitzer himself gave two reasons for sensationalism in the *World*. One was possibly a rationalization: he said that people must know about crime and wickedness and disasters in the world if they are to combat them, for such things flourish on secrecy.[13] The other was more pragmatic: when asked why he did not make the *World* more like the *Evening Post*, which he said was his own favorite newspaper, he answered, "Because I want to talk to a nation, not to a select committee."[14] Yet the situation is too suggestive of a hula dancer performing in front of a cathedral in order to attract the crowds. A more painful contradiction came later with the reversal of the *World's* antijingoism when its circulation contest with Hearst apparently caused it to join in promoting the Spanish-American War. Incidental to that contest, also, were the adoption and continuance of gigantic scare-heads in spite of the repugnance which Pulitzer's taste caused him to feel toward such displays.[15] It has often been pointed out that the duality of the great editor's character is symbolized in the Sargent portrait (see opposite p. 434) and the Rodin bust, in both of which one side of the face appears scholarly and benign, while the other has a Mephistophelian cast.[16]

NEW EMPHASIS ON SENSATION

It was the *World's* sensationalism which incurred the criticism of the censorious.

[13] Ireland, *Joseph Pulitzer*, pp. 113-15.

[14] James Creelman, "Joseph Pulitzer, Master Journalist," *Pearson's Magazine*, March, 1909 (Vol. XXI, p. 246).

[15] Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer*, p. 242.

[16] Pulitzer himself was probably correct in believing that the right side showed the pain and suffering of his later life.

Sensationalism is a continuing story in the American press. If we define the term broadly as subject matter and treatment which excite the emotions of the reader, we may find sensationalism in *Publick Occurrences*, the first American newspaper. The word is commonly used, however, in its application to news, to suggest stories which stimulate unwholesome emotional responses in the average reader. Obviously this brings in subjective measurements and pathological effects which are difficult to study. Without discussing the question of morbidity or unwholesomeness involved, the term *sensationalism* will be used here to refer to the detailed newspaper treatment of crimes, disasters, sex scandals, and monstrosities. Such treatment, then, did not originate with Pulitzer's *World* in the present period; or with Dana's *Sun*, the Chicago *Times*, and the New York *Daily News* in the seventies; or with Bennett's *Herald* in the years before the Civil War—though all these papers published sensational news. The roots of sensationalism run down into the eighteenth century and below that into the unorganized newsmongering which preceded the newspapers. Anything which answers to fundamental and primitive human desires can belong to no single period.

The prominence given to sensationalism in the feverish competition of the New Journalism which followed Pulitzer's advent in New York in 1883 is one of the chief features of the years now under consideration. One type of reporting may be cited to illustrate the methods and the mood of this journalism: a clever and adventurous writer assumes a disguise or forges documents to gain admission to a hospital, jail, or asylum, and then makes the narrative of his experiences an exposé of the administration of the institution. Young reporters—men and girls—performed such "stunts" on scores of papers during this period. Exploitation of crime and scandal was here allied with the crusading spirit, and thus crusades were often sensational.

Though the *World* was the leader in this gossip-crime outburst, it was followed closely by the *Herald* and *Sun*, which had predilections for such material anyway, while even the *Tribune* and *Times* were affected. Outside of New York, the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Chicago *Times*, and San Francisco *Examiner* were leaders in such journalism. Much as the sensationalism of these papers

shocked the moralists of the eighties, it would probably not be very painful to the ordinary reader of twentieth-century newspapers. Moreover, once having gained the attention of the town, the *World* tended to be less extreme in its treatment of news. There was much truth in the too-sweeping contemporary statement of Julius Chambers, that paper's managing editor: "In every case, the successful American journal has been built upon sensationalism; but it has been found that, once established, absolute accuracy and truth are the only bases for enduring success." [17]

SPORTS AND LOCAL NEWS

Sports had long had some space in the papers, and the example of the New York *Herald* led other papers to chronicle important race meets, prizefights, and baseball games. Earliest specialization in sports news is represented by the "turf men" who on some papers covered races in addition to other duties. Probably the first baseball reporter was Henry Chadwick, who had written about cricket matches for the *Times*, and later the *Tribune*, but who began work with the *Herald* as a baseball reporter in 1862. A "wild Irish girl" of robust stature named "Middie" Morgan covered races and cattle shows for the New York *Times*, beginning in 1870. Sports news increased in the seventies, and when Pulitzer bought the *World* he organized a separate sports department. By the end of the period, virtually all the great papers in the leading cities had "sporting editors" with trained staffs; and though the sports section as such had not appeared, the *Herald*, *World*, and *Sun* would sometimes devote each a page or more to sports.

The expansion of local news led to another change in staff organization—the promotion of the city editor to one of the most important positions on the paper. The first city editors, in the early fifties, were merely "chief reporters," but by the seventies they had come to be second only to their managing editors in importance.

Small staffs before and during the war brought about much cooperation in covering local news, and in the sixties "agencies" and "bureaus" were set up outside newspaper staffs to sell local news to the papers. News-gathering by contract continued for many

[17] Philips, *Making of a Newspaper*, p. 44.

years in Philadelphia and other cities, and about the end of our present period the city news bureaus developed from such systems. The Chicago City Press Association was incorporated in 1890.

INVASION OF PRIVACY; THE INTERVIEW

Closely connected with sensationalism as a major object of attack by the many critics of the press was the invasion of privacy by prying reporters. The prevalence of gossip and scandal stories, in which innocent persons were frequently dragged into the columns of newspapers, produced a kind of "keyhole journalism" which was no less than indecent; yet it was a part of the formula upon which the great circulations of the period were based. The great comic weekly *Puck* carried a page of pictures in 1877 showing such journalism in action (see opposite p. 435). Perhaps the climax of bad taste in Paul Pry methods was reached in connection with the wedding of President Cleveland, which took place during his first term of office.[18]

Interviewing—the formal question-and-answer technique applied to men of all degrees of importance—continued to receive the condemnation of the censorious. This was because questions were often flippant and the replies ill considered. Interviewing, said the *Nation*, "makes fools of great men."[19] But Henry W. Grady, who used the technique successfully, observed that "Socrates, a thoroughly respectable person, introduced the custom on the streets of Athens";[20] and seriously used, it was a valuable tool.

WAS PERSONAL JOURNALISM ENDED?

Following the death of Greeley, the elder Bennett, and Raymond, and in view of the growing size and complexity of the organization necessary for a great newspaper, many observers thought they were witnessing the passing of the era of personal journalism. This impression was the stronger because leading editors no longer tried to emphasize their own personalities as Bennett had done in the early years of the *Herald*, and at the same time highly personal attacks on fellow editors were much less common.

[18] "The Right to Privacy," in the *Harvard Law Review*, December 15, 1890, by Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis, was an important contribution to legal theory in this field.

[19] *Nation*, July 17, 1873.

[20] Atlanta *Constitution*, August 16, 1879.

And yet the whole period resounds with great editorial names. Dana, Godkin, Pulitzer, Reid, Watterson, Halstead, Childs, Grady, Stone, Lawson, Nelson, Scripps—these twelve names alone would surely distinguish any period. And editorial utterance remained important: nearly every paper had its editorial page.

It is true that reportorial staffs of forty or fifty, with half a dozen desk editors, had a tendency to obscure the "able editor" concept. Moreover, far greater investments in machinery and buildings, and the growth of big circulations, gave stronger emphasis to the publishing side of the newspaper.

CHAPTER XXVII

Rise of Evening Papers; Journalism of Leading Cities

ONE OF THE RESULTS OF THE INCREASE OF TELEGRAPHIC NEWS in this period of the seventies and eighties was the growth of evening papers and their rise to a position comparable with that of the morning papers.

The first dailies had been published in the afternoon, and such veterans as the *Evening Post* and *Commercial Advertiser* in New York remained evening papers. But competition soon pushed the publication hour back until most of the papers were delivered before breakfast or sold to the crowds hurrying to work in the morning. Yet all along there were papers which sought the less crowded evening field—the two mentioned above in New York, the *Evening Transcript* and *Traveller* in Boston, the *Evening Bulletin* and *Item* in Philadelphia, the Chicago *Evening Journal*, and many shorter-lived papers. Oil lamps in the homes, and in the cities gas lighting, in time made night-reading of newspaper fine-print easier; and evening papers increased in the forties.

THE RISE OF EVENING PAPERS

With the coming of the telegraph, morning papers often followed the practice of making-over their front pages to accommodate a few paragraphs of late-wire news and issuing noon or early afternoon editions—a technique Bennett had employed on the *Herald* almost from its beginning. The New York *Express* was especially notable for its many "late editions" and finally changed to evening issue in 1858. The use of such "late editions" increased with the growth of telegraphic news during the Civil War, until some morning journals, calculating that a paper with a new name and format and under independent editorship would have better selling power than a "late edition" of a paper already purchased

that morning, established separate evening papers. Thus the Providence *Journal* started the *Evening Bulletin* in 1863, and the New York *Herald* began the *Evening Telegram* in 1867. Other papers, unwilling to go quite that far, set up separate evening papers without changing the name; in Boston, the *Journal* and *Herald* both followed this plan. The *Journal* advertised in 1868: "The editions are essentially two newspapers. They are not simply two editions of one paper, but each is perfect in all its features and complete in its editorial and reportorial labor."

At the beginning of the seventies, then, there were three methods of handling the afternoon news—by the regular evening papers, by separate evening editions under morning paper ownership (with or without change in name), and by "late editions" of morning papers. In the decade the evening field steadily increased in importance. The Boston *Globe* established its evening edition in 1877; and the Chicago *Daily News* was founded as an evening paper in 1876, setting up a morning edition five years later. Both made great successes. The Scripps brothers founded two cheap evening papers in midwestern cities and bought interests in three others in the seventies. By 1880 there were more evening than morning papers in the United States.

The evening paper curve continued to swing upward throughout the eighties. Publication in the latter part of the day had an advantage in street sales, and evening papers usually issued three to five editions to catch the shopping crowds, the home-bound crowds, and the theatre crowds, and to supply the carriers for home delivery. Women, with more leisure in the afternoons, liked the later papers; and, since the department stores aimed their advertising at women readers, the evening papers fattened on the announcements of the stores. By 1890, then, about two thirds of American dailies were published in the afternoon.

It was in the cities of the second class and the smaller places that this phenomenon was most noticeable. In Cleveland five of the six dailies were either regular evening papers or had evening editions; but in New York and Philadelphia the race was fairly even, while in Chicago and Boston morning papers still had the advantage. Moreover the famous and influential papers were, with half a dozen exceptions, morning papers.

NEW YORK'S EVENING PAPERS

At the end of this period in 1892, there were sixteen English-language daily newspapers of general circulation in the city of New York—nine of them published in the morning and seven in the evening.[1] The leading morning papers have been considered in our survey of the chief New York journals in Chapter XXV, but the *Evening Post* was the only afternoon paper included in that distinguished group. Let us now notice some of the papers which contributed to the rising importance of the afternoon field in New York.

Older even than the *Evening Post* was the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, an evening paper which had begun in 1793 as *American Minerva*.[2] Edited from 1868 until his death in 1883 by Hugh J. Hastings, it was an old-fashioned Republican paper with small circulation. It came under the ownership later of Collis P. Huntington, the railway magnate, who gave it a morning edition in 1891 by remaking the old *Star* [3] into the *Morning Advertiser* and putting Colonel Cockerill, who had just lost his *World* position, in charge as editor in 1891-94. But the papers did not prosper.

Largest in circulation of the evening papers of the whole country, and largest of all dailies, both morning and evening, during parts of the present period, was the New York *Daily News*.[4] This cheap Tammany paper, which flourished among the tenements and was notable for its reports of the lottery and policy drawings, sold from 100,000 to 175,000 one-cent copies daily through the seventies and eighties. It usually ran a little beyond whatever paper was leading the field—the *Sun*, *Herald*, or *World*—

[1] Morning papers: *Herald*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Morning Journal*, *Press*, *Recorder*, *Sun*, *Times*, *Tribune*, *World*. Evening papers: *Commercial Advertiser*, *Daily News*, *Evening Post*, *Evening Sun*, *Evening Telegram*, *Evening World*, *Mail and Express*. Consult the index of this volume for discussions of any of these papers. In addition to them, there were thirteen foreign-language dailies and fourteen class dailies (chiefly financial).

[2] See p. 133. It was a mercantile paper with political leanings.

[3] The *Star*, a Tammany organ under Joseph Howard, Jr., during the days of the Tweed Ring, was owned in the eighties by William Dorsheimer, formerly Lieutenant Governor of New York, and a man of high character, strong Democratic principles, and mutton-chop whiskers. He hired a good staff and the paper boomed for a time, but soon declined. Dorsheimer sold it to Munsey, who soon after disposed of it to Huntington.

[4] See pp. 352-53.

except for a few years around 1880, when the *Sun* and *Herald* forged somewhat ahead, and the years 1886-88, when the *World* was far in the lead.[5]

Other evening papers of some importance in New York were the *Mail*, founded by C. H. and H. E. Sweetser as a two-cent sheet in 1867, and the old *Express*, edited until 1877 by Erastus Brooks. Consolidated in 1882 by Cyrus W. Field, but soon purchased by Elliott F. Shepard, lawyer and son-in-law of William H. Vanderbilt, the *Mail and Express* limped along on a small circulation, a clean and highly moral paper with anti-Catholic and Sabbatarian eccentricities and a good book page.

But when William M. Laffan, publisher of the *Sun*, persuaded his associates to launch the *Evening Sun* in March, 1887, New York saw at last a modern, lively, well-edited, cheap evening paper. It brought back some measure of prosperity to the Dana-Laffan organization. It was a four-page, one-cent journal, with men like Amos J. Cummings and Arthur Brisbane at the helm. Cummings, one of the best newspaper men of the period, divided his time between the *Evening Sun* and Congress, of which he was a member for fifteen years. Brisbane employed such talented writers as Richard Harding Davis, who earned his first fame by fiction originally published in the *Evening Sun;* and Jacob A. Riis, a great police reporter who had worked on the *Tribune* for many years, uncovering the abuses of the slums, and whom Theodore Roosevelt once named "New York's most useful citizen."

Seven months after the *Evening Sun* came the *Evening World*, with S. S. Carvalho, formerly of the morning *Sun*, as city editor. It too was a one-cent, four-page paper, lively and bright; and it soon ran far ahead of its rival in circulation, gaining 182,000 by the end of this period—only 10,000 behind the morning *World*.

Brooklyn was not at that time a part of New York City. Its leading journal was the *Daily Eagle*, an evening paper ably edited by St. Clair McKelway. It was intensely local in spirit, but had good general news-coverage; and its editorials were widely quoted.

[5] For a few years after the morning *World* divided circulation with the *Evening World* the *News* was ahead of either edition, though not of their combined circulation. About 1891 the Philadelphia *Evening Item* nosed ahead of the *News*, which never again ranked first in American daily circulations.

PHILADELPHIA NEWSPAPERS

One of the best-known newspaper publishers in the United States was George W. Childs, philanthropist, book publisher and owner of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. With Anthony J. and Francis A. Drexel, he had purchased this paper from its founders in 1864, raising its price from the traditional six and a quarter cents a week to ten cents, and increasing advertising rates. William V. McKean, whose activities had included law, politics, and journalism, was made editor-in-chief and remained in that position for about thirty years. The *Public Ledger* was the first of Philadelphia papers in circulation in the seventies, reaching 90,000 in the middle of the decade; and though others passed it in the ensuing years, it remained a big paper and enjoyed a great national prestige as a conservative and influential journal. Its building, erected in 1867, was a show-place and its prosperity a byword.

In 1870, William J. Swain, son of the chief founder and long-time editor of the *Public Ledger*, started the *Public Record*, a two-cent morning sheet designed to dispute the field with the older paper. A map-premium scheme gave a temporary inflated circulation, but the *Record* was soon in difficulties. In 1877 it was bought by William M. Singerly, who had made a fortune in railroads and industry. Singerly reduced the price to one cent, brightened up the paper, conducted some local crusades against such abuses as grave-robbing and selling medical diplomas, and soon won a large following. The *Record* passed the *Public Ledger* in circulation in the early eighties, at the end of the present period had about 120,000, and continued to flourish until the crash of the Singerly interests in 1898.

The *Evening Item* was founded by Thomas Fitzgerald, the playwright, in 1847 and conducted by him and his sons for nearly half a century. In the eighties it made great advances as a lively, crusading afternoon penny paper, and by the end of this period had the spectacular circulation of 182,000.

The *Press* was sold by its famous Civil War editor, John W. Forney, in 1877; and three years later Charles Emory Smith, an Albany journalist, was made editor by the new owner. Under Smith and Moses P. Handy, an enterprising managing editor, the *Press* competed with the *Record* in exposures and crusades in the

early eighties. The *Inquirer* in 1899 passed into the hands of James Elverson, who had begun life as a telegraph messenger boy and had later made a fortune out of weekly papers for boys.

The man who did most to stir up Philadelphia journalism in the late seventies and to teach crusading technique to the *Record* and *Press* was Alexander K. McClure—"the Jupiter Tonans of reform," Henry Watterson once called him. McClure had long been active in Pennsylvania state politics and in country journalism before he came to the city in 1868 to practice law. There he found an amazing amount of municipal corruption. He ran for mayor on a reform ticket, but was defeated, and a few years later started the Philadelphia *Times*. In his paper he attacked the city-hall banditti with incisive boldness, won twenty libel suits brought against him, and set a new example of aggressive journalism in Philadelphia. The *Times*, capitalized at $100,000 with the expectation of paying out half of the sum in losses the first year, made a substantial profit on its first twelve months. In circulation it was second only to the *Public Ledger* for some years, but at the end of this period it divided third place in Philadelphia with that paper—the *Item* and *Record* having forged ahead.

WASHINGTON NEWSPAPERS

The passing of the national party organs from the scene of Washington journalism caused the newspapers of the capital to turn to city interests for a new prosperity. But there was a period of a decade or more after the Civil War before they could adjust themselves to this logical but diminished place in the national journalism.

It was the *National Republican* (1860-88) which clung longest to the old idea. It had been, to some extent, a spokesman for Johnson during his administration, under the editorship of W. J. Murtagh.

The Washington *Evening Star* was established in 1852 as an independent, definitely local paper. Crosby S. Noyes, who had been connected with the paper almost from the beginning, headed a group which bought it in 1867. His sons, Frank B., later to be president of the Associated Press, and Theodore W., editor of the *Star* since 1908, came into the management of the paper in the eighties.

At the end of the present period there were only two dailies in Washington—the *Evening Star* and the *Post*. The *Post* had been established as a Democratic morning paper in 1877 by Stilson Hutchins, who had edited the Copperhead Dubuque, Iowa, *Herald* during the Civil War and had later founded the St. Louis *Times*. An enterprising journalist, Hutchins made the *Post* a success; it absorbed the *National Republican* in 1888 and became independent in politics. The next year Hutchins sold it to Frank Hatton, former Postmaster General, and Beriah Wilkins, member of Congress from Ohio.

NEW ENGLAND NEWSPAPERS

Boston was not as lively a newspaper city as any one of half a dozen others. As late as 1878, the *Herald* was the only Boston paper that stereotyped its forms. It remained the leader of its field in enterprise and circulation up to that date; and even at the end of the present period, with about 140,000 consolidated circulation for its morning, noon, and evening editions, it was among the half dozen leaders in the country.

The old *Daily Advertiser* had a faithful following of less than 18,000 during the period, and though edited for a time by Professor Charles F. Dunbar, Harvard political scientist, was clearly moribund. The *Post* and the *Traveller* were not much better. The *Journal*, which had attained great prosperity in the Civil War under Charles O. Rogers, now battened on what Bostonians considered to be sensationalism, with Colonel W. W. Clapp as manager until his retirement in 1891.

The *Evening Transcript* was edited in the eighties by Edward H. Clement, sometimes referred to as the Beau Brummel of Boston journalism, a trained journalist with special aptitudes in music, drama, and the arts. Like the *Advertiser* and the *Herald*, the *Transcript* bolted Blaine in 1884, but it was independent by tradition anyway. In circulation, the *Transcript* never exceeded 17,000 in this period.

The most remarkable story of Boston journalism in the seventies and eighties is that of the *Globe*. Founded by Maturin Ballou as a four-cent morning paper in 1872, the *Globe* had lost $100,000 and was losing more at the rate of $1,200 a week when General Charles H. Taylor became its publisher. Taylor had learned the

printing trade as a boy, had served in the war, and had gained wide experience in newspaper work and politics. He put boundless energy into his work on the *Globe*, overseeing the business as well as the editorial departments. He had no fortune with which to stimulate the growth of the paper, and for a few years it was a question whether Taylor, only a jump or two ahead of the sheriff, was going to keep the paper alive. In 1877 he boldly cut the price to two cents, established an evening edition, and went over to the Democratic party. In three weeks after these changes, the *Globe's* circulation jumped from 8,000 to 30,000; in three years more it doubled that, and by the end of this period the two editions had well over 150,000 buyers. General Taylor's method was to use sensational headlines and play up crime, but print thousands of names of his readers in connection with thorough local and New England coverage. The *Globe* also emphasized feature material, with serials by famous novelists. Following Garfield's death, it one day [6] filled its entire front page with poetical tributes which had been paid to the dead President. Taylor lived until 1921, and was succeeded in the management of the *Globe* by his sons.

In general, Boston was as yet comparatively free of the more shocking sensationalism in its newspapers. A managing editor of the *Daily Advertiser* wrote in 1886 a typically Bostonian appraisal:

> The journalistic profession here includes a large number of liberally educated people; and the "Bohemian," thanks to the better influences prevailing in American journalism, is now a rarity in Boston. Boston has reason to plume herself a trifle on the cleanliness and tone of her periodical journalism.[7]

Samuel Bowles III [8] died in 1878. He had made the Springfield *Republican* one of the most famous of small-city papers. Comparatively independent of party trammels, bold, high-minded, he had been an example and inspiration to many journalists. His son Samuel succeeded to the control of the *Republican;* he was not a writer but he watched the writing of others with a keen eye,

[6] Boston *Globe*, September 27, 1881.

[7] Edwin M. Bacon, *Dictionary of Boston* (Boston, 1886), quoted in Chamberlin, Boston *Transcript*, p. 159.

[8] Second Samuel Bowles to edit the Springfield *Republican*, but the third of that name in direct line. See pp. 264-65.

and he gave to every detail of the paper, editorial and business, the most meticulous care. In politics the fourth Samuel Bowles enrolled his paper among the Cleveland supporters. His father had bolted Grant in 1872, but had come back into the party to support Hayes four years later. The son was for Garfield; but when it came to swallowing Blaine, with a record of railroad scandals, he preferred Cleveland. The *Republican* was a low-tariff paper, and it continued in the Cleveland camp in 1888 and 1892.

Another famous New England paper was the Hartford *Courant*. Its weekly edition was still called by the name which had been given it when it was founded in 1764—the *Connecticut Courant*. Editor of both daily and weekly throughout this period was General Joseph R. Hawley, perhaps the leading citizen of his state. A lawyer and an antislavery advocate, he had led in the organization of the Republican party in Connecticut and then established a paper to promote that political cause. He returned from a distinguished service in the Civil War to be elected Governor, and in 1867 he became editor and joint publisher of the *Courant*. Hawley's work was largely on the editorial page, and for more than twenty years from 1881 most of his time was occupied by his duties as United States Senator. The *Courant* was conservative and literary. Charles Dudley Warner, one of the most accomplished American essayists of his generation, was associate editor and publisher and printed some of his best work in the *Courant*.

HENRY W. GRADY AND THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Few American journalists have been better loved than Henry W. Grady. His death at a time when he had become the accepted prophet of the new South left his people the memory of a regional hero.

At nineteen Grady was associate editor of the Rome *Courier* in Georgia; but when he was forbidden by the owner to attack local corruptions, he resigned, bought the two competing papers and combined them, and then launched his attacks. But the consolidated paper soon collapsed; and Grady went to Atlanta and bought a one-third interest in the new Atlanta *Herald*, which was, during its short life from 1872 to 1876, the newsiest and liveliest paper Atlanta had ever seen. But it, too, soon perished. Panic



Henry W. Grady of the Atlanta Constitution. From a contemporary woodcut.

times had come, and young Grady had a hard time finding footing. In 1876, however, he got a job as Georgia reporter on space rates for the New York *Herald*.

Grady fitted the pattern of the *Herald* very well. He was, first and foremost, a reporter, and he always believed in the publication of news as the dominant function of journalism.[9] He was not only an alert and resourceful news-gatherer, but a rapid and brilliant writer. He covered the Florida canvassing board's deliberations late in 1876, when the Hayes-Tilden contest depended on the action of that board. His stories were vivid and informative; and when the decision was at last announced and it was discovered that the telegraph wires had been cut, he outsmarted his rival reporters to get control of the nearest telegraphic point, giving the operator pages out of Webster's spelling book to send in order to hold the wire until he could get his copy in order. Later he scooped the world on the confessions of the Florida fraud manipulators—a feat for which Bennett sent him a check for $1,000.

In 1880 Grady bought a quarter-interest in the Atlanta *Constitution*, for which he had already done some reporting. This paper was founded in 1868 by W. A. Hemphill. Evan P. Howell, lawyer and industrialist, bought a half-interest and became editor in 1876, and made the *Constitution* one of the half dozen largest dailies south of Baltimore and Louisville and east of New Orleans, and "the model newspaper of the southern states." [10] With Grady as managing editor, the paper continued to increase in circulation, and the weekly edition had reached 140,000—the largest of such editions in the United States—by the time of Grady's death. Grady did not give up reporting when he became a managing editor, and one of his greatest stories was that of the Charleston earthquake

[9] See Raymond B. Nixon, "Henry W. Grady, Reporter," *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1935 (Vol. XII, pp. 341-56).

[10] The quotation is from the *Journalist*, December 28, 1889. Baltimore papers, greatly injured by the war, were comparatively unimportant during this period. The *Sun* began a long fight against the Gorman machine in 1882 (Chap. XXXII). A. S. Abell, the founder (see p. 240) died in 1888; he had some years before retired from the management in favor of his son, George William Abell. The *Sun's* Washington correspondence was always good. The *Herald* (1875-1906), founded as the *Bee*, was a one-cent morning paper, while the *Sun* and *American* remained at two cents. In New Orleans, the *Picayune* led the field with the *Times-Democrat* not far behind. The *Morning States* was established in 1879 as an evening paper. No New Orleans paper reached 20,000 circulation until after 1892.

of 1886. Printed with a by-line on the front page of the New York *World*, this story did much to give Grady a national reputation.

But it was, after all, a non-journalistic feat which gave him his chief fame. Invited to address the New England Society of New York, he pronounced the oration on "The New South" which has since become familiar to generations of schoolboys, and which at the time crystallized the concept of industrial advancement as a basis at once for the salvation of the South and reconciliation with the North. The response was remarkable, and Grady found himself not only Atlanta's chief citizen, but a marked man in America. Ebullient, genial, with a large capacity for friendship, he became widely popular and sought after. But his death in 1889 of pneumonia cut short his career at thirty-nine years. Clark Howell succeeded him as editor of the *Constitution*.

HENRY WATTERSON AND THE LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

Henry Watterson was another eloquent and brilliant Southerner. Like Grady, he was an ambassador of good-will from the South to the North; but unlike the Georgian, he was deeply interested in political maneuvers and devoted to the editorial page.

From the time that Walter N. Haldeman consolidated the *Courier* and *Journal* and put Watterson in charge as editor, the paper flourished; and its weekly edition was the largest in the South until 1887, when that of the Atlanta *Constitution* passed it. A year or two later its daily edition, which had long disputed the southern primacy with the New Orleans *Picayune*, was outstripped by its own evening contemporary, the two-cent Louisville *Times*.

Colonel Watterson's editorials were widely copied. His style was inclined to be florid and rhetorical, but he sometimes coined phrases which were memorable, as when he declared that Cleveland would lead the Democratic party "through a slaughterhouse to an open grave." With piercing blue eyes under bushy white brows, and the flaring mustache and goatee of the typical Kentucky colonel, he was a picturesque figure. A nickname he liked well enough to use it as the title of his autobiography was "Marse Henry." He was popular with fellow editors. He tickled the fancy of the whole press when he said editorially to Dana, whom he greatly admired: "Come and see us, and bring your knitting and

stay most all day." And Dana replied in his own editorial columns that he was sorry he couldn't accept.

A Democratic liberal, Watterson played an important part in many national nominating conventions. He deserted his party in 1872 to support Greeley. In 1876, during a short term in Congress, he was one of Tilden's chief lieutenants; and in the course of the electoral dispute he excited the entire nation by his offer to bring to Washington "100,000 peaceful citizens" to protest against the "fraudulent counting-in" of Hayes.[11] At first a strong supporter of Cleveland, Watterson fell out with him because he did not seem to the fiery Louisville editor to remain true to the doctrine of free trade.

[11] Louisville *Courier-Journal*, January 5, 1877.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Journalism in the West

A GOOD FRIEND OF WATTERSON'S FOR HALF A CENTURY WAS Murat Halstead, editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, one of the greatest papers west of the Alleghenies.

Halstead had been a reporter on the Cincinnati *Commercial* before the Civil War. He saw some service as a "special" at the front during that conflict and later as a correspondent covering the Franco-Prussian War. In 1865, having purchased a controlling interest, he became editor of the *Commercial*. He had a genius for news enterprise—a genius united with a capacity for indefatigable labor—and his paper soon became widely known and highly profitable. In politics Halstead was very active as a Republican liberal. He was one of the leaders in calling the Cincinnati convention which nominated Greeley for President in 1872; but he later supported Republican candidates consistently, including Blaine in 1884. He advocated larger silver coinage throughout the eighties. He was famous as a reporter of national conventions.

In 1883 the *Commercial*[1] and *Gazette* were consolidated, with a million-dollar capitalization. But the *Commercial Gazette* steadily fell behind the Democratic *Enquirer*,[2] which had been under the efficient and clever management of John R. McLean since 1870, and which was more sensational than its rival. Both papers kept to the single-copy price of five cents, which was unusual in these years. Offered the editorship of the Brooklyn *Standard-Union* in 1890, Halstead disposed of the *Commercial Gazette*[3]

[1] See p. 283 for the beginnings of the *Commercial*, *Gazette*, *Enquirer* and *Times*.

[2] Washington McLean sold the *Enquirer* to his son, John R., in 1881. Before John R. took over in 1870, the paper had been run as a strong anti-Lincoln organ, chiefly by his uncle S. B. Wiley McLean and the editor James J. Faran.

[3] The paper was merged with the *Tribune* (founded in 1893 to promote the McKinley candidacy) in 1896, under the name of the *Commercial Tribune*. It was

and entered the new field at sixty-one years of age. But he was not as successful in Brooklyn as he had been in Cincinnati, and after a few years he retired to devote himself to free-lance work and hackwriting.

Cincinnati's evening papers in the seventies were the *Times* and the *Star*;[4] these were merged in 1880 by Charles P. Taft, a public-minded lawyer whose half-brother, William Howard Taft, had just been admitted to the bar. The *Times-Star* was a two-cent, eight-page paper, high-tariff Republican in politics.

Only six months after the *Times-Star* consolidation, Walter Wellman and his brother established a little evening sheet called the *Penny Paper* and later the *Evening Post*, which, after E. W. Scripps took it over in 1883, became a strong competitor of the older and more conservative paper. Its gallant fight against a corrupt city boss and his machine, without much help from the other papers, gave it standing; and in 1891 it achieved a leadership in circulation in the Cincinnati field which it was to increase greatly in the next few years.

BEGINNINGS OF THE SCRIPPS CHAIN

The Scripps family contributed to the journalism of the period one of its most dynamic and important elements, though actual chain organization came a little later. Scripps papers—five of them by 1892—came to mean cheap evening publication, war against bossism and local abuses, and championship of unionism and the interests of the poor.

The family came from England, where a grandfather had been engaged in journalism and bookbinding. The father, James Mogg Scripps, having made a failure of bookbinding in London, emigrated to a farm in Illinois. A cousin of his was one of the early editors of the Chicago *Tribune*, and other cousins and uncles were associated with other papers. James Mogg Scripps was married three times—twice in England and once in America. Of the second marriage six children were born, of whom three were to play important parts in American journalism: James E., founder

long identified, as the *Commercial Gazette* had been, with the Cox machine. It was merged in the *Enquirer* in 1930.

[4] The *Star* was begun in 1872. Charles P. Taft retained control until his death in 1929, when his son Hulbert became manager.

of the Detroit *News;* George H., associated with three or four of the Scripps papers; and Ellen B., whose part in the development of her half-brother E. W. and his chain of papers was of the first importance. From the third marriage came only one journalist, Edward Wyllis, greatest of them all—the thirteenth child of James Mogg Scripps.

James E. Scripps, after a newspaper apprenticeship on Chicago papers, went to Detroit and engaged in journalism there, becoming at length part-owner and manager of the Detroit *Advertiser and Tribune.*[5] When his paper was burned out in 1873, Scripps took his $20,000 insurance money and with it started the *News,* a very small but fresh and sprightly two-cent evening paper. The new journal made a good impression and soon gained a lead over the other papers in circulation, but the financial panic made hard going. Finally George was induced to sell his Illinois farm and put $15,000 more into the paper. E. W. and Ellen were already on the ground, living with James on poverty diet and working hard to pull the paper through. When the *News* was at last on a profitable basis in 1877, it had been put there by family effort. It reached 40,000 circulation by the mid-eighties. After that it dropped off somewhat; and, James being ill, E. W. took over the paper until it regained its circulation and advertising. After its reduction to one cent in 1892, its circulation went to greater heights.

But meantime E. W., his mind filled with dreams of greatness, wanted a paper of his own. The Cleveland *Press* (first called the *Penny Press*) was his child, though half-brothers James and George put up the $10,000 with which it was started. Sharing the management with E. W. was John Scripps Sweeny, a cousin. The paper was first issued on November 2, 1878—a one-cent, four-page sheet with only five two-inch-wide columns to the page. But it presented the news simply and with condensation, it did not allow itself to be influenced by advertisers or politicians, and it fought vigorously for the rights of labor in an industrial city. At the end of a year it was, despite its inadequate initial capitalization, on a paying

[5] Founded as *Daily Tribune* in 1849, and called the *Advertiser and Tribune* after it absorbed the *Daily Advertiser* (1836-62). In 1877 it became the *Post and Tribune,* but was called *Tribune* 1885-1905; in the latter year it was called *News (Morning Edition),* resuming its prevailing name *Tribune* for its last three years, 1912-15.

basis. In a few years it had the lead in circulation over other Cleveland papers.

And so E. W. became impatient and sought other fields. He persuaded his brothers to buy the St. Louis *Chronicle* (1880-1905), which was for sale cheap; and he tried to repeat his Cleveland success in the Missouri city. But the competition of Pulitzer's *Post-Dispatch* was too much for him; and, his health failing, he went with his sister Ellen for a trip abroad. When he returned in 1883, he at once[6] bought a controlling interest in the Cincinnati *Post*, in which his brothers had already invested something. Milton A. McRae was his business manager. When this paper had been made a success, Scripps went across the river and founded the *Kentucky Post* at Covington.

Such were the beginnings of the first of the modern newspaper chains. Ownership of more than one newspaper property by a single individual or company was by no means new. Benjamin Franklin's varied interests can scarcely be referred to as a chain, but James Parker and Isaiah Thomas may perhaps be regarded as eighteenth-century chain owners. Other notable examples of small chains occurred from time to time in both daily and weekly fields. Swain, Abell, and Simmons long owned both the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and Baltimore *Sun;* and John Russell Young headed a chain in the early seventies composed of the Philadelphia *Evening Star* and *Abend-Post* and the New York *Standard*. But none of these was very important as a chain. The Scripps chain was not significant for interpaper organization until the founding of the Scripps-McRae League in 1895.[7]

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS: STONE AND LAWSON

The outstanding event of Chicago journalism in the post-war period was the establishment of the *Daily News*. Its founder was one of the great journalists of his generation—Melville E. Stone.

Stone was born in an Illinois village, the son of a Methodist preacher, spent his boyhood in Chicago, and began newspaper

[6] But first he looked over the Buffalo *Evening Telegraph*, into which his brothers had put some money, but thought there was no chance for it. Apparently it perished that year, after a life of three years. The St. Louis *Chronicle*, however, became a Scripps-McRae paper.

[7] For the League, and for a character sketch of E. W. Scripps, see Chap. XXXII.

work as a paper-carrier for the *Tribune*. At sixteen he was a reporter on that paper.

But Stone's serious journalistic work began on the Chicago *Republican* a few years later. This paper had been started in 1865, with Charles A. Dana as a dissatisfied editor; had pursued an erratic career (for a time under the control of J. B. McCullagh, later the famous editor of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*); and, when Stone became its managing editor, had come under the ownership of J. Young Scammon.[8] This was in 1872; that same year Scammon revamped the paper and rechristened it the *Inter Ocean*, and under that unusual name it had a notable career as a high-tariff organ, a newspaper for the solid, respectable classes, and a representative of cultural interests. It was an uncompromising party organ; its motto was "Republican in everything, independent in nothing." [9]

In the change Stone was demoted to city editor, and he soon left the *Inter Ocean* for an evening paper, the *Mail* (1870-74), which he was instrumental in merging with the *Post* (1865-78), becoming managing editor of the consolidated paper.[10] But Stone was a restless young man, and soon went to Washington as correspondent for the *Post and Mail* and two or three other papers.

At this time he became interested in the possibilities of the one-cent metropolitan daily. Several attempts had been made to start such papers since the close of the war, but most of them had failed. There were, however, the New York *Daily News*, with its amazing circulation, and the moderately successful Philadelphia *Star* (1866-1900). Stone decided to attempt such a paper in Chicago. On Christmas Day, 1875, he and William Dougherty, a reporter friend who had also been experimenting with the penny-paper idea, issued a trial number; but the first regular issue of the Chicago *Daily News* appeared January 3, 1876.

[8] In 1844 Scammon had founded the Chicago *Journal*, which was long under the control of the Wilson family. Slason Thompson was its editor in the early nineties. An evening paper, at first Republican, then independent, then Democratic, it was merged with the *Daily News* in 1929.

[9] William Penn Nixon was manager from 1875 to 1897, he and his brother owning a controlling interest. For the paper's later history, see pp. 563-64.

[10] The *Post and Mail* was merged in the *Daily News* in 1878. There was a later Chicago *Mail* (1884-95) and *Post* (1890-1932). The former was the evening edition of the *Times* and the latter of the *Times-Herald*.

Neither Stone nor his friend had any money; but they induced a young English "remittance man" named Percy Meggy to put $5,000 into the project and made him associate editor. Meggy, wrote Stone later, played the part of the idle rich: "so far as labor was concerned, he was on perpetual strike." [11] Stone and Dougherty worked day and night. The *News* was a little four-page paper with five columns to the page. It specialized in very short items—often twenty-five or thirty in a single column. Lively, not without sensationalism, but clean and decent, independent of political control, and impartial, the small paper soon won a fair circulation and some advertising patronage. It was embarrassed at first by the lack of pennies in circulation, and had to arrange for the United States Mint to send in several barrels of the copper coins. Stone persuaded merchants to mark certain goods at ninety-nine cents instead of a dollar and at forty-nine instead of fifty cents in order to help get the pennies in circulation.

But the paper had insufficient resources, and it went ahead too slowly. A penny paper had to boom to make a success. The *News* often failed to pay its workmen and had trouble meeting its telegraph tolls. Dougherty gave up after a few months and left for New York. Meggy gave up in July and left for Australia. The paper was on the verge of expiration when Stone persuaded Victor F. Lawson to come in with him as business manager of the *News*, turning over to him the complete ownership, goodwill, and debts, and retaining only the editorship.

Lawson was the son of a Norwegian-born Chicago politician who had made a fortune in city investments. Tall, handsome, cultivated, the young publisher possessed enterprise tempered by good sense. In a year's time, circulation of the *Daily News* had passed 20,000, advertising was regular, and the business began showing a profit. The paper was then reorganized, with Lawson holding two thirds and Stone the other third of the stock.

Stone made the *News* a saucy sheet. The *Post and Mail*, managed by the McMullen Brothers, Stone's former employers, had an Associated Press membership, but was nevertheless in the habit of pirating bright *News* dispatches. The *News* set a trap for the thieves. It published a story of a famine in Serbia, cooked up in the office, in which appeared the sentence: "A few days ago the

[11] Stone, *Fifty Years a Journalist*, p. 52.

mayor of the provincial town of Sovik issued a proclamation ending with the ominous words: *'Er us siht la Etsll iws nel lum cmeht'* (the municipality cannot aid)." The *Post and Mail* promptly copied the story. The *Tribune* and *Times* coöperated with the *News* in pointing out that the supposed Serbian words in the dispatch spelled, when read backward: "The McMullens will steal this sure." In recalling the episode later, Stone wrote: "The *Post and Mail* was literally laughed to death. In less than two years we bought all that was left of it, including its franchise in the Associated Press and its material, for $15,000." [12]

One of the techniques of sensationalism of which Stone was fond was criminal detection on the part of reporters. He himself followed an absconding bank president, embezzler of $1,000,000, to Canada, traced him to England, but lost him there; then, by following an associate of the banker to England and threatening him, he at last confronted the embezzler in Germany. Such exploits made exciting, exclusive news.

The *News* sided with labor in the great railway strikes of 1877. It hit heads right and left, attacking abuses wherever it found them; it made enemies, but it made readers by thousands. It began its morning edition in 1881 at two cents, lowering it to one cent in 1888; to differentiate the new morning edition, its name was changed to the *Record* in 1893. Circulation growth was steady, and one day in the summer of 1885 the *News* fired 100 guns on the Chicago lake front to notify the world that it had passed the 100,000 mark. By 1888 it doubled that figure. It built up the most brilliant newspaper staff Chicago had ever known. Slason Thompson became an editorial writer, Eugene Field wrote the most famous of the early humor columns, Henry Ten Eyck White was a city editor, Amy Leslie (Mrs. Lillie Brown) became a dramatic critic, and George Harvey was among the reporters. The paper became famous for its feature material.

In 1888 Stone unexpectedly sold his interest in the *News* to his partner and retired. The price paid was $350,000; and in addition Lawson continued Stone's $10,000 annual salary for ten years as consideration for his promise not to reënter the Chicago newspaper field. Lawson then took over the entire management of the morning and evening papers, with remarkable success. Stone, after

[12] *Ibid*, p 64.

some European travel and banking activity, became the first general manager of the reorganized Associated Press.

OTHER CHICAGO PAPERS

Horace White, editor of the Chicago *Tribune* 1866-74, gave that paper an independent and liberal administration, advocating free trade and opposing the Grant administration. White, a graduate of Beloit, was scholarly and able, and later became an authority on finance and one of the editors of the New York *Evening Post*. In 1874 Joseph Medill, having finished his term as Mayor of Chicago, increased his interest in the *Tribune* to majority control and took over the editorial management of the paper. His son-in-law, Robert W. Patterson, became managing editor. He was a great news man. Medill made the paper more acceptable to the Republican party, though he did protest against too high a protective tariff in 1888. Throughout much of the present period, the *Tribune* had only about 35,000 circulation, but in the latter eighties it doubled that. Despite this comparatively small circulation, the paper prospered; its advertising patronage was good, its editorial page retained the prestige in the country at large which it had won during the Civil War, and it was one of the best newspapers in the whole country.

Wilbur F. Storey, of the *Times*—"Old Storey," as he was called because of his white hair and beard, though he was only fifty in 1870—continued to shock the respectable by his bold and sometimes indecent sensationalism, to infuriate his enemies by the devilish ingenuity of his attacks on them, and to act as defendant in most of Chicago's libel suits—sometimes as many as twenty-four at one time.[13] Dissipated, violent, tyrannical, he was nevertheless enterprising and acute as a news editor; and the *Times* kept well ahead of the *Tribune* in circulation, though not in advertising, as long as Storey edited it. It published lottery drawings, was fond of seduction stories, and often "beat the town" on exciting news.

Its alliterative, editorializing, and punning headlines were an institution. Over a story of the activities of the returning boards that were, as Storey thought, robbing Tilden of the presidency, went the head "Halo of Hell"; over a railroad wreck, "Death's

[13] Wilkie, *Thirty-five Years of Journalism*, p. 231.

Debauch"; over a story about Vanderbilt's will, "The House that Vanderbilt"; over the war Governor-Elect Nicholls was making for possession of the Louisiana state-house, "A Nicholls' Worth." The *Times* disliked John A. Logan, and headed the story of a speech he had made, "John's Jaw." It was wont to gather short paragraphs about scandals from all over the country and head them "Frail Females" or "Sexual Skulduggery." Stories of hangings offered brilliant opportunity for the head-writers: "Feet First" was the top line of one, followed in the next deck by the words: "That's the Way They Shoved Bill Green Down Among the Fireworks." Another hanging was headed "A Drop Too Much." Most famous of all was the sacrilegious head over the story of the hanging of four murderers who had uttered pious remarks before their execution—"Jerked to Jesus." [14]

Accidents, apoplexy, and aberrations afflicted Storey in the seventies. After the death of his second wife, he turned to "Little Squaw," a "spirit control"; later he began to build a marble palace for his residence; in 1878 he gave up his control of the *Times*. He was finally adjudged insane, and died in 1884. Thus ended one of the most extraordinary careers in Chicago journalism.

After Storey left it, the *Times* had a checkered life under various men. Storey had wanted it to die with him, but it lived to be mismanaged and plundered. In 1891 the elder Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, bought it; [15] and after his assassination two years later, his sons ran it. Willis J. Abbot was editor. In 1895 it was consolidated with the *Herald* under the name *Times-Herald.*

The *Herald* had been founded in 1881 by James W. Scott as Chicago's pioneer two-cent morning paper.[16] It was a four-page paper at first; but before the end of the present period it had increased to twelve pages, had become one of the handsomest papers in the country, had gained the second place among Chicago papers in circulation, and had erected a fine building. Scott was a liberal, and he made the Chicago *Herald* synonymous with clean politics

[14] Chicago *Times*, November 27, 1875.

[15] He had the help of Charles T. Yerkes and others. They paid only $300,000 for what had been a very valuable property.

[16] The *Herald* took over the subscription list of the *Daily Telegraph* (1878-81), which Storey had begun as the evening paper of the *Times*. The *Mail* was later the evening edition of the *Times*.

in an era when that was not easy. He supported Cleveland and hard money, but was independent of party control.

NELSON AND THE KANSAS CITY STAR

"Among the most successful products of recent journalism in the United States is the cheap afternoon paper," observed the salutatory editorial in the first number of the Kansas City *Evening Star*.[17] The *Star* was clearly inspired by its founder's observation of recent midwestern successes made by one- and two-cent evening papers. Except for one element, it kept rather closely to the pattern of these papers—small size, entertaining human-interest materials, succinct writing, and the crusading spirit. The element which was missing was sensationalism.

The founder was William Rockhill Nelson, thirty-nine years of age, who had already made a fortune in construction work in his native Indiana and lost it in a cotton-growing investment in Georgia. As a boy, he had been too headstrong and unruly for the authorities at Notre Dame, and had been dismissed at the end of his second year. Thus at seventeen he finished his formal schooling, but he later studied law and was admitted to the bar the year he was twenty-one. In the years immediately after the Civil War he made some $200,000 as a building contractor, and thus acquired an interest in the construction of roads, bridges, and public buildings which remained with him through life. When he lost his money in the Georgia investment, he was left with scarcely any property besides a few shares in the Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, a paper which his father had once owned. This led him to turn his mind and immense energies to journalism. With a partner, Samuel E. Morss, he bought the *Sentinel* early in 1879. On this paper he gained valuable experience, plunging into a campaign for a municipally owned waterworks system, and using much feature material; but after a year and a half, Nelson and Morss decided that Fort Wayne did not afford them the scope they needed, and so they sold their paper and looked about for a lively, growing city in which to start a cheap afternoon journal.

The Kansas City of those days was an unformed, sprawling conglomeration of diverse western and southern elements—a meat-packing town, a railroad point for western immigration, an Ely-

[17] The word *Evening* was dropped from its title after a few years.

sium for real-estate boomers, a wholesale distribution center. But it was slovenly and jerry-built, with mud streets up and down the clay hills, wooden sidewalks, and mule-drawn streetcars. Its rapid growth—it now had 55,000 population—had made for slipshod public management and had encouraged corruption. And yet scarcely a man or woman in Kansas City but was obsessed with a common dream of the future wealth and greatness of the city.

Two morning and two evening papers in the English language and two German papers were being published in Kansas City when the *Star* was begun. Of these, the two evening papers were young and destined never to grow much older, and the two German sheets were small and unimportant; but the morning papers—the *Daily Journal* and the *Times*, each sold at five cents a copy—were flourishing. The former, which had been established in 1858 as the *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, was edited by Colonel R. T. Van Horn. It was a strong, respectable paper, and stood for the development of business interests, good morals, and the Republican party. The *Times*, ten years younger, was more lively; it was edited by Dr. Morrison Munford in behalf of the unreconstructed Democracy. It belonged to that species of western journalism which occasionally indulged in picturesque abuse of its opponents and backed its statements by gunplay when necessary. Eugene Field was, at the moment, its clever managing editor.

In this environment the *Star* made its first appearance on September 18, 1880. The four-page paper, each page with only six two-inch-wide columns, excited some derision among its contemporaries. Field wrote in the *Times*:

> Twinkle, twinkle, little Star—
> Bright and gossipy you are;
> We can daily hear you speak
> For a paltry dime a week.

This was well meant, but it gave rise to the nickname "Twilight Twinkler," which clung to the *Star* for many years. The price of the new paper was two cents, or ten cents by the week. Nelson had the same trouble about pennies that Stone had experienced on the Chicago *Daily News*, and solved it in the same way.[18] In the first number of the *Star* appeared a notice: "Pennies and two-

[18] See p. 464.

cent pieces furnished in amounts to suit at the office of the *Evening Star.*" Of the first number 3,000 copies were printed, which represented the hourly capacity of the old flat-bed press which was used. The circulation grew, and by the end of its third year the *Star* was printing 10,000 copies. Morss had meantime retired on account of ill health, the establishment had been moved to better quarters, and the purchase of one of the other evening papers had brought the *Star* an A. P. franchise which enabled it to strengthen what had been its weakest department—national and foreign news. It did not forge ahead of the *Times* in circulation until about 1886; but by 1893 it reached 50,000—double the circulation of its strongest Kansas City rival.

Never was any large paper more closely identified with the personality of a single man. News, editorial, and business departments were equally driven with a tight rein by W. R. Nelson. Modern in his conviction that news was the heart of the paper, he began his little *Star* with no less than seven reporters, and gave much attention to them, continually prodding them with suggestions, assigning them to exposés and crusades. He once wrote:

> The reporter is the essential man on the newspaper. He is the big toad in the puddle. . . . We could get along pretty well without our various sorts of editors. But we should go to smash if we had no reporters. They are the fellows who determine whether a paper shall be dull or interesting, whether it shall attach readers or repel them. . . . He must be honest and accurate. At the same time he must never be a machine. Many reporters are ruined by allowing themselves to become messengers of the city editor. They cover assignments, and that is all they do.[19]

Nelson himself wrote little or nothing for the *Star*, but constantly gave leads to others. That he was opinionated and domineering, and, especially toward the end of his life, increasingly arrogant and ruthless is not to be denied; but his employes believed in him and were loyal to him. Many called him "Colonel," in the accepted southern style; others nicknamed him "The Baron." William Allen White, a *Star* reporter in the early nineties, has written this picturesque description of Nelson's appearance:

[19] From an address written to be read at the University of Missouri; quoted in Johnson, *William Rockhill Nelson*, p. 126.

He was big—monumental, with a general Himalayan effect as he appeared behind his desk. He had a great voice; in his emotional moments—which were not infrequent—this great voice rattled like artillery . . . a ruddy-faced, square-shouldered, great-bodied, short-legged man . . .[20]

Nelson made the *Star* more than a good purveyor of local news; he made it the mentor and monitor of Kansas City. It was paternalistic; it looked after the interests of its readers as few newspapers have.

The *Star* was still "too young to spank," as the *Times* said, when it began its long campaign against monopoly in the street-railway system by finding fault with the mule-drawn cars of those days. Two years later it led the fight which secured a cable system, and two years after that it headed off a thirty-year extension of the street-railway franchise. For many years it continued to oppose the grasping traction interests. During Nelson's editorship of thirty-five years, he published a total of 360 pages of matter in connection with this one campaign.[21]

Another persistent and relentless crusade was that against corruption in municipal affairs and fraud in elections. The paper offered rewards for the arrest and conviction of the boodlers, and employed its own detectives. It warred on gambling and vice, and in later years it led a successful fight for adoption of the commission form of city government.

One of the greatest of its long campaigns was that for city parks and boulevards. To William Rockhill Nelson is due the credit for Kansas City's achievement in this regard. His first drive was for paving the streets. Then he educated the people to the value of parks; he fought the rich men who resented increased taxation for such "extravagances"; and in the end he had to carry the matter into the courts. In advocating boulevards shaded by trees, he established nurseries of his own and experimented to see what trees and shrubs would flourish best under the difficult conditions afforded by city streets.

Nelson also did much to improve the character of homes for the middle class, and of the residential sections of the city which were being opened up. He built many houses himself for rental,

[20] *Colliers*, June 26, 1915.
[21] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

and he made model homes show places for the demonstration of possibilities for moderate-priced construction.

These are but a few of the more prominent lines of the *Star's* public-service activity. It fought the saloons; and eventually, in order to be consistent, threw out all its whiskey advertising. It campaigned for lower gas rates, for the use of river freights, and against the Little Louisiana Lottery. Despite the half-avowed pride of Kansas City in the exploits of Frank and Jesse James, Nelson thought the failure to apprehend them was a disgrace to the city and state, and offered a reward for their capture. And the *Star* looked after the smaller as well as the larger things. There is an interesting list in the following satirical editorial published in reply to criticism of the paper's busybody tactics shortly before the founder's death:

Under the malign direction of Nelson, the *Star* has kept things constantly stirred up. It has made tenants dissatisfied. They never used to complain about light and air. Now they won't look at a house unless every window opens on a flower garden with a humming-bird in it. The *Star* won't let anybody alone. It insists on regulating the minutest detail of people's lives. Its regulations are pernicious and extravagant. Its preaching about more parks and boulevards and breathing spaces and supervised playgrounds for children, and Dorothy Perkins roses, and swat the fly, and housing reforms, and a new charter, and art galleries, and keep your lawn trimmed, and take a lot of baths, and throw out the bosses, and use the river, and cut the weeds on vacant lots, and read the Home University Library, and for God's sake don't build such ugly houses, and make the landlord cut a window in the bathroom, and put goats in Swope Park, and why mothers risk their babies' lives by bringing them up on bottles, and plant your bulbs now, and teach your children manners, and what's the use of lawyers, and cultivate a pleasant speaking voice, and build a civic center, and put out houses for the birds, and walk two miles before breakfast, and why are Pullman cars so hot in winter, and go to church, and cut out the children's adenoids, and build traffic-ways, and the square deal, and sleep with your windows open, and smash the saloons, and pooh-pooh on factories that employ women, and reduce the street-car fares, and use two-by-sixes instead of two-by-fours if you want your house to stand up, and move out in the suburbs, and build hard-surface roads everywhere, and all the other things, have increased the cost of living and given people inflated ideas, and pretty nearly ruined the town.[22]

[22] Kansas City *Star*, October 1, 1913.

The *Star* did not win all its fights. It frequently lost battles, to win the war at last. And at the same time it won the paper's struggle for prosperity. Once when it was accused by a contemporary of bad motives in some of its crusades, it admitted frankly that "it has been actuated to a certain extent by selfish motives in always taking the side of the people against bosses and rings; it has aimed by this course to build up a newspaper of large circulation, commanding the confidence of the people." [23] This it assuredly did.

Essentially local as the *Star* was, and regional in its special interest in the states of Missouri and Kansas and the lower Missouri Valley, it gave fairly adequate news coverage in the national and international fields. Nor did it wholly neglect national politics in the editorial page. Though it supported Cleveland from beginning to end, it was by no means a Democratic paper, but genuinely mugwump. Low tariff, the gold standard, and civil-service reform were planks in its platform. In a later period it was destined to play an important part in one phase of national politics.

SAN FRANCISCO JOURNALISM

The great San Francisco paper of the period was the *Chronicle*. Founded in 1865 by two brothers in their teens as a free theatre-program sheet under the title San Francisco *Dramatic Chronicle*, it soon developed newspaper characteristics and began to compete with the established papers. The theatre-program method of distribution is explained by the extraordinary interest in the drama in mid-century San Francisco.[24] The two boys who started the paper were Charles and Michel H. De Young, St. Louis-born, who had been brought to San Francisco in the early fifties. The *Dramatic Chronicle* carried, from the first, some dramatic criticism and squibs about San Francisco affairs. Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and Charles Warren Stoddard contributed bits. Beginning with four pages not much larger than a letter-head, it gradually enlarged in size and circulation. The boy editors made a bright little paper which the town liked. The *Chronicle* was the only paper in the city to publish extras on the assassination of Lincoln. Its advertis-

[23] *Ibid.*, February 8, 1893.

[24] Prentice Mulford was publishing his *Dramatic Review*, a similar but short-lived paper, at the time the De Young boys began their venture.

ing patronage grew, and it increased its news and feature departments. In 1868 it dropped the word *Dramatic* from its title and became a full-fledged newspaper at two cents a copy.

During the next twenty-five years the *Chronicle* was the leading paper of its city in advocating parks, opposing political corruption, and "boosting" California. It led the fight for a reform state constitution in 1879; with the help of Henry George it crusaded against the land monopoly; and it opposed the grasping railroad barons of the time. Charles De Young, the older brother, was shot and killed in 1880 in connection with the paper's fight against the Workingmen's Party; De Young had shot and badly wounded that party's candidate for mayor, and the injured man's son carried on the vendetta by killing the editor.

M. H. De Young took over the entire management of the *Chronicle* after his brother's death. He made his paper a high-protection organ and served as a member of the National Republican Committee for eight years; he was a director of the Associated Press for a quarter of a century; and he served as a commissioner to most of the world's expositions from that of Paris in 1889 forward, and as director-general of San Francisco's 1894 fair. He continued to supervise the *Chronicle* until his death in 1925.

The old *Alta California* fell into the hands of the politicians in the period after the war, was long moribund, and perished in 1891. The *Call* (founded 1856), a morning paper of very conservative views, was under the same ownership as the *Bulletin* (founded 1855), a much more radical, crusading evening sheet. Both were clean, family papers, strong in features; and their combined circulation exceeded that of the *Chronicle*.

The *Examiner* is important as the first of the Hearst newspapers. It was founded as the *Evening Examiner* in 1865 by Captain William Moss, whose Copperhead *Democratic Press* had been destroyed by a mob after the receipt in San Francisco of the news of Lincoln's assassination. But it did not flourish, and it passed through several hands before George Hearst bought it in 1880. Hearst had made millions in silver, gold, and copper mines, and he wanted to be Governor. He named Clarence Greathouse, his private attorney, as editor. Greathouse was brilliant, shrewd, and an able writer; he employed a good staff and used the Hearst money to make the *Examiner*, which he had transformed into a morning

paper, the leading Democratic organ in the state. Circulation increased from 4,000 to about 20,000 by 1887.

In that year, Hearst, who, though he had failed in his drive on the governorship, had been elected United States Senator, turned the paper over to his twenty-four-year-old son William R. The son, who had been studying Pulitzer's methods in New York, proceeded to make the *Examiner* the most enterprising, brilliant, and sensational newspaper San Francisco had ever seen. He spent money freely ("Wasteful Willie" his critics called him) upon a large staff of talented and experienced newspaper men, upon special trains to cover events in a hurry, upon first-class features and art, upon his private parties and yacht. In the place of Greathouse he put Arthur McEwen, author of the sensation-writer's classic definition of news as "anything that makes a reader say 'Gee whiz!'" Samuel S. Chamberlain, an old New York *Herald* man and the founder of *Le Matin* in Paris, became the life of the paper as news editor. Ambrose Bierce ran a column. "Annie Laurie" (Winifred Black Bonfils) followed in "Nellie Bly's" lachrymose course as a sob-sister.

And the paper boomed. It doubled in circulation in a year under the new management, and in 1893 it overtook and passed the *Chronicle* with nearly 60,000. It continued to grow long after its owner had transferred his main activities to New York, reaching 100,000 circulation in 1908; and it has remained one of the few consistently profitable newspapers of the Hearst chain.

HARVEY W. SCOTT AND THE OREGONIAN

The best-known editor in the Pacific Northwest for a generation was Harvey W. Scott, of the Portland *Morning Oregonian*. In all the region north of San Francisco and west of Minneapolis [25] there were no large papers, and the *Oregonian's* 10,000 to 15,000 subscribers in the seventies and eighties gave it the primacy in the seven states of this great district. But it was not the *Oregonian's* circulation, its undeniable prosperity, or its good news-coverage that gave it its reputation: it was Harvey W. Scott's editorial page.

[25] The three leading papers of the Twin Cities—the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, the Minneapolis *Journal*, and the Minneapolis *Tribune*—had in 1892 only 19,000, 33,000 and 40,000, respectively, the last representing the consolidated circulation of the *Tribune's* morning and evening papers.

Scott had come west as a boy, had worked his way through a small college with a big name—Pacific University—and had then read law. Like other young lawyers, he sometimes wrote pieces for the paper, and those he wrote for the *Oregonian* were so well liked that even before he was admitted to the bar he found himself installed as the paper's editor. This was in 1865; twelve years later he became owner of the *Oregonian* and he continued to edit it until his death in 1910. He was the scholarly type of editor; his reading was extraordinary in range and volume, his memory was phenomenal, and his powers of reasoning were strong and original. As a writer he was decided and forceful, though lacking in the lighter qualities of wit and sprightliness. He belonged to the editorial type of the preceding generation, and had a high ideal of the responsibility of the press in the formation of public opinion. A Republican from youth up, he nevertheless advocated the doctrine of free trade and was opposed to Negro suffrage. He was a "sound money" man, an expansionist after the Spanish War, and a determined opponent of violence in connection with the Chinese and Japanese exclusion and labor problems.

A GROUP OF WESTERNERS

Since whites could not own land in Oklahoma until after the opening of 1889, the papers published in that territory were designed chiefly for the Indians (and often published by them) until that date. But there were two exceptions. The *Oklahoma War Chief* was published intermittently in 1883-86, between raids by federal authorities, by David L. Payne's band of "boomers." Payne was contending for settlement rights, and the paper was published in many places along the Kansas-Oklahoma line in the cause of the illegal squatters. The other exception was the *Territorial Advocate* at Beaver, in the Panhandle, where there was no national, state, or territorial government when the paper was started in 1887. It later became the Beaver *Herald.*

In 1865, A. H. Belo, fresh from a disbanded North Carolina regiment at whose head he had enjoyed the distinction of serving as the youngest colonel in the Confederate army, struck out westward on horseback to find a new home. Arriving in Galveston, Texas, he found employment as bookkeeper on the *News*, a paper which had been established in 1842, during the days of the Re-

public of Texas. Belo bought a part-interest in the *News* the year after his arrival in Galveston; in 1875 he owned it all; and ten years later he started the Dallas *News* as a twin paper carrying many of the same articles. Colonel Belo was an enthusiastic Texas "booster," an enterprising publisher, and in his day the most famous newspaperman in the Southwest.

The Salt Lake *Tribune* was begun in 1870 as an anti-Mormon paper; and by the end of the present period its circulation, though not large by eastern standards, exceeded those of the Mormon *Deseret News* and the Democratic *Herald* (1870-1920) put together.

In what was expected to be the metropolis of Washington Territory, the Spokan Falls *Times* was founded in 1879; but the local faction which spelled it Spokane demanded another paper to preserve the e, and the Spokane Falls *Weekly Chronicle* was begun in 1881. This was the progenitor of the Cowles group of papers. The *Spokesman* was founded in 1890; and William H. Cowles, son of the Chicago *Tribune's* Alfred Cowles, bought it two months after it was started.

CHAPTER XXIX

Weekly and Sunday Editions; Newspaper Content; Organizations

THE NUMBER OF VILLAGE NEWSPAPERS, COMMONLY CALLED AT this time "country papers," increased tremendously in the two decades after the Civil War. There were over 12,000 of them by 1890; they had more than tripled in twenty years. These were the community weeklies of towns under 10,000 population; when a town grew above that size, it was likely soon to have a daily unless it was close to a much larger city. But villages of 300 souls (some indeed with less) commonly had weeklies of their own, especially if they were surrounded by good farming communities and if they were not too near to the competition offered by the newspapers of larger towns.

It took little or no capital to start a weekly in a small town. The plant consisted of an ancient Washington hand-press, or a newer hand-cranked cylinder press, with a few cases of type, an imposing stone, and perhaps a small foot-power press for job-work. The type-founders and dealers in printers' supplies usually were glad to allow credit for a new office, and the readyprint houses supplied the paper-stock, half printed, on weekly C.O.D. payments. The difficulty was to have a few dollars in cash on hand each week in order to get the readyprint bundle out of the express office. With the assistance of a local boy as "printer's devil," and perhaps that of a stout laborer to turn the press-crank on publication day, the proprietor was his own editor and printer.

If such papers were easily founded, they were maintained with more difficulty. This gave rise to the migratory type of newspaper proprietor who tried his luck in one town after another, selling out when he could, or abandoning the effort when it became hopeless in favor of another venture somewhere else. One contemporary observer called this peripatetic type of journalist

"the *ignis fatuus* of the press." [1] A certain John Harper is said to have founded twenty-six papers in the Middle West—one nearly every year of his journalistic career.[2]

Political party organizations did much to promote the country papers, but there was a growing number of independent weeklies. The coöperative system of "patent insides" or "outsides" was of great help to the smaller weeklies. By 1880 more than 3,000 weeklies—about two fifths of those published—were being supplied with readyprints by twenty-one companies. Many of these companies were subsidiaries, however, of a few leaders in the field. Among the leaders were A. N. Kellogg, of Chicago, the pioneer in the business; the Western Newspaper Union, organized at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1880 and rapidly spreading to several distributing centers; and the American Newspaper Union, in which George P. Rowell, the advertising agent, was interested. In 1875 Kellogg took over an idea which several stereotyping companies had used, and began selling patent stereotype plates to country papers. A few years later the American Press Association, of New York, entered this field and soon became a leader in it. These early plates were screwed on wooden bases and set into the newspaper forms, used, and then shipped back to the manufacturer. Later more convenient bases were devised. After an initial payment for metal, the cost of the use of this "boiler plate," as it came to be called, was only twenty-five cents a column. Though both the "patent insides" and the "boiler plate" were objects of the contempt of papers which boasted of being "all home print," both furnished feature miscellany which was sometimes of excellent quality to the small country publisher with slender resources.

It must not be thought that country papers were generally contemptible or negligible in this period; the contrary was true. Though many were weak and impermanent, thousands were well established, with good plants, excellent financial rating, and several employes. The editor was usually one of the most important men in the town—a leader in public affairs and in the cultural life of the community.

Country circulations at the end of this period in 1892 commonly ran from 300 to 3,000, and anything in the upper half of

[1] North, *Newspaper and Periodical Press*, p. 93.
[2] New York *Tribune*, June 9, 1895, p. 26.

that range meant a competency for the owner and employment for several "hands." The subscription rate, which in the seventies was almost universally $2, tended to decrease in the eighties to $1.50 and even $1 a year. In Iowa, a typical midwestern state in its country journalism, 1892 found only about a tenth of its weeklies retaining the $2 subscription price, while more than half were charging $1.50, and one fourth $1.

WEEKLY EDITIONS OF DAILIES

The custom of the publication of weekly editions made up chiefly from materials already published in dailies was maintained throughout the period by at least three fourths of the country's daily newspapers, and some published both weekly and semi-weekly editions. No such sub-edition, however, equalled in circulation the *Weekly Tribune* in Greeley's time. Of those which boasted large circulations at the end of our period, some had the prestige of famous editorial names—such as Grady's Atlanta *Constitution* and Watterson's Louisville *Courier-Journal*—and some attracted readers by humorous features, as the Toledo *Blade* and Detroit *Free Press*. Other papers which had weekly editions with over 100,000 circulation were the *Tribune* and *World* in New York, the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, and the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. The usual price for these weeklies was $1 a year.

SUNDAY EDITIONS

Many papers changed the publication day of their weekly editions from Saturday to Tuesday or Wednesday in order to avoid competition with the growing Sunday papers.

In 1870 less than fifty dailies (about seven per cent of the total) published Sunday editions, and of these a third were German-language papers. Half of the Sunday editions were issued in the three cities of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. The Boston *Sunday Herald*, which, like several of the others, had been started in 1861, became in the seventies probably the most prosperous of the Sunday editions. First successful Sunday issue of a Philadelphia daily was that of the *Times*, begun in 1878. In New York, nearly all the papers had set up Sunday editions by the end of the seventies; the *Tribune*, which had issued such an edition for a short time during the war, reluctantly joined the procession at the

end of 1879, leaving only a few papers in the city, such as the *Evening Post* and the *Commercial Advertiser*, standing out against the trend. By 1880 there were more than 100 dailies (eleven per cent of the total) which published Sunday editions. Sabbatarian opposition continued; and yet in the next decade there was not only an increase in the number of Sunday papers, but an amazing development in the size and content of the papers themselves and in their circulations. Some papers, like the New York *Evening Post*, set up special Saturday editions. In 1890 over 250 daily papers (fifteen per cent of the total) published Sunday issues, and the number continued to increase rapidly.

Meantime the independent Sunday papers—those not connected with dailies—were yielding to competition. They ran an even race with their rivals in the seventies, but in the next decade they dropped far behind both in numbers and in prosperity, and most of them disappeared by the end of this period. One of the greatest of them, the New York *Sunday Mercury*, eventually turned the tables on its daily-and-Sunday competitors and began to issue a daily edition, the *Morning Telegraph*, in 1897.

It was the New York *World* which demonstrated what could be done with Sunday editions. When Pulitzer came to New York, Sunday papers were much like the daily issues, with perhaps the addition of a four-page supplement filled with miscellany. He made the *Sunday World* a twenty-page paper running over with attractive news stories and features, some of them sensational, most of them light and readable, and all illustrated more fully than any newspaper had ever been before. The response was immediate; and the paper leaped to 200,000 circulation by the end of 1885, and 250,000 by 1887. The number of pages increased gradually until by the end of this period it had reached forty to forty-eight each Sunday.

Morrill Goddard, editor of the *Sunday World*, sometimes called "the father of the American Sunday paper," gave its contents a variety and sparkle which long set the model for this type of journalism. The price was raised from three to five cents in 1889 without much effect on the size of circulation.

Other papers followed in the footsteps of the *Sunday World*, but none reached the heights of its circulation or quite its number of pages. Nearest were the *Globe* and *Herald* in Boston, the *Item*

in Philadelphia, and the *Sun* and *Herald* in New York. The large size of these papers, the comparative excellence of their content, and the volume of their advertising made one of the wonders of the times. "American journalism," declared an English observer, "has reached its highest development in the Sunday newspaper. There is no parallel to it in England or in any other country. It is at once a newspaper and a literary miscellany, a society journal and household magazine." [3]

FEATURES AND SYNDICATES

The development of these Sunday papers, with their mass of feature material, was made easier by the rise of the feature syndicate. The "Journal of Occurrences" of 1768 was the first syndicated feature in American newspapers, and there were other scattered instances of such material in the next 100 years.[4] Ready-prints in country papers were a type of syndication. "Jenny June" had syndicated a fashion letter as early as 1857, and the New York *Sun* and the Boston *Globe* had purchased some literary material and syndicated it to out-of-town papers in the early eighties. But Irving Bacheller, then a Brooklyn journalist and later famous as an Indiana author, was the first to set up a general syndicate business in literary materials. This he did in 1883, handling stories, household departments, and news and gossip letters. Others followed his example—chief among them Samuel S. McClure, later editor of *McClure's Magazine*. McClure made such writers as Stevenson, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Howells, and Rider Haggard available even to small papers for a few dollars a column. At the end of this period, the chief regular syndicate features were columns by four humorists—Bill Nye (said to get $400 a week for his syndicate), M. Quad (New York *Herald* syndicate), J. Armory Knox (now a little threadbare), and Marshall P. Wilder (a newcomer). Three serious columns were scarcely less important—John A. Cockerill's weekly letter on men and events; the "Tales Told in Gotham" of Foster Coates, managing editor of the *Mail and Express*; and the gossipy and reminiscential letter of Joseph Howard, Jr. Three women's columns were also popular syndicated

[3] *Universal Review*, September, 1890 (Vol. VIII, p. 78).

[4] See p. 99 for the "Journal of Occurrences." For the chronology of the syndicates beginning with Bacheller's, see *Journalist*, September 15, 1888, p. 9. McClure's is often spoken of as the first, but his was ten months later than Bacheller's.

features—the sensational twaddle of "Clara Belle" and "Babs" and the more serious Sunday letter of Helen Watterson.

Not usually syndicated, but commonly used as Sunday features, were popular songs with music. Monroe H. Rosenfeld's "With All Her Faults I Love Her Still," published in the New York *World* in 1888, made a great hit; and its author wrote many sentimental songs for various Sunday papers.

Feature material especially designed for youth, for women, for the followers of sports, for the socialite, and so on, was found in the Sunday papers. A notable feature was that of the Sunday Chicago *Tribune* on May 21, 1887, which reprinted on that day the entire revised version of the New Testament. This was not a mere freak, for the controversy over the revised version had made it newsworthy.

Comic drawings occasionally appeared in the leading Sunday papers. While the beginnings of the true comic strip belong to the next period, its progenitor is found in such humorous papers as *Puck* and *Judge* and in the *Sunday World*, the *Sunday Herald*, the Saturday edition of the New York *Daily News*, and other papers in the eighties. This type of strip was a sequence of drawings dealing with a single comic incident, run either across the top of a page or vertically down a column. It lacked, however, the main feature of the later comic strip—the reappearance in successive strips of the same characters.

Apparently the first regular comic section in a Sunday paper was that which began in the New York *World* late in 1889.

HUMOR IN THE NEWSPAPERS

Mark Twain, Petroleum V. Nasby, and others who began their careers in newspaper humor in the preceding period continued to appear more or less in the journals of the seventies and eighties. M. Quad moved from the Detroit *Free Press*, on which he had made his fame, to the New York *Herald* in 1891. More and more humor became an important element in most of the Sunday papers and in some of the dailies.

Out in Laramie, Wyoming, Bill Nye founded the *Boomerang*, named after the humorist's pet mule, in 1881. Though the paper had a daily edition, it was the weekly which featured Nye's wit and gained the larger circulation. In 1887 Nye became a member

of the staff of the New York *Sunday World*—a "man of the *World*," as he said. He wrote about two columns weekly. His editor sent him to Washington for some satirical pictures of life there, and later to the Paris exposition.

Another *Sunday World* humorist was J. Armory Knox, who, with his partner Alex E. Sweet, had made *Texas Siftings* (1881-97) famous. They started this paper in Austin largely as a humorous periodical, though it contained local and state news and looked like a newspaper. It was crammed with puns; its readers' appetite for that form of alleged humor must have been insatiable. *Siftings* soon came to be quoted from one end of the country to the other, and the partners in wit moved it to New York in 1885. A little later Knox made his connection with the *Sunday World*, and Sweet joined the *Sunday Herald*.

Opie Read began his *Arkansaw Traveler* in 1882 in Little Rock. It made a great hit with its sketches of back-country scenes and characters, reaching a circulation of 85,000 by its third year. But these sketches were relished better by those who thought themselves more civilized than they were by the up-creek subjects of them; and when a man was elected to the legislature for having said that he would like to tie a rope around the editor's neck and lead a mule from under him, Read decided to make the *Traveler* justify its title and moved to Chicago, and thenceforward the paper dropped its news department entirely. Read, too, became a regular contributor to the *Sunday World*.

Charles Heber Clark was a more metropolitan humorist. He became a reporter on the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1865, and then spent the remaining fifty years of his life in Philadelphia journalism. He is said to have loathed his reputation as a humorist; his judgment was better than his humor, for his sketches signed "Max Adeler," popular though they were, now seem labored and extravagant.

Among the earliest of the columnists were two New York wits of the early seventies: George L. Catlin, who wrote the pun-full "Catlin's Notes" for the *Commercial Advertiser*; and J. C. Goldsmith, writer of "Personal Intelligence" in the *Herald*.

Robert J. Burdette engaged in journalism in Peoria, Illinois, as a young man; he was thirty when he joined the Burlington, Iowa, *Hawkeye*, on which he made his fame. He was clever and

whimsical, and he loved the fantastic pun, such as the one about the pet rooster, Mr. Dresseldorf, who expected to die neck's tweak. Burdette's column of "Hawk Eye-tems" became famous, and in the latter eighties he was on the staff of the Sunday Brooklyn *Eagle.*

Eugene Field, St. Louisan-born, worked on St. Louis and St. Joseph papers before he became managing editor first of the Kansas City *Times* and then of the Denver *Tribune* at the beginning of the eighties. On the latter paper he wrote a department first called "Nonpareil Column" and then "Old Gossip." In 1883 Melville E. Stone brought him to the Chicago *Daily News* as a special writer, and he began his famous "Sharps and Flats" column, which was to be the model of many later urbane and witty "colyums." In the earlier years of "Sharps and Flats" it consisted chiefly of paragraphs on politics, personalities of the day, and the local drama. Later, verse was included—much of it by 1889, with many of the Horatian translations. Field's column has probably never been excelled by any long-continued newspaper feature for its keen satire, its genuine wit, and the lightness of its literary touch. These qualities were sustained for twelve years, and "Sharps and Flats" continued until Field's death in 1895.

Joel Chandler Harris began work at the printer's trade in the early years of the Civil War, when he was fourteen years old. After a varied newspaper experience, he joined the Atlanta *Constitution* in 1876 and continued to write editorials and features for it for twenty-four years. His "Uncle Remus" stories in that paper attracted the attention of northern editors and later of book publishers, and eventually gained wide fame.

Harris had been a member of the Savannah *Morning News* when twelve-year-old Frank L. Stanton got a job as a copyboy there. Stanton in a few years became a reporter, and Harris encouraged the youngster in his early attempts at the writing of verse. Later it was Harris who brought him to the *Constitution,* where his "Just from Georgia" column, with its daily melodious verse from Stanton's pen, ran from 1889 until the poet's death in 1927.

Peck's Sun (1874-94) was founded in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, but soon moved to Milwaukee. In it that imp whose tricks were so widely retailed in the paper—"Peck's Bad Boy"—had his birth.

George W. Peck, later Mayor of Milwaukee and Governor of Wisconsin, was responsible.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

But features, even in the Sunday edition, were less important than the news.

A presidential campaign—with its nominating conventions, its speech-making, and its election—is always a big newspaper story; but the Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876 and the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884 were unusually colorful and important. The former had its biggest news phase in the doubtful result of the election, which, for a few weeks, threatened an outbreak of violence. The New York *Times* played a decisive part in the early stages of the electoral dispute, and Democrats long claimed that it gave Republican leaders the hint which resulted in their stealing the election. The morning after the balloting the *Times* declared, in the face of admissions of defeat by the *Tribune* and other Republican papers, that if the Republicans had carried Florida, "as they claim," Hayes would win in the electoral college by one vote. The *Times*' managing editor and the chairman of the Republican national committee then collaborated on telegrams to southern managers instructing them to "hold the state," and so on; thus were the plans made which ultimately defeated Tilden before the electoral commission. The campaign of 1884 was also important in journalistic history, not only because it was so largely a newspaper contest, but because the "bolting" of the Republican nomination by so many papers which had usually followed that standard set a new record in political independence.

The assassination of President Garfield on July 2, 1881, his death ten weeks later, and the execution of his assassin Guiteau made one of the biggest stories of the period. The death of General Grant was another of the great stories. It was while the famous man lay on his death-bed that the reporters won, in their struggle with the doctors, one of those minor victories which mark the history of news-gathering. Grant's physicians considered the inquiries of the reporters to be an invasion of privacy, but when a New York *Tribune* man protested with great seriousness that "We represent 50,000,000 people" they relented and gave out the news of the general's condition. Stories of the death and the funeral

of Grant occupied thousands of columns; Julian Ralph wrote an 11,000-word story of the funeral which filled the front page of the New York *Sun*, penning it all in one seven-hour stretch.

Labor disturbances—especially the first great railroad strike of 1877, the "Great Upheaval" of 1885-86, the Chicago Haymarket riot of 1886, and the Homestead strike of 1892—kept the front pages for months at a time. Following the Haymarket riot, bloodthirsty editorials appeared in many papers throughout the country calling for the execution of labor leaders and anarchists. Among the anarchists finally hanged in 1887 for having printed opinions and exhortations that may have led to the tossing of the Haymarket bomb were three journalists—Albert Parsons, editor of the *Alarm;* and August Spies and Adolph Fischer, of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung.*

The "Virginius Affair," which grew out of the capture of a filibustering ship by the Spanish and execution of eight American citizens in 1873, aroused great excitement in America. The Russo-Turkish War of 1878 was of comparatively mild interest to American newspapers; but the Indian wars in the Northwest a year or two earlier, and especially the Custer Massacre on June 25, 1876, produced major news of the decade. Such papers as the New York *Herald* and Chicago *Times* had regular war correspondents with the American forces. Jerome B. Stillson's fourteen-column story of his interview with Sitting Bull, telegraphed to the *Herald* from Bismarck in 1877, at a cost of $2,000, was a famous beat. John F. Finerty, of the Chicago *Times*, was a leading reporter of the Indian wars of 1876-81.

The greatest disaster of the entire period was the Johnstown flood, of May 31, 1889, in which over 2,300 lives were lost. The flood was covered, amid the greatest difficulties, by some of the best New York, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia reporters of the times. The Charleston earthquake of 1886 furnished another great story.

Prizefighting made good newspaper copy, taking more and more space in more and more papers from 1880 onward. The Ryan-Goss go in 1880, fought to eighty-seven bloody rounds; the Sullivan-Ryan fight two years later; the international Kilrain-Smith fight of 1888; and, eclipsing them all in interest, the Sullivan-Kilrain contest of 1889—all had their "play," despite the opposition

to the prize ring on the part of many readers. Almost as sensational but less gory were the stories of the international walking matches of 1879 and 1882. The international yacht races to defend the America's cup, which occurred at intervals during the period made big news.

Among the great crime and scandal stories of the period were those of the kidnaping of Charley Ross in 1874, still unsolved; the greatest of domestic scandal cases in American history, the Beecher trial of 1875; the trial of Mrs. Florence Maybrick for poisoning her husband in 1889, an international story handled gravely by the English press, but sensationally in the cabled accounts published in the New York *World* and other papers; and the mysterious murder of Dr. P. H. Cronin, the Irish Nationalist leader in Chicago, with the subsequent trial, in 1889. This last trial was reported with exceptional brilliance for the Chicago *Herald* by John W. Postgate, in stories illustrated by Charles Lederer's sketches. The first electrocution for murder, performed at Auburn, the New York prison, in 1891, was not reported; but a change in the law the next year permitted the presence of newspapermen as witnesses. Thus the first stories of legal electrocution were written in 1892 by six New York reporters, including Arthur Brisbane for the *World* and Charles Edward Russell for the *Herald.*

REPORTERS AND THEIR PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The reporter had come into his own. He was key man in the New Journalism. His growing importance is shown by the increased use of the by-line, common in the Sunday papers, and by 1886 frequent in the daily editions of the New York *World,* the Boston *Globe,* and a few other papers. Most of the famous editors of the time had risen from the ranks of reporters. "There are better reporters in America than anywhere else in the world," wrote an English observer in the *New Review* in 1893.[5]

On the other hand there was the famous occasion on which President Eliot was said to have called reporters "drunkards, deadbeats, and bummers." [6] Certainly there was too much drinking by reporters.

Journalists were, on the whole, much better educated than

[5] *New Review,* June, 1893 (Vol. VIII, p. 655).
[6] See *Journalist* through February-March, 1890.

formerly. "In the large cities," said a famous reporter of the period, "notably in the East, regularly educated men are the rule. Journalism has grown to be a profession." [7] Whitelaw Reid also thought journalism a profession, but the *Nation* took issue. No special education was required, it argued, the ability to observe and to write being "a gift"; and besides journalism was too commercial to qualify as a profession.[8] Nevertheless there was much talk—occasionally favorable—about special education for journalism.[9] Cornell University in the years 1875-79 offered a Certificate of Journalism for the completion of a prescribed liberal arts curriculum plus some work in the university printing department, but it had no special journalistic courses. Apparently the first of such courses to be offered in a university were two at the University of Missouri in the years 1878-84; they were called the "History of Journalism" and "Materials of Journalism."

One factor operating against professionalism was the insecurity of tenure. Frequent "shake-ups" were common in most newspaper offices; and while this made for rapid advancement of the young and brilliant men, it was disastrous for the older workers—and men grew old quickly in the intense and exciting life of a great newspaper organization.

Journalists' salaries virtually doubled during this period. By its end, in New York City several managing editors were receiving over $6,000 a year, city editors got $3,000 to $5,000, and a score of good reporters drew as much as the city editors.[10] But these were in the top brackets, and $15-a-week police-court reporters and $25-a-week general-assignment men were common. Payment by space rates, with a guarantee to star writers, was common by 1890, and most established journalists in New York objected to working on salary; but Pulitzer, recognizing the abuses of this system and paying liberal salaries, wielded a strong influence against space-writing.

Women flocked into newspaper work in the eighties. The *Journalist* estimated in 1886 that 500 women worked regularly on

[7] Junius Henri Browne, in *Lippincott's Magazine*, December, 1886 (Vol. XXXVIII, p. 723).

[8] *Nation*, June 26, 1879 (Vol. XXVIII, p. 433). This was a reply to Reid's recent address before the Ohio Press Association.

[9] See note on earlier efforts in this direction, p. 406.

[10] Foster Coates' syndicated letter, quoted in *Journalist*, December 24, 1887.

the editorial side of American newspapers, and two years later it said there were 200 on New York papers alone.[11] Local women's press clubs were organized, and in 1885 a Women's International Press Association, with Mrs. E. I. Nicholson, of the New Orleans *Picayune*, as president, was launched.

Professional journals sprang up. Best of them was the New York *Journalist*, edited for many years by Allan Forman. Begun in 1884, it was consolidated with *Editor & Publisher* in 1907. There were many printers' journals, chiefly manufacturers' organs.

There were some professional organizations. Press clubs made their appearance in some of the cities. The most famous was the Gridiron Club, organized by the Washington corps of correspondents in 1885; Ben: Perley Poore, of the Boston *Journal*, who covered the news of the capital from the administration of John Quincy Adams to the end of Cleveland's first administration, was the first Gridiron president. Nearly all the states had their "editorial associations," usually dominated by the country editors. The National Editorial Association was founded by B. B. Herbert at a meeting in New Orleans in 1885; its annual meetings, featured by excursions which obliging railroads "deadheaded" for many years, were especially popular among the country editors.

On the business side, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was founded in 1887. W. H. Brearly, of the Detroit *News*, was its chief organizer and first secretary.

Meanwhile the printers' unions grew. They had to face such labor problems as those growing out of the introduction of stereotyping and the linotype. They participated in movements toward general union organization, and joined the American Federation of Labor when it was organized in 1886. The next year the United Typothetae of America, an organization of employing printers, was formed, chiefly to make a united front against the International Typographical Union. There were many printers' strikes in 1886-87, with the objects of raising wages and obtaining a nine-hour day. The latter goal was not wholly gained until 1898; but wages increased, reaching about $4 a nine-hour day for newspaper compositors in large cities by 1890.

[11] *Journalist*, May 29, 1886, and April 21, 1888.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS AND ITS RIVALS

The great news-gathering agency of the country, the Associated Press of New York, had many of the aspects of a monopoly. Independent papers could not compete with it, because of the prohibitive cost of such a coverage as that provided by the coöperative effort and resources of the association, including its reciprocal arrangements with Reuters, Havas, and Wolff abroad. Smaller groups could not compete with it because, even if they got together a good news report, the Western Union Telegraph Company, which had control of the main telegraphic arteries, would juggle rates against them. The Western Union was protecting its profitable business with the Associated Press.

Under these conditions the New York organization prospered and became more powerful. Vastly improved service came with the enlarged reports sent over leased wires from the Western Union. The first leased wire was one from Washington to New York, taken over in 1879; five years later there was one from New York to Chicago. Cable news grew in volume. The seven papers which composed the New York Associated Press now sold their service to various regional groups, and these groups restricted their own membership at will. Thus newcomers and any papers which had not been original members might be kept out. Rates were arbitrary and sometimes unjust, but public protest on the part of a dissatisfied member might result in the cancellation of a membership.

But when James W. Simonton, who had long ruled the wide-flung empire of the Associated Press with a firm hand, was forced by ill health to retire in 1882, the midwestern group (called Western Associated Press) saw its opportunity to press for recognition as equal in power with the New York City members. This would not have been possible without the aid of the Western Union, which had been having rate difficulties with the arrogant New York Associated Press. The Western Union, whose own operators could be used as news-gatherers, encouraged the midwestern group to secede and threatened to build it up into a strong rival of the N.Y.A.P. The threat was enough, and a new Joint Executive Committee was set up which divided control between New York and the Midwest.

Meantime, in spite of discouragements, a rival coöperative news agency had sprung up. Its true founder was Henry George, famous as the promoter of the single-tax theory, but in 1869 connected with the San Francisco *Herald*, and a little later with the Sacramento *Reporter*. Failing to get A. P. service for these papers, he helped form an agency in Philadelphia which was incorporated in 1871 as the American Press Association. This was possible because of the growth of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, and later the Southern and Atlantic. George and his associates had their troubles—chiefly those related to transmission by indirect and undependable wires—but they prospered after a fashion. They had an advantage in being able to sell to clients irrespective of membership in any association. They reorganized in 1877 under the name of the National Associated Press Company. But when the Atlantic and Pacific Company was absorbed by the Western Union, the National A. P. was subjected to radical increases in rates and faced disaster.

In 1882, however, a strong new organization, including the Boston *Globe*, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, the New York *Daily News*, the Chicago *Herald*, and the Detroit *News*, was formed to take over the independent movement. It was called the United Press, though it is to be distinguished from the United Press later founded by Scripps. Skilful management gradually built up a good service; and though the telegraph company on which it most depended was, as before, bought up by the Western Union, it had by 1885 become a fully developed agency largely duplicating the work of the Associated Press. The competition which ensued was expensive, and the A. P. found it especially harassing to find its rival encouraging new papers in competition with its own members. By secret agreements it was able to buy off such activity; and as the two associations became more friendly, the revenues of both were increased through further treaties, many of them secret, by which capitalization was increased, stock pooled under interlocking control, and news reports exchanged. These combinations were upset when the Western Associated Press brought to light some of the deals and demanded a reorganization. The New York *Sun* and *Tribune* thereupon withdrew from the New York Associated Press in 1892 and went over to the United Press. This forced an epochal realignment the next year, in which the modern

Associated Press (incorporated as the Associated Press of Illinois) was set up on the one hand, the legatee of the old Western A. P., but including most of the Philadelphia and Baltimore papers, the New York *World*, and other strong easterners; and on the other hand, the United Press, operating mainly in the East.

In general, the growth of the great news agencies was marked by an extraordinary increase in the amount of wire and cable news used in all daily newspapers. The Postal Telegraph Company was organized in 1881, and its lines were financed by the millions of John W. Mackay, the silver bonanza king. Two years later Mackay and James Gordon Bennett, Jr., of the New York *Herald*, organized the Commercial Cable Company. This strong competition for Jay Gould's Western Union brought cable tolls down almost fifty per cent and also reduced land rates.

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

Though the foreign-language press in America almost doubled in the period 1872-92, the total press tripled; thus the foreign-language press fell behind in the general advance, comprising ten per cent of the total in 1872 and six per cent in 1892.

Although eighteen different languages were represented by 1892, German was far in the lead; and the German-American papers comprised, for the entire period, about eighty per cent of the whole. Two of the three greatest waves of German immigration into the United States occurred in the early seventies and the early eighties, and there has always been unusual activity in founding new foreign-language papers following increases in immigration. German immigrants, moreover, have been better readers than some of the other nationalities, and they have been unusually persistent in their adherence to their own papers, so that their press has bulked disproportionately large in the foreign-language press as a whole. The ninety-seven German dailies in the United States in 1892 were widely scattered, but there were six cities each of which had five or six of them: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee.

The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* claimed in 1880 that its circulation of 50,000 was larger than that of any other German-language daily in the world. Mr. and Mrs. Oswald Ottendorfer, proprietors, were active in the management of the paper until

Mrs. Ottendorfer's death in 1884, and two or three years after that Mr. Ottendorfer virtually retired to spend the remainder of his life in Europe. Herman Ridder, born in New York of immigrant parents, who had been active in German-American journalism and Democratic politics, became manager of the paper in 1890.

Next to the German-American press in number of periodicals came the Scandinavian papers, which numbered over 100 in 1892. Many of these were religious in character, and most of them were in the Middle West.

The San Francisco *Wah Kee*, translated *Oriental*, is said to have been the first Chinese paper in the United States. It was published in 1875-79. Unable to import the large font of type necessary, its editor, Yee Jenn, produced it by a primitive lithographic process, and claimed to have a circulation of 1,000 weekly at $5 a year.

In most cases, no inconsiderable proportion of the issue of a foreign-language paper was sent back to the home-land.

CHAPTER XXX

Mechanical and Business Phases; Government and Press

THE STANDARD PAGE-SIZE OF THE PERIOD WAS THAT OF SEVEN 2¼-inch-wide columns. There were many papers, especially country weeklies and low-priced dailies, which carried only six columns—and even less—to the page. Also there were some whose columns were only 1⅞ to 2 inches wide;[1] thus, the early columns, for example, of some of the Scripps papers, the Kansas City *Star*, and the Spokane *Spokesman-Review* were noticeably narrow. In the eighties some of the papers enlarged their pages to eight columns. In 1880 the Chicago *Times* was following the odd method of varying the number of columns to the page from edition to edition and day to day—sometimes only six, sometimes as many as eleven—according to the needs of the day's advertising and news. Thus it kept to its regulation eight pages while it almost doubled its capacity at will. The Chicago *Daily News* and *Mail* and the New York *World* gave some trial to this technique in 1884, when they changed back and forth between seven and eight columns. The *World* soon fixed upon eight, however, obtaining presses which permitted going to ten or twelve pages or more when necessary; by the end of this period it was regularly printing twelve to fourteen pages and sometimes sixteen.

There were still a few papers that kept to four pages of the old ten- or eleven-column blanket size up into the eighties, and many papers of four eight-column pages. The *Sun* and *Evening Post* both went from four large to eight smaller pages in 1887. This change from "folio" to "quarto," as it was called. was general throughout the country at the very end of this period.[2]

[1] Widths are given in inches because the point system was not in vogue until after its adoption by the United States Type Founders Association in 1886.

[2] See *Newspaperdom*, June, 1892.

Headline schedules seem modest in comparison with later usage. Heads were almost all set in single-column measure. Hanging indention grew in popularity. There were fewer label heads than formerly; these were sometimes used for cross-lines when verbs appeared in the inverted-pyramid or hanging-indention decks. Alliterative and editorializing headlines were common even in the best papers in the early seventies; but the absurdities to which such things led in the Chicago *Times*, Cincinnati *Enquirer*, and other sensational sheets at length brought them into bad repute.

On the rare occasions when a double-column head was used, its light-face type made it modest in comparison with later "scare-heads." But even for the biggest stories, most of the papers kept to single-column heads even though they used larger type for the story and maps and other illustrations.

While many leads are found by 1890 which conform to the later 5-W's type, the feature lead was extremely common; and there were many of the older-fashioned, tantalizing kind which seem never to get to the point. The theory was, of course, that the headlines bulletined the flash, and the writer of the story could be allowed his time to lead up to his statement. A somewhat extreme example from a number of the New York *Times* issued very early in our period may be quoted; the story of a national convention began:

> This, the last day of the Republican jubilee, dawned as bright as the prospects of the great party of freedom, and remained throughout one of those days of brilliant sunshine which are set at long intervals as rare diadems in the early Summer. As on the previous day, the streets were crowded at an early hour with surging crowds . . .[3]

Of course, everyone expected Grant to be renominated, and the headlines said he had been; but the actual story does not reach that point at all on the front page, though the entire seven columns of that page are given over to the convention.

Ordinarily the front pages of the great dailies were clear of advertising, but there were exceptions to this rule. The New York *Herald* continued to fill its first and second pages with advertisements, and it had some followers. Others occasionally admitted a column or more of such material to page one; the Chicago

[3] New York *Times*, June 7, 1872.

Tribune did this in 1885 and the New York *Times* as late as 1892.

There was no more than an informal departmentalization of sports and society news, without headed pages.

BUILDINGS, PRESSES, AND PAPER

Many fine new buildings were erected by newspapers in the years 1872-92. In New York, Park Row had become synonymous with journalism much as Wall Street had come to stand for finance. At the end of this period all of the city's dailies were published on Park Row or near it. There the *Tribune* had erected its "tall tower" in 1875, and there the *Times* built in 1889 a building so expensive that it embarrassed the declining paper. But the finest of all was the $2,500,000 *World* building, occupied in 1890. The *Herald*, however, decided to go uptown to erect its beautiful building of 1894 at 35th Street. In Philadelphia, the *Times* built a fine structure in 1876, rivalling the *Public Ledger* show-place, which was then nearly ten years old; and the *Record* moved into a great new building in 1882. The Boston *Herald* structure of 1878 was the finest newspaper home in New England, and the Chicago *Herald's* new building of 1891 put it ahead of its rivals in that city. These were only a few of the more unusual newspaper buildings erected.

In the seventies Bullock presses and a few Walter presses from England were used by some of the larger papers, but it was R. Hoe & Company of New York which best kept up with the demands of swelling circulations. In 1884 the Duplex Printing Press Company was organized; it put on the market a flat-bed, web-feed press for small papers. The Goss Printing Press Company was organized in Chicago in 1885; it also began by serving the smaller dailies of the West, but was soon making presses for the East and for England. Stereotyping, already in use by the largest papers at the beginning of our period, came to be used more generally, though many papers, even in large cities, continued to use type-revolving presses through the early eighties. The greatest improvement of the period in presses was the addition of a practicable attached folder which could cut, paste (if desired), fold, count, and deliver twenty-four-page papers at press speed. This was perfected in the early eighties, though there had been some workable attached folders earlier.

That was the decade of the giant "double-supplement perfecting press" made by the Hoe Company and considered one of the chief wonders of the age. It consisted of one of the eight-page presses with a supplementary four-page press, fed from its own roll of paper and set at a right angle to the main press; by the use of a "turning bar," the direction of the paper web from the supplementary press was brought into the folder in line with the one from the main press. The first of these machines was installed by the New York *Herald* in 1882; it delivered 24,000 twelve-page papers an hour. Four years later, Hoe enlarged this press so that the supplementary section would print eight pages instead of four. This was called the "quadruple press" because it produced four four-page sheets. But vaulting circulations called for still faster presses, and in 1889 Hoe produced and installed in the *Herald* office a "sextuple press" fed from three rolls. In this press the right-angle system was abandoned; the webs ran parallel; the machine was more compact and higher. It could turn out 48,000 twelve-page papers, or 24,000 twenty-four-page papers, per hour. Prices of these presses ran from $40,000 to $80,000 in the period.

Cheap newspapers with large circulations would have been impossible in these years without cheap paper. Increasing use of mechanical wood pulp, which by the late eighties tended to displace three fourths of the rag pulp [4] in a sheet, was the chief factor in the reduction of paper prices; but the immense improvement in the size and speed of the Fourdrinier papermaking machine was also a help. Within the period the capacity of this machine multiplied more than three times. Prices of fair newsprint in large quantities in New York dropped from twelve cents at the beginning of our period in 1872 to eight cents in 1877, six cents in 1882, four cents in 1887, and three cents at its end in 1892.

TELEPHONE AND TYPEWRITER

At the beginning of the seventies, reporters were congratulating themselves that the horse-drawn street-cars which had supplanted the less efficient omnibuses made it easier to get the news to the office; but in 1877, the telephone, invented two years before by Alexander Graham Bell, was used to transmit a lecture from Bell's

[4] See p. 45. Chemical wood pulp, with longer fibres, took the place of rag pulp as the toughening element in print paper in the nineties.

laboratory in Salem, Massachusetts, to the offices of the newspapers of that city. Within a few years some of the larger newspaper offices adopted telephones. Thereupon, in the eighties, such specializations developed as were designated by the names "leg men" and "rewrite men." The number of telephone instruments used was still small, however; and at the end of this period the newsroom of the Chicago *Tribune* was served by one telephone.

Typewriters were introduced into newspaper offices only a little later than the telephones. It was C. L. Sholes, a former editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, who built the earliest practical typewriter in the late sixties. E. Remington & Sons, arms manufacturers, took over production and placed their Model 1 on the market in 1876, but not until they equipped their Model 2 to print both caps and lower-case five years later did the machines become popular with newspaper workers. Though some veterans adhered to handwritten copy for many years, typewriters were saving composition cost on most large newspapers by the later eighties. The Associated Press adopted the machines in 1885, and the next year the *Journalist* said:

> A few years ago type writer copy was the exception; now it is the rule among the better class of journalists. . . . There are four or five machines made . . . The Remington, the oldest machine, and the Caligraph, its immediate successor, are the most popular. The Hall does pretty work, but is too slow. The Crandall is an excellent machine, one of the newcomers.[5]

Nevertheless, even at the end of the present period, there were many large newspaper offices without a typewriter.

THE COMING OF THE LINOTYPE

Probably there were few printers in the nineteenth century who did not sometimes dream of a machine which would end the tedious work of setting type by hand. Scores of patents for typesetting machines were filed in the United States Patent Office. The most famous of them was the Paige patent, into which Mark Twain poured $190,000; Mark said it could do everything but drink, swear, and go on strike. But a trial in the Chicago *Times-Herald* office in 1894 demonstrated that it was a failure, and ex-

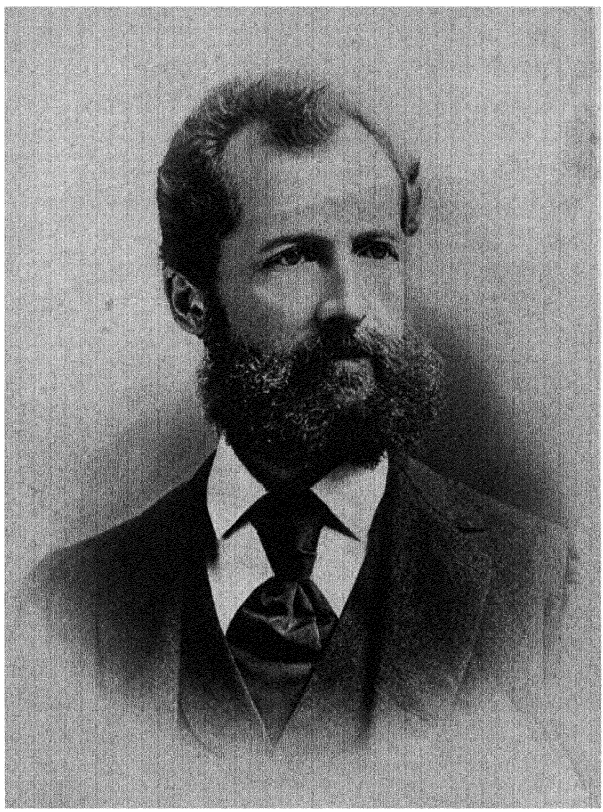
[5] *Journalist*, April 24, 1886, p. 9.

penditures for it had already forced Mark and his publishing business into bankruptcy. The Paige machine cost $12,000. Another typesetting machine was the Thorne, later called the Simplex, priced at only $2,000. It had a long career. In 1890 it was in use in such offices as those of the Chicago *Evening Journal* and the New York *Weekly;* later it was widely used in country shops. But it broke too much type and was eventually discarded. The Corsa, the Typotheter, the Low, and the Macmillan were other automatic typesetters on the market in 1890.

The machine which ultimately succeeded was on an entirely different principle. A Washington court stenographer named James O. Clephane had been a promoter in the middle seventies of a machine for making multifold copies of court transcripts. He had some part in the development of the typewriter; and in connection with that work he made the acquaintance of Ottmar Mergenthaler, who had been born in Germany and there apprenticed to a watchmaker, but who was now a workman in a Baltimore shop which specialized in the construction of patent models. Typewriters were only a beginning for Mergenthaler, Clephane, and the other promoters who became interested in the experimental machines which were successively developed. Stereotypy gave the hint which was eventually used in the Mergenthaler patent. The successful machine cast a type-high slug from an assembled and automatically justified line of matrices. Each matrix was a mold for a single character, and the line was assembled from a keyboard; distribution was automatic.

When the machine, after many years of experimentation and expensive construction, seemed to approach perfection, a publishers' syndicate, in which Whitelaw Reid, of the New York *Tribune,* and Melville E. Stone, of the Chicago *Daily News,* were active, took over control for $300,000. The first machine to operate in a newspaper office was set up in the *Tribune* building in 1886; on July 3, Reid started the mechanism and christened the machine the "linotype," and Mergenthaler set the first line. The Chicago *Daily News* and Louisville *Courier-Journal* had machines in operation but little later.

This first machine, of which sixty were installed in various newspaper plants, was a "blower"—that is, the matrices were moved by an air blast. Before the linotype was an entire success, that



Ottmar Mergenthaler, chief inventor of the linotype.

device had to be superseded by a gravity system, and other changes had to be made. The publishers became impatient. There were reorganizations and quarrels, with the resignation of Mergenthaler and the founding of a rival company, before the successful linotype of 1890 was produced. Meanwhile the Rogers Typograph threatened for a time to get the business of the larger papers. It was also a slug-casting machine. But an injunction based on patent infringement in 1891 ended that menace, and several hundred linotypes were in use at the end of the present period.

NEWSPAPER ILLUSTRATION

Faster engraving processes had much to do with the increasing use of pictures in newspapers in the seventies and eighties. Woodcuts, long the chief reliance for such illustration as newspapers used, still held some place. But zincographs (line cuts etched by acid on zinc), which had been invented in Paris about 1859, came into use in American newspapers in the early seventies; and the application of photography to the process made it possible in the early eighties to transfer drawings to zinc plates more easily and quickly. Chalk plates, in which the artist drew directly on a chalk covering of the plate, which was then etched by acid, were still more simple and were widely used.

The halftone photo-engraving process, destined to revolutionize newspaper illustration, had its early development chiefly in England in the fifties, and reached the point where it could produce plates to be used on a flat-bed newspaper press in England, France, and America at about the same time. Frederic E. Ives, working in the photographic laboratories of Cornell University, developed by successive inventions in 1878 and 1886 the modern newspaper halftone.[6] Stephen H. Horgan produced and printed experimental engravings in the New York *Daily Graphic* in 1880. Horgan was later art editor of the New York *Herald*, and his insistence on trying halftones on that paper's fast perfecting presses, with their curved stereotyped printing surfaces, caused the pressmen to think him incompetent and led to his discharge. But the Boston *Journal* did the trick for its edition of Sunday, May 6, 1894, using its Hoe quadruple press to print no less than twenty-one halftones in that

[6] See William T. Innes, in *Inland Printer*, June, 1927 (Vol. LXXIX, p. 422), for examination of conflicting claims to this invention.

issue. Three years later Horgan was doing the same thing for the New York *Tribune*.

Under the impulse of these new processes and others, a number of papers were founded in the seventies and eighties which relied largely on picture appeal. Chief of these among the dailies was the New York *Daily Graphic*, begun in 1873 by a Canadian firm of engravers. Horgan was for some years art editor of this paper. Its pictures were at first printed from electroplates made by a photo-lithographic process, but later it used halftone engravings made by Horgan. It was an eight-page paper about the size of *Harper's Weekly*—an unsensational forerunner of the modern tabloid. Its initial promotion stunt in 1873 was sensational, however—an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic by balloon. Four of its pages were copiously illustrated, partially by prompt and timely news pictures. Cartoons and news drawings by leading artists were a feature. The paper was Republican in politics. It had a page or two of late news, with three or four editions every day. But the news value of its pictures seemed to decline, while the *World* and later the *Herald* invaded the picture field with more lively illustration and a cheaper price. The *Graphic* changed ownership frequently in the eighties; though it lowered its price of five cents per copy to three, it succumbed to competition in 1889.

Another less copiously illustrated daily was the New York *Truth* (1879-84), which published at least one outline illustration every day. Edited by C. A. Byrnes, publisher of theatrical periodicals, *Truth* was a labor organ which began well and ended badly.

The development of illustration in the daily edition of the New York *World* was less striking than in its Sunday paper, where pictures flourished to the astonishment of readers. Other papers did not quickly follow the *World's* lead in illustration, and the real boom in pictures came only when the *Herald* decided in 1889 to outdo its rival in this respect. Thus stimulated, the *World* used more cuts in its daily edition and tried some spectacular displays in its Sunday paper—full-page and double-page cuts, and such a series as the thirty-nine double-column pictures of the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage in various attitudes, used to illustrate a four-page Sunday supplement entitled "A Photographic Interview with

Talmage the Unique—the Best-Known Clergyman of Today." [7]

Six or eight small pictures scattered through a twelve-page paper seemed to the readers of the *Herald* and *World* lavish illustration, and the competition of those papers in the early nineties brought the picture question to the public attention. Said *Harper's Weekly:*

> The question of "cuts" in the columns of the daily newspapers, if not exactly a burning one, excites more animated comment than many of more importance. It has been settled in favor of their use now by every considerable morning paper in New York.

But the *Nation* protested that news pictures were infantile,[8] and prejudice against them as an element in sensational journalism persisted for many years.

Meantime the use of news pictures and occasional cartoons became more general throughout the country. San Francisco journalism was strong in pictures in the late eighties, and that of Philadelphia was not far behind. The Chicago *Tribune* and *Inter Ocean* carried a few in the late eighties, and by 1892 those papers and the *Daily News* had a good many. Political cartoons belonged to the Sunday papers rather than to the dailies, though the *Evening Telegram* and *Daily Graphic* used them, and the *World* printed a number of them in the latter part of the 1884 presidential campaign, and was carrying them daily in the early nineties.

ADVERTISING

Advertising in newspapers and periodicals in 1880 amounted to about $39,000,000, which was probably about double the amount for 1870. In 1890 it had increased to $71,000,000 and was on the threshold of a far greater development.

Advertising rates were not well correlated with circulations. The New York *Herald* kept the highest rates of any American paper throughout the period. Its quoted rate [9] was thirty-six cents a line when Pulitzer bought the *World*, which was selling its space at half that figure and which raised its rate only a few cents when

[7] New York *World*, May 4, 1890.

[8] See *Harper's Weekly*, April 22, 1893 (Vol. XXXVII, p. 367); *Nation*, April 27, 1893 (Vol. LVI, p. 306).

[9] What is here referred to as a paper's "quoted rate" is based on the price quoted on ten lines for one month, without Sundays, in Ayer's directory.

its circulation skyrocketed. The *Herald*, with characteristic perversity where its advertising policy was concerned, raised its rate instead of lowering it to meet the *World* competition; and thus in 1886 the *Herald* quoted thirty-nine cents a line against the *World's* twenty-two cents, though it had been left well behind in the circulation race. At this time, the *Sun* and *Tribune* also quoted a higher rate than the *World*, while the *Times* and *News* stayed with the *World* at twenty-two cents. Rates were about a third lower for big-circulation papers in Philadelphia, and a half lower in Boston. In Chicago the vaulting *Daily News* quoted thirty-three cents. Smaller papers often had no fixed rates, and advertisers sometimes paid in goods.

The first publishers' representative is said to have been Leander H. Crall, of New York, who had a list of half a dozen midwestern papers in 1875.[10]

Display became the rule in the seventies, and it grew larger and blacker in the next decade. It is true that the New York *Herald* continued until 1895 to get its display by means of large logotypes—a big A, for example, formed by the arrangement in that form of little agate A's—this conforming to the paper's traditional agate rule after other papers had deserted it. Further, the *Herald* continued to refuse to break column rules and thus allow advertisements wider than one column, though the effect of double-column advertisements was sometimes obtained by lining up logotypes in parallel columns. At the same time, the *World* was admitting double- and triple-column advertisements and charging extra for breaking up the columns. The *World* and most other papers were also admitting illustration in advertisements, while the *Herald* refused to do so.

In spite of these taboos, which seem unreasonable to a modern reader, the *Herald* advertising columns continued to be very profitable. The modest neatness of the *Herald's* pages was compared favorably with the blatancy which was becoming common in other papers. James Parton, much upset by the large type in most of the New York papers in 1886, exclaimed, "But, gentlemen, this is not journalism; this is bill-posting!" [11] There was some reason for this

[10] Preceding Crall was J. J. Richardson, traveling special agent for a single paper, the Davenport, Iowa, *Democrat*. Crall's partner was E. B. Mack

[11] *Forum*, March, 1886 (Vol. I, p. 20).

complaint. Little art was shown in display; layout men seem to have had no conception of the proper use of white space, and the big type and cuts were crowded in regardless of effectiveness. There were few borders used.

Three great merchants did much to establish the advertising of retail stores on a large scale—John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia; A. T. Stewart, of New York; and Marshall Field, of Chicago. It was Wanamaker who placed the first full pages for a retail business in 1879; these were for his "New Kind of Store," which was nothing less than the pioneer department store. The Wanamaker style, devised by one of the most famous of the early advertising counselors, John E. Powers, was worded in an essay form, a paragraph or two to an item, and set in small pica Caslon, single-column width. So effective were the Wanamaker "Store Talks" that many merchants in other towns subscribed for the Philadelphia papers in order to receive and imitate this advertising.

Among national advertisers, the manufacturers of patent medicines continued chief users of space in newspapers and magazines. Castoria, of which it was said most persistently that "children cry for it"; Scott's Emulsion, with a picture of a fisherman carrying a cod over his shoulder; Hood's Sarsaparilla, "for that tired feeling"; as well as Peruna, St. Jacob's Oil, and Lydia Pinkham's Female Compound became familiar names to everyone who could read. Patent medicines were still commonly bought at the general stores, and, in default of legal regulation, they were sold on the basis of the curative values they claimed rather than on that of content. The manufacturer's costs were often chiefly for advertising and containers.

Second to the patent-medicine men as advertisers were the soap manufacturers. Harley T. Procter, of Cincinnati, of the firm of Procter & Gamble, was the sales genius who named Ivory Soap in 1882 and began to tell the world that it was 99 44/100 per cent pure, and that "It Floats." Three years later the great advertising agent whose name was so much like the pseudonym of the humorist—Artemas Ward—took over Sapolio advertising, employing proverbs and the slogan "Use Sapolio." "Have you used Pear's Soap?" was made familiar to all readers in the later eighties by an English firm of manufacturers.

The first of the great baking-powder advertisers was Royal,

which by the end of the present period was believed to have the largest advertising budget in the world—$600,000 a year. The first of the baby-foods to learn the value of publicity was Mellin's, while the leader among several well-advertised seed firms was Burpee's. Much lower in the scale was the lottery advertising, which was not forbidden the mails until 1890, but which some states forbade and which many newspapers would not accept anyway.

The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* is said to have "invented" classified advertising shortly after the Civil War;[12] that is, it was thought to be the first to promote that type of advertising as a special department. The New York *Herald* had a strong hold upon such announcements; and the *World*, which outstripped its rival in other kinds, labored hard and long by special promotion methods before it could equal the *Herald* in classified advertising. In Chicago, the *Sunday Tribune* was publishing fourteen to sixteen pages of classified in an issue by 1890.

Individual papers occasionally made some efforts to clean up advertising abuses in this period, but little progress was made. *Caveat emptor* was still the rule, though such vices as indecency and flagrant swindling were commonly excluded. The "reading notice" disguised as editorial matter was still common. George P. Rowell's *Printer's Ink*, begun as a promotion organ for the owner's advertising agency in 1888, soon became the leading advertising trade journal and a force for clean and honest advertising. Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory*, an annual begun in 1869, and N. W. Ayer's *American Newspaper Annual*, begun in 1880, both of which quoted the circulations of the newspapers listed, became strong forces to circumvent the circulation liar.

CIRCULATION AND READER INTEREST

Only two American dailies had over 100,000 circulations in 1872—the *Sun* and the *Daily News* in New York. The great circulations of American dailies stood as follows in 1892, figures for morning and evening editions being consolidated even when they are separate papers:[13]

[12] George P. Rowell, *Centennial Exhibition of Newspapers* (Philadelphia, 1876), p. 184.

[13] Figures are from *N. Y. Ayer and Son's Newspaper Annual*, 1892. Sworn circulations are starred; the others are less reliable.

New York *World* (morning, 2 cents; *Evening World*, 1 cent)	374,741*
Chicago *Daily News* (evening, 1 cent; morning *Record*, 1 cent)	243,619*
Philadelphia *Evening Item* (1 cent)	182,497*
New York *Daily News* (evening, 1 cent)	178,681
Boston *Globe* (morning, 2 cents; evening, 2 cents)	170,336
Boston *Herald* (morning, 2 cents; evening, 2 cents)	143,552
Philadelphia *Record* (morning, 1 cent)	138,886*
New York *Morning Journal* (1 cent)	130,000

These circulations were not equal to that of the highly profitable French leader, *Le Petit Journal*, a small, badly printed, four-page paper, relying chiefly on serial stories, whose distribution was 750,000 to 1,000,000 at one sou a copy. The London *Daily Telegraph* sold about 300,000 copies at one penny. The numbers of papers and the total aggregate newspaper circulations in France and England, however, were far less than in the United States. The greatest circulations in America were not those of newspapers at all, but those of weekly and monthly magazines, headed by the *Ladies' Home Journal's* 700,000 in 1892.

But it is a mistake to think only in terms of the top circulations. Many important cities had no paper with more than 20,000 circulation, and the average for all the dailies of the country ranged from about 4,500 in 1870 to 5,200 in 1890. Some definitely influential papers did not reach the upper brackets. Manton Marble is said to have tried to keep the *World* of the seventies down to 20,000, believing there were about that many intelligent readers in New York.[14] Moreover, thousands of country weeklies had less than 1,000 circulation.

An increase of 222 per cent in the aggregate circulation of American dailies between 1870 and 1890, at the same time that the total population of the country was increasing only 63 per cent indicates an immense growth in readership. Illiteracy[15] declined in these years from 20 to 13.3 per cent. Allied with this gain in the literate audience was the appeal of the more sensational papers of the New Journalism to the barely literate. There was also a noticeably increased appeal to the interests of women, and even to those of children.

A new postal law which went into effect in 1875 was, in the

[14] Hartley Davis in *Munsey's Magazine*, November, 1900 (Vol. XXIV, p. 233).

[15] Percentage of persons ten years of age and over who cannot write in any language. See Sanford Winston, *Illiteracy in the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1930), p. 9.

long run, a benefit to newspapers and periodicals. It required that the postage should be paid at the office of mailing, and fixed the charge at two cents a pound for dailies and weeklies and three cents for monthlies and quarterlies. Two years later the charge was equalized for all second-class matter at one cent a pound.

The trend of subscription rates during the period was downward. The return of the penny paper to the important place in journalism which it had occupied nearly half a century before was one of the features of the period. The conspicuous success of the Chicago *Daily News* at that price, followed by those of the Kansas City *Star* and the papers of E. W. Scripps, made a deep impression on publishers. In New York, the *Daily News* had long been successful at one cent in the evening field; and when the *Morning Journal*, begun in 1882 at that price, appeared to be on its way to a great success, publishers fairly tumbled over themselves to start penny papers. More than a dozen such sheets were begun in New York alone during the ensuing five years, most of them destined for early death but a few keeping on. Into this situation came the extraordinary showing of the two-cent *World* under Pulitzer. The result was that five, four, and even three cents soon seemed old-fashioned and exorbitant as single-copy prices for daily papers. In Chicago, the five-cent *Inter Ocean* dropped to three cents early in 1886, leaving the *Times* the only paper in the city at the higher price. Then the *Times* went to two cents, followed in the next year or two by the *Herald* and *Tribune*, leaving the *Inter Ocean* the only three-cent paper. Nearly all the Philadelphia papers had dropped to one cent by 1886. Sunday papers, on the other hand, tended to increase from three to five cents with their growth in size.

In New York and Chicago Sunday papers coöperated to secure fast night mail trains to get their papers to outlying cities during Sunday forenoon. This distribution technique was begun in 1886. The San Francisco *Examiner* adopted it the next year, soon to be followed by the *Chronicle*; and the Boston *Herald* served New England cities in that way in 1891.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Libel laws tended to become somewhat less onerous through state enactments and through more liberal court decisions in the

common law. For example, there was greater freedom from liability for libels in press reports which quoted court proceedings. The many crusades which were a part of the New Journalism gave rise to a multitude of private actions for libel, but the culprits attacked in such newspaper campaigns usually found the libel suit an ineffective weapon. One illustration may be cited. During the progress of the New York *Times*' crusade against the evils of the New York Life Insurance Company management in 1891, officers of the company brought millions of dollars' worth of libel actions against George Jones, the owner, and Charles R. Miller, the editor, of the paper. But the very soundness of the paper's arguments finally brought the company's board of directors in a body to the *Times* editor, begging for his counsel in correcting the abuses which he had pointed out.

Some limitations on the freedom of reporting its proceedings were attempted by the United States Senate in the period. In 1871 it disciplined two New York *Tribune* men for refusing to divulge the name of the Senator who had given them a copy of a secret treaty for publication. Their "imprisonment" was only nominal, however. More serious was the action of the Senate in dismissing in 1879 James Rankin Young, its chief executive clerk and at the same time a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Star*, for revealing secret proceedings. The action was probably unjust; at any rate, Young later came back to Congress as a member of the lower house. There was much indignation on the part of members of Congress involved in the Crédit Mobilier scandals against correspondents who helped in the exposure, but no united action was taken.

The hanging of the anarchist editors in Illinois and the suppression of Johan Most's New York *Freiheit* constituted a denial of freedom of the press to anarchistic propaganda.

PRESIDENTS AND THE PRESS

President Hayes was never friendly to the newspapers. A student and an admirer of the best literature, he early formed the opinion that reading newspapers was a waste of time.[16] In politics he found that he had to take them into consideration, but his reticence was always the despair of interviewers. One of his closest

[16] C. R. Williams, *Life of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Boston, 1914), Vol. I, p. 30.

friends and advisers, however, was General J. M. Comly, editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, of Columbus, whom Hayes appointed minister to Hawaii.

Garfield, a much more affable person, numbered many newspaper men among his intimate friends and advisers. Of these Whitelaw Reid was probably foremost, though Murat Halstead and other Ohio editors were very close to him. But Garfield was not long in office; his successor Arthur, a pleasant gentleman and a politician who knew how to be obliging to reporters, was generally liked by the newspaper representatives and had some intimates among them.

Arthur, however, was often annoyed by intrusions upon White House life by the press; and he was said to favor the building of another residence for the family of the President.[17] But it was Cleveland, Arthur's successor, who suffered more than any other President of modern times from the invasion of his private life by the newspapers.

During Cleveland's campaign for the presidency in 1884, the Buffalo *Evening Telegraph*, a down-at-heels paper in the candidate's home city,[18] published "A Terrible Tale" charging Cleveland with the paternity of an illegitimate son. This story was further built up in the Boston *Journal*, a strong Blaine paper, and it played its part in the campaign. By way of reprisal the Indianapolis *Sentinel* published a scandalous story of Blaine's early life.[19] Cleveland seethed, but said nothing. Two years later, when the President was married, he suffered an outrage which rankled still more. The wedding was to be "private," but reporters surrounded the White House in a cordon, vowing that the newlyweds should not escape them. Pursuing the pair to a special train which was waiting to take them to their honeymoon camp in Deer Park, Maryland, the reporters managed to follow their trail. What happened the next morning was detailed by a Washington paper:

When President Cleveland rose at 10 o'clock this morning and looked from the front windows of his cheerful little domicile upon the handsome vista of glade and green that stretched out before him, among

[17] New York *Tribune*, April 19, 1884.

[18] The Scripps brothers had invested some money in this paper when it began in 1880; it soon perished. (See footnote, p. 462.) The Cleveland story appeared July 21, 1884.

[19] Indianapolis *Sentinel*, August 8, 1884.

the objects which met his astounded gaze was a small pavilion standing in the midst of a handsome cluster of tall trees, and in and around this pavilion lounged the flower of Washington journalism, somewhat battered by lack of sleep and midnight wrestle with country telegraph operators, but still experiencing a lively interest in the Chief Executive and his whereabouts.[20]

The reporters continued to dog the footsteps of the honeymooners until they returned to Washington. The President wrote an angry protest to the New York *Evening Post*, and a few months later, in an address at Harvard University, moved by an impulse at the sight of two long rows of reporters sitting in front of him, he denounced "the silly, mean, and cowardly lies that every day are found in the columns of certain newspapers which violate every instinct of American manliness, and in ghoulish glee desecrate every sacred relation of private life." It is only fair to say that many papers agreed heartily with the President.[21]

Cleveland once instructed a photographer not to send pictures of him to the New York *World* or *Journal*, and added whimsically: "I think I should have my hands full if I attempted to mention all the papers in which I did not want my picture to appear."[22] Unlike later Presidents, he refused the honor of being chief guest at any Gridiron Club dinner. He occasionally wrote "handouts" for the press, distributed by his secretary on Sunday evenings. Though not generally accessible to newspaper men, he had no rule against them; and he sometimes talked freely to such favored Washington correspondents as Francis E. Leupp, of the New York *Evening Post*, and Francis A. Richardson of the Baltimore *Sun*.

President Benjamin Harrison, cold and aloof, made few or no friends among writers for the press, though he appointed several journalists to diplomatic posts. His private secretary was a newspaper man, and his son was owner of the *Montana Daily Journal* in Helena. Like his predecessor, Harrison was offended by press reports of White House family life. Harrison had few intimates and the morning he left the White House, it is said that the levee of friends and well-wishers customary on such occasions was quite

[20] Quoted in the *Forum*, August, 1886 (Vol. I, p. 529).

[21] For a symposium of comment on the Deer Park episode, see *Public Opinion* June, 1886. The *Journalist* called it "an impertinent intrusion into private life without parallel in the history of journalism," June 5, 1886.

[22] Allan Nevins, ed., *Letters of Grover Cleveland* (Boston, 1933), p. 520.

wanting; only one man was there to bid Harrison goodbye—the correspondent for a string of papers in his home state.

MAGAZINE HIGHLIGHTS

This was the period of the initial development of the great general illustrated monthly—an American phenomenon superior to anything of its kind in any other country. The leaders were *Harper's Monthly* and the *Century Magazine*, joined in 1886 by a third which was quite worthy of the competition—*Scribner's Magazine*. The content of these periodicals was of a high literary and artistic standard, and leading American and English men of letters were contributors. Illustration was by means of woodcuts executed with an immense amount of fine detail and well printed. The price was thirty-five cents a copy for the two older magazines and twenty-five cents for *Scribner's*, and the circulation of the leader—the *Century*—reached 200,000 by 1892.

Other superior monthlies were without illustration. The *Atlantic* declined somewhat, though holding its wonted prestige. The old *North American Review* gained a new lease on life when it was moved to New York in 1878 by Allen Thorndike Rice and made a monthly. And a very lively monthly it was, printing symposia on the chief problems of the day by the leading writers and thinkers. Similar in intention were the *Forum*, begun in 1886, and the *Arena* (1889-1909), both monthlies. B. O. Flower, founder and editor of the latter, gave it an advanced and liberal position on social and economic questions.

Leadership of the women's magazines was won by the *Ladies Home Journal*, founded in 1883 by Cyrus H. K. Curtis as a cheaply printed eight-page paper at fifty cents a year. Curtis had a genius for promotion; his wife, under the name of "Mrs. Louisa Knapp," made a good editor; and the paper boomed to half a million circulation undeterred by the increase to $1 in subscription price. Edward W. Bok became editor in 1889 and proceeded to make the paper an intimate friend in increasing hundreds of thousands of households.

Agricultural journalism developed in each state; here country-wide coverage was difficult on account of differences in climate and soils. Two national papers built 200,000 circulations in the eighties, however—the little *Farm Journal*, sound as a nut, founded

by Wilmer Atkinson in Philadelphia at twenty-five cents a year; and *Farm and Fireside*, in Springfield, Ohio, at fifty cents a year.

Religious newspapers, unable to keep up in the race for general news, tended to become, shortly after the Civil War, either organs of denominational news on the one hand, or journals of opinion on the other. Of the latter and more conspicuous class were the *Independent*, famous since antislavery days; and the *Christian Union*, founded in 1870, and edited for nearly twelve years by Henry Ward Beecher. These two weeklies, like the well-illustrated *Harper's Weekly*, were Republican in politics, but none of the three could stomach Blaine in 1884.

There were some good juveniles and many cheap blood-and-thunder boys' papers. The sterling *Youth's Companion* (1827-1936), promoted, as were many other periodicals, by subscription premiums and clubs, reached near to the half-million mark by the end of this period. It was a weekly; the great monthly in the field was *St. Nicholas*, founded in 1873, and long edited for the delight of children by Mary Mapes Dodge.

The great comic weeklies of the period were *Puck*, *Life*, and *Judge*. *Puck* (1877-1918) was distinguished by a double-page cartoon in the middle of each number printed in color by the lithographic process. Joseph Keppler was the artist, and the cartoons were bold, slashing pictures, full of action and merciless in satire. *Puck*, cartooning Blaine as "the tattooed man," had much to do with the Republican defeat of 1884. *Judge* (begun 1881) was modeled on *Puck*, though it never had quite the latter's vigor; it had strong backing from the Republican party for many years. *Life* (1883-1936) was a more refined and subtle satirist, and published some of the best black-and-white drawing that has ever appeared in an American periodical. Charles Dana Gibson began in 1889 to draw in *Life* those distinctive figures that developed in a few years into the "Gibson girl."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For the Period 1872-1892

THE standard histories of American journalism by Bleyer, J. M. Lee, and Payne are consistently useful for the present period. North is particularly valuable for his analysis of the press in 1880, with which year his work ends. A. M. Lee is notable for his treatment of the business side of the newspaper, for Sunday editions, syndicates, printers' unions, etc. Bibliographical data on these histories are given in the notes following Chapters I and III.

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The Rise and Fall of Yellow Journalism 1892-1914

CHAPTER XXXI

Yellow Journalism and the War with Spain

TWO PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM ARE outstanding in the period defined by the years 1892 and 1914. They are, first, the pyrotechnical outburst of yellow journalism, and second, the attainment by the leading papers of very large circulations, capitalizations, and profits. These two phenomena are by no means identical, yet they are curiously interrelated. We shall consider first the rise of yellow journalism.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

Just as Pulitzer's advent in New York, when he came out of the Midwest and bought a paper in the metropolis, furnished the most important event in the journalistic history of the eighties, so the coming of William Randolph Hearst from the Far West to the center of the nation's journalism was the sensation of the nineties.

Hearst was born in 1863, the son of a silver miner who had struck it rich in the Comstock Lode. During his childhood he was twice taken on European trips by his mother. At nineteen he entered Harvard, where he spent money freely but paid little attention to study. He was "rusticated" at the beginning of his sophomore year as a result of too much beer, band music, and fireworks in a personally directed celebration of Cleveland's election to the presidency. Fireworks were almost an obsession with him; for many years he never lost an opportunity for such displays. Returning to the university, young Hearst became the successful business manager of the *Lampoon*, student comic periodical. But he was contemptuous of all his professors, and was finally expelled in 1885 for a more or less obscene practical joke which he perpetrated on them.

In the meantime Hearst had been engaged in enthusiastic study of the newspaper business and had become an ardent admirer of Pulitzer's *World*, which was just stampeding New York journalism into a new sensationalism. His father had bought a newspaper—the San Francisco *Examiner*—a few years earlier for political purposes; and now the son begged to be put in charge of it, with money enough to remake it in the image of the New York *World*. His father assented, and W. R. Hearst made a spectacular success on the western coast with what was then called the New Journalism.

Certain that he had mastered the formula for the successful sensational newspaper, Hearst was eager to try it out in the greatest American journalistic forums—New York City. His father died in 1891, and a few years later his mother made available to him $7,500,000 derived from the sale of mining stock.

THE NEW YORK JOURNAL

The New York paper which Hearst bought was the *Morning Journal*, which had been founded in 1882 by Joseph Pulitzer's younger brother Albert. As a one-cent morning paper, bright and lively, under Joseph I. C. Clarke as managing editor, it had gained 225,000 circulation by 1887. Later its fondness for scandal and the low standards of its advertising gave it a bad reputation. In 1894 Albert Pulitzer, wishing to compete with his brother's *World* on the two-cent level, raised the *Morning Journal*'s price, and almost immediately lost three fourths of its circulation. Early the next year he sold the paper to John R. McLean, wealthy publisher of the sensational and well-established Cincinnati *Enquirer*. McLean, though he improved the paper, and set its price, in September, at one cent again, lost money steadily. So when Hearst came along and offered $180,000 hard cash for the business, McLean accepted so quickly that Hearst's agent later decided the offer had been too high. Thrown in on the deal was *Das Morgen Journal*, a German edition.

Announcement of the new ownership was made November 7, 1895, when the *Journal* (dropping the *Morning*) appeared in a format much like that of the *World*. One of the techniques that Hearst had used in San Francisco was the hiring of the brightest journalists available at whatever salary it was necessary to pay, and

he immediately began the same tactics in New York. He brought on from the *Examiner* staff Sam S. Chamberlain, managing editor; Winifred Black, "sob sister"; Homer Davenport, cartoonist; and Arthur McEwen, ace reporter. To these he added such notable recruits as Julian Ralph, a brilliant writer for the *Sun* and one of the most famous reporters in the country; Julian Hawthorne, Stephen Crane, and Alfred Henry Lewis, best known for their fiction, but able feature writers; and Alan Dale and A. C. Wheeler ("Nym Crinkle"), dramatic critic. Copious illustrations, emphasis on crime, disasters, and scandal in the news, and liberal feature material made a paper distinctly sensational, and much like the *World*. Hearst poured money into the paper, and circulation rose to somewhere near the former *Morning Journal* level.

Then it was that Pulitzer played into Hearst's hands. He cut the price of his own morning edition to one cent; and, in order to make up losses on circulation revenue, he raised advertising rates. Years later, Pulitzer mused: "When I came to New York, Mr. Bennett reduced the price of his paper and raised his advertising rates—all to my advantage. When Mr. Hearst came to New York, I did the same. I wonder why, in view of my experience?" [1] The result in each case was to bring the newcomer more prominently before the public as a serious contender for newspaper leadership and to cut into the profits of the established paper. Pulitzer continued, however, throughout most of the contest, to make his papers pay their expenses; while Hearst went on pouring outside millions into the *Journal*.

Hearst inserted large advertisements in the other papers and in trade organs, and erected huge billboards and plastered blank walls with announcements of *Journal* features. Circulation bounded upward. So did that of the *World*, but the gap narrowed.

Came the free-silver campaign of 1896. Hearst's mining connections inclined him to the silver side, and the fact that Bryanism had almost no support in New York journalism [2] gave him his opportunity to make the *Journal* New York's great Democratic spokesman. Overruling the opinions of his staff, he plunged

[1] Seitz, *Pulitzer*, p. 214.

[2] The *Recorder* (1891-96), a weak morning paper, supported Bryan. This was the paper that George W. Turner took over after Pulitzer discharged him from the *World*; it was then four months old. Its chief financial backer was J. B. Duke, tobacco millionaire.

into the campaign in favor of Bryan. Davenport drew big cartoons showing Mark Hanna, McKinley's campaign manager, as a porcine bully dressed in clothes checked with dollar-signs, and holding McKinley as a puppet on his lap. In the midst of the campaign Hearst established an *Evening Journal* to compete with the *Evening World*. On the day after the election the *Journal* and the *World* each printed nearly a million and a half copies, thus setting a new record.

The *Journal's* second year under Hearst was one of triumph. Within the twelve months beginning in November, 1896, Hearst improved his news service and scored some notable beats, startled the town by some admirable crusading, and overtook the *World* in circulation.

The year did not begin well, however. A movement to ban both the *Journal* and the *World* was started by certain reformers who believed that the exploitation of sex and crime in those papers was a public menace. Preachers spoke against them in the pulpit, and a mass meeting of clergymen was held to devise action against them. Clubs canceled subscriptions and librarians joined in the boycott. Alan Dale's famous interview with the French actress Anna Held in the *Sunday Journal*, headed "Mlle. Anna Held Receives Alan Dale, Attired in a Nightie," and illustrated by appropriate sketches, was typical of the many sensational news and feature stories in that paper which were held up to public reprobation. Something like the "moral war" once waged against the New York *Herald* seemed in prospect when the *Journal's* alert movement to prevent a gas-franchise steal turned the tide in its favor. Moralists continued for some years to rage against yellow journalism, but no organized boycott was possible, and they probably did little more than advertise *Journal* smut to the prurient.

In the matter of the gas franchise, the paper secured an injunction to prevent giving away a valuable property; the measure was later found to be illegal and withdrawn. The paper followed this success by a sequence of well-publicized crusades—one against the Brooklyn trolley franchise, another against delays in paving construction on Fifth Avenue, and still another against an electric-light franchise. The intervention of a newspaper through court action, it claimed, was "a new idea in journalism"; and it adopted

and blazoned the slogan, "While Others Talk, the *Journal* Acts."

In December, 1896, Hearst obtained in London, by hook or crook, a copy of the treaty of arbitration with England over the Venezuela boundary dispute, and published it as a clear "beat" in advance of ratification. The *Journal* had been at some disadvantage in news coverage because of its lack of an Associated Press franchise; in April, 1897, it bought the *Morning Advertiser* merely to obtain this service. In the same month it reached a new high through its stories of the dedication of Grant's Tomb on Riverside Drive, with a front page in color. It obtained exclusive interviews with the principals in the Corbett-Fitzsimmons championship fight at Carson City. It sent Mark Twain to England to cover the jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria, and Julian Ralph and Stephen Crane to the seat of war when the Greco-Russian conflict broke out. It organized and equipped two expeditions to the Klondike, where gold had just been discovered. Its news enterprise and its expenditures seemed inexhaustible.

Meanwhile the sex-and-crime sensationalism was maintained at a high (or low) level. *Journal* artists were kept busy drawing pictures for all editions. Homer Davenport was sent to Nevada to draw pictures of the great prizefight; and a special train was run at record speed from Washington after McKinley's inauguration, with artists working furiously in the swaying coaches, to beat the town with pictures of the great event.

The *Journal* also went into the detective business. Its greatest success in this field was its solution of the "Guldensuppe mystery." The headless, armless, legless torso of a man, wrapped in oilcloth, had been found in the East River. The grewsome find made one story, and the horror mystery was built up in succeeding installments as one dismembered part of the corpse after another, each wrapped in a piece of the same oilcloth, was found at various places on the East Side. Hearst offered a $1,000 bonus to the reporter who should identify the corpse, and after that was accomplished he had color prints made of the oilcloth pattern and sent thirty men out to find where it had been bought and who bought it. By such means the murderers—a former mistress of Guldensuppe and her new lover—were found and convicted. *Journal* reporters, claimed Hearst, constituted "a detective force at least as

efficient as that maintained at public expense by this or any other city." [3]

THE WAR OF THE SUNDAY PAPERS; YELLOW JOURNALISM

Meantime, the most frenzied competition between the *Journal* and the *World* had centered on their Sunday editions. In 1895 the *World* had the largest, cleverest, and most popular Sunday paper in the country. Hearst, whose San Francisco paper had long rented rooms in the *World* building as its New York office, established himself there and in January, 1896, began secret negotiations designed to hire for the *Journal* the entire staff of the Sunday *World*—editors, writers, and artists. What he wanted was to get a corner on the best brains and brilliance in Sunday journalism. The Hearst checkbook was a strong argument, and soon Pulitzer was surprised and staggered by the departure of the whole staff. His editor in charge soon pursued the deserters, however, and, adopting the Hearst language, brought them back. Hearst thereupon again raised the bid, and twenty-four hours later had them all once more in the *Journal* office. This time Pulitzer let them go, but he terminated Hearst's lease of the rooms in the *World* building.

The head of this Sunday staff for which Hearst and Pulitzer matched dollars was Morrill Goddard. A Dartmouth graduate with an interest in the curious phases of learning and a talent for spectacular razzle-dazzle, Goddard developed the formula for the more sensational Sunday newspapers of the time: a few pages of news and editorial in the usual style of the daily, plus page spreads or double-pages devoted to exaggerated and sensationalized versions of chosen phases of science or pseudo-science, plus a similar play of some crime material, plus some pages of stage comment with emphasis on legs, plus a sob-sister type of advice to girls and lovers, the exploitation of some prominent literary or social figure (preferably European), sports and society, and colored supplements of comics and miscellany.

The pseudo-science, which was often in the fields of archaeology, medicine, psychology, or psychic research, gave readers the satisfaction of feeling themselves being educated at the same time that they were being thrilled; but it aroused the active resentment

[3] New York *Journal*, January 28, 1899. The remark was made in connection with a later case.

of scientists against newspapers in general. Typical was Goddard's story with the heading "Real American Monsters and Dragons," growing out of the discovery of some fossil remains of dinosaurs and illustrated by a smashing half-page drawing entitled "The Jumping Laelaps of 5,000 Years Ago." [4]

But it was the colored supplement that soon came to distinguish the new Sunday journalism. The *Sunday World* had been publishing an eight-page comic section, four pages of which were in color. Hearst soon began a similar section, but in 1896 he ordered color presses which would print more pages; and when one of them was installed, he issued, in the fall of that year, an eight-page comic supplement, all in color, called the *American Humorist*, and advertised as "eight pages of iridescent polychromous effulgence that makes the rainbow look like a lead pipe." [5] Its doggerel "Greeting" ran:

> A Morning Glory, ablaze with light,
> I'm here, a bewitching, bewildering sprite,
> Fresh as the posies that come with the vernal;
> Discreet? Why, of course, but not too coy,
> Dainty yet daring, a thing of joy,
> The latest advance of the SUNDAY JOURNAL.[6]

Scarcely "dainty," but surely ablaze with "polychromous effulgence," the *Journal's* colored supplement outshone that of the *World*.

And the pride of the comics was Richard F. Outcault's "Yellow Kid." This was an occasional feature which had begun in the *Sunday World* some time before Hearst had appeared in the New York scene. At first it was called "Hogan's Alley" and was a page-wide drawing containing caricatures of "kids" from the tenements, until the color-man on the *World* had the idea of making the long, wide dress of the central "kid" a solid and brilliant yellow. Thereafter the weekly drawing was a hit as "The Yellow Kid"; he was pictured in many situations connected with the events of the day in New York, and his name and appearance became familiar to most New Yorkers. When Hearst lured the *World* staff away, Outcault went with them and began to draw the "Yellow

[4] New York *Journal*, October 4, 1896.
[5] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1896.
[6] *Ibid.*, October 18, 1896.

Kid" for the *Sunday Journal*; but George B. Luks took over the feature for the *World*, and the town was treated to two "Yellow Kids" every Sunday. Moreover, both papers advertised the pictures widely, the *Journal* plastering walls throughout the city with its announcements. The "Kid" was omnipresent; Weber and Fields put him on the stage at their Music Hall. The figure of the silly fellow, with his toothless, vacant grin and his flaring yellow dress, struck some of the critics of the new sensationalism represented by the *Journal* and the *World* as symbolical of that type of journalism; and Ervin Wardman, of the *Press*, referred to New York's "yellow press." Dana took up the nickname in the *Sun*; it stuck, and eventually became an accepted term in the language.

Hearst's *American Humorist* was a success, and two other supplements, each with part of its pages printed in colors, were soon added—the *Sunday American Magazine* of sixteen pages and the *Woman's Home Journal* of eight pages. Streamer heads and large drawings were used lavishly throughout the paper. From forty-eight to fifty-two pages were often issued, at five cents, in 1896; and the next year the Sunday paper sometimes ran to eighty pages. Department store advertising was plentiful. Circulation, though unsteady, mounted to over 600,000 early in 1898.

ARTHUR BRISBANE

Meanwhile, Pulitzer had found a good man to replace Goddard as editor of the *Sunday World*. Arthur Brisbane was a son of the famous Socialist Albert Brisbane, friend of Horace Greeley and contributor to the old *Tribune*. Born in 1864, educated in American and European schools, Arthur went to work on the New York *Sun* on his nineteenth birthday. Two years later he was sent to London, where he became probably the most brilliant foreign correspondent the *Sun* ever had. Returning to this country in 1888, he served two years as the *Sun's* managing editor and then joined the *World*, where he worked chiefly on special assignments.

Brisbane was well cast in the rôle of Sunday editor of the *World*. He had the same liking for the bizarre in science, history, and philosophy that Goddard had—and even more ability in popularization. He had a feeling for strong typographical display, with smashing page layouts. In Alexander Kenealy he had a good editor of the *Comic Weekly*, which, with Luks' "Yellow Kid" and a new

picture serial [7] using animals from the zoo and called "Gazoozaland," kept up its interest. More color was introduced, the size was increased, and the Sunday *World* was but little behind its rival in either sensation or circulation.

But Joseph Pulitzer, hearing echoes of the "moral war" against yellow journalism on one of his visits to America, imposed restrictions on the Brisbane enterprise; and one day in September, 1897, Hearst met Brisbane by appointment in the Hoffman House and listened to a new kind of salary proposal. Brisbane, who was getting $200 a week on the *World*, was to become managing editor of the *Evening Journal* at only $150 a week, but this sum was to be increased one dollar for every thousand papers which were added to the paper's circulation under his management. The offer appealed to Hearst's sportsmanship and he agreed; it was to bring Brisbane's salary to $1,000 a week in the middle of the Spanish-American War.[8]

JOURNALISTIC JINGOISM

The "ifs" of history are usually more amusing than profitable, but there seems to be great probability in the frequently reiterated statement that if Hearst had not challenged Pulitzer to a circulation contest at the time of the Cuban insurrection, there would have been no Spanish-American War.[9] Certainly the most powerful and persistent jingo propaganda ever carried on by newspapers was led by the New York *Journal* and *World* in 1896-98, and the result was an irresistible popular fervor for war which at length overcame the long unwillingness of President McKinley and even swept blindly over the last-minute capitulation by Spain on all the points at issue.

[7] It must be understood that these were not comic strips, with a series of separate pictures appearing in one issue. The "Yellow Kid" picture in each Sunday paper was one full-page comic drawing with many characters and much action (see reproduction facing p. 586). For the beginning of the strips, see pp. 585-87.

[8] Brisbane's salary is said to have been increased later, independently of this agreement, to $3,000, and even to $5,000 a week. See Winkler, *W. R. Hearst*, p. 116; and Hearst's own statement in *Editor & Publisher*, January 2, 1937, p. 5.

[9] See Carlson and Bates, *Hearst*, p. 92; Winkler, *W. R. Hearst*, p. 146; Older, *W. R. Hearst*, p. 200; Creelman, *On the Great Highway*, pp. 174-76; Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War*, p. 132; Wisan, *Cuban Crisis Reflected in the New York Press*, p. 5. Of these the third and fourth may be said to be pro-Hearst. But see also Millis, *Martial Spirit*, *passim*, which emphasizes political and economic causes of the war.

This war passion was whipped up by news stories, headlines, pictures, and editorials [10] in the yellow press. The news materials used in this great pre-war campaign were: Spanish atrocities in Cuba, Spanish actions against American citizens involved in the Cuban war for independence, the campaign for the recognition of the belligerence of the Cuban insurgents, incidents produced by newspaper intervention, the *Maine* disaster, and American preparations for war.

Although for nearly seventy-five years American newspapers had taken occasional notice of Cuban struggles against the Spanish rulers, it was not until General Valeriano Weyler was appointed Captain-General of the Spanish forces in Cuba early in 1896 that atrocity stories became prominent in American papers. At this time four New York papers—the *World*, *Journal*, *Herald*, and *Sun*—had correspondents in Cuba. Weyler was nicknamed "the Butcher," and sensational descriptions were sent home of the sufferings of the Cubans in the concentration camps into which all of them—men, women, and children—had been forced. Lurid pictures of mutilation of mothers and killing of babes, of the execution of suspects, of imprisonment in filthy and fever-charged stockades, were drawn both in words and by the pencils of artists. Doubtless many of the incidents reported were not witnessed by the correspondents, and too much reliance was placed on the exaggerated tales of the Cubans; there were cases then and later of correspondents who wrote "eye-witness" stories when they had approached no nearer to the scene than Key West.

"Butcher" Weyler attempted to deal with the American correspondents in his own way. One free-lance reporter was executed. Sylvester Scovel, of the *World*, was imprisoned by the Spanish, and released only after his paper had aroused the sympathy of the whole country in his behalf. The *Journal* made a similar case of the arrest of Ona Melton, a correspondent who had accompanied one of the many American filibustering expeditions which were complicating the situation, and secured his release through the intervention of the State Department.

[10] Editorials were, in the main, only a supplementary influence. The New York *Herald*, editorially against intervention, earns a place with jingo papers through its news stories of atrocities and war preparations. The *Sun*, though as jingoistic editorially as any, was not a leader in the movement because its news reports were not as sensational as those of the *Journal* and *World*.

Cuban atrocity stories proved to be good circulation pullers, and inevitably competition in this kind of matter developed between the *World* and the *Journal*. The *World's* corps of correspondents in the island was at first superior to that of its rival, but early in 1897 Hearst bought a yacht, the *Vamoose*, and sent it to Cuba with Richard Harding Davis, famous as a writer of fiction and travel articles, and Frederic Remington, equally famous as an illustrator, to investigate conditions in the unhappy island and send back feature stories. Remington did not like the assignment, and the following interchange of cablegrams is said to have taken place:

HEARST, JOURNAL, NEW YORK:
EVERYTHING IS QUIET. THERE IS NO TROUBLE HERE. THERE WILL BE NO WAR. WISH TO RETURN. REMINGTON.

REMINGTON, HAVANA:
PLEASE REMAIN. YOU FURNISH THE PICTURES AND I'LL FURNISH THE WAR. HEARST.[11]

Whether or not Hearst ever expressed himself in precisely these terms,[12] the fact is that he pushed on vigorously with his war-making propaganda. The Davis-Remington articles put him out ahead, and he pressed the advantage. The Dr. Ruiz case, in which a naturalized American died in a Spanish prison, soon offered one opportunity; but a far greater sensation was developed a few months later on the basis that a paper should make as well as record news.

Evangelina Cisneros, niece of the president of the insurrectionist government, had loyally accompanied her father to his prison home when he was banished to the Isle of Pines for sedition. There she was accused of having lured Colonel Berriz, military governor of the island, to her home, where hidden partisans leaped out and attempted to assassinate him. She was brought back to Havana for trial. It was then that Hearst, reading a short dispatch telling of the incident, realized the immense propaganda value of the

[11] Creelman, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-78.

[12] He is said to have denied it. (Winkler, *W. R. Hearst*, p. 144.) Creelman, who gave the story currency, was a partisan of Hearst. Remington did wish to return (Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 193) and was persuaded to stay. Hearst did intend to "furnish the war." Winkler's argument that Hearst's message was too "inflammatory" to pass the censors seems absurd.

situation and decided to build it up. The girl's story—that Berriz had attempted to assault her, and that fellow exiles, drawn by her cries for help, had beaten the brute—lent itself to the perfect propaganda story. "Miss Cisneros," said the *Journal*, "is, according to all who have seen her, the most beautiful girl in the island of Cuba. . . . She was reared in seclusion and, almost a child in years, is as ignorant of the world as a cloistered nun." [13] Berriz was a "lecherous and foiled scoundrel." [14] "This tenderly nurtured girl was imprisoned at 18 among the most depraved Negresses of Havana, and now she is to be sent in mockery to spend 20 years in a penal servitude that will kill her in a year." [15] "The unspeakable fate to which Weyler has doomed an innocent girl whose only crime is that she has defended her honor against a beast in uniform has sent a shudder of horror through the American people." [16]

The shudder was unmistakable. The *Journal* sent telegrams to prominent American women urging them to send appeals to the Pope and to the Queen Regent of Spain in the girl's behalf. Many of them responded. The *Journal* "played" the story all over its front page for weeks, but it was too big to be limited to one paper; others took it up, the Associated Press carried it, and the whole country was deeply stirred. Then Hearst played his ace. He sent Karl Decker, a resourceful correspondent, to Havana to rescue Miss Cisneros from her prison. Renting a house next the prison, Decker pulled off the iron bars from her windows, helped her out, dressed her in boy's clothes, and smuggled her out of Havana. In New York Hearst arranged a gigantic popular reception in Union Square for the pretty and rather dazed girl, and later took her to Washington to shake hands with President McKinley. The whole Hearst-built incident was a tremendous success, and did more to make the nation emotionally conscious of the Cuban struggle than anything else before the sinking of the *Maine*.

Another *Journal* beat was the printing of the stolen De Lome letter. The Spanish minister to Washington had written an incautious message to a friend in Havana in which he called the President of the United States a "low politician," and it had been somehow intercepted. The *Journal* predicted war as a result of this

[13] New York *Journal*, August 22, 1897.
[14] *Ibid.*, August 26, 1897.
[15] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1897.
[16] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1897.

incident, though in trying to lash the reluctant McKinley into a belligerent attitude it had itself employed epithets quite as unkind as De Lome's.

The United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor on the night of February 15, 1898, by an agency which has never been ascertained. Next day came an answering explosion of black headings, display, and a diagram picture on the first page of the *Journal*. Hearst offered $50,000 for exclusive information which would "convict the person or persons who sank the *Maine*." But the *Journal* needed no such information; its banner line read: "DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY." It was soon claiming that the Spanish were guilty of the crime, regardless of the investigations of the regular court of inquiry. Immediately after the disaster, it began to set up a committee to raise funds for the building of a monument to the *Maine* victims. Famous men accepted membership, but ex-President Cleveland wrote: "I decline to allow my sorrow for those who died on the *Maine* to be perverted to an advertising scheme for the New York *Journal*." Hearst also arranged for and financed a congressional commission which went to Cuba to investigate conditions. He printed an interview with Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of the Navy, who was well known to be war-minded, congratulating the *Journal* on its attitude; but Roosevelt replied, "I never in public or private commended the New York *Journal*." This rebuff the *World* printed on its first page, taking the occasion to describe its rival's war news as "written by fools for fools."

Nevertheless the *World* was not far behind the *Journal* in warmongering. Pulitzer, whose own military experience had given him a distaste for war, and who had strongly rebuked Cleveland's warlike attitude in the Venezuelan dispute, is said to have admitted that he liked the idea of a small war which might react on newspaper circulations.[17] After the sinking of the *Maine*, the *World* hired a tug and engaged divers in order to investigate the wreck, but was refused permission to do so. It was soon claiming "discoveries," however, to show that the ship was sunk by a Spanish mine. The *World*, like the *Journal*, was trying its utmost to fan the flames of war. Both papers gave much space to stories of the war frenzy sweeping the country, discussed war resources and

[17] Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer*, p. 238.

strategy, and urged the President and Congress not to delay.

The circulations of both papers again passed the million mark with the news of the destruction of the *Maine*. Only a war could now keep them on the upward curve. Of this dark chapter in our journalism, Godkin, *censor morum* of the press, wrote in the *Evening Post* a few days after the *Maine* disaster:

> Nothing so disgraceful as the behavior of two of these newspapers [the *Journal* and the *World*] this week has been known in the history of American journalism. Gross misrepresentation of the facts, deliberate invention of tales calculated to excite the public, and wanton recklessness in the construction of headlines which even outdid these inventions, have combined to make the issues of the most widely circulated newspapers firebrands scattered broadcast throughout the country. . . . It is a crying shame that men should work such mischief simply in order to sell more papers.[18]

Journalistic jingoism was not limited to these two papers, however. The Chicago *Tribune*, which bought the New York *World's* Cuban service in 1896, and later the *Journal's* service also, was not far behind the leaders. The Chicago *Times-Herald* and the Boston *Herald* used the New York *Herald's* Cuban service; and, though neither was consistently jingoistic editorially, they did their part in stirring up war sentiment. Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner*, enjoying the *Journal* service, stimulated the war-mongering of its rival, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which took both the *Herald* and *Sun* reports. Certain southern papers at times had their own special services: the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* (which, with the rival *Item*, was jingoistic), the Atlanta *Constitution*, and the Charleston *News and Courier*. Other papers fell in line.

But on the other hand there were many papers which not only refused to join in the atrocity hunting but evidenced a sympathy with Spain in her attempts to pacify the island, condemned the sensational jingoism of the yellow press, and supported President McKinley in his efforts to avoid intervention. Such were the New York *Evening Post* and *Journal of Commerce* and the Boston *Transcript*. The New York *Tribune* and *Mail and Express*, strongly Republican, stood staunchly by McKinley. The *Times* and the

[18] New York *Evening Post*, February 19, 1898.

Chicago *Daily News* were temperately pro-Cuban; the latter sent correspondents to the island in 1897, one of whom was killed by a Spanish bullet while with the insurrectionist forces.

The *Evening Post* was not the only paper which attacked "the hot gospellers of sensational jingoism," as the *Tribune* called the *Journal* and the *World*.[19] Said the *Tribune* sarcastically a few weeks after the destruction of the *Maine:*

> Up to this point the war has been a glorious success, as will be seen by the billboard announcements of the increased circulation of the newspapers which have carried it on. If, as now seems probable, its ravages can be confined to Printing House Square, and Spain is "licked" right here with blood-red extras without resorting to shot and shell, it will be the greatest triumph ever achieved by large type and a liberty-loving press.[20]

The Associated Press was also condemned for its warlike stories, and especially those released for Sunday papers:

> 'Tis then Field Marshall Melville Stone
> Rides in his martial car,
> And makes, with genius all his own,
> Our Sunday morning war.[21]

COVERAGE OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The War with Spain was, as wars go, almost ideal for newspaper treatment. It was near at hand. American commanders allowed unusual freedom to correspondents. It was a small war, and thus not too difficult to cover. American arms on land and sea met with a series of successes which could be reported brilliantly. It was a short war, so that the public interest could be fully maintained until its end. Probably no greater army of correspondents had ever been mobilized for any war than that which covered the activities of the blockading fleet, gathered at the Florida camps, followed Shafter into Cuba, sent the news from Spain, and sailed with Dewey to Manila. Some observers estimated there were as many as 500 such writers, photographers, and artists, representing

[19] New York *Tribune*, March 9, 1898.

[20] *Ibid.*, March 12, 1898.

[21] Chicago *Inter Ocean*, February 14, 1898. This paper was engaged in a quarrel with the A. P.. of which Stone was general manager.

scores of newspapers and magazines.[22] And that is more than were employed in reporting the four years' Civil War.

Some of these men were famous writers, such as Stephen Crane, Richard Harding Davis, Frank Norris, John Fox, Stephen Bonsal, and Julian Hawthorne. Others were famous artists, as R. F. Zogbaum, Frederic Remington, W. A. Rogers, and John T. McCutcheon. But most of them were men recruited from all departments of the newspaper, who knew nothing whatever of military affairs. The drama editor of the *Evening Sun*, the humor editor of the *World*, and the owner of the *Journal* were among them. Some, however, were seasoned war reporters: Creelman, Davis, Scovel, Edward Marshall, Murat Halstead, and others.

In a charge at Las Guasimas, Edward Marshall, of the *Journal*, received two bullet wounds. Stephen Crane and others carried him miles to a field hospital, where he was told that he could not live. He insisted, however, on writing his dispatch; and late that night Dr. William S. Gorgas, later surgeon-general of the United States army, operated on him, amputating one leg. He lived to write novels and plays, and edit the Sunday supplement of the New York *Herald*. He seemed to bear a charmed life: after the Spanish War, he survived three train wrecks and two hotel fires, and was taken off a foundering lake steamer. He was aboard the British Sussex when it was sunk by a German torpedo in 1916; unable to swim, he clung to wreckage until he was rescued. He died in his bed at sixty-four.

Stephen Crane, of the *World*, though he displayed a courage near to recklessness when under fire, suffered from exhaustion and fever most of the time he was in Cuba. Picturesque though his signed articles were, he was far from a satisfactory correspondent.

Richard Harding Davis, on the other hand, was an excellent war reporter. Employed now by the New York *Herald*, the London *Times*, and *Scribner's Magazine*, he was resourceful enough always to be in the right place at the right time. He led a charge in the fighting at Las Guasimas and won the praise of Colonel Roosevelt.

James Creelman, of the New York *Journal*, led an attack on a small fort at El Caney. The place was taken, and Creelman seized

[22] See Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents*, p. 417. Some estimates have included only the men with the army in Cuba. "Flaneur," in the San Francisco *Argonaut*, placed the number at 500 (reprinted in *Journalist*, June 18, 1898 (Vol. XXIII, p. 87).

the Spanish flag as a trophy for his paper, but he was struck by a Mauser bullet which smashed his arm and tore a hole in his back. He was carried, half delirious, to the rear. He later wrote:

> Some one knelt in the grass beside me and put his hand on my fevered head. Opening my eyes, I saw Mr. Hearst, the proprietor of the New York *Journal*, a straw hat with a bright ribbon on his head, a revolver at his belt, and a pencil and notebook in his hand. The man who had provoked the war had come to see the result with his own eyes, and, finding one of his correspondents prostrate, was doing the work himself. Slowly he took down my story of the fight. Again and again the tinging of Mauser bullets interrupted, but he seemed unmoved. The battle had to be reported somehow.
>
> "I'm sorry you're hurt, but"—and his face was radiant with enthusiasm—"wasn't it a splendid fight? We must beat every paper in the world!" [23]

Hearst had asked for authority at the beginning of the war to organize and equip a regiment. McKinley had refused that offer, but had accepted the use of the Hearst yacht *Buccaneer* during the war. Commodore of a small fleet of purchased and hired steamers and tugs, Hearst himself led a force of twenty writers, artists, and photographers to the scene of the war. One of these was a pioneer motion-picture photographer. On board the flagship was a small printing plant, from which soon issued an edition of the *Journal* at Siboney, Cuba. When Admiral Cervera's fleet was attacked and destroyed by American battleships, Hearst's flagship edged in so close that a shot was fired across her bow to warn her out of the way. After the action, Hearst's correspondents, seeing a group of Spanish sailors huddled together on the beach, determined to capture them. A steam launch was lowered and run in to the shore. Hearst took off his trousers and leaped into the surf, brandishing a revolver. His party had no difficulty in forcing the twenty-six refugees to surrender; and a little later Hearst, properly clothed, ordered signals displayed, "We have prisoners for the fleet," and his yacht steamed proudly down the line of American battleships and delivered the bedraggled Spaniards to Admiral Schley amid the cheers of the bluejackets. It was a great moment, duly recorded the next day in the New York *Journal*. But however theatrical Hearst's personal record as a war correspondent may sound, he at

[23] Creelman, *On the Great Highway*, pp. 211-12.

least proved that he was vitally interested in reporting the conflict, even at personal risk.

The Associated Press, whose men were under the direction of Colonel Charles S. Diehl, obtained an advantage when it prevailed on President McKinley to issue permits which placed one of its men on each of the navy's flagships.

With Dewey's fleet when it sailed into Manila Bay were three reporters—Joseph L. Stickney, of the New York *Herald;* John T. McCutcheon, of the Chicago *Record;* and Edward W. Harden, of the New York *World.* Dewey had consented to take Stickney on the flagship, and later made him an aide so that he could view the battle of Manila Bay from the bridge. It was Harden, however, paying the "urgent" rate of $9.90 a word on his dispatch, who scored the beat on this biggest story of the war. Though the advantage of it was lost to the *World* because its circulation department was unprepared to handle a 4 a.m. extra to follow up the flash, the Chicago *Tribune* got the story through its *World* service in time for its final edition and scooped the town.

Few or no war correspondents really tried to preserve their proper status as noncombatants. They led charges and carried dispatches. Scovel was shown favors by American officers because of his work as a spy. The journalism which makes as well as records news must—occasionally, at least—do a brilliant bit in the actual fighting. General Blanco logically ruled that American correspondents should be treated as spies, and there were some narrow escapes from Spanish firing squads.

The leniency of the military censorship on the American side was extraordinary, and newspapers freely printed reports of the movements of the navy and army and such news and rumors of American plans as they could gather. Referring to the early months of the war, the *Journalist* observed: "We gave the Spaniards no use for spies, for our yellow journals became themselves the spies of Spain." [24] In the early summer of 1898, however, Grant Squires, once a reporter on the New York *Tribune,* was appointed military censor at New York. He was only moderately effective, and soon earned the bitter dislike of most of the newspaper men. Military and naval officers occasionally attempted to curb the activities of correspondents at the scene of warfare, as when General Shafter

[24] *Journalist,* May 28, 1898 (Vol. XXIII, p. 60).

banished all Hearst men from captured Santiago; but, on the whole, they were patient and coöperative.

"WHAT PRICE GLORY?"

Circulations of the *Journal* and *World* continued above a million copies a day during the mounting war fever after the sinking of the *Maine*. In the war weeks the *Journal* went to 1,500,000, and the *World* went almost as high. Even after the signing of the peace protocol in August, the circulations of these papers remained above the million mark for several months. Other papers gained in circulation, some more and some less.

Did this represent prosperity for the newspapers? Far from it. Few newspapers increased profits during the Spanish-American War, and many found their net incomes dwindling or disappearing. "Every newspaper of the first class has run far behind since the outbreak of the war," wrote Brisbane near its close.[25] There were three reasons for this: advertising declined sharply, competition in extras was expensive (the *Journal* had issued as many as forty editions in one day), and the cost of war coverage was immense.

Immediately after the sinking of the *Maine*, the Havana cable was closed to reporters. This necessitated boats to carry dispatches to the Key West cable, and from this time on the chartering of steamships, sea-going yachts, tugs, and all such craft became a necessity for news coverage of the Cuban situation. The *Journal* at one time had no less than ten ships under charter at a cost of $1,500 a day.[26] The Associated Press had five vessels in commission. The *World*, *Herald*, and *Sun* each had two to six ships in their respective fleets at one time or another during the war. And then the big newspapers each had from five to twenty-five correspondents covering the war news, and cable tolls were often very high. Single New York newspapers sometimes filed as much as 5,000 words in a day at the Key West cable office, which at the current rate of five cents a word made $250 per day for that item alone.[27] Altogether, reporting the six months' war is said to have cost the New York *Journal* $3,000 a day, or more than half a million

[25] Arthur Brisbane in *Cosmopolitan*, September, 1898 (Vol. XXV, p. 542).

[26] Brisbane, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

[27] Ray Stannard Baker in *McClure's Magazine*, September, 1898 (Vol. XI, p. 492).

dollars; [28] and while no other paper or news agency spent money so lavishly as that, the *Sun*, *Herald*, and A.P. each probably spent about a quarter of a million,[29] and the *World* doubtless over that amount.

Hearst was not much concerned with money losses, so long as he "beat every paper in the world," and especially the *World* itself; but Pulitzer, his paper forced into the red for the first time since the beginning of its fight with the *Journal*, was inclined to cry quits. He lost his appetite for war and began to urge an early peace.

This was about the time of the famous "Reflipe W. Thenuz" incident. In the early months of the *Journal-World contest*, Hearst had no A.P. franchise and had to take his news where he could get it. It was said that each day when the first edition of the *World* reached the *Journal* office, the staff would strike up the chorus:

> Sound the cymbals, beat the drum!
> The *World* is here, the news has come!

So the *World* men said then; but later, when the *Journal* was maintaining an expensive Cuban service, its editors began to suspect the *World* of stealing its news. Accordingly, the *Journal* planted the name "Colonel Reflipe W. Thenuz" as an artillery officer in a list of Spanish casualties at the bombardment of San Juan; and when the *World* published the name, the *Journal* pointed out that "Reflipe W." was "We pilfer" spelled backwards, and "Thenuz" was phonetic spelling of "the news." [30] The *World* retaliated by planting in one of its dispatches the name "Lister A. Raah," and then revealing, after the *Journal* had lifted the name, that it was an anagram for "Hearst a liar."

YELLOW JOURNALISM AT ITS ZENITH

After the war, in a period of expansion, increasing advertising, and general business prosperity, Hearst, followed by many other publishers, attempted to hold his circulation by the techniques which had now come to be known with some definiteness by the

[28] Brisbane, *op. cit.*, p. 542. Six months is counted not from the declaration of war but from the sinking of the *Maine*.

[29] Will Irwin in *Collier's*, February 8, 1911, p. 37. The A. P. spent $285,000 (see Charles S. Diehl, *The Staff Correspondent* (New York, 1931).

[30] Compare a similar trick by the Chicago *Daily* News in the seventies, p. 464.

name of yellow journalism. Hearst, Brisbane, and others accepted this name and defended what it stood for.

Yellow journalism, as it was now established, must not be considered as synonymous with sensationalism.[31] It was founded, to be sure, upon the familiar aspects of sensationalism—crime news, scandal and gossip, divorces and sex, and stress upon the reporting of disasters and sports; but it added to these elements certain characteristic treatment. The distinguishing techniques of yellow journalism were: (1) scare-heads, in which excessively large type, printed in either black or red, screamed excitement, often about comparatively unimportant news, thus giving a shrill falsity to the entire make-up; (2) the lavish use of pictures, many of them without significance, inviting the abuses of picture-stealing and "faked" pictures; (3) impostures and frauds of various kinds, such as "faked" interviews and stories, misleading heads, pseudo-science, and parade of false learning; (4) the Sunday supplement, with colored comics and superficial articles; and (5) more or less ostentatious sympathy with the "underdog," with campaigns against abuses suffered by the common people.

It will be observed that, although the general effect of such an enumeration is of something grotesque and vicious, nevertheless there are here germs of newspaper techniques which are certainly defensible, and some which have since been developed into general and respectable procedures. In short, the yellow papers contributed something—notably banner heads, free use of pictures, and the Sunday supplement—to modern journalism. But the more blatant and dishonest phases of yellow journalism, though perhaps never wholly absent from the American press, flourished spectacularly for little more than a decade.

Yellow journalism began with the *Journal* and *World* in New York in 1896, spread rapidly among other papers throughout the nation in 1898, and reached its height at the turn of the century, 1899-1900. A careful study of the papers in the twenty-one large metropolitan centers in 1900 showed that about a third of them were distinctly yellow.[32] Cincinnati, St. Louis, and San Francisco were notable centers of the movement. The Denver *Post* was a

[31] See p. 442 for a discussion of the elements of sensationalism.

[32] Delos F. Wilcox, "The American Newspaper: A Study in Social Psychology," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1900 (Vol. XVI, pp. 56-92).

yellow of the deepest dye. The Boston *Post* was a leader among the yellows. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* used the big headlines. Most papers, however, did not go the whole way; they adopted some yellow ideas and features and rejected others. At the same time, many other papers were scarcely affected. The Kansas City *Star*, for example, was untouched. In New York, the *Evening Post*, *Times*, *Tribune*, and *Sun* had little traffic with the movement. Baltimore, Washington, and southern cities generally saw little of the yellow press.

Chicago, however, was invaded by Hearst himself in 1900. In that year the *American* was founded as an evening paper, and two years later a morning edition was begun under the name *Examiner*. Chicago competitors tried to keep the *American* off the street by employing thugs to intimidate drivers and newsboys; but Hearst employed more and bigger thugs than his rivals, and a vicious gang warfare ensued. In Boston, where the *Herald* had long been the chief sensational paper, Hearst established another evening *American* in 1904. Thus six papers—the three just named, added to the San Francisco *Examiner*, the New York *Journal* and *Evening Journal*—represented the beginning of the Hearst chain.[33]

The year 1901 marks the beginning of the decline of yellow journalism. The New York *World*, whose war with the *Journal* had gradually died down, showed in this year a marked change by dropping the more objectionable features of the yellow program. The growth of the New York *Times* had an influence on the situation. Important also was the assassination of President McKinley.

McKinley had been the outstanding object of Hearst attack since July, 1896, when the *Journal* had come out for Bryan. *Journal* attacks were often bitter and reckless, and in McKinley's case especially so. The President had been made a contemptible figure when he was standing for non-intervention just before the Spanish War; he had been attacked savagely during his second contest with Bryan, in 1900; and following his reëlection the abuse continued unabated. Shortly after the assassination of Governor Goebel, of Kentucky, the following amazing quatrain appeared in the *Journal*:

[33] See p. 645 for the further development of the chain. The *Journal* was called the *American*, and the *Evening Journal* the *Journal*, after 1901.

The bullet that pierced Goebel's breast
Can not be found in all the West;
Good reason, it is speeding here
To stretch McKinley on his bier.[34]

Two months later an editorial against the President in the *Evening Journal* said: "If bad institutions and bad men can be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done." [35] These shocking utterances were promptly recalled by many readers when, in September, the anarchist Czolgosz shot McKinley. Rage flamed against Hearst and his paper as the President lay dying. Czolgosz was reported to have had a copy of the *Journal* containing an attack on McKinley in his pocket when he fired the fatal shot. The paper was boycotted by patriotic and business organizations and by libraries and clubs; pledges not to patronize news stands which sold it were widely signed. Hearst was hanged in effigy and—what was worse—circulation dropped off. President Theodore Roosevelt said in his first message to Congress that McKinley's assassin had probably been inflamed by "reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to dark and evil spirits." The *Journal* defended itself by saying that it had merely been fighting for the people, and changed its name to *American and Journal*—soon divided to make *American* the name of the morning edition and *Journal* that of the evening paper.

This reaction against the Hearst papers had perhaps more effect upon their imitators than upon them. At any rate, a decline in that type of journalism set in; and by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century there were not many distinctly yellow papers left. Even the Hearst papers, the *Journal* always excepted, had lost much of their saffron hue.[36] Most of the phases of yellow journalism emerged later, however, in the New York war of the tabloids, 1920-30.

THE REVOLUTION IN HEADLINES

One of the chief of the permanent effects of yellow journalism upon newspapers generally was the enlargement and blackening

[34] New York *Journal*, February 4, 1901. The verses were written by Ambrose Bierce.

[35] New York *Evening Journal*, April 10, 1901.

[36] See Will Irwin in *Collier's*, March 4, 1911, p. 20.

of headlines, and especially the introduction of the single line the full width of the front page known as a banner, or streamer, head.

Full-width page-headings for Sunday features on inside pages had not been uncommon for several years before the advent of yellow journalism, but the Chicago *Times* was apparently the first to make a practice of throwing banner lines across its front page. These were set in outline type and were editorial in nature and not definitely related to any news story on the page; as, "LET CONGRESS STOP TALKING AND ACT; THEN BUSINESS CONDITIONS WILL SOON IMPROVE." They began in the fall of 1893 and ran through 1894, but by the summer of the latter year banners were being used occasionally in the *Times* for news stories. The New York *Journal* used front-page banners in 1894 for promotion—to announce some of its Sunday features—and early in the next year it employed the device in connection with a news story.[37] These all appeared before Hearst's arrival in New York; like all banners which were used before the war excitement, they were set in modest, light-face type. After Hearst's purchase of the *Journal*, both that paper and the *World* used banners occasionally on their front pages, especially over spreads which had a considerable feature value and contained pictures and large-type stories. The *World's* heading, "THE NATION'S CREDIT IS VINDICATED," on February 6, 1896, over a story of the popular oversubscription of the issue of $100,000,000 of United States bonds was, however, definitely a news banner; and on November 4, 1896, both papers used banner lines over their stories of McKinley's election.[38]

After Brisbane became managing editor of the *Journal*, its headings became noticeably blacker; but it took the war news to call forth the great poster heads of Gothic type. In this excess, the New York *Evening Journal* led the procession with hand-drawn block type several inches high. It was hand-drawn because wood-

[37] The story told of the safe arrival of the disabled liner *Gascogne* in New York harbor. New York *Journal*, February 12, 1895.

[38] Silas Bent's excellent anecdote (*Ballyhoo*, pp. 42-43) about a very black and very large banner over the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat's* story of the St. Louis tornado of May 27, 1896, is apocryphal. He tells how an assistant dug up some large wood type for the occasion; and when he showed the result to J. B. McCullagh the next morning the famous editor exclaimed, "Wonderful! A great head! But really, I was saving that type for the Second Coming of Christ!" It is a pity to spoil the story; but the *Globe-Democrat's* heads in the issues which tell about the storm were fairly modest, none being wider than double-column. They would have been too late to be "first" banners anyway.

LATEST AFTERNOON EDITION.

SATURDAY'S 1408,200 CIRCULATION,

NEW YORK JOURNAL

WAR

NO. 8,046—P. M. NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 2, 1898. PRICE ONE CENT

MANILA OURS!

DEWEY'S GUNS SHELL THE CITY

EXTRA

NO 6.

LATEST NEWS

MANILA IN PANIC CABLE OFFICE DESERTED

News from Dewey Given.

IN THE OLD FIGHT FROM HONG KONG THE GUNS OF THE BOAT DESERTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND CREW HAVE NOT BEEN EXPECTED FROM HONG KONG SINCE.

PANIC IN MADRID AND REVOLUTION FEARED.

Washington, May 2.—Commodore Dewey is now bombarding Manila.

President McKinley has received, through the British Legation, information that the British Consul had conferred with Commodore Dewey and arrangements were made to safeguard the non-combatants. The bombardment began at once.

This means that all the Spanish ships have been disposed of; that the American fleet is intact and in fighting condition, and that Manila must fall to-day.

The authorities of Madrid have declared the city under martial law. An uprising is feared.

Madrid, May 2.—The inhabitants of Manila are fleeing in panic from the bombardment.

A dispatch from Admiral Montojo acknowledges that his fleet has been completely demolished.

Don Juan de Austria was blown up.

Dewey's squadron entered Manila Bay at night. Fighting began in early morning.

Spanish Admiral deserted his flagship, Maria Cristina, then on fire.

DEWEY MADE A CLEAN JOB OF IT.

London, May 2.—The daring feat of Commodore Dewey, commander of the American fleet in the Philippines, in sailing the Spanish fleet under the guns of the forts, ships in and around Manila, is the subject of admiring comment of all Englishmen today. They stand amazed at the pluck of the Americans, who, steaming past every shore battery and

Front page of New York Journal for May 2, 1898. This is the entire front page, greatly reduced, of a seven-column paper. The flash under "EXTRA" was printed in red by means of a fudge. Note the crudely cut banner-line type.

type did not work well in the forms, and metal type of such sizes could not be procured. "The largest size in favor," wrote Brisbane, "made it impossible to use more than five letters in the width of a newspaper page." [39] Subheads, like banner heads, sometimes ran all the way across the page. There was, however, so much lawless variety in front-page make-up that it amounted to monstrous confusion.

The *World*, and some other papers throughout the country, sometimes used black type one to two inches high; but none equalled the *Evening Journal's* headline elephantiasis. The Chicago *Tribune* used a triple banner line in heavy Gothic for Dewey's victory at Manila. The Pittsburgh *Commercial Gazette* used streamer lines of heavy block type often two or three inches high during the war. But most papers kept to double- and triple-column heads even for the biggest stories, and not a few refused to break column rules at all and appeared with modest single-column heads.

The Hearst papers, the *World*, and some other journals continued to use big heads more or less consistently after the end of the war. Streamer lines were sometimes printed in red; the Denver *Post* began its red banners in 1899. Major disasters of the ensuing years repeatedly sent the layout men to the thirty-six-point fonts, and some hunted up much larger type. That the banner line—for major news-breaks, at least—had come to stay, was shown definitely by the New York *Times*, when for three successive days it ran double or triple banners over its stories of the Titanic disaster, and on the fourth day five full-width lines in thirty-six-point capitals at the top of the page.[40]

HEARST THE CANDIDATE

After the war Hearst turned his attention more and more to politics. He supported Bryan again in 1900, establishing the Chicago *American* in time to afford his candidate strong newspaper support in that city. In 1902 Hearst was himself sent to Congress from a strong Tammany district in New York. He campaigned on an antitrust and government-ownership platform, but with Boss Charles F. Murphy's support there was never any doubt of his

[39] *Cosmopolitan*, September, 1898 (Vol. XXV, p. 544).

[40] But it was during the World War that the daily banner line became commonplace. See pp. 686-87.

election. He paid very little attention to the Congress of which he was a member, however, attending few sessions.

What Hearst was aiming at was the Presidency. He organized the William Randolph Hearst League and through its support made a powerful drive for the Democratic nomination in 1904. Endorsed by Bryan and standing on an anti-trust platform, Hearst came up to the convention in a strong position; but the committee on credentials refused to seat some of his hard-won delegates, and after the smoke had cleared away the relatively obscure Alton B. Parker had been nominated. Hearst then went back to Congress for another term, after which he turned his back on Tammany and became the candidate of the Municipal Ownership League for Mayor of New York in 1905. This organization was the old William Randolph Hearst League renamed. Boss Murphy was now bitterly attacked, and Hearst came within a few thousand votes of victory in one of the closest of New York's mayoralty elections.

The next year, renewing his alliance with Murphy, the perennial candidate obtained the Democratic nomination for Governor. His Republican opponent was Chares E. Hughes. Hearst was defeated, though the other candidates on his ticket were elected. In 1908 Hearst's organization, now called the Independence League, nominated one Thomas L. Hisgen for President against Bryan and Taft, and the publisher and all his papers supported their candidate vigorously in order to give the League strong third-party standing for future campaigns. It was all in vain, however, for the League polled only some 80,000 votes out of nearly 14,000,000 cast.

Yet Hearst still believed he could be elected Mayor of New York. He was again a candidate for that office in 1909, but this time he was decisively beaten. After an abortive effort to run for Lieutenant Governor of the state the next year, he renounced political candidacy. It has been estimated that he had spent over $1,750,000 in the pursuit of office.[41]

[41] Figures from New York *Evening Post*, quoted in Carlson and Bates, *Hearst*, p. 161.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Newspaper as Leviathan

IN THE DECADES WHICH MARKED THE END OF THE NINETEENTH century and the beginning of the twentieth, American newspapers in the large cities became "big business." In circulations, in the number of pages per issue, and in volume of advertising, the great newspapers grew to sizes scarcely dreamed of before, while figures representing investments, costs, and revenues reached astonishing totals.

The largest American paper, the New York *World*, had an annual expense bill of some $2,000,000 and a full-time force of 1,300 men and women in the mid-nineties.[1] The combined circulation of its morning and evening editions touched the million mark in March, 1897. It published a 100-page edition when it celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Pulitzer management, and 200 pages on the twenty-fifth.[2] Its regular daily edition had sixteen to twenty-four pages, and on Sunday it issued forty-eight to seventy-two, nearly half advertising. The *World* was doubtless worth $10,000,000 by the beginning of the present period; it was said to be making ten per cent on that sum.

Impressive as are these figures for the first of the giants, a survey of the general situation is even more so. Bennett was making a million a year from the *Herald* and *Telegram* [3] at the beginning of the period; the *Times* was making three or four times that at its end. That round sum soon came to be looked upon as the minimum necessary for launching a daily paper in the metropolis.[4]

Hearst's New York *Journal*, with $7,500,000 immediately avail-

[1] Lincoln Steffens in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1897 (Vol. XXII, p. 447).
[2] These editions were dated May 7, in 1893 and 1908, respectively.
[3] Charles H. George in Baltimore *American*; reprinted in *Journalist*, March 21, 1891, p. 5.
[4] *Editor & Publisher*, October 5, 1901.

able and more to be had, set new circulation records in the nineties, even forging ahead of the *World*. Whereas, at the beginning of this period, in 1892, only ten papers in four cities counted over 100,000 circulation, at its close in 1914, there were more than thirty of that size in a dozen cities. And it is safe to say that in this period the average circulation of daily papers in America doubled.[5]

"The magnitude of financial operations of the newspaper is turning journalism upside down," wrote Lincoln Steffens in 1897.[6] "Big business" was doing, in general, two things to journalism: it was completing the erection of the industrial institution upon what had once been a personal organ; and it was buttressing and steadying the structure with financial conservatism.

Highly personalized journalism, possible in any case only when the paper was small enough so that one man could dominate all phases of its activity, had begun to wane many years before, when telegraphic reports, fast presses, and eight-page papers had widened the scope of the old primitive journalism.[7] An immensely varied news program, demanding many men and many talents, had helped to depose the old-time editor. Now, with million-dollar financing, this old functionary not only had to yield to the city editor, the sports editor, and other bustling newcomers, but he was further overshadowed by the business management. This point may easily be overemphasized; for, on the one hand, business has always been an important element in journalism[8] and on the other, modern newspaper managers have commonly been trained up in journalism and are editorially as well as financially minded. And yet it is undeniable that papers doing a large business tended to stress that business at the expense of a personalized editorship. The roar of double-octuple presses drowned out the voice, often shrill and always insistent, of the old-time editor.

Doubtless the financial conservatism of ten-million-dollar papers may also be over-labored, but let us allow two famous journalists of the period to express the view which has been sug-

[5] Lee, *Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 728.

[6] Steffens, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

[7] See pp. 384-85, 445. But see also reference to a later personal phase of journalism, pp. 688-89.

[8] The frequently reiterated epigram to the effect that editors used to hire business managers, and now business managers hire editors is not historically accurate. The older editors either were their own managers or they had partners who took care of the business side. Of course, they hired subordinates in both departments.

gested. Rollo Ogden, of the New York *Evening Post*, wrote in 1906: "Large capital in newspapers and their heightened earning power tend to steady them." [9] More radically, Arthur Brisbane, writing as a Hearst man at about the same time, declared: "Journalistic success brings money. The editor has become a money man. 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' " [10] Yet, as was often said in this period, the soundly financed and well-established journal was in a far better position to resent undue interference with proper journalistic functions than the insecure sheet of an earlier day. Ochs, of the *Times*, could defy even an angry advertiser; while Webb, of the old *Courier and Enquirer*, had found it advisable to change his politics in order to borrow money of the United States Bank. And we shall see that many of the big papers of the first half of the present period were inveterate crusaders against moneyed interests.

It must be pointed out, further, that the characteristics of the great papers as "steady" financial structures were developed much more in the latter than in the former half of the present period. Indeed these years of 1892-1914 are rather clearly and equally divided into two eras—the first highlighted by the yellow press, and the second that of a mature journalism with most of the characteristics of the modern newspaper.

SMALLER PAPERS; NUMBERS OF PAPERS

Although the characteristics which seem to distinguish the period are conferred upon them by the giant journals—and especially those of New York—the papers read by the vast majority of Americans were smaller and more obscure. These less-known papers tended to borrow some of the techniques and manners of the big journals, but they always maintained certain angles of variance.

For example, while it took millions to found a new daily in New York, in thousands of cities throughout the land papers could still be started "on a shoestring." E. W. Scripps, pointing out that none of his papers had cost over $30,000 to establish, declared in 1911 that all two bright young men needed in order to found a successful paper was the use of a basement, enough means

[9] *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1906 (Vol. XCVIII, p. 13).
[10] *Bookman*, June, 1904 (Vol XIX, p. 400).

to get a second-hand press and four linotype machines, and the crusading spirit.[11]

Indeed the number of publications in the country did increase greatly in these years, reaching the highest point in our journalistic history in 1914, the end of the period. Dailies increased about one third—from about 1,650 in 1892 to 2,250 in 1914—and their average circulation doubled. Meantime, the total population of the United States increased about fifty per cent. Weeklies grew in the same years from 11,000 to 12,500, and semiweeklies from 200 to 600.[12]

OCHS AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

Several New York papers were in the habit of railing at yellow journalism. The *Sun* and *Press* were leaders in this activity, and were reinforced occasionally by the *Evening Post* and the *Tribune*. This was all relatively ineffective. It was not until the rejuvenated *Times* leaped into the one-cent morning field and showed how a high-class paper could build a large circulation merely by being a good newspaper, that the prestige of yellow journalism among newspaper men began to decline. It is probable that the *Times*' object lesson influenced Pulitzer to withdraw from competition in the yellow methods.

The *Times* had fallen to 9,000 net circulation, was losing $1,000 a day, and had been placed in a friendly receivership pending reorganization, when Adolph S. Ochs took over its management in 1896. Ochs was a vigorous, clear-brained Tennessee newspaper man of thirty-eight. He had been a newspaper carrier at eleven, a printer's devil in the Knoxville *Chronicle* office at fourteen, and a reporter before he was out of his teens. At twenty he borrowed $250 and bought a half-interest in the Chattanooga *Times*, a small four-page daily, assuming its debts of $1,500. He built it up to become one of the strong Democratic papers of its region, then left it in charge of his brother, George W. Ochs,[13] while he went to New York.

[11] *Collier's*, July 29, 1911, p. 23.

[12] Figures are from Ayer's *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, reduced by one fourth for class papers.

[13] In 1902 Adolph S. Ochs bought the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* from the Drexel Estate, which had owned it since the death of George W. Childs, for $2,250,000, and put his brother in charge of it. A few weeks later the Philadelphia

Though the new financing of 1896 capitalized the *Times* at $1,000,000, only $200,000 of new capital was paid in, and half of that had to go at once for unfunded debts. Thus Ochs had only $100,000 of working capital. He had himself put in only $75,000, but he was to have fifty-one per cent of the stock as soon as the paper had shown a profit for three years. As the *Times* began making money by the end of the first year of his ownership, Ochs gained a controlling interest in 1900. In the first twenty-five years of the Ochs management the paper made about $100,000,000, most of which was put back into the development of the property.[14]

Ochs was determined to produce a successful newspaper in sharp contrast with the yellow papers which seemed to be gaining the upper hand in the journalism of the day. It was at these papers that the slogan "All the News That's Fit to Print" was aimed; the *Times* was also advertised by the declaration, "It Does Not Soil the Breakfast Cloth." Changes in the paper were made slowly and conservatively; time-honored but unpopular features were dropped, and news service was improved. An excellent Sunday supplement with halftones on book-paper, a Saturday book review section in tabloid size, and a Monday financial review were added. Circulation showed slow gains.

The *Times*, with no funds available for special correspondence, was at a great disadvantage during the War with Spain. It was still growing, but Ochs realized that the game would be lost if there was not a more rapid increase; therefore, in the fall of 1898, he cut the *Times* price per copy from three cents to a penny, thus challenging the yellows on their own price level. The reaction was immediate, and in a few weeks the paper was on a paying basis. Within a year circulation had reached 75,000 and advertising had increased one half; in ten years more that circulation doubled, and in another decade it more than doubled again.

The *Times* became famous for certain characteristics. Its exchange of special news services with the London *Times* helped to bring its foreign coverage to a high level of excellence at a time

Times was merged with the *Public Ledger*. In 1913 Ochs sold it for $2,000,000 to Cyrus H. K. Curtis, and George W. became editor of *Current History*, the magazine established in December, 1914, by the New York Times Company.

[14] Davis, *New York Times*, p. 191.

when America had become more world-minded than ever before. Its dependable financial news was a strong feature. Full and trustworthy coverage of governmental and political news, with texts of speeches and documents, made the paper indispensable to many. Its conservatism in headlines and make-up, avoiding flashiness on the one hand and complete monotony on the other, combined with good printing and careful editing, gave an impression of dependability.

In politics, as in social and economic attitudes, the *Times* was conservative. It was generally thought of as Democratic, though in two of the five campaigns of this period it supported Republican candidates—McKinley in 1900 and Taft in 1908. It consistently opposed Bryan, advocating Palmer, the gold Democrat, in 1896. It was, actually, independent in party politics, but with very decided Tory attitudes. Its editorial page, always well written, was still conducted by Charles R. Miller.

E. W. SCRIPPS AND HIS CHAINS

The wider development of the Hearst chain belongs to the next period, but E. W. Scripps had made a start with the chain idea in the eighties, and in the years now under consideration, 1892-1914, he owned interests in thirty-four papers in fifteen states in the Union. Except in the single instance of the Detroit *News*, he had majority control of all these papers; he disposed of his stock in the *News* to his brother in 1903.

E. W. Scripps was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of American journalism. Though he began life as a red-headed, freckle-faced farm boy and ended it as a powerful press magnate with a fortune of some $50,000,000, he was by no means an Alger hero. He was not a hard worker nor a man of good habits. When he was forty-six years old, in 1900, he had increased his habitual drinking to a gallon of whiskey a day; he was half blind,[15] his limbs were shrunken and partially numb, and his hand was almost too shaky to write. His strong will and good constitution enabled him at that time, however, to quit liquor and tobacco sharply and absolutely for eighteen months; during that time he recovered most of his health, though it is doubtful if his nervous

[15] Like the elder Bennett, he always had a cast in one eye, and after 1900 he wore heavy-lensed glasses.

system was ever normal afterward. In later years he lived carefully and drank very little, and he reached the age of seventy-two. Before his marriage in 1885 he had many mistresses. He had a low opinion of women, with the exception of Ellen Scripps, his half-sister, whom he regarded as possessing "a man's mind." He quarreled with his half-brothers, with his partner McRae, and with his eldest son James, whom he had made business manager of his properties. He despised schools and colleges, and in choosing men for important jobs he considered a college education a disadvantage. He managed his papers at long range, rarely coming into contact with a working office force.

Scripps wrote voluminous memoranda for private circulation, and in one of these he summed up his own personality as he knew it. In this essay, "One Man," appear the following sentences:

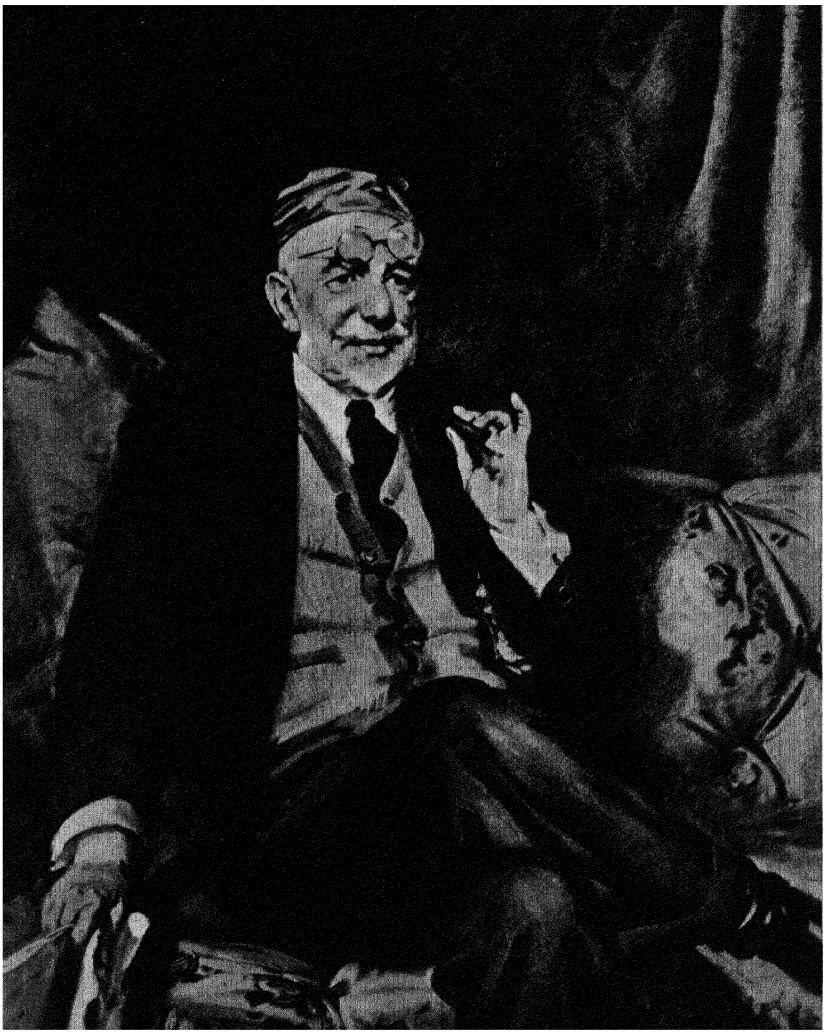
> I began very early in life what is called "having my own way" with other people. . . . Owing to personal characteristics, I had among men of my own age and men older than myself few friends and absolutely no admirers. . . . My absolute freedom from personal vanity saved me from suffering bitterness of heart and resentment. . . .
>
> The only social intercourse that I can enjoy at all is that of conflict—or contest of some sort. . . . Even now I prefer to mix with men who hate or despise me rather than with those who have a feeling of respect for me. . . . My chief amusement is indulging in the democratic game of poker. . . .[16]

Scripps believed that his success was due to "bluffing," and to the display of "a willful, arbitrary, dominating disposition" to conceal his lack of capacity. His associates, however, agreed in a high opinion of his intellectual powers. He had a strong and original mind, an inflexible and intolerant will, and a creative imagination. He was sensitive and egocentric, quick and keen in judgment.

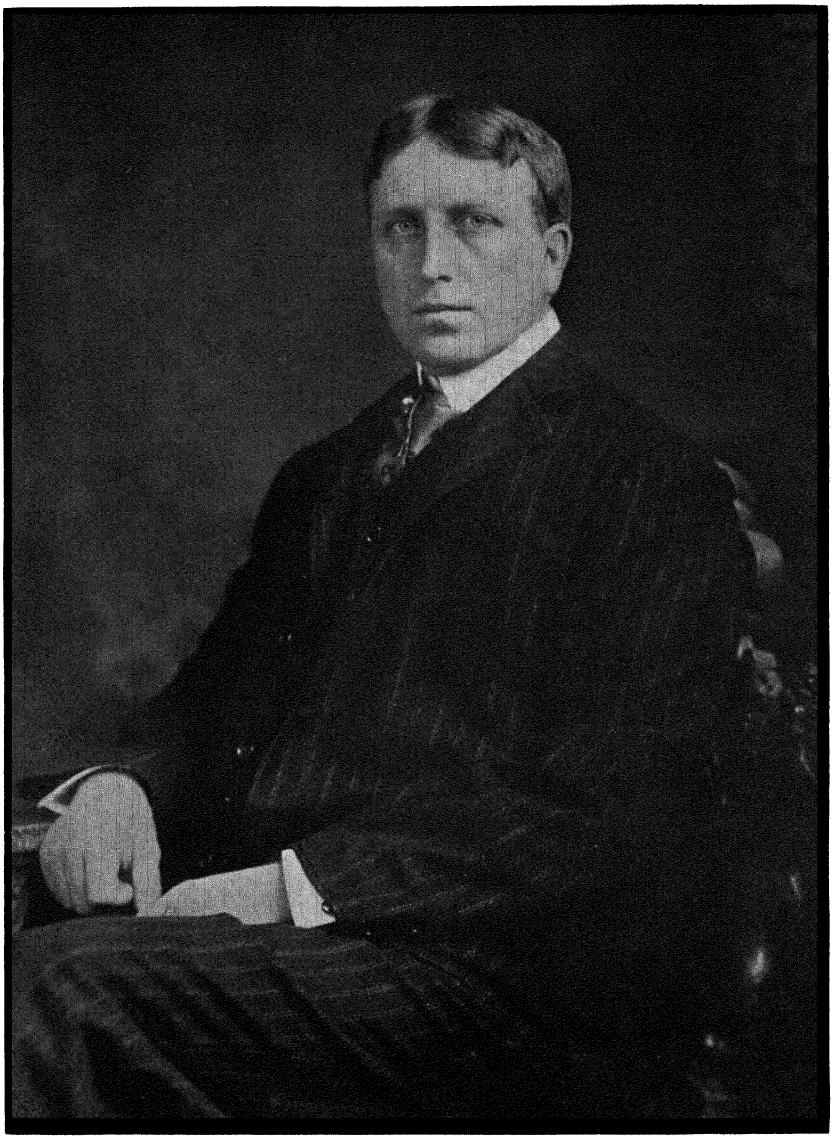
Ellen B. Scripps, his half-sister, was better than a mother to him. She taught him much about literature, helping him in his reading. She stood by him in his crises—financial, physical, and mental. In return, Scripps helped her to build a fortune of her own.

The Scripps method was to found new papers rather than to buy established concerns. He would choose a city (usually of 50,000 to 100,000 in population), advance a sum of cash (usually about $25,000), and pick a man from his organization to

[16] Cochran, *E. W. Scripps*, pp. 202-03.



Edward *Wyllis Scripps, chief owner of Scripps-McRae, later Scripps-Howard, Newspapers. From the Young-Hunter portrait.*



William Randolph Hearst in 1904. Photograph by Brown Brothers.

start the paper. This man would receive a salary of $25 a week until the money was gone or the paper showed a profit; but if an operating profit was reached before the money was gone, the manager received a large block of the stock. Scripps took the loss if the paper failed, and fifty-one per cent of the stock if it succeeded. Nearly every year from 1893 until his death in 1926 (except during the World War) Scripps added from one to half a dozen papers to his list. Of the thirty-four, two were later sold to competitors and eight were discontinued as failures.

Scripps bought a ranch in southern California in 1890 and built there a home called "Miramar." At that time Milton A. McRae was managing the newspapers, with E. W. and George H. Scripps as partners,[17] under the name of the Scripps-McRae League. Becoming interested in California newspapers, E. W. Scripps bought the San Diego *Sun* independently of his partners, and added to it in the next sixteen years ten other papers in California, Oregon, and Washington.[18] Scripps lost control of five of these Coast papers when he quarreled with his son James in 1920; James died the next year, but his widow formed the Scripps-Canfield League, later the Scripps League.

Meantime Scripps-McRae began accretions—the Kansas City *World*, later abandoned, in 1897; the Akron *Press*, 1899; the Des Moines *News*, later sold, in 1902; a consolidation of three Toledo papers under the name of the *News-Bee* in 1903; and the Columbus *Citizen* in 1904. But 1906 was the red-letter year; chiefly through the activities of J. C. Harper, attorney for the League, and McRae, nine new papers were added in that one year.[19] The Houston *Press* was another Harper paper in 1911. In the same year Scripps financed an experimental adless tabloid, with only two short columns to the page—the Chicago *Day Book*, published by Negley D. Cochran. Carl Sandburg, later famous as a poet, was

[17] See pp. 461-62 for McRae, George H. Scripps, and the early Scripps-McRae papers. The Scripps brothers at this time each held two fifths and McRae one fifth of the organization ownership, but E. W. had general editorial control.

[18] Los Angeles *Record*, Seattle *Star*, Spokane *Press*, Tacoma *Times*, Portland *News*, Sacramento *Star*, Fresno *Tribune*, Berkeley *Independent*, Oakland *Mail*, San Francisco *News*. The first five later formed the nucleus of the Scripps-Canfield League.

[19] Denver *Express*, Evansville (Ind.) *Press*, Pueblo *Sun*, Dallas *Dispatch*, Portland *News* (Coast), *Oklahoma News*, Memphis *Press*, Nashville *News*, Terre Haute *Post*.

chief reporter. It continued for six years, reaching a circulation of 25,000. When rising paper costs during the war caused its suspension, it had got its monthly loss down to $500. The Philadelphia *News-Post*, another adless paper, was begun in 1912, but was discontinued after a year or two.[20]

Nearly all the Scripps properties were cheap afternoon papers. They were published for the masses. "The first of my principles," wrote Scripps to his editors, "is that I have constituted myself the advocate of that large majority of people who are not so rich in worldly goods and native intelligence as to make them equal, man for man, in the struggle with the wealthier and more intellectual class." [21] This sincere and constant position made the Scripps papers crusaders against utility abuses and political bossism. It put them on the side of labor in strike situations and aligned them with liberalism in political and economic theory. Thus these papers were founded on Scripps' realization of the importance of the great new labor group, especially in the Midwest. Independent of party, they supported Theodore Roosevelt's reform campaigns. In their relations with advertisers, Scripps insisted that editorial policy should never yield an inch to even the heaviest department-store patronage. It was his realization of the danger of advertising control that motivated his experiments with the adless newspaper.

By 1897 the Scripps chain was strong enough to challenge the Associated Press monopoly, and the new United Press was founded. The Newspaper Enterprise Association, a feature service, was founded in 1902; and in 1920 Scripps furnished the funds to establish Science Service.

MUNSEY'S EARLIER NEWSPAPER VENTURES

The three important newspaper chains of the period were those of Scripps, Hearst, and Munsey.

If Scripps was not a model for an Alger story, Frank A. Munsey came much closer to that ideal. Indeed, he always looked upon himself as an Alger hero, and was fond of recounting his poverty-stricken youth, his early struggles in the big city, and his great financial success. He learned telegraphy as a boy in Maine, and was Western Union manager in Augusta when that town became the

[20] See p. 640 for later development of the Scripps-Howard chain.
[21] Cochran, *E. W. Scripps*, pp. 235-36.

center of a great mail-order story-paper boom. Young Munsey saw the publishers of these papers making huge profits out of their mail-order advertising, and determined to go to New York and get into the publishing game himself. What he had in mind was a weekly juvenile, and a local capitalist promised to back him. In order to save time he put nearly all his own savings into contributions, one of which was a serial called "Do and Dare" by Horatio Alger; then in 1882 he went to New York with his grip full of manuscripts, a mind fermenting with ambitions, and $40 in his pocket. His backer deserted him, but he got out the *Golden Argosy* [22] anyway, and managed to keep it afloat by working day and night, hatching promotion ideas, taking chances. At length he had a taste of success, but that only whetted his appetite. He founded *Munsey's Weekly* in 1889, soon changed it to a monthly, and in 1893 reduced its price to ten cents a number. This last move brought him fortune; by 1900 his annual income was $500,000 and five years later a million. The down-east boy had made good in the Big Town.

Munsey established one of the first successful grocery chains, dabbled in real estate and hotels, went into the banking business. But all the time he had a hankering for newspapers.

In 1891, when he could not afford to lose any capital, Munsey had lost $40,000 trying to put the old *Star* on its feet. He made it a tabloid, filled with pictures and human-interest stories, and renamed it the *Continent;* but New York was not ready for that type of paper, and Munsey took his loss and retired from daily journalism after four months' effort. But ten years later, with millions at his command, he resolved to become publisher of a chain of newspapers in the largest eastern cities. Accordingly, he bought the Washington *Times* and New York *Daily News* in November, 1901, and the Boston *Journal* in October, 1902. Then in 1908 he purchased the Baltimore *Evening News* and founded the Philadelphia *Evening Times.*

The New York paper of his group was the famous old *Daily News* so long owned and managed by Benjamin Wood and managed by William L. Brown, a minority stockholder. Copperhead during the Civil War, later a penny evening sheet boasting at times the largest cir-

[22] Later the *Argosy.* James G. Blaine, once a Maine journalist, refused him help in his venture.

culation in the United States, it circulated chiefly among the semi-literates of the tenements—men and women who had scarcely enough to eat or wear but could always spare a penny for a paper. For years the *Daily News* had cleared its $100,000 a year; but it was not doing so well now, since Wood had died in 1900 and his widow, an eccentric and masterful old lady, had taken his place and was giving orders to Colonel Brown. Munsey bought the control from Mrs. Wood, paying her, on her insistence, with 340 $1,000-dollar bills.[23] Munsey crowded Colonel Brown out of the office and so improved the paper that most of its habitual buyers would have nothing of it. Its circulation declined; advertisers did not respond to its better appearance. Color presses were bought, the Sunday edition was enlarged and its price lowered, morning publication was tried, and then evening publication was resumed. At length the paper was offered at auction, Colonel Brown brought action as minority stockholder to prevent the sale, and Munsey bought Brown out. Finally, in 1904, Munsey, in disgust, turned the paper over to an employe for a nominal sum; and it was abandoned two years later. Munsey is said to have lost $750,000 on the paper.

Much the same experimental, trial-and-error method was pursued with the Boston *Journal*, the great, old, once-lively paper which Munsey had read as a boy and for which he now paid $600,000. The new owner reduced the price to one cent, took advertising off the first page, printed banner lines in red, and reduced the unwieldy size of its pages. When circulation did not respond, he killed the evening edition, later reviving it and killing it again. Similarly, he tried various shifts with the Sunday edition. In 1913 he sold the paper at a loss, and four years later it was merged in the *Herald*.

The Washington *Times*[24] was more successful than the New York *Daily News* and Boston *Journal*. During Munsey's enthusiastic support of Theodore Roosevelt, to whose presidential campaigns he was a very large contributor both in money and jour-

[23] The old lady is said to have died at ninety years, with $900,000 in bills and jewelry secreted among her effects.

[24] The Washington *Times* was founded as a morning paper in 1894. An *Evening Times* was begun the next year. In 1902 the *Evening Times* became *Times* and the morning edition was discontinued. In 1922 the *Herald*, begun in 1906, became the morning edition of the *Times*.

nalistic support, the Washington paper was looked on as the spearhead of the group. The Baltimore *Evening News* (founded in 1872), for which Munsey had paid $1,500,000 and with which he meddled but little, was the most profitable of them all—indeed the only one that paid consistently. The Philadelphia *Evening Times* [25] built up a good circulation on the basis of its support of the labor side in street railway strikes; when Munsey commanded an about-face, the circulation dropped but advertising increased. The *Times* was a consistent money-loser, however, and Munsey killed it in 1914. His dream of a chain now shattered, he soon sold his two other papers—the Baltimore *Evening News* in 1915 to Stuart Olivier, the managing editor who was largely responsible for its success; [26] and the Washington *Times* in 1917 to Arthur Brisbane, who later sold it to Hearst.

Personally, Munsey seemed to most of his associates a cold, heartless business man. He discharged employes without thought of their plight, sometimes for mere whims. For example, he disliked fat men; unlike Caesar, he wanted men about him as slender as himself. It is probable that Munsey's reputation has suffered from the general hatred borne him by newspaper men. They hated him for two reasons: first, because he used money made in other fields to shuffle and juggle newspaper properties, and though he had some good journalistic ideas, he was generally a failure as a newspaper manager; and second, he became the great executioner of newspapers in the period of consolidation and readjustment which came with the World War. This latter phase of his career, however, belongs to the next chapter.

THE BALTIMORE PAPERS AND THE GORMAN MACHINE

Munsey's invasion of Baltimore occurred immediately after the great fight of the papers of that city against the Gorman machine.

[25] Not to be confused with A. K. McClure's earlier *Times*.

[26] Olivier had to turn it back, however, in a few years because of war-time financial conditions. Later he raised $3,000,000 from a Baltimore syndicate and offered to buy the paper from Munsey, but Munsey then had other plans. Munsey bought the *American* and its evening edition, the *Star*, from General Felix Agnus in 1921, merged the *Star* with the *Evening News* and the next year sold the consolidated paper to Hearst; then in 1923 he sold the *American* to Hearst, withdrawing from the Baltimore field. Hearst in 1928 discontinued the week-day editions of the *American*, making it a Sunday paper only. In 1934 Hearst bought the Scripps-Howard *Post* (1922-34), combining it with the *Evening News* under the name *News-Post*.

Senator Arthur Pue Gorman had for years exercised a dictatorial and corrupt control over Maryland politics and government, when, in 1895, the *Sun* declared an open break with the machine and all it stood for, and gave its active support to a Republican candidate for governor. This was an astounding move: the *Sun* was old and conservative, still under the control of the Abell family, and Democracy had long been its religion.

Standing with the *Sun* on this issue was its chief business rival, the *Evening News*, which had been founded in 1872 but was not very important until the fighting editor Charles H. Grasty bought it twenty years later. Grasty had been trained under Nelson, of the Kansas City *Star*, and derived his ideal of clean politics and his penchant for crusading from that master. He had not been in Baltimore long before he attacked the policy racket, was indicted for criminal libel, tried, and acquitted. Now he was implacably set against the Gorman machine; but his paper was independent politically, and it had made no such sensational shift as that of the Democratic *Sun*. The Republican *American* was, as a matter of course, opposed to Gorman, but it was less influential.

The fight was bitter and the election was contested with violence, but in the end Maryland elected a Republican governor for the first time since the Civil War. Gorman lost his seat as Senator, though he regained it six years later. The *Sun* then supported McKinley in the presidential campaign of 1896, and the Republican candidate for governor the next year; but after that it returned to the Democratic fold.

The *Sunpaper*, as it was called in Baltimore, underwent a process of modernization beginning in 1904. In common with the *Evening News* and *American*, it was burned out in the great Baltimore fire of that year; but its changes were due to the death of Edwin F. Abell and the succession of his son (a grandson of the founder) to the presidency of the publishing corporation. The archaic advertising methods were overhauled, a Sunday edition was founded, and a new building was erected. Grasty had sold his *Evening News* to Munsey, and new money and the enterprise of its manager Olivier made competition keen.

After selling his paper, Grasty went to St. Paul and bought a half-interest in the *Dispatch*, later buying the *Pioneer Press* for a morning edition. But his heart was in Baltimore, and in 1910

he came back to that city and purchased control of the *Sun*. Almost immediately he bought the Baltimore *World* (1890-1910) and made it into the *Evening Sun*. Grasty was a high-minded, pugnacious editor, an ardent champion of Woodrow Wilson, and an uncompromising opponent of corruption. But he was less competent on the business side; and in 1914 he withdrew from the *Sun*, becoming a foreign correspondent for the New York *Times*. Van-Lear Black succeeded him as manager of the *Sunpapers*.

BOSTON JOURNALISM; THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Boston's chief contributions to the journalistic history of the period were the extension of the Munsey and Hearst chains to that city, the founding of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the growth of the *Post*.

The *Monitor* was established by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Science Church, in 1908 as a daily selling at two cents. A handsome ten-page paper, with a front page clear of advertising and the last page devoted to displayed editorials, it compared favorably with its Boston contemporaries. Its foreign news and its features dealing with art, music, and literature were excellent from the beginning. But its innovation, required by Mrs. Eddy and carried out unquestioningly ever since, was its taboo against crime and disaster news. Because the Church believed such news to be unhealthful, the *Monitor* printed crime stories only when government or society was materially affected, and disaster news only when it had similar importance or when it called for benevolent response—and even then it "played it down." However, the paper was not a proselytizing agency, and it contained little propaganda or strictly church news. The *Monitor* was originally intended as a practical protest against yellow journalism. Beginning in 1910 the Christian Science Church sponsored a series of "clean journalism" meetings to express disapproval of yellow press methods as well as to promote the *Monitor*.

At the end of its first decade, the paper had attained, largely through the efforts of members of the Church, but also by reason of its excellent presentation of the news, a circulation of 120,000, distributed more generally over the United States than that of any other daily. Its foreign circulation was also considerable, and its foreign news service was unusually good. During the World War

it was under the editorship of the British-trained Frederick Dixon, and its policy of urging the United States to enter the war seemed to some inconsistent with other Christian Science attitudes. In 1918 a quarrel over the paper's management was carried into the courts, and it was not until three years later that the Church's Board of Directors was awarded full control. By that time the *Monitor's* circulation had fallen to 17,500, most of its advertising had been lost, and its news-gathering and editing had deteriorated. At this juncture Willis J. Abbot, who had enjoyed a wide newspaper experience, including a long service with Hearst, was made editor of the *Monitor*. Within five years the paper's prestige and circulation were restored. It established bureaus in the leading American cities and foreign capitals. An editorial board conducted the paper for more than a decade beginning with 1927. Erwin D. Canham became managing editor in 1940.

The old Boston *Post* experienced a rebirth when it came under the management of Edwin A. Grozier in 1891. Grozier had been one of Pulitzer's private secretaries, and later city editor of the *World* and editor of the *Sunday World*. Trained in such a school, he made the *Post* one of the most sensational papers of the country and was able to offer strong competition even to Hearst's *American;* and by the end of this period his paper claimed the largest morning circulation in the United States—some 450,000.

The *Herald*, long under the conservative management of John H. Holmes, was taken under the wing of an organization of Boston financiers and Robert Lincoln O'Brien brought over from the *Transcript* as editor (1910-28). In 1912 it bought the *Traveller* (established in 1845) and published it as an evening edition. The papers prospered and five years later they absorbed the *Journal*, lately relinquished by Munsey.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Great Journals and Journalists of the West

CHICAGO JOURNALISM CAME INTO ITS OWN IN THE PERIOD NOW under discussion. In 1892 Chicago had passed Philadelphia to become the country's second-largest city. It had a good start on its second million of population, and in the next year it was to be host to a great World's Fair which was to mean much to its cultural development and to its prosperity. Its papers were generally well printed, less sensational than those of New York, and served by a group of notable journalists.

An unusual *esprit de corps* developed among Chicago newspaper workers of these days. Chicago's "press gang" of the nineties, with its hard drinking and morbid horseplay has become legend. In the Whitechapel Club, reporters drank out of skulls and frightened eastern visitors by raids arranged in collusion with the police. But in the group were some journalists of very great talent.

In the Chicago journalism of 1892-1914, four great papers stand out—the *Tribune*, the *Daily News*, the *Inter Ocean*, and the *Times-Herald* (later *Record-Herald*).

Joseph Medill, having passed three score and ten, gave up active control of the *Tribune* by the middle nineties to his son-in-law Robert W. Patterson;[1] in 1899 the veteran died with that journalist's query on his lips: "What's the news?" He had brought the *Tribune* to a point of great prosperity; in 1892 he refused $4,000,000 for it.[2]

James Keeley, one of the greatest of managing editors, served the *Tribune* throughout the present period. English by birth, he

[1] See p. 466. R. W. Patterson died in 1910, after a period of poor health during which Medill McCormick, a grandson of Joseph Medill, had been in charge of the *Tribune*. McCormick retired in 1914, leaving control jointly to a brother, Robert R. McCormick, and a cousin (another grandson of Medill), Joseph Medill Patterson.

[2] Willis J. Abbot in *Review of Reviews*, June, 1895 (Vol. XI, p. 648).

had grown up under hard circumstances and had come to America at sixteen. After an apprenticeship on the Kansas City *Journal*, he came to the *Tribune* at twenty-one, and his unusual capacities as a reporter and news editor were soon recognized. He once tracked an absconding bank president to Morocco and persuaded him to return to Chicago for trial. The morning after the Iroquois Theatre fire in 1903 Keeley filled the *Tribune's* front page, not with the detailed story of the fire itself, but with the names and addresses of the 600 victims. Under Keeley, and in competition with Hearst's *American*, the *Tribune* became somewhat more sensational than formerly. It was well edited, Republican in politics, and fairly conservative in its positions. It opposed Altgeld, fought the Debs leadership of Chicago labor bitterly, and conducted one crusade after another to prevent franchise grabs by the gas and street-railway utilities. It was very prosperous, and in 1924-25 it erected a magnificent new building for itself at a cost of $8,000,000.

The *Tribune's* greatest crusade, in which it was joined by the *Record-Herald*, was that which led the United States Senate to throw William Lorimer out of that body on account of corrupt practices in his election. Early in 1910 the *Tribune* bought from a member of the state Legislature and published with corroborative detail an exposé of widespread bribery and extortion in connection with the election of Lorimer to the Senate in the preceding year. Out of these revelations grew many prosecutions for bribery, but no convictions. Indictments for jury-bribing followed, but again no convictions resulted. Charges were brought against Lorimer in the Senate, but an investigating committee reported in his favor. But the 1911 session of the Illinois Legislature, moved by the story of the $100,000 Lorimer slush fund which was printed in the *Record-Herald* and by the persistent campaign of the *Tribune*, appointed a committee of inquiry whose findings caused the United States Senate to reopen the case; and Lorimer's seat was declared vacant.

The *Daily News* retained some leadership in circulation, and continued to be a lively and frequently brilliant paper. It used much illustration, published half a dozen editions daily, and carried heavy advertising. Up to the time of the War with Spain it was a remarkably local paper, but after that time it organized one

of the best foreign services in the country. This was done through its morning edition, the *Record;* but the *News* eventually took over the service. In 1897-1910 the *Record* waged a long and ultimately successful fight for postal savings banks; and it consistently fought the current franchise abuses attempted by utilities. The owner, Victor Lawson, was abroad much of the time in search of health.

KOHLSAAT, THE INTER OCEAN, AND THE RECORD-HERALD

Herman Kohlsaat made his money in a Chicago chain of bakeries and lunch counters at which one could buy a square meal for fifteen cents. But Kohlsaat was fascinated by the attractions of journalism and politics; and in 1891, a pleasant, bespectacled, ambitious, young-looking man of thirty-eight, he bought a large interest in the *Inter Ocean.* In three years of publishing experience Kohlsaat showed himself an effective circulation promoter by the use of various coupon schemes. But he was also a man of high ideals, and he found that he could not align his paper fully against local boodlers without complete ownership; he therefore made his partners a give-or-take offer and lost the paper. Part of the capital to buy him out came from Charles T. Yerkes, Chicago's traction boss, whose efforts to have his own profitable way with the street-railway system were being fought by the *Daily News* and the *Tribune.* In 1897 Yerkes became chief owner of the *Inter Ocean* and through it made bitter attacks upon his newspaper enemies. In spite of plentiful features and pictures, the paper declined under such management; and Yerkes sold it to his editor in 1901.

Kohlsaat remained out of the newspaper game only a little more than a year. In 1895, James W. Scott completed the consolidation known as the *Times-Herald,* and then died a few days later; Kohlsaat promptly purchased that paper and its evening edition, the *Evening Post,* paying about $1,500,000 for them. The *Times* had been a rock-ribbed Democratic sheet, with a tradition of Copperheadism behind it, and the *Herald* had been a Cleveland paper; but Kohlsaat, an ardent Republican, risked failure in a field overcrowded with Republican papers, by putting his paper squarely behind the gold standard and McKinley in 1896. Indeed, he did much to put the gold plank in the Republican platform, and be-

came an intimate of McKinley. Politics took no small share of his attention; but the *Times-Herald*, with a brilliant staff and the lunch counters behind it, was an excellent paper.

In 1901 Kohlsaat bought the *Record*, morning edition of the *Daily News*, from Lawson and consolidated it with the *Times-Herald* under the name *Record-Herald*. Again he paid $1,500,000, but this time the load was too heavy to carry; and before the year was out he was forced to turn over the whole property to Lawson and go back to his bakeries.[3] At one time, after a severe illness, Mrs. Kohlsaat had asked him whom he wanted as pallbearers in case of his death. "My dear," he replied, "six bankers. They have carried me all my life and it is only fair that they should carry me when I am dead." But there was a limit to the bankers' patience.

Lawson induced Frank B. Noyes, of the Washington *Star*, to become editor and publisher of the *Record-Herald*. It was a fine paper, with McCutcheon's cartoons (later Ralph Wilder's), good news-coverage, a big Sunday edition, and well-conducted departments of sports, finance, and women's interests. Its great "stunt" was the attempt of Walter Wellman, the paper's Washington correspondent, to reach the North Pole in a dirigible in 1907, followed by a second unsuccessful effort two years later. In 1910 Wellman, sponsored by the *Record-Herald*, the New York *Times*, and the London *Telegraph*, attempted a transatlantic flight by dirigible, but was wrecked off Cape Hatteras.

But the *Record-Herald* did not pay. Noyes gave it up and went back to Washington in 1910, and Lawson, chief bondholder, put Kohlsaat in again as publisher. It was at this time that the paper did yeoman service in the fight against Lorimer. But Kohlsaat resigned two years later to buy back his first love, the *Inter Ocean;* and Lawson, after trying for some time to sell the paper, disposed of it to a new company formed in 1914 by James Keeley, brilliant managing editor of the *Tribune*, for a small share in the stock of the new corporation. The *Inter Ocean* disappeared by merger into Keeley's paper, the name of which was now simplified to *Herald*. Came the World War, with increasing costs, and the *Herald* was sold in 1918 to Hearst, who combined it with his Chicago *Examiner*. Keeley became a public relations counsel. *Sic transit gloria.*

[3] Early in 1901 he had sold the *Evening Post* to John C. Shaffer. It was merged in the *Daily News* in 1932.

ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY NEWSPAPERS

In St. Louis the old Democratic *Missouri Republican* had been taken over in 1888, rejuvenated, and renamed *Republic*, by Colonel Charles H. Jones, a Georgia journalist with strong convictions, energy, and whiskers befitting his title. Ex-Governor David R. Francis bought the *Republic* in 1893 and Joseph Pulitzer took Jones to New York and put him in charge of the *World;* but when the colonel tried to commit the *World* to a free-silver, pro-Debs editorial and news policy, he had to be restrained. Pulitzer, however, had confidence in Jones' newspaper ability and in 1895 sold him a one-sixth interest in the *Post-Dispatch*, placing him in complete charge of that paper in the hope of pulling it out of a temporary decline. Jones immediately committed the *Post-Dispatch* to Bryan for President, which shocked Pulitzer so that he tried to oust his new editor, even going into the courts in the effort to get rid of him. But Jones stuck to his post for two years, improving the paper's situation. When he left he was succeeded as editor by George S. Johns.

Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., was sent to St. Louis when no more than a boy to learn the business on the *Post-Dispatch* under Johns and Oliver K. Bovard, the managing editor. The elder Pulitzer was never a sympathetic father; and on his death in 1911, he left his namesake, then twenty-six, only one tenth of his estate. The next year Joseph, Jr., became editor and publisher of the *Post-Dispatch* and developed into a strong and competent executive.

Joseph B. McCullagh, long editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, died in 1896; but the paper maintained its position, keeping just behind the *Post-Dispatch* in circulation increases. It absorbed the *Republic* in 1919. No St. Louis paper reached 100,000 circulation until 1903, when the *Post-Dispatch* attained that figure, to be followed a few years later by the *Globe-Democrat*. The Scripps-McRae *Chronicle* was absorbed in 1905 by the *Star*.[4] The *Times*, founded in 1895, was consolidated with the *Star* in 1935 under the name *Star-Times*.

In Kansas City, Nelson's *Star* maintained its dominance. A Sunday edition was begun in 1894, but Nelson did not increase

[4] The *Evening Star* was founded in 1878. Its history is uncertain, but the name reappears in 1888, when the *Evening Star-Sayings* was issued as a consolidation with the St. Louis *Sayings*, which had begun as a Sunday paper in 1884. It became St. Louis *Star* in 1896.

his weekly price of ten cents; he merely gave his customers seven instead of six papers for their weekly dimes. Likewise, when he bought the *Times* in 1901 to use as his morning edition, he gave his subscribers thirteen issues a week for the same ten-cent price. It is small wonder that competitors found the way difficult.

The *Weekly Star*, a four-page farm paper, was begun in 1890 at twenty-five cents a year. It passed 100,000 circulation in its third year, and had a third of a million by the end of this period.

Though Nelson had been a Democrat in his early life, he was unable to support Bryan in his campaigns for the presidency and thus went over into the Republican column. After making the personal acquaintance of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1900 contest, he was ever an ardent admirer and supporter of that leader. He urged a new Progressive party in 1912, and he personally took an active part in the organization and the national campaigns of that party. He worked for the initiative, referendum, and recall in the states of the *Star's* region.

Nelson's active and colorful career came to an end in 1915.

The *Star* and *Times* were by no means without opposition in these years. In 1909 Kansas City was invaded by Bonfils and Tammen, owners of the Denver *Post*, whom their biographer calls "the Katzenjammer Kids of the Rockies." They bought for about $250,000 the Kansas City *Post*, an evening paper then three years old and having a hard time. They attempted to apply in Kansas City, accustomed to the restrained news presentation of the *Star*, the wild and woolly yellow journalism with which they had made a success in Denver. They did succeed in building up a circulation of 190,000, but the large advertisers remained aloof. In 1921, Walter S. Dickey, prominent industrialist, bought the pioneer Kansas City *Journal*; and the next year he made an offer of $1,250,000 for the *Post* and Bonfils and Tammen could not refuse. Thus the *Post* became, for some years, the evening edition of the *Journal*; but in 1928 they were merged under the name *Journal-Post*.

PIRATICAL PATERNALISM IN COLORADO

Fred G. Bonfils was undoubtedly drawn back to Kansas City by a desire to revenge himself upon the publisher who had played

an important part in driving him out of that city nearly twenty years before. Bonfils, son of a Missouri probate judge and descendant of a Corsican family related to Napoleon, had been a student at West Point, but had not finished the course there. When Oklahoma was opened to settlement in 1889, Bonfils was twenty-eight; he joined in the land rush and made a considerable "stake" in the quick turnovers in boom-town real estate. Shortly thereafter he entered the lottery business, then in its last phase. It was probably difficult to conduct lotteries honestly even with the best of intentions: Bonfils, operating under two or three aliases, had but one intention—to make money for Bonfils. The Kansas City *Star* was a leader in the successful attempt to drive the Little Louisiana Lottery, as the Bonfils enterprise was called, out of Missouri and Kansas.

Harry H. Tammen and Bonfils formed their partnership in 1895. Tammen had got his start as a bartender. It is said that in later and more halcyon days a dowager whom Tammen met at J. Ogden Armour's house asked him if it was actually true that he had been a bartender. "Lady," he replied, "I was the best booze-juggler in the world!" This was before the day of cash-registers, and Tammen prospered. Soon he set up a curio shop in Denver, where he grew rich selling such items as the veritable scalps of the great Indian chief Geronimo to gullible visitors from the East. But the depression ruined him, and it was Bonfils, now almost a millionaire, who advanced the $12,500 necessary to buy the Denver *Post*. In this partnership, Tammen, fat, imaginative, resourceful, was the originator of projects; Bonfils, tall and handsome, with the sharp, black mustaches, the loud clothes, and the saturnine face of the gambler, held the purse-strings tight.

The chief papers in Denver in 1895 were the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Republican*,[5] and the *Times*. Thomas M. Patterson, lawyer, free-silver advocate, and later United States Senator, had recently purchased a controlling interest in the *News*, and in 1902 he bought the *Times* as an evening edition.

Bonfils and Tammen soon made the *Post* the yellowest of yellow journals. It was yellow in the symbolic sense only, however; chromatically it was red and black. Its large, startling banner-

[5] The Republican had absorbed the *Tribune* in 1884.

lines printed in red ink became famous. The partners loved red: as soon as the paper became prosperous, they moved to a fine new building in which they occupied an office the walls of which were painted red. They called it the "Red Room," but it became known in Denver as "The Bucket of Blood." The paper prospered. Bonfils refused to put more capital than the purchase price into it, insisting that it should pay its way. This was difficult at first; but after it began to make money, every cent of its earnings was put back into its development until 1908. In that year the partners began paying themselves salaries of $1,000 a week, and also took out enough to buy the Kansas City *Post*. In the 1920's the paper was making well over a million dollars a year.

The *Post's* news was sensational in content and treatment. Bonfils and Tammen bought it just a month after Hearst bought the New York *Journal*, and they were never far behind the master in the development of the yellow press. The *Post* used pages of feature material, buying most of what was offered in order to keep it out of the hands of rivals but using only the best of the articles, columns, pictures, and comic strips of the syndicates. Adopting the crusading technique of the yellows, it ran wild in its attacks. Wherever a vulnerable head appeared, the *Post* took a crack at it. Patterson of the *News*, Denver's Mayor, the utilities, officials, preachers, leaders everywhere were its victims. There were libel suits and fights, but the *Post* juggernaut rolled on, red and powerful. An attorney employed to get a parole for a man accused of having killed and eaten his companion on a gold-hunting expedition once invaded "The Bucket of Blood" and shot each of the partners twice; they were saved from death only by his bad marksmanship and the heroism of beautiful Polly Pry (Leonel Campbell), the paper's chief sob-sister, who had dug up the man-eater story. At another time the *Post* building was thoroughly sacked by a mob of sympathizers with the street-railway strike which the paper was fighting.

In spite of the fact that the *Post* demonstrated more clearly than any other American paper the dangers of the newspaper crusade, some of its fights did undoubtedly serve the people well. The paper was a club over the heads of monopolies; and when the coal combine refused to reduce prices at his behest, Bonfils went into the coal business himself. The *Post* called itself "Your Big

Brother," and "The Paper with a Heart and Soul," and appointed itself the guardian not only of Colorado, but of Wyoming and New Mexico.

The paternalistic attitude, extension over a wide region, and policy of multiple crusades were doubtless rooted in Bonfils' study of the Kansas City *Star*. So, too, was the *Post's* weekly rate of ten cents, which included its Sunday edition.

To sift out the facts from the mass of mythology which quickly grew up about these paternalistic pirates of journalism is difficult, because the truth is often more incredible than the legends. Bonfils went to Africa to be one of the first to greet his friend "Teddy" Roosevelt when he emerged from his jungle hunting. Tammen, with a penchant for elephants, started a circus which he named after his sports editor, Otto Floto (later Sells-Floto). This circus engaged in warfare with Ringling's, and had trouble with escaped wild beasts, but gave Tammen infinite satisfaction. Then there were beauty contests, treasure hunts, excursions to Cheyenne for Frontier Day, the exploitation of a primitive "Eve" in the Estes Park Garden of Eden, new pennies flung from the balcony of the *Post* building for children to scramble for, picnics, rides, junkets.

Bonfils and Tammen were often accused of blackmailing advertisers and men of wealth. This was never proved in a court of law; but a constantly belligerent attitude, supported by a record bristling with attacks, is, of course, always a threat in itself. The course of the *Post* in connection with the breaking of the famous Teapot Dome oil scandal [6] indicates that Bonfils came very early into possession of the news that oil leases were being obtained through government corruption, but did not use his information until he saw an opportunity to reach the wealthy oil lessees. He then attacked effectively; the lessees were forced to make a contract by which the *Post* stood to gain about half a million dollars,[7] and the attacks suddenly ceased. This incident resulted in a report of the Committee on Ethics of the American Society of Newspaper Editors recommending that Bonfils be expelled from the Society. Questions involving the Society's constitution intervened, however, and Bonfils was allowed to resign.

[6] See p. 700. The closing phases of the career of Bonfils and Tammen are given here in order to preserve the unity of their story, though chronology would place them in the next chapter.

[7] Fowler, *Timber Line*, p. 408.

In 1913, Senator Patterson sold the *Rocky Mountain News* and Denver *Times* to John C. Shaffer, owner of the Chicago *Evening Post* and a string of Indiana papers. Shaffer also bought the *Republican* and merged it with the *News*. He was unable, however, to make headway against the *Post*; he also became involved in the oil scandals, and thirteen years later he sold his Denver properties to the Scripps-Howard League. Tammen had died in 1924, but Bonfils and Howard now proceeded to engage for two years in one of the greatest throat-cutting competitive battles in the history of American journalism. Outstanding among the incidents of this contest was the gasoline-premium war, in which the rival papers offered as high as five gallons of gasoline free with every twenty-cent want-ad inserted in their Sunday issues. All Denver was riding on free gasoline, the Sunday papers went to over 100 pages, stuffed with classified advertising, and the *Post* and *News* lost money like drunken sailors. In 1928 a truce was signed, the *News* discontinued its evening edition and the *Post* its morning issue (founded for this fight), and comparative peace settled over Colorado.

In 1932 a Democratic politician made a speech in Denver in which he launched an attack upon Bonfils. "The day will come," he said, "when some persecuted man will treat that rattlesnake as a rattlesnake should be treated, and there will be general rejoicing. . . . Bonfils is a public enemy and has left the trail of a slimy serpent across Colorado for 30 years." [8] The *News* printed the speech and was sued by Bonfils for $200,000 for libel. In the course of its defense, the *News* undertook to prove the truth of the statement sued upon, setting forth forty-one points relating to the publisher's past life and actions. The list as a whole was devastating. Bonfils submitted to have a deposition taken, then suddenly refused to answer more questions. He was seventy-two years old; before the court procedures went further, he was stricken with toxic encephalitis and died in February, 1933.

ED HOWE AND WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

In 1877 E. W. Howe, then twenty-two years old, founded a daily paper called the *Globe* in Atchison, Kansas, a town of 12,000 souls. He had less than $200 capital; but he had a knowledge of printing and of newspapers won in several years of wandering,

[8] Fowler, *Timber Line*, p. 471.

plus a liking for people and a large fund of wit and common sense. At the end of its second week the *Globe* took in enough money to pay its expenses and the "board and keep" of the two men who were putting it out. Its prosperity never waned after that.

Ed Howe became famous throughout the land as a representative of the best type of country editor, for Atchison never outgrew its small-town status. Howe wrote an excellent novel, published in 1882—*The Story of a Country Town*—and his pithy editorial paragraphs were much quoted in far larger papers than his, but his significance lies in the fact that he was deeply interested in his neighbors and published a paper for them and of them. He retired in 1911 to edit in a more leisurely way a little monthly of his own, in which he capitalized upon the reputation that had given him the title, "The Sage of Potato Hill."

Another famous editor in a small Kansas city was William Allen White. White had been an editorial writer under Nelson on the Kansas City *Star*. In 1895 he bought the Emporia *Gazette*, when it was five years old, for $5,000; and the next year he made a national reputation with his editorial "What's the Matter with Kansas?" The matter with Kansas was that it was following the false gods of Populism instead of building factories: "Because we have become poorer and ornrier and meaner than a spavined, distempered mule, we, the people of Kansas, propose to kick; we don't care to build up, we wish to tear down." [9] The editorial was reprinted in nearly every Republican paper in the country and was soon broadcast as a campaign document. Like Howe, White was "folksy," he was a wit, he wrote fiction, and he made a success of a small-city paper in Kansas; but he wrote with more ease and brilliance than his older colleague, he took his politics more seriously, and he achieved a more general national fame. White gradually grew away from the position of extreme partisan conservatism represented by his 1896 editorials, until in 1912 he himself followed another of the third-party movements, serving, like his former boss on the *Star*, as a national committeeman of the Progressive party. Afterward, he was generally considered a liberal, working within the Republican party. Though repeatedly tempted, he never deserted Emporia and the *Gazette*; his editorial

[9] Emporia *Gazette*, August 15, 1896.

association with such eastern periodicals as the *American Magazine* and *Judge* was maintained at long distance.

FREMONT OLDER

During most of this period and for many years before it, California politics were largely in the control of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Not a few newspapers accepted monthly "good will" payments from that source. Legislative and municipal bribery and extortion were practised shamelessly.

Fremont Older, born in a Wisconsin log cabin in 1856, had made his difficult way as tramp printer and reporter in various cities before he became managing editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin* in 1895. Shortly thereafter, this paper was separated from its morning associate, the *Call*, becoming the property of R. A. Crothers for $35,500. It was a weak paper, with a few thousand circulation, and accepted a monthly fee from the railroad. Older, using sensation tactics, increased the circulation and brought the *Bulletin* to a paying basis. Revolted by what he learned of the general political banditry, however, he determined to crush the corrupt San Francisco machine, which the *Chronicle* had vainly fought for some years. Older's success with the *Bulletin* had given him prestige and self-confidence. He was tall, erect, well dressed, and he had an extraordinarily dominating personality.

Older not only used the *Bulletin* as the organ of the fight against the corruptionists, but he was himself the chief organizer of forces that gathered evidence and prosecuted the cases in the courts. Older's life was constantly threatened. As matters approached a climax, he was one day kidnaped and hustled out of the city; he escaped with his life only because the gunman assigned to take care of him lost his nerve. Crothers was once brass-knuckled and left for dead. After trials which attracted nation-wide attention, in the course of which Prosecutor Francis J. Heney was shot down in the courtroom, Mayor Schmitz and his manager Ruef were convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary in 1906-08.

Hiram W. Johnson had won a reputation as the prosecutor of the boodlers after Heney had been shot; and in 1910 the *Bulletin* supported Johnson as a reform candidate for Governor in a campaign which was itself a crusade. Older also conducted a long fight to get the chief of the convicted boodlers paroled: he was

now convinced that Ruef was a victim of social conditions. This led the editor into advocacy of reforms in penology. After Tom Mooney's conviction on the charge of bombing the Preparedness Day parade in 1916, Older, claiming the agitator had been "framed," crusaded for his reprieve, and later for a pardon. But by this time Crothers was tired of crusades; the *Bulletin* was prosperous, and he had other plans. This set the stage for Hearst to give Older the editorship of the *Call*, which he had bought in 1922 as an evening associate of his *Examiner*. Hearst had opposed most of Older's campaigns, but he now offered the old crusader a forum where he could be "free." It was not long, however, until Older himself lost faith in crusading, regarding it as no remedy for social ills and at best only a means of building circulation. Meantime, the *Bulletin* had gone downhill; and Hearst bought it in 1928, making his evening paper the *Call-Bulletin*. Older died in 1933.

CRUSADES

Crusading was indeed a prominent feature of the journalism of the period. A very old device, it was used more prominently at the beginning of the twentieth century than at any other time in our newspaper history.[10]

Much has been said already about the crusades of the New York *Journal*, the New York *World*, the Denver *Post*, and others of the highly sensational papers. Crusading, as has been pointed out, was an integral part of yellow journalism. It was also a recognized technique for the promotion of the Scripps papers.

Two famous crusades by the *World* preceded its flight into yellowness. Its campaign against war with England at the time of the Venezuelan incident of 1895 was well organized and effective. It went into action immediately after President Cleveland's pugnacious message, and it published many columns of opinions of famous English and American leaders against the impending conflict. Almost alone at first, it was soon joined by other papers. The other famous crusade came very soon afterward; by it the

[10] Crusades should be distinguished from ordinary political campaigning on the one hand, and promotion "stunts" on the other. Any campaign against an abuse or in promotion of a public benefit which is prosecuted by a newspaper with zeal and enterprise may be called a newspaper crusade. For discussion of earlier crusades, see Index, under that title.

Treasury Department was forced to offer a $100,000,000 bond issue to the public instead of giving it to the large New York financiers.

The New York *Press*, edited by Ervin Wardman, made repeated attacks on bribery in municipal affairs in 1898-99, and was forced to defend several big libel suits. The *Evening Post* had a taste of victory in its fight against Tammany in 1894. E. A. Van Valkenberg, of the Philadelphia *North American*, assailed many abuses in local bossism, food adulteration, etc. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* was active in banishing its city's boodlers in 1901, when it persuaded an absconding politician to come home and turn state's evidence. Insurance company mismanagement was brought to light in the great exposures of 1905-06, bringing fame to Charles E. Hughes; the *World* and the *Press* made crusades of the matter. Many newspapers crusaded for the adoption of the commission form of city government or for the city manager plan. Ice and coal monopolies were attacked in various cities, and the people were often protected from improper franchise manipulations by the utilities. The newspapers, wrote the editor of a conservative journal in 1906, now make "every headline an officer . . . an advance section of the Day of Judgment." [11]

Not all the crusades were political in nature. A great disaster meant campaigns by many papers to raise money for relief; following the Galveston flood, several papers sent boatloads or trainloads of supplies for the victims, and similar measures were taken after the San Francisco earthquake. An unusual and valuable crusade was that initiated by Managing Editor James Keeley in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1899 for a sane Fourth of July. Keeley was moved to action by the explosive din all about the bedside of his little daughter, who was critically ill. Year after year the *Tribune* gathered reports of Fourth of July casualties, until the lesson began to take effect, other papers joined in the appeal, and protective laws were enacted. The Atlanta *Georgian's* campaign against the convict lease system destroyed it in that state, and the same paper's crusades for better schools, and later, against child labor were not without effect. Hundreds of papers conducted campaigns for better roads, for parks and public buildings, and for funds to provide Thanksgiving and Christmas cheer for the poor.

[11] Rollo Ogden in *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1906 (Vol. XCVIII, p. 15).

MUCKRAKING

Reform crusades got into the weekly and monthly magazines during the decade 1902-12. This movement was called "muckraking" by Theodore Roosevelt, who resented some of the attacks; he drew his figure from the Man with the Muck-rake in *Pilgrim's Progress*, who would not look up from the filth on the floor even when a celestial crown was offered him. Leaders in the movement were *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, and the *Arena*. Prominent among series of magazine articles of these years were Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" and Lincoln Steffens' "The Shame of the Cities" in *McClure's*; David Graham Phillips' "The Treason of the Senate" in *Cosmopolitan*; Thomas W. Lawson's "Frenzied Finance" in *Everybody's*; and Samuel Hopkins Adams' "The Great American Fraud" (the patent-medicine business) in *Collier's*.

The number of these magazine crusades, and the lack of restraint of some of them at length wearied and sickened the public, and they subsided. At the same time the newspaper crusades of the same character decreased. Many crusaders were disillusioned, as Older and Steffens were to be later. The Denver *Post* had shown to what sordid uses the procedure could be put. Louis Wiley, business manager of the New York *Times*, called crusading "a commercial trade." [12] Hearst's "battles for the people" were, for various reasons, on the decline. By 1910 the fury of newspaper crusading had passed its peak.

WHAT WOULD JESUS DO?

A "stunt" rather than a crusade was the experimental Christian daily issued by the Topeka, Kansas, *Daily Capital* during the second week in March, 1900.

Charles M. Sheldon was a Congregational clergyman who had written *In His Steps*, a book which had enjoyed larger sales than any other novel ever published in the United States and probably in the world. An episode in it represented the attempt of a newspaper man to publish a paper "as Jesus would do it." The publisher of the *Capital* invited the Reverend Mr. Sheldon to edit his paper for a week in the light of that ideal.

[12] *Collier's*, May 13, 1911, p. 28.

The Sheldon *Capital* was undeniably dull. It did not omit all news of human depravity, but it "played down" crime, scandals, and vice. Editorials and news stories were signed. The inexperienced editor performed, on the whole, a good piece of work in the face of great difficulties. The *Capital* had, at that time, about 15,000 circulation. The national interest in the experiment brought the week's special issues up to an average of 360,000 copies a day, editions being published simultaneously in Topeka, Chicago, and New York.

After it was all over, Editor J. K. Hudson observed editorially that he did not believe in the Christian daily idea, and promised: "The *Capital* will, in the future, go forward on the lines it has worked in the past, as a Republican newspaper."

CHAPTER XXXIV

What the Papers Printed at the Turn of the Century

THE YEARS 1892-1914 COMPRISE A GREAT NEWS PERIOD. THE biggest story, of course, was that of the Spanish-American War, the coverage of which has been described.

Newspapers were more attractive in this period than ever before. In news, pictures, features, and editorials, there was more variety.

Few presidential contests have been more colorful than the free-silver campaign of 1896. But the great political figure of the period was that of Theodore Roosevelt, who was probably more constantly page-one news than any other President the country has had. His name being unmanageable in headlines, he was universally known as "T.R." or "Teddy."

The chief labor wars were the great Chicago railway strike of 1894 and the Pennsylvania anthracite strike of 1902.

Almost as exciting as the gold rush to California forty years before was the Klondike exodus of 1897-99; newspapers sent correspondents to Alaska, and E. C. Allen published his *Klondike Nugget* at Dawson City in 1898-99 at $24 in advance for a year's subscription. In 1909 the press was divided over the rival claims of Robert E. Peary and Dr. Frederick A. Cook as to which had first reached the North Pole; the former's story was exclusive to the New York *Times* and the latter's to the New York *Herald*, but both papers sold their stories widely.

The chief disasters of the period were the St. Louis tornado, 1896; the Galveston hurricane and flood, 1900; the Mt. Pelée disaster in Martinique, 1902, reported by circuitous cable routes at two to four dollars a word; Chicago's Iroquois Theatre fire, in 1903; the great Baltimore fire of 1904; the San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906; and the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912. Will

Irwin's "color story" on the San Francisco disaster, written for the New York *Sun* under the title, "The City That Was," is a newspaper classic. The plants of all the San Francisco papers were destroyed, but they carried on from Oakland. The day after the earthquake, the three morning papers combined to issue the *Call-Chronicle-Examiner*.

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 produced thousands of columns of newspaper copy. The march of Coxey's "army" the following year furnished a serio-comic story of the first magnitude, and Mrs. Carry Nation carried on in 1903.

The assassination of President McKinley in 1901 was one of the major news-breaks of the period. Other murders of public men were those of Governor Goebel, of Kentucky, shot in 1900 in an election dispute, and of Carter H. Harrison, Chicago's Mayor, in 1893.

One of the biggest murder-trial stories in American journalism was that of Harry K. Thaw, young heir to steel millions, who shot and killed Stanford White, famous architect, late in 1905 because of his alleged seduction of an actress, Evelyn Nesbit. A case which attracted very wide attention in 1892-93 was the trial, followed by acquittal, of Lizzie Borden, of Fall River, Massachusetts, accused of murdering her wealthy parents with a hatchet. One of the most sensational of murders was that of Mrs. Luetgers, of Chicago, in 1897; the husband was a sausage manufacturer and he was accused of cutting up his wife's body, placing it in the vats of his manufactory, and boiling it in a potash solution.

SPORTS NEWS

No sports story had ever been played up so prominently as was the Corbett-Fitzsimmons bout in Nevada City in 1897, in which the former was knocked out by a "solar plexus." Scores of eastern writers—men and women, journalists and "trained seals"—covered the event. Two years later Jeffries took the crown; in 1910 Jeffries was induced to emerge from his retirement as the "white hope" to end the ring career of Jack Johnson, the Negro heavyweight. He did not do it. In baseball the great names were John McGraw, J. J. Evers, Ty Cobb, Frank Chance, and "Connie Mack." Football came to the fore, with Walter Camp's Yale teams at the top along

with A. A. Stagg's Chicago boys and "Hurry-up" Yost's Michigan elevens.

Throughout the bicycle craze of the nineties, many of the leading newspapers maintained special departments for wheelmen, sometimes edited by authorities in the field, giving news of cycle races, of the activities of wheelmen's clubs, and of manufacturers' new models.

News of sports had a remarkable development during the period. It came to be segregated on special pages, with special make-up, pictures, and news-writing style. Sports writers became famous for their stories in various papers—Joseph Vilas, of the New York *Sun*, who invented play-by-play reports of football games; Damon Runyon, of the Denver *Post* and New York *American*; W. O. McGeehan, who began a distinguished career on San Francisco papers and finished it on the New York *Herald Tribune*; Charles E. Van Loan, of various California and New York papers, and many others. Emphasis on sports was characteristic of the yellow press, which developed for that department a slangy and facetious style. This exploitation did much to promote national interest in league baseball and in prizefighting.

Wireless was first used for news reporting in connection with the international yacht races of 1899. Guglielmo Marconi, a young man of twenty-five, handled the transmission of this report for the Associated Press.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

The number of correspondents serving American papers abroad increased considerably with the world outlook that followed the War with Spain. The Associated Press, the Laffan Bureau, the old United Press until its dissolution in 1897, the Scripps-McRae Press Association (after 1907 the United Press), the Hearst chain (International News Service after 1909), the leading New York papers, and the Chicago *Daily News* were well represented in the European capitals. The New York *Times* had an alliance by which it received the world-wide news service of the London *Times*. Among the more famous of the American correspondents in Europe were George W. Smalley, Harold Frederic, and Frank Marshall White, writers from London for the New York *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Sun*,

respectively; Walter Neef, London manager for the A.P.; and Frank Van der Cook, head of the Scripps-McRae European service.

The Paris *Herald*, established in 1887 by James Gordon Bennett, Jr., a Paris resident, and conducted for years at an annual loss of $100,000, furnished news to its parent paper in New York. Bennett tried a London *Herald* for a year or two in 1889-90. These papers demonstrated American journalistic customs abroad and produced a considerable effect on English and French newspapers. The London *Pall Mall Gazette* early adopted some American methods, and other papers followed. Even the London *Times* had admitted the interview technique by the beginning of the period now under consideration, though many English public men refused to lend themselves to it. English newspaper men watched the development of yellow journalism overseas with a shocked interest. Alfred C. Harmsworth, later to gain fame as Lord Northcliffe, carried directly into the pages of his great paper, the London *Daily Mail*, many of the American methods in make-up, heads, and news style.

Five foreign wars were reported by American correspondents in these years: the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the Greco-Turkish War over Crete in 1897, the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900, the Boer War in the same year, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. The first of these conflicts was difficult to report, no correspondents being permitted with the Chinese army, and the work being hampered on the Japanese side. The Greco-Turkish War was short and somewhat overshadowed by the impending Cuban crisis; but a number of American papers had correspondents on the spot. The Hearst papers had no less than seven—among them James Creelman, Julian Ralph, and Stephen Crane. Activities of war correspondents in the Boer War were much curtailed by military rules, especially on the English side. Prominent American correspondents with the Boer forces were Hugh Sutherland, of the Philadelphia *North American*, and Richard Harding Davis, of the New York *Herald*, who was accompanied by his bride of less than a year. With Lord Roberts' forces were Julian Ralph, then with the London *Daily Mail*; John T. McCutcheon, of the Chicago *Record* and *Daily News*; and a few others.

The strictness with which war correspondence was controlled in the war in South Africa was surpassed by the military command-

ers of the Russo-Japanese conflict. The harassed reporters, a great number of whom had been sent to the scene by American papers, wrote freely of the "persecution" to which they were subjected by the Japanese and Russian generals alike. Magazine writers repeatedly spoke of this war as marking "the end of the war correspondent." The New York *Times* was the most successful of all American papers in circumventing the censorship; in collaboration with the London *Times*, it used wireless—so new that the authorities were not prepared to prevent its use—in reporting the naval actions off Port Arthur.

One of the great running stories of foreign news during this period related to the Dreyfus case, 1894-1906.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

"In recent years," observed the New York *Tribune* in 1902, "there has been a marked tendency on the editorial pages of American newspapers to print more fun." [1] The *Sun* had long set an example in this respect, but there were few papers that could equal its witty effectiveness. With the coming of yellow journalism, however, even the more conservative papers were re-examining their content from the point of view of reader-interest. They often found that their editorial pages had become stodgy, and the phenomenon observed by the *Tribune* was the result.

It was Arthur Brisbane who instituted the most radical reforms in the editorial page. He gave the Hearst newspapers a new typographical form for it, with a new literary style and a relatively new type of content. He used large type, very wide columns, boxed side-heads, and a big, impressive symbolical picture. The picture, perhaps by Winsor McKay, might occupy half the page. The editorials themselves were not long, and never hard to read. Short words, short sentences, and short paragraphs were the rule. The ideas must be simple enough for a child to comprehend; and if Brisbane dealt with a complex subject, it was his art to reduce it, usually by a symbol, to its lowest common denominator. Thus he wrote, under a picture, of the relations between capitalistic monopolies and labor organizations:

You see a horse after a hard day's work grazing in a swampy meadow. He has done his duty and is getting what he can in return.

[1] New York *Tribune*, November 2, 1902.

On the horse's flank you see a leech sucking blood.
The leech is the trust.
The horse is the labor union.[2]

As simple as that! It is like a little story in a child's primer, but the writer makes his point. Philosophical and scientific subjects were frequently discussed in this manner, though such editorials usually ran to 500 or even over 1,000 words, broken into sections. Thus Brisbane and the men working under his eye produced editorials on such topics as "The Existence of God," "What Will 999 Years Mean to the Human Race?" "Crime Is Dying Out," "Have the Animals Souls?" and "Woman Sustains, Guides, and Controls the World." Often pseudo-philosophy and pseudo-science, to be sure, but usually readable. Often banal as well: an ill-natured punster once called the Hearst editorials "Brisbanalities."

Whatever its faults, the Hearst editorial page soon had imitators, and the changes so inspired were usually for the better. Wide measure and larger type broke up the deadly monotony; variety and brevity made for increased interest. Many papers, however, were affected but little or not at all by the new tendencies; and stodgy banality is doubtless worse than lively banality.

THE "COLYUM"

The departmentalization which was necessitated by the increased number of pages and by greater emphasis on such matters as sports and women's interests had a certain effect on the handling of newspaper humor. Such matter had commonly been in the form of signed sketches appearing almost anywhere in the paper, but now the tendency was to follow such early exemplars as the Chicago *Daily News*, Burlington *Hawkeye*, and Atlanta *Constitution*, and put it in a regular, titled column, edited by the paper's humorist, or in a regular Sunday section. Some of the daily departments—called "colyums" in the slang of the times—became famous.

In Chicago George Ade wrote his "Stories of the Streets and of the Town," with illustrations by John T. McCutcheon, for the *Record* in the mid-nineties. Ade was a reporter on the *Record* and its evening associate, the *Daily News*, throughout that decade. Finley Peter Dunne served on the Chicago *Times*, *Evening Post*,

[2] Quoted in *Editor & Publisher*, January 2, 1937, p. 3.

and *Times-Herald* before he became editor of the *Journal* in 1898. At that time he had just achieved fame for his "Mr. Dooley," the Archey Road saloon-keeper of a philosophical turn of mind, whose observations on current affairs came to be read far and wide.

The *Journal* had a column on the front page which was headed "A Little of Everything" and contained a lot of short items—informative, odd, amusing. The paper offered prizes for the best contributions to it, and Bert Leston Taylor, then an editorial writer on the Duluth *News-Tribune*, kept winning the prizes. Finally Dunne offered the keen-witted Duluth man a job on his *Journal*, and put him in charge of the column. He was an immediate success. In 1901 the Chicago *Tribune* lured him away, and he founded the "Line o' Type or Two" column in that paper, making his signed initials famous among thousands of readers who did not know his name. His polished satires in verse and prose, and his blending of wit, slang, and sentiment day after day, placed B.L.T. at the head of the columnists of his day. To "make the Line" was the dearest desire of would-be contributors in all walks of life.

For many years S. E. Kiser ran his "Alternating Currents" column in the Chicago *Times-Herald* and later the *Record-Herald*. Alfred Henry Lewis wrote his "Old Cattleman" stories—as amusing as anything that ever came out of the Southwest—for the Kansas City *Times* and *Star*. Later he came to the Chicago *Times*, which he served as a Washington correspondent with a trenchant and virile pen; afterward he went over to Hearst.

Franklin P. Adams was a contributor of ballades and rondeaux to B.L.T.'s Chicago *Journal* column; and when Taylor went to the *Tribune*, he got Adams the job as his successor. Later F.P.A. went to New York, first doing the "Always in Good Humor" column on the *Evening Mail*, but making his greater reputation in the New York *Tribune's* "The Conning Tower" which he began in 1914. Also late in our period, in 1912, Don Marquis set up his brilliant "Sun Dial," with its galaxy of fictitious contributors—of whom the gushing Hermione and the cockroach archie were not the least—in the New York *Sun*. To the uninitiated it may be explained that archie's name is not spelled with a capital because archie, who wrote his communications on the typewriter at night when the boss was gone, by jumping from key to key, could not operate the capital-shift.

Wilbur D. Nesbit wrote verse daily for many years, first on the Baltimore *American*, and then on the Chicago *Evening Post* and *Tribune*. Walt Mason wrote little essays embodying his homely philosophy in rhymed prose for various Kansas and Nebraska papers. Edgar A. Guest began writing verse for the Detroit *Free Press* in 1899 while a reporter on the paper. He began his daily poems for that paper in 1906, syndicating them ten years later.

Certain of these features and many others were distributed by syndicates. George Ade's "Fables in Slang," Mr. Dooley's conversations with his friend "Hinnessy," Edgar A. Guest's verse, and Walt Mason's "prose poems" were published in hundreds of papers. Newspapers which originated expensive feature material set up their own syndicates. Hearst services of that type were organized by Moses Koenigsberg into King Features Syndicate, which, beginning in 1914, was destined to become the largest of such organizations.

THE SUNDAY PAPERS

The development of the Sunday edition throughout the country immediately after the War with Spain was one of the chief phenomena of the period.[3] Sunday papers of fifty pages or more soon became common. Supported by a great volume of department-store and classified advertising, these papers were filled with feature material in great quantity and variety. "Every Sunday," boasted a New York leader in this development, "the *World* contains more reading matter than any four magazines." In Chicago, the *Tribune* seized the lead in the early nineties by giving away chromos with its Sunday issue. Before the turn of the century, it was publishing sixty pages; by the end of our period in 1914 it was issuing seventy-two pages, including seven or eight pages of department-store advertising and twice that of classified, four pages of colored comics, a color magazine of sensational cast, a "worker's magazine," and sections devoted to news, the theatre and education, household helps, society and clubs, and sports (on pink paper)—all for five cents. Other large papers were doing much the same on Sundays, usually with about sixty pages. Some fea-

[3] There were still some efforts made through court actions, especially by the Presbyterian denomination, to prevent the publication of Sunday papers—notably in Pittsburgh in 1893 and Philadelphia in 1903 under the old Pennsylvania "blue laws."

tured sermons by famous preachers, and some—notably the Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune* with its tabloid supplement "Our Boys and Girls,"—made special appeals to the children. Many included popular music. One of the most famous of newspaper poems was Edwin Markham's "The Man With the Hoe," published in the San Francisco *Sunday Examiner* January 15, 1899. O. Henry wrote leads for feature stories in the Sunday New York *World* in 1903-04, and later contributed some of his famous short stories to the *Evening World*.

These papers increased in circulation: in 1914 the 571 Sunday papers had an average of 29,000, compared to the average of 11,000 for the daily editions. The New York *Sunday American* had nearly 700,000, and the Chicago *Tribune* about 550,000. The Sunday circulation of a given paper was commonly much larger than its daily circulation, in spite of the increased price per copy; and about three fourths of a large paper's profits usually came from the Sunday edition.[4]

COLORED SUPPLEMENTS

Colored inserts were sometimes put into Sunday papers before the nineties, but the first regular color printing on a rotary newspaper press in America was done by the Chicago *Inter Ocean* for its Sunday supplement in 1892. The next year the New York *Recorder* installed a Hoe color press; the *World* followed soon, and the *Herald* in 1894. Sunday color supplements generally, however, did not go beyond four pages (sometimes only two) of an eight-page section, sometimes tabloid in size, until the New York *Journal* burst into many-hued splendor in 1896; after that color spread rapidly among the larger Sunday papers.

Even before Hearst's stimulation of chromatic journalism, color was used for humorous drawings; and it was in connection with the comic section that color had its most prominent development.

GENESIS OF THE COMIC STRIP

The true comic strip is a sequence of drawings showing the development of an amusing incident and depending for its interest partly upon the fact that it is one of a series of sequences using

[4] *Munsey's Magazine*, November, 1900 (Vol. XXIV, p. 228).

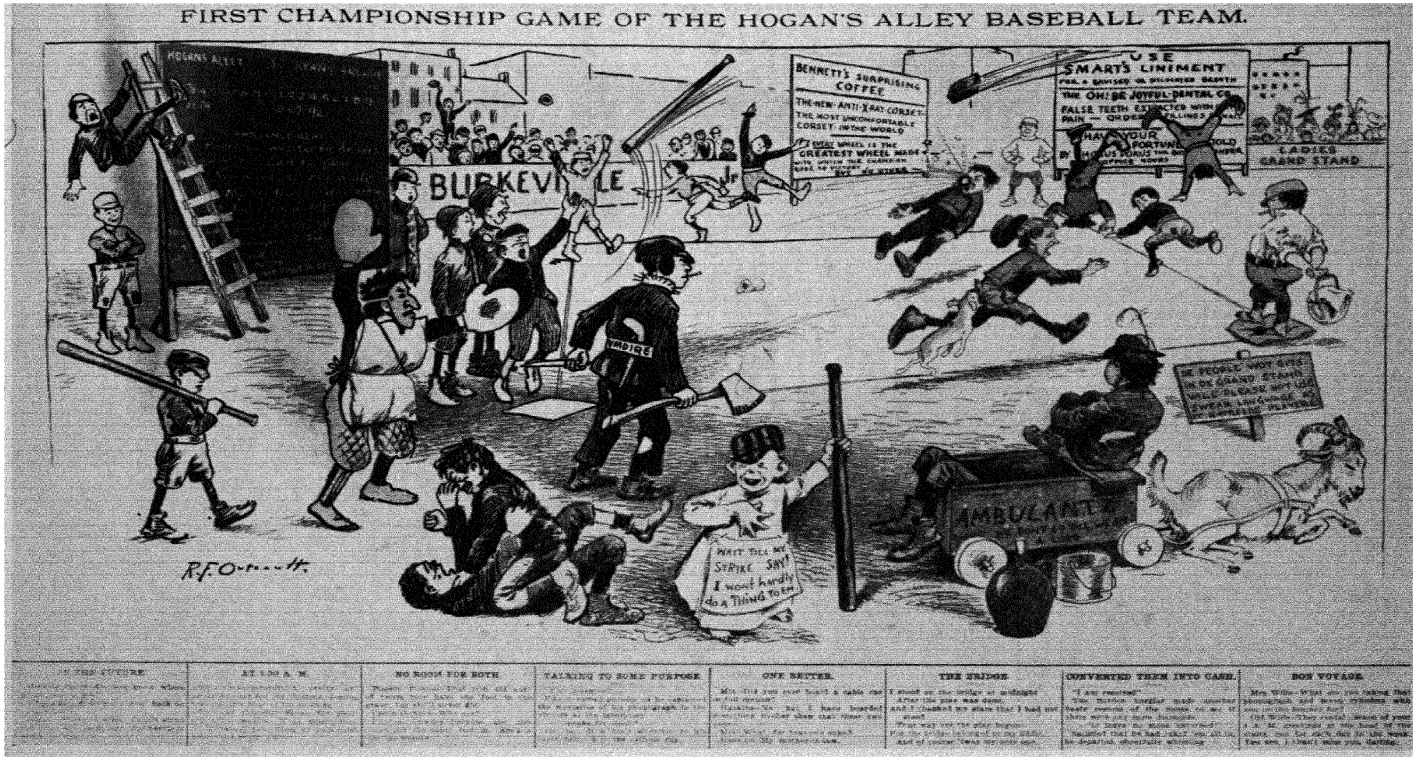
the same set of characters repeatedly in successive numbers of the paper.

Pictures in sequence were not unusual in the comic weeklies of the seventies and eighties, and such drawings (in black and white), soon spread to the Sunday newspapers; but the characters were not carried through successive issues. There was a good sequence in color in the *Sunday World* as early as November 18, 1894. But when the technique of continuing the use of comic characters from issue to issue was first developed, it was done not in connection with picture sequences, but with the big single pictures of the "Yellow Kid" and his companions in 1895-96.[5] Other single-picture series were developed within the next few months. But the true comic strip began when Rudolph Block ("Bruno Lessing"), then comic editor of the New York *Journal*, suggested to a young artist who had just joined the staff that he draw a sequence series after the grotesque style of the child-pictures of the German comic artist Wilhelm Busch. The new staff man was Rudolph Dirks, and the strip he began early in 1897 dealt with the mischievous practical jokes which the "Katzenjammer Kids," Hans and Fritz, played on the Captain and the Inspector. The first strip was in colors, included six panels, and occupied half a page.[6]

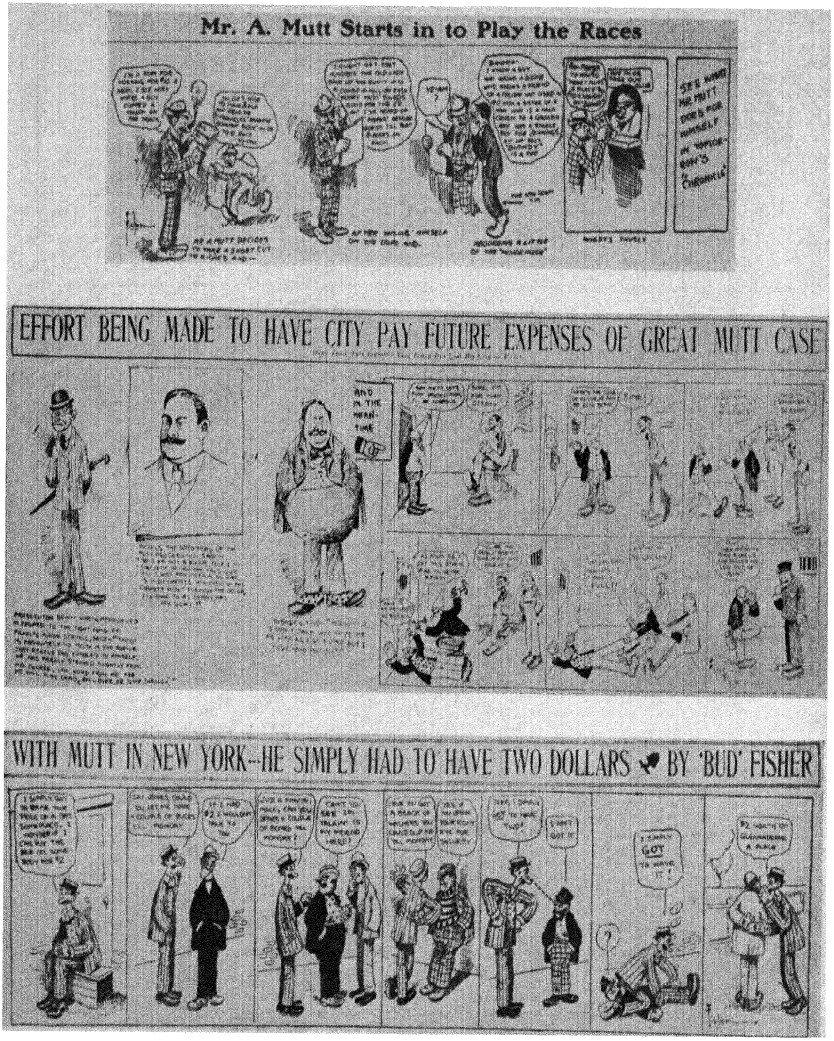
Other strips came forward rapidly, and as soon as one became established it was syndicated. Thus Charles E. Schultze's "Foxy Grandpa," in which the old gentleman was continually getting ahead of the youngsters; and R. F. Outcalt's "Buster Brown," with his brindle bull pup. George McManus began as a cartoonist on the St. Louis *Republic* at the age of fifteen, went to the New York *World* when he was twenty-one, and later to the *American*; he created the strips "Let George Do It," "The Newlyweds"—later "The Newlyweds and Their Baby,"—and, in 1912, the perennial "Bringing Up Father." F. B. Opper originated two of the most famous early strips—"Alphonse and Gaston" and "Happy Hooligan." Winsor McKay's "Little Nemo" was notable for its excellent fancy and good drawing. Charles W. Kahles' "Hairbreadth Harry" was perhaps the forerunner of the later adventure

[5] See p. 525.

[6] It still appears, though court action after Dirks left the *Journal* for the *World* made it necessary for Dirks to adopt the new title "The Captain and the Kids," while H. H. Knerr continued "The Katzenjammer Kids" for King Features, the Hearst syndicate.



Top half of the front page of the colored comic section of the Sunday New York World for April 12, 1896. One of the early appearances of the "Yellow Kid," who occupies the front center of this drawing.



The evolution of the first six-day comic strip.

"Mr. A. Mutt Starts in to Play the Races" in the San Francisco Chronicle, November 15, 1907, marks the first appearance of what was probably the first six-day comic strip. "The Great Mutt Case" satirizes city politics and introduces Jeffries, later called Jeff; it appeared March 29, 1908, in the Examiner, Fisher having gone over to that paper. The third strip, from the Examiner of June 26, 1909, shows the familiar Mutt and Jeff.

strips; it began in the Philadelphia *Press* in 1906. Fontaine Fox's "Toonerville Folks" began in the Chicago *Post* in 1908.

Most of these began as Sunday features. The first comic strips to be printed in daily editions appeared two or three times a week in the New York *Evening Telegram* and papers of the *Herald-Telegram* syndicate in 1904. But the first six-days-a-week strip was H. C. ("Bud") Fisher's "A. Mutt"—later "Mutt and Jeff"—which began in the San Francisco *Chronicle* November 15, 1907. It started as a race-track feature and appeared on the sports page; Mutt's tips on the races gained a great reputation. Fisher later syndicated "Mutt and Jeff" himself and it is said to have made him over a million dollars.

CARTOONS

Political cartoons had appeared in newspapers, though they were never very common, for many years before the beginning of the present period. The use of them spread more widely in 1892-95, especially in Sunday editions; but it was in the heat of the McKinley-Bryan campaign of 1896 that cartooning became an established newspaper feature.

Homer Davenport, who had begun his career on the West Coast, made a big reputation when Hearst put him to work on the New York *Journal*. His corpulent, dollar-marked Hanna, his caveman Trusts, and his puppet McKinley were not very funny; but they made their points with a kind of savage directness. Charles G. Bush, who had worked on the illustrated weeklies and on the *Herald* and *Evening Telegram*, brought to the New York *World* in 1897 an excellent satirical touch. John T. McCutcheon joined the staff of the Chicago *Record* immediately after his graduation from Purdue University in 1889. His first cartoons were drawn during the 1896 campaign. He joined the Chicago *Tribune* in 1903 and his front-page drawings, varying from quiet humor to fierce attack, became a leading feature of that paper. Clifford K. Berryman, beginning in 1889, spent half a century doing cartoons first for the *Post* and then for the *Star* in Washington. He is credited with having invented the slogan "Remember the *Maine*" in 1898. Charles Lederer, who had begun his work on the Chicago *Herald*, was the New York *World's* cartoonist during the free-silver campaign. Frederick Burr Opper, long a *Puck* cartoonist, went with

the Hearst papers in 1899, and when he retired in 1932 had spent fifty-seven laugh-provoking years drawing cartoons, comic strips, and illustrations. Jay N. Darling joined the Des Moines *Register* as staff cartoonist in 1906; his work, signed "Ding," was later syndicated by the New York *Herald-Tribune.*

Cartoons have not always seemed funny—especially to their victims. In 1899 the California Legislature, whose members had been mercilessly caricatured in San Francisco papers, retaliated with an anticartoon law which was first laughed at and then disregarded.[7]

THE ADVENT OF NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY

Yellow journalism brought more pictures than ever before into the daily papers. These were line-cuts (by chalk-plate or zincograph) from drawings, until halftone engravings were generally adapted to the large perfecting presses about 1897.

That was just in time to allow some utilization of news photography in the Spanish-American War. Hearst, who was an ardent amateur photographer, sent cameramen to Cuba—including a pioneer motion-picture man, J. C. Hemment. Other papers had photographers among their war correspondents in Cuba and the Philippines. "Jimmy" Hare, of *Leslie's Weekly,* was probably the most famous of this group. Hare later did camera-reporting in the Russo-Japanese War and the World War.

After the Spanish war, syndicates furnishing photographs sprang up. Large papers bought from these concerns and also added cameramen to their own staffs. William F. Warnecke, of the New York *World,* scored a famous beat when he shot a perfect picture of the attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor in 1910.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PAPERS

The American foreign-language press reached its highest peak in number of papers published during this period. The proportion of German dailies descended to about one third of the total by 1914. French, Italian, Japanese, Polish, and Yiddish dailies in-

[7] The law forbade caricatures reflecting on character. The same Legislature passed bills forbidding publication of portraits without consent of the subject, and requiring criticisms of living or dead persons to be signed. None of these laws was enforced. Attempts were made about this time to pass similar laws in other states, including New York.

creased. Scandinavian papers, their patrons chiefly rural, flourished as weeklies.

The largest circulation among these papers belonged to Herman Ridder's *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, with its evening edition, begun in 1892, the *Abendblatt*. Paul F. Mueller's Chicago *Abendpost*, founded in 1889, was the largest foreign-language daily in the Midwest.

THE COMMUNITY WEEKLY

It was in the present period that the number of weekly newspapers also reached its highest point—about 14,500 in 1914-15.

Yellow journalism scarcely touched the country weeklies. In these papers the gossip impulse was satisfied not by emphasis on crime and scandal, as in urban centers, but by the more kindly and matter-of-fact record of social events, community enterprises, crops, visiting, sickness, births, weddings, and deaths. The increase in space given to country correspondence—news letters from farming centers containing short items about the daily lives of the rural population—was one of the most important developments of the country press in these years. The spread of mail circulation of the city dailies into the villages had gradually forced the country weeklies to become more local in point of view; and besides, they found that the small items, using hundreds of names, built circulation.

The coming of rural free delivery in 1897 was hailed by some as the death knell of the country paper. It did bring the dailies to the farmhouses; but the home weekly, more definitely localized, maintained and even improved its position. And when daily papers came to the farms and villages, the weekly editions of the great dailies declined, and most of them were dropped. Even the most famous of them all, the New York *Weekly Tribune*, was discontinued in 1906.

Country papers continued throughout at least the first half of the present period to use large amounts of miscellany, chiefly in the form of plate and readyprints. The growth of the all-home-print movement, however, caused the Western Newspaper Union in 1905 to devise an "individual service" system which brought the readyprint pages more definitely under the control of the newspaper editor. In the following year, W.N.U. purchased the business

of its rival, the A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company; in the ensuing years it made further consolidations in the plate and readyprint field, culminating in the absorption of the American Press plate and mat business in 1917.

Although there was a considerable proportion of independent weeklies, partisanship was, on the whole, stronger in the weeklies than in the dailies. Editors were frequently prominent in local politics. National campaign committees provided tons of partisan propaganda in plate and readyprint form in the 1896 campaign; and the same means continued to be used, with decreasing cooperation on the part of the weekly editors, in later campaigns.

Community weeklies became somewhat more prosperous. Less was heard about poverty-stricken country editors. National advertising became much commoner in the weeklies in the last few years of the period. There was tendency to advance advertising and subscription rates.

THE TEN-CENT MAGAZINE

The outstanding incident in the magazine history of the period was the coming of the cheap illustrated monthly. It was S. S. McClure who, by founding *McClure's Magazine* in 1893 as a high-class general illustrated monthly at fifteen cents, led the way in this remarkable movement. He was joined almost immediately by John Brisben Walker with his *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, which had been founded in 1886. A little later *Munsey's Magazine* (begun as a weekly in 1889 and made a monthly in 1891) dropped to ten cents, to be followed to that level by the two others. These magazines all had first-class contributors and copious illustrations; they were more entertaining and more vital than the old thirty-five-cent monthlies.

The *Century*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's* made noble efforts in the face of this competition. They continued to print some of the best American literature, and they were resplendent with color plates after the turn of the century. Yet by 1900 *Harper's* and *Century* had lost circulation, and were down to 150,000; and *Scribner's*, which had always been priced at twenty-five cents, had 165,000. At the same time, *Munsey's* had reached 650,000, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan* each had more than 350,000, and the year-old *Everybody's* already had 100,000. This does not tell

the story of the prosperity of the ten-cent magazines, however: they were crammed with advertising at high rates.

The episode ended shortly after the subsidence of the muck-raking mania. The *Cosmopolitan* was sold to Hearst in 1905,[8] and the prices of the other cheap magazines were raised during the first decade of the new century to fifteen and later to twenty and twenty-five cents.

Collier's, founded in 1887 by Peter F. Collier, book publisher, was a great force in public affairs under the editorship of Norman Hapgood in 1903-12. By the end of this period it had over 800,000 circulation, while its chief rival in the five-cent weekly field, the *Saturday Evening Post*, which had been purchased as a run-down property in 1897 by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, was pressing on toward two million; and *Leslie's Weekly* was lagging at about 350,000.

A. P., U. P., AND I. N. S.

The Associated Press reorganization of 1893 left a group of strong eastern papers, chiefly in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, arrayed against it in the United Press. But the lack of members in other regions was a fatal handicap to the U.P., and gradually its papers deserted for the A.P. camp. First the New York *World* yielded to the offers of President Victor Lawson and General Manager Melville E. Stone of the A.P., then a few others deserted, then nearly all the Philadelphia papers went out in a body, and so on. Finally, in 1897, the United Press collapsed and went into bankruptcy.

President Charles A. Dana, of the U. P., was irreconcilable, however. The *Sun* had set up a news-gathering agency of its own in the late eighties, organized by William M. Laffan, business manager. Now the Laffan News Bureau was called upon to gather all the news for a great paper. It responded, enlarged its force, accepted other clients, and operated as an independent agency for about twenty years.[9]

Meantime the Associated Press was having trouble with the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, which it was trying to discipline for trafficking with the Laffan Bureau against A.P. rules. When the A.P.

[8] It was consolidated with *Hearst's Magazine*, founded in 1901, as *Hearst's International Cosmopolitan* in 1925.

[9] It was disbanded when Munsey bought the *Sun* in 1916, combining it with the *Press*, which had an A.P. franchise.

finally suspended its service to the *Inter Ocean*, that paper obtained a ruling from the Supreme Court of Illinois that the agency must sell its news to all buyers without favor. This was contrary to the whole mutual plan of the organization, and a quick and effective legal move was called for. The Associated Press of Illinois was dissolved, and a new Associated Press was organized in New York under more hospitable laws. This was in 1900. In the next several years important administrative and news-control problems were definitely settled, coöperative services from the leading European agencies were arranged, and the A.P. came into a very strong position.

The United Press Associations (later called more simply the United Press) was set up by E. W. Scripps. The Scripps-McRae Press Association had been organized in 1897 to serve all its own papers except those on the Coast, for which another report, called the Scripps News Service, was designed. The Scripps-McRae Press Association grew, and enrolled clients. An eastern Publisher's Press Association grew up, and Scripps devised a coöperative plan by which his two agencies and the Publishers Press divided territory. Finally, however, Scripps bought out the eastern association and merged all three in the new United Press Associations in 1907. The next year Roy W. Howard, then twenty-five years old, became general manager of the U. P. Staffs were enlarged as rapidly as possible, bureaus were established abroad, and service was sold not on the mutual (or membership) basis but on contract. The U. P. report had a liveliness and human-interest value which were sometimes lacking in that of its chief competitor. By 1914 over 200 papers received its full daily service and 300 more subscribed to an abbreviated service.

Hearst, supplanting earlier services of his chain, set up his International News Service in 1909 as a report designed for sale to morning papers, and at the same time the National Press Association for an evening paper service. These were merged two years later. The I.N.S. also operated on the contract basis. R. A. Farrelly was at its head from 1909 to 1916.

CHAPTER XXXV

Business and Mechanical Sides; Personnel; Relations With Government

ADVERTISING IN NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS MULTIPLIED THREE and a half times in the twenty-two years of the period now being studied. Newspaper advertising reached about a quarter-billion dollars in 1914. This tremendous increase, at a ratio more than ten times that of the increase in number of daily papers, meant greater profits in newspaper publishing than had ever been known before.

Advertising agencies multiplied, of course. It was discovered that space-buying was not the only proper function of an agency; copywriting, art work, and market research began to be recognized. N. W. Ayer & Son, leading advertising agency, added a full-time copywriter to its staff in 1892—probably the first of his race,—and six years later it hired an artist. By 1900 most of the agencies had copy departments and many had staff artists. Research, used occasionally, did not become common until somewhat later. Advertising became acquainted with psychology, Professor Walter Dill Scott, of Northwestern University, performing the introduction in 1903.[1]

The copywriter and artist transformed the appearance of advertisements. There was more of tasteful display by 1900, and the use of illustration gave variety and effectiveness.

A few great papers clung to outmoded customs. The New York *Herald* yielded to display in 1895, but only for outline letters. It still filled its first and second pages with advertising, and sometimes its third and fourth; its story of the sinking of the *Maine* was on its fifth page, which was its first news page. Several Boston papers

[1] Through articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* and his book *The Theory of Advertising*. Professor Harlow Gale, of the University of Minnesota, was working along similar lines in these years.

kept advertising on the front page, as many country weeklies did. The Baltimore *Sun* allowed no display (other than logotypes) until 1905, nor was any advertising ever solicited for the *Sun* until that date.

Bicycles became a staple in the nineties, supplying about ten per cent of all national advertising in 1897. As a result, about one out of every seven persons owned a "bike," though it had cost him nearly $100. Automobile advertising began tentatively in the magazines in 1899, but there was not much of it in the newspapers until 1910. Then the Buick, Maxwell, Reo, Ford, Franklin, Cadillac, Packard, and other makes received a wide publicity which doubled total production in two years.

Cereal advertising was also important. C. W. Post originated Postum in 1895 and Grape Nuts two years later. The Cream of Wheat chef, "Aunt Jemima," and "Sunny Jim" were prominent among the characters whose pictures symbolized cereals in the advertising columns. "Sunny Jim" had a meteoric career: his sponsor is said to have spent a million dollars in 1902 making his smiling features and the jingles and little stories about him known to everyone who could read. The sponsor made a fortune out of his sales of Force, a breakfast cereal, and lost it almost immediately by bad management. This was "Sunny Jim's" story:

> Jim Dumps was a most unfriendly man
> Who lived his life on the hermit plan.
> In his gloomy way he'd gone through life,
> And made the most of woe and strife,
> Till Force one day was served to him:
> Since then they've called him "Sunny Jim."

And so, in successive advertisements, readers were told similar stories of all "Sunny Jim's" family and friends.

It was a period of jingles and slogans. One expert "sloganeer," G. Herb Palin, is said to have coined thousands of catch-phrases at $10 each, including "Safety First" and "See America First." [2] One of the most famous of all the slogans was the Eastman Kodak Company's "You Press the Button—We Do the Rest." George Eastman invented the Kodak in 1888. For some years the new portable camera had to be loaded in the factory, then shipped back

[2] Presbrey, *History of Advertising*, p. 370.

to Rochester to be reloaded and have the exposed films developed. Hence the slogan, by which the Eastman Company built in five years a great and profitable business. "Do You Know Uneeda Biscuit?" was the phrase which popularized one of the National Biscuit Company's chief products. Incidentally this phrase virtually eliminated the old grocery-store cracker-barrel, and did much to promote packaging as a marketing device and thus stimulate national advertising. Other famous slogans were the DeLong Hook-and-Eye's "See That Hump?" and the Victor Phonograph's "His Master's Voice."

Patent medicines, though under fire throughout the period, still occupied a large space in the advertising columns. Children, it appeared, still cried for Castoria, Cascarets worked while you slept (with pictures of sleeping beauties), and Dr. Williams was selling "pink pills for pale people." Edward Bok, soon reinforced by young Mark Sullivan, wrote exposés of the patent-medicine business for the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1904,[3] and readers learned that cocaine, morphine, and alcohol were present in considerable amounts in many of the widely advertised nostrums, including some recommended for children. They also learned that Lydia Pinkham, supposed to be still answering letters from suffering married women, had long been dead and buried. But the chief assault on patent medicines was *Collier's* campaign against them in 1905-06 and again in 1912, featured by Samuel Hopkins Adams' articles. A result of this and other agitation was the federal Food and Drug Act of 1906.

The public conscience was being awakened against advertising abuses. The New York *Herald's* "Personal" column, an inheritance from the days of the elder Bennett and long infamous as a means of making assignations, was discontinued in 1907 after a conviction for obscenity and the imposition of fines aggregating $31,000. Will Irwin got *Collier's* into a libel suit in 1911 by writing that the New York *Journal* offered a full-page theatrical advertisement and a Brisbane editorial for a thousand dollars, but the next year the federal Postoffice Act included a regulation that reading notices and such announcements must be marked "Advertisement."

But many publishers and advertising men were quite as fully awake to the necessity of fighting bad advertising as any reformers.

[3] It had ruled all such advertising out of its own columns in 1892.

E. W. Scripps in 1903 appointed his most trusted editor, Robert F. Paine, as advertising censor of all Scripps-McRae papers, with full power. The Philadelphia *North American* in 1909 began a campaign to inform its readers about pure foods, and labeled the advertisements which it accepted "Honest Foods." The New York *Globe* and other papers followed a similar procedure. The New York *World* campaigned against the use of impure drugs by pharmacists in 1911, and the next year the Chicago *Tribune* tilted against the quack doctors.

Meantime the Associated Advertising Clubs of America had been organized in 1905, to campaign for "Truth in Advertising" and to adopt an ethical code in 1914. Perhaps the most important of all was the model statute for adoption by state legislatures devised by *Printer's Ink*, chief journal for advertising men, which made "untruthful, deceptive, or misleading statements" by an advertiser a misdemeanor. This statute was drawn in 1911, and in the next decade twenty-two states adopted it and fifteen more enacted modifications of it.

But while national advertising filled the pages of the fat general magazines, it did not bulk as large in the newspapers as the department-store and apparel-shop space. Department stores were founded on five principles: one price, quick sales on low mark-up, multiplicity of offerings under one roof, bargain counters, and lavish advertising. To cite but one example, Mandel Brothers ran a full page in the Chicago *Tribune* six days a week throughout 1902 for a contract price of $100,000.[4] Classified advertising also held its place as a remunerative feature of the newspaper business.

PRESSAGENTRY

Pressagentry is the art and practice of obtaining favorable treatment of clients in the newspapers.[5] It may be said to have originated as a distinct activity about 1840 in the two fields of politics and the show business. The great log-cabin and hard-cider campaign of that year, and the success of the shows of P. T. Barnum, followed by his purchase of the American Museum in New York in

[4] Edward S. Beck, *Recollections of the Early Days of the Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, 1939), p. 26.

[5] It is possible, of course, to consider all propagandists who use the newspaper as pressagents; but this so broadens the term that it loses its usefulness. Cf. Lee, *Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 427.

1841, mark its beginnings. Barnum was the greatest of the early pressagents. The premier p.a. of Barnum's circus after the death of the master was the universally popular R. F. ("Tody") Hamilton. Though some financial institutions probably had special newspaper contact-men in the middle of the nineteenth century, pressagentry for the next thirty or forty years was mainly limited to theatres, circuses, and political campaigns.

But by the early eighties pressagentry had spread to the transportation companies, hotels, and resorts; and railway passes and "deadheading" of many kinds were utilized to secure "free" publicity.[6] Then when crusading and muckraking were at their height, the hard beset trusts and great corporations seized upon the pressagentry technique as a means of defense. After that, the deluge. The increasing complexity of the news field, moreover, often led papers to welcome the establishment of "information bureaus" which were thinly disguised press agencies.

Most famous pressagents of the period were George F. Parker and Ivy L. Lee, of the firm of Parker & Lee (1905-08). The senior partner had been the chief figure in the press bureau of the Democratic National Committee since 1886. Lee got his start in political work, too; but later, deserting the firm, he worked for such clients as the Pennsylvania Railroad, John D. Rockefeller, and Bethlehem Steel, receiving a fabulous income.

CIRCULATION PROBLEMS

Though circulation[7] receipts in 1914 were only a little over half the size of the revenue from advertising, it was upon circulation that the whole newspaper structure was built.

For this reason there was great development, in this period, of promotion techniques. This was especially true in the yellow press. Of course, the scare-heads themselves were primarily a means of promotion of street sales. Posters were much used in the *World-Journal* circulation contests. Announcements and boasts in front-page boxes and "ears" were common;[8] indeed blatancy in telling

[6] See *Journalist*, October 18, 1884.

[7] See pp. 546-47 for a discussion of the large circulations of the period.

[8] The New York *Journal* under McLean, before Hearst bought it, occasionally printed announcements of a story to appear in the next Sunday's paper under a front-page streamer. Similar promotion also appeared in the *Journal* later. The *World* in 1896 shouted "The *World* Sells for One Cent Everywhere" in a front-page banner.

of a paper's own achievements and greatness and its plans for the future was a rule of the yellow press, and not uncommon in papers of other tints and shades. Competitions of all sorts came to be used in newspaper promotion—guessing games, puzzles, limerick contests, baby shows—and prizes ranged from chromos and clocks to insurance policies and trips around the world. Magazines gained great circulations through newspaper advertising, and newspapers occasionally followed that example—as did the Chicago *Tribune* in 1912.

With vast circulations, distribution systems became more complex; but the low postal rate of a cent a pound and an express rate of half that, as well as special paper trains and rural free delivery, helped to solve problems. During the War with Spain, the *Journal* and *World* dispatched trains loaded with their editions containing special correspondence from the war zones as far west as Cleveland and Buffalo, as well as to Boston and Washington. Rural free delivery began in 1897 and during the following decade was very widely extended.

Gang warfare between newsboys and truck-drivers of rival papers occasionally developed. The war of 1910-14 between employees of the *American* and *Tribune* in Chicago, marked by murder and mayhem, taught thugs the possibilities of the gang warfare that developed later in that city, and furnishes the most crudely vicious episode in the history of circulation contests.

In New York, loud-voiced carriers crying extras in residence districts were arrested in 1898 for disturbing the midnight peace; but the jealousy of less enterprising rivals proved to be behind the police action, and it came to nothing. The newsboy strike of the next year to force the *World* and *Journal* to allow the half-cent per copy paid by other penny papers was eventually successful.

READERSHIP CHANGES

There was increased effort to edit newspapers for two special classes of readers.

The yellow journal, with its pictures, sensation, and easy editorials, brought the immigrant more and more into the newspaper audience. An observer wrote in 1907:

In the huge, intricate, swiftly growing structure of American society a complete new human foundation has wedged in beneath. A founda-

tion of peasants suddenly brought from the hamlets where papers were myths to the glaring cities of "extras". . . . A foundation that now slowly, word by word and line by line, is learning to read the news.[9]

The other class was the women. The increasing newspaper emphasis on woman-interest was not due to the "emancipation" of the sex, or to their new importance in industry and business, but mainly to the growth of department-store advertising. Such advertisements were directed chiefly to women in the home, and therefore newspapers—especially in their evening and Sunday editions—had to be made to appeal to women readers.

This appeal was not limited to the woman's page or section; women were sent to cover the war in Cuba and in the Philippines, the prizefights, and murder trials, in order to bring to the paper the feminine point of view in the news. Papers were full of the performances of girl reporters. Fanny B. Ward was in Cuba for the New Orleans *Picayune* when the *Maine* was blown up. Ada Patterson covered murder trials for the New York *American*. Dorothy Dix (Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gilmer) began on the New Orleans *Picayune* in 1896 and came to New York five years later to report murder trials and such things for the *Journal*, and made her chief reputation as editor of a column of advice to girls. But it was the Beatrice Fairfax column for the lovelorn which became a byword. This feature was begun in the *Journal* by Marie Manning, who had come from Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1900; but it was later continued by others. Two of the leading women interviewers were Nixola Greeley-Smith, of the New York *World*, a granddaughter of Horace Greeley, and Zoë Beckley, of the New York *Mail and Express*. Helen Dare (Elizabeth Brough) did stunt stories for San Francisco papers. It was a Dorothy Dare who was featured in the New York *World* in 1896 as "the first woman to take a spin through the streets of New York in a horseless carriage." Miss Dare's vehicle at one time attained the dizzy speed of thirty miles an hour, but for the most part proceeded at one third of that rate; it finally broke down and had to be towed to a livery stable, but Miss Dare had had her ride and wrote her story.[10]

[9] Ernest Poole in *American Magazine*, November, 1907 (Vol. LXV, p. 41).
[10] New York *World*, May 3, 1896.

DEVELOPMENT OF PRESSES

The first Hoe octuple press was produced in 1895; it delivered 48,000 sixteen-page papers or sections per hour. But with soaring circulations, this was not enough; and within the next decade came the decuple, double sextuple, and double octuple presses, with outputs up to 144,000 an hour. New principles of press design in 1908-12 brought the modern unit-type of construction; each unit carried sixteen pages of plates,[11] and thus a four-unit (or octuple) press produced, at capacity, a sixty-four-page paper. Speeds were increased after automatic devices had been devised to regulate the tension of the web.

Electric motors were first used successfully to drive the big presses in the mid-nineties. George Pancoast, Hearst's chief pressman, was the leader in this development; and by the end of 1896 the New York *Journal's* presses were electrically driven. In smaller cities and towns, gasoline engines furnished power for another decade or more.

The "fudge," a device for quick insertion of late news by means of a small auxiliary cylinder, came into use in the late nineties. It was inked by a separate fountain, and could thus be printed in red. It enabled papers to get a late news flash on the streets in two or three minutes. The autoplate, invented by Henry A. Wise Wood for the New York *Herald* in 1900, also speeded up newspaper production by cutting the time of stereotyping the page plates to one fifth of that which had been required by the older casting-box.

The Duplex press, with tubular plates, was patented in 1906, chiefly for smaller dailies.

Color perfecting presses also came in the nineties. Kohlsaat, visiting in Paris in 1891, saw the color presses of *Le Petit Journal*, the world's leader in circulation; and as soon as he returned to the United States he had one built for the *Inter Ocean* by Walter Scott & Company.[12] The *Inter Ocean's* four-color press was in operation in April, 1892, and a five-color press was installed in the

[11] Presses using tubular instead of semicylindrical plates carried only eight per unit.

[12] Walter Scott, who founded this firm in 1874, had been foreman of the *Inter Ocean* press room.

New York *World* plant by Scott the next year.[13] Hoe produced a multicolor press in 1893 for the New York *Recorder*, and soon all the large Sunday papers were equipped with such machines. Two-color presses for daily work were also manufactured by Hoe and Scott.

PAPER

The big circulations for which the fast presses were built could never have been maintained without the low prices per copy available by means of cheap newsprint paper. Newsprint, already in 1892 at the lowest price ever known to the industry—three cents a pound—continued, under the impulsion of faster machines, competition of new mills, and cheap forest land, to descend further and further until it reached one and four-fifths cents in 1897.[14]

But increased demand and organization in the paper industry brought the price up to somewhat over two cents shortly after the turn of the century. Prosecution of one paper combine under the antitrust laws in 1906 and abolition of the tariff on newsprint in 1913 served to prevent further increases for the time being.

COMPOSING MACHINES

By the middle of this period, the linotype had won its way into nearly all the daily offices; by its end all but the most poorly equipped of the weekly papers were machine-set. The scope of the linotype had been extended to display types. The Intertype was developed under the direction and patronage of Herman Ridder, famous publisher of the New York *Staats-Zeitung*. This was a slug-casting, matrix-magazine machine. The first Intertype was installed in the office of the New York *Journal of Commerce* in 1913. During the early years of the World War the Ridder company went bankrupt, but it was reorganized in 1916 and was soon producing and selling its machines widely. The Monotype Typesetting Machine, which casts type and sets it, was invented by Tolbert Lanston. The first machine was placed in practical operation in

[13] The *World*, through an attachment to a Hoe press devised by George W. Turner, business manager, had printed as early as May, 1890, a square of red in the center of page one.

[14] These are prices paid by the New York *Tribune*; see Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, p. 744. Larger users got even lower contract prices.

1898; though used widely for fine periodical work, it is also used to supply type and material for newspapers. The Ludlow Typograph, invented by Washington I. Ludlow, was first produced in 1909, but was not a commercial success. Later, however, William A. Reade developed the Ludlow System, which casts slugs from hand-set matrices and has been widely used by newspapers for display composition since 1913.

Better taste of both type-founders and makers of linotype faces made for greatly improved typography in the newspapers. Perhaps the greatest single step was the wide adoption of the Cheltenham family, designed by the architect B. C. Goodhue from suggestions made by Ingalls Kimball, in 1902. This type, with Bodoni, Cloister, Goudy, and others, tended to supplant the Gothics in headlines.

THE PRESS AND LABOR

The strong typographical and pressmen's unions were able to secure rather general nine-hour day agreements by 1900, but an attempt to win an eight-hour day five years later resulted in a nation-wide strike which began on New Year's Day, 1906. The contest continued for two years. Linotype operators had worked on the eight-hour plan rather generally since the early nineties, and after the strike that basis was widely adopted in other printing departments.

The outstanding fight between the unions and a newspaper occurred in the office of the Los Angeles *Times*. This paper, founded in 1881, was purchased by Harrison Gray Otis the next year. A colonel in the Civil War and a general in the War with Spain, Otis was a man of strong opinions and high character. A strike which was directed against all the Los Angeles papers in 1890 finally concentrated upon the *Times*. The International Printers' Protective Fraternity, called by the I.T.U. a "scab" organization, had been founded in Kansas City several years earlier; and it supported Otis. Hearst started his Los Angeles *Examiner* as a competitor of the *Times* at the request of the I.T.U. in 1903. In 1910 the country was horrified by the bombing of the *Times* building, resulting in the death of twenty men. The confession of the crime by the McNamara brothers, officials of the structural iron workers' union, was a severe blow to organized labor.

A pressmen's strike and lockout, which began on the Hearst

papers in Chicago in 1912 and spread to the other papers of that city, lasted for six years.

REPORTERS

The International Typographical Union in 1891 amended its constitution to admit news-writers' unions, and a Pittsburgh local was the first to be chartered. It perished in the midst of the Homestead strike the next year. About a dozen other such locals were started in the present period, most of them in the years 1899-1904; all were short-lived except one at Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Certainly reporters were ill paid. About the turn of the century the highest salaries of New York reporters ranged from $40 to $60 a week; but many were paid only $20 to $30, and beginners had to be satisfied with less than that. In other large cities the scale was somewhat lower, and in many cities under 100,000 population reporters received only $5 to $20 a week.[15] Moreover, tenure was insecure.

Technically, the work of American reporters improved. The modern summary lead for news stories developed during the latter nineties. By-lines over stories by famous reporters made their appearance. A writer in an English magazine declared in 1893: "There are better reporters in America than anywhere else in the world." [16]

The cult of bohemianism in the social intercourse of writers, appearing in such cities as Chicago and San Francisco long after it had run its course in Paris and even after it was discredited in the East, impaired for a time the efficiency of reporters and became associated for many years with the popular idea of newspaper men and newspaper work. Many stories are told of the conviviality of the Chicago "press gang" of the nineties, and from the legends which grew up about this and similar groups sprang the concept of the romantic sot of the newspaper office which was later to add a touch of comedy to so many stories, plays, and movies. That there was much drinking, with considerable drunkenness, among reporters of this period cannot be disputed; but in the second decade of the new century, the tolerance of inebriety which some

[15] Forum, May, 1898 (Vol. XXV, pp. 366-74). Cf. E. L. Shuman, *Practical Journalism* (New York, 1903), p. 26.

[16] William Morton Fullerton in the *New Review*, June, 1893 (Vol. VIII, p. 655).

publishers had shown had largely disappeared, and the hard drinkers were displaced by men who could be depended upon.

The nineties were the great years of the press clubs. Most of the cities came to have such organizations of editorial workers. Some of them had elaborate quarters. Those of the New York club, the oldest organization of them all, were on Spruce Street, near Park Row. The National Press Club in Washington was founded in 1908. The first meeting of the International League of Press Clubs was held in San Francisco in 1892. But the great weaknesses of these organizations were internal political fights and the tendency to finance themselves through the admission of members who were not active newspaper workers. Thus at the end of the present period there was a notable decline in the prestige of most press clubs.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

"No other profession is so wept over," said one magazine writer, in discussing the varied attacks on journalism.[17] Newspapers have never been without severe critics, but yellow journalism called out more strictures than had been known since the early days of Bennett.

Some looked to education to elevate the ethical standards of the journalist, but the conservatism of established institutions for some time prevented the new discipline from gaining a foothold. The first curriculum in journalism was in the Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania. This course was organized in 1893 by Joseph French Johnson, formerly financial editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, but it was neglected after Johnson left to be dean of the School of Commerce at New York University in 1901. The first four-year curriculum for journalism students was organized in 1904 at the University of Illinois by Frank W. Scott. The first separate School of Journalism was founded in 1908 at the University of Missouri under Dean Walter Williams, an experienced journalist and a former president of the National Editorial Association. Meanwhile scores of separate courses and groups of courses related to journalism were being taught in schools of commerce and departments of English all over the country.

[17] F. M. Colby, "Attacking the Newspapers," *Bookman*, August, 1902 (Vol. XV, p. 534).

In 1903 Joseph Pulitzer agreed with the trustees of Columbia University to endow a school in that institution with $2,000,000, and his article on "The College of Journalism" in the *North American Review* in May, 1904, attracted widespread attention. The Columbia school did not open, however, until 1912. In that year also, following a survey which disclosed that more than thirty colleges and universities were offering courses in the subject, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism was formed. Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic fraternity, was founded in 1909 at DePauw University; and in the same year Theta Sigma Phi, honorary and professional fraternity for women in journalism, was begun at the University of Washington.

Books on the practice of journalism began to appear. The first comprehensive treatise of this kind was E. L. Shuman's *Practical Journalism*, published in 1903.[18]

Kansas editors in 1910 adopted the first of the codes of ethics which later became fairly common among state press associations. A National Newspaper Conference was held in 1912 at the University of Wisconsin, and a second one at the University of Kansas in 1914.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Few important attacks on the freedom of the press are to be noted in this period. Wars usually bring severe restrictions, but during the War with Spain, as has been pointed out, military commanders and civil officials were, with few exceptions, patient and lenient.

In 1911 an amendment to the federal code made it a crime to publish "matters of a character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination." The Postmaster General was also given authority to deny the mails to papers containing such matter. Many communistic and anarchistic papers have been suppressed under this provision, which has been held to be constitutional.

In 1909 President Theodore Roosevelt, angered by hints and statements in the Indianapolis *News* and New York *World* to the effect that an American syndicate including Attorney General William Nelson Cromwell had obtained a corrupt profit of many

[18] It was preceded by a number of pamphlet guides, and by the 140-page *Reporting for Newspapers*, by Charles Hemstreet, 1901.

millions in connection with the purchase of the Panama Canal rights by the United States, directed Cromwell to institute proceedings in the name of the government against Delavan Smith, of the *News*, and Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*, and certain of their associates, for criminal libel. Roosevelt's theory was that the offence had been committed against the whole people, and therefore the action should be prosecuted by the United States; federal jurisdiction was claimed because of the circulation of the papers on certain federal reservations, as the one at West Point, and in federal buildings. The *World* reviewed the whole matter, and persisted in asking again the question which it claimed had never been answered: "Who got the money?" [19] The indictment against Smith was quashed by a federal judge at Indianapolis, who expressed the opinion that the *News* was no more than doing its duty in looking into a public matter and that "if constitutional guarantees are worth anything, this proceeding must fail." A federal judge in New York took similar action in regard to the Pulitzer indictment on grounds of jurisdiction, and the ruling was promptly upheld by the Supreme Court. Thus ended the only attempt of the federal government to sue newspapers for libel since the Sedition Act of 1798-1801.

When the Idaho Supreme Court ruled that names of the Progressive Party electors could not be printed on the ballot in that state in 1912, Roosevelt attacked the action as "infamous" and the court as "partisan." The Boise *Capital-News* printed these comments, and its editors and owner were each fined $500 and sent to jail for ten days for contempt. Thus Roosevelt was furnished more ammunition for his campaign in favor of the recall of judges.

Two of the largest libel suits filed in the period were those in which W. R. Hearst sued the New York *Times* and *Collier's* for $500,000 each—the first on the basis of what President Roosevelt was said to have told a *Times* reporter concerning *Hearst's* relations with California railroad magnates in 1907, and the second for the Irwin articles about Hearst papers in 1911. But neither case was ever brought to trial.

[19] The *World* article is quoted in full in Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer*, pp. 357-62. See also the article which angered Roosevelt in the *World* for December 8, 1908; and the record of the case in 68 Central Law Journal 153, 253.

PRESIDENTS AND THE PRESS

By 1892 the more important papers all had their Washington bureaus, some staffed by several men; and an immense volume of news was sent out of the capital by more than 150 correspondents—many of them among the ablest of American journalists.

President McKinley was always popular with newspaper men, many of whom he had come to know intimately during his long service in Congress. His private secretary was a former newspaper editor, and he made John Hay, once on the New York *Tribune* staff, his Secretary of State, and Charles Emory Smith, editor of the Philadelphia *Press*, his Postmaster General. Smith was said to have named more than 3,000 editors to postmasterships. McKinley did not talk to reporters for direct quotation in the early years of his administration, and rebuked papers for "faking" interviews with him.[20] Though he had no regular press conferences, he sometimes gave out news to the correspondents in groups, and he occasionally "summoned several press representatives and authorized a statement." [21]

President Theodore Roosevelt was always at home with newspaper men. He forbade publication of the details of family life in the White House, but he allowed the marriage of his daughter Ethel to be properly covered. He set aside an anteroom in the White House for the correspondents who lay in wait to interview his visitors; and when he had the Executive Offices built, he provided a press room and telephones for the reporters. He had his favorites among the correspondents, sometimes referred to as a newspaper "cabinet," to whom he gave exclusive stories and who, in turn, put out "feelers" for him; but he also sometimes summoned as many as fifty reporters to his office for an important announcement. He liked strong personalities among the correspondents. When Judson C. Welliver, of the Des Moines *Leader*, new in Washington, criticized the Roosevelt railway policies in a press conference, the President was delighted, invited him to dinner, and later sent him to Europe to report on transportation problems. After he retired from the Presidency, Roosevelt himself

[20] New York *Tribune*, May 9, 1898.

[21] Chicago *Daily News*, February 15, 1898. For press relations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, see Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Press and the President," *Century*, December, 1925.

entered the journalistic ranks as "contributing editor" of the Kansas City *Star* and the *Outlook*.

Early in his career, Roosevelt said in a speech in the New York Legislature: "We have all of us suffered from the liberty of the press, but we have to take the good and the bad." [22] It was not always easy, however, for him to take the bad. He sometimes consigned an offensive reporter to his "Ananias Club" and demanded his replacement. He had many acrimonious exchanges with newspapers which criticized him, and on two occasions he brought libel suits against the offenders. One of these actions related to the "Panama Syndicate" matter discussed above, but the other was a personal suit. Roosevelt had been annoyed by statements appearing here and there in the press that he drank to excess. Finally he determined, in order to end the circulation of the libel, to sue the editor of a weekly Republican paper at Ishpeming, Michigan, called *Iron Ore*, which had stated that during his "bull moose" campaign in 1912 Roosevelt habitually became intoxicated. He sued for $10,000 damages, brought to the witness chair a remarkable procession of famous men who knew him intimately and who testified to his temperance, and finally took the stand himself. The defendant withdrew his statement and apologized, and Roosevelt then changed his suit to one for merely nominal damages. A verdict was directed for six cents, but the costs were considerable.

It was President Taft who inaugurated the policy of regular weekly press conferences to which all accredited correspondents were invited, though he did not always adhere to the plan. As Secretary of War under Roosevelt, he had held daily meetings with the men assigned to his department; and he had found the method valuable. He enjoyed the cross-fire of questions at his conferences, and nobody found more pleasure in the annual Gridiron dinners than he did. Correspondents were not permitted to quote him directly, but they might say, "The President believes that—" Gus J. Karger, of the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, a paper owned by President Taft's brother, was a favored correspondent throughout both the Roosevelt and Taft administrations; but William W. Price, of the Washington *Star*, was Taft's best personal friend among the newspaper men.

[22] Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time* (New York, 1920), Vol. I, p. 22.

NEWSPAPERS IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

McKinley had a large proportion of the press behind him in the campaign of 1896. Referring to Bryan's resentment against the newspapers in that year, the New York *Times* declared that they were "practically all against him. . . . This is particularly true of the stronger journals, but it is hardly less so of the smaller papers throughout the country." [23] Four years later the majority of papers supporting the Republican candidate was not so overwhelming, but it was still very large.

In 1904 most of the large eastern papers opposed Roosevelt, as did the Hearst chain; but he had enough strength in the western press to give him a slight advantage. In the Taft-Bryan campaign of 1908, Taft had a good majority of the newspapers on his side. In 1912 enough papers followed Roosevelt into his third-party Progressive movement to leave Wilson a decided plurality in both the press and the popular vote, though not a majority in either.

END OF THE PERIOD

By 1914 the modern newspaper had emerged, with the characteristics which were to distinguish it for the next few decades.

Most of the editors who had risen to fame during the years following the Civil War had passed away: Childs died in 1894, McCullagh in 1896, Dana in 1897, Medill in 1899, Godkin in 1902, Halstead in 1908, Pulitzer in 1911, and Reid in 1912.

The press had now to face the problems of a World War.

[23] New York *Times*, August 23, 1896. Bryan himself made a similar statement; see Francis Curtis, *The Republican Party* (New York, 1904), p. 501.

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THE general histories of American journalism which are of chief value for this period are Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1927) and Alfred M. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York, 1937). Many of the biographies and histories of individual newspapers mentioned in the Bibliographical Notes to former chapters are also useful in this period. The *Journalist* continues most helpful; in 1908 it was merged in *Editor & Publisher*, founded in 1901, and itself invaluable.

There are four biographies of Hearst. The oldest, John K. Winkler, *W. R. Hearst, An American Phenomenon* (New York, 1928), is an easy-going, generally favorable account of its subject. Ferdinand Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst* (New York, 1936) displays a decided animus against Hearst, but is especially valuable for its analysis of the publisher's finances. Oliver Carlson and Ernest Sutherland Bates, *Hearst, Lord of San Simeon* (New York, 1936) is also critical, but is more convincing, well ordered, and well written. Mrs. Fremont Older, *William Randolph Hearst, American* (New York, 1936), the authorized biography, is the least important of the four.

Oliver Carlson, *Brisbane, A Candid Biography* (New York, 1937) is a satisfactory study. Gilson Gardner, *Lusty Scripps* (New York, 1932) is less factual than Negley D. Cochran, *E. W. Scripps* (New York, 1933). Milton A. McRae, *Forty Years in Newspaperdom* may well be used to supplement either of the Scripps biographies in studying the rise of the Scripps-McRae chain. George Britt, *Forty Years—Forty Millions: The Career of Frank A. Munsey* (New York, 1935) is an unsympathetic but detailed study. Willis J. Abbot, *Watching the World Go By* (Boston, 1934) is the autobiography of an editor of the Chicago *Times*, New York *Journal*, and *Christian Science Monitor*, who also saw something of New Orleans and Kansas City journalism. H. H. Kohl-

saat, *From McKinley to Harding* (New York, 1923), another autobiography, is concerned chiefly with politics. Gene Fowler, *Timber Line: A Story of Bonfils and Tammen* (New York, 1933), colorful and anecdotal, does not always draw the line carefully between fact and fiction but gives essentially true portraits of the two proprietors of the Denver *Post*.

E. W. Howe, *Plain People* (New York, 1929) is a really fine newspaper autobiography. Fremont Older, *My Own Story* (New York, 1926) is most important for the first half, which tells of the author's historic crusades against the machine. It is well supplemented by Evelyn Wells, *Fremont Older* (New York, 1936). James Morgan, *Charles H. Taylor* (1923) is a privately published memoir of the famous publisher of the Boston *Globe*. Harry Reichenbach, *Phantom Fame* (New York, 1931) is rich in anecdotes of the horseplay of pressagentry. James Weber Linn, *James Keeley, Newspaperman* (Indianapolis, 1937) and Louise Ware, *Jacob A. Riis* (New York, 1938) are good biographies of famous reporters. Five excellent autobiographies of journalists of the period are Norman Hapgood, *Changing Years* (New York, 1930); Mark Sullivan, *The Education of an American* (New York, 1938); Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years* (New York, 1939); Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931); and Walt McDougall (cartoonist), *This Is the Life* (New York, 1926).

Marcus M. Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War* (Baton Rouge, 1932) is an excellent study of the war propaganda in newspapers. Joseph E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press* (New York, 1934) is a more elaborate treatment within narrower scope. Among books by Spanish War correspondents, though in no case devoted wholly to that conflict, are Richard Harding Davis, *Notes of a War Correspondent* (New York, 1898); James Creelman, *On the Great Highway* (Boston, 1901); Julian Ralph, *The Making of a Journalist* (New York, 1903); Stephen Bonsal, *Heyday in a Vanished World* (New York, 1937); and Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure* (Boston, 1922). *The Story of Evangelina Cisneros* (New York, 1898) is a contemporary account. Cecil Carnes, *Jimmy Hare, News Photographer* (New York, 1940) tells the story of one of the earliest newspaper camera men.

C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill, 1932) is the best treatment of that phenomenon. Louis Filler, *Crusaders for Liberalism* (New York, 1939) deals with much the same material. Silas

Bent, *Newspaper Crusades* (New York, 1939) is a hit-or-miss account of American journalistic crusading during 250 years.

Two historical editions of trade papers are worthy of note: Golden Jubilee Number of *Editor & Publisher*, July 21, 1934, and *Printers' Ink*, Fifty Years, July 28, 1938. The latter contains an extensive and competent history of advertising 1888-1938.

The Modern Newspaper
1914-1940

CHAPTER XXXVI

American Newspapers and the World War

IT WAS ON JUNE 28, 1914, THAT A BOSNIAN YOUTH, BURNING WITH the desire to avenge the seizure of his country by Austria, fired the shot which at once killed Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and set off the first detonations of a World War. Stories of the assassination in Sarajevo were carried, as a matter of course, in American morning papers of the 29th, but there were no forebodings at that time of a conflict which would involve the United States. Austria's declaration of war against Serbia just a month later and the rapid succession of events which, in the first week of August, made all of Europe one great battlefield shocked the American people. They looked at the big black headlines which suddenly appeared in the papers, and marveled at the insanity of Europe.

But both the Allies, on the one hand, and the Central Powers, on the other, realized the importance of enlisting the aid of the United States, with its resources in men and goods, in this world crisis. England and Germany thereupon engaged in another war—this one in America, and carried on not with armaments but with arguments. The New York *Times* called it a "press-agents' war," [1] and though in it England and Germany were pitted against each other, both of them fought against American neutrality.

England got in the first staggering blow—perhaps a decisive one—when, on August 5, 1914, she cut the cables between Germany and America. This left only the English channels of communication, carefully censored, for the transmission of war news to the people of the United States. German wireless, which might have been used effectively for news and propaganda from the first, was hampered in many ways. Try as they might to get unbiased reports

[1] New York *Times*, September 9, 1914.

through in one way and another, the American correspondents were forced to send the great bulk of their news by English cables; and this was bound to result in a more or less Anglicized version of the events of the war.

Moreover, the English were more skilful and more prompt in their use of propaganda in America than were the Germans. They showed a better understanding of the American mind and institutions. They had, of course, an immense advantage in their appeal to Anglo-Saxon descent and customs and in their use of a common language.

Thus there was nothing strange about the pro-Ally drift of public sentiment in America. Stimulated by English propaganda, this drift was nursed and guided by many of the great leaders of American opinion. To precisely what extent it was due to organized English effort no one can tell; but anti-German feeling based on resentment over the invasion of Belgium, a belief in German aggressiveness as the cause of the war, fear and hatred of Kaiser Wilhelm as a madly ambitious militarist, acceptance of tales of German war atrocities, and anger over the sinking of the *Lusitania* eventually brought America to a warlike state of mind.

Reflecting American opinion, the newspapers were prevailingly pro-Ally in sentiment from the beginning. A *Literary Digest* poll of leading editors in the third month of the war showed 240 neutral, 105 pro-Ally, and 20 pro-German. Six months later, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, few papers remained neutral; and certainly the pro-German proportion had not increased. The New York *Times* was perhaps the leading pro-Ally paper, but it was followed closely by the *World* and all the other New York English-language dailies except the *Evening Mail* (secretly purchased by German agents) and Hearst's *Journal* and *American*. It is, indeed, easy to name the leading standouts against the pro-British sentiment which was sweeping the land. These were the Hearst papers, the New York *Evening Mail*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Washington *Post*, the Cincinnati *Inquirer*, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the Los Angeles *Times*, and the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Call*. Of course the German-language press was in sympathy with the *Vaterland*. Bryan's *Commoner* and *LaFollette's Magazine* stood steadfastly against American entry into the war.

Hearst had long shown an anti-British feeling; and now he

supported the Irish insurrectionists, savagely attacked the English censorship, and featured the extremely pro-German wireless dispatches sent from Berlin by his special correspondent William Bayard Hale. In retaliation, both the British and French governments in October, 1916, denied further use of their mails and cables to Hearst's International News Service. The Hearst papers, which had very recently been indulging in warlike talk as respects Japan and Mexico, opposed America's entry into the European conflict up to the declaration of war.

WAR CORRESPONDENTS IN MEXICO AND EUROPE

At the time Archduke Ferdinand was shot on the streets of Sarajevo, the United States was engaged in what some newspapers disrespectfully called a "bush-league war" with the neighboring Republic of Mexico. Under orders from President Wilson, United States marines and sailors had captured Vera Cruz in April, 1914. William G. Shepherd, of the United Press, scored a beat on the landing of the marines at Vera Cruz. Newspaper correspondents were immediately dispatched to that city; but there was little action, and the newspaper men were held to a condition described by the phrase which Wilson had used to explain his own policy toward Mexico—"watchful waiting." Richard Harding Davis, Jack London, and John T. McCutcheon were among the correspondents who chafed in idleness in the heat of Vera Cruz. Davis broke away and went inland to Mexico City to interview President Huerta. The "arrangements" for the interview, which had been made by the English and Brazilian ministers, broke down, and Davis was arrested and thrown into a Mexican jail; and only through the intervention of the English diplomatic officers was he set free to return interviewless to Vera Cruz.

Most of the writers were withdrawn and sent to Europe to cover a real war even before the troops evacuated Vera Cruz.

There were comparatively few American correspondents abroad when the European war broke out in August, 1914. The leading news agencies, the New York *Times*, *World*, *Herald*, and *Sun*, and the Chicago *Daily News* had their bureaus in the leading European capitals (with especial strength in London), and other papers had less complete arrangements; but staffs were inadequate in kind and in size to cover a great war.

Correspondents were therefore rushed across in considerable numbers to represent American newspapers and magazines at the front. Frederick Palmer was sent over by *Everybody's Magazine*, but he soon broke this connection to work for the Associated Press. When Lord Kitchener specified that only one American correspondent should be officially accredited to accompany the British forces in France, Palmer was the man named. It developed, however, that there was to be no such rigid restriction on the activity of newspaper reporters as Kitchener had at first indicated, and American correspondents were soon working not only from Paris and Brussels but from "Somewhere in France," though much hampered on all fronts by military authorities.

Richard Harding Davis, who had not missed a war for many years, went across on the same boat with Palmer. Unable to obtain credentials from English authorities, he made his way to Brussels, where he saw the German army march into that city. He wrote an account of that occupation for an American syndicate of papers headed by the New York *Tribune;* it was the most colorful and vivid story which the early months of the war produced. Later Davis attempted to get through the lines to Paris, was arrested by the Germans as a spy, and was returned to Brussels only through the intervention of Brand Whitlock, American minister to Belgium. Later he did get to Paris on a train bearing wounded and prisoners, and reported the Battle of Soissons; but he returned to America in October. He died before the United States entered the war.

Irvin Cobb, representing the New York *World* and the *Saturday Evening Post;* Will Irwin, of *Collier's* and the *American Magazine;* John T. McCutcheon, of the Chicago *Tribune;* and Arno Dosch, of *World's Work,* crossed the Atlantic together early in August. They proceeded at once to Brussels and attached themselves to units of the Belgian army. Captured by the Germans, they managed to get a letter telling of their plight directly to the German emperor, and three days later a pass from headquarters gave them freedom to visit the German lines and even to commandeer gasoline for their car. Thus these men were able to write for their papers and magazines first-hand stories of the early German drives through Belgium and northern France. They lost their automobile, and were forced to travel in various conveyances and

sometimes on foot—a hardship for the portly Cobb. But they got some fine stories.

Other American correspondents who sent stories from Germany were Cyril Brown, of the New York *Times;* Edwin Emerson, of the *World;* and Henry Suydam, of the Brooklyn *Eagle.* Brown was regularly attached to General Headquarters and, though he got his dispatches through with difficulty, he wrote this neglected side of the story for some two years.

It soon became apparent, however, that the old-style war correspondence was impossible in this new-style war. The journalist was effectively hampered by official restrictions on his movements, by censorship at every point, and by the size and nature of the conflict. If he saw important fighting at the front, it was either accidental or due to an evasion of rules which was sure to result in temporary suspension of the writer's privileges. French, British, Germans, and Austrians permitted occasional visits to the various fronts by accredited correspondents under careful military escort.

The front-line trenches, however fruitful of feature material they might be, certainly did not offer the best opportunity for gathering news of the larger movements and important actions. Such news was divulged only reluctantly, moreover, in the official communiqués, though it was ferreted out, sometimes tardily, by clever correspondents with good contacts. The first story of the Battle of Ypres, for example, was written by Will Irwin several days after the event and printed in the New York *Tribune,* from which English papers picked it up.

With such handicaps, and with the slow development of the war after September, 1914, emphasis shifted to the office military critic who, piecing together the official communiqués, presented comprehensive analyses of the whole chess-game of the war. Frank H. Simonds, of the New York *Tribune,* was outstanding in such studies. And while the work of the field correspondents was mainly restricted to feature stories from the fronts, the bureaus at the capitals did the best they could: Karl H. von Wiegand sent able United Press stories from Berlin, Francis McCullagh furnished Russian reports to a group of New York papers, and Wythe Williams did brilliant work in Paris, and later on the French and Italian fronts, for the New York *Times.*

The New York *Times* performed throughout the war a great

service in the publication of the official documents upon which intelligent opinion might be based. It printed the British and German "white papers" in late August, 1914, and later did the same for those of France, Austria, Russia, and Belgium. These documents were then made available in a tabloid format. The *Times* received a Pulitzer award in 1918 "for the publication in full of so many official reports, documents, and speeches relating to the World War." In 1919 it was the only newspaper in the world to print the complete draft of the treaty of Versailles.

THE PURSUIT OF PANCHO

Meantime the United States had again become embroiled with Mexico. Pancho Villa, having rebelled against Carranza's Mexican government, controlled the northernmost part of that unhappy country, raided the village of Columbus, New Mexico, in March, 1916, and massacred American citizens. A punitive expedition under General Pershing was thereupon sent into Mexico to capture the bandit-rebel and his army; it did not accomplish this precise objective, but it did crush the Villa power.

A score of correspondents covered operations at the military base at Columbus. Webb Miller, of the United Press, laid the foundation of a notable career by a story revealing the shamefully inadequate support of the infantry by the aviation arm of the service. Official denials were prompt, but the situation was remedied and the resulting improvement of the air corps proved fortunate when the United States entered the World War. Another reporter who was shocked by the showing of unpreparedness made by the American troops was Floyd Gibbons, of the Chicago *Tribune;* it was the poor equipment of state militia that Gibbons denounced. He had been covering the Mexican rebellion, chiefly with Villa's "army," before the Columbus incident; he reported that raid and later accompanied the Pershing expedition.

COVERAGE OF THE A.E.F. AND THE WORLD WAR

It was not until the summer of 1918—some fifteen months after the American declaration of war—that the United States had any considerable force in France. Correspondents with this American Expeditionary Force were accredited upon the filing of a $2,000 bond and the deposit of $1,000 for maintenance. Unaccredited

correspondents were, however, sometimes allowed facilities for observation and reporting, to the disgust of those who had followed the rules. Once accredited, correspondents might go and come as they pleased; writers with other armies were commonly compelled to go about with military escorts, but American correspondents could visit front-line trenches alone if they pleased, or even "go over the top." They lodged where they could—in peasants' homes, haymows, cellars, hotels; but their stories all went out through the censor's office maintained by the Military Intelligence Service at press headquarters. This office was located successively at five different towns during the A.E.F. training and fighting in France, following the progress of American operations.

The field correspondent's assignment was not an easy one, but neither was it in the first line of danger. Rough terrain, deep mud during the rainy seasons, and difficulties of transportation made his work hard. Editors and bureau heads commonly instructed their men that there is nothing so useless as a dead reporter, unless it is a badly wounded one; and covering the main story seldom took the correspondents into the thick of the fighting. Nevertheless, there were casualties, such as the death of Henry Beach Needham, of *Collier's*, in the wreck of an airplane near Paris; the drowning of Patrick L. Jones, of the I.N.S., on the *Lusitania;* and Floyd Gibbons' loss of an eye by German machine-gun fire. Earlier in the war, Gibbons had written a great story of the torpedoing of the liner *Laconia,* on which he had been a passenger.

About forty American correspondents covered the activities of the A.E.F. Among them were such well-known writers as Fred S. Ferguson and Webb Miller, of the United Press; Edwin L. James, of the New York *Times;* Martin Green, of the New York *World;* Frazier Hunt, of the Chicago *Tribune,* who later won some beats in reporting the Russian revolution; Henry Wales, of International News Service; and William G. Shepherd, first with the U.P., and then with the New York *Evening Post* syndicate. Ferguson scored one of the great beats of the war by his cleverness in handling the news of the great battle of Saint-Mihiel. The chief of the Military Intelligence outlined the plan of the whole action to a gathering of the correspondents immediately before that battle, and then the men hurried off to observe the operations. Ferguson, however, first wrote his story based on the plan he had just heard, divided it into

"takes," and arranged with a friend at the headquarters to send it or "kill" it as the news of the success or failure of the various movements arrived, and then himself went forward to observe. The entire military plan succeeded, and so did the journalistic scheme, and the United Press report was well ahead of that of its competitors.

But the correspondents at the western front made up only a small fraction of the force of American newspaper men working in the various capitals and on the various fronts of the war during these years. These numbered several hundred[2] and represented scores of newspapers, magazines, news and feature agencies, and syndicates. Heywood Broun wrote for the New York *Tribune*, Charles H. Grasty and Walter Duranty for the New York *Times*, Raymond Carroll for the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, and Ring Lardner for the Chicago *Tribune*. Irvin Cobb went across again for the *Saturday Evening Post*, his talents as a raconteur making him the most popular man in every headquarters he visited. Women appeared as war correspondents. The only woman to get a properly accredited pass from the War Department was Peggy Hull, of N.E.A., who covered the American Expedition to Siberia. Sigrid Schultz did fine work for the Chicago *Tribune* in Germany during the early years of the war and was afterward head of that paper's Berlin bureau. Rheta Childe Dorr covered the Russian Revolution of 1917 for the New York *Mail* with great distinction; and Bessie Beatty, of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, did a similar job. Both of them were in the camp of the famous Battalion of Death, composed of Russian women.

Censorship of cables and mails took many forms. In the early part of the war, it was especially unsympathetic and stupid; later it was worked out on a slightly more tenable basis. After the coming of the A.E.F., with American participation in the formulation of censorship procedure, conditions were notably better for newspapermen. Major Frederick Palmer wrote the section of U. S. Field Service Regulations dealing with war correspondents and was himself chief American censor for six months. Newspaper workers recognized the need for military restriction of public infor-

[2] It was estimated early in 1915 that "500 American newspaper workers of all kinds are in Europe today." Charles E. Crane, "Mobilizing News," in *Scientific American*, February 6, 1915 (Vol. CXII, p. 135). Certainly there were many more three years later.

mation; and though there were many complaints at first, most correspondents came to agree that the A.E.F. censorship was, on the whole, sensibly conducted.

Despite censorship handicaps and the difficulties placed in the way of field correspondents by all the European military authorities, the American people were better informed of the progress of the war than those of any other country in the world.

WAR CENSORSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

Censorship, inseparable from war situations, made its appearance in the United States soon after our country entered the war. Ten days after that event President Wilson issued a proclamation in which he pointed out that publication of information or statements "giving aid or comfort to the enemy" made the publisher liable to prosecution for treason.

The Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, provided heavy fines and imprisonment for anyone who "shall wilfully cause or attempt to cause . . . disloyalty . . . or shall wilfully obstruct recruiting," and made publications guilty of such acts unmailable. Preceding the passage of this Act there was a protracted debate in Congress and in the newspapers. Many newspapers fought the various censorship provisions proposed in the original bill and in amendments, but the clause summarized above was in the Act when it finally got through both Houses and was signed by the President; after the war was over it was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court.

With this beginning, it was much easier to pass severer censorship measures some months later. The Trading-with-the-Enemy Act of October 6, 1917, authorized censorship of all messages abroad, and required any newspaper or magazine containing articles in a foreign language to file sworn translations with the local postmaster.[3] This latter provision was aimed at the German-language press, sections of which were clearly disloyal. Then came the Sedition Act of May 16, 1918, virtually an amendment to the Espionage Act, which imposed heavy fines and imprisonment for the writing or publication of "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States,

[3] The President might issue revocable permits to foreign-language papers freeing them from this onerous requirement during good behavior.

or the Constitution, military or naval forces, flag, or the uniform of the army or navy of the United States," or any language "intended" to bring these things "into contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute."

The language of the Sedition Act was so broad as to allow wide scope of judgment to administration agencies. Basic in enforcement, of course, was the Department of Justice; but the provision of the original Espionage Act that disloyal papers were unmailable was interpreted by Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson as applying to the broader descriptions of the offending papers in the Sedition Act, and his department became the most active factor in enforcement. No hearing was necessary: any paper using language which the Postoffice Department believed was intended to bring the government into disrepute came within its powers and might be summarily refused mailing privileges. Moreover, when one issue was thus held up, the Department might maintain, as it did in some instances, that by missing a number the paper had forfeited its mailing privileges altogether, and refuse to accept subsequent issues, however innocuous.

When the publisher went to court to seek an injunction or mandamus to prevent such action by the Postoffice Department, he came up against the rule that the Postmaster General's "decision must be regarded as conclusive by the courts, unless it appears that it is clearly wrong." This was the language of the Circuit Court of Appeals which reversed the lower court in the famous case which the *Masses*, brilliant socialistic literary magazine, brought to be reinstated in its mailing privileges. The editors of the *Masses* were later tried under the Espionage Act, but escaped conviction by jury disagreement.

More than seventy-five papers felt the strong arm of the Postoffice Department during the first year of the Espionage Act, including those which retained their mailing privileges only by agreeing to print no discussions of the war question. Of these, nearly fifty were socialist papers; such famous dailies as the New York *Call* and Victor L. Berger's Milwaukee *Leader* suffered withdrawal of mailing privileges. *The Call*, as late as 1923, lost its appeal to the Supreme Court for reinstatement of its rights to the use of the mails; it perished in that year, after a brief boom under

the editorship of Norman Thomas.[4] The German-language press, upon a considerable portion of which all the enactments described above bore heavily, declined about one half in number of papers and in aggregate circulation during the war. In 1920 the Supreme Court affirmed a decision under the Espionage Act which sent three editors of the Philadelphia *Tageblatt* to prison for publishing disloyal articles.

Nevertheless, there were many papers which were comparatively undisturbed in their freedom of comment upon American mistakes in the conduct of the war. The New York *Evening Post*, owned by the pacifist Oswald Garrison Villard until increasing deficits forced him to sell in 1918, was a consistent critic. The New York *Tribune* and other papers pointed out failures in supplying the A.E.F. and other shortcomings of the Wilson administration. Even the New York *Times* was thought by many to be disloyal when it proposed on September 16, 1918, a preliminary discussion of peace terms.[5]

GEORGE CREEL AND THE C.P.I.

"During the past two years," wrote the *Nation* near the end of 1918, "we have seen what is practically an official control of the press, not merely by Messrs. Burleson and Gregory [the Postoffice Department and the Department of Justice] but by the logic of events and the patriotic desire of the press to support the government." [6]

It was this patriotic desire of the newspapers to support their government and its policies in time of war that gave the Committee on Public Information its power. This agency, set up by

[4] The statutes against "criminal syndicalism" or publication inciting to violence in the overturn of government, which were enacted by a large number of the states of the union, from New York in 1902 to Kansas and Kentucky in 1920, but chiefly in the years 1918 and 1919, were passed for the most part under the influence of the war-time feeling against radical socialist and "bolshevik" tendencies.

[5] Two and a half years before, Charles R. Miller, editor of the *Times*, had appeared before a committee of the United States Senate to explain the opposition of the paper to the Ship Purchase Bill and to answer the absurd charge (arising from an earlier newsgathering connection with the London *Times*) that it was "controlled by British gold." Before that committee, Miller made a protest against inquisitions by government into the policies and management of newspapers which constituted an admirable assertion of the freedom of editorial utterance.

[6] *Nation*, November 30, 1918 (Vol. CVII, p. 638).

presidential proclamation one week after the declaration of war, was primarily a propaganda bureau and not a censorship division. Its chairman, however, was a member of the Censorship Board created by the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act and thus in close touch with the Attorney General and Postmaster General, chief enforcers of the censorship. This backing constituted a threat which not only lay behind the set of rules regarding the movement of American troops which the C.P.I. presented to American papers as a voluntary censorship code, but which was correlated in other ways with the Committee's program.

George Creel, chairman of the C.P.I., was a liberal. He had engaged in journalism in New York, Kansas City, and Denver; he had led a successful movement in the Colorado city for the commission form of government. Associated with him in the C.P.I. were such men as Edgar Sisson, then editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine; Harvey J. O'Higgins, writer of features and fiction for the magazines; and Carl Byoir, later prominent in the public relations field.

Most papers published all the 6,000 releases which flowed out of the C.P.I. News Division. This material was colored with patriotic propaganda; but it was, on the whole, accurate and full of news value. The News Division founded on May 10, 1917, a release sheet called the *Official Bulletin*.[7] The Advertising Division directed newspaper and magazine advertising campaigns of patriotic nature. It did not itself beg space, but admen's organizations asked newspapers and periodicals to make donations, which they did with great liberality. Advertisers also bought space and turned it over to the C.P.I., whose chief function in such cases was the preparation of strong propagandic copy in words and pictures. This latter was paid advertising for the newspapers; but the government, despite organized effort to induce it to do so, bought no space to advertise its Liberty Loan campaigns. Newspapers nevertheless were a leading agency in promoting the loan efforts, as well as those to raise money for the Red Cross and other war activities.

[7] After the war this came into private hands and was published as *United States Bulletin* by Roger W. Babson. When it ended in 1921, it had two successors: the *Federal Register*, founded in 1935 to publish proclamations and documents; and David Lawrence's more generally circulated *United States Daily* (1926-33), succeeded in 1933 by the weekly *United States News*.

Most papers followed the various codes devised for the suppression of news which was believed to offer aid to the enemy. Early in the war the Associated Press refused to comply with Creel's request to kill dispatches telling of the arrival of American troops in France; but when rules of a proposed voluntary censorship of such news were made more definite, it accepted and observed them. Several times in hot water with the Creel Committee and the officers of the Military Intelligence was John R. McLean's Washington *Post*. But the papers which, next to the German-American and socialist press, were most often accused of disloyalty were those of the Hearst chain. So clear and persistent was the anti-Ally animus of Hearst that he was hanged in effigy by mobs, his papers proscribed in some places, and his very name cartooned as a snake—"Hears-ss-ss-t"—coiled in the flag.[8]

Of course Creel, manipulating the complicated and quickly improvised propaganda machine, allied with censorship, was criticized by the bolder of the liberal editors; and this chorus grew with a deepening realization of how war hysteria had been utilized through propaganda techniques. As the tide turned against Wilson after the war, Creel was used as a whipping-boy for his chief. Yet it seems clear that, everything considered, the chairman of the C.P.I. used his great power with restraint. Undoubtedly he and his assistants made mistakes, but they did a job necessary in war times with skill and conscience.

CAMP NEWSPAPERS

Nearly every large camp and cantonment in the United States had its soldiers' newspaper, while various branches of the A.E.F. published such papers abroad; after the armistice, some were established in hospitals and soldiers' homes. These papers were staffed by professional journalists enlisted in the services. They had an informality, a freedom from the attitudes of strict military discipline, and a robust humor which were distinctively American, and amazing to the military officers of England. All official grades participated in the making of these papers, but they belonged essentially to the men in the ranks, and they helped inestimably in the creation of a precious *esprit de corps*.

Papers of the thirty-eight camps were served by the "Trench

[8] New York *Tribune*, May 12, 1918.

and Camp" chain established by the Y.M.C.A. war work council under a plan suggested by John Stewart Bryan, publisher of the Richmond *News-Leader*. Mr. Bryan himself acted as the syndicate editor, furnishing mats to be used in connection with local matter set up in nearby newspaper shops. These chain papers were distributed free to the men, and carried some advertising, while many of those published independently made a small charge. Most of the camp papers were weeklies, though the *Great Lakes Bulletin* was a daily and the *Great Lakes Recruit* was a monthly magazine. There were also some comics and pictorials. Generally the papers were lively and sometimes excellent.

Most famous and ambitious of the A.E.F. papers was the *Stars and Stripes*, begun in February, 1918, and continued for sixteen months.[9] An eight-page paper with news, editorials, features, cartoons, and advertising, printed at the Paris plant of the London *Daily News*, it was greatly prized by doughboys and officers alike. Though controlled by GHQ, its appeal was to the private soldier, and it maintained its hold on him mainly through its honest and often humorous freedom of comment and lack of what the men called "hokum." There was sentiment enough, however, as was evidenced by the paper's raising a fund of 2,000,000 francs in one year by contributions from the men of the A.E.F. for the care of French war orphans. The first editor was Guy T. Viskniskki, who had been manager of the Wheeler Syndicate; but he was soon succeeded by an "editorial council," of which Harold Ross, later editor of the *New Yorker*, became the leader. Alexander Woollcott, dramatic critic; Grantland Rice, sports writer; and John T. Winterich, bibliophile, were also prominent in the work of *Stars and Stripes*.

The ambulance service had its *Radiator*, the air service its *Plane News*, the 27th Division its *Gas Attack*, and so on. Next to *Stars and Stripes*, the most ambitious of the papers published abroad was that of the Army of Occupation in Germany, *The Watch on the Rhine*, established in February, 1919.

The Chicago *Tribune* published for seventeen months in 1917-18 a daily Army Edition. This was printed in Paris and de-

[9] It was afterward continued under this name in Washington 1919-26 as "an independent weekly newspaper," specializing in news of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, by Richard Seelye Jones. Ross and some of his associates carried on with the *Home Sector* (1919-20), and Ross was later editor of the *American Legion Weekly*, begun a few weeks before the *Home Sector*.

NOT TO BE SOLD

The Official Newspaper of the A. E. F.

HOSPITAL GIFT EDITION FROM AMERICAN RED CROSS

The Stars and Stripes

NE PEUT PAS ETRE VENDU

By and For the Soldiers of the A. E. F.

VOL I, NO 84. FRANCE, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1918. PRICE 50 CENTIMES

READING, WRITING, UNIVERSITY WORK, IN A.E.F. COURSES

Every American Soldier to Be Given Chance to Continue Studies

TECHNICAL TRAINING, TOO

Reserve at Oxford, Cambridge, Sorbonne and Other Institutions

By Fleet Wire Please

Every American soldier in France is to have the chance to go ahead with his studies, or, if he is unable to read or write, or is wanting in other accomplishments, to get them, during the winter months. He will have the chance to go to school as a side issue, or attending the war under a system announced by G.H.Q. which will bring to France 65,000,000 worth of text books and 1,000 instructors from American colleges and colleges.

Instruction under the class room system is provided for all ranks, courses-manual, telephone and rest camps or areas with a combined population of 500 or more, and each designated sub-division is to have an appointed school officer to supervise the educational work.

This work is to be carried on while the routine of war absorbs the Army's main energies. But it is planned to widen it at the end of hostilities, so that the American Army during the demobilization period may have the advantages of the higher educational systems of French and English universities.

Leaves When War Ends

As soon as the war ends—possibly as soon as fighting stops, waiting on peace negotiations—it is planned that officers and enlisted men will be given leaves of absence from their units to attend such classes and lectures as Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Sorbonne, and the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux. These soldier-students will receive credit in American universities for the courses followed in Europe.

The whole system has been worked out by the Army Educational Commission of the Y.M.C.A., with the approval of the

OFFERED TO THE A.E.F.—500 CHRISTMAS GIFT WAR ORPHANS

ADOPT A CHRISTMAS GIFT WAR ORPHAN!

This is the slogan of a campaign which THE STARS AND STRIPES hereby inaugurates—a campaign to accomplish, between now and Christmas, the adoption of 500 child mascots for A.E.F. units and members—a campaign to secure food, clothing, comfort, schooling for a year for 500 little French children whose fathers have paid the supreme price for liberty.

We are out to double the present size of the A.E.F.'s war orphan family. We are out to gather the monetary wherewithal to soften the sadness of half a thousand little innocent victims of the war who are down on their luck and in need of assistance TO GIVE THEM A CHRISTMAS-PRESENT WHICH WILL LAST A WHOLE YEAR, the grateful memory of which will survive a lifetime—to give them, perhaps, life itself.

We have them chosen itself, photographed, investigated—all ready for adoption! And we offer them to the A.E.F.—

FIVE HUNDRED CHRISTMAS GIFT WAR ORPHANS AT 500 FRANCS EACH!

The success of the A.E.F.'s present orphan family, which now numbers just over 500, has justified, ten times over, the pains and money spent on it. The children, by the judicious expenditure on them of an average of a little over 50 francs a month—as little to us, so much to them—are provided with at least the material things which are their birthright.

And more, probably, than the assistance of the money itself has been the pervading fact that it came from the Americans, came fabulike when the situation of many of these children permitted of little else than despair. It imposed a trust which has been amply fulfilled. The children have made wonderful records. Their conduct at homes is the pride of the American Red Cross committee which administers the orphan funds. Their progress at school has been far above the average. Many of them have won prizes in their classes.

It is a fine, lively, intelligent, promising family; a family of which any doughboy may feel proud. And we are out to double its size in honor of the Saint of the Full Stocking.

Winter, the fifth since the bloodstained hand of the Hun robbed the first French home of its breadwinner, will be here soon. A five hundred franc contribution now will place these children in the warmth and cheer of a home. If they cannot be merry, they can, at least, be comfortable on Christmas—the day of Santa Claus, of little Jesu.

We had thought of accepting the contributions now and withholding the notification of adoption and the first payment of money from the children until Christmas Day. But their plight is too urgent. They need the assistance now. So we appeal, on behalf of these children, to the proven generosity of the A.E.F., and offer, to contributors, a choice of the following:

FIVE HUNDRED CHRISTMAS GIFT WAR ORPHANS.

Read "How to Adopt an Orphan" on Page 8, Section 4 of first column.

Who starts it?

FIRST WOC UNIT WITHIN A MONTH RIGHT FROM U.S.A.

Women's Overseas Corps Will Do S.O.S. Typing and Record Work

5,000 NOW BEING RECRUITED

They'll Wear Uniforms and Live in Billets—Don't Confuse Them With the Wacs

The Wacs are coming.

WHOLE PEOPLE JOIN IN AUSTRIAN REBUFF

President's Reply to Peace Note Backed by Unanimous Approval

By A. W. SIMLAIR

American Staff Correspondent of THE STARS AND STRIPES

[By Cable to THE STARS AND STRIPES.

AMERICA, Sept. 26.—Our nation's unity has been and is often ad mirably demonstrated that the American peace note was not needed to placate rivals at home. The reception that it got was a foregone conclusion from the moment of its publication.

But apart from the national unanimity for perseverance until our ideals are achieved, the American reception of the

BOYS GRIEVE FOR FATHERLY COLONEL TAKEN FROM LINE

Order Separates Regiment and Commander Who Brought It Over

ST. MIHIEL BATTLE COMES

Then Flashlight Pictures That Eagle Can Fight Without Silver Feathers and Talons

An American colonel who came to

FOURTH LOAN DRIVE BEGINS TOMORROW

Twenty-Two Nations at War With Germany to Be Feted

[By Cable to THE STARS AND STRIPES.]

AMERICA, Sept. 26.—The Fourth Liberty Loan opens will begin tomorrow, not the United States on Saturday. The President has proclaimed October 12, the 480th anniversary of the discovery of America, as Liberty Day, and has called upon all citizens to subscribe a and wholesale a generous response to the loan.

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo will host the Fourth Liberty Loan honor flag to the top of the Treasury Building. A new device in industrial honor pos-

MOTHER TOLD HER GERMANS WOULDN'T BE THERE FOREVER

So Marie Rose Learns Their Language and Lives in Hope

POUNDING ON CELLAR DOOR

And Then Someone Begs Her Pardon in a Language Meant to Be French

Marie Rose was nine years old in 1914.

BRASS BUTTONS, CAP WITH VISOR, IN UNIFORM PLAN

Colored Patches on Collar Would Denote Branch of Service

TINTS IN TROUSER SEAMS

Proposed Changes Also Include Altered Lines for Blouses and Overcoats

Brass buttons, cavalry caps, piping of various and varied colors, and other features of the old uniform are restored in the proposed new uniform, according to plans which, even in the midst of this terrific struggle for the existence of democracy, are being worked out by the War Department. It is expected that the uniform will be adopted by June 30, 1919, for the regular army, and that the National Guard and National Army will follow suit as soon as they can be demobilized.

The plan, briefly, is a change in the form of the present uniform, and the cut of the coat and trousers. The coat is to be cut and made of the material now used in the uniform, with the exception that the collar is to be of the color of the branch of the service to which the wearer belongs. Thus infantry will wear blue collars, artillery red, cavalry yellow, engineers white, and so on. The trousers will be of the same color as the coat, with a piping of the color of the collar. The cap will be of the same color as the coat, with a piping of the color of the collar. The visor will be of the same color as the coat, with a piping of the color of the collar. The buttons will be of the same color as the coat, with a piping of the color of the collar.

These changes have been made necessary by the Army being called upon to fight a war of attrition, instead of a war of movement, as was the case in the early days of the war. In the latter case, the soldier was required to be as inconspicuous as possible, but in the present case, he is required to be as conspicuous as possible, so that the enemy may be able to see him and shoot at him.

The proposed changes have been approved by the Army Board which has been considering the matter, and by the Secretary of War, and by the President, and it is expected that the new uniform will be adopted by June 30, 1919, for the regular army, and that the National Guard and National Army will follow suit as soon as they can be demobilized.

The Proposed Changes

If approved, under consideration, the adopted, the uniform will show changes:

Field buttons, cavalry buttons, and so on, are to be retained. The change is expected to be made in the form of the buttons, and the material of the buttons, and the color of the buttons, and the size of the buttons, and the shape of the buttons, and the number of the buttons, and the position of the buttons, and the way the buttons are fastened, and the way the buttons are worn, and the way the buttons are cared for, and the way the buttons are cleaned, and the way the buttons are polished, and the way the buttons are stored, and the way the buttons are packed, and the way the buttons are shipped, and the way the buttons are received, and the way the buttons are inspected, and the way the buttons are issued, and the way the buttons are worn, and the way the buttons are cared for, and the way the buttons are cleaned, and the way the buttons are polished, and the way the buttons are stored, and the way the buttons are packed, and the way the buttons are shipped, and the way the buttons are received, and the way the buttons are inspected, and the way the buttons are issued, and the way the buttons are worn.

Top half of the front page of an early issue of the famous A.E.F. paper.

signed chiefly to bring the home news, sent by cable, to the men of the A.E.F. At the end of 1918 it was changed into the European Edition of the *Tribune*, and published until it was merged with the Paris *Herald-Tribune* in 1934. The Baltimore *Sun* published a weekly tabloid Overseas Edition for a year, sent to Maryland A.E.F. men under letter postage.

FALSE ARMISTICE

Shortly before noon on November 7, 1918, the New York office of the United Press received the following cablegram:

UNIPRESS NEWYORK
PARIS URGENT ARMISTICE ALLIES GERMANY SIGNED ELEVEN SMORNING HOSTILITIES CEASED TWO SAFTERNOON SEDAN TAKEN SMORNING BY AMERICANS HOWARD SIMMS [10]

The signatures were those of Roy W. Howard, president of the United Press, and William Philip Simms, manager of that agency in France. In a few minutes the bulletin was on the U.P. wires, and luncheon-time crowds in the eastern cities had extras screaming the news. In the Middle West the extras were out before noon, and San Francisco had them in the mid-morning.

All America went wild. Telephone offices handled more calls per hour than ever before in their history. Business houses, offices, schools were deserted. Everybody celebrated. New York streets had their first ticker-tape and waste-basket "snow." Noise, color, songs, cheers were everywhere.

By the middle of the afternoon there were some doubts to cool the general fervor of jubilation. Normally there should have been "follow stories" from Paris and London. The disturbing fears were perhaps greater in the U.P. offices than anywhere else: they had just handled the greatest exclusive beat of modern history, but the ensuing silence was appalling. The beat seemed too exclusive. The Associated Press, after careful inquiry, reported that Paris and Washington knew nothing of an armistice having been signed. At Washington the Secretaries of State and War denied knowledge

[10] Howard's story in Webb Miller's *I Found No Peace*, p. 96. The Paris date line was inserted by the cable operator, who had the false impression that the message had originated in Paris, had passed the censorship there, and had been forwarded from there for transmission at the Brest cable-head.

of an armistice. Newspapers which had apparently been scooped began to cry "Fake!" But newsboys selling the papers with such kill-joy stories were in some instances mobbed, and the celebration went on. The United Press "stood pat" until late forenoon of the next day, when it released a second cable dispatch from Howard to the effect that the news of the armistice was now said to be unconfirmed.

Howard had received the false report at Brest from Admiral Henry B. Wilson, commander of all the United States naval forces in France, with the full assurance that it was official and authoritative. Wilson at the same time gave the news out to the local Brest paper, expressly authorized Howard to send it on to New York, and even sent his secretary with the U.P. president to the cable office to help him get it through. At the cable office, the censors' room was empty, for everyone had gone into the streets to celebrate; but the operators took the message without trouble from the admiral's secretary, under the impression, apparently, that it had passed censorship. Two hours later, Wilson informed Howard that the news was unconfirmed and the second message was dispatched; but now censors were really on the job and that cablegram was delayed.

What was the source of Admiral Wilson's "official" communiqué of November 7? It came from the naval attaché of American General Headquarters in Paris. There a telephone call on a private wire from the French foreign office had been received announcing the signing of the armistice. Who made that call? Howard, after long investigation of several theories about the origin of the report that was received by Admiral Wilson, came to the firm conclusion that the "French official" who made the telephone call was a German secret agent located in Paris who had tapped the private wire. The Germans, in disastrous retreat, were desperately anxious for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and believed that Allied leaders might be forced to an armistice by popular feeling once the announcement was made and peace celebrations in full swing. Such is Howard's theory.

When the actual armistice was signed on November 11, celebrations were more fully organized; but something of the edge had been taken off the jubilation by the more spontaneous activities of four days before.

THE NEWSPAPERS' ORDEAL BY WAR

An immediate effect of the outbreak of the war in upon the American press was to increase the importance of the evening newspapers. These papers, which had made great progress since the decade of the eighties,[11] especially as purveyors of feature material and advertising, had never attained the importance in the strictly news field that their morning associates held. But the five hours' difference in time between London or Paris and New York, the six hours' difference between Berlin or Rome and New York, and the seven hours' difference between Moscow and New York, caused the daytime stories of Europe to break for evening papers. Thus night fell on the western front about the time of the New York evening papers' deadline. As a result of this time advantage the larger evening papers soon gained and held about a twenty-five per cent increase in circulation.

The insatiable American demand for news of the war caused the larger papers to print from five to eight pages of such material daily by the fall of 1914. As a consequence, the amounts of local and national news were reduced, and not a few local reporters in the large cities lost their jobs.

Advertising fell off during the business decline of 1914, though it rose to new heights by the end of the war. Expenses rose alarmingly. Labor budgets increased, chiefly as a result of the rising cost of living. The outlay for salaries and expenses of the army of newspaper workers sent to Europe ran into the millions per year. The Associated Press spent five times as much for its foreign news in 1918 as it had been spending before the war began. Cable costs were tremendous: the New York *Times*, which probably spent about as much as the large news-gathering agencies on this item, sometimes had a cable bill of $15,000 a week. For one dispatch sent by Carl W. Ackerman during his coverage of the Siberian expedition, the *Times* paid $5,600, and it was delayed nineteen days.

Paper rose sharply in price. Increased consumption joined with the labor and transportation conditions to bring newsprint from a little over two cents in 1914 to about three and a third cents in 1917. Smaller papers without long-term contracts were faced with

[11] See p. 446.

a prohibitive price. In this emergency the Federal Trade Commission came to the help of publishers with price-fixing orders which prevented further large increases until after the close of the war. In consideration for this rescue, heroic efforts were made to save space, and in some cases circulation was arbitrarily limited. Newsdealers' returns were declined by many papers.

An added burden came with the enactment of the War Revenue Act of October 3, 1917, with its increase of postal rates. Annual rises, beginning with July, 1918, for four years were prescribed; advertising and other contents were charged separately, and rates by zones were set up for the advertising section. Newspapers had long enjoyed a cent-a-pound rate; now the reading-matter part was to pay one and a half cents a pound, and the advertising part was to be raised a fourth of a cent a year for four years in the first and second zones, and more rapidly for the longer hauls, until the rate in 1921 should be two cents a pound in the first and second zones and ten cents in the eighth zone. Despite complaints, little change was made in these rates for ten years; they were boosted as provided until 1921 and there they remained until 1928, when the pound rate for the first and second zones, on all contents, was reduced to one and a half cents.[12] But by this time the newspapers had largely discarded the mails for other methods of distribution—chiefly a truck-carrier combination.

The chief response to all these cost advances—and others, such as those for ink, linotype metal, and machinery—was an increase in circulation price. The penny-paper movement which had spread so widely in the early years of the century was now arrested, and concerted increases occurred in most of the large cities. All the English-language papers in Buffalo adopted the two-cent price in December, 1916, and this was followed by similar action in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cities in the following year. New York joined the procession in February, 1918. Sunday papers went from five to seven, and then to ten cents a copy. In most cases there was a temporary loss in circulation, soon followed by a recovery to the former level.

But marginal papers—those which had made profits with diffi-

[12] The two-cent rate was restored 1932-34 because revenues had not responded to the reduction; but when they dropped still further, it went back again to one and a half cents.

culty even in more prosperous years—succumbed to the rigors of war journalism. The total number of weeklies, semi-weeklies, tri-weeklies, and dailies declined by one eighth in the years 1914-19—a total reduction of about 2,435.[13] Scores of dailies and hundreds of weeklies were wiped out by consolidations, and others quietly gave up the ghost. Weekly editions of dailies, already declining before the war, tended to disappear.

[13] These are Ayer's Directory figures and include class and foreign-language dailies, and all weekly periodicals.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Consolidations and Chains

THERE WAS NOTHING NEW ABOUT NEWSPAPER CONSOLIDATIONS IN these years except the large number of them. Weak newspapers had been absorbed by strong ones in thousands of cases in the past; a paper about to give up the struggle usually sought to save a few hundreds or thousands out of the wreck by selling its mailing-list and "good will" to a competitor.

But the big investments which had come in the nineties, and increasingly with the twentieth century, altered the situation and made the merger a recognized technique for "cleaning up" a ruinous competitive situation. Several factors combined to make consolidation seem desirable in this period:

(1) The wish to have opposition parties and cliques represented had resulted in the establishment of more papers than were necessary to serve their communities in the purveying of either news or advertising; and with the decline of partisan feeling as a dominant motive in journalism it became possible to reduce the number of papers.

(2) Advertisers found it cheaper to buy space in one paper with general circulation, even at increased rates, than in two with overlapping coverage.

(3) Combination of a morning with an evening paper, allowing twenty-four-hour operation of a single plant, made for economy.

(4) Mounting costs, caused partly by the necessity of producing better modern papers, forced the elimination of unnecessary competition.[1]

(5) The rules of the Associated Press in regard to new memberships, which made it virtually impossible to obtain a "franchise"

[1] This condition, joined with advertising losses, was marked during the business depression. See p. 675.

except by the purchase of a paper that already held one, occasionally caused the absorption of a weak A. P. member by a paper with strong financial backing.

Occasionally several of the newspapers of a city would join in buying up and eliminating a troublesome competitor; as when Philadelphia publishers helped out in the consolidation of the *Public Ledger* and the *Times* made by Adolph S. Ochs in 1902, or when the Pittsburgh dailies combined to buy and suspend the *Dispatch* and *Leader* in 1923.

But it was during the World War, and especially in 1917-18, that the consolidation fever mounted to unexpected heights, involving dailies, weeklies, trade papers, and magazines. Among the larger mergers of the war years were those of the Chicago *Inter Ocean* with the *Record-Herald* in 1914 under the name of the *Herald*, followed by the consolidation of the *Herald* and *Examiner* in 1918 (leaving Chicago with only two morning papers—the *Tribune* and the *Herald and Examiner*); the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* with the *Picayune* in 1914 (leaving the *Times-Picayune* the only morning paper in New Orleans for some years); the New York *Press* with the *Sun* in 1916; and the Cleveland *Leader* with the *Plain Dealer* in 1917 (leaving the *Plain Dealer* Cleveland's only morning paper). It will be noted that the consolidations were more general in the morning field, which suffered more from war conditions than that of evening publication.

The greater number of consolidations, however, occurred in the smaller cities. Among the weeklies, the merger movement had become noticeable long before the World War: the number of towns under 15,000 population supporting two or more papers declined steadily after 1900.[2]

After the war the consolidation technique continued to be prominent in the publishing business. In 1930 eight cities of over 100,000 population were served either by one paper or by a morning and an evening paper under the same ownership. Then came the business depression, and by 1940 the number of cities over 100,000 with single newspaper ownerships had increased to twenty-five. These included such cities as Providence, Omaha, St. Paul,

[2] See Malcolm M. Willey and William Weinfeld, "The Country Weekly and the Emergence of One-Newspaper Places," *Journalism Quarterly*, September, 1934 (Vol. XI, pp. 246-57).

Louisville, Des Moines, Oklahoma City, and Springfield, Massachusetts. Moreover, seven large cities were served in 1940 by only two ownership groups—Atlanta, Baltimore, Buffalo, Denver, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and New Orleans—and only one morning paper each remained in Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Detroit. Even New York, which had once numbered its dailies by the score, was by 1940 reduced to four each in the morning and evening fields.[3]

MUNSEY, GRAND HIGH EXECUTIONER

Newspaper consolidation was dramatized during the first half of this period by Frank A. Munsey. Munsey's newspaper career is divided into two parts, each dominated by a single idea. Thus, up to 1913 he was trying to build a great newspaper chain. Ten years earlier he had written in his own magazine: "In my judgment it will not be many years—five or ten perhaps—before the publishing business of this country will be done by a few concerns—three or four at most." [4] This first period of Munsey's journalistic activity has been discussed in the preceding chapter. It was a failure, for Munsey was unable to weld a chain of successful newspaper properties.[5] Then, during the World War, he developed another great idea—another philosophy of newspaper publishing. "The same law of economics applies in the newspaper business that operates in all important business today," he wrote. "Small units in any line are no longer competitive factors in industry, in transportation, in commerce, in merchandising and banking." [6] The smaller competitor must be absorbed and the field cleaned up. The keyword of the new philosophy was consolidation.

Munsey's first consolidation was that of the New York *Press* with the *Sun* in 1916. He had bought the *Press* four years earlier for $1,000,000 cash, expecting to make it the New York member of his chain; it was the last purchase of those designed for the chain, and it became the first sacrifice in his new plan to clean up

[3] These figures include only English-language dailies of general circulation. A check based on the *Editor & Publisher* Year Book of 1933 by Professor Bleyer showed that in eighty-seven per cent of the cities under 100,000 "one paper or one company has a monopoly." W. G. Bleyer, "Freedom of the Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, March, 1934 (Vol. XI, p. 29).

[4] *Munsey's Magazine*, February, 1903 (Vol. XXVIII, p. 664).

[5] See pp. 554-57.

[6] Quoted in Britt, *Forty Years, Forty Millions*, p. 248, from New York *Sun*.

the New York competitive situation. It had been, on the whole, a successful paper. Founded late in 1887 by Frank Hatton, former Postmaster General and Chicago publisher, and Robert P. Porter, economist and journalist, it had been strongly Republican in politics and bright and lively in news handling. Throughout most of its life it had a circulation of about 100,000. Ervin Wardman was its able editor for its last ten years.

The *Sun* had been a circulation laggard for a quarter of a century when Munsey bought it in 1916; it then had a little over 65,000. Dana had died in 1897, passing his editorial mantle on to his assistant, the cultivated and literary Edward P. Mitchell. William M. Laffan, long associated with the business management of the paper, died in 1909. The *Evening Sun* was more prosperous than its morning associate, though both had good advertising business. Neither had an Associated Press membership; since 1897 both had depended upon their own Laffan Bureau for news gathering.

Now Munsey paid $2,468,000 for the *Sun* and the *Evening Sun*. With the former he combined the *Press;* Mitchell remained as editor, Wardman became publisher, and Keats Speed, of the *Press*, became managing editor. The *Sun* was now, after half a century at two cents, once more a penny paper. For a few months its circulation jumped, but later receded. The publishing trials of war made progress difficult. Munsey poured some $2,000,000 into it during the next four years, but it refused to climb up among the leaders. So, in 1920, Munsey, whose income from his magazine, banking, and grocery investments continued to be ample, bought the *Herald* and merged the *Sun* in it.

The *Herald* and the *Sun* had been the co-founders of the great penny-paper movement of the 1830's. They may be said to have laid the foundations of modern journalism.[7] But the *Herald*, like the *Sun*, had declined since the nineties. James Gordon Bennett, Jr., absentee owner, had taken very large sums out of its earnings for his personal expenses; and when he died, in 1918, his own fortune was depleted and the paper had lost much of its old leadership. It was on the block almost immediately after its long-time owner's death; and Munsey purchased it, with its associate, the *Evening Telegram*, and its Paris edition, for $4,000,000. The papers

[7] See pp. 215-38.

under Munsey ownership were now shuffled as follows: the *Sun* was eclipsed in the *Herald;* the *Evening Sun* had its name changed to *Sun,* while it continued on a fairly profitable course; the *Evening Telegram* and the Paris *Herald* were comparatively unchanged.

But these were the years of high paper prices; and this difficulty, joined with some mistakes in the readjustment of advertising rates after the merger, kept the *Herald* from becoming a profitable paper. Munsey determined to buy the *Tribune* and merge it with the *Herald.* But in this new move he met an invincible obstacle: the Reids would not sell.

The *Tribune* had descended to the neighborhood of 25,000 circulation in the years just before the World War, but its excellent news service during the conflict had brought it up. Nevertheless, it was not paying profits in the early twenties. Whitelaw Reid had died in 1912 and his son Ogden Reid had taken his place as editor and manager. Helen Rogers Reid, wife of the editor, had proved herself the ablest newspaper woman of the time, chiefly in the capacity of advertising director of the *Tribune.* The Reids were wealthy, they regarded the welfare of the *Tribune* as an almost sacred trust, and they refused to sell it. Munsey, however, carried on long negotiations with them, and ended by suddenly turning about and selling them the *Herald* in 1924. The price was $5,000,000; the Paris edition was included in the sale, but Munsey retained the *Evening Telegram.*

The merger, called the *Herald Tribune,* was the old *Tribune* plus a large access of new circulation. The *Herald* disappeared in all but name. But careful management resulted in a retention of most of the added circulation and a growth in advertising. Thus, this venture of the Reids brought them not only a well-paying property but a newspaper which almost at once took its place in the foremost rank of American journalism.

Meantime Munsey had made the most profitable consolidation of his series of such deals; he had bought the *Globe* and merged it with the *Sun.* He wanted an Associated Press membership for the *Sun.* True, he had given the morning *Sun* a "franchise" when he had merged the *Press* with it; but the present *Sun* was the old *Evening Sun,* and it was without the A.P. service. Munsey tried to buy the *Evening Post* but was rebuffed; then he turned to the *Globe.*

The *Evening Globe* had been founded in 1904 by H. J. Wright, who in the next year purchased the *Commercial Advertiser* (the oldest American daily, founded as *American Minerva* by Noah Webster in 1793) and, consolidating the two under the name *Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, made a fresh, independent, liberal paper with a good circulation. Munsey bought it for $2,000,000 in 1923 and merged it in the *Sun*. By this consolidation the *Sun* gained about fifty per cent in circulation and thirty-three per cent in advertising, and was soon yielding $1,500,000 a year in profits. Munsey's system was at last proving itself.

The great executioner of newspapers bought one other property —the *Mail*, famous for many years as the *Mail and Express*. He paid $2,200,000 for it in 1924 and merged it with his *Evening Telegram*, increasing the modest prosperity of that paper.

Then, in 1925, in the midst of gossip about a $10,000,000 bid for the Chicago *Daily News*, death claimed Munsey and merged him with Bennett and Dana and the ghosts of all the founders of papers he had bought and buried at his pleasure. He left a fortune of $20,000,000, mostly to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

SCRIPPS-HOWARD

Meantime E. W. Scripps was also making some mergers, buying or establishing some new papers, and killing off some unsuccessful members of his chain.

In 1914 the Scripps-McRae League was publishing twenty-three papers. A quarrel of the two partners in that year forced McRae, who had spent most of the preceding five years in travel, entirely out of the concern. Then Scripps suffered a paralytic stroke in 1917, after which he left the papers for a time in the hands of his sons, James G. and Robert P., as president of the board and editor-in-chief, respectively. Three years later James quarrelled with his father [8] and was supplanted by Roy W. Howard, who had been president and general manager of the United Press since 1912. In 1922 E. W. Scripps retired completely, turning over his newspaper properties to his son Robert P., who a little later gave

[8] When the two Scripps parted, James took with him five Pacific Coast papers (see p. 553). James died in 1921, but his widow organized his papers as the Scripps-Canfield group, later the Scripps League. In 1940 this group, comprising eight papers in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, and California, contained only two of the original group and was conducted by two grandsons of E. W. Scripps.

Howard equal power with himself on both the business and editorial sides; and the chain became known as Scripps-Howard.

It was in 1921 that Robert P. Scripps, working under his father's rule that a third of the profits should go to enlargement of the chain, began founding and buying new papers, thus adding eighteen in the twenties, and three more in the thirties.[9] Up to 1920 only two papers had been acquired by purchase, but in the ensuing decade some notable properties were bought. Chief of these were the Pittsburgh *Press*, founded in 1884 by Thomas J. Keenen under the name of the *Evening Penny Press*, and now purchased by Scripps-Howard for a price reported as $6,200,000; and the New York *Telegram*, famous evening edition of the *Herald*, bought for $1,800,000. The Pittsburgh purchase brought Scripps-Howard its first Sunday edition.

The consolidation technique entered the Scripps-Howard system in 1925, when the Akron *Times* was purchased and merged with the *Press*. The next year the Memphis *News-Scimitar* was bought to be merged with the *Press* of that city, the Knoxville *Sentinel* to join the *News*, and the Denver *Times* for consolidation with the *Express* (evening edition of Scripps-Howard's morning *Rocky Mountain News*). In 1931 the *Herald* was bought and consolidated with the *Post* at El Paso, Texas, and the New York *World* was merged with the *Telegram*. After the great *World-Telegram* merger, Scripps-Howard made no further purchase for five years, when it bought the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*.

Of the fifty-two papers which have been owned by E. W. Scripps, Scripps-McRae, and Scripps-Howard, five seceded with James G. Scripps, eleven were abandoned as failures, six perished in Scripps-Howard mergers, and eleven were sold to be merged in competitors. In 1940, nineteen dailies remained (six less than in 1929) to form what many regarded as the strongest of newspaper chains. The system of control remained very nearly the same as that devised by E. W. Scripps: chain management retained less than forty per cent of the stock, the remainder being in the hands

[9] 1921—Norfolk *Post*, Birmingham *Post*, Ft. Worth *Press*, Knoxville *News*, Washington *Daily News*, El Paso *Post*; 1922—Youngstown *Telegram*, Indianapolis *Times*, Baltimore *Post*, *New Mexico State Tribune*; 1923—Pittsburgh *Press*; 1925—Akron *Times*; 1926—Memphis *News-Scimitar*, Knoxville *Sentinel*, *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver *Times*; 1927—New York *Telegram*; 1929—Buffalo *Times*; 1931—El Paso *Herald*, New York *World*; 1936—Memphis *Commercial Appeal*. For earlier Scripps papers see pp. 461, 553.

of operating officials of the various papers. On local questions, such as state politics and city contests, papers made their own decisions and took their own positions; on national questions "the editors are invited to conference and are consulted . . . have a voice and a vote." [10]

E. W. Scripps died in 1926 and Robert P. Scripps in 1938; Roy W. Howard, as chairman of a board of three trustees of the E. W. Scripps Company, became in the latter year the head of the organization. In the years after the retirement of the founder, the Scripps papers, once conspicuous chiefly in cities of the second and third classes, became more identified with the greater fields of metropolitan journalism, where the New York *World-Telegram* gave them outstanding leadership. The old rough-and-tumble fights for the underdog elements in local communities became less characteristic of Scripps-Howard than a dignified liberalism which could support Franklin Roosevelt in his first presidential term and criticize him later. Critics alleged a decline in the chain's crusading spirit,[11] but the *World-Telegram* received a Pulitzer award in 1933 for four campaigns in the public service during the preceding year.

THE END OF THE WORLD

The most sensational merger in an era of mergers was a Scripps-Howard operation which resulted in the New York *World-Telegram* in 1931.

When Joseph Pulitzer died, twenty years before this event, he left behind him a very long and complicated will. This instrument provided:

> Nothing in this my will shall be taken to authorize or empower the sale or disposition by the trustees of any stock of the Press Publishing Company, publisher of the *World* newspaper. I particularly enjoin upon my sons and my descendants the duty of preserving, perfecting, and perpetuating the *World* newspaper, in the same spirit in which I have striven to create and conduct it, as a public institution, from motives higher than mere gain.

[10] Edward Meeman, editor Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, in *Scripps-Howard News*, September, 1929, p. 81. See also *Problems of Journalism* (Proc. A.S.N.E.), 1929, pp. 112-15, which contains a statement on Scripps-Howard control by Roy W. Howard.

[11] See *Nation*, May 13, 20, 1939.

A provision that *World* ownership should be kept strictly within the family bounds presupposed "sons and descendants" who should be great newspaper managers. But not one of the three sons of Pulitzer had been well trained for such a task. It is true that Joseph, Jr., worst treated of the three with respect to the size of the patrimony left him, had thrown himself into the work of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and had made an outstanding success. This left Ralph, the eldest, and Herbert, the youngest, to devote themselves to the *World;* and though they served successively as president of the Press Publishing Company, neither had the talent or the taste for the rigorous job of managing a great newspaper in a highly competitive field amidst rapidly changing conditions.

Nevertheless, for the first ten or twelve years after the death of the elder Pulitzer the *World* did very well. Perhaps features were overplayed, though it was a time of feature expansion; doubtless too many economies were practised in respect to news, and the *World* scarcely kept abreast of its competitors in its number of pages. But Frank I. Cobb remained the great fighting editorial writer of the paper until his death in 1923. Pulitzer had taken him from the Detroit *Free Press* after a careful search for the best editorial writer in the country; his liberalism with sanity, brilliance with soundness had made the *World's* editorial page admired and influential. Herbert Bayard Swope was a brilliant managing editor; and there was a galaxy of feature men, including Heywood Broun, Franklin P. Adams, and Rollin Kirby.

The first major error was the raising of the price in 1925 to three cents a copy in the face of the two-cent price of the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*. The latter paper had just been formed—one of the most successful of the consolidations. The tabloids were making inroads on the other flank. *World* circulation dropped, and it did not come back when the two-cent price was restored in 1927. Operating losses began in 1926, and attempted economies and high-pressure advertising methods only made matters worse; and in 1930 the Pulitzers, now almost in panic, had to pay losses of $1,900,000 on the operating expenses of the morning, evening, and Sunday editions.

To the rescue came Roy W. Howard, with an offer of $5,000,000 for the three papers. The Scripps-Howard organization would kill the morning and Sunday papers and combine the *Evening*

World with the *Telegram*. The hearing in surrogate's court on the right of the trustees to sell under the will was dramatic. As soon as the news of the prospective deal got out, the courtroom filled with lawyers, newspaper men, representatives of other newspaper groups. Other offers threatened delay and perhaps upset of the plans. Employes of the old *World*—the men who had been making the paper and who now expected to be thrown out of their jobs—got together and prepared to make their own bid with pledges in hand of about $1,000,000. But Howard, small in stature, dandified, confident in the knowledge of what he wanted and how he was going to get it, dominated the hearings. Some twenty-five years earlier he had applied for employment on the *World* and had been refused even an interview. But his extraordinary ability for organization had gradually made him a dominating figure in the newspaper world. Now he had a signed sales contract in his pocket, and all he needed was the surrogate's ruling that such a contract was valid under the provisions of the Pulitzer will. Herbert Pulitzer, tired and worried, not always too sure of his data, testified that three things had defeated the *World:* (1) the New York newspaper field was still overcrowded; (2) the *World* was crushed between two millstones—the conservative papers, as the *Times*, *Herald Tribune*, and *Sun*, above, and the tabloids beneath, while the *World* was neither conservative nor sensational; and (3) morning and evening papers, while two in expense, are only one in the minds of advertisers, who give them one paper's share. Present resources, said Pulitzer, would be exhausted in three months at the current rate of loss. The hearing continued over the second day, the surrogate patient, exacting. Smart lawyers had drawn the famous will, with its non-selling clause; but smarter lawyers found a way to make the sale legal under the will. The surrogate approved, and the morning *World* was immediately killed and the evening edition merged in the *World-Telegram*.

The new consolidation kept two thirds of the circulation of the evening *World*, made large gains in advertising, and was regarded as a success. Though Scripps-Howard contended that the *World* lived on in the new paper, the mourning for the passing of a champion of liberal causes was loud and long. That a kind of "moral war" had once been waged against the *World* as chief co-sinner with the *Journal* in the introduction of yellow journalism

was now forgotten; and friends and foes, editors of other papers, clergymen and publicists joined jobless *World* men in voicing regrets.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF HEARST

Another important agent in the business of merging great dailies in this period was W. R. Hearst, who once confessed himself "rather a confirmed consolidationist." [12]

Hearst added slowly to the seven early papers of his chain, which were in California, New York, Chicago, and Boston. In 1912 he invaded the South, buying the Atlanta *Georgian;* and the next year he purchased the San Francisco *Call,* for which he soon acquired an Associated Press membership by buying and merging the *Evening Post.* Then in the five years beginning with 1917 he bought a paper a year, with an extra one in 1919. In 1922 he splurged, adding seven papers. Each of the next two years saw three papers purchased, and in the following decade Hearst gained control of ten more.[13]

Perhaps the two outstanding earlier consolidations involved in these purchases were the one by which the Chicago *Herald,* a journal which had been part of more consolidations than any other Chicago paper, was combined with Hearst's *Examiner* as the *Herald-Examiner* in 1918; and another by which, after some shuffling, the old Boston *Daily Advertiser,* of proud history, was lost in the *Record.* But when the complicated and precarious financial structure of the "Hearst Empire" began to crumble, there were even more sensational consolidations. In 1937 the New York *American,* the paper which (then called the *Journal*) had brought Hearstism to the metropolis in a burst of pyrotechnical display,

[12] *Editor & Publisher,* July 3, 1937, p. 6.

[13] For the papers bought before 1912, see p. 540. Those bought after 1913 were: 1917—Boston *Daily Advertiser;* 1918—Chicago *Herald;* 1919—Washington *Times,* Wisconsin *News;* 1920—Boston *Record;* 1921—Detroit *Times;* 1922—Los Angeles *Herald,* Seattle *Post-Intelligencer,* Washington *Herald,* Rochester *Journal,* Oakland *Post,* Oakland *Enquirer,* Syracuse *Telegram;* 1923—Baltimore *News,* Baltimore *American,* Fort Worth *Record;* 1924—Albany *Times-Union,* San Antonio *Light,* Milwaukee *Sentinel,* New York *Daily Mirror;* 1925—Syracuse *Journal;* 1927—Pittsburgh *Sun,* Pittsburgh *Chronicle Telegraph,* Pittsburgh *Post,* Pittsburgh *Gazette Times* (the two latter, consolidated as the *Post-Gazette,* were at first at least nominally owned by Paul Block, who worked closely with Hearst and probably had a partnership arrangement with him in 1927); 1928—Omaha *Bee,* Omaha *News;* 1929—San Francisco *Bulletin;* 1931—Los Angeles *Express;* 1934—Baltimore *Post.*

disappeared in a merger with the tabloid *Mirror*. Two years later the *Herald-Examiner*, after experimenting for a few months as a tabloid, was merged with the *American* as the *Herald-American*; and Chicago was left with only one morning paper.

The Hearst drama had progressed through its earlier blatant and amazing action before the beginning of the period now under consideration—the prologue in San Francisco, the great contest with Pulitzer, the promotion and coverage of the War with Spain, yellow journalism, and the efforts of Hearst to make himself President of the United States. The later acts and scenes bring the strictly journalistic theme to a climax about 1922, and are followed by descending action.

Hearst was active in politics, especially in New York and Chicago, up to 1922; and he apparently did not give up his own political ambitions until that time. He was active also in the enlargement of his chain and in the management of the papers. He directed the anti-Ally and antiwar policies of his papers up to 1917, and their conduct during the war years of 1917-19. He also directed many local crusades, and the national after-the-war campaign against radicals sometimes slightingly referred to as "Hearst's red-hunt." He got into the movie business by way of the newsreel in 1913, later filming serial thrillers (the first was *The Perils of Pauline*), and still later producing features for stars, chiefly Marion Davies.

By the end of 1922 Hearst owned twenty daily papers and eleven Sunday papers in thirteen of the largest American cities. In addition he owned the following properties: two wire services, I.N.S. and Universal Service; King Features, the largest of the syndicates; six American magazines [14] and one trial venture—*Nash's*—in England; [15] a newsreel, Hearst Metronome News, and a motion picture production company; a Sunday supplement, the *American Weekly*, whose distribution with all of the Hearst Sunday

[14] *Motor, Motor Boating, Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, The World Today* (later *Hearst's Magazine*, merged with *Cosmopolitan*), and *Harper's Bazaar*. Additions to the list after 1922 were *Town and Country, Home and Field, House Beautiful* (merged with *Home and Field*), *American Architect, American Druggist*. Four famous magazines which Hearst bought when they were in difficulties but soon had to kill or sell as best he could were *McClure's, Smart Set, Puck*, and *Pictorial Review*.

[15] Later Hearst established English editions of *Good Housekeeping* and *Harper's Bazaar* and bought the London *Pall Mall* (merged with Nash's) and *Connoisseur*.

papers gave it a larger circulation than any independent periodical in the world; several very profitable gold, silver, and copper mines, chiefly inherited from his father; and real estate, hotels, theatres, business buildings, and ranches to the value of many millions.

But, disappointed in his political ambition, Hearst moved back to California, where, established on his great San Simeon estate, he surrounded himself with princely grandeur. Also he traveled abroad, buying art treasures with amazing prodigality. By 1924, finding the income from his various properties insufficient for these expenditures, he began borrowing heavily; and when the stock-market crashed in 1929, he was in difficulties. In the following year he sold $50,000,000 of preferred stock in a company to which he assigned some of his most valuable newspaper properties; but by 1937 he was in trouble again. This time he was forced to a kind of abdication: he placed his ninety-five per cent stock control of American Newspapers, Inc., the top holding company of his pyramided financial structure, in a voting trust which gave the banker-trustee full power to vote this stock for ten years.

It was not only the owner's extravagance which caused the "Hearst Empire" to show alarming signs of crumbling, but also the persistence of some of his favorite newspapers in losing large sums of money. The New York *American* was said to be losing $1,000,000 a year when it was discontinued. Other papers were being sold and consolidated under the voting-trust management. Hearst himself, seventy-four years old, celebrated a half century of newspaper publishing in his crisis-year of 1937; but he lived in semi-retirement [16] at San Simeon while the voting trust wrestled with his problems of newspaper management.

Hearst bought or established forty-two daily newspapers; of these, fourteen were merged with other Hearst papers, seven sold (usually for other consolidations), and four killed, while seventeen remained in 1940 to the Hearst chain (as compared with twenty-five in 1937).

GROWTH OF THE CHAINS

Because of the great diversity in types of chains (or group ownership) of newspapers, and the different degrees of integra-

[16] In the spring of 1940 Hearst began writing a column for his papers entitled "In the News."

tion, precise generalizations about them are unsafe and statistics often lack significance.[17] The major trends, however, have been easily discernible.

Chain ownership, in its modern phase, began with E. W. Scripps and his papers. By 1900 eight chains could be listed,[18] controlling twenty-seven papers and perhaps ten per cent of daily circulation. By 1910 there were a dozen chains; and the number of papers had doubled, nearly half the increase being due to Scripps-McRae expansion. In the next decade, which included the war, many new chains were established; and the number of papers doubled again. But it was in the boom decade of the twenties that the number of chains reached about sixty and the number of dailies owned by them passed 300, carrying over one third of the total daily circulation of the country. During the depression thirties, the figures just given represent the situation nearly enough; there were variations, but the decade witnessed no general advance or retrogression. In the Sunday field, it should be noted, chain papers furnished about half of the total circulation.

One of the oldest of the smaller chains is Booth Newspapers, a group in Michigan. George G. Booth, a Canadian-born manufacturer, married in 1887 a daughter of James E. Scripps, publisher of the Detroit *News*, and soon became business manager of that paper. In 1893 he bought the Grand Rapids *Press*, of which his brother Edmund became editor and manager. In 1914 a group of Michigan papers controlled by another brother, Ralph H., was joined with the George G. and Edmund Booth papers under the name Booth Publishing Company, fifteen years later reincorporated as Booth Newspapers, Inc.[19]

The Brush-Moore group was built up through the purchase of Ohio small-city papers by Louis H. Brush and Roy D. Moore. The

[17] For example, up to the death of Adolph S. Ochs the New York *Times* was said to be a chain newspaper by the standard authority (*Editor & Publisher Year Book*) because Ochs also owned the Chattanooga *Times*; New York *World* circulation swelled chain totals because of its relation to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*; and until 1939 so did those of the Chicago *Tribune* and New York *Daily News*, on account of the McCormick-Patterson relationship. For statistical summaries, see *Editor & Publisher*, February 16, 1924, and February 17, 1934; and Lee, *Daily Newspaper in America*, pp. 215-16.

[18] Statistics are limited to English-language dailies of general circulation. The eight: Scripps-McRae, Booth, Hearst, Ochs, Perkins, Kellogg, Belo, Pulitzer.

[19] George G. Booth became president after the death of Ralph H. in 1931. Edmund died in 1927.

chain was founded in 1901, when Brush, already owner of the Salem *News*, bought the East Liverpool *Review*. Moore, who had been assistant general manager of King Features, joined in 1923 in the purchase of President Harding's paper, the Marion *Star*, and became its manager. Harding was to have become a contributing editor after his retirement from office.

The Lee Syndicate was founded by Alfred W. Lee, of the Ottumwa, Iowa, *Courier*, when he purchased the Muscatine, Iowa, *Journal* in 1903. Several other Upper Mississippi Valley dailies were added in the ensuing thirty years. The first paper of the Copley chain was the Aurora, Illinois, *Beacon-News*, purchased in 1905 by Ira C. Copley, gas and electric power magnate. Copley bought, at intervals, three other Illinois small-city dailies, and in 1928 a number of California papers, chiefly in Los Angeles county. In West Virginia, H. C. Ogden, of the Wheeling *News* and *Intelligencer*, built up a string of fourteen dailies, nearly half of those published in the state. Merritt C. Speidel's group, which began with the Iowa City, Iowa, *Press-Citizen*, enlarged in the thirties to a chain stretched across the country from Poughkeepsie, New York, to Salinas, California, including ten dailies, with ownership companies in seven states. In 1934 John Scripps, grandson of both E. W. Scripps and Milton A. McRae, established a group of small newspapers in southern California.

Frank E. Gannett earned his way through Cornell University by operating a news-correspondence syndicate and was graduated with honors and $1,000 in the bank. His first paper was the Elmira *Star-Gazette*, of which he became part-owner in 1906 after managerial experience in Ithaca and Pittsburgh. He gradually built up a list of fifteen New York state dailies, and a few others in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Illinois. He owned the Brooklyn *Eagle* for about two years, 1929-31.

James M. Cox learned the printing trade as a boy in Dayton, Ohio. He was a reporter for some years on the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, and in 1898 came back to Dayton and bought the *News*. Five years later he purchased the Springfield, Ohio, *News*. Later he went to Congress, was Governor of Ohio for three terms, and Democratic nominee for President in 1920. Then he turned again to newspaper publishing, and bought the Canton *News* in 1923. Don R. Mellett was editor of this paper when, on July 16, 1926, he was

shot and killed in his own dooryard by gangsters whose hold upon the city government he was trying to break by a crusade in the *News*. The Pulitzer award for public service went to the paper for this crusade. Cox sold the *News* to Brush-Moore in 1930, but later added to his string the Springfield, Ohio, *Sun*, the Miami, Florida, *News*, and the Atlanta *Journal*.[20]

The Ridder Brothers' chain began with the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, which Herman Ridder bequeathed to his three sons on his death in 1915. A half dozen English-language papers were later added to the group. First of these was the famous old New York *Journal of Commerce*, which the Ridders bought in 1927, merging it with the even older *Commercial*. Also Ridder papers are (1940) the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press* and *Dispatch*, two Dakota papers, and the Seattle *Times*.

Many notable chains missed success and cost their projectors fortunes. Munsey gave up his chain ideal long before his death. Vanderbilt's string of tabloids in the twenties came to grief. Bernarr Macfadden at one time had ten or a dozen dailies of varied character scattered over the eastern and midwestern states, but his chain disintegrated during the depression. The Pulliam and General Newspapers, Inc., groups flourished for a time and disappeared; but the Fentress-Marsh chain in Texas, once allied with General Newspapers, remained virtually intact. Paul Block, who built up a considerable chain of important papers in 1917-37, largely in coöperation with Hearst, shared in that magnate's troubles, and was left in 1937 with three papers—the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* and the Toledo *Blade* and *Times*.

[20] With the *Journal* Cox bought Hearst's Atlanta *Georgian*, the two papers costing him about $3,500,000. The *Georgian* was killed, leaving Atlanta with only two papers—Cox's *Journal* and Clark Howell's *Constitution*. Founded in 1883, the *Journal* had been edited 1887-98 by Hoke Smith.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Recent Changes and Developments of Famous Newspapers

A TYPE OF OWNERSHIP OF WHICH THE PRESENT PERIOD AFFORDS a few brilliant examples is that by which editorial and business staffs own and conduct the paper. This is not a new idea. Horace Greeley's stock-company plan was designed to bring the makers of the *Tribune* into its ownership; and other newspaper proprietors, such as E. W. Scripps, Frank E. Gannett, J. M. Patterson, and the Chicago *Times* owners, have brought employes (especially executives) into partnership relations on a rather large scale. Still other papers have used bonuses and various profit-sharing devices. But employe ownership and control of large metropolitan newspapers had never been successfully demonstrated until it was done on the Kansas City *Star* and *Times*, the New York *Sun*, and the Milwaukee *Journal*.

KANSAS CITY STAR

William Rockhill Nelson, founder and overlord of the Kansas City *Star*, died in 1915. His will left most of his fortune to found a great art gallery for Kansas City. The *Star* and *Times* went, under a trusteeship, to his widow, and after her death to a daughter; after the daughter's death they were to be put up for sale by bid, the proceeds to go to the art gallery endowment.[1]

Nelson's daughter died in 1926. Her husband, Irwin R. Kirkwood, survived her only about a year; but that was long enough for him to perform a notable service to the *Star* and to the men who

[1] It was during this trusteeship that ex-President Theodore Roosevelt became a "contributing editor" of the *Star*. In the fall of 1917 when the government seemed slow in preparing an Expeditionary Force for service overseas, Roosevelt wrote for the *Star* a series of vigorous editorials, telegraphed from his Oyster Bay home, urging action. These articles were offered by the *Star* to other papers without charge except for telegraph tolls.

had been making it a great paper from day to day. Facing the crisis of the auction-block, Kirkwood and the editors and managers of the *Star* and *Times* organized a stock company composed of some ninety employes of the papers, chiefly from the editorial and business staffs, which raised $2,500,000 in cash to support its bid of $11,000,000 for the property. The bid was successful, though the sale had to be defended in the Supreme Court of the state.

Not only were all stockholders employes, but all signed stock trust-indentures by which they gave options to the other stockholders or to the corporation itself to buy their stock if and when their employment relation with the *Star* was severed, by death or for other reasons. Thus was a continuation of staff-ownership assured. Experienced business men commonly predicted the failure of the scheme; but profits increased, payments were met as due, interest was kept paid, $1,000,000 worth of new presses were bought, and the last of the $8,500,000 mortgage was paid off in 1939—two years ahead of the time originally set.

In these years the *Star* resumed its older prestige and power, which had been somewhat dimmed during the trusteeship. Its editor, Henry J. Haskell, won the Pulitzer award for editorial writing in 1933. More tolerant than under Nelson, the paper still had a flair for crusading. Its campaign for lower gas rates resulted in a libel suit by Henry L. Doherty, utilities magnate, for $12,000,000—a record sum for such an action—and additional suits for conspiracy and libel brought the total to $54,000,000. Doherty even bought an interest in the *Journal-Post* to further his fight against the *Star;* but all his efforts bore little fruit and the suits were eventually dropped. Certain improvements broke Nelson traditions without essentially changing the character of the *Star:* most important of these were an increase of foreign news, the use of halftone illustrations, and the introduction of comics.

NEW YORK SUN AND MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

In the same year that the *Star* was purchased under the staff-ownership plan, the New York *Sun* was reorganized in a similar way. On Munsey's death in 1925 he had left the property, with the remainder of his estate, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The next year William T. Dewart, president and treasurer of the *Sun* company and Munsey's executor, organized a company to buy

the *Sun* and *Telegram* from the *Metropolitan*, for about $10,000,000. Some months later he sold the *Telegram* to Scripps-Howard; but the *Sun* he "mutualized" along lines which he knew that Munsey had been considering just before his death. He made preferred stock in the publishing company available on easy terms to staff men who had proved their value over a term of years, and thus about a hundred employees came into a share of ownership. By 1940 nearly all the stock of the *Sun* was held directly or indirectly by the paper's employes, with the company holding options to prevent stock sales to outsiders.

Under Frank M. O'Brien as editor and Keats Speed as managing editor, the *Sun*, during the quarter century following Munsey's purchase of it in 1916, had a remarkably even career of excellence as a well-written home newspaper. Its circulation during boom days and depression varied but slightly from its standard 300,000, and it attracted heavy department-store advertising. Its ownership plan made for continuity and a long-tenure staff.

A plan very similar to that of the Kansas City *Star* was contemplated by the employe stock-ownership inaugurated by the Milwaukee *Journal* in 1937. Lucius W. Nieman, who founded the *Journal* in 1882, died in 1935, leaving most of his fortune to his widow. She died the next year, leaving $1,000,000 "to elevate the standards of journalism"; it was utilized by the executors in founding graduate fellowships for practicing journalists at Harvard University. But Harry J. Grant, publisher of the paper since 1919, bought the paper from the estate and offered a fourth of the stock to staff members, with the promise that more would be offered until the paper was in complete control of the employes.[2] A trust was set up to hold the stock so that it could not be sold outside the *Journal* organization; when a stockholder parted company with the *Journal* he sold his shares. Over 700 employes bought stock.

NEW YORK TIMES AND EVENING POST

The only English-language papers of general circulation in New York which were untouched by the mergers and suspensions of the period were the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, and the new tabloid *Daily News*.

[2] This was done with the coöperation of Miss Faye McBeath, a niece to whom Nieman had left one fourth of his property.

The *Times*, which had gained so much in prestige during the World War, became in the years immediately following one of the world's greatest newspaper money-makers. Its annual linage increased to about 23,000,000 agate lines in 1920, and nearly 31,000,000 in 1928. The size of the paper was increased from the twenty-four pages which had been the limit during the war to as much as forty pages, and still advertising was very often declined on account of lack of space. Circulation rose in the latter thirties to near the 500,000 mark.

The *Times* was a leader in the American newspaper support of the League of Nations. It was notable for its independence of party, its printing of important documents and speeches, its usually conservative news techniques, its voluminous foreign news, and its Washington correspondence. It began the publication of a thorough index of its contents in 1913.

Upon the death of Adolph S. Ochs in 1935, two sons-in-law came into the management of the *Times*—Arthur Hays Sulzberger, president and publisher; and Julius Ochs Adler, vice-president and general manager. Charles R. Miller, the veteran editor, died in 1922 and was succeeded by Rollo Ogden. Ogden, who had begun life as a Presbyterian minister, had been editor of the *Evening Post* and was a scholar and an able writer. He never learned to use a typewriter, and in the latter part of his life dictated all his editorials. He died in 1937 and was followed by John H. Finley, who had been well known as a college president before he became associate editor of the *Times* in 1921. Illness, however, soon forced him to semi-retirement as editor emeritus (he died in 1940), and Charles Merz was appointed editor in charge of the editorial page in 1938.

The *Evening Post* in this period had a more troublous career. When Oswald Garrison Villard relinquished control of it during the war, it was sold for $1,000,000 to Thomas W. Lamont, of the J. P. Morgan banking firm, who had been a reporter in his youth and always retained an interest in newspapers and periodicals. Rollo Ogden was on the *Post's* editorial writing staff from 1891 to 1920, becoming chief editor on Horace White's death in 1903. He kept the paper on the independent Democratic path, supporting all the Democratic candidates for the presidency but Bryan. Lamont, following a precedent which Henry Villard had set during

his ownership of the paper, abstained from interference in policy and turned control over to a syndicate headed by Editor Edwin F. Gay (former Harvard professor of economics) and including such men as Franklin D. Roosevelt, George W. Wickersham, and Owen D. Young.

In 1923 the *Evening Post* was purchased for something over $1,600,000 by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, at that time the owner of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Country Gentleman*, and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and *Evening Ledger*. An experienced observer wrote of the *Post* under the Curtis regime as

> a wise old Mr. Stoxandbonds, wearing silk topper and spats, and while speaking the language of the "better classes," yet managing to keep its head above sheer snobbery. Under Julius Mason's editorship the paper had a positive editorial tone, strictly Wall Street Republican. Its news was fairly complete and in good form, occasionally showing smart flashes. The paper was heavily burdened by financial news—complete and fast quotation service.[3]

After the death of Curtis in 1933, the paper was made a tabloid in size for a few months; but it did not respond to this treatment and was about to be sold to other New York papers and killed, when J. David Stern appeared on the scene, bought it for considerably less than $1,000,000, added it to his chain of two Philadelphia and two Camden, New Jersey, papers, and made it a supporter of the New Deal. Though he brought the paper up to 250,000 circulation, he could not cure it of the annoying habit of losing about half a million dollars a year.

Stern sold the *Post* (it had dropped the word *Evening* from its title in 1934) in 1939 to George Backer, thirty-six-year-old millionaire liberal and member of the American Labor Party. Backer took active charge, providing a handsome streamlined dress designed by Norman Bel Geddes, departmentalizing the news, adding features, and increasing the advertising linage.

PHILADELPHIA NEWSPAPERS

Cyrus H. K. Curtis, always immensely successful with his weekly and monthly periodicals, seldom made his dailies pay. He

[3] Marlen Pew in *Editor & Publisher*, December 16, 1933, p. 56.

went into the newspaper business first when he bought the historic Philadelphia *Public Ledger* from Adolph S. Ochs January 1, 1913, for $2,000,000. Some twenty months later he started the *Evening Public Ledger*, and in 1918 he bought the *Evening Telegraph* (1864-1918) for its Associated Press franchise, and then killed it. In 1920 he paid $2,000,000 for the Philadelphia *Press*, once a great paper under John W. Forney's management; and five years later he bought another famous old paper, the *North American*, merging both in the *Public Ledger*. In 1925 Curtis started the *Sun* to contest the tabloid field in Philadelphia with the new-born *News*. But the *Sun* set after three murky years.

Under Curtis, the *Public Ledger* developed a great foreign news service, much of which it syndicated to other papers. Ex-President Taft was a staff contributor to its editorial page from 1918 until his appointment to the supreme bench in 1921. Curtis built and equipped a great building on Independence Square for the *Public Ledgers* at an expense of $15,000,000. The papers climbed out of the red in the middle twenties, and the combined circulation reached 700,000; but in 1929, what with sharper competition and the stock-market crash, they declined to half that mark. Meanwhile Curtis was losing money on his New York *Evening Post*. John C. Martin, a son-in-law of the second Mrs. Curtis, became general manager of what were then called the Curtis-Martin Newspapers in 1926. Four years later this concern bought the majority stock of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, with its great building and equipment, for a sum reported as $18,000,000. It was conducted as a separate and competing paper until after the death of Curtis in 1933; but the *Public Ledger* was then merged in it, and shortly thereafter the consolidated paper was turned back to the former owners of the *Inquirer*. By this time Martin had also disposed of the New York *Post* and retained only the Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger*; he was forced out of the control of that property in 1939, and Cary W. Bok, Curtis' grandson, took over the job of trying to make the paper pay for a year or two. The paper was sold at the end of 1940 to a company headed by Robert Creswell.

Philadelphia had become a sharply competitive newspaper field since the advent of Julius David Stern in 1928. In that year Stern

purchased the *Record* from Thomas B. Wanamaker,[4] and within a few years he doubled its circulation. As a young man, Stern had been a reporter on the *Public Ledger*; then after a varied experience in newspaper ownership in New Jersey and Illinois, he bought the Camden, New Jersey, *Courier* in 1919 and eight years later the Camden *Post*, both of which he continued to operate when he crossed the Delaware River and bought the *Record*. Stern made his new paper the only Philadelphia journal to support Alfred E. Smith for President in 1928; and it was likewise the first important paper to come out for Franklin D. Roosevelt for President. Well-educated, a liberal, and a dynamic personality, Stern paid his staff well and made the *Record* a lively, fighting paper.

Its chief competitor after 1936 was the *Inquirer*, which Moses L. Annenberg had purchased from the Elverson estate.[5]

"Moe" Annenberg was an interesting product of his times. Born in East Prussia of Jewish parents, brought to America in infancy, Annenberg had begun his business career while still a small boy on Chicago's South Side. He was messenger boy, peddler for his father's business, bartender for a brother-in-law, newsboy, circulation solicitor for Hearst's Chicago *American* under his brother Max. In the violent, street-fighting newspaper contests of those years, Max had become circulation manager of the *American*; "Moe" soon reached a similar position on the Hearst morning paper, the *Examiner*. But "Moe" quarreled with his brother, left Chicago before the *Tribune*-Hearst contest reached the stage of gang-warfare,[6] and tried a new start in Milwaukee. There he made money fast in half a dozen lines of business; but circulation work was still his forte, and he became first the publisher of the Hearst-Brisbane *Wisconsin News*, and then general circulation manager

[4] Wanamaker had bought the *Record* from the Singerly estate (see p. 450) in 1902 for $3,000,000, but it had dropped to 10,000 in circulation by 1928.

[5] See pp. 188 and 347 for the earlier history of this paper. After the death of the elder Elverson in 1911, the *Inquirer* went to his son, Colonel James Elverson, Jr., and his daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Elverson Patenotre, widow of a former French ambassador. They erected a fine building, which, with equipment, cost some $10,000,000, and which included a luxurious residence suite for Colonel Elverson, in 1925. On the Colonel's death in 1929, Mrs. Patenotre conducted the paper herself for a year or more before she sold it to Curtis-Martin; she took it back in September, 1934, five months after it had absorbed the *Public Ledger*, and then sold it two years later to Annenberg.

[6] See p. 540 for this circulation war.

for the Hearst chain at a salary of $50,000 a year with headquarters at New York. But in 1922 he bought the *Daily Racing Form* and was soon head-over-heels in the business of furnishing tipster sheets and odds and pay-off prices to gambling rooms. His leased-wire service ran from twenty-nine race tracks to thousands of "bookie joints" in 223 cities and thirty-nine states, and his income from such business was said to run to over $2,000,000 a year.[7] But he continued to branch out. He began the publication of a number of popular periodicals, such as *Official Detective Stories*, *Radio Guide*, and *Click*. He purchased the New York *Morning Telegraph*, the old theatre-and-turf paper and the only daily in the world to sell regularly for twenty-five cents a copy. One of his homes was in Miami, Florida; in 1934 Annenberg started the *Tribune* there, and almost before he knew it had jumped into a violent campaign to oust the mayor and police chief of the city. In this bitter fight he posed as the champion of righteous government, but he was doubtless actuated by the city's effort to expel his bookies and information service; and after he had won his fight and sold his *Tribune*, Cox's Miami *News* led a successful crusade to return to office the men Annenberg had swept out, and was awarded a Pulitzer prize for that public service.

Annenberg was fifty-eight years old when he bought the old and respected Philadelphia *Inquirer* for over $13,000,000 in 1936. Tall, gaunt, grey, resourceful, he was one of America's richest men. He brought *Inquirer* daily circulation up to 390,000 by 1940, while he exploited the Sunday paper through "jackrabbit" editions[8] until it passed the million mark. But Annenberg again plunged headlong into politics, made bitter enemies, and invited retaliation by his vituperative personal attacks. He was too vulnerable for such contests, and soon he was being investigated from all sides. In 1939 he was indicted by a federal grand jury for evasions of income taxes, for running lotteries, and for attempted bribery. Convicted on the income-tax indictment, he made a civil settlement with the government to pay $8,000,000 back taxes, with $1,500,000 interest; but he did not thus escape a prison sentence of three years, imposed in 1940.

[7] John T. Flynn, "Smart Money," *Collier's*, February 3, 1940, p. 48. The figures are from one of the income-tax indictments.

[8] Predated editions circulated nationally.

One other great Philadelphia paper of this period must be mentioned. The conservative *Evening Bulletin*, with the largest Philadelphia circulation and much the best advertising patronage, was a profitable property, especially in the twenties. William L. McLean, who had long been business manager of the *Press*, bought the *Bulletin* in 1895; his sons, Robert and William L., Jr., trained on the latter paper, at length became its managers and took over complete control on the death of their father in 1931. Robert McLean became president of the Associated Press in 1938.

WASHINGTON JOURNALISM

McLean was the successor, in the A.P. presidency, of a famous Washington journalist, Frank B. Noyes, president of the *Star* company in that city. By 1940 the *Star* had been under the control for nearly seventy-five years of the Noyes family—Crosby S. Noyes and his two sons, Theodore W. and Frank B.—and in that time had joined in no mergers, thus furnishing an unusual if not unique example of continuity in eastern metropolitan journalism. Newbold Noyes, son of Frank B., became associate editor in 1919. Though Washington circulations were not as high as those of several other cities, the *Star* led American newspapers in daily and Sunday volume of advertising throughout most of the thirties, and was among the most profitable papers in the United States.

The Washington *Post* was purchased from the heirs of Beriah Wilkins in 1905 by John R. McLean, proprietor of the famous and profitable Cincinnati *Enquirer*. McLean was a man of wealth and had a strong personality. For years he had wanted to get into the newspaper business in New York; but when he did buy the *Morning Journal* there, he lost money on it so fast that he was glad to sell in less than a year to Hearst, thus furnishing the young Californian the instrument for his introduction of yellow journalism to the metropolis. But McLean had married and established a home in Washington, and it was natural that he should buy a newspaper in that city. He also was a principal owner of Washington's gas company, its street railway, and one of its leading banks, and he was prominent in social and political circles. Though the *Post* under McLean declined somewhat, particularly in its function as a local paper, it was well printed and respected.

John R. McLean died in 1916, leaving his estate, carefully

surrounded with trust conditions, to his son Edward B. "Ned," who had seemed to belong to the likeable playboy type, insisted that he was ready to go to work, and finally obtained a more or less restricted control of the two newspapers. The *Post* bitterly opposed the League of Nations. "Ned" McLean's friendships in Washington brought him and his *Post* into the Republican camp. Among his intimates were Senator Warren G. Harding, a fellow-editor from McLean's other state of Ohio, and Senator Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico. This friendship became more closely cemented around the poker table in the White House after Harding was President and Fall Secretary of the Interior. After Harding's death, when the Teapot Dome scandal broke, the good-natured young publisher became a comparatively innocent victim of his devotion to his friends. When the senatorial investigating committee was trying to find out where Fall got the $100,000 which had actually been paid him by the oil magnate Doheny for government leases, McLean agreed to allow Fall to say it was a friendly loan from him; but when forced to testify under oath, he had to admit that he had advanced no money to Fall and simply did not know what all the fuss was about. Thus the incident in the investigation, blazoned for several days on all the newspaper front pages, proved to be a more or less comic interlude in the great scandal.

The *Post* for a time kept a fairly even keel. George B. M. Harvey, hired as editor immediately after his ambassadorship to England, at $75,000 a year, was scarcely a success and barely stayed his year out. Too much money was being taken out of the business by the owner; and after the national financial crash, the paper went into a receivership. In 1933 it was sold at auction for $825,000 to Eugene Meyer, recently governor of the Federal Reserve Board. Under his management, it doubled its circulation in a short time, and continued to grow and to improve.

The famous managing editor of the *Post* at the turn of the century was Scott C. Bone. He resigned shortly after John R. McLean bought the paper, to start the morning *Herald* in 1906. Nine years later the *Herald* came into the control of Clinton T. Brainard, president of the McClure Syndicate, with Herbert Hoover as part owner; sold to Hearst in 1922, it became the morning edition of the *Times*, but did not make money for the Hearst chain.

To the *Herald*, as editor and publisher under Hearst ownership, came Eleanor Medill Patterson in 1930. Granddaughter of Joseph Medill and daughter of Robert W. Patterson, her early life had been full of incident—marriage to a Polish count, followed by divorce and an international contest over the custody of a child, adventure on her Wyoming ranch, social life in Washington, a second marriage. But at forty-six she broke with her old life, legally adopted the name Mrs. Eleanor Patterson, and, true to family tradition, plunged into newspaper work. Already she was a director in both the New York *Daily News* and Chicago *Tribune* companies, but she wanted to try her hand at running a paper herself. She was a success; and the *Herald*, which had once been supported by the *Times*, now became the stronger of the two. In 1937, spurred by Eugene Meyer's offer to buy the *Herald* for combination with his *Post*, Mrs. Patterson leased both the *Herald* and *Times* from Hearst, at the same time taking an option to purchase. She took up her option two years later, combined the two as the *Times-Herald*, an all-day paper, employed excellent feature writers —many of them women—and led the Washington field in circulation.

The improvement in the *Herald's* fortunes left the tabloid-size *Daily News* (begun in 1921) of the Scripps-Howard chain at the bottom of the Washington list in circulation. This was true only after David Lawrence's *United States Daily* (1926-33) changed to weekly publication under the name *United States News*. The Lawrence project was designed to present full and unbiased accounts of government affairs and had a national circulation among libraries and students.

BOSTON CHANGES

In Boston, the *Post* continued throughout this period to maintain a leadership in circulation. Edwin A. Grozier, who had made it a successful paper, died in 1924, to be succeeded in the management by his son Richard.

In the thirties the *Record* came to be a close second to the *Post*. This paper was established in 1884 as the evening edition of the *Daily Advertiser* and both were long owned by William E. Barrett. Of the two, it was the dignified old *Advertiser* which first fell into the hands of Hearst (1917), to be reduced to the ignominy

of tabloid form five years later; but the *Record* met a similar fate in 1920 and the two were merged, first under the name of the *Advertiser*, but later, when the tabloid form was adopted, under that of the *Record*. The historic name of the Boston *Advertiser* was preserved, however, in a Sunday edition. Thus, the Hearst papers in Boston through the thirties were the morning *American* ("tabbed" in 1938), the evening *Record* (tabloid), and the Sunday *Advertiser*.

The only other notable change of the period in Boston journalism [9] was that which occurred to the *Transcript*. For several years this conservative old paper, with about 30,000 readers who continued loyally to believe in one of the most intelligent and high-minded of daily journals, had found difficulty in meeting its curtailed budget, when, early in the fall of 1938, it was forced into bankruptcy. Young Richard N. Johnson then refinanced it, streamlined and departmentalized it in five-column pages, and gave it unusual promotional ballyhoo. Advertising increased; the single-copy price was raised to five cents; but in 1941 the paper died.

OTHER OWNERSHIP CHANGES

Following the death of Victor F. Lawson in 1925, the Chicago *Daily News* was sold to a group headed by Walter A. Strong, the paper's business manager, for $13,500,000—then a record price for a newspaper sale. In 1929 the Strong organization purchased the Chicago *Daily Journal*, a paper which for eighty-five years had played a secondary rôle in Chicago journalism, and merged it with the *Daily News*. In the same year the *News* moved into its new $10,000,000 building. Strong died suddenly in 1931, and his heirs sold his controlling interest to Colonel Frank Knox and Theodore T. Ellis. Knox had been a newspaperman in Michigan and New Hampshire, and in 1928-30 had been the $100,000-a-year general manager of all the Hearst newspapers. Ellis had been publisher of the Worcester, Massachusetts, *Telegram* and inventor of press appliances. Under the new ownership the *Daily News* continued its traditionally successful career, with excellent foreign news coverage and a lash for local abuses. Ellis died in 1934; Knox, who

[9] William O. Taylor, who came to the *Globe* in 1893 at twenty-two years of age, became its president in 1921 and so served through the next two decades. The *Herald* and *Traveler* meantime were under the control of a group of capitalist manufacturers headed by S. W. Winslow, Jr. (See p. 560).

had been publisher from the time of the purchase, was the unsuccessful Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1936 and four years later became Secretary of the Navy in Roosevelt's cabinet.

In Des Moines, Iowa, Gardner Cowles bought the Des Moines *Register and Leader* in 1903, and Harvey Ingham became its able editor. The *Leader* had begun as *Iowa Star* in 1849 and after various mutations was called *Iowa State Leader* in 1870; in 1902 it was combined with the *Iowa State Register*, begun in 1856 as a Free-Soil paper and long continued by the Clarkson family. Cowles bought the two-year-old *Tribune* in 1908 and operated the *Register* as a morning and the *Tribune* as an evening paper. He bought the *Daily News* (founded 1886) from the Scripps-McRae League in 1924, and the *Capital* (founded in 1881 and long published by Lafayette Young, friend of Roosevelt and for a short time a member of the United States Senate) and combined both with the *Tribune*. After the purchase of the *Capital* in 1927, the Cowles organization had virtually no competition in Des Moines.

In Minneapolis, gateway to the Northwest, it was the evening *Star* which brought about the reorganization of the city's daily journalism. Founded in 1920 by the Non-Partisan League, the *Star* boasted 6,250 stockholders and was hailed as a great experiment in coöperative ownership; but it went into bankruptcy after four years of such control. In 1935 it was purchased by John Cowles, Gardner Cowles, Jr.,[10] and David Merwin, and placed under the editorship of Basil L. Walters; and immediately the Minneapolis field became highly competitive. In 1939 the *Star* bought the *Journal*; and the next week the *Tribune*, a morning paper without competition, began the *Times-Tribune* as an evening paper to compete with the *Star-Journal*. Two years later all three papers came under the Cowles control. Meanwhile in St. Paul, the morning *Pioneer Press* [11] and evening *Dispatch*, both published by the three Ridder brothers, cleaned up their field in 1938 by the discontinuance of the *Daily News*.

The famous old *Courier-Journal* at Louisville experienced important changes but gradually improved its situation during the present period. Henry Watterson, its editor for half a century,

[10] Sons of Gardner Cowles, of the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*. John became president of the *Star*.

[11] See p. 285 for the beginning of the *Pioneer*. The *Press* was founded in 1861, and the merger occurred in 1875. The *Dispatch* began in 1868.

old and tired, and hostile to the new owner's support of the League of Nations, resigned from the editorship in 1919 and sold his stock in the paper. He died two years later. The new owner was Judge Robert W. Bingham, under whose management the paper prospered both in business and reputation. Bingham died in 1937, while serving as ambassador to Great Britain, and his son Barry succeeded him in control. After the *Herald-Post* (1925-36) was "cleaned up," the *Courier-Journal* and its evening *Times* held the field alone. Herbert Agar became editor in 1939.

In another southern city, Richmond, Virginia, consolidations brought all the newspaper properties under a single control. In 1909 John Stewart Bryan, who had inherited the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*[12] from his father, purchased its evening rival, the *News Leader;* five years later he sold the morning paper and concentrated on the *News Leader*, which proceeded to justify its title. Bryan became president of the College of William and Mary and a successful financier. Douglas S. Freeman, author of a monumental biography of Robert E. Lee, was editor from 1915. In 1940 Bryan regained control of the *Times-Dispatch.*

New Orleans became a two-ownership newspaper city when L. K. Nicholson's *Times-Picayune* took over the *States* as its evening paper in 1933. The *Times-Picayune* itself represents a combination of the two New Orleans papers which survived the rigors of Civil War and Reconstruction years—the historic old *Picayune* and the *Times-Democrat.*[13] The *Daily States* was founded in 1879, and was published from 1900 until his death in 1931 by Colonel Robert Ewing, who had worked into the newspaper business through the telegraph office and wire editorship, had amassed a fortune, and had bought not only the *States*, but three other Louisiana papers. He supported Huey Long for the governorship in 1928, but soon broke with the Louisiana dictator. The New Orleans *Item* and *Tribune,*[14] owned since 1908 by James M. Thomson and edited by Marshall Ballard, fought the governor

[12] The *Times* (begun 1886) was merged with the original Bryan paper, the *Dispatch* (begun 1850), in 1903. In the same year the *News* (begun 1899) was consolidated with the *Leader* (begun 1888).

[13] See p. 249 for the beginnings of the *Picayune*. The *Times* was started during the war, in 1863, and the *Democrat* in 1875; they were merged in 1881 by Edward A. Burke.

[14] Founded as *Daily City Item* in 1877 and now the South's oldest evening daily. The *Tribune* was started in 1924 as the *Item's* morning paper.

consistently. Long waged war, sometimes violent, against the newspapers as his natural enemies, using circulars and the radio. He attempted retaliation against the newspapers through a tax on advertising.[15] An exposure by the *States* in 1939 set on foot investigations which led to the conviction of many of the "heirs" of Long for corrupt practices.

Montgomery, Alabama, became a single paper city in 1940, when the *Alabama Journal* (1888-1940), which had absorbed the *Times* (1903-27), was merged with the *Advertiser*. The latter paper was founded as a weekly in 1829 under the title *Planters' Gazette*, and from 1926 was under the distinguished editorship of Grover C. Hall.

An unusual combination of the Springfield, Massachusetts, papers was effected in 1926 by Sherman H. Bowles, son of Samuel Bowles IV. The historic old *Republican*, still highly respected, lagged behind its three competitors, the *Union*, the *Evening Union*, and the *News*. Bowles bought all three and sold advertising in the two morning and two evening papers as a single unit, but he sedulously maintained the editorial identity of each paper.

Providence, Rhode Island, became a single-ownership newspaper city when Stephen O. Metcalf's centenarian *Journal* and its evening associate the *Bulletin* (founded 1863) took over the *Tribune*, itself the graveyard of several Providence papers, in 1938.

[15] For the Supreme Court decision on this tax, see p. 724.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Tabloid Newspaper

FROM A JOURNALISTIC POINT OF VIEW, ONE OF THE MOST important events in the period now under consideration was the coming of the modern tabloid.

The term "tabloid" as applied to newspapers at first referred solely to small page-size. So regarded, there was nothing new about the tabloids. The Baltimore *American* was right when, in January, 1900, it observed: " 'Tabloid' journalism was successful here a hundred years ago; it is a century out of date now." [1] Indeed, the earlier American papers were all tabloids in this sense. But those papers, small in page-size and in number of pages because of lack of press capacity and of business, were very different from the modern tabloid, which has pages which are small for convenience' sake but many of them. The early penny dailies, when they appeared in the thirties, also had small pages for economy's sake. Much more like the modern tabloid was the New York *Daily Graphic* of 1873-89, copiously illustrated for its period, which used the smaller page-size chiefly because of press requirements in printing from its engravings. The magazine-minded Munsey tried the smaller form, with much illustration, for his *Daily Continent* in 1891, but the experiment was a failure.

In December, 1900, Joseph Pulitzer crossed the Atlantic in company with Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, who had already made many millions from his London newspapers and periodicals. Harmsworth, as usual, was full of interesting ideas about journalism; and when they arrived in New York, Pulitzer turned one day's issue of the *World* over to the visitor for experimentation. The Harmsworth *World* appeared January 1, 1901, in thirty-two pages, each one half the size of an ordinary *World*

[1] Comment on the Harmsworth "20th century newspaper." Quoted in *Editor & Publisher*, October 31, 1931, p. 13.

page. Its editor called it a "tabloid newspaper" and "the newspaper of the 20th century." It was well illustrated, though not much more so than the *World* was usually. It emphasized condensation, containing, among other things, a digest of a recent book. It sold well enough to call for extra press runs and excited much comment, but the *World* next day went back to its old format. Harmsworth, however, started his own London *Daily Mirror* as a tabloid a few years later.

In the next two decades there were a few examples in America of the use of a small page-size, including the two bulletin-like adless papers sponsored by E. W. Scripps; but it was not until after the World War that a successful modern daily newspaper in tabloid size appeared in the United States.

PATTERSON AND THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

Two grandsons of Joseph Medill—Robert Rutherford McCormick and Joseph Medill Patterson—took over jointly the management of the Chicago *Tribune* in 1914. They were about the same age, both graduates of Yale, both interested in public affairs. McCormick became a member of the city council, Patterson of the state Legislature. McCormick had studied law and been admitted to the bar; Patterson, developing socialistic leanings, had written two proletarian novels, and had then acted as a war correspondent in China, Germany, and Belgium. Neither was much of an office editor in the early days of their control of the *Tribune:* both saw service on the Mexican border in 1916, and later with the A.E.F. in France.

One day Captain Patterson and Colonel McCormick met "somewhere in France" and the former happened to remark that he had visited not long before with Lord Northcliffe, and had heard him say that his *Daily Mirror* [2] was selling 1,000,000 copies a day. The great English publisher, indeed, had urged that Patterson try out the tabloid idea in the United States. Then and there the two cousins agreed that as soon as the war was over they would start such a paper in New York.

So it was that the *Illustrated Daily News* appeared in New

[2] The London *Daily Sketch*, founded by Sir Edward Hulton in Manchester and brought down to London in 1909, to become at length a part of the Berry group, was another successful picture tabloid by this time.

York on June 26, 1919, a morning paper of sixteen four-column pages, published by a subsidiary of the Tribune Company. The first page was given over to illustration; halftone news pictures and popular features (mostly from the *Tribune*) dominated the paper. Patterson was the active manager from the first, though until 1925 he continued to reside in Chicago and to serve as joint editor and publisher of the *Tribune*. Since he expected to challenge the Hearst papers in their proper circulation field, Patterson took with him to New York as circulation manager Max Annenberg, veteran of the old gang fights of the Hearst-*Tribune* war in Chicago. But Hearst did not take up the challenge, and there was no violent opposition to the appearance of the new paper on the news stands.

The *Daily News* (the word *Illustrated* was dropped during the paper's first year) was poorly printed on rented presses during its first few months. In midsummer its prospects looked black, and two of its four reporters were dismissed. Then it suddenly began to pick up. Five-o'clock crowds found that it was much easier to read the half-size *News* on the jam-packed subway trains than any of the other papers. And also the *News* had abandoned the more conservative *Tribune* tradition and, trying crime-and-sex sensation, had found it well adapted to both pictorial treatment and the short, snappy style of tabloid journalism. It began to show a profit in October, 1920. In 1922, with the circulation over 400,000 and still climbing under the stimulus of contests and coupon prizes, Patterson started a Sunday edition. In 1924, with 750,000, the *News* attained the largest circulation of any daily paper in America. The next year, with the paper pressing close to 1,000,000 circulation, Patterson came to New York to give it his whole attention. Thereafter it gained steadily year by year. In 1930 it moved into a new $10,000,000 home—one of the world's finest newspaper buildings. In 1940 it was close to the two-million mark, probably the second daily paper in the world.[3]

Like other great newspapers in former years,[4] the *News* tended to abandon extreme sensationalism after it had gained a large

[3] *Editor & Publisher International Year Book* for 1941 gave the London *Daily Express* 2,665,000, and the London *Daily Herald* and *Daily Mirror* each 1,750,000.

[4] Notably Bennett's New York *Herald* in the 1840's and Pulitzer's New York *World* in the later 1880's.

following by the "stoop to conquer" technique. In 1930 Captain Patterson is said to have told his staff:

> We're off on the wrong foot. The people's major interest is not in the playboy, Broadway, and divorces, but in how they're going to eat; and from this time forward, we'll pay attention to the struggle for existence that's just beginning. All signs point to the prospect of a great economic upheaval, and we'll pay attention to the news of things being done to assure the well-being of the average man and his family.[5]

Editorially the paper had for some years been original and direct, with an intimate tone. It supported Franklin Roosevelt, the N.I.R.A., and the New Deal. Patterson has been called a "self-conscious commoner," mixing with crowds and keeping in close touch with popular ideology and emotional reactions. Motion pictures, to which he has long been an addict, have told him much of what the people like.

Generous bonuses to employes have been the rule on the *Daily News*, and some fifty editorial workers own Tribune Company stock. Annual profits run into the millions.[6]

THE WAR OF THE "TABS"

The sensationalism of the *Daily News* in the twenties brought it into hot competition with Hearst's morning *American*, which in 1921 tried the rather ineffective device of adding a tabloid section to its regular daily edition. Hearst then tried out the tabloid form in Boston by changing his *Advertiser* to the smaller size, and in 1924 he founded a tabloid in New York—the *Daily Mirror*. Three months later Bernarr Macfadden started the *Daily Graphic* in the same form, and the war of "gutter journalism"[7] in New York was on.

Macfadden was a remarkable person. He got his start in New York through a "physical culture studio" which he advertised by pictures of his own astounding physical development, muscles proudly bulging from chin to heel. Physical culture restaurants followed. But Macfadden was a born publicist, and he soon got

[5] *Editor & Publisher*, June 24, 1939, p. 5.

[6] "Its annual profit is usually estimated at around $5,000,000."—*Time*, July 3, 1939, p. 30.

[7] The phrase is that of Oswald Garrison Villard, used in a radio debate in March, 1927.

into publishing. *Physical Culture* was the first of his magazines, and it was soon followed by *Health and Beauty* for the women (and for men who surreptitiously peeked). But the smashing success was *True Story Magazine*, begun in 1919 and soon followed by other Macfadden periodicals of the same type. His magazines and active promotion of "psycultopathy"—healing through physical culture—and of hotels, sanatoriums, schools, and so on, were not enough for energetic Macfadden; he wanted a newspaper, and he started the tabloid *Graphic*. He found an editor to his liking in Emile Gauvreau, managing editor of the Hartford *Courant*. Together they adapted the confession-story technique to the news, using first-person stories by-lined by participants in news events but actually written by reporters. The older yellow journalism seemed pale by the side of the saffron of the new "tabs."

Thus by the end of 1924 Patterson's *Daily News*, with Arthur M. Clarke and later Frank Hause as managing editor; Hearst's *Daily Mirror*, with Philip A. Payne, lured away from the *Daily News* staff; and Macfadden's *Daily Graphic*, with Gauvreau in charge, were ready for a contest in sensationalism. It was no accident that a series of juicy murders and scandals turned up in the ensuing years; such things are always happening, and whether they develop as big newspaper stories depends largely upon hunger for sensation and anxiety to "play" them on the part of any important section of the press. In this newspaper situation, the competitive tabloids watched keenly for the appearance of their malodorous materials.

One of the most sensational of all was actually dug up by the enterprising staff of the *Daily Mirror*. The murdered bodies of an obscure preacher named Hall and Mrs. Mills, a singer in the church choir, had been found under a crabtree just outside New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1922; and detectives had failed to find evidence against anyone warranting an indictment for the crime. But the *Mirror* men found what seemed to be important new evidence, got the case reopened, and scored a beat with pictures of the arrest of Mrs. Hall. The trial was worked up with tremendous ballyhoo. Some 200 reporters covered it, including "Billy" Sunday, the revivalist, and James Mills, husband of the murdered woman; 5,000,000 words were sent out of Somerville, New Jersey,



THIS ISSUE CONTAINS THREE SECTIONS, NEWS, ROTO AND MAGAZINE

NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH

NEW YORK EVENING
GRAPHIC

NIGHT EDITION

THE WEATHER—Fair and cooler.

Vol. I. No. 30. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1924 5 Cents

RUM FIGHT IN BAY

Big Men Back Death Plotters

War on Bucketeers Intensified as New Threats Arrive

A bitter struggle between New York Cotton Exchange officials and a group of backstage wielding a powerful influence was predicted by traders in the market after it closed today for the weekly half-holiday.

The impression seemed to be that the death threats sent Louis Brooks of the exchange, and the editor of The GRAPHIC are but forerunners of a desperate attempt of unscrupulous persons to cover their machinations with the cloak of mystery.

Driven to the wall, this clique is expected to repent to even more sinister measures in its fight. Legitimate brokers, however, reiterated their intention of driving it out of business.

SEEKING ANNULMENT OF HER MARRIAGE to Rudolph Barnett, in London, Lyda Lopokova, famous Russian dancer, declares the wedding which took place in the United States is invalid.

Liquor Valued at $100,000 Seized by Police After Three Speed Boats Are Captured In Spectacular Chases, One Riddled

SEVEN MEN IN TOILS OF LAW

Three high-powered speed boats, loaded with liquor, were captured by police today in a series of spectacular chases in the foot-waters of New York. The value of the catch is estimated at $100,000. Seven men were arrested.

The Toxaway, Sachem and Raven No. 3 were the prizes taken. The former was run down after a ten mile chase in the lower bay. When boarded by Capt. Richard O'Connor and his men from the launch Gipsy it was discovered the engine had been tampered with and the boat was allowed to drift to Hoffman's Island.

(Continued on Page 5)

HE KNOWS THEY'RE GOOD, because he makes them. Edward Meyers shown at great ceremony at Electrical and Industrial Exposition at Grand Central Palace, figures that in his twenty-five years of printing money as government printing plant in Washington he has "made" fifty billion dollars. (Telephoto.)

ANOTHER LOVE KILLING, in which Fred A. Fisher, [illegible] Square, Mass., was killed, is revealed in double confession of Mrs. Marion Blowers (right) and Leroy W. Flannery (left), her lover. Flannery, a giant lumberjack, confessed to killing Fisher. Mrs. Blowers [illegible] disposal of body in pond, after his threat to kill her if she refused. (NEA)

Front page of an early issue of the New York Graphic, Bernarr Macfadden's tabloid

during the first eleven days of the trial. The climax came with the testimony of the "pig woman," brought into the courtroom on a stretcher, supposedly dying, who claimed she had seen the meeting of the defendant with the murdered persons under the crabtree. The *Daily Graphic* threw out pages of advertising to print the "pig woman's" testimony. But the case collapsed, and the defendant sued the *Daily Mirror* for $1,500,000 damages.

A little later an art editor named Albert Snyder was killed by his wife and her lover Judd Gray, a corset salesman; and once again the changes were rung on sensational reporting. "Billy" Sunday, Peggy Joyce, and Will Durant were among the "trained seals" who served the newspapers this time. It was when Ruth Snyder was executed in the electric chair in January, 1938, that the *Daily News* printed its famous picture of the electrocution, taken surreptitiously with a camera attached to the ankle of the news-photographer. Meantime the *Daily Graphic* had invented and defended the "composograph," a picture of what was believed to have taken place made by means of photographic faking.

A number of other trials and scandals, some of them involving elements of great indecency if not downright obscenity, received "heavy play" in the press of 1925-29, under the impulsion of the war of the tabloids. Perhaps the worst was the mess concerning "Daddy" Browning and his youthful inamorata "Peaches," in 1927. The *Daily Graphic* went so far with this that Macfadden and Gauvreau were brought into court by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and even the *Daily News* muttered that if this sort of thing went much further readers would be "drenched in obscenity."

This was the beginning of the end of the worst phase of "gutter journalism." The eight-column papers had been protesting for a year or two against the excesses of tabloidism, and something of a "holy war," led by educational and church agencies, developed against what was now commonly called the *Daily Porno-Graphic*. The *Daily News*, well warned, cleaned up its pages fairly well and continued its circulation development with other stimuli. The *Graphic*, which had never been profitable, perished in 1932. Nor did the *Daily Mirror* make money, and Hearst sold it to Alexander P. Moore (along with his Boston tabloid) in 1928; but

after Moore's death two years later, he took it back. In 1934-35 Brisbane took over the paper's editorship in an attempt to make it show a profit.

Meanwhile the success of the *Daily News* had tempted a number of publishers in other cities to try the tabloid format. Between 1919, when the *News* began, and 1924, when the *Mirror* and *Graphic* entered the lists, eleven tabloids appeared in nine other cities, some new papers and some transformed eight-column papers. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., began in 1923 to build a chain of "non-salacious" picture tabloids; his Los Angeles *News* was soon sold to Manchester Boddy, while his San Francisco *Herald* and Miami *Daily Tab* were short-lived. Scripps-Howard's Washington *Daily News* and Baltimore *Post* [8] were likewise of the "non-salacious" type, but somewhat more successful. In some cases larger papers changed to tabloid format without greatly varying content.

The Curtis-Martin interests in Philadelphia tried a tabloid—the *Sun*—1925-28. Macfadden in 1926 took over the Philadelphia *Daily News*, begun as a tabloid the year before; but he soon disposed of it, and it continued, supporting the William S. Vare machine, and trailing other Philadelphia papers. His Detroit *Daily*, founded in 1929, passed to the Patterson-McCormick control in the deal by which Macfadden became owner of *Liberty* magazine, and was rechristened *Mirror*, but it was suspended in 1932.

Most important of all the tabloid dailies founded after the New York "war of the tabs" was the Chicago *Times*, established in 1929 by Samuel Emory Thomason, lawyer, former vice-president and general manager of the *Tribune*, and the last publisher of the old Chicago *Journal*. Abjuring sensationalism as such, the *Times* made steady gains throughout the depression on the basis of terse, lively, fair reporting of the news. It supported Roosevelt's New Deal, and was liberal in tone.

In the decade of the thirties, tabloid dailies of general circulation gradually increased in number, though most of them were in the smaller cities. There were a dozen of them in 1930, and nearly fifty in 1940. Living down the reputation of reckless sensationalism, ruthless invasions of privacy, and picture faking takes a long time; but tabloid journalism in 1940 had come to stand for, in

[8] The Baltimore *Post* was later changed to the eight-column size. In 1934 it was sold to Hearst and merged with his *Evening News*.

general, three things: (1) the folded-in-half page-size, in comparison with that of the normal eight-column paper; (2) the devotion of a large proportion of the paper's space, including its front page, to pictures; and (3) a terse, condensed, and lively presentation of the news, usually disregarding the old "summary lead" style.

CHAPTER XL

Depression, the Radio, and Pictures

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER BUSINESS SHARED THE GENERAL MISFORtunes of the world-wide economic depression of the thirties. As was the case in other industries, the "flush times" immediately preceding the crash of October, 1929, had imbued publishing with a splendid sense of prosperity. Prices of labor, paper, and machinery had reached ominous levels, but advertising and circulation also were riding a high and mounting wave. Tremendous capital was poured into fine buildings in these years; and the new machinery to meet increasing demands for color, rotogravure, pictures, and so on, ran quickly into new millions.

Printers' and pressmen's wages in the large cities rose from about $40 a week to over $50 a week in the twenties; this in comparison with less than $25 in 1910. Paper, which had been about two and a quarter cents a pound before the war, reached about six cents by 1920, and came down slowly to half that by 1929. As for machinery, it was easy to put a million dollars into new "super-production press units."

Financial optimism was generated by the new high levels reached by circulation and advertising. *Editor & Publisher*, reviewing the year 1926, congratulated the newspaper industry on "the greatest era in its history" and added, "Newspapers have never before been so large in volume, complete in contents, and lavish in service." [1] Aggregate daily circulation had reached a new high of 36,000,000, and total newspaper advertising a new peak of $775,000,000. But circulation went on up to 40,000,000 early in 1930, and advertising to $860,000,000 in 1929.[2]

[1] *International Year Book Number for 1927*, p. 19.

[2] Circulation figures are those of *Editor & Publisher* for English-language dailies of general circulation, while the advertising totals are those of A.N.P.A.'s Bureau of Advertising. So also for the statistics in the following paragraph.

Then came the crash and the tumble. One remarkable feature of newspaper history throughout the entire depression era, however, was the maintenance of circulations. People had to have newspapers, though banks closed, their savings vanished, and they went on relief. The biggest circulation slump was in 1933, which dipped twelve per cent below the heights of 1930; but in 1937 a new high of about 41,500,000 was reached. Even when, in the next year, prices were generally raised in an effort to recoup advertising losses, there was little drop in circulation.

But the advertising story was different. From the 1929 total as a base, newspaper advertising dropped fifteen per cent in 1930, twenty-four per cent in 1931, and forty per cent in 1932, and touched bottom with a forty-five per cent dip in 1933. After that there was slow recovery, until in the good year of 1937 the total was $630,000,000—almost the figure which had been thought of as remarkable when it was reached in 1920, though greatly surpassed later. Thus the average for 1934-39 was not far from that of 1918-21.

The weaker papers naturally suffered most from this reduction of business. Small profit-margins were wiped out; and not a few papers, some of which had once been important and profitable, perished either by merger or suspension. As a matter of fact, however, there was no alarming mortality as a result of the depression except in 1938-39. There had been a more considerable decrease in the number of dailies during the consolidation flurry of the twenties than there was in most of the thirties. Newspaper statistics should be studied in relation to those of the increase in population in the United States: thus we find that with a population increase of sixteen per cent in the decade before 1929, there was a decrease of nearly five per cent in the number of English-language dailies of general circulation, but an increase of about fifty per cent in the aggregate circulation of those dailies. In the decade following 1929, with a population increase of seven per cent, there was a decrease of three per cent in the number of English-language dailies of general circulation,[3] while the aggregate circulation was virtually the same at the end of the decade as at its beginning.

[3] Most of this decrease in dailies came in 1938-39. There are no reliable figures on weekly newspapers, as distinguished from the total of weekly publications; but the Ayer figures indicate a decrease of about six to seven per cent in 1919-29, and of about three per cent in the following decade.

For the present period as a whole, 1914-40, there was a population increase of about thirty per cent, while the aggregate circulation of daily papers nearly doubled.

THE N. R. A. AND NEWSPAPER CODES

With the stated purpose of promoting private industry, eliminating unfair competition, stimulating both production and consumption, and relieving unemployment, Congress enacted in June, 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act. This legislation provided for the setting up in each industry, by its approved trade association, of a code of fair practices. Though the acceptance of the code of its industry by an individual operator was "voluntary," pressure from all sides was exerted to make him display the Blue Eagle which signified his coöperation in the code rules.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association appointed its committee on the formation of a daily newspaper code the month following the passage of the Act, but the complicated document was not finished and approved by the President until the following February. Debate on it was sometimes bitter. Not a few publishers objected to it because it seemed to be, in effect, a licensing of newspapers by government and therefore a threat to liberty of the press. Most troublesome was a general provision of the Act permitting the President to license any business which did not comply with a voluntary code. Despite the exasperated protest of the Administration that such a declaration was totally unnecessary, the A.N.P.A. committee insisted upon inserting in the newspaper code a statement of the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of the press. Separate small-daily and weekly N.R.A. agreements were likewise duly adopted in connection with the graphic arts code.

The daily code was in operation only fifteen months, for the Supreme Court declared the Act under which it was authorized invalid in May, 1935. Other federal statutes affecting the newspaper business and enacted in these years fared better with the Supreme Court, however. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, of 1935, followed the Recovery Act in recognizing the right of collective bargaining, and also forbade employers to interfere with the freedom of organizing and holding elections in industry. The Social Security Act of the same year laid taxes on employers and

payrolls to build up old-age and unemployment insurance funds. The National Wages and Hours Act, of 1938, looked forward to the establishment, by gradual stages, of a national minimum of forty cents an hour and forty hours a week by the end of seven years. In its adjustment to the N.R.A., to the Wages and Hours law, and to the agitation for the Child Labor Amendment submitted to the states in 1924, the newspaper industry had to consider the status of the newsboys who carried paper routes after school hours.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD

N.R.A. was the mother of the American Newspaper Guild. The famous Section 7-a of the Recovery Act provided for collective bargaining by labor groups; moreover, during the dickering over the daily newspaper code it became apparent to many editorial workers that effective organization was necessary if they were not to be neglected in the pressure of various interests. In short, the National Recovery Administration invited organization, not only of the management factor in industry, but also of labor groups.

Local guilds composed of workers on the editorial side of the newspaper—reporters, rewrite men, copyreaders—sprang up in many cities beginning in August, 1933; and on December 15 of that year delegates from thirty cities, with proxies from twenty-three more, met in Washington and organized the American Newspaper Guild "to preserve the vocational interests of its members and to improve the conditions under which they work by collective bargaining, and to raise the standards of journalism." Heywood Broun, famous columnist, was the first national president.[4]

Publishers were, in general, sympathetic during the early months of the organization. The first contract negotiated by the Guild was with Stern's Philadelphia *Record*. But soon the heads of two great chains went on record against the new organization—Hearst and Howard—and the A.N.P.A. took alarm. At its St. Paul convention in June, 1934, the Guild chose the trade-union form

[4] On Broun's death in December, 1939, Kenneth G. Crawford, Washington correspondent of the New York *Post*, was made president; but he was succeeded by Donal Sullivan, of the Boston *Globe*, at the regular 1940 election.

of organization in preference to one of more professional type. Before the end of that year it had conducted an intensive boycott against the *Long Island Daily Press* and a strike against the Newark *Ledger*, both of which were measurably successful.

There were three small Guild strikes in 1935, and in the years 1936-38 a series of larger and costlier ones. Notable were those against two Hearst papers—the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* and the Chicago *Herald-Examiner*. In 1936 the Guild affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the next year with the Committee on Industrial Organization (C.I.O.). Representatives of eleven publishers' organizations met in Chicago in 1937 to resolve against newswriters' closed shops. Guild strikes were, on the whole, more successful in obtaining recognition and salary scale readjustments than in securing closed shops.

Many Guild contracts were negotiated peaceably, including some for closed shops. Some disputes were taken to the National Labor Relations Board, the most famous of which was the case against the Associated Press for the discharge of Morris Watson, allegedly for Guild activity. The N.L.R.B. decided against the Associated Press, which carried the case to the Supreme Court on the grounds that the Labor Relations Act was contrary to the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of the press. The Court in 1937 upheld the constitutionality of the Act and the decision of the N.L.R.B. in the Watson case. The next year the Guild signed a contract with the United Press.

Meantime the strength of the typographical and pressmen's unions not only prevented any considerable reduction in the average wages on the mechanical side during the depression years, but won an actual advance. This was accomplished with comparatively few strikes. In September, 1923, however, an "outlaw" strike of web-pressmen forced a virtual suspension of New York newspapers for a week. The *Combined New York Morning Newspapers*, an eight-page paper, was issued jointly, without advertising except theatre announcements, for that period.

RADIO AND THE NEWSPAPERS

Adding to the embarrassments of newspapers in the thirties were the incursions of radio. Publishers were alarmed by the growth of radio advertising, and by the broadcasting of news.

First commercial use of wireless telephony seems to have been in the communication of the two Wanamaker stores in New York and Philadelphia in 1914, and a very limited transmission of recorded programs between them. Not until after the war did broadcasting begin to assume importance. Pioneer stations were established in 1920, and the public soon made a rush for crystal receiving sets. The Detroit *News* established the first newspaper-owned broadcasting station when its WWJ went on the air August 20, 1920. The Kansas City *Star's* WDAF began the next year. The estimated number of receiving sets rose from a few hundred thousand in 1920 to 14,000,000 in 1930 and 44,000,000 in 1940.

Sales of radio-chain time to advertisers reached $19,000,000 by the crash year of 1929 and then, while newspaper advertising was dropping off in 1930-32, rose steadily. After 1933, in which both newspaper and radio advertising fell off, chain radio gained more consistently than national advertising in the newspapers, reaching $83,000,000 in 1939. Of course magazine and outdoor advertising also suffered during these years, but a great part of radio's gain appears to have been at the expense of the newspaper.[5]

As to newscasting, it had a part in radio almost from the beginning. There was an amateur broadcast of 1916 election returns,[6] and four years later WWJ and Westinghouse's new KDKA at East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, broadcast election bulletins. As stations rapidly developed, news flashes on baseball results and important news came to be common; and the Associated Press in 1922 warned its members against broadcasting their news. The A.P's rights in the news of all its members as well as in its wire report gave validity to this protest; but as the number of powerful papers owning radio stations increased, rules against newscasting became hard to enforce, and they were slightly relaxed in 1925

[5] Figures compiled by the Bureau of Advertising of the A.N.P.A. to show what part of the national advertiser's dollar went to each medium in each year 1929-39 are illuminating. Except for 1933, chain radio's proportion increased every year; except for 1931 and 1933, the newspaper's proportion decreased every year. The magazine's proportion increased in four years, decreased in three years, and was virtually static in three years. But the magazines held about the same part of the national advertiser's dollar at the end of the decade as at the beginning (thirty-four cents), while the newspapers dropped from forty-eight to thirty-six cents and radio chains rose from three and a half to twenty cents. Compare the analysis of Harvey Young, of the Columbus *Dispatch*, in *Editor & Publisher*, July 6, 1940, p. 32.

[6] By Lee De Forest, from Highbridge, New York.

to allow use of news "of transcendent national or international importance." In order to prevent the growth of special news-gathering agencies designed to serve radio, A.P., U.P. and I.N.S. united in 1928 on a plan to give radio two daily broadcasts; and this concession was in the next year enlarged to permit a fairly free sale of news to the broadcasting stations. Not until 1939, however, did the A.P. join other agencies in allowing the use of its reports on sponsored newscasts.

Meantime three radio-news agencies had been organized. Of these the most important was Transradio Press Service, inaugurated in 1934, Herbert S. Moore president. At the end of six years it had about 175 radio stations and over fifty newspapers as clients.

As the natural affiliation between broadcasting and journalism came gradually to be recognized, newspapers themselves acquired more and more stations. In 1930 there were slightly under ninety stations owned by or affiliated with newspapers; in 1940 the number had grown to nearly 250, representing about a third of the total stations.

The conviction grew that newscasting did little harm to newspaper circulation—that in many cases it actually stimulated street sales. This belief was supported by aggregate circulation figures showing the steady loyalty of the newspaper audience.

DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNICATION

Other radio developments, in an embryonic stage in the late thirties, were television and facsimile. After years of experimental work in television regular broadcasts by the more successful cathode-ray system began in New York in 1939. Limitation to a radius of about thirty miles seemed to adapt these broadcasts to local rather than national advertising if and when a television audience was developed. The first sponsored television newscast was sent out from its New York studio in March, 1940, by the Columbia Broadcasting System, using a United Press news script.

Experiments in the transmission of facsimile newspaper pages by radio were carried on throughout the decade. On December 7, 1938, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* began the broadcasting of its facsimile edition, consisting of nine small pages. The McClatchy Newspapers, of California, owners of the Sacramento *Bee* and other papers as well as of a group of radio stations, published a

similar newspaper of the air for eleven months in 1939. The Dallas *Morning News* began a facsimile broadcast in October, 1939. A number of large broadcasting stations supplied receiving sets to patrons and began experimental work in 1938 and 1939. Some frequency-modulation broadcasting licenses were obtained by newspapers in 1940.

Wireless communication came to be used more widely for the transmission of news in this period. The New York *Times* covered the Byrd Antarctic expedition by wireless in 1929 and used it in many other instances. Press Wireless and RCA Communications were very useful in reporting the European War in 1940. The use of the radio telephone, developed notably by the New York *Herald Tribune*, rose to importance in news communication toward the end of the thirties.

Other communication devices, unrelated to the radio, which were developed in the period, were the teletypewriter (or automatic printer) and the teletypesetter. In the operation of the former, a tape for the telegraphic sending machine was punched by the manipulation of an ordinary typewriter keyboard, and at the receiving end a typewriter controlled by the sending machine wrote out the copy automatically. The Associated Press adopted it for its New York service in 1914, discarding its old pneumatic-tube communication system. The United Press followed in the next year, and gradually these machines came to supplant Morse-code telegraphy on all the press circuits, doubling and later tripling the speed and therefore the wire capacity. By 1935 the old telegraph instruments had virtually disappeared from newspaper offices. In the teletypesetter, the receiver is not a typewriter but a linotype; and the telegraphic sending machine in a central office may operate the keyboards of linotypes in as many offices as may be connected, whatever the distances. The first experimental use of the device was on a linotype of the Evanston, Illinois, *News-Index* in 1929. Early the next year it was put into practical operation in the Macy newspaper chain in Westchester County, New York.

Airplanes came to play their part in news-gathering in the twenties, when a number of newspapers purchased planes for the use of reporters and photographers. Most of the machines were used, however, more for promotion purposes than for actual news-

gathering. The use of commercial planes for flying photographic negatives from the news scene to the office was common, especially before the development of wirephoto.

Telephotography, or the transmission of pictures by electrical signals, had been accomplished under experimental conditions even before telegraphy became an accepted means of communication; and many French, English, and American inventors worked in this field. Line drawings were the subject of these experiments for many years, and in 1895 the Chicago *Times-Herald* printed some pictures of this kind received by telautograph. As early as 1891 halftones were sent by wire by N. S. Armstutz, of Valparaiso, Indiana; it was not until the development of the photoelectric cell, however, that a sufficiently fast transmission of this type of picture was achieved. The first use of telephotography, now called wirephoto, to attract wide attention occurred in 1924, when the American Telephone & Telegraph Company sent pictures of the Republican convention which nominated Coolidge from the hall in Cleveland to the New York *Times*. Two years later the same company began a limited but country-wide wirephoto service; out of this grew the first important use of the new development—the wirephoto service of the Associated Press, begun January 1, 1935. Inaugurated for only twenty-four A.P. members, the success of the system soon brought about not only an increase of A.P. subscribers but the inauguration of competing services based on other inventions. Hearst brought out soundphoto, developed by Walter Howey, which transmitted halftones by ordinary telephone, in 1935. The next year Wide World Photos, a New York *Times* service, announced its Wired Photos, and Scripps-Howard presented the NEA-Acme Telephoto. The Hearst, Wide World, and Acme services used portable sending sets to be worked with any telephone wire. The Associated Press inaugurated a pony wirephoto service for its members in 1938, and sent the first color telephotos the next year. Pictures transmitted by cable and radio became important after the outbreak of the European war in 1939.

PICTURES BY THE MILLIONS

What is the point of saturation of pictures in newspapers? Probably no generalization can be made in answer to such a

question. By 1930 successful tabloids were filling forty per cent of their non-advertising space with pictures, while some eight-column papers used as much as twenty-five per cent of such space for illustration. In the thirties the number of pictures used in the metropolitan daily increased by about two thirds, reaching thirty-eight per cent per issue in 1938. This was possibly a saturation point, as there was a slight decline the next year.[7] Improvements in photography, engraving methods, and presses were doubtless both cause and effect of this flood of pictures. The tabloid movement of the twenties and the picture magazines of the following decade were also stimulating factors.

The weekly *Life* was launched in 1936 by the publishers of the news-magazine *Time*. Devoted chiefly to pictures, it was an impressive success from the beginning. On account of the lack of enough presses for fine printing, it was unable to meet the unexpectedly large demand for it during its first year; it passed the million mark in 1937 and doubled that by the end of 1938. Meantime a score of other pictorial weeklies, many of them cheaper in production and price, came upon the news-stands. *Look*, at first a fortnightly and later a weekly, was begun at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1937 and reached a million circulation in a surprisingly short time.

Such improvements in photography as supersensitized plates and films, exposure meters, rapid drying machines, and candid cameras also stimulated illustration. The electric flash-lamp supplanted the explosive-powder light shortly after 1930. It was about that time that W. R. Hearst was offended by exploding flashes at a reception which he was giving, and ordered all his photographers to use electric flash-lamps thereafter. Hearst had himself been an enthusiastic amateur photographer; indeed, the growth of published pictures was tied up with an extraordinary increase in amateur photography the country over.

While reporters sometimes took their own pictures, especially on the smaller papers, specialized news photographers achieved a new importance. In covering a big news event, it was often the reporter who accompanied the cameraman, and a feature was frequently written to illustrate a picture. The news photographer,

[7] Surveys of Jack M. Willem, Stack-Goble Advertising Agency, quoted in *Editor & Publisher*, February 25, 1939, p. 16; February 24, 1940, p. 20.

covering a flood or forest fire from an airplane, shooting a scene of strike violence amid flying missiles, catching a suicide leap or a forward pass or the explosion of the dirigible Hindenberg, became a romantic figure. His intrusiveness occasionally brought him into conflict with the police and with judges, and he was sometimes an invader of privacy. High-handed efforts of tabloid cameramen to photograph his younger child were largely responsible for the decision of Charles A. Lindbergh to leave the United States in 1935.

Supplementing the work of photographers attached to individual newspapers were the services of such agencies as Wide World Photos, organized by the New York *Times* in 1919; Associated Press Picture Service, established in 1928; Acme Newspictures, set up as a United Press and NEA subsidiary in 1924, the U.P. later selling its interest; and International News Photos, organized as International Film Service, a Hearst unit, in 1910, and later "combined with" King Features.

Changes in engraving techniques played a part in the increase of printed pictures. Small dailies and many weekly papers installed comparatively inexpensive one-man engraving plants in the thirties.

ROTO AND COLOR PRESSES

Picture supplements, especially in Sunday editions, were greatly improved by the use of rotogravure. This was an adaptation of photogravure to fast perfecting presses. Rotogravure presses were developed in Germany. In 1913 the New York *Times* bought presses and equipment for making plates from a company which had secured American rights to the invention, and began using them for Sunday supplements in April, 1914. A few other newspapers soon followed its example, obtaining excellent results in the reproduction of photographs and even of text. By 1930 there were eighty Sunday papers which carried such supplements, but the number declined during the depression and sixty-five were using them at the beginning of 1940. Only ten had their own gravure plants, the others buying supplements from commercial gravure printers.

Chief developments of newspaper presses from 1914 to 1940 were in the direction of speed and color. Walter Scott & Company was advertising 60,000 impressions per hour for its presses as early

as 1929; this was virtually double the speed which had been common up to that time, but it soon became usual for the big presses. Press manufacturers all worked with the color problem through the thirties—R. Hoe & Company, Henry A. Wise-Wood, Scott, Goss, and Duplex. Publishers stimulated their advertising by the use of run-of-paper color, commonly using color attachments. Multicolor presses of eight or sixteen cylinders were installed by some papers. Color roto, begun an "tintogravure" in the New York *Sunday World* in 1923, showed a considerable development in the late thirties.

The first spot-news color pictures to be transmitted from a distance for use in the daily press were those of President Roosevelt welcoming King George VI in Washington June 7, 1939. These were sent by A.P. wirephoto and appeared the next morning in a few western papers, and in others the following Sunday. The pictures were taken with the Chicago Tribune's single-shot color camera.

A few small daily papers and a number of weeklies were printed by the offset process in the years 1937-40.

CHAPTER XLI

Newspaper Content: Columns, Comics, News

THE EIGHT-COLUMN PAGE WAS COMING INTO MORE GENERAL favor as a method for economizing on paper, at the beginning of this period. After the war, came the general adoption of the twelve-em column, later often narrowed to eleven and a half ems.

Front-page banners were used much more widely during the World War than ever before. Their value in stimulating street sales having been demonstrated, many papers continued to use them every day whether the available news seemed to demand them or not. Few were the papers which, like the Kansas City *Star*, abjured the banner entirely; and such events as the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the signing of the armistice brought four-line banners to the front page of the New York *Times*.

After the war the banner line was standard practice in many cities. But in the first Exhibition of Newspaper Typography, sponsored by N. W. Ayer & Son, of the six front pages which were cited for typographical excellence, only one used a banner line—and it was not of a conventional kind. First place in that contest went to the New York *Herald Tribune*, which commonly used three-line heads two and three columns wide and set them in caps and lower-case—a type of make-up which rapidly gained in favor. This was in 1931, and it served to call the attention of the country's publishers to the fact that the best front pages banned the black gothic streamer.

A few years later some papers adopted the so-called streamlined make-up, which involved omission of column rules, "monkey dashes," and multiple decks of heads; and required the setting of heads flush left in caps and lower-case of non-serif types—thus opening up and lightening the whole typographical effect. This entire technique was not generally adopted, but it did affect newspaper make-up.

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

The New York Times.

THE WEATHER
Fair today and Tuesday; diminishing northwest winds.

VOL. LXVIII.. NO 22,206. NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1918 TWENTY-FOUR PAGES. TWO CENTS

ARMISTICE SIGNED, END OF THE WAR! BERLIN SEIZED BY REVOLUTIONISTS; NEW CHANCELLOR BEGS FOR ORDER; OUSTED KAISER FLEES TO HOLLAND

SON FLEES WITH EX-KAISER

Hindenburg Also Believed to be Among Those in His Party.

ALL ARE HEAVILY ARMED

Automobiles Bristle with Rifles as Fugitives Arrive at Dutch Frontier.

ON THEIR WAY TO DE STEEG

Belgians Yell to Them, "Are You On Your Way to Paris?"

LONDON, Nov. 10.—Both the former German Emperor and his eldest son, Frederick William, crossed the Dutch

Kaiser Fought Hindenburg's Call for Abdication; Failed to Get Army's Support in Keeping Throne

By GEORGE RENWICK.
Copyright, 1918, by The New York Times.
Special Cable to The New York Times.

AMSTERDAM, Nov. 10.—I learn on very good authority that the Kaiser made a determined effort to stave off abdication. He went to headquarters with the deliberate intention of bringing the army around to his side." In this he relied mistakenly.

His main support consisted of a number of officers, mostly old Prussian regimentals, who formed themselves into two regiments and placed themselves at his Majesty's disposal. To do anything with such support was even, of course, to be Oldenburg.

During the night the Kaiser called the Crown Prince, Hindenburg, and General Grüner to him, and the consultation lasted a couple of hours. Both officers strongly pressed the Kaiser to bow to the inevitable, and Hindenburg declared that any more delay in coming to a decision to abdicate would certainly have the most terrible consequences and lead to serious events in the army. For these consequences Hindenburg said he must refuse responsibility.

The Crown Prince, it is said, was the first to give way. General Grüner fully supported Hindenburg's view. Just when the conference broke up the Kaiser received intelligence of the advisability of abdication. He is said to have come to his final decision an hour or so later, after several communications had reached him from Berlin and after another short and stormy talk with Hindenburg.

Meanwhile, his son-in-law the Duke of Brunswick, for himself and his heir, had abdicated. Brunswick's Privy Councilors" was formed without fighting to abdicate. Reports have it that the republican movement in Brunswick, which long before the war was chafing under autocratic conditions, began to be noticed even before it was set in motion at Kiel.

Kaiser Shivered as He Signed Abdication

LONDON Nov. 10.—Emperor William signed his unconditional abdication on Saturday morning at the...Supreme Grand Headquarters in the presence of Crown Prince Frederick William and Field Marshal Hindenburg, according to a dispatch from Amsterdam to the Exchange Telegraph Company.

BERLIN TROOPS JOIN REVOLT

Reds Shell Building in Which Officers Vainly Resist.

THRONGS DEMAND REPUBLIC

Revolutionary Flag on Royal Palace—Crown Prince's Palace Also Seized.

GENERAL STRIKE IS BEGUN

Burgomaster and Police Submit—War Office Now Under Socialist Control.

LONDON, Nov. 10. — The greater part of Berlin is in control of revolutionists, the former Kaiser has fled to Holland, and Friedrich Ebert, the new

Socialist Chancellor Appeals to All Germans To Help Him Save Fatherland from Anarchy

BERNE, Nov. 10, (Associated Press.)—In an address to the people, the new German Chancellor, Friedrich Ebert, says.

Citizens: The ex-Chancellor Prince Max of Baden, in agreement with all the Secretaries of State, has handed over to me the task of liquidating his affairs as Chancellor. I am on the point of forming a new Government in accord with the various parties, and will keep public opinion duly informed of the course of events.

The new Government will be a Government of the people. It alone holds authority sanctioned by the victorious Socialist party. Peace for the German people and the end of war and famine and freedom—establish their legitimate claim to autonomy. The Government can solve this problem only if all the officials in town and country will help.

I know it will be difficult for some to work with the new men who have taken charge of the empire but I appeal to them, love of the people. Lack of organization would in this heavy time mean anarchy in Germany and the surrender of the country to tremendous misery. Therefore, help your native country with tireless, indefatigable work for the future. Every one at his post.

I demand every one's support in the hard task awaiting us. You know how seriously the war has menaced the provisioning of the people, which is the first condition of the people's existence. The political transformation should not trouble the people. The food supply is the first duty of all, whether in town or country and they should not embarrass, but rather aid, the production of food supplies and their transport to the towns.

Food shortage signifies pillage and robbery with great misery. The poorest will suffer the most, and the industrial worker will be affected hardest. All who by hands on food supplies or other supplies of prime necessity or the means of transport necessary for their distribution will be guilty to the highest degree toward the community.

I ask you immediately to leave the streets and remain orderly and calm.

WAR ENDS AT 6 O'CLOCK THIS MORNING

The State Department in Washington Made the Announcement at 2:45 o'Clock.

ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED IN FRANCE AT MIDNIGHT

Terms Include Withdrawal from Alsace-Lorraine, Disarming and Demobilization of Army and Navy, and Occupation of Strategic, Naval and Military Points.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Nov. 11, 2:48 A.

Top Half of the Armistice issue of the New York Times

There was also a tendency in the later thirties to departmentalize news and to print general summaries on the front page. Departmentalization doubtless received some of its impetus from the success of the orderly *Time* magazine. Two Florida papers, the Palm Beach *Times* and the Daytona Beach *Morning Journal* led the experimenters in departmentalization in 1936, while the Richmond *Times Dispatch* was the first of the larger papers to try it. About the same time the Buffalo *Times* and Boise, Idaho, *Capital News* gave over a considerable proportion of their front pages to news summaries.

Exemplifying many of the new tendencies was *PM* (for Picture Magazine), begun in New York in 1940 under the management of Ralph Ingersoll, formerly publisher of *Time*. The new paper was a square tabloid of thirty-two pages, leaned heavily on pictures, printed no advertising (except a brief résumé of leading offerings presented as news), departmentalized its news content, and interpreted freely.

CHANGES IN NEWS WRITING

Abandoned, for the most part, by *PM*, and losing favor with many papers was the standard 5W-H summary lead. Under the influence of radio newscasting, *Time*, and the new emphasis on interpretation, feature leads with greater variety and more instant appeals to reader-interest became common by 1940.

The increasing complexity of the economic, social, and international news forced, by the thirties, some retreat from the ideal of purely factual news which had prevailed in American reporting for over fifty years. Interpretation of the facts, which easily becomes editorial comment with an opinion point of view, was presented in news and feature departments chiefly in three ways: (1) interpolated paragraphs or sentences in a news story, set in italics or within brackets or parentheses; (2) more or less editorialized reports under a by-line; and (3) the signed correspondence of commentators, or columnists, often printed on the editorial pages.

The growing importance of by-line stories and signed columns led shrewd observers to point out a new recrudescence of personal journalism, but this time it was not the editors who spoke and

stood for their papers, but the ace reporters and columnists. Adding to the reputations of such journalists were the Pulitzer awards to reporters since 1917, and the collection of their work in various books. Thus the public came to know such reporters as Herbert Bayard Swope and Louis Seibold, of the New York *World;* Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent, and Frederick T. Birchall, London bureau chief, of the New York *Times;* Paul Y. Anderson, of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch;* and many reporters of the European scene, such as Walter Duranty, New York *Times;* H. R. Knickerbocker, I.N.S.; Louis P. Lochner, A.P.; and Paul Scott Mowrer and his brother Edgar Ansel Mowrer, and Leland Stowe, of the Chicago *Daily News.*

COLUMNISTS OLD AND NEW

Before about 1920 the term "columnist" was applied solely to conductors of daily columns of miscellany, chiefly humor, wit, satire, and homely philosophy. These columns were often open to contributions from talented readers, and some were famous and eagerly followed.[1] Among the older columns of this kind was that of F.P.A. (Franklin P. Adams), who took his "Conning Tower" from the New York *Tribune* to the *World* in 1922; but after the sale of the latter in 1931, brought it back to the *Herald Tribune,* where it appeared for six years more before its transfer to the *Post.* The Chicago *Tribune's* "A Line o' Type or Two" lost its originator with the death of Bert Leston Taylor in 1921. Several "Linemasters" followed him in the next two decades. Chief of them were Richard Henry Little, distinguished foreign correspondent, and Charles Collins, veteran reporter and drama critic. Other famous columnists of the twenties were H. I. Phillips, of the New York *Herald Tribune;* the scholarly Keith Preston, of the Chicago *Daily News;* Richard Atwater, of the Chicago *Post;* Ted Robinson, of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer;* and Christopher Morley, whose "Bowling Green" in the New York *Evening Post* was later transferred to the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

While such regular columns belonged to individual papers, the work of popular humorists had been syndicated since the 1880's, and it became easy to refer to the regular quotas of such

[1] See pp. 582-84.

writers as "M. Quad" and "Mr. Dooley" as "columns." Chief recruit to this group in the twenties was Will Rogers, the "cowboy philosopher," whose brief, acute daily comment on public affairs was carried in hundreds of papers until death in an airplane accident cut short his career in 1935. A newspaper humorist whose work was neither syndicated nor regular enough for a column was the "Winsted Liar"—Louis T. Stone, editor of the Winsted, Connecticut, *Evening Citizen*, who sent out occasional highly imaginative dispatches about the behavior of Winsted animals. His story about the bulldog that hatched out a setting of eggs and the one about the cow that gave ice cream in winter were only two of scores which produced chuckles all over the country.

Meantime the feature syndicates, whose business boomed in the years following the World War, had brought out an amazing variety of columns. Specialists in scores of fields wrote daily or every-other-day commentary, more or less expert and clever, on such matters as politics, finance, books, movies, radio, theatres, music, art, society, fashions, home-making, cookery, child welfare, medicine, law, weather, science, travel, sports, and so on. By the end of this "flush" era in 1930, a large evening paper often carried as many as thirty of such columns in a single issue. Two types of columns which were developed in these years require special attention—the gossip column and the column of political comment.

Walter Winchell's schooling ended with the sixth grade. The marriage of his Jewish parents wilted and finally phffft, as the later Winchell would have expressed it. The boy went into vaudeville and later into theatrical journalism. When the tabloid New York *Graphic* was begun in 1924, Winchell became its theatre critic and columnist. His column, "Broadway Hearsay," was at first run somewhat on the lines of F.P.A.'s "Conning Tower"; but it soon came to justify its title by more and more gossip. Gossip was nothing new in journalism; the first American newspaper was discontinued by the authorities chiefly because it published some gossip about the family troubles of the King of France. Gossip about private persons not otherwise in the news was not common, however, until the advent of Pulitzer's New Journalism forty years before Winchell. Since that time it had been a recognized phase of sensational journalism, but what Winchell did was to gossip more intimately about the more personal concerns of private per-

sons than any journalist had ever dared habitually to do before. That two persons are in love, that a young matron is pregnant, that a married couple are on the brink of divorce—such was the Winchell material. Much of it was mere guessing, but often the predictions came true. Winchell's paper was the least reputable of those engaged in the war of the tabloids, but even it accepted his daring gossip methods with reluctance.[2] Winchell caught on, however; he gained a reputation for sharpness, which is a great thing on Broadway. His clever neologisms (a trick borrowed from theatrical journalism)—such as to "middle-aisle" for to wed, to "be that way" for to be in love, and to "renovate" for to obtain a divorce—amused readers, and some of them gained wide currency as slang. There were some libel suits and some beatings, but on the whole the public accepted Winchell and Winchellism without too much complaint about vulgarity and blatancy. He took his gossip to the *Mirror*, Hearst tabloid, in 1929; and a decade or so later his syndicated column in 165 newspapers was making him $50,000 annually. Long before that he had many imitators, and the gossip column was a fixture in not a few papers and an influence on society reporting in others.

POLITICAL COLUMNS

Political columns developed along two lines. The more serious type grew out of signed Washington correspondence syndicated by the paper for which it was primarily written. Thus, David Lawrence was syndicated when he went to the New York *Evening Post* in 1916; he later handled his own distribution. Mark Sullivan, his successor on the *Post* in 1919, reached nearly 100 papers, and continued his letters under *Herald Tribune* syndication from 1923 forward. It was the *Herald Tribune* which offered a forum to dispossessed Editor Walter Lippmann, of the *World*, when that paper was sold in 1931. By 1940 Lippmann's column was appearing in some 165 of the larger papers and his salary was said to be the highest received by any columnist. Frank R. Kent began writing a front-page political article for the Baltimore *Sun* in 1923, soon given the heading "The Great Game of Politics," but did not syndicate it for several years.

The second type of political column began in 1932; the pioneers

[2] St. Claire McKelway in the *New Yorker*, June 22, 1940, p. 27.

were "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" and "News Behind the News." The year before this, a considerable furore had been made by the publication of a book of informal, behind-the-scenes commentary on current goings-on in the national capital. It was gossipy, but apparently well informed. Its anonymity was soon broken down, and its authors, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, Washington correspondents of the Baltimore *Sun* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, respectively, were induced to do a daily column of a similarly free-and-easy kind, to be given the title of their book, *The Washington Merry-Go-Round*. By 1940 this column had a larger number of papers than any other syndicated political offering. "News Behind the News" was the title given Paul Mallon's column, which was begun shortly after the uproar caused by his printing two secret rollcalls of the United States Senate had made Mallon famous.

Thus two types of commentary on politics developed in the thirties—the sobersided column affording a forum to a well known publicist, and the "dope and gossip" column dealing with political personalities and purporting to furnish behind-the-scenes information. The line between them was not always distinct, and the latter type tended to deteriorate, in a few instances, into an undependable keyhole journalism.

"In Washington," by Raymond Clapper, of the Washington *Post*, was begun, its author said, in order to utilize material which would not fit into a factual news story. Conjecture and speculation have a value, wrote Clapper, if they come from a good man in a ringside seat.[3] General Hugh S. Johnson, former cavalry officer, lawyer, manufacturer, and chief of the N.R.A., began in 1934 to utilize his gift of phrase and his strong opinions in a syndicated column, "Hugh Johnson Says." In 1936 Dorothy Thompson's hard-hitting, emotional "On the Record" joined the syndicated columns. Its author, the wife of Sinclair Lewis, had been for some years European correspondent of the Curtis-Martin papers. William Bruckart's "Washington Digest" was appearing in some 2,300 country weeklies by the time of his death in 1940.

Of the older columns of general commentary, the most famous was Arthur Brisbane's "Today," which he began for his Washington *Times* in 1917. It was soon syndicated not only to the Hearst

[3] *Editor & Publisher*, September 28, 1935, p. 48.

papers but to many others, bringing Brisbane some $50,000 a year until his death on Christmas day, 1936. Second only to Brisbane in popularity was Dr. Frank Crane, a Methodist clergyman, whose little sermons, or "four-minute essays," appeared in magazines and newspapers over a period of nearly twenty years before his death in 1928.

Heywood Broun began his newspaper work as a reporter on the New York *Morning Telegraph* in 1910. Two years later he joined the New York *Tribune*, which he served in many capacities, including that of sports writer. There he began the liberal and independent column of general commentary which made him famous, under the title "It Seems to Me." He joined the *World* in 1921, but clashed with his employers over the Sacco-Vanzetti case; and in 1928 he went over to the Scripps-Howard *Telegram*, which became the *World-Telegram* three years later. He ran for Congress on the Socialist party ticket in 1930.[4] Witty, warm-hearted, fat, perpetually dishevelled, Broun was loved for himself and for the enemies he made. He had just left the *World-Telegram* for the *Post* when he died at the end of 1939.

Westbrook Pegler, son of a newspaper man, was a United Press war correspondent in Europe 1916-18, and served in the navy during the last year of the World War. Afterward he distinguished himself as a "debunking" sports writer, and then easily gravitated into general column writing with his "Fair Enough." He gained a reputation as a devastating crusader, and to be "peglerized" was to be annihilated by exposure. O. O. McIntyre worked for several years on Ohio newspapers before he came to the nation's metropolis and began to write his daily letter glorifying Broadway and its denizens for the provincial press; his "New York Day by Day," had a large and affectionate following from the beginning of syndication in 1916 up to McIntyre's death in 1938, when it was being printed in more than 375 dailies. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt began her column "My Day" in 1935 to tell in an informal way what a President's wife does and sees and thinks about in her daily life.

Less a column than a news-feature was the thrice-a-week report of the surveys of the American Institute of Public Opinion. George H. Gallup had already made an important contribution to opinion

[4] See p. 677 for his activity in connection with the American Newspaper Guild.

measurement before he founded his Institute. At the State University of Iowa, where he was an instructor in journalism, he devised a method for calculating reader interest (or reader notice) in the various items of a paper's content through interviews with selected persons representing the various classes of the reader-audience.[5] Applying what he learned in a series of reader-interest surveys performed for nationally circulated periodicals to the subject of opinion polls, he set up a system by which the opinion or sentiment of a very large group might be ascertained accurately by samplings. Gallup's Institute was founded in 1935, and surveys were made on a great variety of social and political questions of greater or less importance. In the campaign of the following year the Institute was in competition with four or five other polling agencies, including the *Literary Digest*, whose straw votes in election years had been a feature of many campaigns. But the *Digest* failed absurdly in 1936, and Gallup's final poll missed the actual popular vote by only six and a half per cent. Later refinements in procedure reduced the margin of error, according to the Institute's claims, to about three per cent. About 130 daily papers were subscribers to the survey reports in 1940.

FEATURES AND COMICS

Most top-flight columnists dealt more or less directly with the news, though some wrote pure feature stuff. The proportion of space occupied by features was greater than ever before in the boom decade after the war; but in the depression period publishers cut down on such material, and the syndicates suffered.

An exception must be made of the comic strips. Gallup surveys had shown that the strips had a higher reader interest than any other features, and higher than most of the news in the papers. Most publishers, aware of this fact, dropped anything else rather than the comics, which went on without interruption to their prosperity, and fifteen of the artists who drew them were said to receive $1,000 to $1,600 each per week during the depths of the depression.[6]

The older "gag" strips, with a laugh in each installment, gave

[5] This was the technique used in the Bureau of Advertising's "Continuing Study," begun in 1929.

[6] *Fortune*, April 1933, p. 49.

way at the beginning of the twenties to the "continuity" strips, which told a serial story. It was Edgar Rice Burroughs' "Tarzan" which popularized the adventure and superman phases. Indeed, for a time in the thirties, humor seemed about to drop out of the strips; but there was some tendency to swing back to chuckles by 1940.

Among the most popular strips originated in this period were Sidney Smith's "Andy Gump," begun in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1917 as a pioneer in the continuity type, and taken over by Gus Edson after Smith's death in an automobile accident in 1915; James E. Murphy's "Toots and Casper," begun in 1918 on the New York *American*, though Murphy had started his career as a cartoonist on West Coast papers; Harry J. Tuthill's "Bungle Family," begun in the New York *Evening Mail* in 1918; Frank King's "Gasoline Alley," begun in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1919; Billy DeBeck's "Barney Google," created for the King Syndicate in 1919; Elzie C. Segar's "Thimble Theater," also a King Features 1919 offering, occupied chiefly by "Olive Oyl" and "Ham Gravy" at first, but taken over ten years later by the mighty "Popeye" and his friends; Russ Westover's "Tillie the Toiler," a King Features discovery of 1921; Frank Willard's "Moon Mullins," begun in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1923; Harold Gray's "Little Orphan Annie," also born in the Chicago *Tribune* art room, in 1924; Chic (Murat Bernard) Young's "Blondie," King Features, 1930; Ham Fisher's "Joe Palooka," McNaught Syndicate, 1930; H. T. Webster's "The Timid Soul," New York *Herald Tribune*, 1930; Carl Anderson's "Henry," begun as single pictures in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1932; and Al Capp's "Li'l Abner," United Features, 1934.

THE "BIG-PLAY" STORY

Yet, genuinely important as the comic strip may be in the ideology of the people, news is the heart of the American newspaper. What were the great news stories of this period?

It is possible to name a few great stories for any period in our journalism, as has been done in earlier chapters of this book. They usually relate to wars, presidential elections, great disasters, uncommonly dramatic or sensational crimes, and popular and "built up" sports events. But in the twentieth century there devel

oped the editorial technique of giving a promising story "a big play" at the expense of other news of the day; if it had strong human elements, with drama and suspense, it might be allowed to crowd other matters of more intrinsic value off the front page for days at a time. This was partly because of an increasing deference (motivated by circulation figures) to the avid interest of most readers in the basic and universal desires and emotions—the quality commonly called "human interest." But it was also because communication had developed to the point that very large volumes of material—pictures, news, features—were always made immediately available on any promising news-break. Moreover, with many newspapers organized into chains, with a few great news associations and syndicates serving all the dailies, and with competition in street sales keen, it became likely that a story given a "big play" by one important paper would receive similar treatment in most of the others. Thus we have the big story, "played for all it is worth." The phenomenon was not wholly new; it was not especially noticeable in the years 1914-18, when the war was naturally the transcendent story; but in the twenties and thirties it was a striking feature of our journalism.

WHAT'S THE NEWS? 1914-1918

The chief running story of these years—that of war—began with the news of the ultimatums and the declarations which flew thick and fast in the last week of July and the first week of August, 1914, followed immediately by the invasion of Belgium. The coverage of the war has already been described. Black banner heads told of the steady German advance through Belgium, making the names of Liége, Louvain, Soissons, and Amiens familiar to American readers. The battle of the Marne drove the invaders back to the Aisne, a 300-mile battle line remained much the same for nearly three years, and communiqués stating "All quiet on the western front" became common.

The year 1915 was filled with alarms based on German spy stories and submarine attacks on merchantmen and passenger vessels, culminating in the sinking of the British Cunarder *Lusitania*, May 7, with the loss of 1,154 lives, 114 of them American. This last afforded American papers the biggest story of the years 1914-16. In 1916 the bloody battles of Verdun and the Somme,

the naval engagement off Jutland, the Sinn Fein uprising in Ireland and the hanging of Sir Roger Casement for treason received the chief "play" in the papers.

On January 31, 1917, Germany announced unrestricted submarine warfare, and three days later the United States severed diplomatic relations with that country: these were days of screaming headlines. President Wilson asked Congress to declare war April 2; it did so four days later, making the biggest story of the year. The selective draft story of July 20 and 21, with its thousands of names of men drawn, tested the resources of the newspapers; one of the greatest feats was that of the Chicago *Examiner*, which printed in its regular editions of the morning of the 21st 40,978 names of draftees in alphabetical order, the last of the numbers having been drawn in Washington early that morning. The A.E.F. in France, the Russian revolution, the withdrawal of German troops to the Hindenberg line, fighting in Italy, and General Allenby's capture of Jerusalem furnished the big headlines for the remainder of 1917. In the next year came the desperate days of "They shall not pass!"—the great battles at Chateau Thierry and at Soissons, more fully reported than the earlier engagements of the war. The big story of the year was, of course, that of the armistice.[7]

In the meantime there had been great events on this side of the Atlantic. The brief war with Mexico, centering in the taking of Vera Cruz in 1914, and the pursuit of Villa across the Rio Grande two years later furnished stories of the first magnitude. Henry Ford's "peace ship"—an erratic mission intended to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas"—filled many columns in the latter months of 1914. The Rev. William A. ("Billy") Sunday, baseball evangelist, reached his greatest height as a sensational figure during his Philadelphia meetings in 1915. His pulpit acrobatics, his slang, and his effectiveness before great audiences were always good newspaper copy, and he coöperated with the newspaper boys in all the cities he visited. In one sermon during the Philadelphia campaign he cried:

When I am at Heaven's gates I'll be free from old Philly's blood. I can see now the Day of Judgment, when the question of Philadelphia and of me is taken up by God:

[7] See pp. 630-31.

"You were down in Philly, weren't you, Billy?" the Lord will ask me.

And I'll say to him, "Yes, sir, Lord, I was there."

"Did you give them my message of salvation, Billy?"

"I gave them your message, Lord, I gave it to them the best way I could and as I understood it. You go get the files of the Philadelphia papers." [8]

The big domestic story of 1916 was President Wilson's defeat of Charles Evans Hughes in the national election, under the slogan, "He kept us out of war."

The greatest disaster of these years was the capsizing of the excursion steamer *Eastland* at her Chicago pier in 1915, with the loss of 852 lives. The great influenza epidemic of 1918 may also be ranked as a disaster. The chief crime events came in 1915—the lynching of Leo M. Frank, who had been convicted of the murder of a girl employed in his Atlanta factory but had appealed his case; and the trial and electrocution of Police Lieutenant Charles Becker, convicted of complicity in the murder of Herman Rosenthal three years before. The leading sports event, in the same year, was the knockout, in the 23rd round of a match at Havana, of Jack Johnson, Negro heavyweight champion, by Jess Willard, cowboy boxer and "white hope."

In 1917-18 the papers were filled with stories of the patriotic activities of the American people—Belgian relief projects, "hooverizing" by saving foodstuffs, and promotion of the Liberty Loans.

WHAT'S THE NEWS? 1919-1929

The greatest single story of the feverish decade following the World War, and one of the greatest in the history of American journalism, was that of the airplane flight of Charles A. Lindbergh from New York to Paris. This was not the first transatlantic flight; but the fact that Lindbergh flew alone, and that he was young and modest, caught the public imagination. Newspapers had built up the flight in advance; the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* had helped to finance it, and New York papers gave many pages of text and pictures to the hop-off from Roosevelt Field. Consequently all America waited in acute suspense until the news came

[8] Quoted from Philadelphia newspapers in Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* (New York, 1933), Vol. V, p. 596.

of how "Lindy" had been mobbed by admirers at Le Bourget Field on his safe arrival. Newspaper sales records were broken; no New York paper could fill its orders, though some printed over 100,000 extra run. Of Lindbergh's achievement, the New York *Times* said editorially: "The suspense of it, the daring of it, the triumph and glory of it—these are the stuff that makes immortal news." On the occasion of New York's frenzied welcome to the returning hero, the *Times* gave the event fifteen pages, and many other papers were not far behind. It was the *Times* which bought Lindbergh's own story, furnishing a reporter to write it; the money received for resale to thirty other papers was also turned over to the young hero.

The chief running stories of the decade were those of the Versailles Conference and the debate over American membership in the League of Nations, the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Teapot Dome scandals, and the "Red scare" and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Some 200 American journalists, representing both newspapers and magazines and including scores of famous writers,[9] covered the Peace Conference at Versailles. The Washington correspondents had more than one field day with the Senate opposition to the League of Nations, and many accompanied President Wilson when he took his cause to the country on the tour which broke his health. The other chief foreign stories were those of the Russian experiment and fascism, beginning with Mussolini's march on Rome in 1923. About 200 of the most famous newspaper writers in the world covered the Limitations of Armaments Conference in Washington in 1921; but, sessions being held behind closed doors, they had to be satisfied with daily mass-interviews with the leaders.

But the running story which occupied more columns in the twenties than any other was that of the attempted enforcement of the prohibition amendment which had been passed early in 1919. Shouted "Billy" Sunday when the news of its passage came:

[9] Melville E. Stone and Charles T. Thompson were there for the A.P., Robert J. Bender for the U.P., Henry C. Wales for I.N.S., Richard V. Oulahan for the New York *Times*, David Lawrence for the New York *Evening Post*, J. Fred Essary for the Baltimore *Sun*, Percy Hammond for the Chicago *Tribune*, and Charles H. Dennis for the Chicago *Daily News*.

The reign of tears is over; the slums will soon be a memory; we will turn our prisons into factories and our jails into storehouses and corncribs; men will walk upright; women will smile; children will laugh; hell will be for rent!

Into the news came the Volstead Enforcement Act, passed over President Wilson's veto; night-clubs, speakeasies, and home-made "hooch"; the struggles over the various state enforcement bills; and the unsuccessful court actions designed to cripple enforcement.

The oil scandals centering about the Teapot Dome lease, which furnished the third great running story, began with the inauguration of the Walsh committee investigation in 1923 and ended with the conviction of former Secretary Fall and the acquittal of Edward L. Doheny, on charges of bribery, in 1929 and 1930, respectively.

The "Red scare" first became prominent in 1919. That year was notable for high nervous tension, many strikes, and a national protest against "the high cost of living" (abbreviated by the papers as H.C.L.). The two strikes most publicized, both unsuccessful, were those of the United States Steel Corporation employes and the Boston police unions. Out of this unrest grew a long crusade against the "Reds"—Socialists, members of the International Workers of the World, partisans of the Bolsheviki, raids on Socialist and I.W.W. headquarters; the sacking of the office of the New York *Call*, Socialist newspaper, on May Day, 1919; bombings of the homes of judges, attributed to the "Reds"; the conviction under the Espionage Act of Eugene V. Debs, four times Socialist candidate for President; the conviction and unseating of Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee (later reëlected and finally seated by the House in 1923)—these were some of the events that made headlines. But the climax of the unrest came with the conviction on circumstantial evidence of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the one a shoe-maker and the other a fish-peddler, for a holdup and murder in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Both men were radicals. Conviction was obtained in 1921, and there ensued an unparalleled series of protests in the shape of petitions, independent and official investigations, and riots all over the civilized world; nevertheless, the two men were executed August 22, 1927.

It was a great decade for famous trials. Besides those of Fall,

Doheny, and Sinclair in connection with the oil deals, and those of Sacco and Vanzetti, there were the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, and a series of highly sensational sex murder cases. The eyes of the world were on the village of Dayton, when, in a test case under the newly enacted state law forbidding the teaching of biological evolution, a young high school teacher named John Thomas Scopes, was brought to trial in July, 1925. Over a hundred newspaper men, representing the big papers and associations, were crowded into the hot little courtroom, and 2,000,000 words were filed for telegraphic transmission during the twelve days of the big show. William Jennings Bryan assisted the state's Attorney General in the prosecution; and Clarence Darrow, famous liberal and agnostic, was attorney for Scopes. Scopes was convicted, but soon freed by the Supreme Court of the state on a technicality. A few days after the trial was over, the death of Bryan furnished another big story.

The year before the Scopes trial, Darrow had defended and saved from hanging Nathan Leopold, Jr., and Richard Loeb, accused of the kidnaping and "thrill killing" of little Bobby Franks in Chicago. Prisoners and victim came from millionaire families, and Loeb and Leopold were graduate students at the University of Chicago at nineteen. Convicted, the youths were sentenced to life imprisonment. Stimulated by the battle of the tabloids in New York, the Hall-Mills case burst into noxious bloom in 1926, followed by the "Peaches" Browning divorce suit and the Snyder-Gray case[10] California competed with New York in 1926-27 with the bizarre case of the "kidnaping" of the evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson, and the Hickman murder trial. Papers which published the revolting details of Hickman's sex crime were widely criticized. Quite as blatantly overplayed was the death and the spectacular funeral, in 1926, of Rudolph Valentino, famous screen lover.

Politically, Harding's election in 1920, on the "Back to Normalcy" platform, and the elections of Coolidge and Hoover in 1924 and 1928, respectively, were the outstanding news features. Of these, the 1928 campaign was by far the best material for the newspapers, for the contest between Hoover and the picturesque Alfred E. Smith was bitter and full of incident. The death of

[10] See pp. 670-71.

Harding while President and that of former President Wilson in 1924 made stories of the first importance.

The chief disasters of the decade were the Japanese earthquake in 1923, the wreck of the dirigible Shenandoah in 1925, the Florida hurricane of 1926, the Mississippi Valley and New England floods of 1927, and the sinking of the *Vestris* in 1928. Headlines proclaimed Jack Dempsey the ring hero of the decade; and his two international matches—with the French Georges Carpentier in 1921 and with Luis Firpo two years later—afforded the great sports stories of the twenties. "Bobby" Jones' rise as golf champion, the gridiron career of "Red" Grange, and the recurrent world's series in baseball were outstanding, while the trial of the Chicago White Sox for "throwing" a game of the 1919 series was a page-one story.

One of the most remarkable examples of the creation of national suspense occurred in connection with the plight of Floyd Collins, who, exploring the labyrinth beneath Cave City, in central Kentucky, with a view to finding something to attract tourists, was pinned by a falling boulder in a very inaccessible passage. Collins was found by a reporter for the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, one of four men searching for him. The dramatic story which W. B. Miller wrote for his paper and for the Associated Press that first day marked the beginning of an intense nation-wide interest in the various ingenious methods to rescue Collins—an interest which mounted during the first two weeks of February, 1925, and ended only with the unfortunate man's death while still held fast in the cave.

WHAT'S THE NEWS? 1930-1940

The running story of the thirties was the economic-social-political report of the industrial depression and the methods used to combat it. The Wall Street crash of October 24, 1929, the Hoover moratorium of 1931-32, the invasion of Washington by the "bonus army," the landslide for Franklin D. Roosevelt, the bank holiday of 1933, the National Recovery Administration and its blue eagle, the industrial and agricultural devices of the New Deal, Roosevelt's sweeping reëlection in 1936, and his unsuccessful fight to enlarge the Supreme Court the next year were all profoundly moving incidents exploited in banner heads and pages upon pages of text and pictures.

One great sensational story stands out above the others of the thirties—the kidnaping and murder of the Lindbergh child in 1932, the hunt for the perpetrator of the crime, the arrest of Bruno Hauptmann in 1934, his trial the next year, and his electrocution in 1936. The first news of the kidnaping brought scores of photographers and reporters from New York and Philadelphia to the Lindbergh estate near Hopewell, New Jersey. After the first day, newspaper men were kept off the grounds; but, responding to public demand for news of each development of the mystery, they kept close watch as the story unfolded. The climax came with the Hauptmann trial at Flemington, New Jersey, whence more than 300 reporters wired over 11,000,000 words during the twenty-eight days of the trial—thus breaking all records for the coverage of a murder case. There were at least as many photographers as reporters present, as well as special telegraph operators. The presiding judge and the attorneys became news-minded, and the courthouse was crammed with news machinery. There was widespread criticism from journalists, lawyers, and laymen to the effect that the trial was made a grand hippodrome; the recess statements of counsel to the press were especially censured as "trial by newspaper."

Second in public interest only to the Lindbergh case in that decade was the story of the birth and infancy of the Dionne quintuplets. Only the first accounts were spot news; after that, the "quints" were material for thousands of pages of features, including numberless attractive pictures of the babies.[11] It was in the early morning of May 28, 1934, that an uncle of the newly born children dropped into the office of the semi-weekly North Bay, Ontario, *Nugget* and asked how much it would cost to insert a birth notice. The price was named and the man asked if it would be the same for five. "No, it would be five times as much." "But this is one birth, but five babies!" "Five babies to one mother, all at once?" The man nodded; the editor seized his hat and rushed to the Dionne cottage to verify the news, and a little later put on the wires a story which was printed in virtually every daily in the

[11] The great alteration in news values in a hundred years is illustrated by the fact that an item in the New York *Courier and Inquirer* October 4, 1833, told of the birth of quintuplets in ten lines and let it go at that: "PROLIFIC.—Within the month of August, a young lady of the City of Schenectady was delivered of five children at one birth. The mother and children are all alive, healthy and likely to live. A thousand dollars were raised in the city and given to the mother as a premium. The young lady has since been married to the father of the infants."

civilized world within the next twenty-four hours. Dr. Dafoe, the attending physician, at first resented newspaper intrusion, but later wrote in his medical report:

> I came to realize that I had no right to object to what has become a matter of continent-wide interest. I have been increasingly grateful to the newspapers for the invaluable supplies and equipment which from the beginning came as a result of this publicity.

The sequence of gangster killings, which had been prominent in the news of the twenties, was carried over into the next decade. Chicago was preëminently the scene of the earlier crimes of this epidemic. The gang murder of Jake Lingle, a reporter for the Chicago *Tribune*, in 1930 was at first taken as a direct challenge to the newspapers, until it was shown by the brilliant investigations of Harry T. Brundidge, of the St. Louis *Star*, that Lingle was himself a gangster. The next year "Scarface Al" Capone, Chicago gang leader, was sent to prison by the federal authorities for evasion of income taxes: his trial and conviction furnished important newspaper copy. The same was true of the killing by officers of John Dillinger, "Public Enemy No. 1," in 1934.

The chief assassinations were those of Mayor Cermak, of Chicago, with the attempted shooting of President-Elect Roosevelt, at Miami, Florida, in 1933; and the murder of Senator Huey Long, of Louisiana, in his monumental new state capitol at Baton Rouge in 1935. In the former case, reporters were on the immediate spot, and the shot fired at Roosevelt burned an A.P. writer's coat.

The greatest American disasters of the decade were the California earthquake of 1933, the Chicago stockyards fire of 1934, the death of Will Rogers and Wiley Post in an Alaska airplane wreck in 1935, "the flood of the century" (which visited northeastern United States and the Ohio Valley) in 1936, the New England hurricane of 1938, and the loss of the submarine *Squalus* (with its dramatic rescue story) in 1939. Stories of the great drouth and dust-storms were prominent in the news of 1934-36. Besides the Hauptmann and Capone trials, there was that of Mayor "Jimmy" Walker, of New York, in 1931; as well as District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey's prosecutions of corruptionists in the same city; the Scottsboro, Alabama, case, the Massie case in Hono-

lulu, and various trials for kidnaping. Leading labor stories were those of the San Francisco general strike of 1934, the rise of the C.I.O., and the "sit down" strikes of 1937.

The system of "technocracy" as a cure for economic ills had a big run in the papers in 1931. The Mae West craze filled columns in 1933, and the Townsend plan began to get first-page attention in 1935. In aviation, Wiley Post's around-the-world flight of 1933 and Howard Hughes' lowering of the record in a similar flight five years later were preëminent events; but the latter was almost immediately eclipsed by the flood of publicity given the "wrong way" flight of Douglas Corrigan from New York to the Irish coast. In the world of sports, perhaps the outstanding stories were written about the Baer-Carnera heavyweight bout in 1934, and the Louis-Schmeling fights of 1936 and 1937. The death of Knute Rockne, famous Notre Dame football coach, in an airplane crash in 1931, was a shock to readers in every village and city of the country.

Visits of foreign royalty to the United States have always made a great volume of copy for the newspapers. Of such visits there were many in the period 1914-40—notably those of the King and Queen of Belgium in 1919, the Prince of Wales in 1924, Queen Marie of Rumania in 1926, and the King and Queen of England in 1939.

The American press of this period gave far more space to foreign news than it ever had before. Never after the outbreak of war in 1914 had caught it comparatively unprepared did it lack competent representation throughout Europe and in Asiatic countries. The progress of events in the thirties resulted in giving more and more space to foreign affairs. The big foreign stories of 1930 were the Gandhi non-resistance campaign in India and the London naval conference, and in the next year the flood in China, the overthrow of the Spanish throne, and the Japanese conquest of Manchuria. The last event was particularly difficult and expensive to cover. Edward Hunter, of the International News Service, though threatened with death if he investigated the rumor of a wholesale massacre of peasants by the Japanese, got first-hand information and wrote a report which was later made a part of the records of the League of Nations. Then came the Sino-Japanese warfare in Shanghai, the reporting of which was especially notable

for pictures taken by daring American photographers. The Hitler coup in Germany came in 1933, the assassination of the Austrian Dollfuss in 1934, and Italy's Abyssinian war in 1935. This war presented extreme hazards of bombing, disease, and dangerous travel to the correspondents; and the actual news returns were not great. Will Barber, of the Chicago *Tribune*, lost his life from malaria while covering the campaign. The Spanish civil war began in 1936, and the next year the press had two important conflicts to cover—the Spanish struggle and the undeclared war between China and Japan. The stupid censorship and the remarkably ruthless nature of the conflict made the work of the men reporting the war in Spain particularly dangerous and difficult; in the other war the Chinese allowed more freedom of action to correspondents than the Japanese. Both conflicts were competently and often brilliantly covered.

One of the biggest stories of the decade was the abdication of King Edward VIII of England in 1936. The death of George V in January had made important copy, of course; and when the love of his successor for the American Mrs. Simpson became known, many American papers did not hesitate to tell the story. The divorce of Mrs. Simpson in October, supposed to pave the way for her union with the King, was given publicity. Meantime English papers had been under a voluntary censorship in regard to the matter; but the circulation of the American papers in England forced the story into the open, the suddenness of the English disclosures produced a shock which forced the issue, and abdication was the result. From the American point of view the story was less a scandal than a romance of the King Cophetua and the beggar maid type, with a special Anglo-American twist to it. As such, it was doubtless "overplayed" by some papers.

THE GENERAL EUROPEAN WAR

With the *anschluss* of Austria in 1938, the expectation of another European war, perhaps another World War, became more definite. The Munich conference brought out great banner heads again. American press staffs, already measurably adequate in Europe, were strengthened throughout 1939. Upon the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia in March of that year, the situation became more acute. The Soviet-German pact marked the futility of the

"appeasement" efforts of the British government, and Germany began sending troops into Poland September 1. Most of the correspondents who covered the Polish War were young men with their spurs to win. Richard Mowrer (son of Paul Scott Mowrer), of the Chicago *Daily News*, and Edward Beattie, Jr., of the United Press, had narrow escapes at the time of the fall of Warsaw.

The Soviet war against Finland in December, 1939, and January, 1940, presented special difficulties. It had to be reported almost wholly from the Finnish side, as there were no correspondents allowed with the invading army; and it is probable that the news of this war was somewhat distorted by propaganda elements. The bitter cold made it almost impossible for reporters not inured to the Finnish winter to live in camps with the soldiers for more than a few days at a time. Thomas E. Hawkins reported the battle on the ice of Lake Kianti for the Associated Press; Webb Miller (covering his eleventh war) and Norman B. Deuel reported the fighting on the Karelian Isthmus for the United Press; Walter Schwartz, of the I.N.S., Harold Denny, of the New York *Times*, and Leland Stowe and Donald Day, of the Chicago *Daily News*, all witnessed front-line fighting during the conquest of Finland. The news photographers, such as "Sammy" Schulman, of International News Photos, and Eric Calcraft, of Acme, did good work in spite of freezing camera shutters at fifty degrees below zero.

In the meantime the British declaration of war of September 1 brought out Sunday extras in the United States, and individual papers reported circulation gains on the war news ranging from a few thousand to the neighborhood of 1,000,000.[12] But news expenses soared to great heights. The United Press and International News Service repeatedly invoked the additional-assessment clauses in their contracts in the ensuing months; and the Associated Press, with cable tolls running to $6,000 a day, rapidly depleted reserves. In the fall of 1939 there were about 2,250 men covering the war for American news agencies and individual papers, hundreds of them American-born, full-time correspondents and photographers.

The work of this army of newspaper men was badly crippled by

[12] *Editor & Publisher*, September 9, 1939, pp. 1-6. The New York *Daily Mirror*, whose last A.B.C. daily average report had been 736,000, claimed to have sold "in excess of 1,600,000 copies" with the news of the British declaration of war. The war was said to have increased daily street sales about thirteen per cent by May, 1940.

censorships. The English Ministry of Information was set up with a staff of 999, about half devoted to propaganda and half to a blundering censorship which caused maddening delays in the transmission of news. Changes in the Ministry soon brought some reforms, but British news control continued "tight." In France the situation was not dissimilar; there the censorship was military and rigid. Germany continued the system in use in peace time—censorship after rather than before publication. Correspondents were bound by a system of responsibility to send to their papers nothing which was offensive to the Ministry for Propaganda. If they were careful enough, they had no trouble; but if they sent rumor, opinion, or fact antagonistic to the government of the Reich, they were expelled from Germany. Thus when Beach Conger, of the New York *Herald Tribune*, wrote in November that the German high command was protesting against plans to invade the Netherlands, he was forced out of the country, as were two other *Herald Tribune* men some months later. Otto D. Tolischus, of the New York *Times*, absent from his Berlin post on a short leave, was denied readmittance because of the general tone of his dispatches. Tolischus received a Pulitzer Prize for foreign correspondence in 1939.

But severe censorship made little difference in view of the fact that correspondents were allowed little freedom to go and come on the important military fronts and were consequently more or less limited to the official communiqués of the warring powers. Certain neutral countries allowed more freedom of action and expression; and Amsterdam, with its own cable, soon became the leading center for news of the war and the temporary home of scores of American correspondents, and retained that prominence until it was occupied by the German army in May, 1940.

In the early weeks of the war, there was great eagerness to obtain authorization to accompany the British Expeditionary Force on the western front. In October, twelve leading American correspondents (later increased to forty) were so accredited; but because of the ensuing quiet in that sector, nearly all of them soon scattered to other points of greater news importance. When Hitler's "total war" of May, 1940, broke, most of them hurried back to France.

Just before that, however, came the *blitzkrieg* in Norway.

This was exceptionally hard to cover because of transportation difficulties and the German rule against correspondents at the front. Leland Stowe, of the Chicago *Daily News*, however, distinguished himself by a story on the British retreat north of Trondheim; and Donald Day, of the Chicago *Tribune*, filed three dispatches from that city before the Germans expelled him.

The simultaneous invasion of the Low Countries in May, followed by the conquest of France the next month, produced a confusion of movement and communication facilities which forced a more widespread use of the roving-correspondent technique than ever before. Scores of well-known American newspaper men (and some women) were in bombed towns, saw desperate fighting, mingled with crowding refugees, struggled to get their stories to cable or wireless bases. Amsterdam and Brussels no longer harbored uncensored "news pools," and direction of correspondents was generally taken over by New York offices. Frazier Hunt, of I.N.S., and Marcel W. Fodor, of the Chicago *Daily News*, fled from Brussels to Paris in a decrepit and uncertain Chevrolet along roads jammed with thousands of refugees; it took them thirty hours to drive less than 200 miles. Percy J. Philip and H. Taylor Henry, of the New York *Times*, attempted to reach Paris by bicycle; Philips, mistaken for a Nazi parachutist, narrowly escaped summary execution. And once in Paris, correspondents had improved their situation but little, for their movements there were severely curtailed by military authorities. The men attached to the British Expeditionary Force were ordered back to London and those accredited to the French front to Paris. Hitler, with an appearance of generosity, sent three picked correspondents—Louis P. Lochner, A.P.; Pierre J. Huss, I.N.S.; Frederick C. Oechsner, U.P.—on an officially conducted tour of the German front. Back in London, Webb Miller, head of the U.P. European service, was killed in an accident due to the "black out."

With the break-up of France, American newspaper men fled to Spain or England. News of all conquered and occupied territories had to be cleared through Berlin. There was still cable or wireless communication, most of it severely censored, from nine or ten European points. Wireless telephony was in some measure overcoming the rigors of censorship. But with so many direct news channels closed, numbers of foreign correspondents returned home.

The air attack on London once again gave considerable opportunities for first-hand reporting, and the stories of returned correspondents were often illuminating. Much emphasis was placed on daily surveys with a trend toward prediction.

Despite all difficulties of censorship, confusion, and danger, the war was thoroughly and often brilliantly reported. Never were American news associations and newspapers represented abroad by such able reporters or so many of them. As a result, no readers were so well or so promptly informed of events as were the American people.

THE NEWS ASSOCIATIONS

The Associated Press made a notable advance in the period 1914-40: from about 100 member papers it increased to well over 1,400, and from less than 50,000 miles of leased-wire circuits to over 285,000. Its annual expenditure increased to about $11,000,000 in 1939. Its chief technical advances have already been discussed—automatic printers and wirephoto. In 1915 it removed its rule prohibiting its members from buying other services. Early in the thirties it virtually dissolved its agreements for news exchanges with the foreign agencies Reuters, Havas, and Wolffs, which had become too markedly propagandic. It had already built up its foreign bureaus. By-lines on A.P. stories made their advent in 1925, though some editors deleted them on the theory that the A.P. logotype was sufficient signature. The departure had significance, however; it marked a greater liveliness in the stories. This was largely due, no doubt, to the influence of the more zestful United Press: one critic complained that "the A.P. has succumbed to United Pressure." [13] It was a needed rejuvenation, however, for the older association had lost ground to the U.P. in World War years and was by way of becoming stodgy. Kent Cooper was the man behind the reform. Melville E. Stone had retired as general manager in 1921, Frederick R. Martin held the office for four years, and then Cooper came into the job in 1925. Frank B. Noyes, of the Washington *Star*, retired from the presidency in 1918, and Robert McLean, of the Philadelphia *Bulletin* took his place.

During the same period the United Press Associations grew from about 500 clients to over 1,400. Thus U. P. client papers

[13] Silas Bent in *Independent*, May 5, 1928 (Vol. CXX, p. 425).

and A.P. member papers were about equal in 1940; but the A.P. was composed of United States papers solely, while 130 of the U.P. papers were in Latin-America and 320 in Europe and Asia. U.P. leased-wire mileage went from 15,000 in the United States in 1914 to 176,000 in 1940. Some 400 radio clients in the United States were being served in 1940. Service to South American newspapers began in 1916; and as soon as U.P. editors learned to adapt their report to the more serious mood of South American reporting, their service drove out nearly all competition. The vivid, interpretative European dispatches of the U.P. during the World War did much to enhance its prestige and enlarge its list of clients, and many A.P. members subscribed also for the U.P. service. In 1921 U.P. began to serve European papers, and in 1940 it had clients in fifty countries and was printed in twenty languages. Not the pioneer in the use of automatic printers, it was the first to extend their circuits outside of New York; and it quickly followed the A.P.'s wirephoto lead. Roy W. Howard was its president in its period of expansion 1912-20; he was then succeeded by William W. Hawkins, his former assistant, for three years. Karl Bickel, who had served under both men, became head in 1923, and was followed by Hugh Baillie in 1935.

Hearst's International News Service had three or four hundred clients in 1914. In 1917, it separated its morning papers off to be served by a new agency, Universal Service; but in 1928 it took the morning papers back, and Universal furnished supplemental and special services until its discontinuance in 1937. I.N.S. had some 900 clients in 1940, part of them in foreign countries. It had various presidents in this period, notably Moses Koenigsberg and Joseph V. Connelly. Barry Faris became chief editor in 1916.

After the British and French governments in 1916 refused the use of their cables to the I.N.S., that service was accused by the A.P. of pilfering its foreign news. It was alleged that I.N.S. took A.P. news from Hearst member-papers before publication. The Supreme Court, refusing to pass on the matter of property in news at common law, approved an injunction in behalf of the A.P. on the grounds of unfair competition. The British and French governments were later placated, but I.N.S. had trouble with Portuguese and Japanese authorities.

CHAPTER XLII

Advertising and Circulation

TOTAL ADVERTISING IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS SPIRALED upward from $275,000,000 in 1915 to $650,000,000 in 1920. That was a tremendous gain in a short period. The hectic decade of the twenties showed a much less regular advance; indeed, in three of the ten years there was no advance at all. But 1929—the year which ended with the stock-market crash—showed the great all-time total of $860,000,000. Then advertising was on the toboggan, reaching $470,000,000 in 1933; after that it made a slow, steady advance of one third to 1937, falling back to $552,000,000 in 1939. The national advertising share of this total was twenty per cent until 1919, when it leaped to thirty per cent; thereafter it ranged between twenty-seven and thirty-one per cent.[1]

INCIDENTS IN RECENT ADVERTISING HISTORY

Certain incidents in the story of newspaper advertising during the period stand out. Installment buying of automobiles, beginning about 1916, stimulated advertising in that field; the Maxwell's "Pay As You Ride" ads helped introduce the innovation. Tourist trade, shut off from Europe by the war, was solicited by the railroads' advertising, with the slogan "See America First." When the United States entered the war, the C.P.I.'s Division of Advertising fostered the insertion of magazine and newspaper ads for the various Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives, paid for by private corporations, associations, and individuals. The plan was developed first by William H. Rankin, leading Chicago advertising agent, and was a chief factor in the success of the government's great popular campaigns during the war.

The decade of the twenties was notable for the increasing use

[1] Statistics furnished by the Bureau of Advertising, A.N.P.A. They are, of course, estimates.

of market analyses by the agencies, for the use of newspaper and magazine space by public utilities, for the growth of advertising in rotogravure sections, and for campaigns of single industries organized coöperatively by "institutes" and associations. Certain negative advertising became prominent, as Listerine's campaign against halitosis (a medical term popularized in the ads) and Life Buoy Soap's similar crusade against "B.O." Abuses were the "tainted" testimonials and the selling talk based on pseudo-science. The introduction of rayon and zippers stimulated advertising. Blended cigarettes, which had been popularized during the war years in three notable brands—Camel, Chesterfield, and Lucky Strike, were among the most prominent national advertisers. Old Gold was presented in 1926. Two years later Lucky Strike spent about $20,000,000 in an advertising and promotion campaign; its slogan "Reach for a Lucky instead of a Sweet" challenged the whole confectionery industry and produced great repercussions in the advertising world. The Chevrolet automobile set up rivalry to the Ford in the cheap-car field. Ford introduced his new Model A in 1927 in the greatest advertising campaign ever put on in a similarly brief time; he is said to have spent $1,000,000 in full-page announcements of the new model the day of its debut.

The cigarette manufacturers discovered contests in the thirties. There were 1,000,000 entries in the Camel cellophane wrapper contest; a year or two later Old Gold got twice that many, with sales of $12,000,000 worth of cigarettes, for $200,000 in prizes. Beer and liquor advertising, complicated by state restrictions, came back with repeal of the Prohibition Amendment. Electric razors, frozen foods, and auto trailers were novelties that built trade in the thirties. The use of the comic-strip technique, not new to advertising, grew in popularity. Comic supplements were opened to ads and found favor at high rates, and run-of-paper color was often available by the end of the decade.

Meantime the activities of ad-men themselves in controlling misleading and otherwise objectionable advertising went forward through ad-clubs and the A.A.C.A. The last named became in 1914 the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World. In the same year the Association of National Advertising Managers, founded in 1910, became the Association of National Advertisers. Both devoted much of their energy to the effort to eliminate dishonest

advertising. The A.A.C.W. set up a National Vigilance Committee (later National Better Business Commission) in 1915, which in turn established Better Business Bureaus with paid secretaries in more than fifty cities. In 1932 the A.N.A., working with the American Association of Advertising Agencies, drew up an ethical code covering false statements, exaggerations, misleading statements as to price, pseudo-scientific advertising, fake testimonials, offences to decency, and attacks on other industries. Other advertising codes had been devised before, but this gained in importance because a Review Committee with prestige behind it—"a Supreme Court of advertising"—was set up to enforce it.

The "consumer movement," which had its rise in certain attacks on the economic value of advertising in the late twenties, attempted in some of its phases to "smear" all advertising, but in others to protect the consumer from false representations and to educate her (for the movement was directed largely toward women) in careful buying habits. Institutes were set up to test products and report to consumers. Largely the result of this movement, a new pure-products law—the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act—was enacted in 1938. In the same year the passage of the Wheeler-Lea Bill gave the Federal Trade Commission the same jurisdiction over misleading advertising that it already had over unfair competition.

Promotion of the industry, or "advertising advertising," was seriously undertaken when the A.N.P.A. in 1913 brought about the consolidation of three associations organized for that purpose in a single body—the Bureau of Advertising. A subsidiary of the A.N.P.A., it has its own membership list.

CIRCULATION PROBLEMS AND INCIDENTS

Advertising gave the daily publisher two thirds of his income at the beginning of this period, but the general proportion rose to a little over three fourths by the beginning of the thirties [2] in spite of the rise in circulation prices (especially those of the one-cent papers) during the war. But in 1938 a large proportion of the dailies increased their price per copy from two to three cents and their weekly delivery price from fifteen to twenty cents, with-

[2] Malcolm M. Willey and Stuart A. Rice, *Communication Agencies and Social Life* (New York, 1933), p. 175.

out much loss of subscribers or buyers; and under this influence and that of advertising losses, circulation again came to furnish a third or more of the newspaper income. The increase of circulations even in depression years has already been discussed.[3]

Advertising promotion demanded more reliable statements of the circulations of individual newspapers than had been available in earlier periods; and 1914 saw the birth of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, subsidized by advertisers, newspapers, and magazines. The A.B.C. was the successor of a number of bodies which had been set up during the preceding twenty years to verify publishers' statements. The careful rules devised for the highly complicated work of the Bureau had much to do with its success. In the thirties a little less than half the daily papers were A.B.C. members, but they represented ninety per cent of the aggregate circulation.

In 1914 the New York *Evening Journal*, with nearly 800,000, had the largest daily circulation in the United States, and the New York *Sunday American*, with 750,000, the largest Sunday circulation. The largest morning paper circulation was that of the Boston *Post*—422,000.[4] These were all one-cent papers; the largest circulation for a two-cent paper was that of the New York morning *World*, at 380,000. It was in 1924 that the tabloid New York *Daily News* passed the *Journal* to take the leadership in American daily circulation; two years later it climbed above the million mark and became the only American daily paper to hold a million circulation over any considerable length of time. About the same time, its Sunday edition passed that of the New York *American*, now over a million. In the thirties the Chicago *Tribune*, with an ownership interlocking with that of the New York *Daily News*, became the second largest paper in the United States, with a circulation that reached the million mark in 1940. By the beginning of that year four American Sunday papers were in the million class: the New York *Daily News*, now about 3,400,000, the New York *Mirror*, the Chicago *Tribune*, and the Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

The most extraordinary circulation contest of the period was waged between the Hearst and McCormick-Patterson papers in New York and Chicago in 1921. The New York *Daily News* had

[3] See p. 675.

[4] It lost circulation after the war; and the Chicago *Tribune* gained, passing the *Post* in 1920.

used contests to build circulation from its first issue. The *American* countered with a free "Lady Luck" coupon bearing a number which might draw a cash prize from $1 to $1,000 in the daily drawing. The *News* was quick to respond with $2,500 daily prize money. Thereupon the *American* doubled the ante, and the *News* redoubled. So it went until each got up to $25,000 a day in prize money. Meantime, Hearst had carried the war to Chicago. The *Daily News* of that city had recently conducted a $30,000 scenario-writing contest. The Christmas season was approaching, and the *Herald-Examiner* began giving away millions of "Christmas Smile" coupons at cigar stores and news stands. It first announced that it would distribute $25,000—$3,000 on Sundays and $1,000 or more on week-days—but it later raised the figure to $100,000. It was the theory that everyone who had received a coupon would buy the paper to see if his number had been drawn. Hundreds of thousands did; and the *Tribune*, determined to put on a cash coupon game to end all such nonsense, inaugurated its "Cheer Checks,"—with $200,000 to be given away in ten days—679 prizes a day, the largest $5,000. Printing houses worked day and night printing the more than 25,000,000 *Tribune* checks which were passed out. Riots occurred at places in the Loop where they were being distributed. Retailers stood in line in the winter rain to get allotments to pass out to their customers. Banks and Sunday Schools distributed them. The *Herald-Examiner* got the Governor and the Mayor to officiate at its drawing, while the *Tribune* found street-sweepers, Chinese laundrymen, etc., to do the spectacular job. In New York the *Daily News* now had its bonanza fund up to $600,000. Much to the relief of the contending newspapers, and probably at their instance, Postmaster General Hays finally stepped in, called the scheme a lottery, and asked the publishers to quit. They complied immediately. Circulation of the four papers involved had increased during the excitement by hundreds of thousands; but these were, for the most part, temporary gains.

The increase of postal rates which went into effect in 1918-21 [5] caused a large number of publishers to establish their own truck delivery routes, not only to transport daily and Sunday papers in bundles, but to make individual deliveries. A pioneer effort to serve its circulation area by airplane was that of the McCook,

[5] See p. 633.

Nebraska, *Daily Gazette* in 1929. The next summer saw such service to vacationing subscribers by the New York *Times*, *World*, and *Evening Journal*, the Chicago *Daily News*, and the Boston *Transcript*.

Free-circulation sheets became a problem shortly after the war. In some instances they represented rebellion of advertisers against the rates of established papers, as with the Cleveland *Shopper's Guide* of 1921, sponsored by the dry-goods retailers, and the Philadelphia *Shopping News* (1928-30), supported by all the leading stores except Wanamaker's. More often they were suburban papers which could not compete in circulation with regular city papers but which, by complete coverage of a suburb, could make advertisers an attractive offer. Others sprang up in the smaller towns, often badly printed and scarcely edited at all, the bid of an advertising solicitor or printer for a living. The better free-distribution papers printed a considerable amount of news and pictures, and coached their delivery boys to wheedle various sums from housewives, ostensibly for their own work of distribution; thus they worked out of the free-circulation system. Many were short-lived and irresponsible, but some made apparently permanent places for themselves during the depressed thirties. They formed a difficult kind of competition for the regular newspapers.

PAPER

The consumption of newsprint reached a new high mark in 1914 at over 1,500,000 tons. From there it continued a rapid and fairly regular increase until the depression years; and though it declined in the thirties, 1940 found it at over 3,000,000 tons. Domestic production also declined in the same decade, falling below 1,000,000 tons annually; but Canadian production rose steadily. Southern publishers, chemists, and manufacturers, after long experimentation, produced in 1940, at a mill in Lufkin, Texas, a good grade of newsprint from fast-growing southern pine in such quantities as to supply a few papers and to promise a partial solution of the paper-supply of the future.

The World War, cutting off newsprint from overseas at the same time that demand increased, created an emergency in which the A.N.P.A. and governmental agencies worked to curtail consumption as far as possible. At the same time, the Federal Trade

Commission, by the exercise at frequent intervals of its price-fixing powers, limited newsprint prices to between three and four cents a pound—an increase of a little over one cent above the pre-war level. When the restrictions were taken off after the war, the price went up to five or six cents in 1920; but the increase of Canadian production, and the depression reduction in demand brought it down again to two cents by 1934. Rises came later, but the price was stabilized at $50 a ton through 1938-40.

CHAPTER XLIII

Relations With Government; Professional Developments

DURING THE FIRST FOUR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS OF THIS PERIOD there was a normal Republican majority in the press; fifty-five to sixty-five per cent of those committing themselves in the quadrennial campaigns supported Republican candidates. In the first election of the four, however, the Democrats won and President Wilson was reëlected in 1916 by a very narrow margin.[1] In the next two there were Republican landslides, electing Harding and Coolidge; while Hoover won over Smith in 1928 with fifty-eight per cent of the popular vote. But in 1932 the depression and the prohibition repeal sentiment combined to swing the country to the Democratic side, and Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected with fifty-seven per cent of the popular vote; at the same time, a daily press majority [2] of nearly sixty per cent stood for the reëlection of President Hoover. But if the Republican daily newspaper support swung as low as sixty per cent in 1932,[3] it rose four years later to the neighborhood of sixty-three per cent to back Landon, who went down in defeat with thirty-six per cent of the popular vote. In 1940 almost three

[1] Wilson received only 49.2 per cent of the popular vote, compared to 46 per cent for Hughes.

[2] This refers to a majority of the papers taking sides, and disregards the neutrals. If the proportion of the press supporting a given candidate is to be compared with his proportion of the popular vote, we must omit the neutrals, who eliminate themselves from the popular vote by staying away from the polls. Many papers which labeled themselves Independent climbed on the Roosevelt band-wagon, as did the Scripps-Howard and Hearst chains. But a majority of the leading papers remained loyal to Hoover. See Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The 1932 Campaign* (New York, 1935), p. 144.

[3] See *Editor & Publisher*, August 24, 1940, p. 3, where percentages are based not on the papers which committed themselves, but on all papers. These figures are for English-language dailies of general circulation only; the weeklies would, it is estimated, lower the Republican support slightly.

fourths of the dailies taking sides backed Willkie, and nearly two thirds of the weeklies.

Thereupon ensued no little discussion upon the "failing power" of the press. The history of American presidential elections, however, shows there has never been any considerable correlation, positive or negative, between majorities of papers bearing a given party's label editorially and success at the polls. That newspapers played a large and highly important part in the deliberate formation of public opinion few will doubt; but the organization and detail attending the immediate election were matters of "practical politics" handled by central committees and precinct organizations.[4] Tammany commonly won New York city elections despite newspaper editorials; in 1897 it elected Van Wyck mayor against the united opposition of the New York papers, and in 1921 it reëlected Mayor Hylan by the largest majority ever given a candidate for the office, against the strong opposition of nine of the eleven newspapers.

Moreover, throughout the period now under consideration, virtually all papers, whatever their political affiliation, published the speeches and statements emanating from both political camps, thus reducing their effectiveness as party organs while increasing their value as newspapers. The number of papers which listed themselves as "Independent" grew to nearly half of the total, while another one fourth called themselves "Independent Republican" or "Independent Democratic." [5] Though some of them always remained neutral, the "Independents" had the balance of power so far as majority press support was concerned.[6]

[4] See the remarks of Roy Roberts, of the Kansas City *Star*, before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1937. "Primarily the newspaper's job is not to win elections. It is to print a newspaper. . . . If it is a matter of winning elections, then I say you ought to add an election department to your newspaper, set yourself up, put in your precinct workers." *Problems of Journalism. Proc. 15th Annual Convention, A.S.N.E.*, pp. 56-57.

[5] Of the daily papers of general circulation in the English language listed in the *Editor & Publisher Year Book* for 1940, forty-eight per cent reported themselves Independent, twenty-four per cent "Independent Republican" or "Independent Democratic" and twenty-eight per cent "Republican" or "Democratic."

[6] In the years 1928-40 the number of Democratic papers remained about the same, while the number of Republican papers (or the dailies, at least) declined. A count of English-language general-circulation dailies in *Editor & Publisher Year Books* according to party affiliation gives the following: 1928—R 641, D 462; 1932—R 602, D 467; 1936—R 527, D 481; 1940—R 472, D 489. These figures count "Independent Republican" as Republican and "Independent Democratic" as Democratic.

PRESIDENTS AND PRESS

Woodrow Wilson's ideal of journalism was a high one, and he came to the presidency with every intention of making the most of his press relations. He established regular semi-weekly press conferences open to all correspondents on equal terms, promised to take the correspondents into his confidence, and asked them to coöperate by helping him to keep abreast of public opinion. Such a confidential coöperation never developed, however, partly because it did not fit the character and temperament of the President. He prepared for press conferences as for a classroom lecture, and always looked down upon the Washington writers. Inevitably he was sometimes misquoted, and such unfairness greatly upset him; also he resented invasions of family privacy. Unusually sensitive, he withdrew more and more; he came to require many of his important statements to be credited to "an official spokesman"; and in May, 1915, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, he canceled his press conferences altogether. With the entry of the United States into the World War, George Creel's C.P.I. became the source of newspaper information, and Washington correspondents reached a nadir of morale and general position.

Warren G. Harding was in several ways the opposite of Wilson. He was as affable as his predecessor had been reserved; but his thinking was apt to be uncertain, whereas Wilson's mental processes were those of the scholar. Harding had been a newspaper man, and still owned the Marion, Ohio, *Star* when elected President. He revived the press conferences, and twice a week he talked freely to his fellow-journalists. Too freely, indeed; for after he had blundered in reply to an important question on foreign affairs, his Secretary of State persuaded him to require that all questions be written out and submitted in advance of the conferences. But newspaper men appreciated Harding's good-will, and tried to repay it. "No President," wrote one of them, "will ever be more carefully and more generously protected than he was." [7]

The unfortunate term of our unique journalist-president was ended by his death, and Calvin Coolidge succeeded to the high office. The conferences, with written questions, were continued,

[7] Oswald Garrison Villard, in "The Press and the President," *Century*, December, 1925, p. 199.

and "Silent Cal" surprised newspaper men by talking at length; but Coolidge added one sad provision—he was never to be quoted, directly or indirectly. Thus the news which he gave out had to be ascribed to some such fictitious character as the "White House Spokesman" introduced to the American people in Wilson's first administration. By such means the President could make a statement, and then easily deny it later—the "trial balloon" technique used with less subtlety by Theodore Roosevelt. The Washington press corps repaid Coolidge for this not altogether kind treatment most generously; it built, out of stories artfully released through White House attendants, the legend of "strong, silent Cal," the simple sage of Vermont.

Herbert Hoover had owned an interest in the Washington *Herald* until it was sold to Hearst in 1922; he had been a good news source while Secretary of Commerce. Newsmen were shocked, however, at the complete censorship to which the reporting of President-Elect Hoover's good-will trip to South America was subjected, and began to fear that White House press relations might soon go from bad to worse. Yet, at Hoover's first press conference decided improvement was promised; it appeared that the "White House Spokesman" was dead. The President set up three categories for the news which he imparted: (1) that which was specifically designated for direct quotation; (2) background information, which could be used but on which the President could not be quoted; and (3) strictly confidential statements "off the record," which were not to be used as a part of the news. Written questions submitted twenty-four hours in advance of the conference were required, and the President ignored any he did not wish to discuss. As the difficulties of his administration multiplied, Hoover became increasingly irritated at newspaper criticism, sought to punish fault-finding correspondents, and tended more and more to withhold not only the casual news of the White House but far more important information of governmental activities. In October, 1931, President Hoover told the press corps that there would be no announcement of a scheduled bipartisan conference on the bank situation and unemployment, directed it to refrain from "waylaying" and questioning any of the members of that conference, and asked that no mention of the matter be made until he issued a "handout" the next day. Richard V. Oulahan, of the New

York *Times*, and Jay Hayden, of the Detroit *News*, speaking for the corps, informed the President that it would be impossible to refrain from giving the public as complete a story of such an important event as possible, and that his request could not be granted by the newspapers. During the remainder of the Hoover administration there was no free flow of news from Hoover or his cabinet. After the beginning of the 1932 presidential campaign, there were only a few White House conferences with the press corps; after November 25 there were none. Yet this was a period of economic and social crisis.

Upon the accession of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency, there was a "new deal" in press relations. The new chief executive was publicity-minded. He knew what newspaper men recognized as a good story, and he knew as well as they did how and when to "break" it. Moreover, he was genial to the point of exuberance, and it was clear that he thoroughly enjoyed the give and take of the mass press conference. The first of these conferences was long remembered by those present. Each of the 200 correspondents was introduced to the President, who shook hands with them, recognizing many and calling them by their first names. Then, with his cigarette in its long holder stuck in his mouth at a sharp angle, with quick play of wit but with ready and exact information on all subjects, Roosevelt answered the questions that were fired at him. In its genuine informativeness, in its appreciation of the news task, and in its gay informality, this was something new in presidential press relations. At the close of the conference there was a spontaneous outburst of applause. Roosevelt, against advice, adopted the "open conference" method, without written questions. He used Hoover's three categories, but he added a fourth valuable kind: the statement which could be ascribed to him indirectly and without quotes.

The so-called "honeymoon" of Roosevelt and the Washington press corps lasted a surprisingly long time—about two years. Then the repudiation of a statement that most of the men had reported in good faith, growing doubts about the New Deal and the man behind it, and an occasional stinging rebuke given a correspondent brought about a more critical attitude on both sides of the presidential desk. After about 1938, with many great newspapers sharply criticizing him, Roosevelt frequently reproved "counting-room"

control, which he regarded as a bar to real freedom of the press. But the president of the National Press Club expressed a general feeling when, late in 1938, he addressed President Roosevelt, the Club's guest:

> Win, lose, or draw, in triumph or reversal, regardless of our personal opinions of your policies, we feel you have been a newspaperman's President. . . . You have made historic news, and you have served it hot and steaming.

Under Roosevelt's leadership, the various departments of government became much more news-conscious than ever before, and the men heading them had their own press conferences. Mrs. Roosevelt began weekly conferences with women writers for the press immediately after her husband's inauguration. Many newspaper-trained men filled appointive positions. Departments enlarged their information bureaus until the personnel of such services was said to number 300 in 1939.[8] This figure includes the men who prepare bulletins giving agricultural, statistical, and industrial information without political bias.

THE SUPREME COURT AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In 1931, the Supreme Court, by a five to four decision, held the so-called "Gag Law" of Minnesota unconstitutional. This law provided that "malicious, scandalous, and defamatory" newspapers and periodicals could be suppressed by injunction as public nuisances. The case upon which the action was brought up to the Supreme Court was founded upon an injunction against the Minneapolis *Saturday Press* for the publication of a series of articles crusading against vice and gambling conditions. Chief Justice Hughes wrote the decision, which pointed out that the libel laws afford redress for wrongs committed by publication, but that censorship by injunction is contrary to the Bill of Rights.

Five years later a unanimous decision of the Court held invalid the Louisiana two per cent tax on gross income from advertising in newspapers. This tax was levied in 1934 at the behest of Huey Long, whose dictatorship over his state was threatened by the newspapers. Written by Justice Sutherland, the opinion of the Court held that this was "a deliberate and calculated device in the

[8] *Time*, January 16, 1939, p. 34. Four years earlier it was estimated at half that figure by Charles E. Rogers, *Journalism Quarterly*, March, 1935 (Vol. XII, p. 5).

guise of a tax to limit the circulation of information to which the public is entitled by virtue of the constitutional guarantees."

Two other important Supreme Court decisions relating to the press in this period dealt with pirating news and with a reporter's protection of his news source. In the case of the Associated Press vs. the International News Service, the Court in 1918, held that the appropriation of news from early bulletins was unfair competition and there was a remedy in a court of equity. In the other case, decided in 1921, it was ruled that Hector Elwell, who had reported a grand jury indictment in the Chicago *American* before its official announcement, and refused to reveal the name of his informant to the grand jury when brought before that body, must go to jail or pay his fine.[9]

A press-freedom case which was not carried to the United States Supreme Court was the $10,000,000 libel suit brought by the City of Chicago against the Chicago *Tribune* in 1921. The *Tribune* was engaged in a bitter fight with Mayor William Hale Thompson, who had sued it for sums totaling $1,350,000 for alleged libels based on his opposition to American participation in the World War. But the big suit was founded upon supposed damages to the credit of the city inflicted by the *Tribune's* exposures of municipal corruption. In 1923 the Illinois Supreme Court handed down an opinion holding that a city could not sue for damages by libel, and further declaring that "the people have the right to discuss their government without fear of being called to account in the courts for their expressions of opinion."

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

To bring together the "directing editors" of the larger daily papers in the United States, the American Society of Newspaper Editors was organized at a meeting in New York in 1922. Membership was at first limited to editors of papers in cities of 100,000 or more; but the limit was soon reduced to 50,000, with the Board of Directors empowered to elect notable editors from still smaller cities.

First president was Casper S. Yost, of the St. Louis *Globe*

[9] Maryland passed a law protecting the confidential communications between a reporter and his source in 1896, and in the thirties seven other states made similar enactments.

Democrat, who served in that capacity for five years. Annual meetings, devoted to the discussion of professional problems, have been held in Washington. A code of ethics was adopted at the first annual meeting, in 1923. The A.S.N.E. at one time attempted to put teeth in its code by expelling F. G. Bonfils, of the Denver *Post*, for blackmailing Harry Sinclair, the oil magnate, in connection with the Teapot Dome leases; but it finally let him off on a technicality. The Society, after all, was not organized as a court.

The A.S.N.E. "Canons of Journalism" are as follows:

The primary function of newspapers is to communicate to the human race what its members do, feel, and think. Journalism, therefore, demands of its practitioners the widest range of intelligence, of knowledge, and of experience, as well as natural and trained powers of observation and reasoning. To its opportunities as a chronicler are indissolubly linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter.

To the end of finding some means of codifying sound practice and just aspirations of American journalism, these canons are set forth:

I. *Responsibility.*—The right of a newspaper to attract and hold readers is restricted by nothing but considerations of public welfare. The use of a newspaper makes of the share of public attention it gains serves to determine its sense of responsibility, which it shares with every member of its staff. A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unworthy purpose is faithless to a high trust.

II. *Freedom of the Press.*—Freedom of the press is to be guarded as a vital right of mankind. It is the unquestionable right to discuss whatever is not explicitly forbidden by law, including the wisdom of any restrictive statute.

III. *Independence.*—Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital.

1. Promotion of any private interest contrary to the general welfare, for whatever reason, is not compatible with honest journalism. So-called news communications from private sources should not be published without public notice of their source or else substantiation of their claims to value as news, both in form and substance.

2. Partisanship, in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth, does violence to the best spirit of American journalism; in the news columns it is subversive of a fundamental principle of the profession.

IV. *Sincerity, Truthfulness, Accuracy.*—Good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name.

1. By every consideration of good faith a newspaper is constrained to be truthful. It is not to be excused for lack of thoroughness or accuracy within its control, or failure to obtain command of these essential qualities.

2. Headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles which they surmount.

V. *Impartiality.*—Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.

1. This rule does not apply to so-called special articles unmistakably devoted to advocacy or characterized by a signature authorizing the writer's own conclusions and interpretation.

VI. *Fair Play.*—A newspaper should not publish unofficial charges affecting reputation or moral character without opportunity given to the accused to be heard; right practice demands the giving of such opportunity in all cases of serious accusation outside judicial proceedings.

1. A newspaper should not invade private rights or feelings without sure warrant of public right as distinguished from public curiosity.

2. It is the privilege, as it is the duty, of a newspaper to make prompt and complete correction of its own serious mistakes of fact or opinion, whatever their origin.

VII. *Decency.*—A newspaper cannot escape conviction of insincerity if, while professing high moral purpose, it supplies incentives to base conduct, such as are to be found in details of crime and vice, publication of which is not demonstrably for the general good. Lacking authority to enforce its canons, the journalism here represented can but express the hope that deliberate pandering to vicious instincts will encounter effective public disapproval or yield to the influence of a preponderant professional condemnation.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

The rapid increase of journalism instruction in the colleges and universities led to the organization in 1917 of an association which by setting up certain standards for institutional membership should act as a recognizing agency in the field. This was the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, a sister

organization to the American Association of Teachers of Journalism. The former functioned chiefly in determining standards and evaluating the work of schools for possible admission to the Class A rating of its own membership; the other was mainly active in planning the national meetings and in gathering reports of progress in various phases of education for journalism. The A.A.S.D.J. veered from an early emphasis on the special journalistic techniques to general acceptance of a curriculum providing a thorough liberal arts background for the special professional courses.

Eight schools and departments were approved by the A.A.S.D.J. upon its organization; by 1940 this number had increased to thirty-two. These institutions graduated, in the latter thirties, about 1,200 men and women yearly, of whom about half entered newspaper work and the others went into advertising, magazines and trade-papers, radio, publishing, and other lines of work. About seventy other schools and departments of journalism offered majors, graduating perhaps 1,000 annually. Departments of English and Commerce in some 440 other American colleges and universities also developed journalistic work in the present period; this often consisted of courses in applied writing or advertising, or it was organized about the work performed by the staff of a college paper. Societal aspects of journalism were sometimes given special attention in sociology departments.

Thousands of high schools and junior colleges adopted journalism instruction as a means of teaching writing by special motivation, with work on the school paper an attractive activity. The National Association of Journalism Directors of Secondary Schools was formed in 1928.

Meantime the literature of journalism was greatly increased. Beginning with the textbooks of such educational leaders as Willard G. Bleyer, of the University of Wisconsin; H. F. Harrington, of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University; M. Lyle Spencer, later of Syracuse University; and Leon N. Flint, of the University of Kansas, specialized treatises multiplied. At the same time famous editors and reporters, following in the footsteps of Charles A. Dana, began writing books about their profession; and in the thirties came a flood of more or less autobiographical books by foreign correspondents.

Among the highly critical appraisals of the press, chief were

Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check* (1919) and Silas Bent's *Ballyhoo* (1927).

THE COUNTRY WEEKLY

Much of what has been said in the preceding pages applies to the country weekly as well as to the city daily. The movement for consolidations and mergers, the effects of the depression, and the trend toward independence of party were felt in rural and small city journalism quite as much as in that of the metropolitan centers.

The number of weekly newspapers at the beginning of this period in 1914 was about 14,000; by 1940 it had declined to about 11,500, chiefly through consolidations. The tendency toward nonpartisan journalism was somewhat less marked among the weeklies than among the dailies. Ownership mergers sometimes resulted in papers of two political faiths being published from the same plant —a phenomenon by no means unknown in the daily field.

Copious illustration grew to be the rule among the better weeklies during the decade of the thirties. The development of one-man engraving plants made local spot-news pictures a possibility for weeklies, as for small-city dailies.

Ever bound to its community by ties of the greatest intimacy, the country weekly in this period developed to a higher degree than in earlier years its code of "community service." Promotion of highway improvement, parks, schools, public buildings, and village festivals were part of such programs. The local editor was usually a dominant figure in the war loan drives of 1917-18 and in the measures taken to meet the bank crisis of 1933.

Country weeklies, though by no means always prosperous, achieved a sounder financial basis than formerly. By 1920 there were few dollar-a-year papers left, $1.50 and $2 being the common subscription prices. Cost systems, installed in the better publishing offices, kept many a country publisher from an involuntary slide into bankruptcy. In most parts of the country, the job-printing office was still an integral part of the country paper's business. The use of readyprints declined in favor of all-home-print, though in 1940 about 3,000 used a service much improved by adaptation to individual needs. By that time very few papers were hand-set, and the necessity for a larger investment in linotypes and other

machinery virtually doubled the average valuation of a good country weekly between 1914 and 1940.

So far as newspaper content was concerned, general miscellany declined and the columns were crowded with local news. Special departments, devoted to school news, sports, farm news, churches, clubs, and society, with a signed humor column, became prominent.

The National Editorial Association, largely made up of country weekly publisher-editors, set up national headquarters at St. Paul in 1919, increasing the effectiveness of its service. In 1932 the headquarters were moved to Chicago. Two Minnesota publishers were especially prominent in the Association for many years—H. C. Hotaling, Mapleton *Enterprise;* and Herman Roe, Northfield *News.*

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE AND LABOR PAPERS

The year 1914 marks the peak of the foreign-language press in the United States.[10] In that year there were about 1300 newspapers and periodicals published in continental United States in foreign languages. Of these, forty per cent were in the German language. The great bulk of the foreign-language press carried more or less news, and perhaps 1,000 of these publications could be classified as newspapers; 140 of them were dailies (about one third German) with an aggregate circulation of 2,600,000. New York City alone had thirty-two foreign-language daily papers, including ten in German, five in Yiddish, three in Italian, two each in Arabic, Bohemian, and Greek, and one each in Chinese, Croatian, French, Hungarian, Russian, Serbian, Slovakian, and Slovenian. Few of these papers had really large circulations: *Vorwärts,* of New York, led the list with 175,000. The largest German papers were in New York also—the *Staats-Zeitung* (with its evening edition, the *Abendblatt*) and the *Herold.*

German-American papers fell upon evil days during the World War. Often divided in their loyalty, many of these papers published statements clearly sympathetic to the enemies of their adopted country. Many voices were raised in favor of the complete abolition of the German-language press in America, and

[10] After 1914 war news kept the circulation of daily papers at about the same level, with a slight increase to 1919.

the government did place certain disabilities upon it.[11] About half these publications survived the war, however. The decline, influenced by restricted immigration and the depression, continued after the war, until by the beginning of 1940 there were only 120 German-language publications left—thirteen of them daily newspapers.

The entire list of foreign-language publications declined about one fourth in the period, leaving less than 100 dailies. Italian, Polish, Russian, and Yiddish papers have maintained themselves better than those in most of the other languages.

The labor press has appeared to a notable extent in foreign languages, especially in the large cities. The New York *Vorwärts* (*Jewish Daily Forward*) was established in 1897 by the Jewish Socialist Press Federation, has long been edited by the famous Socialist Abraham Cahan, and (with its editions for half a dozen cities) attained a circulation of over 100,000. The New York *Evening Call* (1908-23) and the Milwaukee *Leader* (begun in 1911) were among the leading Socialist labor papers. They all suffered under the espionage laws of World War days. Following the war many small weekly papers were established as the official organs of organized labor; nearly every state in the Union had from one to a score of them in 1940.

MAGAZINE HIGHLIGHTS

The years following the World War saw the end of the period in which the great general illustrated monthly headed the procession of American magazines. For a generation this had been the type of periodical which the average educated man meant when he spoke of magazines. The great leaders were *Harper's*, the *Century*, and *Scribner's*; and in the nineties appeared such cheaper magazines on the same model as *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, *Everybody's*, and *Cosmopolitan*. But in 1925 the *Century Magazine* abandoned illustration; four years later it turned to quarterly publication, and the next year it perished. *Harper's* was more fortunate; like its long-time rival, it dropped its illustration in 1925, but it caught step with the times by adopting a new editorial policy of stimulating, up-to-the-moment articles on current questions, and was spared to life and influence. Meantime *Everybody's*

[11] See p. 623.

had gone under in 1930; *McClure's* had descended to "snappy" stories and, in 1933, to extinction; and *Munsey's* had been consolidated with its own pulp offspring. Only the *American Magazine* and *Hearst's International Cosmopolitan* remained to represent the older group of general illustrated monthlies. And the former was chiefly a "success" magazine, alloyed with S. S. Van Dine's detective serials, until a turn toward sophistication in 1929; while the latter throve on the lighter grades of fiction. It was the *American* that paid Calvin Coolidge $3.80 a word for two articles just after he retired from the presidency.

The *Atlantic Monthly*, edited 1909-38 by Ellery Sedgwick, was able, like *Harper's*, to adapt itself to the modern tempo. Indeed the two magazines came to have certain similarities in editorial policy and appearance. The *Atlantic*, now always abreast of the times, scored a beat on the newspapers by publishing in 1927, during the campaign preliminary to the nomination of Alfred E. Smith for the presidency, an "Open Letter" to him by a New York attorney setting forth the disabilities which many of his opponents believed his Catholic faith would place upon him, and then following it the next month by Smith's own reply.

This rivalry between magazines and newspapers, though it was not new, received fresh emphasis with the founding, in 1923, of the weekly newsmagazine *Time*, by Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden, two young Yale graduates, then reporters on the Baltimore *News*. The pointed and vivid style of the new periodical, its informed brashness, its contempt of "stuffed shirts" and all kinds of stuffiness, and its occasional flippancy pleased the readers of a new post-war generation. The *Time* organization launched a handsomely produced monthly for business men and industrialists called *Fortune* in 1930, at $10 a year; and six years later it set off the flight of picture magazines already referred to [12] by founding *Life*. All three publications became outstanding successes.

In 1922 the *Reader's Digest*, with editorial offices at Pleasantville, New York, began publication of a "pocket size" monthly without advertising containing condensations of important and interesting articles which had already appeared in other magazines. Excellent editing soon made the venture a spectacular success; the *Digest* reached 1,000,000 circulation in 1935, doubling

[12] See p. 683.

that two years later and going to 3,000,000 in 1940. Eventually scores of small-page, adless digests were attempted in many fields of interest.

Liberty was founded in 1924 by the McCormick-Patterson newspaper organization, to join with the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's* and make a third large-circulation, five-cent weekly miscellany. It was sold to Bernarr Macfadden, publisher of *True Story Magazine* and other periodicals, in 1931.

Large numbers of ten- and fifteen-cent magazines—referred to as pulps because their rough-finish paper makes its origin in wood-pulp particularly apparent—were issued in the twenties and thirties. This type of cheap periodical began with Munsey's *All-Story Magazine* in 1905, and it was characterized in general by its almost exclusive devotion to action fiction as well as by its paper-stock. Most pulps were specialists in their content, one group dealing wholly with western adventure, another with love stories, another with mysteries, and so on.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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THE chief works listed in the Bibliographical Notes appended to former chapters which are valuable for this period are the general histories of American journalism by Bleyer and A. M. Lee; the *Union List of Newspapers* and the Ayer directories; the histories of the New York *Sun*, *Times*, and *Tribune*, and the Baltimore *Sun*; the biographies of Scripps, Lawson, Miller, Hearst, Brisbane, and Munsey; the autobiographies of Hapgood, Sullivan, Steffens, and Villard; and the semicentennial editions of *Editor & Publisher* and *Printers' Ink*. (See pp. 610-12 for authors and titles.)

Editor & Publisher, and its *International Year Book Number* issued in January of each year beginning with 1921, are invaluable aids for the study of the journalism of this period. Annual Review numbers preceded the *Year Book* in 1919 and 1920. *Problems of Journalism*, published yearly since 1923, contains the proceedings of the annual meetings of the A.S.N.E. The *Guild Reporter*, published semimonthly since 1933, presents A.N.G. points of view. The *Journalism Quarterly*, which began in 1924 as the *Journalism Bulletin*, gives news of the field of education for journalism, as well as research papers, some of them historical in nature.

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