

History of the
Mass Media
in the United States

An Encyclopedia

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American Newspaper Directory

Nineteenth-century listing of newspapers

The *American Newspaper Directory* was started by advertising agency pioneer George P. Rowell in New York City in 1869. The *Directory* consisted of several sections, one of which was a listing of newspapers in each state and territory of the United States. These lists were compiled alphabetically by state, city, and town, with each entry noting the name of the newspaper; day of publication; political affiliation; number of pages; size of pages; subscription cost; year of establishment; editor, owner, publisher; circulation; and ethnic affiliation.

Modeled after *Mitchell's Directory of the Newspapers of Great Britain*, Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory* differed from it in one main respect: Rowell inserted estimates of each newspaper's circulation. Rowell was by design an underestimator, choosing to err on the side of safety rather than accord to one newspaper an unfairly positive representation. This practice resulted in several hundred libel suits (none of which made it to court) and, in his own words, "made me no friends."

Established to make a profit, Rowell's directory carried a large amount of advertising. For example, the 1891 issue of the *Directory* contained 1,221 pages of ads. Using the *Directory* as an advertising medium, however, opened the door for accusations that Rowell quoted higher or lower circulation rates for papers that either did or did not advertise in the *Directory*.

The *Directory* was published annually from 1869 to 1877 and then quarterly, with annual compilations, until it merged with *N.W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual* in 1905.

JEFFREY RUTENBECK

See also Newspaper Circulation

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American Revolution and the Press

The nation and the press face war for the first time

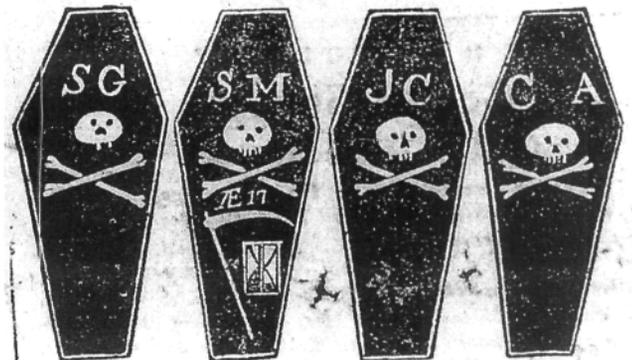
The media performed an important function during the American Revolution by providing the major source of information concerning the conflicts between the colonies and Great Britain. During both the decade of debate prior to 1775 and the years of fighting that followed, newspapers enabled readers to learn something of what was happening throughout the colonies. Access to news and opinion encouraged unity and bolstered morale as the colonies fought for independence.

The conflict between the colonies and Britain developed out of arguments over taxation. Having finally defeated France in 1763, Britain was deeply in debt. Parliament turned to the colonies to help pay for the war. Beginning in 1764, Britain passed a series of acts designed to raise revenue across the Atlantic. Colonial leaders protested against these taxes, declaring, "no taxation without representation," and complaining that their rights as Englishmen were being denied when they were taxed by legislators whom they did not elect. Basically, the conflict centered around who controlled the colonies – the British Parliament or the local governments. Failure to reach a compromise on this issue finally resulted in the Revolution. As these arguments occurred, both sides used the media to publicize their ideas. The patriots proved more successful, as they capably used the newspapers to convince many Americans that the British government had become tyrannical and must be corrected or eliminated.

The press came into its own in 1765, when the newspapers participated in the Stamp Act controversy. One of Parliament's attempts to raise money, the Stamp Act taxed all printed materials and legal documents produced in the colonies. This legislation affected the most vocal groups in colonial society – lawyers, merchants, and printers. Printers disliked the Stamp Act because it threatened to eliminate their profits and thus make printing a losing proposition. All the publishers opened the pages of their newspapers to authors who wrote to protest the tax. Printers also sought ways to bypass the legislation. Some chose to suspend publication until the act was repealed, while others transformed their newspapers into handbills by dropping the volume numbering from the masthead. Others defied the legislation by continuing to print without any changes. The result was that no newspaper appeared on stamped paper.

The Stamp Act controversy convinced many on both sides of the conflict that the media provided a useful mechanism to communicate ideas to the public. As a result, both Loyalists and Patriots sought to control the content of newspapers in hopes of influencing neutral Americans who had not made up their minds as to which side to join in the

On this Coffin, the names of Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks, the unhappy Victims who fell in the bloody Massacre of the Monday Evening preceding!



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Four coffins illustrated the deaths in the Boston Massacre.

Isaiah Thomas Reports the Battle of Lexington and Concord

They pillaged almost every house they passed by breaking and destroying doors, windows, glass, etc., and carrying off clothing and other valuable effects. It appeared to be their design to burn and destroy all before them, and nothing but our vigorous pursuit prevented their infernal purposes from being put into execution. But the savage barbarity exercised upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell is almost incredible. Not content with shooting down the unarmed, aged, and infirm, they disregarded the cries of the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangling their bodies in the most shocking manner.

The Massachusetts Spy, May 3, 1775

conflict. The Patriots were so much more successful in achieving this goal that Loyalist papers were limited only to areas under British control by the time independence was declared in 1776.

Prior to 1775, however, a number of newspaper printers tried to remain neutral, presenting both sides of the argument between Great Britain and the colonies. They soon found that neutrality was impossible, and most chose to support the colonial side. Those who continued to support the Crown were few in number, but they proved vocal in defense of the British position. John Mein, publisher of the *Boston Chronicle*, was typical of this group. Mein began his newspaper in 1767, seeking to be nonpartisan. He became more and more pro-British, however, as he increasingly disagreed with the actions of the Sons of Liberty in Boston. When a mob attacked his office in 1769, Mein defended himself and accidentally shot a bystander. He fled to England to avoid prosecution. Other printers who supported the British cause included James Rivington and Hugh Gaine. Both of these men produced newspapers that supported the Crown prior to 1775, but they ceased publication when the war began. After the British occupied New York, both established new papers in that city and continued to trumpet the Royal cause from that safe haven under the protection of the British army.

Patriot printers abounded, as most of the newspaper publishers supported the colonists. The best of the Patriot printers operated in Boston, where the Revolution began. The leading Patriot printers were Benjamin Edes and John Gill, publishers of the *Boston Gazette*. Edes and Gill used the pages of their newspaper to convince readers of British tyranny as Parliament continued to seek ways to raise money in the colonies. Edes and Gill were aided in their efforts by Sam Adams, a leader of the Boston Sons of Liberty and one of the best essay propagandists writing during the Revolutionary era. Edes and Gill had to cease publication following the battles of Lexington and Concord, and they never recovered their position of leadership. The most vocal Patriot printer after Lexington and Concord was Isaiah Thomas, publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy*. Thomas began his newspaper in Boston in 1770 but moved to Worces-

ter in 1775. He spent the rest of the war urging his readers to join together to fight the British threat: "Let us not busy ourselves now about our private internal affairs, but with the utmost care and caution, attend to the grand American controversy, and assist her in her earnest struggle in support of her natural rights and freedom."

Once fighting broke out in 1775, the role of the media changed somewhat. Prior to 1775, the dissemination of ideas constituted the primary goal. Following Lexington and Concord, news and rumors about the fighting became of greater interest. The function of the newspapers during the years of fighting centered around boosting morale by reporting American successes. As a result, the media played an essential role in keeping many Americans convinced that they could win and that the war was still worth fighting. Without such an outlook on the part of Americans, the war would have been lost. By publishing materials from throughout the colonies and keeping readers apprised of events in other places, the newspapers provided a necessary communications link that proved vital for ultimate success and victory.

CAROL SUE HUMPHREY

See also Stamp Act of 1765; Washington, George, and the Press

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American Tract Society

Early users of mass media to disseminate ideas

The American Tract Society (ATS), a religious publishing house founded in 1825, was one of the first organizations in U.S. history to imagine and develop genuinely mass media. In its earliest years, the ATS conceived the idea of placing the same printed messages into the hands of everyone. While this millennial goal was never reached, the society by the late 1820s was annually printing and distributing 5 million tracts – at least five pages for every man, woman, and child in America. By 1850, the ATS had published 2.5 billion pages of religious literature. Although the four-to-eight-page gospel tract was the society's trademark medium, the ATS at mid-century was also a major publisher of religious books and periodicals. To realize the dream of religious mass media, the ATS early on became a leading

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Franklin, Benjamin

Father of American journalism

Benjamin Franklin personifies the spirit of American independence and enterprise. The "father of American journalism," he had a career that progressed from an apprenticeship at the age of 12 in the print shop of his brother James in Boston to editor and publisher of the most successful and prosperous newspaper and publishing operation in the colonies.

An avid reader, Franklin had an irrepressible quest for knowledge, creative genius, organizational ability, and versatile writing talent that made him an invaluable colonial leader. He was an editor and publisher, statesman, diplomat, and scientist. He was a member of the Second Continental Congress, the first postmaster general, signer of the Declaration of Independence (which he helped to draft), and an influential member of the Constitutional Convention.

In 1722, he was made editor of his brother's influential newspaper, the *New England Courant*, after exhibiting skill for satirical writing with a series of "Silence Dogood" articles. In 1729, he established his own widely circulated *Pennsylvania Gazette* and in 1732, the first foreign-language newspaper, the *Philadelphia Zeitung*; in 1741, he founded the *General Magazine*, one of the first magazines in the colonies.

Early in his publishing career, Franklin espoused press freedom and balanced news coverage. In 1731, he wrote in his "Apology for Printers" that printers had a special re-

sponsibility to print both sides of a controversy. One of Franklin's best-known publications was *Poor Richard's Almanack*, launched in 1732.

ELSIE HEBERT

See also Almanacs; Colonial Press; Printers' Networks

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Frederick, Pauline

First female network news correspondent

Pauline Frederick, the first female network news correspondent and the only woman in network news for more than a decade, was noted especially for her coverage of the United Nations. Born in Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, she began reporting as a high school student and went on to receive both B.A. and M.A. degrees from American University in Washington, D.C. Upon graduation she became a feature writer for both daily and weekly publications, covering the U.S. Department of State. She began working part-time for NBC Radio and joined the North American Newspaper Alliance, which made her a war correspondent. She covered the Nuremberg trials and won acclaim for her special reports for the *New York Times* on postwar Red Army suppression of freedom in Poland.

Returning to the United States, she went to work for ABC in 1946 and began her familiar political convention coverage, sometimes focusing on candidates' wives. Starting special reports from the United Nations the following year, she wrote and produced the nonnews program "Pauline Frederick's Guest Books," which aired once a week over ABC. She covered the trial of Alger Hiss in the United States and reported from the scene of the lifting of the Berlin blockade. Rejoining NBC as a news analyst in 1953, she hosted both weekday commentary and interview programs for radio. She was an occasional panel member on NBC-TV public affairs programs and continued, until 1974, reporting on the United Nations. In 1976, she moderated a debate between presidential candidates Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford for PBS.

MICHAEL D. MURRAY

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I

Illustrated Newspapers

Woodcuts brought visual information to readers

A new kind of journal arrived in the United States in the 1850s, just in time to provide pictorial coverage of the country's biggest story – the Civil War. Catapulted to prominence by the demand for war news, the illustrated newspaper remained popular for half a century before the halftone-filled Sunday newspaper supplements crowded it aside in the 1900s.

The first successful example was the *Illustrated London News*, founded in 1842 by English journalist Herbert Ingram. Successful starts the next year included *L'Illustration*, in Paris, and the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, in Leipzig, Germany.

Henry Carter, a 21-year-old illustrator at the London paper, signed his work "Frank Leslie" so that his disapproving father would not know he had gone into the arts. Young Leslie advanced rapidly, but when he learned that engravers were scarce in the United States, he emigrated with his family and set up shop on Broadway in New York City.

U.S. magazines were recognizing the strong public demand for illustration, and in the 1840s and 1850s, some of them began to switch from expensive metal engravings to woodcuts and to call themselves "pictorials." After producing some engravings for promotional materials for P.T. Barnum, Leslie joined one of the pictorials for its 1851 startup – *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, published in Boston. There he employed a technique he had learned in London: he sawed about a square foot of Turkish boxwood into small pieces, bolted them together, made a skeletal drawing and a few connecting lines of backgrounds on them, then assigned the pieces to a crew of engravers so that they could work on various parts of the woodcut simultaneously, bolt them back together, and finish a large illustration in record time. It was a practice better suited to a newspaper than to the leisurely pace of a literary pictorial like *Gleason's* and probably indicated Leslie's interest in establishing a newsweekly in the United States.

Leslie went to New York and interrupted P.T. Barnum's Thanksgiving dinner in 1852 to make a proposition, from which came the *Illustrated News*, the first successful self-designated news pictorial in America. Leslie was chief engraver. This newspaper was published throughout 1853, approaching 50,000 circulation, but at year's end, Barnum's

partners pulled out and it was merged with *Gleason's*. Leslie stayed in New York, laying plans for his own newspaper, which he launched in late 1855 as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. It bore strong resemblance to the *Illustrated London News* and *Gleason's* – a 16-page folio, with pages 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 16 dominated by illustrations, and the other eight pages (the back of the sheet before folding) consisting entirely of text. The first year's coverage included news of U.S. adventurer William Walker's soldiering in Nicaragua, the three-way presidential race of 1856, floods in France, the end of the Crimean War, the coronation of Alexander II of Russia, and caustic reports of Mormon polygamy. The paper sold for 10 cents, with the price reduced to six cents by late 1856.

Leslie employed more than 100 artists, engravers, and printers, and the expense of such an enterprise led him to reduce news coverage and devote more space to fiction and travel features. The price reduction helped circulation, but Leslie's apparent success inevitably led others into the field, most notably *Harper's Weekly*, the project of Fletcher Harper of the large Harper Brothers publishing house. Harper used woodcuts primarily to illustrate fiction at first, but by late 1857 was covering news events as actively as Leslie. The two weeklies competed vigorously for decades.

In 1859, the *New York Illustrated News* joined the fray, and as the Civil War broke out, it joined its two healthier competitors in sending dozens of artists into the field. Leslie would have up to 12 correspondents in the field at a time, and over the four-year span of the war, his 80 artists sent in some 3,000 scenes for the engravers. Of these, only one or two a week would be based on photographs; the rest were sketched from direct observation or, in a pinch, from newspaper reports. It was demanding work, like soldiering without a gun – which would have been lighter to carry than the many supplies required for sketching in the field. Many artists, exhausted, abandoned the work, and a few were killed or captured. Thomas Nast, who worked for all three weeklies at various times during the conflict, was destined to be the most successful of the group as a newspaper artist; Winslow Homer, employed by Harper, was the one to make the biggest name in a postwar artistic career.

Pictorial journalism matured greatly in the 1860s. Before the war, illustrations were so ragged or inaccurate that it became fashionable for literary figures to scoff at the picture weeklies, and this derision continued long after the



Photographs of liberated Andersonville prisoners showed the horrors of the Civil War Southern prison camp.

artists had proven themselves under fire. (Mark Twain and William Wordsworth were among the critics.) But as the war progressed, the artists learned how to cultivate generals, how to make the battle lines ragged enough that the soldiers would not laugh at them, how to make the war more personal and vivid by portraying individuals instead of battalions.

The circulation of the illustrated weeklies fluctuated in keeping with the importance of the news. These weeklies became a major part of the typical newsstand, grouped apart from the tamer-looking literary journals, and typical-

ly selling for 10 cents (the vendor kept about three cents for himself). They also were sold widely on trains and are sometimes considered by popular historians to be a part of what they call "railroad literature." They often reached six-figure circulations when the news was big enough.

The success of these pioneers led to expansion of the industry. Some publications were begun or were converted to pictorials, which looked similar but seemed more magazine than newspaper because of specialized content. Examples of this type are *Harper's Bazar*, *Scientific American*, and the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*. Others posed as newspapers but actually relied almost entirely on stories, poems, and humor – for example, the *Illustrated American News* (born and died in 1851, actually predating Barnum's paper), *Once a Week*, and *Every Saturday*. A third type of offshoot was the highly sensational ancestor of modern tabloids. These were often printed on pink paper, and featured a provocative action picture dominating page one – for example, a gunfight in a gambling den, a bloody boxing scene, or an umbrella-wielding matron retrieving her son from a bordello. Such scenes drew the curious irresistibly to the *National Police Gazette*, the *Illustrated Police News*, and Frank Leslie's own *Day's Doings*.

All this competition for the newspaper buyer's coin greatly diluted the revenue of the three war papers, and, indeed, the *New York Illustrated News* did not live to report the end of the war. After Appomattox, *Harper's Weekly* usually led the field in circulation, becoming a powerful journal of political reporting as Thomas Nast aimed his deadly pen at the bosses of Tammany Hall. It is true that the Harper Brothers spun off some circulation by starting *Harper's Bazar* (renamed *Harper's Bazaar* in 1929), but Frank Leslie was starting new publications almost annually in the postwar years. By the 1880s, *Harper's Weekly* had a circulation around 100,000 and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* only about half that. Frank Leslie died in 1880, and his wife established herself as a journalist to be reckoned with as she parlayed President James Garfield's lingering death in the 1881 assassination into a circulation gain of 100,000. The gain was temporary, and she sold the weekly in 1889.

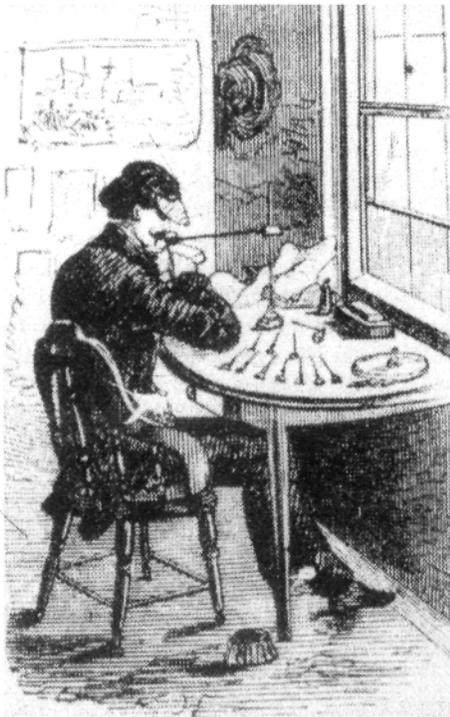
Census taker S.N.D. North reported that he counted 481 illustrated periodicals in the United States in 1880. That was the year that Stephen Horgan at the *New York Daily Graphic* succeeded in converting a photograph into the patterns of dots seen today as the halftone screen. The *Daily Graphic* had been started in 1873 expressly to utilize the new technologies of photography and photoengraving. Its founding was the beginning of the end of the woodcut's usefulness in newspaper journalism.

The *Daily Graphic*, the first daily illustrated newspaper in the United States, itself survived only 16 years, as the Horgan process was too difficult for practical use at that time. Halftone engraving would not be introduced successfully into the mainstream newspaper press until the late 1890s. Another industry development, however, was displacing the illustrated newspaper. The last third of the nineteenth century was the era of greatest expansion in U.S. daily newspapers and particularly for Sunday papers. The number more than doubled in the 1880s, and redoubled in

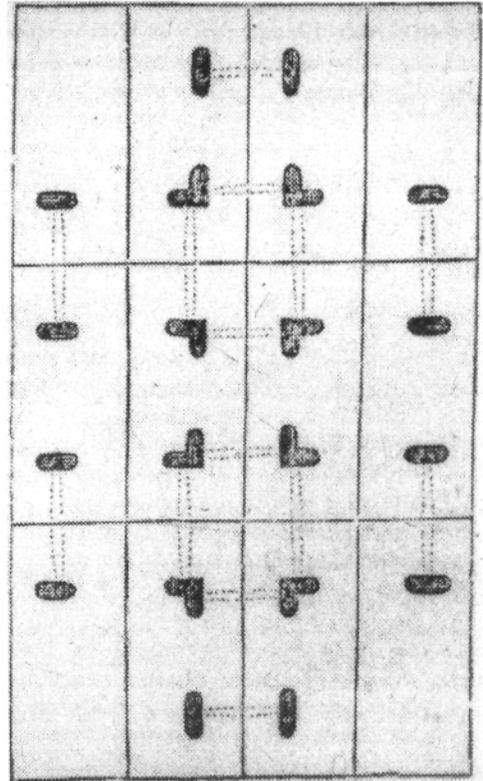


An artist would perform the transformation from photograph to line drawing.

Americans saw pictures as line drawings in illustrated newspapers.



The line drawing then would be carved on small woodblocks by another craftsman.



The small blocks then were joined together for the press run.

the 1890s, totaling 567 in 1899. Early in the twentieth century these large Sunday editions began to include Sunday magazines and rotogravure sections. Furthermore, the 1890s are notable as the time when the country's top magazines cut prices and reached mass audiences for the first time. The once-a-week illustrated newspaper, with its mix of artwork, news, features and fiction, had become an anachronism.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper was continued by other publishers until 1922. *Harper's Weekly* was merged into other publications in 1916, then revived for the nostalgia market in 1974.

GEORGE EVERETT

See also Magazine Illustrations; Magazines in the Nineteenth Century; Magazines in the Twentieth Century; Photojournalism in the Nineteenth Century; Photojournalism in the Twentieth Century

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Image, The

Early exploration of the media event phenomenon

First published in 1961, *The Image: or What Happened to the American Dream?*, by Daniel J. Boorstin, explored the illusory nature of life in the twentieth-century United States. It introduced the notion of the "pseudo-event," something covered by the news media not because it is a spontaneous happening but because someone planned it primarily with a view to getting news coverage. A "pseudo-event," a term that became a staple phrase in the language, has no reality of its own.

Kin to "pseudo-events" were twentieth-century celebrities who were celebrities because they were well known; packaged tours that gave the traveler the flavor of a foreign location without requiring him or her actually to share in the experience of the locals; and digests that allowed the reader to believe that everything worth knowing is at one's

fingertips. The pseudo-event flourishes, Boorstin argued, because people in the United States think in terms of images rather than ideals, invention rather than discovery, and prestige rather than honor, and he called for the people to awaken and recognize the difference between dreams and illusions.

His call struck a responsive chord in U.S. readers. The book, retitled *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, continued to provoke discussion into the late twentieth century.

BARBARA CLOUD

See also Media Events; Staged News

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Indian Wars

Misreporting often a characteristic of battle news

From about 1860 through the 1890s, the U.S. Army waged a battle against the Native Americans, at first believing that the various tribes should be assimilated into the white culture, and finally believing that the country's first settlers should be exterminated in the interest of the westward expansion of the United States. Throughout the Indian Wars, the press ultimately played a critical role in stirring public sentiment against the Indians. Its role has been described by historians of the era as a shameful chapter in press history during which untrained and trained reporters often wrote fictitious stories about Indian atrocities, relied on reports from clearly biased U.S. soldiers, did not understand the political and social differences between the various tribes, and generally displayed an ignorance of the type of military strategy used in classic warfare – that of the American Civil War, for example – and the strategy relevant to fighting Indians.

The Indian Wars spanned the post-Civil War period, during which "war correspondence . . . bloomed into a specialized journalistic function . . . and thereafter the war correspondent took his place as a singular figure in both journalism and adventure." Indeed, there was much adventure for the young reporter anxious to prove himself a part of the country's westward destiny. The reporter who was assigned or who volunteered to cover the Indian Wars was expected to travel and fight with the various military units. There were approximately 1,065 engagements between the U.S. Army and the Indians between 1866 and 1891, averaging about 37 fights a year. One scholar estimated that the peak of fighting occurred between 1867 and 1869. Although the wars were fought in three areas – the plains, the mountains, and the desert – the most vicious fighting occurred on the plains where the first transcontinental railroad was laid across the Indians' hunting grounds. The first

M

Madison Avenue, USA

Study of cultural and social aspects of the advertising industry

When it was published in 1958, *Madison Avenue, USA*, by Martin Mayer, was unlike any previous volume on advertising. Most advertising works before Mayer's book either were unabashed promotions of advertising or concluded that virtually every ill in the United States could be laid at advertising's doorstep. *Madison Avenue, USA*, was a generally accurate and insightful look at all aspects of advertising, including personalities, agencies, media, campaigns, research, and advertising industry problems.

While something of an apology for advertising, the book still managed to penetrate to the heart of the craft as it was practiced in the middle of the twentieth century. Mayer went into all aspects of advertising by talking to about 400 practitioners. This resulted in an emphasis on the cultural and social aspects of advertising. The book was a story about people rather than the business and economics of advertising.

Beyond dealing with the craft in all its day-to-day manifestations, one of Mayer's most important discussions looked at how advertising represented political entities in the United States. While still written from the perspective of big names, the book looked at the role of advertising practitioners in the political campaigns of the 1940s and 1950s in a way that still has application for today. There is still much that is accurate in *Madison Avenue, USA*, but the years also have bypassed some of what the author had to say.

DONALD R. AVERY

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Magazine Advertising

As magazines grew in number and importance, advertising in them increased

For centuries, advertising was concentrated in handbills and circulars, outdoor signs, and newspapers. Once consid-

ered an embarrassment for which few took responsibility, in the late 1800s, the industry began to reform itself by obtaining trustworthy circulation statements from publishers, developing contracts for proper associations between agents and advertisers, establishing successful campaigns by national advertisers other than patent medicines, and implementing legitimate copywriting and advertising styles.

Another factor in the reformation of advertising was the national magazine. Changes in advertising helped create a new medium that successfully combined information, entertainment, and selling. The evolution of the magazine into a respectable advertising medium included changes in magazine publishing and coincided with other transformations in U.S. society.

Magazines proliferated in the nineteenth-century United States to include special interest magazines and strong editorial figures such as Sara Hale, publisher of *Godey's Ladies' Book*. Magazine content included political news, essays on society, short fiction, poetry, and polemics. For much of the century, magazines contained little, if any, advertising other than a few classified notices. Separated from the editorial and textual content, advertisements were restricted to a page or two per issue. *Godey's* promoted the Great American Tea Company on its back cover while the more popular monthly magazines such as the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's* were financed by publishing houses that ran advertisements on the back pages for their own books. The more successful magazines aimed their considerable reading material at a more affluent, literate readership and derived their revenue mainly from subscription fees.

One exception to this trend in magazine publishing was achieved by E.C. Allen, who recognized the potential of magazines as an advertising medium. Allen's *People's Literary Companion* was launched to advertise his soap powder formula. Unlike other magazines of the era, Allen's lived by advertising and attracted readers to its short stories and household hints with an inexpensive price of 50 cents or less. When circulation jumped to more than 500,000, Allen expanded his publishing empire to a dozen magazines for home and farm readerships – or “mail-order journals,” as they were called. The “polite” magazines with their “gentle readers,” however, took pride in not emulating Allen's methods, at least for a while.

National advertising was central to the so-called maga-

GAS FIXTURES.
ARCHER & WARNER,
 No. 119 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA,
 MANUFACTURERS,

WOULD INVITE THE ATTENTION OF PURCHASERS TO THEIR EXTENSIVE ASSORTMENT OF NEW PATTERNED
CHANDELIERS, BRACKETS, PENDANTS, LAMPS, GIRONDALES, &c. &c.

They also introduce GAS PIPES into public buildings and dwellings, and attend to all kinds of Gas Work, including repairing and extending Gas Pipe.
 Gas Fitters supplied with BRASS FITTINGS, AIR PUMPS, and every article connected with the trade.

ARTHUR'S HOME GAZETTE FOR 1852.

THE "HOME GAZETTE," through the Editor's untiring efforts to produce a weekly family paper combining the highest degree of interest and instruction, with an entire

FREEDOM FROM VULGARITY, LOW SLANG, PROFANITY,

OR ANYTHING THAT CAN CORRUPT OR DEPRAVE THE MIND, has already gained a circulation that is exceeded only by a single one of the Philadelphia weekly literary papers, and won the fullest confidence of a virtuous and discriminating public. In their Prospectus, for 1852, the publishers have little to say beyond what has already been said. They have given to

T. S. ARTHUR, THE EDITOR,

entire control of the paper. Not a line goes in without his supervision; and he is, therefore, responsible for all that appears therein. So that just the same confidence felt in him by the public, as a sound and safe moral teacher, may be felt in his "HOME GAZETTE," which is emphatically

A supporter of Religion and Virtue, and the conservator of good morals and social well-being.

In the ORIGINAL LITERARY DEPARTMENT, no magazine in the country is better sustained than the "Home Gazette." Besides a regular series of articles from many of the best writers in the country,

Nearly all that the Editor writes will appear first in the "Home Gazette."

In order to keep the columns of our paper perfectly free from all that may injure either body or mind, ALL MEDICAL ADVERTISEMENTS WILL BE EXCLUDED; AND, ALSO, ALL ADVERTISEMENTS OF BAD BOOKS, OR ANYTHING THAT CAN DO HARM.

The "HOME GAZETTE" is printed on white paper, with LARGE CLEAR TYPE.

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Three copies " - - - - 5 00	Fourteen copies " - - - - 20 00
Six copies " - - - - 10 00	

ARTHUR'S HOME GAZETTE and GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK, one year, FOUR DOLLARS.

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 OR, THE "LADY'S BOOK" AND "ILLUSTRATED FAMILY FRIEND," PUBLISHED AT COLUMBIA, S. C., FOR FOUR DOLLARS.

ine revolution of the late nineteenth century. Like E.C. Allen, advertising agency pioneer J. Walter Thompson realized that magazines were prominent advertising vehicles because they remained on reading tables in people's homes for a month and were read repeatedly, often by women, who usually were responsible for household purchases. Thompson explored the advertising potential of magazines by placing an advertisement for asbestos roofing in *Godey's* and *Peterson's*. Despite being placed in women's journals, the ads sold more roofing than any promotion in the company's history. Thompson repeated the demonstration with another product and, based on these successes, was able to convince the leading monthlies to run advertisements for such products as Pabst beer, Mennen talcum powder, Kodak cameras, Prudential insurance, and Durkee's salad dressing. By 1876, *Scribner's* was carrying 20 pages of ads per issue with no apparent loss in literary integrity. Thompson attracted advertisers by brandishing a list of 25 to 30 magazines that were under his exclusive contract. This "Standard List" included virtually all of the leading U.S. magazines such as the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Godey's*, *Peterson's*, and *Century* (the successor to *Scribner's*).

Magazine publishers began to capitalize on a formula that identified a mass audience and gave it what it wanted to read, reduced the price of magazines to below the cost of production, and sold advertising space at rates based on (large) circulation figures. Profits were made on advertising revenues instead of on subscriptions. Two of the first publishers to employ consciously this new formula were Frank Munsey and Cyrus Curtis. After two years of moderate success, Munsey reduced the price of his *Munsey's Journal* in October 1893 from a quarter to a dime. The circulation of *Munsey's Journal*, which featured light topical stories and pictures of scantily dressed women, rose from 40,000 in October 1893 to 200,000 the following February, and to 500,000 in April. In 1895, two other general monthlies, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan*, also dropped their prices to 10 cents.

Cyrus Curtis spun off the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1883 from his farmer's weekly, the *Tribune and Farmer*. The *Journal* started with a circulation of 50,000, and after a major advertising campaign on its behalf by the Wayland Ayer agency, circulation rose to 750,000. Unlike his colleagues, Curtis doubled the subscription cost and launched a campaign that saw the magazine's ad columns filled with Ayer clients. Curtis spent \$150,000 on advertising in 1890 and eventually hired a sales force just for the *Journal*. Curtis paid close attention to the format and presentation of ads and initiated the process of actually designing ads and selling them to advertisers. In 1896, editor Edward Bok began the practice of ad-stripping, or tailing, whereby fiction and other features were interrupted and continued into columns in the back pages, thus drawing readers' attention back to advertisements otherwise ignored.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, magazines contributed to a revitalized advertising industry and provided a foundation for subsequent developments in the commercialization of mass media. Not only were print media and advertising altered by magazine publishing's innovations in photographic and color reproduction techniques,

but magazines established many of the marketing and distribution methods that would come to be used by most commercial media institutions. Magazines eventually provided services desired by advertisers such as consumer panels and research services. The use of audience research instead of circulation data became the standard response to broadcasting's competitive challenge as an advertising medium. Magazines' practice of selling target audiences to advertisers became the dominant media marketing strategy in the twentieth century.

DWIGHT E. BROOKS

See also Advertising in the Nineteenth Century; Advertising in the Twentieth Century; Magazines in the Nineteenth Century; Magazines in the Twentieth Century

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**Making
Chocolate Cake
easily and
successfully
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**LANG'S READYMADE
CHOCOLATE ICING**

For sale by all grocers

A sample can (enough to make one three-layer cake) sent postpaid on receipt of ten 2c. stamps

LANG CHOCOLATE CO., Philadelphia

Twentieth-century magazine advertising contained illustrations and fewer words.

(Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

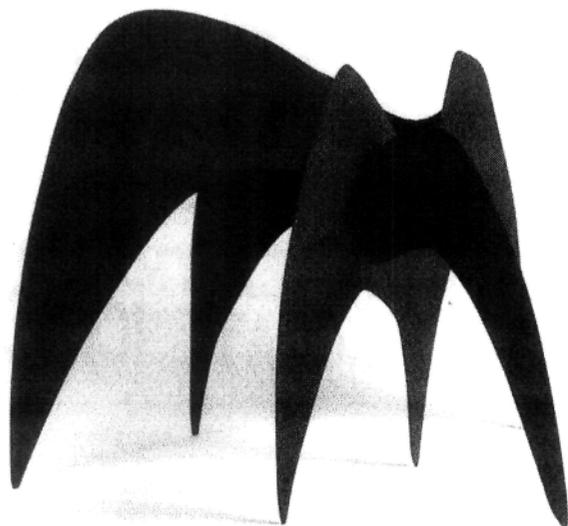
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Magazine Awards

The most prestigious magazine awards in the United States at the end of the twentieth century were the National Magazine Awards, sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) and administered by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. The awards were given annually from 1970 and were awarded in 11 categories: general excellence (with four subcategories by circulation); personal service; special interests; reporting; feature writing; public interest; design; photography; fiction; essays and criticism; and single-topic issue. In each category, the award - represented by an Alexander Calder sculpture known as an Ellie (for its resemblance to an elephant) - was given to the magazine itself, rather than to the individual writer, editor, photographer, or designer of the winning entry. As of the late 1990s, the *New Yorker* had won the most National Magazine Awards, most of them in the reporting and fiction categories. This highly competitive competition drew 1,310 entries from 323 magazines in 1995.



National Magazine Award
(Courtesy of the American Society of Magazine Editors)

The Magazine Publishers of America (MPA), which included the ASME, gave two other annual awards. One was the Henry Johnson Fisher Award, a tribute to magazine executives who made significant contributions to the business. The other was the Kelly Award, named for former MPA president Stephen E. Kelly and given from 1981 to recognize outstanding magazine advertising. Awards were made in several categories; the general excellence prize of \$100,000 went to the advertising agency creative team judged to have produced the year's best magazine ad campaign. Other advertising competitions recognizing magazine work included the American Advertising Federation's Addy Awards and the American Marketing Association's Effie Awards.

The business-press counterpart of the National Magazine Awards were the Jesse H. Neal Awards, awarded annually by the American Business Press (ABP) and named for the organization's first managing director. In 1995, the awards' fortieth year, a national group of judges considered nearly 700 entries in six categories. The ABP also gave the Crain Award to recognize individuals' career contributions to business publishing. The American Society of Business Press Editors Awards honored trade publications as well.

Other awards for magazine journalism were the John Bartlow Martin Awards for Public Service Magazine Journalism, sponsored by the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University; the magazine categories of the George Polk Journalism Awards, administered by Long Island University; the Computer Press Awards; and the Gerald R. Loeb Awards for Distinguished Business and Financial Journalism. In addition, magazine editorial content was considered for annual awards given by national media organizations including the following: the Society of Professional Journalists (Sigma Delta Chi Awards); Investigative Reporters and Editors (based at the University of Missouri); the Overseas Press Club of America; the National Press Photographers Association (Pictures of the Year Awards); and Women in Communication (Clarion Awards). Finally, magazine entries were eligible for awards made by several groups representing minorities and other special interests, including the National Association of Black Journalists; the Gay and Lesbian Press Association; the Amy Foundation (awards for religious and inspirational writing in secular media); the National Easter Seal Society (EDI Awards for coverage of disability issues); and the Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families (Casey Medals for coverage of disadvantaged children).

CAROLYN KITCH

Magazine Circulation

Evaluating how magazines get into the hands of readers

Magazine circulation governs how magazines get into the hands of the publications' readers. For consumer magazines (those generally available to the public), circulation is a ma-

major source of revenue, providing an industry average of 53 percent of the publication's revenue in 1991.

Magazines operate as paid-circulation publications, controlled-circulation publications, or some combination of the two. Operating under a paid-circulation policy means that readers pay for the magazine, either by subscription or single-copy sales. A controlled-circulation policy means that readers are limited (or controlled) to those who meet specific criteria or qualifications set by the publication; such readers usually receive the magazine free.

Since advertising prices, or rates, and sales are determined by the audience number and its quality, publications must be able to prove just how many readers, paid or qualified, the magazine has. Advertisers expect magazines to deliver the stated minimum number of readers. For example, if a magazine sells advertisements based on a total paid circulation of 100,000, its circulation must have been at least 100,000 during the previous six months. If not, the publisher owes the advertiser a refund.

One way in which magazines and advertisers provide such proof is by means of an audit. In the late 1990s, there were two major auditing groups. Both groups set uniform practices and standards by which circulation was defined and reported. Audits make meaningful comparisons among publications possible. Audits provide a thorough breakdown of the average circulation by issue, identifying circulation, subscriptions, single-copy sales, association sales, duration and price of subscriptions sold, whether or not the sale involved a premium, and the channel of sale.

The Audit Bureau of Circulations and the Business Publications Audit of Circulation, Inc., were membership groups made up of publishers, ad agencies, and advertisers. Dues were based on circulation for the publishers and on annual print media billings for the advertisers. When a publication was audited, the member paid the cost of the audit. Auditors examined postal receipts, printers' bills, paper inventories and usage, data from national distributors, circulation records, and income receipts. They also sampled mailing lists and examined the request lists of controlled magazines. Some magazines offered a sworn statement while others used an independent verification service or simply postal receipts.

A paid-circulation magazine has the obvious advantage of generating revenue through subscriptions and single-copy sales. Paid-circulation publications also qualify for lower second-class postage rates. Paid circulation usually means cleaner mail lists, and cleaner lists mean that a publication might be able to rent that list for a higher fee. Clean lists also mean less waste. Publications may continue sending issues to subscribers after the expiration of the subscription for up to three months. This is called gracing the subscription. After that time, however, the name may no longer be counted toward the circulation total. Since it is expensive to send publications to those who do not pay and cannot be counted in the circulation number for generating advertising dollars, good circulation practice purges them from the active mail list. In addition, paid-circulation subscribers renew, usually annually. This renewal process provides an ongoing report on the organization's vitality, direction, service, and editorial content.

The major disadvantage of paid circulation is the expense of generating new subscriptions and maintaining that subscriber base. Publications generate some circulation through single-copy sales, but there is also a cost involved in this line of sales. The average industry return on the cover price is approximately 50 percent, the rest being taken by national distributors, wholesalers, and retailers. In addition, single-copy sales simply do not generate high circulation numbers. In 1980, single-copy sales accounted for an average 16 percent of the circulation revenues. By 1991, the percentage of single-copy revenue had dropped to 14 percent.

Consequently, subscriptions become crucial. Sales often are generated through expensive, direct-mail campaigns. These campaigns put thousands, even millions, of promotions in the mail, and only 2 to 5 percent of the recipients respond. Of those who do, an average of 30 percent of them never pay the subscription rate. These direct-mail packages cost more than \$300 for every 1,000 packages. Launching a new publication by direct mail might easily cost \$500,000 to more than \$1 million; each new subscriber may cost publishers from \$10 to \$40. The industry average annual subscription rate in 1990 was \$27.11.

Controlled circulation avoids this major expense, since the publisher determines who qualifies for the magazine. The advantages show up in greatly reduced promotional costs and the ability to build circulation quickly. In addition, controlled publications reach all significant persons in a particular field and therefore have an interested audience. Such publications can be structured horizontally, going to specific personnel regardless of industry – for example, purchasing officers, or even purchasing officers who manage \$10 million in annual expenditures. Publications also can operate vertically, top to bottom, in one industry – from the chief executive officer to the producer and all the middlemen in between.

Magazines may have both paid and controlled circulation. Most magazines, however, have a predominance of one or the other. Some publications may begin life in one form and gradually convert as business strategy determines. *Folio*, the publication for the magazine industry, began as a controlled-circulation publication. After a few years it began to qualify fewer readers and converted some of them to subscribers. By 1994, *Folio's* circulation was 71 percent paid.

Once subscribers are on board, the circulation department has to get the magazine into their hands. This service is referred to as fulfillment. The preparation of mailing lists, purging of names, and addition of new names can be done in-house or contracted to others. Fulfillment houses process data for hundreds of magazines and charge a fee (75 cents to more than a dollar per name per year). Given the specialized nature of fulfillment, it may make sense to farm that operation out. On the other hand, each circulation department provides its own customer service to deal with complaints and queries.

S.M.W. BASS

See also Specialized Business Publications

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Magazine Competition

Publications vie for readers, advertisers

Magazines have long held positions of influence and impact on U.S. journalism. Like newspapers, they have evolved in size, circulation, price, typography, market, and means of distribution, as well as in editorial and advertising content. The one constant in the world of magazines has been intense, even fierce, competition. Virtually every successful magazine has spawned similar publications that sought to further segment the market. Since the late 1800s, the center of the U.S. magazine industry has been located, with few exceptions, in New York City.

Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Bradford are generally credited with starting in 1741 the first magazines in the United States. Franklin's *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* lasted six issues before folding; Bradford's *American Magazine* lasted three. Since the founding of the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1821, magazines in the United States truly have become a national institution. *Harper's New*

Monthly was started in 1850, followed by *Harper's Weekly*, which during the Civil War boasted a circulation of more than 100,000. The *Atlantic Monthly* was founded in 1857, and two years later, *Vanity Fair* was launched. *Harper's Bazaar*, begun in 1867, became the precursor to the high-fashion monthly magazines of the twentieth century. The Postal Act in 1879 pioneered relatively inexpensive mass mailing rates that eventually allowed mass circulation of thousands of start-up magazines. The inaugural issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* came out in 1883, and by 1903, it was the first magazine to boast 1 million subscribers. The high-end women's fashion magazine *Vogue*, originally a weekly, started in 1892.

The magazine industry is studded with milestones. *McClure's*, published in 1893, published strong political exposés, a type of journalism labeled "muckraking" by President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1896, the National Geographic Society launched a monthly that carried as its title the society's name. In 1919, Bernarr Macfadden started *True Story*, triggering the entry into the marketplace of scores of detective and confession magazines, known as "pulp." Named because originally they were printed on rough, wood-pulp stock, the magazines carried fiction and ran little advertising. Popular titles included *Argosy*, *Detective Story*, and *Amazing Stories*.

DeWitt Wallace in 1922 introduced *Reader's Digest*, an advertisement-free compendium of reprinted articles. To accommodate the post-World War I boom years, Meredith Corporation launched *Better Homes and Gardens* in 1922, which followed the earlier entries on domesticity, *Town and Country*, originally launched in 1846, *House Beautiful* in 1896, and *House and Garden* in 1901.

In 1923, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden began the publishing concept of the newsweekly with *Time*, followed a decade later by *Newsweek*, which was started by Thomas J.C. Martyn, and *United States News*, begun by syndicated columnist David Lawrence. Legendary editor Harold Ross in 1925 first published a sophisticated literary magazine,

Periodicals Published 1935–1990

Year	Total	Weekly	Semi-Weekly	Monthly	Bi-Monthly	Quarterly
1935	6,546	1,484	203	3,608	196	493
1940	6,432	1,399	427	4,466	241	538
1945	6,569	1,359	246	3,503	309	578
1950	6,960	1,443	416	3,694	436	604
1955	7,648	1,602	503	3,78	2608	674
1960	8,422	1,580	527	4,113	743	895
1965	8,990	1,716	550	4,195	876	1,030
1970	9,573	1,856	589	4,314	957	1,108
1975	9,657	1,918	537	4,807	1,009	1,093
1980	10,236	1,716	645	3,985	1,114	1,444
1985	11,090	1,367	801	4,088	1,361	1,759
1990	11,092	553	435	4,239	2,087	2,758

Notes: Totals for Alaska and Hawaii included as of 1960.

Source: *Datapedia of the United States 1790–2000: America Year by Year*. George Thomas Kurian (Bernan Press: Lanham, Maryland, 1994).

the *New Yorker*. Large-format magazines *Esquire* and *Life* came on the market in 1933 and 1936, respectively, followed by another similar general-circulation publication, *Look*. To compete with business magazine *Forbes*, started in 1917, two influential titles were launched, ironically, just before or during the Great Depression: McGraw-Hill in 1929 started *Business Week*, followed five months later by Time, Inc.'s, *Fortune*.

In 1950, Hugh Hefner launched *Playboy*; in 1953, Walter Annenberg started *TV Guide*; and in 1954, Time, Inc., inaugurated *Sports Illustrated*. Jann Wenner started *Rolling Stone* in 1967 to cover the world of rock music and the youth subculture. In 1972, a collective group of women led by Gloria Steinem published the first issue of *Ms.*, a monthly largely devoted to issues raised for the women's movement. Time, Inc., in 1974 entered the gossip magazine market by introducing *People*. In the late 1990s, magazines numbered more than 11,150; the average cover price was \$4.15.

Throughout the rise of such consumer magazines, there was a similar increase in launches of trade, technical, and professional magazines. At the end of the twentieth century, every conceivable profession and hobby had its own specialty magazine. Titles included *Pizza Today*, *Cigar Aficionado*, *Bowling Proprietor*, and *Mortuary Management*.

The rapid rise of specialized, so-called niche magazines in the early 1970s was destined by the popularity of general circulation publications, which had fallen victim to their own success. *Life*, for example, had a circulation of 8.6 million readers in 1970, but with such a large circulation, production and distribution costs outpaced advertising dollars. A prevailing sentiment among advertisers was that such mass audience subscribers could be reached more economically through television advertising. Such views, coupled with a dramatic increase in postal rates in 1972, spurred many advertisers to opt for other, more cost-efficient ways to reach consumers.

While specialty magazines were not new – niche publications targeted for women had been around for almost 100 years – during the early and mid-1970s, economic factors pushed publishers to invent magazines designed to appeal to increasingly narrow segments of the reading public. Such magazines focused on issues such as sports, food, exercise, computers, and health. Many were not pitched solely to the subscribers but to casual newsstand buyers. The change prompted publishers to carefully consider magazine covers as inducements for impulse buying.

As cable television boasted increasing numbers of subscribers in the 1980s, a further erosion occurred. Declining advertising revenue and a drop in circulation in the 1990s plagued the magazine industry and further forced publishers to target even greater specialized markets. Controlled-circulation publications (magazines distributed free to demographically select audiences) flourished. With few exceptions, magazines that increased advertising pages included those that could pinpoint-deliver a specific market that could not be reached as effectively by any other medium. Magazines that flourished targeted very selective niche markets (i.e., specific geographic regions, lifestyles, age-groups, and avocations). Desktop publishing made small-circulation start-ups as easy as owning or borrowing a computer

and software. As the cost of postage increased, magazines also moved to smaller sizes and lighter paper stock, which reduced mailing costs.

To further customize content to niche readers, publishers in the early 1990s began using a technique known as selective edit, in which special editorial sections could be inserted into magazines and sent to targeted readers. Such sections differed from advertorials, which combine editorial and advertising content to provide special themed sections. Selective edit called for specialized information the subscriber wanted, and often paid for, about specific sports teams, players, businesses, and mortgage rates in subscribers' regions. Another practice, selective binding, in which different ads were inserted in the same issue of a magazine based on the issue's zip code destination, also flourished.

A final entry to the world of magazines in the late twentieth century included multimedia development, such as niche cable markets of the content of magazines as well as CD-ROM versions, and on-line electronic versions of magazines. Subscribers accessed these last two variations electronically, by computer. The profitability of these entries, which remained to be seen in the late 1990s, was eagerly watched, as traditional magazines' circulation and ad revenues were not seen as increasing dramatically.

STEPHEN G. BLOOM

See also Muckraking; Post Office and the Media; Specialized Business Publications

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Magazine Design

Technology and art combine in creating overall impression

To the layperson, magazine design may seem little more than the arrangement of type and images on the printed page. In fact, magazine design embodies a rich history, one that reflects technology, art, and shifting social values, as well as the sensibilities of the people who have practiced it.

What historians consider modern magazine design – design that weaves together art, type, and space – is largely a product of the twentieth century. In the 1800s, magazine formats were smaller than today, which allowed for little flexibility in design. Most magazines featured one- or two-column layouts with titles centered on the pages. Illustrations were made from woodcuts – illustrations engraved on wood and impressed onto paper. The limitations of technology and space dictated the design of magazines.

Printing technologies developed at the turn of the twentieth century made it easier and less expensive to reproduce color and black-and-white art. The new technology also opened the way to two design movements that were taking shape in Europe: modernism and dadaism.

The modernists are credited with creating the cohesive look of the contemporary magazine. Modernists looked at magazine stories as packages inside the larger package of the magazine. They emphasized designing stories across several pages rather than on individual pages. Type and art reinforced the theme of a story, and by setting type in varying sizes on a page, they created a hierarchy to lead readers through a story.

Modernism's predecessor, and its opposite, was dadaism, which advocated expressing ideas through flexible, even chaotic, treatments of type and art. Dadaist designers were the first to use collage and photomontage in magazine design. They also were the first to place photos in storytelling sequence, the genesis of photojournalism in magazines.

Modernism's home was the Bauhaus design school in Germany. Founded in 1919, the school preached that "form follows function." It promoted utilitarian, geometric layouts that contained only the elements necessary to tell a story. Adolf Hitler shut down the school in 1933, but not before its influence had spread far beyond Germany's borders.

Modernism came across the ocean in the late 1920s with the Parisian designer M.F. Agha, whom Condé Nast hired to reinvent the formats of his flagship magazines, *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. Agha was more than a page designer; he exercised artistic as well as editorial judgment, which, in ef-

fect, made him the first art director in the United States. As a result, he was able to weave art, type, space, and editorial content into a whole. Agha simplified the design of *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* to give emphasis to the photos. He got rid of all decorative elements: lines, borders, column rules. After *Vanity Fair* became a victim of the Great Depression, Agha continued to direct the design of *Vogue*, as well as *House and Garden*, until 1942.

Agha's work at Condé Nast heralded a new era in U.S. magazine publishing, one in which the art director played a key role. Other than Agha, the two most prominent art directors to emerge in the 1930s were T.M. Cleland at *Time*, Inc., and Alexey Brodovitch at Hearst Magazines. The trio formed a design triumvirate that permanently influenced U.S. magazine design.

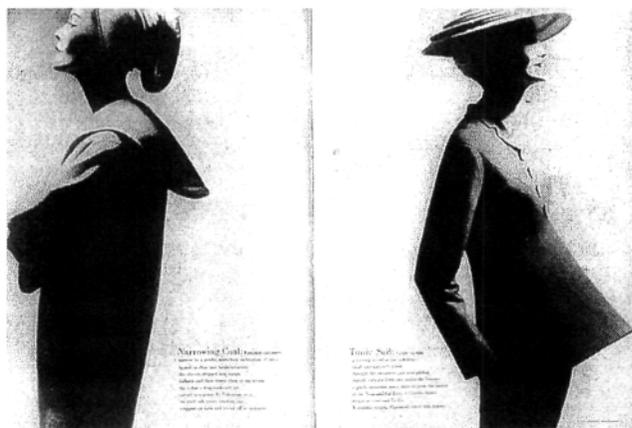
Cleland was hired to devise a format for *Fortune*, which debuted in 1930. Cleland's spartan style – big, dramatic photos and clean, unornamented layouts – suited the magazine's focus on business and industry. *Fortune* became a favored venue for the photographs of Margaret Bourke-White, and its covers attracted the work of the best European and U.S. illustrators.

Brodovitch was, arguably, the most influential art director in U.S. history. A Russian-born Parisian designer, he went to the United States in 1934 after Hearst hired him to serve as art director of *Harper's Bazaar*, where he worked for 24 years. Brodovitch pioneered the use of bleed photographs in magazines. He encouraged his photographers, among them Richard Avedon and Irving Penn, to design the page through the camera lens and to use plain backgrounds so that headings and stories could be superimposed on photos, creating a seamless whole. His use of type, photography, and space had a musical feel to it.

Through teaching in classrooms and on the job, both Brodovitch and Agha had a far-reaching influence on magazine design. In fact, by 1964, their students, and their students' students, accounted for the art directors at most of the prominent U.S. magazines. Through Agha's influence, Cipe Pineles served as art director at *Glamour* and *Seventeen*, and Bradbury Thompson became art director at *Mademoiselle*. Henry Wolf, who trained with Brodovitch, took *Esquire* in a bold new direction when he became the magazine's art director in 1952, and he later replaced Brodovitch at *Harper's Bazaar*. Another of Brodovitch's protégés, Otto Storch, virtually saved *McCall's* in 1958 with his inspired redesign.

In the late 1960s, magazine design seemed to split in two directions. At one extreme were the corporate magazines, which adopted the uncluttered and orderly "Swiss Gothic" look. At the other extreme were the magazines influenced by the politics and social unrest of the late 1960s, which gravitated toward the chaotic influences of the dadaists.

One of the most influential magazine designers to emerge during the 1960s and 1970s was Herb Lubalin. Lubalin was known for his inventive use of type, but he was a stickler for details, especially when it came to setting type and making it readable. He designed or redesigned the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Eros*, *Fact*, *Reader's Digest*, and *Avant Garde*. He also was editor of *U&Ic*, a magazine about typography.



An example of bleed photographs in magazine design – where subjects are set up in the picture to allow space for type on them.

(Courtesy *Harper's Bazaar*)

Gun, David Carson, with creating a new graphic style, albeit a highly controversial one. Geared to the video-game generation, *Ray Gun*'s design was more concerned with visual stimulation than readability.

Although *Ray Gun* had its detractors, its willingness to experiment was applauded at a time when many consumer magazines sacrificed good design as they competed for advertising and readers. Critics of contemporary design also attributed declining standards to magazines' dependence on computers, which so easily facilitated excess.

Among the best-designed magazines of the 1990s were the fashion and culture books, as well as many specialized publications, which were geared to audiences with specific interests. The design of such magazines as *Health*, *Outside*, *Interview*, *Men's Journal*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Zone* was both imaginative and historically inspired. What is more, these magazines used computer technology as a tool – as a means to an end, not as the end itself.

CAROL E. HOLSTEAD

See also *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*; *Newspaper Design*; *Photographic Technology*

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Magazine Freelancing

Writers provide growing magazine industry with fresh copy

The turning point for freelancers in magazine work came in 1840, when George Graham merged the *Casket* and *Gentleman's* magazines. Calling the new magazine *Graham's*, he initiated a sliding fee for writers and cultivated talented writers, paying them liberally. One of the first freelancers, Nathaniel Willis, became a wealthy man, earning more than \$1,500 a year writing for *Graham's* and other magazines. Graham was the first to spend money on talented writers. He also began copyrighting the work he commissioned. Years later, in the 1920s under Harold Ross and his *New Yorker* roundtable of writers, and then in the 1930s with Arnold Gingrich's *Esquire*, freelance writers found equally nourishing spirits. In the 1980s, Tina Brown resurrected *Vanity Fair* by discovering new writers, encouraging them, and paying them well. In the 1990s, most magazines depended on freelance writers.

Editors assign articles to freelancers or agree to buy proposed articles. Called queries, these proposals can result in an assignment or in an agreement to take the article on speculation, which means the editor will purchase the idea

if it is submitted on time and follows the proposal's general outline. An assignment from an editor is commissioned work, with specifications as to delivery time, expenses covered, kill fees, and terms of purchase.

Most magazines continue to pay on publication, which means the writer does not receive payment until the piece is in print. There may be a loose agreement about publication date, but usually an article is in the publishing process for weeks. At any time, an article can be shelved by editors. In some instances, publications will pay a kill fee to a freelance when the story is not published through no fault of the writer's. Considerably less than the purchase price, a kill fee sometimes is a percentage specified in the contract.

Freelance articles in George Graham's days paid between \$4 and \$60 a page. The freelance of the 1990s could earn as little as \$75 or as much as \$10,000 for an article. The average freelance price for an average-length piece (1,000 to 2,000 words) requiring normal levels of reporting would fall between \$500 and \$900.

Magazines paying upon acceptance develop loyal writers. These magazines pay either upon receipt of the assigned article (given that it fulfills the assignment) or upon a positive editorial decision after taking a piece on speculation, or even upon taking it from the slush pile.

The term "slush pile" refers to unsolicited manuscripts and queries. Sometimes called "over the transom" material, the term dates from a period when magazine offices had a window over the door that opened for ventilation and writers would slip unbidden manuscripts over the transom, through the opened window. In many places, such material is screened first by editorial assistants; if it seems promising, the work moves on to review by a more senior editor and possible acceptance.

The editorial process takes what is considered publishable freelance work and prepares it for the publication's audience. Editors work with freelancers (as deadlines permit) on revisions of any part of the manuscript, check the facts, and perform a line-by-line editing job to bring it into house style and catch any error of substance or style.

S.M.W. BASS

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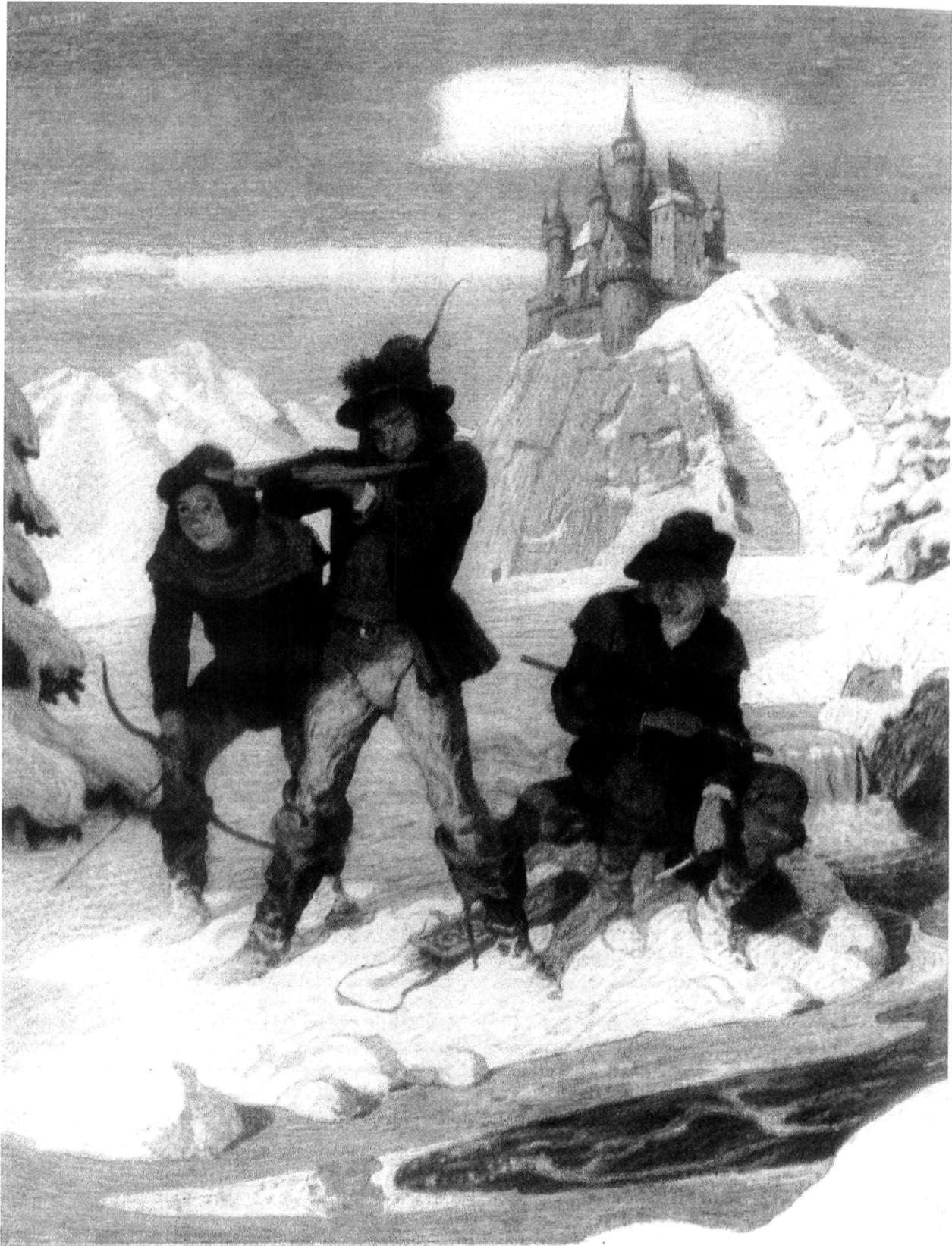
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Magazine Illustrations

Changing the face of pictorial content

Early illustrations, appearing in nineteenth-century periodicals, were produced by engravers who first traced an artist's sketch on a block of wood (sometimes copper or steel) and then cut around it, so that only the lines of the drawing



Painting by N. C. Wyeth

Illustration for "The Mysterious Stranger"

ESELDORF WAS A PARADISE FOR US BOYS

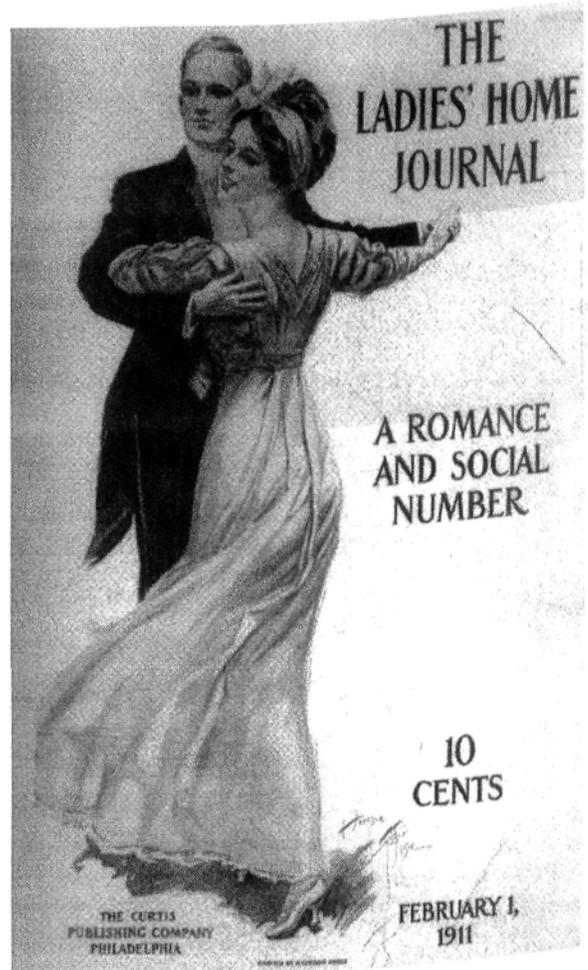
A painting by N.C. Wyeth illustrated Mark Twain's "Mysterious Stranger" in a 1916 issue of *Harper's Magazine*.
(Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

would come into contact with the printer's ink. The resulting artwork often was signed by the artist and the engraver, since both contributed to the creation of the image. *Godey's Ladies' Book* printed relatively high-quality fashion illustrations as early as the 1840s, and weekly illustrated newspapers published by Frank Leslie and the Harper brothers contained detailed drawings of Civil War scenes. Even so, few magazines used illustrations extensively until the early 1880s, when the more sophisticated technique of halftone photoengraving produced clearer images and faster reproduction of artwork; the new process also minimized the role of the engraver. In the following decade, the advent of color lithography – a technology co-pioneered by the booming sheet-music industry of the day – further improved the quality of the artwork and enabled magazines to put color art on their covers.

Early twentieth-century magazines famous for their illustrations included *McClure's*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Century*, *Collier's*, *Scribner's*, *Life*, the *American Magazine*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Good Housekeeping*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Redbook*, and *St. Nicholas*, a children's magazine. Among the artists regularly published in these periodicals during the golden age of magazine illustration, roughly 1890 to 1930, were Winslow Homer, Frederic Remington, Edwin Austin Abbey, Howard Pyle, N.C. Wyeth, Maxfield Parrish, Arthur B. Frost, James Montgomery Flagg, Jessie Willcox Smith, Charles Dana Gibson, Elizabeth Shippen Green, John Sloan, and John Held Jr.

Most illustrators of the day were trained in the fine arts and had simultaneous careers as painters; they also illustrated books as well as journalistic media. Their magazine work often was commissioned to illustrate fiction, but some early artists worked as journalists whose job was to report news. Henry Farny was sent west during the 1880s by *Century*, which printed his drawings of the frontier landscape and its people, both white settlers and Native Americans (including Sitting Bull). *McClure's* assigned Joseph Pennell to sketch the building of the Panama Canal and William Glackens to reproduce scenes of the Spanish-American War, a conflict also depicted by Howard Chandler Christy for *Scribner's*. Reform journalism included not just muckraking prose but also political illustrations – from Thomas Nast's illustrated criticism of New York's Tammany Hall political machine in the various *Harper's* periodicals of the early 1870s, to John Sloan's drawings of immigrant slum life in the *Masses* of the 1910s.

Certain illustrators became associated with particular magazines. Charles Dana Gibson, whose drawings of beautiful, healthy, young women created the "Gibson Girl" ideal of the turn of the twentieth century, made 100 drawings for *Collier's* between 1904 and 1908 (under a contract that paid him \$100,000 over those years). Between 1917 and 1933, Jessie Willcox Smith drew more than 200 covers of charming children for *Good Housekeeping*. Neysa McMein produced the majority of *McCall's* covers between 1923 and 1937, many of them sleek drawings of the sophisticated "New Woman." Alfred Parker sketched some 50 mother-daughter covers for the *Ladies' Home Journal* during the 1930s and 1940s. J.C. Leyendecker and Norman Rockwell each produced more than 300 covers for the



Magazine covers often were works of art.

Saturday Evening Post. Garrett Price created more than 50 covers, most of them humorous slice-of-life sketches, for the *New Yorker* over 25 years. The work of illustrators also was found in the advertisements contained in consumer magazines: Henry Patrick Raleigh's stylish drawings of high-society life for Maxwell House coffee, Haddon Sundblom's Coca-Cola Santa Claus, Leyendecker's Arrow Collar Man, and Maxfield Parrish's beautiful drawings for General Electric (which he republished as art prints during the 1920s).

After World War II, although many magazines still featured drawings on their covers – and the *New Yorker*, founded in 1925, never stopped doing so – the pages inside national magazines were more likely to carry photography rather than illustration, which largely was confined to fiction and fashion pages. (The field of fashion illustration was dominated from the 1920s to the 1950s by Carl Erickson, better known simply as "Eric.") During the 1950s, when the new medium of television began to compete successfully for magazines' mass audiences, one of the editorial consequences was the decline of magazine fiction, further shrinking the market for illustrators' work. Notable artists who continued to do magazine editorial work after the century's midpoint included Jon Whitcomb, James Avati,

Robert Weaver, Milton Glaser, Murray Tinkelman, Bernard Fuchs, and David Levine.

CAROLYN KITCH

See also Illustrated Newspapers

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Magazines for Children

Early publications looked at what adults thought children liked

The first children's magazine appeared on February 2, 1779, when the publishers of the newspaper the *Connecticut Courant* produced the *Children's Magazine* for young readers from 7 to 12 years old. Historian Lyon Richardson wrote that the magazine's contents were aimed more at what late-eighteenth-century adult readers thought suitable reading material for children than at what might interest children, because the magazine bore "unmistakably the aura of editorial minds well-intentioned and age-hardened, unable or unwilling to appreciate childhood's urges and desires." An advertisement for the magazine said that the serial would include a variety of lessons on various subjects written in easy-to-understand language. While the advertisement promised the magazine would act as a supplement to schoolroom lessons, the publishers quit the magazine after four issues – no doubt disappointing the likes of Noah Webster, who had enthusiastically endorsed the idea of a children's magazines in correspondence with the Connecticut publishers.

Capturing what it was that satisfied a child's "urges and desires" in a magazine proved difficult in the early part of the nineteenth century – even for a fourteen-year-old publisher. In 1812, Thomas G. Condie Jr. began a weekly publication, the *Juvenile Port-Folio*. While the age of the publisher was remarkable, so, too, was the magazine's longevity; the *Juvenile Port-Folio* was published weekly – except for a three-week break at the end of each year – from October 30, 1812, through December 7, 1816. Exceptional as the magazine's existence was, according to historian Frank Luther Mott, the magazine's content likely did not trigger a child's interest because the writing was as "stilted as most of the adult writing of the time."

Early periodicals aimed at juvenile audiences tended to be "wooden and unnatural" before the Civil War, accord-

ing to Mott. In the postbellum era, however, more and more publications were aimed at children's interests rather than at their education or morality. This is not to say, however, that magazines designed to aid in a child's moral upbringing did not exist. Indeed, half the juvenile periodicals after the Civil War were essentially Sunday school tracts. But, as Mott notes, the circulation of secular periodicals geared to excitement and extravagant adventure exceeded the others, in spite of the fact that most of the Sunday school publications were distributed without cost. One of the oldest of the religious magazines still in print in the 1990s was *Wee Wisdom*, published since 1893.

Although a number of children's magazines appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, *Youth's Companion*, which first appeared in 1827, enjoyed a surge in subscriptions in the 1870s owing to writers such as C.A. Stephens, who wrote to engage the interest and imagination of younger readers. By 1879, a publication designed to appeal to the intellectual and emotional interest of older children – *Harper's Young People* – debuted. Well illustrated, the magazine survived until 1899. The bent toward intellectual publications was checked, however, by the "blood-and-thunder, bang-bang-bang type" of the serial. Between 1875 and 1894, the *Boys of New York*, an eight-page weekly, capitalized on the excitement and sensationalism created by the publishers of the dime novels so popular during the era. The pages of the *Boys of New York* were full of daring hero stories and illustrated by big action pictures on the front page. As the Industrial Revolution came into full swing, the stories came to focus on exciting mechanical inventions.

Among twentieth-century magazines for children, *Crick-et*, published beginning in 1973, remained a popular general interest magazine for 6- to 12-year olds. Imaginative writing dominated this well-illustrated, 80-page monthly serial. *Highlights for Children*, published beginning at the middle of the century, included fiction, poetry, nature stories, and contributions from readers. It was intended for children of all ages. *Junior Scholastic*, published continuously from 1937, was a popular biweekly classroom periodical for sixth- to eighth-graders. Much as the *Children's Magazine* of 1779 was designed as a schoolroom supplement, the *Junior Scholastic* was likewise designed to enhance social studies and current events curriculum presented in the classroom.

Clearly, children's magazines have played a significant role in the history of U.S. magazines. While many early publications capitalized on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century push for public education, other, more popular, magazines sought to engage the interest of children with thrilling action stories. In the late twentieth century, the American Library Association listed more than 100 magazines published for children.

ROBIN GALLAGHER

See also Dime Novels; Mass Media and Self-Regulation

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Magazines for Men

Publications for this specialized audience appeared in the 1820s

Men's magazines first appeared in the second quarter of the nineteenth century; at that time, such publications carried news and information about crime and criminals, sporting events, outdoor recreation, adventure, and hunting and fishing. By the middle of the twentieth century, the definition of men's magazines was broadened to include, and to be dominated by, publications that emphasized urban life, with an emphasis on sexual liberation.

Probably the first of the sports publications was the *Turf Register* (1829-44), published in Baltimore, Maryland, and devoted to horse racing. Longer lived and better known was William T. Porter's *Spirit of the Times*, founded in 1831 as the nation's first all-around sporting journal and enduring in one form or another until 1912. As the nineteenth century matured and the nation began to devote energy to participatory sports, new publications arose. Baseball was covered notably in a weekly, the *Sporting News*, that would become the "bible" for the national pastime. The publication, still in existence in the 1990s, was founded in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1886 by Albert H. Spink. The bicycling craze brought about *Bicycling World*, *Outing*, and *American Cyclist*. Golf was represented by the *Golfer*. As early as 1856, the *Billiard Cue* appeared to give a voice to that predominantly male activity, and bowling had a voice in *Bowlers' Journal* (1893-1934). Prizefighting, however, was more important as a topic than any other sport, and it was a subject covered notably for many years by the *National Police Gazette*.

The *Police Gazette*, one of the longest-lived and best-known of the men's magazines, was founded in 1845 by George Wilkes and Enoch Camp to inform and alert readers about crimes and criminals, often using specific names. On occasion, those identified assaulted the publication's editorial offices, with serious consequences; six deaths occurred in an 1850 incident. The publication moved on to stories with sexual slants and to an emphasis on prizefighting and other sports. By the 1880s, the *Police Gazette* was a powerful voice in the sporting world. The publication lasted far into the twentieth century, becoming noted primarily for its prizefighting coverage, tawdry pinups, and cheap sensationalism.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, many U.S. men turned their attention to the vanishing great outdoors. This gave rise to a long-lasting new genre of outdoors publications that emphasized hunting and fishing, such as *Sportsmen's Review* (1890), *Field and Stream* (1896), and *Sports Afield* (1887).

Later magazines offered a more general adventure content. Their material was largely factual, but some fiction

was included. *Argosy*, *True*, and *Saga* were examples of these publications that peaked in popularity by mid-century. Other men's magazines that emphasized the mechanical arts included *Popular Science* (from 1872), *Popular Mechanics* (from 1902), and *Home Mechanix* (from 1928).

As early as 1837, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* in Philadelphia recognized men's interests in art and literature, but the magazine lasted only three years. This broader, more sophisticated genre found an audience in 1933 with the arrival of *Esquire: The Magazine for Men*, founded by Arnold Gingrich as an oversize, lavishly illustrated, and well-designed publication with an emphasis on quality. Gingrich's initial issue carried pieces by Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and Erskine Caldwell. *Esquire's* general content included a preoccupation with sex, as indicated by the drawings of seductive women by George Petty and Alberto Vargas. These pinups and accompanying cartoons were sufficiently explicit - by the standards of the day - to cause the postmaster general in 1943 to attempt in vain to deprive the magazine of the right to use second-class postage (*Hannegan v. Esquire*).

In 1953, the basic formula established by *Esquire* was picked up by Hugh Hefner, a former employee of that magazine, and carried considerably further in its sexual content by *Playboy*. The first issue of *Playboy* carried a nude calendar photograph of the reigning U.S. movie sex goddess, Marilyn Monroe. The magazine's emphasis on the urbane, sophisticated, sexually liberated male found a ready audience in an age noted for its permissiveness. *Playboy* thrived as a magazine and spawned an empire of clubs, books, videos, and even a television show. Its circulation reached a high in 1972 of 71.2 million, a figure that later would decline as the "Playboy philosophy" came under attack for being exploitative of women.

So many imitators appeared on the newsstands - with some marked successes, such as *Penthouse* - that in the second half of the century the general term "men's magazines" was understood to refer to those in this category. *Esquire*, with some bumps and adjustments over the years, survived the challenge of these more daring publications. However, the new era was accompanied by a decline in the fortunes of older men's magazines such as *True* and *Argosy*.

DARWIN PAYNE

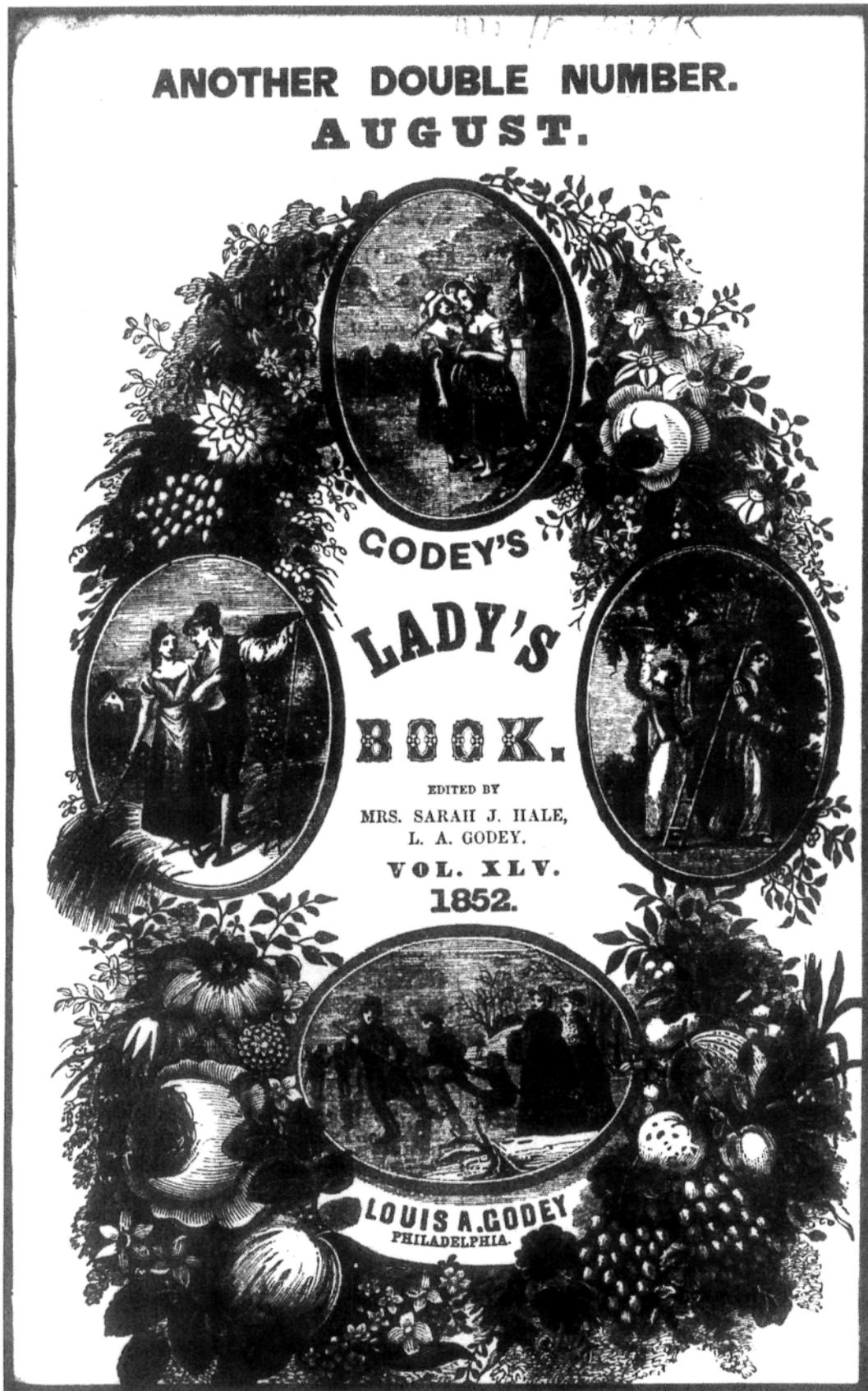
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Magazines for Women

Specialized publications long available for female readers

Women's magazines historically have been a profitable business investment and have had a tremendous influence on U.S. life. Competition exists for the title of first women's



Godey's Lady's Book featured ornate illustrations to attract women readers.
(Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

magazine published. Historian Frank Luther Mott listed *Lady's Magazine*, published from 1792 to 1793, as the first. Others list *Ladies' Magazine*, started by Sarah Josepha Hale in Boston in 1828, the first women's magazine to publish for more than five years.

Louis Godey started his magazine in Philadelphia in 1830. In 1837, he bought Hale's magazine, combined it with his, and hired Hale as editor. *Godey's Lady's Book* became the prominent women's magazine of the antebellum period, imitated by both women's and general interest magazines. *Godey's* departments – beauty, cooking, health, interior decorating, gardening – were still, in the late twentieth century, the backbone of women's magazines. Although Hale advocated education for women, *Godey's* published little on politics but still greatly influenced the manners, morals, homes, and diet of people in the United States.

Godey's first focus was fashion, lavishly illustrated by hand-colored fashion plates and copper engravings. Contributing authors included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Edgar Allan Poe. More often, *Godey's* relied on popular female writers, including Lydia Sigourney, Ann Stephens, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose work Hale introduced.

Competition eventually defeated *Godey's* and its rival, *Peterson's Ladies' National Magazine*, which, in 1866, claimed to have the largest circulation of any women's periodical in the world. *Godey's* and *Peterson's* were faltering when the *Ladies' Home Journal* appeared in 1883, and both of the older magazines died in 1898.

In 1879, Cyrus Curtis's new farm paper featured a "Woman and the Home" column. When his wife, Louisa, criticized the column, he turned it over to her. It immediately became so popular that Curtis created a separate supplement, the *Ladies' Home Journal*. When Louisa Curtis resigned in 1889, Cyrus hired self-educated, self-made Edward Bok.

Bok changed magazines' image of women. Hale at *Godey's* wrote for a delicate, genteel "lady." Bok wrote for a "woman" who was as strong, able, and practical as his Dutch mother and grandmother. Bok broadened the magazine's content, adding work by Mark Twain and Arthur Conan Doyle, but still supplied readers with solid information on homemaking, cooking, and fashion.

He led the *Journal* on several crusades. Its refusal to accept patent medicine advertisements helped lead to the Food and Drug Act of 1906. To improve U.S. homes, the magazine in 1895 began publishing plans for houses that cost from \$1,000 to \$5,000. Not all campaigns were successful. When Bok fought for a ban on aigrettes – feathers "harvested" by killing nesting egrets – some women rushed to buy the feathers while they were still available.

In 1891, Bok announced that the *Journal* had the largest circulation of any magazine in the world. By 1912, it was the most successful monthly magazine in the world.

When World War I started, the leading women's magazines were the *Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, *McCall's*, the *Pictorial Review*, and the *Delineator*. The contents of all six were quite similar, although *McCall's*, the *Pictorial Review*, and the *Delineator*



In the nineteenth century, *Godey's Lady's Book* strove to keep women up-to-date on the latest fashions.

emphasized fashion and patterns and *Good Housekeeping* emphasized food. Elias Howe's invention of the sewing machine in 1841–46 and Ebenezer Butterick's patented tissue-paper clothing patterns in 1863 helped launch several magazines. The *Delineator*, launched in 1873, promoted Butterick patterns, and *McCall's* (1873) promoted McCall's patterns. *Good Housekeeping*, founded in 1885, became noteworthy in 1911 when William Randolph Hearst bought it and highlighted its food pages.

When Bok retired in 1919, the *Journal* moved away from his idealized view of women. During the Great Depression, circulation slid downward, as it did at most women's magazines. *Good Housekeeping*, however, was extremely successful during this period because of its popular fiction, its strong home features, its food and appliance testing institute, and its seal of approval.

In 1900, *Good Housekeeping* began testing homemaking practices it recommended. In 1909, it created the *Good Housekeeping* Institute and in 1912 hired pure-food advocate Harvey Wiley to work at the institute, which tested food and appliances in proposed advertisements and gave items that passed a seal of approval. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in 1939 charged that this seal was misleading. In response, the magazine changed the seal's meaning and use. The FTC's actions did not hurt the magazine, whose circulation reached 2.5 million in 1943 and 3.5 million in the mid-1950s.

By the 1950s, the six leaders of the 1920s had shrunk to three: *Good Housekeeping*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *McCall's*. New women's magazines instead targeted niche audiences. *Mademoiselle* and *Seventeen* appealed to younger women, and *Ms.*, founded in 1972, appealed to "liberated" women.

Laura E. Hlavach

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Magazines in the Eighteenth Century

Few publications started in these years; fewer survived

Eighteenth-century magazines can best be described as transitory. Almost 100 were published from 1741 to 1800, half of those starting in the last six years of the century. They lasted an average of 14 months, with only two publishing as long as eight years. Until 1794, no more than three were published in the entire country at any one time, and the average number available was one. As much as 75 to 90 percent of their contents were copied from books, pamphlets, newspapers, and each other. They lacked not only originality but sophistication. Subscribers were few, with circulations averaging about 500, and profits for most, if not all, were nonexistent.

And yet, the impact of eighteenth-century magazines was substantial. They were read and considered by more people than their low circulation figures might indicate, and they were models for more financially successful publications to come.

Historian Frank Luther Mott was amazed that there were any magazines at all in the eighteenth century, considering the problems associated with their publication, including printing, distribution, audience indifference, and nonpayment of subscription costs. Magazines, like newspapers, were printed with paper, ink, and other supplies imported from England on handpresses that had not changed since the fifteenth century. They were distributed generally at the discretion of postmasters. The Postal Act of 1792 was interpreted in some parts of the country as requiring letter postage for magazines, which was prohibitive and caused several to stop publication. The Postal Act of 1794 was considered more favorable. Still, many people in the United States did not have time to read magazines, and even when they did, they often did not pay for them. Nonpayment of subscriptions was particularly significant because magazines carried almost no advertising.

Since conditions for publication of early magazines were less than favorable, other factors motivated publishers to undertake them: a desire to profit financially, an interest in promoting U.S. products and ideas, and a recognition of magazines' potential utility. Mathew Carey's *Columbian Magazine*, for example, saw itself as "a future criterion of the opinions and characters of the age."

Whatever their publishers' motivations, the magazines clearly were miscellanies, similar to those published by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in England. Their contents resembled those of early newspapers but in different proportions. The magazines carried more essays, fiction, poetry, literary and dramatic criticism, and commentary on manners, morals, religion, education, slavery, and women. They published fewer pieces on politics and economics. Some included engravings, woodcuts, illustrations, and cartoons. Most were five to six by eight to nine inches, printed in six-point type on 34 to 64 sheets of rag paper.

Benjamin Franklin conceived the idea for an American

T H E
G E N E R A L M A G A Z I N E,
A N D
H i s t o r i c a l C h r o n i c l e,
F o r a l l t h e *Br i t i s h* P l a n t a t i o n s i n *A m e r i c a.*
[T o b e C o n t i n u e d M o n t h l y.]

J A N U A R Y, 1741.



V O L . I .

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

P r i n t e d a n d S o l d b y B . F R A N K L I N .

The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle was an early, and unsuccessful, magazine published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by Benjamin Franklin.

magazine, but his editorial assistant defected with his plans to Andrew Bradford, a rival Philadelphia printer. Bradford got his *American Magazine* out three days before Franklin's *General Magazine*. Both were dated January 1741: Bradford's was published on February 16 and Franklin's on February 19. Franklin's was the more thorough and lively of the two, and it published twice as long, lasting six months. The next magazine was published in Boston, with New York producing the next one.

Events like the American Revolution, the passage of the Constitution, and the formation of the new republican gov-

ernment were discussed in these magazines, making for more content that reflected the country's development. Contributions were made by virtually every eminent writer and statesman of the time. Isaiah Thomas's *Royal American* (1774) printed Patriot propaganda and Paul Revere's engravings. The magazine was the first to last more than a year. Thomas Paine printed much of his revolutionary rhetoric in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775). Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *United States Magazine* (1779) was the first to display primarily U.S. content. Noah Webster continued that pattern, aiming at a national audience with his *American Magazine* (1787). Two of the most successful magazines were those edited by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia: the *Columbian Magazine* (1786) and the *American Museum* (1787).

The elite not only contributed to but read and appreciated these magazines, as indicated by George Washington, who wrote to the *American Museum* in 1788: "I consider such vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people." The subscription list of *New-York Magazine* in 1790, however, indicates that readership was broadly based: half the subscribers were professionals or merchants, and half were shopkeepers or artisans. Historian David Nord concluded that magazines were a republican literature, stressing themes like public virtue, suspicion of luxury, and the power of knowledge.

Although men, for the most part, wrote for and subscribed to the magazines, women read and occasionally contributed to them as well. But it was men's advice to and commentary on women that increased as the century progressed. The first publication to pay attention to women was the *Gentlemen and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* (1784), and the first devoted to women was the *Lady's Magazine* (1792). Although occasional references to the rights of women were published, the overwhelming message was that women identified themselves through their husbands and children. The magazines assigned them to the "women's sphere," a social construct that such publications worked hard to maintain well into the twentieth century.

Eighteenth-century magazines, although always short-lived and often unoriginal, were improving on both scores as the century came to a close. Thomas's *Massachusetts Magazine* (1789) and the Swords brothers' *New-York Magazine* (1790) each lasted eight years. The more favorable Postal Act of 1794 led to the introduction of more magazines in the last six years of the century than in the first 53 years of their history. By 1794, Philadelphia was home to 15 magazines. Already some were beginning to seek specialized audiences like clergy, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and farmers. Whatever their failings, they had traced the course of popular ideas on all of the topics that mattered to people in the eighteenth-century United States. They reflected U.S. life and helped shape it as well. In doing so, they transmitted the country's heritage to the next century and established the models that would be developed within 25 years into golden age publications.

KAREN K. LIST

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Magazines in the Nineteenth Century

Magazines become a significant factor in the publishing world

Although the nation's first two magazines appeared in 1741, not until the following century would publications defined as magazines become a factor of any significance in U.S. publishing. Several hundred new magazines appeared in the first third of the nineteenth century, but almost without exception they were local in orientation and short-lived. Their content was much like that of their more mature and prolific cousins, the newspapers. There was no special need for magazines that newspapers did not already fulfill. Joseph Dennie, editor of the nation's first significant magazine, the *Port Folio* (1801–25) confessed that his eight-page publication was "not quite a Gazette, nor wholly a Magazine." It contained "something of politics . . . and something of literature." This pithy description rang true for many magazines of the age. As to why a need might exist for a magazine, in 1853 the editor of a new magazine, *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, wrote that "a man buys a Magazine to be amused – to be instructed, if you please, but the lesson must be made amusing."

The introduction of the steam-driven cylinder press in the 1820s, followed by the double-cylinder press in 1832, had a profound impact on newspapers and magazines. The penny press that resulted altered forever the nature of daily journalism; the change for magazines was less dramatic and later in coming. The new cylindrical presses permitted uninterrupted streams of paper to be printed, in contrast to the far more laborious process of one sheet at a time. Printing costs per issue were sharply reduced; a broad new audience of consumers now could be attracted. Coupled with technological advances were improvements in transportation leading to regular and more rapid mail delivery between the states, which benefited publications seeking national circulation.

The first magazine to emerge under these improved circumstances that could attract and hold a national audience was the *Knickerbocker*, published in New York from 1833 to 1865 under the editorship of a man who became the arbiter of U.S. letters, Lewis Gaylord Clark. As would be true

PUTNAM'S MONTHLY.

A Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art.

VOL. X.—AUGUST, 1857.—NO. LVI.

LAKE GEORGE.



THE waters of Lake George are so pure and beautiful, that the Indians called it *Horicon*, or silver water;

and, as it stretches away from Lake Champlain, they also named it *Canideri-ot*, or the tail of the lake. But the pious French Jesuits, who had settled upon the shores of Champlain, and used the

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silver water in baptism, called it *San Sacrament*, the lake of the holy sacrament. Then came the loyal English, and called it Lake George. It is a sweet Saxon name, and, on the whole, we are fortunate; for another king, with another name, might have sat upon the throne—Jeremiah, or Thaddeus, or Abimelech, for instance, or worse.

Of course you have been, or will go, to Lake George. And of course you will compare it with Como, and the Swiss lakes, and the English and Scotch lakes. But it is not necessary to do so. All sheets of water among mountains have a general resemblance; and when, as in the Tyrol, great glaciers lean down the precipices from off the

until the arrival of truly mass magazines in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the *Knickerbocker* was primarily literary in content and – unlike most of its predecessors – a U.S. literary magazine. Among its contributors were Washington Irving, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Cullen Bryant, John Greenleaf Whittier, James Fenimore Cooper, and Francis Parkman. The *Knickerbocker* carried gossipy columns under wooden titles such as “Literary Notices,” “Drama,” and “Music,” as well as a more general chit-chat column reminiscent of the “Talk of the Town” made famous a hundred years later by the *New Yorker*. By the mid-1850s, the *Knickerbocker* had a circulation between 25,000 and 30,000.

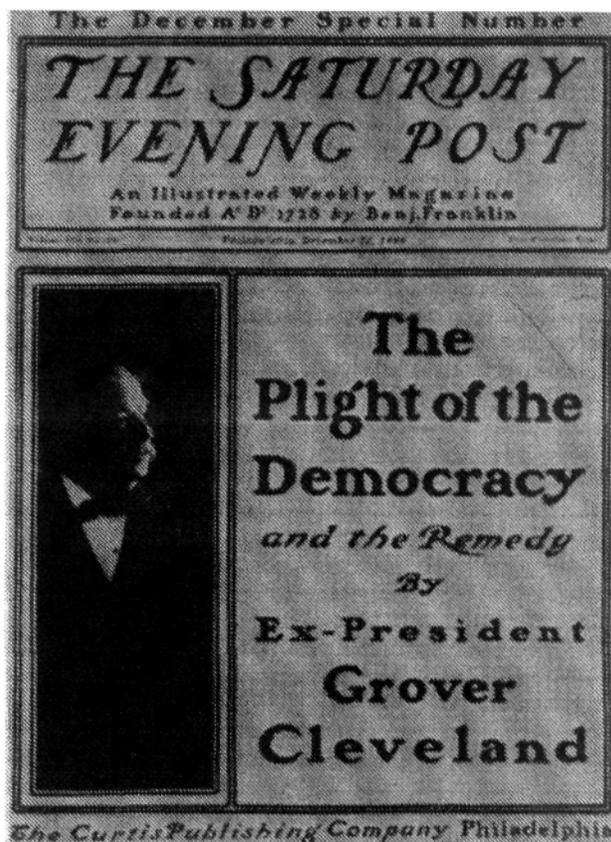
Similar to the *Knickerbocker* in format and almost as successful was *Graham’s*, which began publication in Philadelphia in 1840 (and ceased publication in 1858) under the name of its editor and publisher, George R. Graham. Circulation peaked in 1842 at about 40,000. The magazine featured the same contributors that graced the pages of the *Knickerbocker*. A familiar writer appearing frequently in both *Graham’s* and the *Knickerbocker* was Nathaniel Park Willis, who, because he earned a living with his magazine writing and editing, became known as the nation’s first “magazinist.”

These early magazines were small in format – usually no bigger than six by nine inches – divided into two columns, printed in small typeface, and illustrated occasionally with wood engravings. There were printed on rough but durable paper that remained in good condition even at the end of the twentieth century.

Other magazines of note to arise in this period, outside the dominant New York – Philadelphia–Boston axis, included the *Southern Literary Messenger*, founded in 1834 in Richmond, Virginia, to give voice to “the pride and genius of the South.” (It ceased publication in 1864.) Between 1835 and 1837, its editor was Edgar Allan Poe. In New Orleans, Louisiana, a magazine called *De Bow’s Review* (1846–80) emerged to give a commercial slant from a southern perspective. On its masthead was the slogan, “Commerce Is King.”

A publication with a specific point of view – that of women – was represented in the highly successful *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, founded in 1830 in Philadelphia. This magazine, which contained engravings of the fashionable dresses of the day, sentimental stories, and poems, reached a circulation of approximately 150,000 by the late 1850s. One of its editors was Sarah Josepha Hale, who wrote the poem “Mary Had a Little Lamb.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* endured until 1898, at which time another woman’s magazine – *Ladies’ Home Journal*, founded in 1883 by Cyrus H.K. Curtis as the cornerstone of a huge publishing empire – was approaching the 1 million mark in circulation. (It would reach that goal in 1903, the first magazine to do so).

By 1860, an estimated 600 magazines were being published in the nation. Most of these publications were creatures of their times, important for a few years or at most a few decades, but unable to transcend generations. In 1850, however, there appeared a magazine that was destined to endure into the next century as a significant publication. Created by Harper and Brothers, a successful book publishing



The Saturday Evening Post was a popular nineteenth-century weekly publication.

house in New York City, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* was to serve as an accessory to the books they published and “to place within the reach of the great mass of the American people the unbounded treasures of the Periodical Literature of the present day.” These works would be “transferred”; that is, material that had appeared elsewhere, particularly in the English magazines, would be reprinted. In a sense, *Harper’s* anticipated by some seven decades *Reader’s Digest*, with its policy of abridging articles appearing elsewhere. *Harper’s* transferred articles on exploration, travel, science, art, social and domestic life, and poetry and fiction. After six months, the magazine’s circulation had reached 50,000; by the time of the Civil War it was 200,000, which meant that it had a higher circulation than any other monthly magazine in the world.

Harper’s was bigger, better promoted, and enjoyed firmer financial footing than predecessors such as *Knickerbocker* and *Graham’s*, but in overall content, it was not that much different. The successful general magazines that followed in the next two decades – the *Atlantic*, *Scribner’s*, *Lippincott’s*, *Putnam’s*, and the *Century* notable among them – also fit into the same general description. They stressed serialized novels, short stories, poetry, travel, biography, and political commentary, and as such were all of a genteel nature. Richard Watson Gilder of the *Century*, the most successful of these publications, observed that he had achieved success in his magazine “without once appealing

to vulgar taste or prejudices." Henry Mills Alden, editor of *Harper's*, said that "magazines intended for general circulation must, of course, exclude politics and theology." Nor, he said, should magazines publish the works of authors whose "sole aim is popularity . . . or who have achieved only that."

Working to the advantage of all these publications was the fact that the United States was not a participant in international copyright laws. Thus, the best works of European writers could be used without payment. In addition, advance copies of the magazines and publicity releases about them were sent routinely to newspapers throughout the country, which in turn regularly alerted their readers to each issue's contents and frequently offered critical reviews.

By the time of the Civil War, Harper and Brothers had yet another highly successful entry into the magazine publishing industry. This was *Harper's Weekly* (1857–1916), an oversize publication that featured woodcut illustrations by famous artists reproduced at twice the normal size to illustrate articles on politics, sports, disasters, travel, and – quite notably – the Civil War. A similar publication, founded two years earlier in 1855, was *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1855–1905), which also achieved great success. These publications were forerunners to the news and picture magazines of the twentieth century.

These two magazines, in their direct coverage of events of the day, broke from the mold of their more genteel sister publications, which appealed to educated, upper-class readers with material that was far removed from the daily concerns of most people of the United States. New magazines soon would be more alert to changing conditions in national life, like the erosion of once-rigid class distinctions. Dress, speech, and manners less and less defined one's station in life; a great middle class was emerging that represented a broader audience for magazines.

Continuing technological advances had dramatic effects on the magazine industry, democratizing their content in much the same way that penny press newspapers of the 1830s had appealed to the masses. New magazines such as *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, and *Cosmopolitan* directed their efforts to the daily, more practical concerns of a less genteel audience. Instead of a travel article about life in Pago Pago, readers could learn what it was like to work in the coal mines of Ohio or about how Standard Oil squeezed out small oil operators. The old wooden engravings, so expensive to produce and practically the private domain of the established publications, now were replaced by actual photographs, which were more immediate and produced at a lower cost. Moreover – and this was a key – magazines could be produced far more cheaply and in greater quantities than before. Huge circulation figures could be obtained through lower newsstand prices and more popular content. While lower newsstand prices could not cover the costs of these high circulations, that could be more than accommodated by advertisers who now needed to reach a national audience and were willing to pay for it. Thus, Frank Munsey and Samuel S. McClure could offer their publications at 15 cents, even 10 cents. A frenzy of competition arose, not just in price but in appeal to readers. All this was linked inseparably to what was occurring in the nation at large – the

rise of national industries and mass-produced goods that required widespread advertising.

In 1896, the assistant editor of the *Century*, C.C. Buell, told his editor, Richard Watson Gilder, that he had just returned from the newsstand and that he had counted 35 cheap new magazines. His opinion was that two or three additional new publications would appear each week over the next several years but that their impact would be negligible, for they would "reawaken the people to a sense of the value of the serious, 'high-priced' magazines." Buell could not have been more wrong. The *Century* and *Scribner's* would disappear altogether; *Harper's* and the *Atlantic* would survive, but just barely and with greatly altered formats.

Ironically, the new magazines that displaced the genteel giants at center stage themselves would not endure. They would be around beyond the turn of the twentieth century, however, and they would perform vital services through muckraking articles that called attention to national problems and helped to usher in the Progressive Age. Their adoption of more practical, issue-oriented content would be picked up by their successors, however, and endure into the twentieth century.

Also visible long before the dawn of the new century was the development of specialized magazines. As early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, magazines intended especially for educators, lawyers, mathematicians, and scientists had arisen. By the 1890s, the magazine reader could find publications as varied as *Woman's Medical Journal*, *Bernarr Macfadden's Physical Culture*, *National Geographic*, *Christian Century*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Sports Afield*, the *Sporting News*, and *House Beautiful*.

U.S. magazines, in their infancy in 1800 with about a dozen publications in existence, had reached a surprising level of maturity by the end of the century. By 1865, about 700 magazines were being published; by 1885, the number had leaped to 3,500. By the end of the nineteenth century, the industry had experienced almost everything that it would see in the twentieth century – highbrow political and literary publications, oversize illustrated news and picture magazines, specialized publications, circulation wars, publishing empires, reliance upon advertising for profits, appeals to the masses, and the realization that addressing the special interests of readers in specialized magazines could be profitable.

DARWIN PAYNE

See also Copyright; Economics of Magazine Publishing; Magazine Competition; Magazine Illustrations; Magazines for Women; Muckraking; Penny Press

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ed that more printing employees were used for publicity efforts than during the World War I peak. Yet, despite the congressional and press criticism, the New Deal's use of publicity agents and the surfeit of news pumped new life into the Washington press corps and expanded the public's interest in the federal government. With the New Deal and the mass media, there would be an executive branch publicity system in place for the formation of an Office of War Information and an Office of Censorship during World War II. After the war, there would be no going back to the more freewheeling news gathering and administrative open debates that involved the public and the mass media during the New Deal days.

BETTY HOUCHIN WINFIELD

See also Committee on Public Information; Interpretive Reporting; News Concepts; Newspaper Columnists; Office of Censorship; Office of War Information; Roosevelt, Franklin D., and the Media

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New Journalism (1880s)

Carrying a message of social reform to the masses

New Journalism of the 1880s presented a style of sensationalized newspaper journalism that promoted an underlying agenda of social reform. It was popularized by Joseph Pulitzer, who outlined his new philosophy of journalism in the May 11, 1883, edition of his *New York World*:

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 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 serve and battle for the people with earnest sincerity.

Thus, Pulitzer defined his "New Journalism" as a cheap, popular newspaper, which carried a message of social reform that could educate the masses. News stories in Pulitzer's *World* were written for impact and excitement, while his editorial page promoted serious social reforms. Much of the responsibility for this new approach to news has been laid to John A. Cockerill, who worked with Pulitzer at the *St. Louis (Missouri) Post-Dispatch* and became the *World's* managing editor. Pulitzer's style was so successful that the *New York World* was, by 1890, the most profitable newspaper ever published. Its formula was widely imitated.

Specifically, Pulitzer's success can be traced to several publishing strategies. Pulitzer kept his newspaper priced at two cents so that it would be affordable to the masses, especially immigrants like himself, and at the same time increased its size, often publishing up to sixteen pages. He was guilty of tireless self-promotion and was a forerunner in the use of contests to boost circulation. He crammed his newspaper full of all types of news, of both sensational and sobering nature. He promoted a style of journalism that made use of gossip, human interest news, and colorful vignettes – none of which had been defined as news before. At the same time, Pulitzer covered the important news of the day from a serious perspective.

In addition to this, Pulitzer popularized the newspaper crusade. He exposed exploitation of women in sweatshops, mistreatment of immigrants, and the horrific conditions of city tenements. Through publicity in his newspaper, Pulitzer collected enough money from readers to build the pedestal for the Statue of Liberty, and he sponsored Nellie Bly's famous trip around the world. Pulitzer also was a leader in the use of illustrations and realized that, despite his personal distaste for them, photos and illustrations could sell newspapers.

Historian Frank Luther Mott defined the New Journalism of the 1880s as "good news-coverage peppered with sensationalism, stunts and crusades, editorials of high character, size, illustration, and promotion." Headlines underscored this sensationalism: "How Babies Are Baked" described the deaths during a heat wave in July 1883.

When Pulitzer took over the *World* in 1883, the newspaper's circulation hovered at about 10,000. A little more than a year later, the circulation stood at 100,000. Pulitzer himself reflected on his success in a September 29, 1884, editorial: "It is certainly demonstrated that the Eastern public appreciates a style of journalism that is just a bit breezy while at all times honest, earnest and sincere, and a journalism that represents every day a laborious effort to meet the popular demand for news seasoned with just convictions."

Other newspapers incorporated Pulitzer's more successful techniques to meet his challenge. While widely imitated, this fevered approach also attracted much criticism. By the 1890s, when Pulitzer was embroiled in a circulation battle with *New York Journal* owner William Randolph Hearst, competitors labeled the newspapers "yellow journals," a derogatory term aimed at denigrating their sensationalism

of the news. In fact, yellow journalism has been defined as "the new journalism without a soul."

The term "New Journalism" was used at the time to describe this new, breezy newspaper style. One early use of the term has been traced to Matthew Arnold, who in 1887 wrote that "a clear and energetic man has lately invented a New Journalism." As Arnold described it, the writing was "full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is featherbrained." Arnold was referring to the writing of British editor W.T. Stead, whose tales of 13-year-olds being sold into brothels by their mothers had been widely reprinted in the United States. Stead relied upon interviews, a new technique at the time, for his reportage. In the United States, the term came to mean the journalism first promoted by Joseph Pulitzer and then imitated by other newspapers.

AGNES HOOPER GOTTLIEB

See also Hearst, William Randolph; Journalistic Interview; Pulitzer, Joseph; Sensationalism; Yellow Journalism

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New Journalism (1960s-1970s)

In the mid-twentieth century, the term "new journalism" became associated with a type of writing and reporting that first appeared in the 1960s. Initially, however, it referred to several journalistic forms and approaches that appeared rather suddenly and blossomed from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s.

Although most critics found the term "new journalism" a misnomer and historically inaccurate as a descriptive term, it nevertheless caught on. Among the scholars and critics who attempted to define the term and to make cultural sense of it was Everette E. Dennis. His categories of new journalism, identified in the early 1970s, remain valid descriptions of the various approaches and forms recognized as new journalism. Five of these categories are:

1.) The new nonfiction: This was a subjective and often personal form of reporting that turned away from conventional newspaper and magazine writing formulas, especially the daily newspaper's inverted pyramid style, and used various narrative approaches and structures to tell a story. It tended to be less concerned with the facts of an event, situation, topic, or person, and more concerned with human motivation and behavior, as well as the themes suggested by them - what some would call the "feel" of the facts. The most often cited writers at the time were Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, Jimmy Breslin, Truman Capote, and Norman Mailer.

2.) Alternative journalism: Sometimes called "modern muckraking," alternative journalism focused on covering

the establishment institutions and exposing corruption and wrongdoing. Much of this writing and reporting appeared in alternative papers such as the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* and the *Village Voice*. Soon, alternative weekly newspapers sprang up all over the country.

3.) Advocacy journalism: Writing that appeared in columns in mainstream newspapers, as well as part of the regular article mix and columns that ran in the alternative and counterculture press. Advocacy journalists expressed a specific viewpoint, calling for progressive social change and taking sides in public issues and politics.

4.) Counterculture and underground journalism: These were new publications, many of them short-lived, that contained radical perspectives regarding society, drugs, music, and art. They included the *Berkeley Barb*, the *East Village Other*, and a host of sheets handed out on street corners, at universities and high schools, and on military bases.

5.) Precision reporting: Tied to social science research methods, precision reporting relied on survey and polling techniques to measure and explain public attitudes, opinion, and behavior. Philip Meyer and Ben Wattenberg were two of its biggest advocates and practitioners.

These efforts were connected by a belief that conventional journalism, particularly the daily newspaper, was inadequate in capturing reality and presenting the truth. The temper of the times - with its many subcultures, with the civil rights and antiwar movements, with the broad questioning of authority and traditional values by many - created an atmosphere ripe for journalistic change from the bottom up and for challenges to journalism's claim of authority in depiction and coverage.

Nevertheless, all of these "new" forms and approaches had roots in U.S. journalism history. In a sense, the new journalism was a reminder of U.S. journalism's past, with its early history of powerful writing on the side of causes and movements, from the anti-British press through the abolitionist press through the reform press of the Progressive Era. In addition, personal and subjective reporting that employed various narrative approaches had been a staple of daily journalism well into the twentieth century. Even precision reporting, that odd duck of the bunch, pushed journalism more toward neutral or seemingly scientific depiction or coverage, thereby attempting to make journalism more

The Hell's Angels, a Strange and Terrible Saga

Big Frank from Frisco, for instance, is a black belt in karate who goes into any fight with the idea of jerking people's eyeballs out of their sockets. . . . The intent is to demoralize your opponent, not blind him. Red-blooded American boys don't normally fight this way. Nor do they swing heavy chains on people whose backs are turned . . . and when they find themselves in a brawl where things like this are happening, they have good reason to feel at a disadvantage. It is one thing to get punched in the nose, and quite another to have your eyeball sprung or your teeth shattered with a wrench.

Hunter Thompson

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Newspaper Advertising

Evolved into the major source of newspaper revenue

Newspaper advertising in the United States evolved from announcements of a few lines in eighteenth-century newspapers to the major source of newspaper revenue at the end of the twentieth century. Newspapers as a medium received the highest percentage of advertising dollars spent, although that percentage dropped following the introduction of radio.

The first newspaper advertisement in America appeared in the *Boston News-Letter* and was actually a promotion for the paper itself. As trade grew in the colonies, enterprising merchants competed for customers through many kinds of advertising, and the newspaper became an important outlet. The name *Advertiser* appeared in the title of many early papers. The ads were primarily simple printed notices telling prospective buyers that the goods were available and for sale. Often the ads appeared on the front page. Then, as today, people read the advertisements as a part of the local information carried by the paper. Advertising, however, was only a small part of the content of the early papers, and the revenue from the ads was minor compared to that gained through subscriptions and printing contracts.

It was not until the advent of the penny press that newspaper advertising began to assume its modern form. Attracted by the increasing circulation of these papers, advertisers realized that newspapers were a means of reaching a mass audience on a daily basis.

For the first time, the common worker was able to purchase individual newspapers rather than having to pay for a year's subscription in advance, a practice that had excluded all but the moneyed class. Thus, the advertiser had an entire new audience of prospective customers and soon found that the increased volume of business more than justified the cost of the ads.

Spurred by the growing population of readers, the papers themselves began investing in the newest printing technology. In turn, the quality of the printing and the volume of production increased, further helping the advertiser by making the ads more attractive and by increasing circulation. The introduction of stereotyping – a process of making a mold curved to fit the cylinder of the press – in the mid-nineteenth century made it possible to develop display advertising. Now the advertiser could make use of both larger headlines and illustrations.

With the increased production generated by the Industrial Revolution and the need to move more goods to distant locations, advertising became increasingly important. As national and regional brands began to develop in the 1880s, both newspapers and magazines became natural choices for advertisers, although magazines gained the bulk of the advertising at first. In 1888, *Printer's Ink*, a trade magazine

for advertising, began publishing. By the beginning of the twentieth century, several associations worked to promote newspaper advertising. These included the Newspaper Advertiser Executive Association (1900) and the Bureau of Advertising (1913). In the late twentieth century, several advertising organizations operated under the auspices of the Newspaper Association of America.

Early advertising agents prospected for advertising and delivered it to the newspapers, who then paid a fee for the service. Volney Palmer is credited with starting the first agency in 1841 for the purpose of selling newspaper space. Also in the 1840s, George Rowell and John Hooper bought blank space in newspapers at a discounted price and then resold it to advertisers at full price. While the percentage of discount varied at first, a commonly agreed-upon 15 percent was the practice by the end of the century. This was the beginning of agency commissions.

The level of circulation always has been of intense interest to advertisers, not only because it tells them the number of people the ad will reach but also because it is the prime determinant of newspaper rates. Both Rowell and the N.W. Ayer Agency published directories with circulation listings as early as 1869, but their accuracy was doubtful. The Audit Bureau of Circulations, founded in 1914, provided certified circulation thereafter.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the convergence of urban growth, the emergence of the department store, and the circulation surges of the major city papers set the pattern for the development of newspaper advertising as it became known. Retail store advertising contributed heavily to the growth of advertising in both space and dollars from the 1880s on and remained a dominant area into the 1990s. Classified advertising, including both classified display and lineage, grew in importance and came to contribute up to 40 percent of the revenue in some markets.

As advertising agencies grew, their newspaper advertising business largely moved to regional and national clients, while most local advertising was sold directly by each paper's own sales force. Because agencies received a commission for their placements, a practice of charging a higher rate for national advertising began. At the same time, a schedule of discounts was developed for local advertisers based upon either volume of advertising placed or frequency of placement. These discounts rewarded greater advertising levels so that the largest advertisers paid less per line or inch.

Advertising originally was sold by the agate line. In the late twentieth century, most advertising was sold by the column inch, which is measured as one column by one inch, or by Standard Advertising Units, a measurement developed in 1980 to standardize ad sizes in response to agency complaints that newspapers used differing column widths, making it impossible to design just one ad for several markets.

The introduction of the offset press and increased color capability during the 1970s and 1980s enabled newspapers to offer ad clients and readers a quality of ads that came close to that of magazines and freestanding inserts. Advertisers also demanded detailed information about readers, and newspapers engaged in more and more reader research, offering zip code and other segmented geographic targeting

and developing subsidiary publications to help advertisers reach more narrowly targeted audiences. Customized packages and pricing options offered advertisers a greater choice of products and audience. Customer service was the watchword.

MARY ALICE SHAVER

See also Advertising in the Eighteenth Century; Advertising in the Nineteenth Century; Advertising in the Twentieth Century; Audience Research for Newspapers; Newspaper Circulation; Penny Press

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Newspaper Awards

The oldest of newspaper awards – the Pulitzer Prizes – were founded in 1917 by the trustees of Columbia University. Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the *St. Louis (Missouri) Post-Dispatch* and the *New York World*, had bequeathed \$2 million to Columbia to establish prizes for advancement of education, public service, and morals, and for U.S. literature, and to found a school of journalism after his death in 1911.

The Pulitzer Prizes – the most cherished and controversial of newspaper awards in the late twentieth century – were administered by the trustees of Columbia University. Written nominations were processed by the Pulitzer Advisory Board after screening by groups of jurors for each category. The board could accept or reject the recommendations of the jurors; the Columbia trustees made the final decision. Categories included prizes for nonjournalistic arts and writing, but newspapers tended to call the most attention to newspaper prizes for beat reporting, criticism, editorial writing, editorial cartooning, explanatory journalism, feature photography, spot news photography, investigative reporting, national reporting, spot news reporting, feature writing, commentary, international reporting, and public service.

Pulitzer controversy peaked in 1981, when Janet Cooke of the *Washington Post* relinquished her feature writing prize after admitting that her story about “Jimmy,” an eight-year-old drug addict, was a hoax. Other controversies often have focused upon the prize selection process.

The second oldest of the newspaper awards were the Sigma Delta Chi Awards, founded in 1932 and presented by the Society of Professional Journalism in 27 categories. Other long-time awards, with their establishment dates, awarding institutions, and purposes, were:

National Headliner Awards (1934), National Headliner Awards of Pleasantville, New Jersey, for general, investigative, and public service reporting, columns, features, editorials, photography, and graphics;

Inland News Picture Awards (1940), Inland Daily Press Association, 12 categories of photojournalism;

Pictures of the Year Awards (1943), National Press Photographers Association and the University of Missouri School of Journalism;

The Heywood Brown Awards (1944), the Newspaper Guild, for journalistic performance exemplifying the guild leader's care for the underdog and economically challenged;

George Polk Awards (1946), Long Island University, courage and resourcefulness in reporting and descriptive excellence in story, commentary, and photography;

Inland Local Public Affairs News Awards (1948), University of Wisconsin School of Journalism for Inland Press Association members, local public affairs news, features, and series;

Sidney Hillman Foundation Prizes (1950), journalism focused on humanitarian causes;

Scripps Howard Foundation Ernie Pyle Awards (1954), stories exemplifying the style and craft of the World War II correspondent;

Russell L. Cecil Arthritis/Medical Journalism Awards (1956), Arthritis Foundation, stories about arthritis and other rheumatic diseases;

James T. Grady-James H. Stack Awards (1956), American Chemical Society, career accomplishments in interpreting chemistry for the public;

Golden Eye Trophies (1957), World Press Photo Foundation, photos and photo stories by professional photographers;

Gerald R. Loeb Awards (1958), Graduate School of Management of the University of California at Los Angeles, reporting and commentary about business;

Missouri Lifestyles Journalism Awards (1960), JCPenney/University of Missouri, excellence for regularly scheduled feature newspaper supplements.

Hundreds of other annual prizes were awarded to U.S. newspaper journalists by various groups, including journalism associations, foundations, universities, and nonjournalism trade and professional groups.

CHARLES H. MARLER

Newspaper Chains, or Groups

One parent company owns two or more newspapers in different markets

Group ownership became one of the most significant developments of U.S. journalism in the twentieth century. It exists whenever two or more newspapers in different markets are commonly owned and operated as units of the same parent company. In 1994, about 1,550 daily newspapers were being published in the United States. The 20 largest groups, or chains, as they were formerly called, controlled 502 of those newspapers (32 percent) and 35,000,000 subscriptions, or 58 percent of the national daily newspaper circulation. Group ownership was the dominant form of

newspaper ownership in the United States in the late twentieth century.

The nation's first great newspaper chain was started in 1878 by Edward W. Scripps, who established the *Cleveland (Ohio) Penny Press* with \$10,000 borrowed from his family. By 1880, Scripps controlled five dailies, including papers in St. Louis, Missouri; Detroit, Michigan; and Cincinnati, Ohio. However, the roots of chain journalism preceded Scripps' venture by many years. Cooperation among newspapers of different ownerships on the frontier was common through commercial agreements by which publishers often attempted to control subscription rates and the cost of labor. Even in the colonial era, Benjamin Franklin invested in a number of newspapers to help budding printers become publishers.

Although E.W. Scripps was not the originator of the concept, he was the first press owner to make chain newspaper publishing work. With control of five newspapers, Scripps and his business manager formed the Scripps-McRae League in the mid-1890s, the first of several publishing partnerships that Scripps helped establish. His practice was to loan funds to enterprising young publishers. If they succeeded, Scripps received 51 percent of the profits; if it failed, he took all of the loss. The Scripps-Howard group resulted from one of those partnerships.

As the father of the modern media chain, Scripps left a rich legacy of newspaper groups, consisting mainly of inexpensive, crusading, community newspapers designed for mass readership. At his death in 1926, Scripps left his heirs controlling interests in newspapers in 15 states, plus United Press, United Features Syndicate, and other media properties. The pattern of group newspaper ownership pioneered by Scripps also was quickly adopted by other expansion-minded newspaper publishers.

While Scripps devoted his efforts to business developments and crusades about social and economic conditions, many of the characteristics of the "new journalism" were perfected by another early group publisher, Joseph Pulitzer,

at his *St. Louis (Missouri) Post-Dispatch* and at his *New York World*, acquired in 1878 and 1883, respectively. Pulitzer kept the prices of his newspapers low (two or three cents) while developing strong news-gathering staffs and procedures, expanding advertising, emphasizing objectivity, and promoting civic improvements.

The Hearst family entered the newspaper business in 1880, when George Hearst, a mining millionaire and California politician, bought the *San Francisco Examiner*. His son, William Randolph Hearst, ultimately became Scripps' main rival after adding a newspaper in Boston to those in New York and San Francisco in 1904. Hearst followed the Pulitzer model for his own newspapers, which were typically crusading, enterprising, and sensational. During the World War I era and the 1920s, Hearst acquired and often consolidated newspapers from coast to coast. In all, Hearst owned some 42 newspapers.

With the concept of group publishing firmly established, newspaper chains grew rapidly after 1900. Frank Munsey began such a chain in 1901, when he acquired the *Daily News* in New York. Although Munsey often was criticized for the quality of his papers and for his lack of managerial success, he earned a fortune by buying and selling, merging and consolidating large-city newspapers before and after World War I.

Samuel I. Newhouse, whose company in the 1990s ranked third in daily circulation, became a multimillionaire by acquiring newspapers and making them financially successful in the 1920s and 1930s. His basic technique was to buy ailing newspapers and resuscitate them by modern management methods, including cost-cutting and heavy promotion of advertising and circulation.

The trend toward chain ownership of newspapers accelerated after World War II. By 1960, nearly 30 percent of all daily newspapers in the United States were chain-owned. More than 100 groups existed, but only three were nationally important - Hearst, Scripps Howard, and Newhouse. During the 1970s and 1980s, three other large groups be-

Top 12 Newspaper Companies in the United States 1995

Paper	Daily Circulation	Number of Dailies	Sunday Circulation	Number of Sunday Editions
Gannett	6,109,223	92	6,274,823	73
Knight-Ridder	3,669,580	31	5,157,301	28
Newhouse	2,910,012	26	3,767,941	21
Times Mirror	2,514,298	10	3,217,934	8
Dow Jones	2,334,696	20	536,689	13
N.Y. Times	2,309,94	20	3,238,929	16
Thomson	1,707,449	83	1,625,636	58
Hearst	1,352,594	12	2,609,579	11
Cox	1,325,352	20	1,806,716	19
Tribune	1,297,824	4	1,940,309	4
E.W. Scripps	1,260,610	17	1,323,838	11
Hollinger	1,196,180	108	810,253	27

Source: <http://www.naa.org/info/Facts/facts4.html#LUSNPC>

came very powerful – Gannett, Knight-Ridder, and Thomson Newspapers, a Canadian company. Other prominent groups included Times Mirror Inc., the New York Times Company, and the Tribune Company.

The Gannett organization, which became the most powerful newspaper company, dates back to 1906, when Frank Gannett, the managing editor of a small upstate New York newspaper, purchased a part interest in the *Elmira Gazette*. However, Gannett's major growth took place in the 1960s, when it purchased nine daily newspapers near New York City. Its early properties were mostly dominant papers in small and medium-size growth markets, while most later acquisitions were in large cities. Gannett also achieved notable success in the mid-1960s with the establishment of *Florida Today*, a new daily publication in the Cape Canaveral area.

Gannett's flamboyant chief executive Alan Neuharth literally transformed the firm from family ownership to corporate dominance. Neuharth led Gannett into public stock ownership, rigorous financial management, market-based decision making, and a bold expansion drive unprecedented in the newspaper business. By 1973, Gannett owned 51 newspapers with 2.2 million daily circulation. At Neuharth's retirement in 1986, Gannett's 93 daily newspapers had a daily circulation of 6 million. In 1995, Gannett owned 82 daily newspapers and led all other groups with 6.3 million daily circulation.

The Knight-Ridder group, second largest in circulation in the 1990s, was developed from a single newspaper owned by its founder, Charles L. Knight. Using the *Akron (Ohio) Beacon-Journal* as a base, his son John Knight led the chain through a period of heavy expansion starting in the 1940s that focused mainly on large-city newspapers. The firm's most significant merger combined 16 Knight newspapers with 19 owned by the Ridder family in 1974.

Prior to the merger, the Knight group earned a reputation for publishing high-quality, well-managed newspapers. It also was known for buying out competing papers to reduce competition. The offering of public stock in 1969 and the merger with Ridder brought financial demands from investors, as well as rigid financial controls and systematic management, to the previously family-owned newspapers. In 1995, Knight-Ridder owned 29 newspapers with about 3.7 million daily circulation.

Although Gannett, Knight-Ridder, and Newhouse led in circulation, Thomson Newspapers, a worldwide company based in Canada, boasted the highest number of daily newspapers in the United States at 109. Thomson's international businesses included newspapers, book publishing, and broadcasting properties in Canada, Scotland, England, Africa, and the United States.

With the shift of newspaper publishing to modern corporate ownerships, the industry's management was transformed from loosely managed, family-controlled organizations to investor-owned, financially sophisticated, market-oriented, and aggressively managed national and regional businesses. Group publishers also derived economic benefits from economies of scale in purchasing newsprint, ink, and syndicated services, as well as sharing corporate expenses among numerous publications. While they often

generated savings by consolidating newspapers within a market, groups also had the resources to restore vitality to ailing newspapers and to successfully establish new publications even when there was great financial risk.

HERBERT H. HOWARD

See also Economics of Newspapers; Hearst, William Randolph; Media Conglomerates; Munsey, Frank A.; Newspaper Competition; Printers' Networks; Pulitzer, Joseph; Scripps, E.W.

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Newspaper Circulation

Newspaper delivery directly to customers developed in nineteenth century

The development of the penny press in the 1830s and after created a new problem for newspaper publishers, who for the first time needed to get newspapers quickly into the hands of vendors on the street. Previous to this, newspapers had been mailed or picked up in the office.

In the major cities, independent companies quickly arose to handle the distribution of newspapers from all publishers in the city. These agencies kept circulation departments from developing because low-level counters could distribute bundles of papers to independent agents. An exception among eastern cities was Philadelphia, where the press emphasized subscriptions and home delivery. Home delivery required a more complicated organization that taxed the management skills of circulation managers, but eventually, most dailies across the country followed the Philadelphia model.

A newspaper's circulation was, for most publishers, a trade secret from the time of John Campbell's *Boston News-Letter* in 1704 until the 1870s, when enlightened publishers in Detroit, Michigan; Chicago; St. Louis, Missouri; and New York City began to promote circulation figures to advertisers. It took 210 years from Campbell's first issue for the newspaper industry to create and support an

**United States Daily Newspapers by Circulation Category
1995**

Year	Number of Daily Newspapers Circulation					Dailies Over 50,000	
	Total	Under 50,000	50,000–100,000	100,000–250,000	Over 250,000	Number	Percent of Total
1946	1,763	1,564	91	70	38	199	11.3
1950	1,772	1,571	82	84	35	201	11.3
1955	1,760	1,548	94	82	36	212	12.1
1960	1,763	1,540	96	83	44	223	12.7
1065	1,751	1,510	111	88	42	241	13.8
1970	1,748	1,491	127	92	38	257	14.7
1975	1,756	1,504	135	81	36	252	14.3
1980	1,745	1,479	145	86	35	266	15.2
1985	1,676	1,418	141	82	35	258	15.4
1987	1,645	1,394	137	75	39	251	15.3
1988	1,642	1,377	143	79	43	265	16.1
1989	1,626	1,362	139	81	44	264	16.2
1990	1,611	1,343	143	82	43	268	16.6
1991	1,586	1,336	129	78	43	250	15.8
1992	1,570	1,323	132	72	43	247	15.7
1993	1,552	1,317	125	68	42	235	15.1
1994	1,538	1,303	126	68	41	235	18.0
1995	1,532	1,297	128	67	40	235	15.3

Source: <http://www.naa.org/info/Facts/facts4.html#LUSNPC>

agency that would verify the circulation of most of the nation's daily newspapers.

Circulation disclosure went through three overlapping stages of development. In the first stage, the question to publishers was, "What is your circulation?" As already mentioned, publishers treated circulation as proprietary information, keeping it secret even from advertising agents who were buying space in the newspaper. As it became more common for some publishers to publicize their circulation, under pressure from advertisers, the question arose, "What do you mean by circulation?" Many publishers publicized the number of copies they printed. Several publishers publicized their record sales, usually earned during the excitement of a major presidential campaign. Still others publicized sales plus all copies that were discounted to hotels or given to advertisers and friends of the publisher. They even included subscriptions that were never paid for.

As the meaning of circulation was being debated in the newspaper business, advertisers wanted to move to the third stage, which was, "How can we know you are telling the truth?" Publishers, after they got used to publicizing circulation, became notorious for lying in those statements.

This third stage culminated in the establishment of the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in 1914. The ABC was formed from two independent organizations that had been created to verify circulation figures. One agency had been supported by leading publishers, the other by advertisers and agencies. Neither was successful. The publishers lacked credibility, and the advertisers lacked financial support. The ABC brought them together. Publishers even allowed advertisers to control the board of the ABC, a remarkable con-

cession for people who had tried to maintain control of all circulation information. All members, including the advertisers, paid membership fees in order to access ABC audits. All members also had input into determining the auditing process and the meaning of circulation. The ABC was the first successful circulation auditing agency in the country, and it continued at the end of the twentieth century.

George P. Rowell, a New York City advertising agent, was the single most important figure in getting the press to own up to accurate circulation. He had put estimates of circulation with the names of newspapers in his *Directory of American Newspapers* beginning with the second edition in 1870. He would use a publisher's statement, but he estimated circulation for those publishers who refused to make a statement. Of course, Rowell could not know the correct circulation without checking it out himself. His estimates sometimes brought howls of outrage from publishers who thought their figures were unnecessarily low; others accused him of increasing the circulation of publishers who advertised in his *Directory*. Still other publishers lied when they gave him sworn statements, as competitors were able to prove. Nevertheless, he kept up the pressure for accurate circulation figures by publishing estimates in each edition of his *Directory*.

As newspapers grew in size, especially following the Civil War, business managers began to shed the circulation duties they had performed, hiring men – always men – to fold, tie, and distribute the thousands of copies that came from the press each day. Circulation managers became important cogs in newspaper production. They not only distributed papers, they learned to promote them.

**United States Weekly Newspapers
Total Number and Circulation 1960–1995**

Year	Total Weekly Newspapers	Average Circulation	Total Weekly Circulation
1960	8,174	2,566	20,974,338
1965	8,061	3,106	25,036,031
1970	7,612	3,660	27,857,332
1975	7,612	4,715	35,892,409
1980	7,954	5,324	42,347,512
1985	7,704	6,359	48,988,801
1986	7,711	6,497	50,098,000
1987	7,600	6,262	47,593,000
1988	7,498	6,894	51,691,451
1989	7,606	6,958	52,919,451
1990	7,550	7,309	55,181,047
1991	7,476	7,323	54,746,332
1992	7,417	7,358	54,577,034
1993	7,437	7,629	56,734,526
1994	7,176	10,975	78,763,120
1995	8,453	9,425	79,668,266

Note: Total weekly newspapers figures include paid- and free-circulation newspapers. 1994 and 1995 are not comparable to prior years owing to change in information collection procedures by the National Newspaper Association.

Source: <http://www.naa.org/info/Facts/facts4.html#LUSNPC>

The field had developed so well by 1898 that 35 publishers and advertising and circulation managers formed the National Association of Newspaper Circulation Managers (NANCM). Even then, at their first convention, some members still managed both advertising and circulation. The NANCM added Canadian newspapers to its roster in 1910, thus becoming the International Circulation Managers Association. The organization began to expand rapidly after that. This expansion took place in large measure because of the need to audit circulation.

The formation of the ABC in 1914 had a dramatic impact on the development of the circulation department. The charter membership of the ABC was 614; one year later, it was 978. Circulation managers needed skill to produce the sophisticated and verifiable data that audits required.

The rise of an association in 1898 to deal specifically with circulation issues gave a patina of respectability to circulation departments that soon received fierce and justifiable criticism. When William Randolph Hearst entered the Chicago market in 1900, he found fiercely aggressive competitors who locked him out of the local distribution trust, so Hearst's lieutenants hired thugs to develop distribution through force and the threat of force. Chicago newspaper publishers retaliated. Several newsdealers were killed, and numerous others were severely injured or maimed before an uneasy peace was declared. Hearst gained access to the market, but the circulation war was too close to a real war for most people.

By 1915, a year after the formation of the ABC, circulation managers played an important role in building circula-

tion through legitimate means. It had been a long, hard struggle for legitimacy.

TED CURTIS SMYTHE

See also *American Newspaper Directory*; Audience Research for Newspapers; Chicago Newspaper Trust; Newsboys

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Newspaper Columnists

Writing specialty developed during the Civil War era

A column is an article of modest length that appears on a regular schedule under the byline of its author; a columnist is one who practices this craft. Beyond these simple definitions, however, the world of the columnist is quite diverse.

Some columns are strictly local – written for one paper. Others are self-syndicated – sold to whatever papers will use them. Still others are more widely distributed by conventional syndication agreements or on the wire of a newspaper chain or group. Most columnists write under their own name; a few use pen names (Eppie Lederer as "Ann Landers"), professional names (Larry Zeiger as "Larry King"), or even fictitious names (Otus the Head Cat at the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*). Some columnists are primarily ruminative; others are more reportorial. Some provide very general reading matter, calling themselves "personal columnists" or "general columnists." Others write almost exclusively about politics or are humorists, writing primarily to provide levity in the midst of the troubled world reflected in the publication. A growing number of syndicated columnists in the late twentieth century specialized by topic: art and antiques, bridge or chess, business and finance, gardening, real estate, sports, travel, and the like.

The work of newspaper columnists has several distinctive characteristics. It is personal; it represents the views of its writer; and it often is about people. Generally written with wit and style and with greater freedom of approach than is encouraged in conventional news reporting, columns can offer opinion, although opinion is not the column's main pur-

pose, as it is for the editorial or the review. The columnist's primary responsibility is to be interesting, a goal often reached by combining the serious with the frivolous.

The first "columnists" appeared in the Civil War era, as did the concept of syndicated copy. The earliest columnists were women, who were given columns to bolster the number of their papers' female readers; men of serious literary bent, who had contributed stories and sketches to newspapers and who eventually adopted a regular schedule for their work in the form of a column; and humorists, who likewise regularized their output by taking on a column with a set schedule. Perhaps the first woman columnist was Sara Parton, whose column dates from 1855. Benjamin Perley Poore's column, "Waifs from Washington," was originated in 1854; Henry Wheeler Shaw, whose literary character was "Josh Billings," started his column in 1867; and satirist Ambrose Bierce began his column in 1868.

These pioneers were followed by a host of other writers, whose entertaining columns appeared both in small U.S. papers and in large-circulation urban dailies. Many of those whose columns ran locally in the smaller papers have been largely forgotten. Chicago was the early leader in the urban centers. Eugene Field launched his column there in 1883, George Ade and Finley Peter Dunne ("Mr. Dooley") in 1893, Bert Leston Taylor in 1899, and Franklin P. Adams in 1903.

As New York City loomed ever larger as the nation's publishing mecca, many of the best columnists migrated there to seek wider fame and greater fortune. Feminist and sentimentalist Sara Lippincott, who wrote as "Grace Greenwood," began her column there in 1892; witty Helen Rowland arrived at about that same time; and Marie Manning, who as "Beatrice Fairfax" was one of the originators of the personal advice column, came in 1898. Two of the greatest of U.S. humor columnists moved to New York in the early 1900s: Irvin S. Cobb in 1905 and Don Marquis in 1909. Franklin Adams and Damon Runyon came in 1914, and in 1917, New York papers began carrying columns by H.L. Mencken and Zöe Beckley, who specialized in writing about interesting people. Society columnist Maury Biddle Paul arrived in New York in 1918, Ring Lardner introduced his mix of humor and sports in 1919, writer Christopher Morley had a column in 1920, Oliver Odd McIntyre began his popular metro column in 1922, and Walter Winchell introduced the Broadway gossip column in the same year. To this point, the job of the columnist was more to entertain than to inform, and many columnists made regular use of light verse in addition to their prose copy.

At about this time, however, the more serious public affairs columnist emerged. One of the early leaders, in 1919, was the *New York Post's* David Lawrence, who went on to found *U.S. News and World Report*. Others were Walter Lippmann of the *New York Herald-Tribune* in 1931 and Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* in 1932. Also in 1932, Drew Pearson began his investigative column in Washington, D.C. A standout among early female political columnists was Dorothy Thompson of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, whose column began in 1936.

From then to now, thousands of columnists have come and gone. Many began as reporters and eventually were

awarded their own columns, the culmination of their careers. Others moved on from column writing to become book authors, screenwriters, broadcasters, or executives. Some newspaper owners – William Randolph Hearst, Dorothy Schiff, and John Knight, for instance – wrote columns of their own, as did some editors in chief. Other columnists deliberately avoided getting into management, preferring to write a column full-time instead.

The field of column writing in the 1990s included "celebrity columnists" who had expertise in some area but lacked a journalistic background – for example, businessman Lee Iacocca and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson – in addition to physicians who wrote medical advice columns and other nonjournalists who wrote topic-specialized columns, many of which were syndicated. In the 1990s, many minority columnists who wrote about the nation's African American, Asian American, Native American, and Hispanic communities emerged. There were, of course, minority columnists early on, such as Gertrude Mossell (1885) and Lillian Lewis (1889), who wrote for the black press, and Delilah Beasley, who in 1923 became the first black columnist at a mainstream U.S. paper. Still, growth in the number of minority columnists was slow until the 1990s.

SAM G. RILEY

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Newspaper Competition

Competition caused newspaper deaths, consolidation

Competition claimed the lives of so many daily newspapers in the United States during the twentieth century that companies otherwise competing with one another entered into cooperative business alliances. Hoping to stay ahead of

strikes, purchase of competitor, and nonrenewal of the joint operating agreement were contributing factors to the failure of one of the newspapers under the agreement.

The Newspaper Preservation Act was amended in 1987 to accommodate a changing newspaper industry to allow joint operating agreement papers to broaden their permitted publishing activities and to become involved in new technological developments.

EDWARD E. ADAMS

See also Economics of Newspapers; Newspaper Competition; Newspaper Technology

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Newspaper Publicity Act

Calls for identification of owners, investors, circulation statistics

Buried within the 1913 post office appropriations legislation, the Newspaper Publicity Act required commercial newspapers and magazines using the highly subsidized second-class mail privilege to identify their owners and investors and to label advertisements that resembled news stories or editorials. Dailies also were forced to disclose accurate circulation figures with their published ownership statements. Congress enacted these regulations in an attempt to curb some of the common business excesses occurring in the press of the early twentieth century. These abuses included lying about circulation figures, disguising advertisements to appear as news stories or editorials, and concealing the identity of owners and stockholders to hide conflicts of interest.

In order to bypass the First Amendment question, Congress linked the regulations to the press's mail privilege, believing that the courts would uphold congressional authority to set standards for the postal subsidy. In 1913, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously affirmed the regulations' constitutionality in *Lewis Publishing v. Morgan*, after the American Newspaper Publishers Association instigated the court case challenging the law. Soon afterward, the press urged the Post Office Department to enforce the regulations strictly, recognizing the intrinsic business advantages of supporting the Newspaper Publicity Act. In later years, weekly and magazine publishers successfully lobbied Congress to extend the circulation requirement to their publications. The regulations were still in effect at the end of the twentieth century.

LINDA LAWSON

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Newspapers in the Eighteenth Century

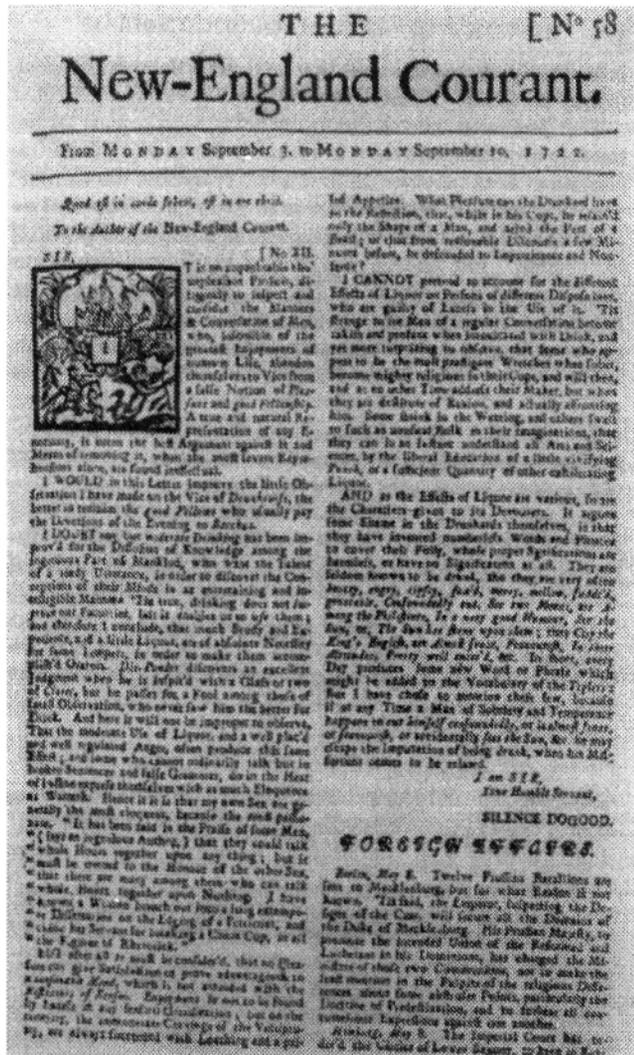
Evolved from carrying foreign news to influencing the course of a new nation

The eighteenth century was young when John Campbell published the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704, but news was not a new commodity. As Boston postmaster, Campbell knew and read European periodicals that circulated in the mail. To satisfy people's thirst for news, Campbell had been clipping news from periodicals and letters and then issuing it in handwritten form. The next logical step was to publish a newspaper, and the *News-Letter* became America's first successful one.

As the newspaper industry unfolded, individuals and circumstances shaped it. Newspapers at first depended heavily on foreign news and de-emphasized local news. In Puritan Boston, printer James Franklin proved that local issues would sell newspapers, too. At the request of an Anglican faction, Franklin started the controversial and highly popular *New-England Courant* in 1721. Writers for the *Courant* attacked Puritan minister Cotton Mather for his advocacy of inoculation against smallpox.

Massachusetts was the center of the early American newspaper industry, owing to a relatively dense population and near-universal literacy. However, as other colonial populations grew larger and more educated, newspapers spread. Printers moved into colonies that lacked a press, often at the request of colonial governments that needed printers to issue official documents. Maryland hired experienced English newsman William Parks as its official printer, for example. He established a newspaper there before Virginia hired him away. He opened that colony's first newspaper as well.

Benjamin Franklin spread newspapers in a different way. After achieving success as a printer in Philadelphia, he sponsored promising young printers who set up printshops and newspapers in South Carolina, New York, Connecticut, and Antigua. As part of his influential printing career, Franklin also helped define the character of news. He had purchased a failing newspaper from Samuel Keimer in 1729. Reflecting the public's interest in scientific endeavors, Keimer had been reprinting a scientific encyclopedia, entry by entry, purposely avoiding crime news and nonpolitical events. When Franklin bought the paper, he canceled the



Benjamin Franklin, writing as Silence Dogood, is featured on the front page of his brother James's paper, *The New-England Courant*.

encyclopedia and emphasized stories of news events, including crime and local happenings.

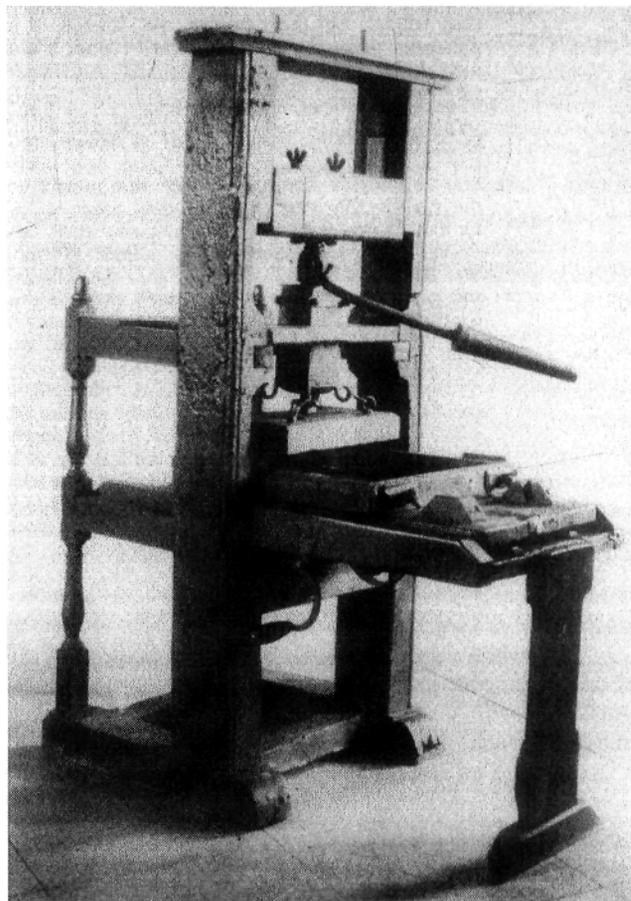
Developing a taste for local news, editors clipped stories from other American newspapers. Colonial news events, such as the travels of evangelist George Whitefield through the colonies, were fully reported in the press and carefully followed by readers. Editors often begged for, and got, submissions from local readers. Some offered essays on topics of general interest, such as the importance of education or the need for steady trade. Others offered how-to articles, discussing agricultural methods or health tips. Still others sent in poems and literary works, turning newspapers into forums for entertainment.

Local items did not eclipse foreign reports, however. Editors continued to emphasize European news, for readers were citizens of European nations and had a vital interest in happenings across the Atlantic. News of American and European shipping was a staple of newspapers, telling readers about ship arrivals, departures, and cargoes.

With such a wide range of reading material available in their newspapers, colonial Americans came to depend on and enjoy their weekly gazettes. In 1725, there were five active newspapers in the colonies. The number rose to 12 by 1740 and to 24 by 1764. By then, colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia had at least one newspaper.

When Britain imposed a stamp tax on American printed goods in 1765, newspaper editors reacted angrily. Every newspaper in the colonies protested the Stamp Act in some fashion and recorded protests in other colonies, allowing readers to see that colonists everywhere disagreed with the tax. Thus, newspapers helped unite the colonies in protest against Britain.

Despite press unity during the Stamp Act, some editors felt that the colonies should work out their differences with Britain. Others disagreed, pushing for a radical break with Britain. When the American Revolution broke out in 1775, the press was fragmented. Some printers were loyal to the crown. Others sided with the Patriots. Pro-American newspapers emphasized American battle victories and painted defeats in the most positive light. Pro-British editors at first tried to print both sides of every story, thinking that they thereby would circulate the British view. However, Patriot groups such as the Sons of Liberty would not allow Loyalist editors to print British views. Mobs roughed up Loyalist



Newspapers had to be printed one page at a time in the eighteenth century.

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Post from Decemb. 2d to 4th. 1703.

Letters from *Scotland* bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *A reasonable Alarm for Scotland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the present Danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That Papiſts ſwarm in that Nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, & that of late many Scores of Priests and Jeſuites are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of the Country. That the Miniſters of the Highlands and North gave in large Liſts of them to the Committee of the General Aſſembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.

It likewiſe obſerves, that a great Number of other illaffected perſons are come over from France, under pretence of accepting her Majeſty's Gracious Indemnity; but, in reality, to increaſe Diviſions in the Nation, and to entertain a Correſpondence with France: That their ill Intentions are evident from their talking big, their owning the Intereſt of the pretended King James VIII. their ſecret Cabals, and their buying up of Arms and Ammunition, wherever they can find them.

To this he adds the late Writings and Actings of ſome diſaffected perſons, many of whom are for that Pretender, that ſeveral of them have declar'd they had rather embrace Popery than conform to the preſent Government; that they refuſe to pray for the Queen, but uſe the ambiguous word Sovereign, and ſome of them pry in expreſs Words for the King and Royal Family; and the charitable and generous Prince who has ſhew'd them ſo much Kindneſs. He likewiſe takes notice of Letters not long ago found in Cypher, and directed to a Perſon lately come thither from *St. Germain's*.

He ſays that the greateſt Jacobites, who will not qualifye themſelves by taking the Oaths to Her Majeſty, do now with the Papiſts and their Companions from *St. Germain's* ſet up for the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to their own Principles, but merely to keep up a Diviſion in the Nation. He adds, that they aggravate thoſe things which the People complain of, as to *England's* refuſing, to allow them a freedom of Trade, &c. and do all they can to foment Diviſions betwixt the Nations, and to obſtruct a Redreſs of thoſe things complain'd of.

The Jacobites, he ſays, do all they can to perſwade the Nation that their pretended King is a Proteſtant in his Heart, tho' he dares not declare it while under the Power of France; that he is acquainted with the Miſtakes of his Father's Government, will govern us more according to Law, and endeaz himſelf to his Subjects.

They magnifie the Strength of their own Party, and the Weakneſs and Diviſions of the other, in order to facilitate and haſten their Undertaking; they argue themſelves out of their Fears, and into the higheſt ſurance of accompliſhing their purpoſe.

From all this he infers, That they have hopes of Aſſiſtance from France, otherwiſe they would never be ſo impudent; and he gives Reaſons for his Apprehenſions that the French King may ſend Troops thither this Winter, 1. Becauſe the *English & Dutch* will not then be at Sea to oppoſe them. 2. He can then beſt ſpare them, the Seaſon of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a conſiderable number to joyn them, may encourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men if he can but ſend over a ſufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the reſt of his Letters to answer the fooliſh Pretences of the Pretender's being a Proteſtant, and that he will govern us according to Law. He ſays, that being bred up in the Religion and Politicks of France, he is by Education a ſtated Enemy to our Liberty and Religion. That tho' Obligations which he and his Family owe to the French King, ſufficiently make him to be wholly at his Devotion, and to follow his Example; that if he ſit upon the Throne of the three Nations; muſt be oblig'd to pay the Debt which he owes the French King for the Education of himſelf, and for Entertaining his ſuppoſed Father and his Family. And ſince the King muſt reſtore him by his Troops, if ever he be reſtored, he will ſee to ſecure his own Debt before thoſe Troops leave Britain. The Pretender being a good Proficient in the French and Romiſh Schools, he will never think himſelf ſufficiently aveng'd, but by the utter Ruine of his Proteſtant Subjects, both as Hereticks and Traitors. The late Queen, his pretended Mother, who in cold Blood when ſhe was *Queen of Britain*, adviſed to turn the Weſt of *Scotland* into a hunting Field, will be then for doing ſo by the greateſt part of the Nation; and, no doubt, is at Pains to have her pretended Son educated to her own Mind: Therefore he ſays, it were a great Madneſs in the Nation to take a Prince bred up in the horrid School of Ingratitude, Perſecution and Cruelty, and filled with Rage and Envy. The Jacobites, he ſays, both in *Scotland* and at *St. Germain's*, are impatient under their preſent Straits, and knowing their circumſtances cannot be much worſe than they are, at preſent, are the more inclinable to the Undertaking. He adds, That the French King knows there cannot be a more effectual way for himſelf to arrive at the Univerſal Monarchy, and to ruine the Proteſtant Intereſt, than by ſetting up the Pretender upon the Throne of Great Britain, he will in all probability attempt it; and tho' he ſhould be perſwaded that the Deſign would miſcarry in the cloſe, yet he cannot but reap ſome Advantage by imbroiling the three Nations.

From all this, the Author concludes it to be the Intereſt of the Nation, to provide for Self defence; and ſays, that as many have already taken the Alarm, and are furniſhing themſelves with Arms and Ammunition, he hopes the Government will not only allow it, but encourage it, ſince the Nation ought all to appear as one Man in the Defence

printers, driving some out of town. Those who survived in British-held territory began printing news slanted toward the British war effort. The press of the American Revolution quickly became highly partisan.

The war was hard on newspapers. Not only did printers have to flee hostile armies or mobs, but they competed for scarce paper and printing equipment. Many papers failed. At the start of the Revolution, 34 newspapers existed in America. During the war, 98 more newspapers were begun, but 78 papers folded.

In 1783, Philadelphia printer Benjamin Towne took the bold step of issuing America's first daily newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post and Daily Advertiser*. Although most newspapers remained weekly, dailies began to take root. In 1790, there were 91 newspapers in the United States. Eight were dailies. By 1800, the nation had 234 newspapers, 24 of which were dailies.

As the new nation struggled to form a viable government, the press took on great importance. The Bill of Rights to the Constitution guaranteed press freedom. The new president, George Washington, resisted the formation of political parties, but when they did form, the press leaped wholeheartedly into party struggles. Newspapers became mouthpieces for parties such as the Federalists and the Republicans. Editors began stating their political opinions in their newspapers, rather than relying on opinions supplied by readers.

The growing public interest in politics resulted in newspaper coverage of House of Representatives sessions in 1789. When the primarily Federalist Senate refused to open its doors to the press, anti-Federalist *National Gazette* editor Philip Freneau began pressuring for admission. He caused a public outcry, and the Senate reversed its policy in 1794.

By the close of the eighteenth century, newspapers were involved actively in forming the political system of the new United States. Thus, newspapers created a permanent and prominent place for politics as a topic in the U.S. media.

JULIE K. HEDGEPEETH WILLIAMS

See also American Revolution and the Press; Colonial Press; Government Secrecy; Newspaper Design; Newspaper Technology; Party Press; Printers' Networks; Reporters and Reporting in the Eighteenth Century; Stamp Act of 1765

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Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century

Period of great transition and specialization for newspaper publications

U.S. newspapers began the nineteenth century as large, gray pages of solid type set in the same size, broken only by italic or capital letters for emphasis. Illustrations, if used at all, showed a simple pointing finger calling attention to advertisements, the same small house on all real estate ads, a ship on transportation schedules, or a person carrying a bag over his shoulder on ads for runaway children, wives, or slaves. Headings or pictures stayed within one column.

Although newspapers carried political essays, most content was as dull as the newspapers' appearance. Newspapers appealed to elites, mostly white male property owners who read political newspapers for party propaganda and mercantile papers for shipping news and commodity prices. To enliven copy, editors viciously attacked their competitors.

A single printer could assemble a newspaper in 1800. Standing at his type case, he put copy together one letter at a time. An adept editor could write stories while setting type. Out-of-town news came from "exchanges," newspapers with whom editors exchanged copies. Printers set the first story at the top of the first page; they added the latest developments at the end. About 20 of the 200 newspapers were dailies. Each newspaper reached a few hundred to one thousand readers.

By 1900, multicolumn headlines shouted from the tops of pages often dominated by large photographs or drawings. News stories and headlines began with summaries highlighting the latest information from around the world. Name-calling and partisanship moved to special sections called editorial pages, while other sections covered sports, women's issues, and, in some cases, religion, agriculture, or business.

Some of the more than 2,300 dailies in 1900 reached a few hundred small-town residents, while others attracted more than 100,000 readers, including immigrants who barely knew English. Large corporations owned newspapers, even those headed by big names like Joseph Pulitzer or William Randolph Hearst. Dozens of people put out a pa-

per with specialized divisions for news, advertising, circulation, and production.

Historians tend to look for antecedents of modern journalism. Frank Luther Mott, for example, labeled the early nineteenth century “the dark ages of partisan journalism.” Editors had a stake in their parties’ fortunes. When their candidates won, editors could be rewarded with governmental printing contracts or appointments to political jobs. Defeat, however, could mean bankruptcy.

By the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson had created a mass audience by initiating campaign techniques to reach large numbers of people. Political rallies, conventions, and newspapers broke up old cliques. Several editors started newspapers in 1833 to reach the masses independent from political parties; most failed after a few months.

Editor Benjamin Day succeeded with the *New York Sun*, begun on September 3, 1833. It sold for one cent when other newspapers sold for six cents. Within a week, he hired an unemployed printer, George Wisner, who arose early every morning to put daily police reports into an entertaining column. This emphasis on the cops, crime, and courts became so successful that Wisner quickly became Day’s partner. They created the penny newspaper formula: cheap per-copy and subscription prices, advertising rates based on readership, stories written to entertain large numbers of people, and street sales in which newsboys invested 67 cents in 100 papers they had to sell to recoup their money.

Scottish immigrant James Gordon Bennett surpassed the *Sun*’s crime coverage by emphasizing sex and violence. On May 6, 1835, with \$500, he opened the four-page *New York Herald* in a Wall Street basement. With the resources he amassed from success, he pioneered the use of telegraphy, financial news, foreign correspondents, and illustrations on news stories. During the Civil War, he sent more than 60 correspondents to the battlefields.

Newspapers remained political advocates. Bennett supported the Democratic Party. New York penny editors Horace Greeley, founder of the *Tribune* in 1841, and Henry J.

Raymond, founder of the *Daily Times* in 1851, helped create the Republican party and promote its candidates.

Editors nationwide discovered a demand for news during the Civil War. Home town people wanted to know the fate of local regiments at distant fronts. Weekly magazines found an eager market for illustrations depicting battle scenes.

Like other corporations, newspapers became capital-intensive. After the penny papers hit the streets, steam power combined with fast rotary presses to replace hand-fed flatbed sheets. Telegraphy, begun with the first wire between Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., in 1844, connected much of the nation and increased the competition for timely news when war began in 1861. By 1863, lead stereotype cylinders on a high-speed press could print both sides of a long continuous web of cheap paper. In the 1880s, the Linotype machine allowed printers to set an entire line of type at a keyboard. Although typewriters and telephones were introduced in the 1870s, they were slow to become news-gathering tools.

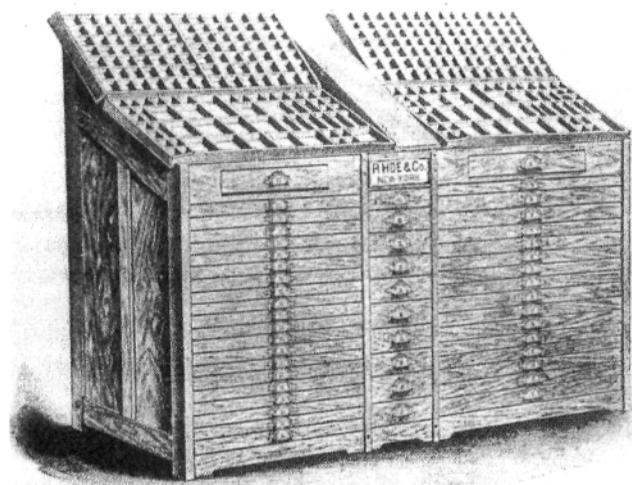
Hungarian immigrant Joseph Pulitzer became a reporter for a German daily in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1867. Eventually, he bought two St. Louis newspapers which he combined into the *Post-Dispatch*. He added the *New York World* to his company in 1883 and advocated the cause of the poor. The *World* became known for both sensational reporting and thoughtful editorializing.

At Harvard, student William Randolph Hearst read the *World* and thought that journalism would be fun. After being expelled from college, Hearst talked his father into giving him a newspaper. From this base at the *San Francisco Examiner*, Hearst raked in enough money to buy the *New York Journal* in 1896 to challenge Pulitzer. Their competition included raiding each others’ staffs and creating a brand of sensationalism known as yellow journalism – allegedly named for the splash of color on a comic character whose creator they fought over. In their frenzy, they sensationalized Spanish conflicts with Cuba and promoted war with Spain.

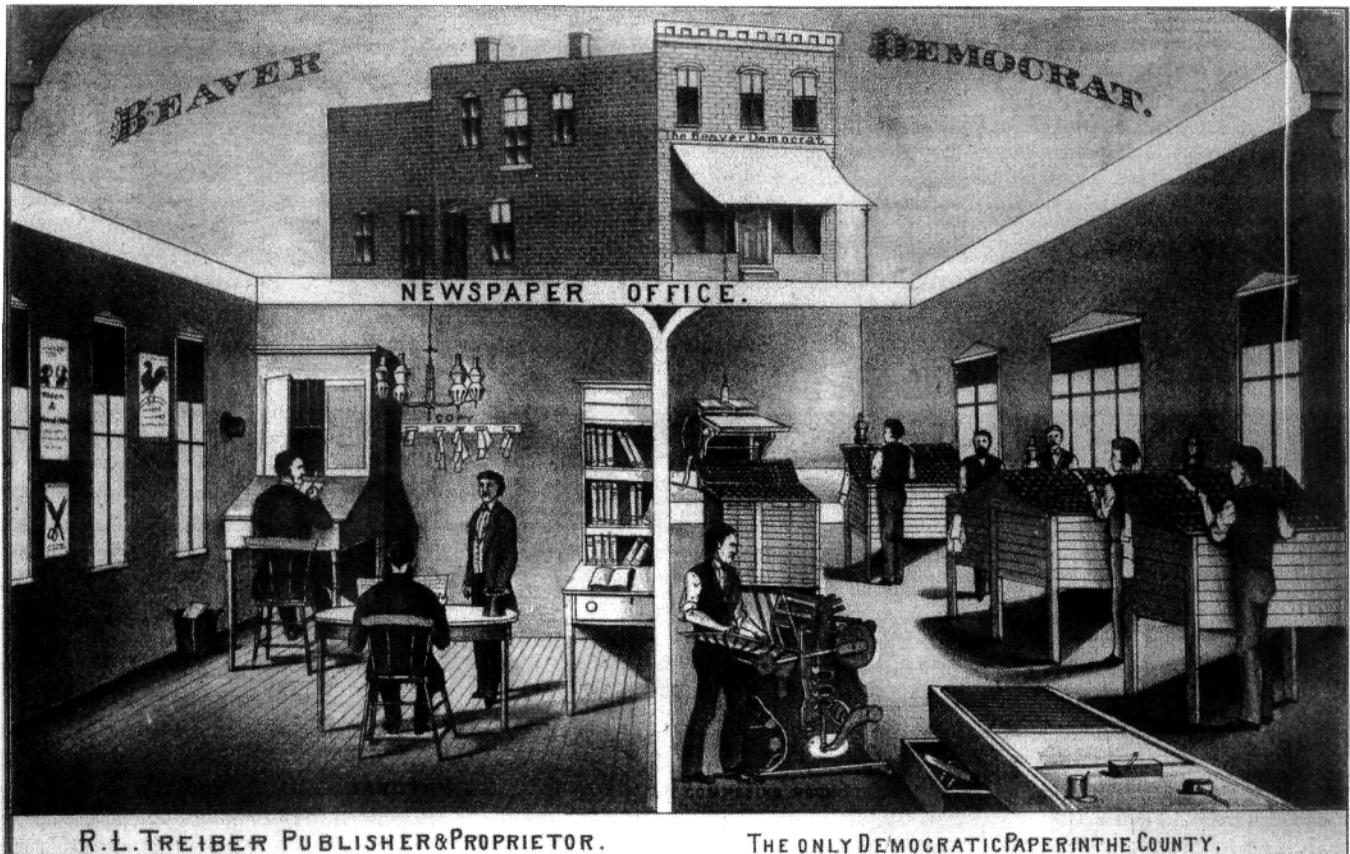
The Associated Press (AP) grew out of cooperative efforts begun by major New York newspapers seeking efficient ways to cover business news and the Mexican War in the 1840s. Although the AP was a cooperative, it held a monopoly on national news in some major markets.

In the same year as Hearst entered New York, Adolph S. Ochs acquired the *New York Times* to prove that a newspaper did not have to “soil the breakfast cloth” and made his paper a serious alternative to sensationalism. The *Times* became a newspaper of record by reprinting public documents, thoroughly covering major issues, and providing an index.

Looking for precedents and antecedents ignores the rich diversity of nineteenth-century newspapers, especially in the antebellum era, when anyone could start a newspaper with a few hundred dollars and a hand-operated printing press. Small-town promoters, or boosters, started newspapers to attract settlers. Agricultural journalists promoted new farming techniques. Religious and utopian societies formed newspapers to proselytize their ideas. Abolitionists joined associations and hired editors to agitate against slavery. Women’s groups organized to promote their right to



Type was set by hand, one character at a time, on nineteenth-century newspapers.



A small newspaper office in the nineteenth century
(Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress)

vote. Ethnic and immigrant communities, like the Germans in St. Louis, published newspapers to build community and attract settlers from abroad. Twenty-seven U.S. daily newspapers published in German in 1860, and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* appeared in a German-language edition. In 1860, New York and San Francisco had daily newspapers in German, French, Spanish, and Italian. African American groups published several papers distributed nationally.

WILLIAM E. HUNTZICKER

See also Boosterism; Cooperative News Gathering; New Journalism (1880s); Newspaper Chains, or Groups; Newspaper Design; Newspaper Technology; Party Press; Penny Press; Photojournalism in the Nineteenth Century; Reporters and Reporting in the Nineteenth Century; Yellow Journalism

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Newspapers in the Twentieth Century

Thriving press consolidates, changes technology, encounters problems

In the first part of the twentieth century, newspaper staffs competed actively for stories, which were spread on the pages in black ink. After mid-century, however, the trend to one-paper cities and to computerized production brought sweeping changes, which also were driven by television.

In the history of the U.S. press, few times could compare with this period. Earlier high points included the linkage of newspapers by telegraph in the 1840s and the appearance

Congress to change the Copyright Laws of the United States in 1978. The ASMP changed its name to the American Society of Media Photographers following a referendum of its membership in 1992.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Photography Trade Press

In an effort to combat the viciously competitive atmosphere that colored the news photographer's profession prior to World War II, the National Press Photographers Association founded a monthly magazine in 1946, *National Press Photographer*, and dedicated it to the education of news photographers. Because of the intense competition created by rival New York newspapers earlier in the twentieth century, news photographers were often less than ethical in their efforts to capture the most sensational front-page photograph. Rather than organizing to protest or lobby against existing conditions, the association's founders believed that by educating individual photographers to become responsible professionals, the more egregious problems associated with photographing the news would be resolved. Thus, the association's trade publication was dedicated to the moral, ethical, and educational advancement of news photographers.

The publication, later known as the *News Photographer*, had in the late 1990s about 11,000 subscribers throughout the United States, Canada, Japan, and New Zealand, among other countries. Its articles focused on a number of issues related to news photography, including journalism and the courts, conflict of interest, and privacy issues. Each issue contained award-winning photographs of interest to newspaper, magazine, and television photographers.

The National Press Photographers Association was divided into 11 regions throughout the country. Members of these regional associations also received newsletters regarding the news photography business.

ROBIN GALLAGHER

Photojournalism in the Nineteenth Century

Beginnings of public belief in photography providing an accurate record of events

Long before the introduction of large-format picture magazines in the mid-1930s – even before the 1890s, when the

barons of the yellow press made pictures an intrinsic element of daily newspapers – photographs were used to inform the public about persons, places, and events in the news. From the beginning of photography in 1839, the public believed that photographs were accurate records of whatever happened to be in front of the camera. The use of such apparently irrefutable and truthful documents by the press was inevitable. In one of the medium's first published histories, John Towler equated photography to the invention of the steam engine and magnetic telegraph. "It is one of the great wonders," he wrote, "so far eclipsing the seven vaunted wonders of the world, that these recede into dark nooks, like the wired dolls of an automatic puppet show." Not surprisingly, publishers and editors increasingly anxious to reach a mass audience began looking for ways to use photographs on the pages of their magazines and newspapers.

The first efforts to include photographs on the printed page, however, now seem crude and hopelessly inadequate. For most of the nineteenth century, photographs were painstakingly copied by hand, then transferred to wooden or metal plates as engravings, before being printed with text. As a result, printed pictures based on photographs looked more like artists' drawings or sketches. In order to assure readers that their illustrations were accurate, editors nearly always printed captions attesting to the photographic origin of their images. The picture might look like the work of an ordinary artist, but if the caption read, "From a Photograph," the reader was assured that he or she was looking at the real thing, not a hastily concocted interpretation or the product of someone's vivid imagination.

Frank Leslie, an immigrant from Ipswich, England, was one of the first to fully realize the value of photographs as reportage. Drawing upon his experiences as an artist at the *Illustrated London News* and at T.W. Strong's short-lived *Illustrated American News*, Leslie began publishing his own weekly pictorial in December 1855. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* was an immediate success and remained a force in journalism well into the twentieth century. In 1859, Leslie described the importance of press photography in an article on Jeremiah Gurney, a successful photographer in New York City. "The painter's easel is almost abolished," he wrote, "except as a hand maiden to photography." Now



A shantytown shot was the first photograph published in a newspaper.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1864, by FRANK LESLIE, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

No. 459—Vol. XVIII.]

NEW YORK, JULY 16, 1864.

[PRICE 10 CENTS. \$4 00 YEARLY. 12 WEEKS \$1 00.]

The Resignation of Mr. Secretary Chase— Our Financial Difficulties.

This startling—because wholly unexpected—announcement from Washington on Thursday last, of the resignation of Mr. Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, and the appointment of Hon. Governor David Tod, of Ohio, to fill his place, instantly created a more painful and profound sensation in New York than any tidings for a long time of any disaster to the national cause. Men of all parties, and all classes, began instinctively to inquire of each

other—why has Mr. Chase resigned at this critical period in our financial affairs? Has he abandoned the heavy task imposed upon him of sustaining the national credit and currency in despair? Or have political difficulties among the members of the Cabinet, which we had supposed were adjusted, broken out afresh, and precipitated this resignation? If so, may we not anticipate a general breaking up and reconstitution of the Cabinet, with every probability of more serious embarrassments than ever in the working of the Government machinery? And who is this Mr.

Tod, of Ohio? Is he recognized anywhere as a statesman of the requisite abilities to assume at this crisis the management of the National Treasury? What does all this mean? With the present fearful depreciation and still downward tendency of our paper currency, are we not hastening to a sweeping financial collapse and revolution?

These were among the many difficult questions suggested by this startling news of the official retirement of Mr. Chase, and the appointment of Mr. Tod, of Ohio, in his place. Nor were there any encouraging answers at

hand from any quarter. There was nothing consoling in the statement that Mr. Chase had resigned, because Congress and the President had failed to support him; nor in the allegation that Mr. Chase did not expect his resignation to be accepted. Doubts, distrust and despondency prevailed, and gold, that invisible standard by which the grocer, the baker and the butcher make their advances from day to day, went up with a new momentum that was positively appalling. Mr. Tod's declination of the Treasury, and the appointment of Hon. William Pitt Fessenden, Senator of Maine, to



THE WAR IN VIRGINIA—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT IN A COUNCIL OF WAR AT MASSAPONAX CHURCH.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY GARDNER.—SEE PAGE 505.

Illustrated newspapers often painstakingly copied photographs by hand into line drawings, such as this woodcut depicting a meeting of Union officers in 1864.
(Otto Richter Library/University of Miami)

and in the future, the men "whose actions and deeds fill the world" would be presented to the public with absolute realism. For Leslie, nothing was beyond the capacity of the camera: "Terrible battles, with all their dreadful scenes of carnage and slaughter, are transferred to paper upon the instant, and soon go hurrying over thousands of miles to be viewed by the humble peasant in his peaceful abode."

Fletcher Harper, the youngest of the four brothers who built one of the great publishing dynasties in the United States, followed Leslie's lead. The first issue of *Harper's Weekly* appeared in 1857. For 18 weeks, the magazine was issued with no illustrations at all. Harper, however, soon realized the news value of pictures, especially those based upon photographs, and from May 2, 1857, the magazine printed photographs in every edition. During the Civil War, *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* published countless pictures showing officers and men involved in the war, scenes depicting the awful aftermath of battles, and views of military encampments and fortifications. Mathew Brady, one of the best-known photographers in the country, organized and directed coverage of the Union armies; in 1863, Alexander Gardner left Brady's employ and established a rival photographic unit. Both Brady and Gardner supplied Harper and Leslie with timely views made by staff photographers who dogged the armies looking for telling images. The public became accustomed to seeing history as it was made.

Both during and after the war, photographers augmented their incomes by mass-producing images with broad popular appeal. These were distributed by individual photographers, photo equipment and supply companies, publishers, and newsdealers. Portraits of celebrities and other persons in the news were printed and sold as visiting cards, which were roughly the size of modern business cards. Stereographs, which consisted of two nearly identical views printed on a card measuring approximately 3½ by 7 inches, gave the illusion of a third dimension when viewed in a device called a stereoscope. Stereo views were as important to the culture of the Victorian-era United States as televisions and VCRs became in the twentieth century. Their subject matter varied from straightforward depictions of events and places to humorous sequences and travelogues. Visiting cards and stereographs perfectly suited a people enamored of the visual and hungry for information about the world. "It is wonderful what becomes of the countless stereoscopes that are made during a year," enthused the editors of *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* in 1870. "Pile upon pile, dozen after dozen, gross after gross, have we alone been instrumental in supplying to the still unsatisfied demand." And that was just the premium machines. Cheaper sets by the "hundreds of thousands have been swallowed up in the vortex of popular consumption."

Until late in the century, photographs printed in the press appeared as engravings or woodcuts, for there was no mechanical method of transferring the subtle tones of a photograph onto the printed page. However, in 1878, Frederick Eugene Ives, director of the photographic laboratories at Cornell University, demonstrated a new, if somewhat cumbersome, process of reproducing photographs mechanically. Two years later, the director of graphics at the *New York*

Daily Graphic, Stephen Henry Horgan, announced his own halftone process and to prove it, the *Daily Graphic* printed one on March 4, 1880. This was an epochal event in the history of photojournalism, the first successful demonstration of a process for printing photographs mechanically. The halftone assured that photographs used on the printed page looked like photographs, not engravings or woodcuts. Ironically, however, it took another decade and a half for the halftone to be fully accepted by printers and publishers.

Late in the century, the use of photographs by newspapers was encouraged by publishers looking for ways to increase circulation. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst advocated a new kind of journalism, one that reveled in the sensational and visual, and in the process, they institutionalized photojournalism. Despite constant criticism from those who believed that pictures demeaned the intellectual content of newspapers and magazines, Hearst, Pulitzer, and others correctly surmised that their readers still believed in the inherent truthfulness of photographs. Given the strength of that belief, it merely made good sense to publish pictures.

During the brief U.S. war with Spain in 1898, a war that some believed was fomented by strident, jingoistic reporting by Hearst and Pulitzer, photographers were everywhere. Even Hearst made pictures in Cuba. Magazines and newspapers ran special picture pages and photographic supplements designed to take advantage of an enormous outpouring of visual material. Publishers and editors experimented with new ways to use pictures in combinations and began to think about essays and stories told in pictures instead of words. Modern photojournalism had arrived, and the pictorial magazines *Life* and *Look* were still three and a half decades away.

MICHAEL L. CARLEBACH

See also Brady, Mathew; Civil War Photography; Illustrated Newspapers; Photographic Technology; Yellow Journalism

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Photojournalism in the Twentieth Century

Photographs quickly became key to a publication's success with its audience

The twentieth century opened with magazines and urban newspapers around the world racing madly for circulation and the advertising dollars circulation drew. With survival

photo opportunity can go a long way in determining whether the staged event will appear on the nightly news.

This staged news played an important role in much of the social and political activity of the second half of the twentieth century. By creating news events that drew the attention of the media, particularly television, social activists such as Martin Luther King Jr. were able to establish a national base for their reform movements. As the number of individuals and organizations using staged events to attract media attention increased, the size and scope of the events increased. In an effort to guarantee attention, organizations resorted to the use of celebrities, larger-scale demonstrations and marches, and, sometimes, violence to attract coverage.

With the evolution of television news and the rise in importance of visual images to accompany stories, staged news took on a second form, the creation of visuals by news-gathering organizations for impact. In the early 1990s, a series of controversial uses of video by the three major TV news networks - NBC, CBS, and ABC - brought the issue into focus. NBC received criticism from inside and outside the media for exaggerating the consequence visually in a story about hazardous gas tanks on General Motors pickup trucks. ABC was criticized for a shadowy dramatization that implied that it was actual footage of an accused spy passing U.S. military secrets to foreign agents, and CBS drew fire for using old footage of Soviet fighter planes in a story about Soviet activity in Afghanistan and implying that they were part of the current incident. With development of computerized editing and enhancement techniques, it might be possible in the future to create totally fictitious video coverage of a "news" event or to create a totally fictitious event itself.

DAVID CASSADY

See also *Image, The*; Media Events; Photo Opportunities

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Stamp Act of 1765

Spurred newspapers to lead opposition to British tax

The Stamp Act of 1765 was the first direct tax ever levied by the British Parliament on the American colonies. Designed to raise funds to help with the upkeep of troops sta-



The imposition of the Stamp Act in 1765 led to serious complaints from newspapers.

tioned in the colonies, it placed a tax on newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, and broadsides, as well as on legal documents, licenses, and gaming devices.

Opposition to the Stamp Act did much to unite the colonies. Decrying "taxation without representation," the colonies asserted that their right to govern their own internal affairs had always been recognized by the Crown.

The Sons of Liberty were formed in the summer of 1765 throughout the colonies to organize opposition to the Stamp Act. These groups sometimes resorted to violence to force stamp agents to resign their posts and merchants to cancel orders for British goods. Before the effective date of the Stamp Act on November 1, 1765, all stamp agents in the colonies had resigned.

Colonial newspaper editors generally opposed the Stamp Act and helped to foment resistance to the tax in their communities. Many editors became actively involved in the Sons of Liberty, setting the stage for their political involvement in promoting revolution in the 1770s.

Leading merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia agreed to ban the purchase of European goods until the Stamp Act was repealed, which led to a decline in British exports to America. British merchants requested Parliament to repeal the act, and it was repealed on March 18,

strong, derogatory language. Washington mourned such press behavior:

It is to be lamented that the Editors of the different Gazettes in the Union, do not more generally, and more correctly (instead of stuffing their papers with scurrility, and nonsensical declamation, which few would read if they were apprised of the contents) publish the debates in Congress on all great national questions, and this with no uncommon pains, everyone of them might do. The principles upon which the difference of opinion arises, as well as the decisions would then come fully before the public, and afford the best data for its judgment.

Even Washington himself, the "Hero of the Revolution," did not escape newspaper attacks. Washington refused to respond publicly to these verbal assaults, but he considered them "outrages on common decency" that were "meant to impede the measures of . . . Government" and "to destroy the confidence, which it is necessary for the people to place . . . in their public servants."

Particularly upsetting to Washington were personal comments in Benjamin Franklin Bache's *Aurora*. Washington concluded that the papers referred to him "in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick pocket." For Washington, such attacks were incomprehensible and served no useful purpose in the public arena. He feared the results of a press with no restraints: "In a word if the government and the Officers of it are to be the constant theme for News-paper abuse, and this too without condescending to investigate the motives or the facts, it will be impossible, I conceive, for any man living to manage the helm, or to keep the machine together."

Washington escaped the public eye in 1797 by retiring from office. His reputation recovered from the press attacks of his presidency following his death in 1799, but his struggles with, and his concerns about, the press during his public career reflected the ongoing tension between government officials and the press that has been a part of American politics ever since.

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See also American Revolution and the Press; Party Press

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Washington Post

The *Washington Post*, the largest newspaper in Washington, D.C., in the late twentieth century, was considered one of the leading newspapers of the world due mainly to its intensive coverage of the U.S. political scene and access to highly placed sources. Its stature went up dramatically in

the decades after it played a pivotal role in exposing the Watergate crisis that led to the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in 1974.

In the late 1990s, about 50 percent of Washington households subscribed to the *Post* each morning – 1 percent on Sunday – giving it the highest market penetration rate of any U.S. metropolitan newspaper and a virtual monopoly of the newspaper field in the capital. As of 1994, daily circulation was 830,081, down slightly from 832,332 in 1993, while Sunday circulation held steady at 1,152,441 compared with 1,152,272 the previous year. The weekly national edition had a circulation of 110,000. The *Post* attained clear preeminence in Washington in 1917 when its afternoon rival, *The Washington Evening Star*, ceased publication.

Founded in 1877 as a Democratic newspaper, the *Post* was known in the 1990s for its liberal editorial policy, was purchased at a bankruptcy sale in 1933 by Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer, parents of Katharine Graham, who became the chair of the executive committee of the Washington *Post* Company board. Graham turned the family-owned company into a public corporation after assuming control of the newspaper in 1963 following the suicide of her husband Philip Graham, the company president. She brought in Benjamin Bradlee, widely credited with improving the newspaper's quality, to run the newspaper and broke a strike against pressmen in 1975. Her son, Donald Graham, succeeded his mother as chair of the board and chief executive officer.

The newspaper became the cornerstone of a diversified media empire that included the newsmagazine *Newsweek*; six television stations; cable television systems; newspaper manufacturing and distribution operations; a chain of weekly community newspapers, mainly free distribution, in the Maryland suburbs; the *Herald*, a newspaper in Everett, Washington; and ownership interests in the Los Angeles *Times*–Washington *Post* News Service, the *International Herald Tribune*, and Cowles Media Company as well as the Stanley Kaplan Educational Center, which prepared students to take standardized tests. In 1995, it launched an ambitious on-line information service to provide computer access to the newspaper's contents and archives and to enable subscribers to interact with the newspaper and each other.

In the late 1990s, the newspaper maintained 29 foreign bureaus, 5 national, and 11 metropolitan news bureaus. Some critics said that its lively, aggressive coverage, including spicy social gossip, lessened after Bradlee's retirement in 1991. Over the years, the *Post* won at least 30 Pulitzer Prizes, with 29 going to individual staff members and one to the newspaper itself for public service in the Watergate affair. In 1981, it was forced to return a Pulitzer Prize awarded to a reporter who had made up a story about an eight-year-old heroin addict in Washington's inner city. African Americans led a 13-week protest against the newspaper in 1986 on its grounds that its redesigned Sunday magazine portrayed them as criminals. Bradlee subsequently apologized.

MAURINE H. BEASLEY

See also Watergate Scandal

except for the United Kingdom and Italy – issued a protocol calling for all wireless systems to communicate under all conditions with all other wireless systems, with the requirement that each country would have to pass enabling laws.

In 1906, another conference proposed communication without regard for the type of equipment used, and the international distress call was changed from CQD (which meant “calling all stations, disaster”) to SOS (which did not stand for anything, although it was sometimes believed to mean “Save Our Ship”).

Congress initially refused to ratify the agreements, feeling that these rules would stifle the development of radio and place it under international rather than national control. When another conference to be held in London in 1912 quietly withdrew an invitation to the United States, Congress passed its first radio law – the Wireless Ship Act of 1910. This act required oceangoing vessels with 50 or more passengers traveling between ports 200 or more miles apart to carry radio apparatus capable of reaching 100 miles, day or night, and an operator to run it.

In 1912, the London Conference agreed, among other items and partially as a result of the *Titanic* disaster that year, that two operators be available on most vessels. The United States amended the 1910 Wireless Ship Act to provide similar protections.

MARVIN R. BENSMAN

Women in Journalism

Roles in male-dominated field changed over the years

Women have played important roles in U.S. journalism from colonial to contemporary times, but they have had to fight for acceptance in a male-dominated field. While a few women inherited newspapers and ran them successfully, many women in journalism battled their way up the professional ladder, struggling to prove that they could report and edit the news in terms of male-oriented professional norms. A third group established its own periodicals to push for changes to improve the status of women as well as to promote other causes.

Newspapers in the United States began as family enterprises in the colonial period, when labor was in short supply. Wives and other family members assisted male printers in the operation of print shops that turned out a variety of materials, including newspapers. Some 30 women became known as printers, publishers, and compositors, and several succeeded their husbands and male relatives as printer-publishers of newspapers that told the story of the Revolutionary period. The best-known, Mary Katherine Goddard of Baltimore, Maryland, published the *Maryland Journal* and was the first official printer of the Declaration of Independence with the names of the signers attached.

In the nineteenth century, both white and minority women turned to journalism for two main purposes. One was to advocate reform, particularly the abolition of slavery and

the advancement of women's rights, by establishing their own newspapers and contributing to like-minded publications. The other was to earn income by writing columns, travel letters, and other literary fare for general circulation newspapers and magazines as well as religious and women's periodicals.

Those who tried to compete directly with male journalists found their options limited. Following the American Civil War, for example, a group of women achieved short-lived success as correspondents, writing feature articles and columns on the political and social scene in Washington, D.C., for major newspapers. After male journalists limited admission to the U.S. Capitol press galleries to full-time correspondents in 1879, most of these women, who were considered “special writers,” were cut off from news sources and relegated to reporting society gossip. Some women journalists of the era used male pseudonyms in keeping with the Victorian idea that women's lives should be confined to the private, not public, sphere of activity, but others dared to write under their own by-lines.

Before the turn of the twentieth century, many newspapers established women's pages to encourage women to patronize the growing number of department stores that were local advertisers. Women's pages offered opportunities for women to be employed on newspapers, but they occupied offices segregated from male reporters, were paid less than men, and had little status. The content of women's pages, such as fashion, beauty tips, cooking, child rearing, advice to the lovelorn, and social news, reinforced stereotypical roles for women.

Yet women's pages did contain news of women's clubs. This helped bolster interest in middle-class women's organizations and may have aided the suffrage movement. Among activities featured were those of newspaperwomen themselves, who banded together from the 1880s on to seek social and professional camaraderie in the face of exclusion from male press clubs that did not end until the 1970s.

Occasionally, token women who performed extraordinary feats in reporting or writing were employed on the general news staffs of newspapers in the yellow journalism era at the turn of the twentieth century. These rare individuals were known as “sob sisters” and “stunt girls.” By exploiting emotions thought to exemplify women's nature, sob sisters specialized in sentimental accounts of lurid events.

Going up in balloons and down in diving bells, stunt girls carried out sensational adventures to titillate newspaper readers. The most famous, Nellie Bly, whose real name was Elizabeth Cochrane, dashed around the world in 72 days in 1889 as a reporter for Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* to beat author Jules Verne's fictional record of an 80-day trip. Some assignments carried out by stunt girls, such as posing as working girls in factories and reporting on poor conditions there, verged on the investigative journalism of the muckraking movement, which attempted to reform injustices by exposing them.

Women's role in investigative journalism, however, was broader than the scope given to stunt girls. Ida M. Tarbell, the best-known female muckraker, meticulously documented the unfair business practices of the Standard Oil Compa-



Elizabeth Cochrane, who wrote under the pseudonym Nellie Bly, traveled around the world in 72 days, beating the fictional record set in Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

ny in a series of articles published in *McClure's Magazine* in 1902. Another crusader, Ida Wells-Barnett, spoke up against lynching in her African American newspaper, the *Memphis (Tennessee) Free Speech*, in 1892. Although her newspaper office was destroyed as a result, she continued to gather facts on lynching and to campaign against it.

Spurred in part by the need for newspapers to cover the suffrage movement that culminated in women receiving the vote in 1920, the number of women employed full-time in journalism grew from 4,000 in 1910 to about 12,000 by 1930. Yet, few women were seen as competent enough to break into the male preserve of "hard" news, which included politics, government, criminal justice and related areas. Those who did still lacked the stature of male journalists

and were referred to as "front page girls" during the heyday of tabloid journalism in the 1920s.

Women obtained degrees in journalism as soon as the first journalism schools opened their doors before World War I, but they had difficulty obtaining jobs except on women's pages and as writers of feature stories, the "soft" news. To promote the employment of women journalists, Eleanor Roosevelt, who wrote a daily newspaper column herself in a diary format, held White House press conferences for women only during her years as first lady from 1933 to 1945. In spite of discrimination, however, some exceptional individuals like Anne O'Hare McCormick attained distinction. The first woman journalist to win a Pulitzer Prize, McCormick received the award in 1937 for foreign correspondence for the *New York Times*.

Both World War I and World War II opened doors for women journalists who replaced men serving with the armed forces. Although discouraged by the government and military, women also fought to be accepted as war correspondents. Some 125 women attained accreditation as World War II correspondents, with Margaret Bourke-White, an acclaimed photojournalist for *Life* magazine, the most notable. Nevertheless, after peace came, most women found themselves back on the women's pages or out of jobs.

One who tenaciously continued to prove herself equal or superior to male reporters was Marguerite Higgins of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the first woman to be awarded a Pulitzer Prize for war correspondence. She was honored for coverage of the Korean War after she resisted an order to leave Korea because the Army claimed it lacked facilities for women at the front. Higgins later was one of 267 female U.S. correspondents accredited to cover the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s.

In radio, women journalists faced discrimination for decades following the advent of commercial broadcasting in the 1920s. Women's voices were considered to lack authority and to be unsuitable for newscasts, even though stations hired women during World War II. The well-modulated voice of Pauline Frederick was not deemed good enough to get her a network job in radio when the war ended, although she did freelance assignments covering women. Her opportunity finally arrived in the new medium of television. After conducting live interviews with candidates' wives at political conventions, Frederick was hired by ABC in 1948, becoming the first newswoman to hold a network staff position in television.

Overt prejudice against female journalists in hiring and promotion did not end until the civil rights and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s, when passage of federal legislation outlawed discrimination. These movements also had some impact on news coverage, with proponents insisting that women, like minorities, should be depicted more positively. Although the women's movement received some initial publicity on women's pages, feminist complaints about their sex-segregated contents resulted in their transformation into "lifestyle" sections in the late 1960s and 1970s. Women reporters moved into areas formerly barred to them, such as government, police, business and sports news, broadening news content somewhat to include

more stories about women. Newspapers also reacted to feminism by hiring columnists like Ellen Goodman of the *Boston Globe*, who won a 1980 Pulitzer Prize for commentary, to voice a feminist perspective.

Much news of the women's movement, however, was spread by alternative feminist publications. These grew from one newsletter in 1968 to more than 560 periodicals five years later, including the mass circulation magazine *Ms.* Written by women who often did not have formal training in journalism, these publications provided material on women's health and other issues not normally offered in the mass media.

Many of the gains of women in mainstream journalism came only after legal battles for equality. Sex discrimination complaints and suits, often ended after years of litigation with settlements calling for more opportunities for women, were brought in the 1970s against numerous news organizations and broadcasters. These included the *New York Times*, the Associated Press, NBC, and the *Washington Post*. The complaint against the *Washington Post*, ironically, targeted a corporation headed by a woman. Katharine Graham took control of the *Post* company after the suicide of her husband in 1963 and built it into a leading news organization.

Help for women in broadcasting came from a Federal Communications Commission ruling in 1971 that required women, like minorities, be given equal opportunities in hiring. Barbara Walters, an acclaimed interviewer but not a journalist, became a symbolic figure of success for women when she received a \$1-million contract from ABC in 1976 to coanchor the network's nightly newscast and do other programs. The first woman network news coanchor, Walters was removed from the position in 1977 after the newscast ratings failed to improve.

Connie Chung, the only other woman to coanchor a nightly newscast, lost her job on CBS in 1995 due to low ratings and friction with her male counterpart. As of the late 1990s, no other woman had attained the position of anchor on a nightly network newscast. Women journalists in television, more than men, continued to be judged on their looks and appearance, factors highlighted in the case of Christine Craft, who lost a suit against a Kansas City television station after losing an anchor job there in 1981 on grounds of her age, appearance, and lack of deference to men.

In the 1990s, the influence of women in journalism did not seem to match their presence in the field. Despite efforts to achieve diversity in hiring, the proportion of women rose only from 33.8 percent in 1982 to 34 percent in 1992 out of a total journalistic workforce of about 122,000, according to an Indiana University study of journalists in print and broadcasting. This finding raised speculation that women were leaving the field more quickly than men. A survey by the National Federation of Press Women showed that about 8.7 percent of the nation's newspaper publishers were women in 1992, as were 19.4 percent of executive editors, representing an average yearly growth rate of only about 1 percent over a 16-year span.

Minority women, in particular, tended to be in the lower echelons. No effort was made to recruit minorities until the

Kerner Commission Report, written after outbreaks of racial violence in U.S. cities in 1967, criticized the mass media for ignoring blacks. After that, affirmative action efforts did occur, but progress was slow. In 1992, minority women made up 7 percent of the newspaper workforce. In television, a 1991 report estimated that 3.2 percent of news directors were minority women. A statistical profile of newsrooms analyzed in a 1991 Ohio University study showed that 67 percent of women journalists overall were reporters or copy editors, relatively low-level positions in terms of decision-making, but that "three-quarters of African-American women, 97 percent of Latino women and 78 percent of Asian-American women [were] reporters or copy editors, compared to 57 percent of white men."

With newspapers losing women readers at a faster rate than men readers, efforts in the late 1990s were being made to bring back women's pages staffed by both men and



Television journalist Christine Craft lost her job on grounds of her age, appearance, and lack of deference to men.

(Museum of Broadcast Communications)

women. Some media companies, particularly Gannett Company, publishers of *USA Today*, took definite steps to promote women. Yet women still had a long way to go before gaining parity with men.

MAURINE H. BEASLEY

See also African American Media; Feminist Media; Frederick, Pauline; Kerner Commission Report; Magazines for Women; Muckraking; Society Reporting; Standing Committee of Correspondents; Suffrage Press; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; Women's Pages

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Women's Pages

Special sections designed to appeal to women's interests

Designed to cater to the reading interests of women, special sections called women's pages existed in U.S. newspapers from the 1880s to the 1970s. The rise of women's pages in the press resulted from rapid social changes in the late nineteenth century. Both sexes left home in the Revolutionary era to enter the growing public school system. Consequently, women, achieving the same high rate of literacy as men, became a significant factor in circulation.

Women also emerged as significant subjects of news in this period because of their increasing participation in the public sphere. More importantly, the industrialization of U.S. society transformed women's primary economic role from that of home workers to that of consumers. Many goods formerly produced by women for home use were now manufactured through mass production and sold at

department stores and chain stores, which relied on advertising to build a citywide clientele. In this system of capital industrialism, women became supervisors of the increasing consumption of their families. Because of their role as primary purchasing agents of consumer goods, women became the target of advertisers, whose patronage provided a crucial source of revenues to newspapers.

One of the first publishers to respond to these social changes was Joseph Pulitzer, who popularized women's pages in daily newspapers as a means to attract advertisers by creating a concentrated female readership in a separate section. In 1886, his *New York World* started to carry columns devoted to women. By 1891, a page for women had become a steady feature in his *Sunday World*. After 1894, the "For and About Women" section was a daily feature in the *World*. In developing a special news forum for women, Pulitzer had to negotiate the conflict between the progressive trend toward the emancipation of women and the conservatism of the majority of his working-class readership. He compromised by giving attention to women's concerns with an emphasis on their domestic life. Echoing the Victorian idea that women belonged at home, the women's page of the *World* featured fashion, etiquette, recipes, beauty tips, club activities, social gatherings, and so forth. Columns and articles about notable women supplemented these features to acknowledge women's growing interests and accomplishments outside the domestic sphere without alienating the more traditional readers.

The innovations of Pulitzer became the convention of a feminine genre in the newspaper as the pages evolved in the twentieth century. Service features such as announcements of weddings and engagements, news about women's clubs, society news, advice columns, food and fashion coverage, tips on beauty and homemaking, and expert advice on child care constituted the backbone of the pages. According to the underlying editorial principle, all news for and about women, regardless of its social significance, was clustered in the back pages of the newspaper instead of being integrated into appropriate sections. Moreover, women's pages, created not so much for women as for advertisers, remained captive throughout their history to a salient commercial nature that undercut their journalistic integrity. Lamenting the lack of autonomy in the women's department, journalist Genevieve Jackson Boughner advised women's editors in 1926 to "face the 'brute' fact that the women's page is a bid for the advertiser's patronage." Similarly, columnist Nicholas von Hoffman noted five decades later that "the advertising director of the city's largest department store has more power on the paper than its women's page editor has." Despite their importance to the finances of newspapers, women's pages were marginalized as "the stepchild of the profession," and their staff, mostly women, suffered from low pay and low status in the newsroom.

The tension between feminism and conservatism that characterized Pulitzer's approach also remained inherent in the evolution of the pages. Against the backdrop of a constant emphasis on women's roles as wives and mothers, the pages changed in parallel to the ebb and flow of women's history in U.S. society. During World War I, the pages reported on the war effort of women, especially female

Y

Yellow Journalism

Sensational stories and large, garish headlines typified period

Yellow journalism took the prototype of the modern newspaper typified by the *St. Louis (Missouri) Post-Dispatch* and the *New York World* of Joseph Pulitzer, dipped it into a vat of colored ink, and threw it with screaming headlines half an inch or more tall into the faces of big-city newspaper readers. In general, readers lapped it up, pushing the circulations of some of the leading newspapers to heights they never before had achieved.

In the latter 1890s, the yellow journals were brash and bold, telling their sensational stories of sex, sin, and scandal with big headlines and garish illustrations. They crusaded against corrupt politicians and greedy businessmen. They entertained their largely immigrant audience with colored comics and Sunday supplements. And they never failed to boast of their own achievements, whether they were solving a murder that had stumped the police, exposing a shady franchise proposal between the city and a natural gas company, or raising the funds to assemble the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

The sensationalism, self-promotion, and crusades were hardly new. But in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, advances in printing technology produced high-speed presses that could print editions of more than 50 pages in colored ink; typesetting machines that could make multicolumn headlines in large type; and photoengraving processes that could print large, complicated illustrations and halftone photographs. Thus, the yellow journals looked new, even though much of what they purveyed consisted of old techniques dressed up in gaudier trappings.

Yellow journalism was gestated in the womb of Pulitzer's "new journalism." Pulitzer made sensational reporting, stunts, crusades, a progressive editorial policy, and self-promotion the hallmarks of the *Post-Dispatch* and the *World*. Watching the successful Hungarian immigrant from the sidelines was the wealthy William Randolph Hearst, a former college student who had worked for the *World* as a cub reporter before taking over his father's newspaper in San Francisco. As editor of the *Examiner*, Hearst adopted Pulitzer's techniques and practiced them on an even grander scale, fueled by the millions available from his family's sil-

ver and copper fortunes. When Hearst bought the *New York Journal* and moved to New York to compete with Pulitzer head-to-head, yellow journalism was ready to be born.

Hearst operated out of an office in the *World* building, and he talked with his checkbook. The brash young Californian knew that the way to have an excellent newspaper was to hire an excellent staff, and he devised a plan to get the best people while hurting Pulitzer at the same time. Shortly after arriving in New York in 1895, Hearst started secret negotiations with staff members of the *World's* Sunday edition, and in a short time, he had hired most of them to work on the *Journal*.

The astounded Pulitzer hired them back, but Hearst's bank account was too full, and most of Pulitzer's staff made a permanent move. Among them was Richard F. Outcault, an artist who drew a popular comic panel called "Hogan's Alley." It featured a goofy-looking youth who wore a yellow nightshirt, and soon the character was dubbed the Yellow Kid. In replacing his staff, Pulitzer hired George B. Luks, another artist who soon was drawing his own version of "Hogan's Alley" and the Yellow Kid. The character caught on, and Pulitzer and Hearst used its popularity to promote their newspapers by splashing the Kid's image on billboards all over town. Some critics of the Pulitzer and Hearst style of journalism thought the Kid, with his garishly colored nightshirt and vacant expression, aptly captured this gaudy, admittedly entertaining, but somewhat shallow approach to newspapering. They called it yellow journalism, a phrase that came to refer to any kind of sensationalistic reporting.

The style, which spread to a number of other dailies inside and outside of New York, reached its zenith during the Cuban revolution of 1895 and the ensuing Spanish-American War. Fueled by a strong propaganda effort by revolutionary sympathizers in Florida and New York, the yellow journals so sensationally covered the Spanish attempts to control the colonists that many people in the United States thought that the U.S. government should intervene.

Many newspapers dispatched reporters and illustrators to Cuba, who sent back sensational and sometimes inflated accounts of Spanish "atrocities" allegedly perpetrated by the Spanish commander. At one point, Hearst's illustrator, the artist Frederic Remington, who had been sent to Cuba with reporter Richard Harding Davis, cabled Hearst that

things were so quiet that he and Davis wanted to come home. Hearst, according to the published account of another of his war correspondents, cabled back: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."

The war was not long in coming. The U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, with the loss of 266 sailors. Pulitzer responded with a graphic illustration that covered about half of the front page depicting the catastrophe, and Hearst, in a banner headline, indirectly accused Spain of being responsible and offered a \$50,000 reward for any information that would lead to "the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!"

The incident was the final spark that ignited the flames of war. The four-month conflict that followed was covered more thoroughly than any previous war in U.S. history. Reporters and illustrators traveled with and sometimes fought beside U.S. troops, sailed with the fleet to the Spanish Philippines, and roamed the staging areas on the Gulf coast of the United States. The cream of U.S. journalism and literature, including the novelist Stephen Crane, went to Cuba to cover the war. Even Hearst outfitted a yacht for war duty and covered some of the action.

The war pushed newspaper circulation to unheard-of heights of more than a million for some of the big-city newspapers, although that did not translate into profits for most. Some of the circulation gains were fueled by the production of expensive extra editions, sometimes as many as 40 a day. Combined with a drop in advertising revenue and the cost of keeping correspondents in the field, most of the newspapers lost money. Hearst, with his family fortune, could afford it, but Pulitzer felt the drain.

With the end of the war, most of the yellow journals tried to maintain their high circulations by continuing their

old practices. But Pulitzer, perhaps influenced by the success of the more conservative *New York Times* under the leadership of Adolph Ochs, toned down the *World*. The assassination of President William McKinley brought an outraged reaction against Hearst, who had attacked the president so strongly that many considered Hearst at least partly responsible for the shooting. Both factors contributed to the decline of yellow journalism, which eventually died out after the first decade of the twentieth century.

Many criticize the yellow journalists for using sensationalism to increase circulation. Journalists had turned to sensationalism before, however, and would do so again with the jazz journalism of the 1920s and the "trash television" of the 1980s and 1990s. Yellow journalism also had its positive side, emphasizing the use of color, graphics, and photographs that continued to improve the appearance of the newspaper in the United States, and introducing the comics section and the Sunday supplement that continue to entertain readers throughout the country.

MICHAEL BUCHHOLZ

See also Hearst, William Randolph; *New Journalism* (1880s); *Newspaper Technology*; *New York Times*; Ochs, Adolph Simon; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Spanish-American War*

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