

THE PERSONAL ELEMENT
IN JOURNALISM

by

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Preface.

In this thesis an attempt has been made to show the causes and effects of the transition from personal to impersonal journalism. The author's interest lies primarily in the field of journalism and the study of this subject was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Walter R. Smith, who gave generously of his time and assistance in the preparation of this thesis. The author wishes to make acknowledgment also to Professor Victor E. Helleberg for valuable suggestions and to Professor Leon W. Flint of the Department of Journalism for aid at various times.

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Part I.

Causes Of The Transition From Personal
To Impersonal Journalism.

It has been pointed out from time to time by observers of the press in this country, that American journalism is in a period of transition from a personal to an impersonal character. Writers invariably remark that the one-man type of newspaper, such as Greeley's "Tribune" or Dana's "Sun", is passing, never to return. Journalists of the old school lament the decadence of journalism and talk of wealth's increasing control of the daily press. They fear that without individual leadership the future newspaper will become the abject slave of money-controlled political machines or wealthy stock-holders who are interested in public service corporations or other privileged interests. But it does not necessarily follow that the newspaper under the supervision of a board of editors is more susceptible to the evil influences of privileged interests than the one managed by a single editor. Without entering into a discussion, at this point, of the merits or demerits of the new plan, it is more important to consider first the fact that the change is inevitable regardless of its good or evil effects and to take into account some of the factors operating to bring about this change.

The character of the age in which we are living may partly explain this. This is the age of commerce, of machine production, large factories, and consolidated industries. The newspaper is preeminently a commercial enterprise. It is traded and sold as are mines, factories and stores, and as a rule, it produces the kind of wares for which there is the largest demand. Journalism placed upon a mercenary basis naturally partakes of much of the nature of the age. Competition in the gathering and distribution of the news requires expensive leased wires for national and foreign press service, costly printing presses and large staffs of trained writers. As news service becomes more extended and better organized a larger outlay of capital is required for the successful operation of a newspaper. This is seen in the present drift toward consolidation among the metropolitan papers and in the numerous failures of smaller ones throughout the country.

"The passing of the Boston Journal in the eighty-fourth year of its existence by merger with the Boston Herald has rightly been characterized as a tragedy in journalism, yet it is no more significant than the similar merger of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleve-

land Leader or the New York Press and the New York Sun. All are obedient to the drift toward consolidation which has been as marked in journalism as in other spheres of business activity. It is quite possible that there will be further consolidations in New York and Boston before long; at least conditions are ripe for them. Chicago has now only four morning newspapers and one of these has an uncertain future before it. The Herald of that city is the net result of amalgamations which wiped out successively the Record, the Times, the Chronicle and the Inter Ocean. It is only a few years ago that the Boston Traveler and the Evening Herald were consolidated. Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans and Portland, Oregon are other cities in which there has been a reduction in the number of dailies".¹ We see Harper's Weekly disappear and the New York Sun go into the hands of Mr. Munsey almost in the same day. All these are constant reminders of the instability of journalistic enterprises.

¹ Villard, "Press Tendencies", Atlantic Monthly, Vol.

121, p. 62.

In the main it is correct to say that the decreasing number of newspapers in our large American cities is due to the enormously increased cost of maintaining great dailies. Sentiment and passion have been responsible for launching many unsuccessful newspapers. Only extremely wealthy men could undertake such a venture. True, there is still opportunity in small towns for editorial courage and individuality; William Allen White and Ed. Howe have demonstrated this. But in the small towns the increased costs due to the war are being felt as keenly as in the larger cities. And in spite of the fact that the larger newspapers are tending to become institutions, it is evident that personality may still make itself felt in an indirect way. "The New York Times has risen within a few years to a foremost position without the owner having obtruded his personality. Mr. Ochs has modestly refrained from pushing himself to the front; still the credit of the rise of the Times is his, and it is only fair to suppose that in asking Mr. George McAneny to share the responsibility of management with him he has paid another tribute to the value of a strong character in connection with a great daily

whose chief stock in trade is public confidence!"¹

Change is the law of life in the newspaper world as well as elsewhere and one has only to recall the long list of newspapers that have sprung up and each lived for its brief period, to become convinced that the day is past when the one-man paper can hold its own with other business enterprises that combine to increase their stability.

When the New York Press and the New York Sun came under the same control, Associated Press service was opened up to the latter. Friends of the Sun lamented the fact that this would tend to stifle a good deal of its individuality. It cannot be denied that any form of cooperative press service lacks the personal element. The very term, "cooperative" suggests the impersonal nature of any work so conducted. In the days before news was gathered and distributed impartially by cooperative organizations, it was a case of one editor's hand against another. Every bit of news had to be laboriously and expensively won. With the development of the telegraph, the rush for the wires by the correspondents of the various newspapers

¹ Nation (Editorial), "Personality in Newspapers", Vol. 103, pp. 29-30.

became one of the great features of newspaper-making. There were not enough wires to supply all. It was a realization of this fact that gave birth to the Harbour News Association in 1850 and kindred cooperative organizations in later years. These were important steps toward making the newspaper a great institution rather than an organ of personal or party opinion immediately dependent upon individual talent, alertness and enterprise. These steps made for a greater dignity and impersonality of journalism.

The press was not long in availing itself of the facilities provided by telegraphic communication. War correspondents reporting the Civil War and the Austro-Prussian War in the 'sixties were instructed to use the telegraph as little as possible, not because of the expense, but because the public preferred detailed graphic description by letter rather than curt messages by wire. But in the Franco-German War of 1870 it developed that the correspondent who could get his news wired off first and the newspaper which published the message first were the successful ones. Now the public expects a gist of of the world news to be compressed into a few inches of

reading matter each day. As one editor has impatiently expressed it, "The people demand that their mental food be given them in tabloid form but their bodily food may be served in fourteen courses". The newspaper that fails to meet this demand is left in the lurch.

The editor's inability to project his personality into the news under the present system of collecting and distributing news is offset by the increasingly higher level of intelligence of his readers which gives them a greater power of discrimination and enables them to draw their own conclusions from facts accurately and impartially presented. Nowhere else is intellectual progress resulting from better educational advantages more noticeable than in the conduct of a modern newspaper. One does not have to go far back in the past to find a time when it was the all-important business of the editor to shape public opinion through his well-thought-out editorials. In his place we now have a band of well trained reporters who cannot even "color" the news without violating newspaper ethics. It must be admitted that the newspaper of today is read more for its news than for its editorials. This is not saying that the thoughtful, well-written ed-

itorial no longer has any place in journalism. But it does mean that it has lost some of its former popularity and influence because there is not felt to be behind it the force and personal convictions of a widely known and respected editor. Instead of being the utterance of one man's opinions and convictions, it has become rather the carefully considered deliverance of a board of editors presided over by a business man, who in turn is responsible to a board of directors, whose interests prevent his giving a perfectly free discussion to any subject. The newspaper, in other words, has grown into a big business institution, the first concern of which is naturally profits.

It is Henry Watterson's opinion that the disappearance of the old-time editorial is the only serious loss sustained in the transition process from personal to impersonal journalism. "I do not wonder", he says, "that the wooden nutmeg affair in big type, which for the most part defaces the editorial page, as it is called, having nobody behind it and no continuity of purpose nor the spirit of intellectual rectitude and accountability has fallen into discredit. It might as well be dispensed with. It is no

longer an effective or engaging arm of the service. But the rationale of the day's doings rendered with good sense and good faith by a self-respecting, conscientious writer will always command attention and be worth its space."¹ Even the old-fashioned editorial would not now rank in drawing and selling quality with modern news features. The people of today demand an impartial presentation of the facts preferring to form their own opinions to taking them ready-made from an editorial page. "Predigested ideas are now no more pleasing to the mental appetite than predigested food is to the physical appetite!"²

A marked advance toward impersonal journalism was made during the period of political turmoil from 1871 to 1877. For a long time previous to this period newspapers had been politically hide-bound, their editors were staunch party men through thick and thin, and no matter what the event, politicians and party leaders could always count upon the support of their editor friends. But in the Liberal-Republican movement of 1872, the Springfield Republican, a paper that to the present day has maintained its

¹ "Wattersonian Creed", Editor and Publisher, Apr. 26, 1913.

² Axley, R. J., "Modern Newspapers", Journal of Education, Vol. 74, pp. 423-424.

reputation for speaking its mind freely on all subjects, shook off its party fetters and boldly stood for the things it honestly believed in. Soon the Chicago Tribune followed its example and these in turn were joined by the Cincinnati Commercial and Louisville Courier-Journal. As Henry Watterson described it later in his characteristic way, "Some of the most influential newspapers kicked over the party traces, snorted their defiance and took the independent attitude of the Springfield Republican. Party leaders stood aghast at the spectacle but these papers were enjoying their first breath of a new freedom." After the campaign was over the Chicago Tribune, unhappily, failed to maintain this detached attitude and returned to its old status as a party organ. Mr. Reid who was then its editor, was playing for political advancement but he suffered bitter defeat. "This result proved what has been proven so many times since; that it is poor policy for an editor to mix in politics because it appears, at least, that he is conducting his paper as an annex to his personal fortunes in public life. It is the newspaper, not the personality of the man who happens at the moment to be editor, that people speak of. The reasons for this

are obvious, apart from the lack of commanding figures, if one chooses to insist upon that. The larger organization requisite in the modern newspaper inevitably causes any individual connected with it to wither in comparison, while the institution, as such, becomes larger and larger."¹

The American press has never forgotten the taste of freedom which it had in those years when the Springfield Republican was leading the way to a new liberty. It was this period that produced the politically independent newspaper and showed that it could not only live but flourish. The old practice of catering to politics for personal advancement had brought defeat and disappointment to many. A departure from this custom brought editorial independence and a greater impersonality in journalism.

The journalism of France is said to be personal to the last degree while that of England is impersonal. "French newspapers are born and die after the manner of the proverbial fleas. If a current publication is not feasible for the matter in hand, a paper is issued to ad-

¹. Nation (Editorial), "Mr. Reid and Journalism", Vol.

vocate a cause, to exploit a scheme; is used as an instrument of reprisal, a medium for private promulgation, and it is snuffed out directly the matter for which it was brought into being is requited or propitiated."¹

Since 1868, when Rochefort broke with the government papers, to which he had been a steady contributor, and won popularity and success by starting a journal of his own, express permission has no longer been required to start a private newspaper. Caution money is required by the government as a guarantee for the good behavior of the paper and for payment of fines that might be inflicted. But this money is always forthcoming from persons who are interested in having their ideas and opinions brought prominently under public notice. With this as the only provision the number of private and political organs has constantly increased. "Each political group, and their name is legion in France, has a journal of its own wherein to air the opinions of its advocates, and points to the man who alone can secure the welfare of the country. These new ventures generally owe their origin to a luncheon or

¹ Friend, Emil, "The Paris Press", Cosmopolitan, Vol. 30, p. 261.

dinner at some cafe. The new staff gathers around the impresario, who has obtained the substantial support of a financier, the full program is discussed, the parts are distributed, and a printer is found willing to publish the new organ."¹ Such a newspaper contains the smallest modicum of news. It is not published for the sake of general information. Telegrams from the Havas News Agency are printed. Its advertising columns are bought up by companies interested in the paper's policies. There is a reporter or two and the printing is done by some large job-printing establishment. Success depends entirely upon the popularity of the editor. He may be such a writer that the public reads his paper because of interest in his views or pleasure at his way of putting things and attacking his opponents. Or he may be the idol of a small class of followers.

English journalism, on the other hand, is almost entirely lacking in this respect. The Frenchman claims that English newspapers are conducted by a group of scholarly dummies and lack individuality. The English-

¹ Conner, Edward, "The Modern French Newspaper World", Ed. and Pub. May 17, 1913, p. 21.

Man retorts that in his country the newspapers are not regarded as mere stepping stones to the peerage or political jobs. He boasts that there is more of the professional spirit and real pride shown among English journalists in their conduct of newspapers, not as class publications, but as impartial interpreters between the politicians and the people. "An article appearing in our papers is not necessarily the work of one writer, in fact it is generally the contribution of several. There is the man who is always full of good ideas on any subject; then there is the man who can furnish a good plot; another suggests scenes and writes up the characters, and this is all thrown together to form a framework around which an experienced writer weaves a literary web at so much a line."¹

The success of Lord Northcliffe is often cited as an example of the power of personality in English journalism. "It was not so much the public esteem commonly felt for Mr. Northcliffe," writes H. N. Brailsford in the New Republic, "that has made him so great a factor in our destinies as the decadence of Parliament and the decline of our representative system. There was no competition for

¹ Cave, A.E., "Newest Journalism", Liv. Age, Vol. 252, pp. 395-396.

influence between two institutions equally vital. Lord Northcliffe found a vacuum here and filled it.---The ascendancy of this hard, competent, limited man rests upon the failure of his betters. The price we shall pay for it will be felt when the day of settlement comes. The power which he has built on the exposure of their inadequacies will be used to resist the more conciliatory and the more idealistic policies which they have compromised by their blunders in diplomacy and their inertness in the conduct of the war."¹

The English press in not considering journalism as a means to an end, elevation to the peerage, renders more effective service to the public. In France where the profession is still linked with office-holding, both the press and the public are losers in this respect. As has been said, journalism and office-holding are so antipathetic that their union must be destructive to both. "French journalism illustrates the self-exploiting, individualized star-system," says Henry Watterson, "and English journalism the more sedate and orderly, yet not

¹. Brailsford, H. N., "Problem of Lord Northcliffe", New Rep. Vol. 6, pp. 286-288.

less responsible commercial system.. And I can make no plea for that sort of journalism that represents the caprices of a single editor and piques itself on every community from obligations of every sort.--- It must be allowed that in both dignity and usefulness English journalism is much to be preferred to that of the French."¹

¹ Watterson, H. L., "The Personal Equation in Journalism", Atlantic, Vol. 106, p. 46.

Part II.

The Effects of Impersonal
Journalism.

The organization of a newspaper establishment is divided into three departments, the mechanical, editorial and commercial. As the new order of impersonal journalism is developed, the dictation of the paper's policies switches more and more from the editorial to the commercial department. This latter department is more popularly known as the business office. Henry Watterson substitutes the term, "counting-room" to emphasize the fact that this is the business end of the newspaper. "The new school of journalism, taking its lead from the counting-room, promises to become universal. Eloquence and fancy oratory are giving place to business language. The counting-room with its close kinship to the actualities of the world has a definite advantage over the editorial room as a school of instruction. The competition in sensationalism to which we owe the yellow press, as it is called, will become a competition in cleanliness and accuracy. Holding the purse-strings as it does, the counting-room will see to it that decency pays, that good faith and good sense are good investments, and it will look closer to the personal character and the moral product of the editorial room, re-

quiring better equipment and more elevated standards. There will never again be a Greeley, or a Raymond, or a Dana, playing the role of 'star' personally exploited by everything appearing in journals which seem to exist mainly to glorify them. Each was in his way a man of superior attainments. Each thought himself an unselfish servant of the public. Yet each had his limitations, his ambitions, and prejudices, his likes and dislikes, intensified and amplified by the habit of personalism, often unconscious. And, this personal element eliminated, why may not the impersonal head of the coming newspaper, proud of his profession and satisfied with the results of its ministration, render a yet better account to the people in an unselfish devotion to the common interest."¹

There are certain arguments in favor of the personally conducted newspaper. One of these is that responsibility can be easily and definitely placed. The well-known editor, jealous of his reputation, feels a certain sense of responsibility in what he writes that is lacking in the anonymous and impersonal publication. Most editors

¹. Watterson, H. L. Ibid. pp. 42-43.

are more discreet and considerate in publishing an article when they know that their names will be associated with it and that people will hold them responsible for what appears in the paper. Many an editor has written vigorous editorials to support a popular cause because he knew he would receive the praise and gratitude of the people. On the other hand, this personal responsibility for what he writes may have the effect of checking an editor's zeal for a cause that he should support, but cannot for fear that in doing so he would make enemies and bring himself into disfavor. In impersonal journalism, the writer feels free to attack or defend any cause, knowing that he will not be found out by its opponents. A second desirable feature of personal journalism is that it gives the editor of special talent and genius an opportunity to render valuable service to the public through his leadership. Men of strong character and superior attainments at the head of a newspaper undoubtedly exercise a good influence in raising the general standard of intelligence and stimulating the people to thinking. Now and then, we hear of a newspaper failing for lack of a strong personality at its head. Likewise, we hear of newspapers being

saved from ruin by the timely arrival of a strong leader. But this personal service is often of such a nature as to do more harm than good. If the editor's motives are dominated by selfish ambitions or personal spite, the opportunity to render a real service is wasted and we have the same harmful effects as were seen in the case of the French newspapers.

The impersonally conducted newspaper, operated on a business basis, has these arguments in its favor. First, printing the news, rather than molding public opinion, is the chief business of such a newspaper and its success depends on the extent to which it supplies the news accurately and attractively. Its purpose is to make money and to build up a permanent, profitable business. It cannot afford to engage in personalities or promulgate the principles of a certain set or class of people. The personal newspaper may do this until it has attained its end and then pass out of existence, not caring for financial success. But the first concern of the business newspaper is to insure financial success by furnishing timely news which the public demands in as accurate a form as possible.

Second, the success of a business newspaper depends on getting a wide circulation and this in turn depends on giving good service. A large circulation brings a greater amount of advertising and justifies charging higher advertising rates. The advertiser always chooses the medium having the largest number of readers. This is not saying that the policies of the paper will be dictated by the heavy advertisers or that all sorts of undesirable advertising will be accepted provided the money is forthcoming. Illegitimate or dishonest advertising, that deceives the people, shakes their confidence both in the paper carrying it, and in the company placing it. The result is a falling off in circulation and consequently a less attraction for advertisers. This situation has been responsible for a growing tendency toward a greater honesty in advertising and the exclusion of all objectionable advertising matter from the columns of newspapers that wish to remain on a paying basis. In other words, the business newspaper must give good service in its advertising as well as in its news if it is to succeed.

A third argument is, that since a business newspaper is run only for profit, it must have efficient business

methods to enable it to sell the paper at a small price and still make a profit. The penny newspaper is a product of business journalism. It was found that, if, by giving good service, enough subscribers could be secured to attract advertisers, by far the larger share of the expenses of issuing the paper would be paid by the advertisers. Eighty per cent. of a newspaper's revenue is now derived from its advertising. This means that the advertisers pay four-fifths of the expenses of publication and the subscribers reap the benefit by getting the news at less than the cost of the paper it is printed on. If personal journalism confines itself to certain definite motives, not caring to serve all classes of people, it cannot expect to attract as many advertisers, and consequently must charge its readers higher subscription rates.

Fourth, the business newspaper, trying to meet the insistent demand for better news service, by which its success is to be determined, requires trained reporters and editorial writers. This has brought about the establishment of schools of journalism in which prospective journalists are trained in the art of news-writing and in

scientific newspaper administration. Recognizing ^{the beneficial} results coming to journalism from such schools, the New York World endowed the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University, and the Chicago Tribune endowed the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, to provide for the training of those intending to enter newspaper work. Through these and many other schools of their kind the standards of journalism are being constantly improved and the newspaper business is no longer a trade, but a profession. Formerly, men entered the newspaper office without any knowledge of the work to be done and received their training there. Frequently they were printers, or dissatisfied ministers or school teachers who had some knowledge of writing, but were not specially trained for newspaper work. Since journalism has become professionalized, the modern newspaper requires that the journalist be equipped with a special knowledge of newspaper problems, a trained sense of news values, and ability to write the news well. Just as it is the purpose of commercial schools to train men for the banking or insurance business, it is the purpose of the schools of journalism to train men for

the newspaper business.

A fifth argument for impersonal journalism is that it reaches a large number of people that is not reached by personal journalism. The business newspaper can thrive in a locality that is over supplied with struggling personal newspapers simply because, in its desire to get subscribers, it gives the kind of news that appeals to a class of people that is not attracted by the more intellectual personal newspaper. This is the cause of the rapid spread of our yellow journals. The United States and Canada can boast of having more newspapers per person than any other country in the world, due to the rise of the sensational press. The United States has one newspaper for every five thousand persons and Canada has one for every four thousand, while England has only one for every eighteen thousand.¹ It may be argued that this record is not one to be proud of because it shows only quantity rather than quality in newspapers. It should be noted, however, that whatever the type of newspaper, its moral and intellectual character is generally above that of its habitual readers. The man of the street will not

¹. Sell's World Press. p. 39.

tolerate a paper that prints its news in the language of the street. Unless he feels that its editors are better able to give him a better understanding of the questions of the day than he gets through conversation with his associates, he does not care to read the paper. Neither does he enjoy reading a paper that is so far above his plane that he cannot understand what he reads. It is evident that, even though the yellow journal does not have the same elevating influence as the higher type of newspaper, it raises the standards of a certain class of readers that would not be reached otherwise, and to this extent its value should be recognized. A large proportion of our immigrants and uneducated classes are stimulated to read by the glaring headlines and pictures of the sensational paper, while the forbidding page of the more intellectual publication has no appeal for them. A point that cannot be emphasized too strongly is that the yellow journal does not displace the better grade of newspaper by virtue of its emotional appeal. It simply creates a new class of readers that had not been readers of any paper before, and this fact alone more than justifies its ex-

istence. This new class, stimulated to thinking, gradually comes to desire something better, and then the yellow journal must either improve its character in order to hold them or else lose them to better papers and reach down for a new clientele. It is worth noting in this respect that the Hearst papers have tended to rise with their readers and are considerably less "yellow" than they were twenty years ago. And now we have even more sensational papers than the Hearst publications, scrambling for the readers that Mr. Hearst does not attract.

Operating a newspaper or any other business enterprise for profit need not crowd out all humanitarian principles or philanthropic feelings. Many business firms have won the respect and good will of the community by contributing to community enterprises and carrying on welfare work through philanthropic motives. The custom of giving banquets and shows for newsboys and orphans, and importing food-stuffs to sell to the public at reduced prices, is practiced by several newspapers. "Proprietors and editors alike may be philanthropists and enthusiasts, and, if they have not somewhat more than

the average amount of philanthropy or enthusiasm, they are hardly likely to pursue any of these callings of their own accord, though they may be driven into them by force of circumstances. It is by no means rare, moreover, for philanthropy, genuine or spurious, strong political partisanship or zealous propagandism of some sort to be the dominating motive for the taking up of newspaper business of one kind or another, and enthusiasm, healthy or unhealthy in its promptings and leanings, is often needed for the facing of difficulties that would deter men of more sober temperament. But these are the complements, if not the exceptions of newspaper enterprise, which, if it is to fare well and be of lasting benefit, must be centered upon and carried through in the ordinary way of business. It may be thought, indeed, that in some newspaper enterprises of the present day there is too much rather than too little of the prosaic commercial spirit. But this need not be and is not very often the case. Journalists of all grades, from the penny-a-liner to the capitalist manager, claim to do their work and do it best in the spirit of a professional man rather than of a tradesman--of the preacher, physician, or the

soldier who is only honest when he proves himself worthy of his hire."¹

There is no better illustration of the effects of over-zealous philanthropy than in the conduct of Greeley's Tribune. In the first issue of the paper Greeley announced that, "The purpose of the Tribune, as its name imports, is to advance the interests of the people and to promote their moral, social and political well-being." Many of his moral ideas would be considered intolerably narrow and strait-laced in our time. He attacked the theaters unmercifully and excluded their advertising from the Tribune's columns. "Greeley tried to combine news with intellectual and moral instruction. Unfortunately the paper was begun as an organ, sometimes of a political party, but always of its own remarkable editor Greeley, who was so full of principles. Had he kept himself free from fads of various kinds, if he had been as thorough and broad a journalist as he was a vigorous writer and thinker, the Tribune might have become the great New York newspaper. It did become a great New York newspaper. But Horace Greeley was

¹. Fox Bourne, H. R., "English Newspapers", pp. 368-369.

too much interested in Fourierism, abolition of slavery, in politics, in high tariff, in women's rights, and in various socialistic and philanthropic ideas to care primarily for the Tribune as a newspaper. He regarded it first of all as an organ in which he could give expression to his own opinions and convictions.---From a literary, a philosophic, and an editorial point of view, the Tribune was unrivalled, but it lacked the fair-mindedness and impartiality of representative journalism. People remarked that it was 'an excellent paper and honest, but then it is so full of 'isms'." ¹

Bennett's Herald was the Tribune's rival and as lacking in these principles as the Tribune was full of them. Bennett believed with James Parton that "An editorial is a man speaking to men, but the news is Providence speaking to men", and therefore relied less upon the editorial and simply tried to mirror events in the news. "The Herald struck immediately the note which it was to maintain throughout; live news, and a mocking, cynical editorial

¹. Hapgood, Hutchins, "Great Newspapers of the United States", Bookman, Vol. 14, p. 579.

tone. People read it for the news, not for the editorial tone. More than that of any other newspaper, the development of Bennett's enterprise during the early years of its existence marked the development of the modern newspaper spirit. It was unprincipled; it was almost avowedly so, it had the one doubtful virtue of an obstinate and cynical frankness.---Greeley's Tribune was to a certain extent a reaction against the cynical Herald, which had been started and carried on to prosperity with its one fixed idea, 'the news'.--- But from the time of its foundation until the outbreak of the War of Secession, and in fact, to a certain extent throughout that war, the Herald must be conceded to have been, on the whole, the leader in journalistic enterprise."¹

As the new order of impersonal journalism develops and the news takes precedence over the editorial, it is undoubtedly true that the call for strong individuality grows less. There may be some danger that the effacement of the individual will be so complete as to discourage ambitious men from entering the journalistic profession, yet

¹. Hargood, Hutchins, Ibid, p. 577.

Professor Wilcox states, "Certainly the established newspapers are coming to be more and more institutional and without independent means it requires great, perhaps almost impossible, adaptability in the thoroughly intelligent and conscientious man to walk the path that leads to the editorial chair. The newspaper which is a public, and not a private institution, the principal organ of society for distributing what we may call working information, ought not to be controlled by irresponsible individuality. Those newspapers that are partisan organs are, in large measure, politically controlled, and in so far as they are really responsible to their party, they perform a more important public function than they could if subject to the caprice of the individual owner or editor. For these reasons complete independence of private or factional interests, and a consequent subordination of the editorial page to the news column, is coming to be widely recognized as the ideal of journalism."¹

It should be stated that the trend toward impersonal journalism is not a consciously directed movement to im-

¹ Wilcox, D. F., "The Am. Newspaper: A Study in Social Psych"; Am. Acad. of Pol. & Soc. Science, Vol. 16, pp. 86-87.

prove the quality of newspapers or to change the character of journalism one way or another. It is due, simply, to economic forces that are compelling consolidation and cooperation throughout the business world, of which the newspaper is a part. Just as the integration of business has increased the output and improved the amount and quality of business service rendered, so the impersonality and consolidation of newspapers have increased the output of newspapers, developed a new reading clientele, and improved the quality of news service rendered. The transition process is not yet far enough advanced to warrant drawing final conclusions as to what the results will be. It has not been the purpose of this study to do more than show the causes that are responsible for this change and point out what the effects have been so far. From what has been learned by this investigation one feels justified in believing that the new journalism, by its development of greater accuracy in collecting and distributing news and its closer relationship to the people, will prove more beneficial^{than personal journalism} both to the profession and the public.

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