

Endowed Newspapers: A Solution to the Industry's Problems?

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Abstract

Americans dissatisfied with the press complain about papers' emphasis on profits and worry about their dependence on advertisers. Over a century ago, critics proposed endowed newspapers as a solution. This article examines the idea of endowed newspapers through an historical analysis of trade journal articles, autobiographies, biographies, and magazine articles written by and about early journalists from 1880 to 1930. The results reveal four reasons that endowed newspapers were proposed, two tentative structures for these types of publications, and five reasons for the idea's abandonment.

Introduction

Americans dissatisfied with the press complain that it is too biased, superficial, and sensational. They also dislike papers' emphasis on profits and worry about their dependence on advertisers. On average, the nation's chains receive 74.4% of their revenue from advertisers, a figure that ranges from 54.0% for Dow Jones to 85.0% for McClatchy.¹ Over a century ago, critics concerned about similar industry problems proposed endowed newspapers as a solution. To our knowledge, there have been no academic studies on the topic specifically. Thus, the purpose of this article is to examine the idea of endowed newspapers including: 1) the reasons for its initial proposal, 2) the tentative structure and potential benefits of these types of publications, and 3) the reasons for the idea's abandonment.

Here, we define the utopian scheme of endowed newspapers as independent print journalism reporting and publishing entities that would be owned and operated in a manner similar to today's nonprofit organizations (e.g., foundations, charities, service organizations with large stock funds) with an emphasis on public service rather than business success. The intention would be to preserve news quality and avoid some of the content biases and sensationalism that can result from advertiser influence or newspaper owner special interests and consequently, reduce public criticism. Endowed newspapers, like other nonprofit organizations, would need to generate enough income to cover their costs and could make a profit, yet would not be taxed. These types of publications would not necessarily be ad-less, but if an endowment were large enough, then the paper may not require the financial support of advertisers.

As this general economic model has been applied in other forms of U.S. media with some degree of success (e.g., Public Broadcasting Service, *The Nation*, *The New Yorker*), why hasn't it taken hold in newspapers? There appears to be continued interest in the basic idea for papers. For example, billionaire philanthropist Eli Broad and a colleague recently made a bid to purchase the *Los Angeles Times* (reported to be valued at approximately \$2 billion) in an effort to keep it a locally-owned, nonprofit public service.² Further, several nonprofit local newspapers are presently in operation around the nation including the *Anniston (Alabama) Star*, *Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader*, *New London (Connecticut) Day*, *St. Petersburg (Florida) Times*, and *Tupelo Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal*, although they differ somewhat from the original endowed paper idea.³ We believe that inquiry into endowed newspapers is of value because it can help us to better understand media heritage and criticisms, provide a foundation for solidifying the endowment idea, and generate possible solutions for industry problems today.

Literature Review

Previous pertinent literature encompasses three interrelated areas: 1) market-driven journalism, 2) the journalist-advertiser relationship, and 3) experiments with newspaper ownership and operation. These

research streams document key issues and situate the present investigation. However, as stated previously, prior research on endowed newspapers in particular is lacking.

Market-Driven Journalism

A number of scholarly books and articles have examined the antecedents, processes, and consequences associated with the shift from ideology-driven to market-driven journalism.⁴ An historical study by Rutenbeck revealed that one of the most remarkable changes in 19th-century journalism was the shift from newspapers subsidized by political parties to the independent press of the 1880s and '90s. Party papers served the wealthy and well educated, and subscriptions were expensive. The independent papers that replaced them were larger, less costly, more profit-oriented, and more dependent on advertisers.⁵

Like their predecessors, today's journalists also worry about papers' circulations, ownership, and emphasis on profits. They charge that big companies that are sensitive to stockholders' demands are cutting staffs and care more about quarterly profits than about the quality of the dailies they publish.⁶ Richard Kluger, who worked for the *New York Herald Tribune*, concluded that the result "has been a slick, homogenized product, run by outsiders, with a vigilant eye on the balance sheet".⁷

James Squires, editor of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1981 to 1989, concluded that American journalism has truly become a news business. In 1992 he declared, "Now, there is no longer even the illusion that public service is the primary goal." He stated that larger circulations, improved quality, better service, and lower prices all hurt a paper's profits in the short term because advertisers want only high income, well-educated readers. To control costs and increase profits, newspapers eliminate poor quality circulation. Further, Squires explained that, "The highest profitability comes from delivering advertising sold at the highest rates in a paper containing the least number of pages and sold for the highest possible retail price to the fewest number of high income customers necessary to justify the rate charged to advertisers."⁸

In a 1999 *Nieman Reports* article, author Lou Ureneck agreed that today's conglomerates care more about satisfying stockholders than about the quality of the news and responsibilities to the public. He said that historically, papers were considered a unique kind of business with a mission beyond the financial interests of their owners. The newspapers in a democracy give citizens the information they need for self government.⁹

The Journalist-Advertiser Relationship

A substantial stream of literature has addressed the topic of advertiser influence on media editorial content.¹⁰ The scope of investigation consists of studies (primarily surveys) on the attitudes of news editors and reporters,¹¹ the views of advertisers,¹² and the perspectives of readers,¹³ as well as the policies of newspapers and magazines¹⁴ and case studies of specific publications.¹⁵ However, there has been less focus on the relationships of those who work in the field. A study by DeLorme and Fedler found that the relationship between newspapers and advertisers was complicated. Journalists generally recognized the necessity of advertising but considered their newsroom the heart of a newspaper and other departments as less important. Journalists believed they were more noble, pure, and altruistic than anyone associated with advertising, "and that advertisers should never be able to influence the content of news stories."¹⁶

College textbooks on news reporting continue to reflect journalists' distrust of advertisers. They warn students about advertisers' pressures and present anecdotal evidence of the problem.¹⁷ For example, Itule and Anderson, authors of *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media* warn, "The potential always exists for advertisers to influence the dissemination of news."¹⁸ Authors of another text titled *News Reporting and Writing*,¹⁹ add that this influence is impossible to measure because when coercion occurs it's usually done quietly.

Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, and Ranly present a more balanced view in their book, *News Reporting and Writing*. They state, "If the advertising department fails to sell enough advertising, the news hole is small

and your department's ability to provide a comprehensive news report is adversely affected." Nonetheless, they warn that ad managers may try to dictate what should or should not be printed. For instance, papers may publish special sections created primarily to help them sell more advertising (e.g., spring gardening or back-to-school sections with stories that tend to be "light and fluffy") or may be pressured to publish ads disguised as news (e.g., use the same layout, design, and typeface as articles).²⁰

The situation is complicated, however. First, news organizations are more likely to resist advertisers' pressures when important stories are involved. Second, larger papers are less vulnerable to these pressures than smaller dailies and weeklies. A single advertiser may provide a significant share of a smaller publication's revenue and its loss may be painful. Third, broadcasters seem more vulnerable than newspapers to advertisers' pressures.²¹

Experiments with Newspaper Ownership and Operation

In an attempt to solve the industry's problems during the first half of the 20th century, journalists experimented with other types of newspaper ownership and operation (e.g., ad-less dailies). However, the literature on these efforts is limited.²² One study, conducted by Fedler and Pennington, focused on employee-owned dailies. The authors stated that according to the idea's proponents, these dailies would remain locally owned and controlled by journalists, not businesspeople. Presumably, journalists would be freer to emphasize quality over profits.

However, the idea failed. Fedler and Pennington documented that by the end of the 20th century, employees owned a majority of stock in only four dailies. Ten others that were once owned by their staffs had ceased publication, been sold, or merged. As the price of dailies escalated, it became more difficult for employees to afford to acquire them. Even publishers who were committed to the idea were unable to ensure that their staffs remained unified and that every new editor possessed the skills needed to succeed. Further, with fewer dailies available, those that were owned by their employees aroused the interest of chains eager to expand. Fedler and Pennington also found that:

Human nature is another obstacle, since people are fundamentally rational and likely to make decisions that maximize their own economic interests. It is easy, in the abstract, for journalists to insist that newspaper owners should be altruistic and emphasize quality rather than profit. Yet when journalists become part-owners, their priorities may change. Like the owners they've criticized, some employees become preoccupied with their company's profits and their stock's value.²³

Method

Historical research was deemed appropriate for the goals of our study. In particular, we relied on a perspective often overlooked by historians -- insiders' view of their field. That is, we turned to the experiences, opinions, and ideas of "journalism's early insiders," who are defined as those individuals who have spent their professional lives in newspaper reporting or editing. As part of a larger project, the analysis reported here involved a 50-year time frame from 1880 to 1930. This period was examined because it was the only time in history in which endowed newspapers were ever proposed and considered.

Multiple data sources were consulted including: 1) every issue of *The Journalist* (a weekly trade journal that claimed to be the recognized authority on the newspaper profession), from its first issue published on March 22, 1884 to the end of the 19th century -- totaling 52 issues over 16 years, 2) articles in *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* and *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* that criticized the nation's newspapers, discussed their finances, or advocated endowed publications, and 3) approximately 500 books and 300 magazine articles written by and about early reporters and editors, a handful of which discussed endowed dailies or related ideas.

Many of the materials are described in annotated bibliographies devoted to journalism.²⁴ Some of the

articles were written for fellow journalists (i.e., published in trade journals such as *The Writer* and *The Journalist*) while others were written for the general public (i.e. published in consumer magazines).²⁵ Appendix A provides background characteristics for a portion of the sample of journalism's insiders quoted in the present article, especially the authors and subjects of books.

The data were combined and analyzed as a whole. The process involved evaluating the authenticity of the sources; immersion in the materials; and interpreting, categorizing, and synthesizing the data while searching for common patterns and themes.²⁶

Results

The results revealed four interrelated reasons that endowed newspapers were initially proposed (increasing economic pressures, rising cost of starting a paper, concerns about advertisers' growing influence, and concerns about the press); two tentative structures for these endowed types of publications (university-subsidized and philanthropist-subsidized); and five reasons the idea was abandoned (misperceptions about public preferences, overestimation of press power, underestimation of newspaper startup costs, assumptions about writing talent, and potential conflicts of interest). Each of these findings will be discussed and supported with illustrative quotations from "journalism's early insiders."

Reasons Endowed Newspapers Were Initially Proposed

(1) Increasing Economic Pressures

Until the Civil War, newspapers cost little to produce. Paper was relatively inexpensive and most editions contained only four pages. By the late 1800s, the price of newsprint, machinery, and labor was rising. Dailies needed bigger buildings and better presses. The invention of the telegraph and the Atlantic cable increased the cost of gathering the news.²⁷ Newspapers also needed larger staffs of reporters. Other mechanical processes and devices were also perfected during this time (i.e., mechanized cutters and folders, stereotyping, the Linotype, telephones, typewriters, and cameras).²⁸ As the price of everything needed to publish a paper increased, editors needed more revenue and obtained it from advertisers.

Advertisements changed as well. Newspapers attracted more advertisers and those advertisers needed more space. Department stores in particular desired full-page ads. To provide more space, editors added more pages to every edition. Even weekday editions were increased to ten or more pages.²⁹ Advertisers also wanted to reach large audiences. To attract more readers, publishers began to sell their papers for less than they cost to produce. Then, each additional reader became an additional expense.³⁰

As early as 1867, article author Julius Wilcox, declared that no paper could survive on the revenue provided by its subscribers. A newspaper's price barely covered the cost of its newsprint.³¹ F. B. Sanborn, in an 1874 *Atlantic Monthly* article, stated that a large circulation had become valuable chiefly to attract advertisers.³² Charles Russell, who held various positions in the newspaper industry spanning a 25 year career, blamed a blind and stupid competition that forced newspapers to sell subscriptions at a loss and made advertising indispensable. He said it was not a matter of will, nor design, or preference but a matter of economic necessity.³³ By 1922, Fred Allsopp, an early reporter and editor, estimated that two-thirds of newspapers' revenue came from advertisers.³⁴

Even the most competent editors were no longer able to ensure their newspapers' success. The more effective they were in their work, the greater their papers' need to attract more advertising. A newspaper's ad manager then became more important. Moses Koenigsberg, a reporter who became an executive in the Hearst Empire said, "He was the fellow who brought in the cash to meet the bills that everybody else in the organization piled up."³⁵

By 1893, J. W. Keller, in an article in *Forum*, complained that newspapers' business offices were dominating their editorial offices. He said it was a "natural consequence of the gradual evolution of journalism into a purely money-making business" and added that:

There was a time when the salaried editor despised the counting room. His ideal newspaper embodied a loftiness of aim which could not be affected by any sordid motive. He held that there were certain reservations upon which the business office should not trespass. An advertisement should appear in the unmistakable form of an advertisement and in the columns set aside for advertisements. Editorial opinion should be above and beyond all considerations except those of right and justice and the general good.³⁶

(2) Rising Cost of Starting a Paper

At the same time, the cost of establishing a newspaper was escalating. However, the cost varied by region and depended on a city's size and competition. Dailies were more expensive than weeklies. By the late 1800s, some big-city dailies cost \$500,000. Then, journalists had to find investors (typically non-journalists) willing to finance their ventures.

Illustrative cases of the situation are numerous. For example, in 1851 a group of investors raised \$100,000 to help Henry J. Raymond establish *The New York Times*.³⁷ Investors raised \$500,000 to establish the *Chicago Republican* in 1865.³⁸ Charles Dana needed \$175,000 in 1868 to buy the *New York Sun*.³⁹ In 1882 Albert Pulitzer established the *Morning Journal* in New York City with \$25,000 and sold it to William Randolph Hearst for \$180,000 in 1895.⁴⁰ In 1883, Albert's brother, Joseph Pulitzer, paid \$346,000 for the *New York World*, a failing daily with a circulation of only 10,000.⁴¹ In 1896, a daily in San Francisco was sold for \$60,000, which was a substantial amount of money at that time.

By 1871, the *New York Tribune* was one of the largest newspapers in the world, with 400 to 500 employees. Its weekly production costs totaled \$20,000.⁴² In 1892, E. W. Stephens, author of an article in *The Journalist*, estimated that a large daily would employ more than 100 editors, reporters, special correspondents, and occasional contributors as well as a large force of printers, pressmen, and other workmen for a total of 300 people.⁴³

During and after World War I, the cost of subsidizing a newspaper further increased. For instance, by 1920, the owners of the *New York Tribune* had invested \$4.4 million in the newspaper and it still was not earning a profit⁴⁴ and in San Francisco, the *Bulletin* began to lose \$125,000 a month.⁴⁵ In the depth of the Great Depression, *The Washington Post* was sold for \$825,000. By 1935, even under new management, this newspaper lost more than \$1.3 million in that year alone.⁴⁶

(3) Concerns about Advertisers' Growing Influence

Journalists tended to be idealists who resisted outside pressures. They disliked advertisers' growing influence and worried about advertisers' efforts to influence news content. Most commonly, advertisers encouraged the publication of favorable stories and discouraged the publication of anything unfavorable.⁴⁷ They also affected newspapers in other ways, both positively and negatively.

Advertising's critics held a number of charges against the practice. First, they said that advertising forced editors to add more pages to their papers, thus increasing production costs.⁴⁸ Second, they believed that advertising contributed to changes in journalists' definitions of news. To attract advertisers, publishers had to increase their circulations. Therefore, they emphasized the types of stories that interested everyone. The wealthy and well-educated then complained that papers focused on content that was sensational and entertaining rather than important.⁴⁹

Third, advertising was thought to make newspapers more vulnerable to changes in the economy because unlike subscriptions, ad revenue declined in difficult economic times. Fourth, the practice was viewed as contributing to papers' unsavory reputations since some ads promoted products and services that seemed abhorrent (e.g., ads for prostitutes, abortionists, loan sharks, alcohol, and quack medicines).⁵⁰ For example, Thomas M. Storke depended on ads for patent medicines when he took over a small newspaper in California. He admitted, "Most of their products, unhappily, were fakes. A useless mixture of water or alcohol, flavoring and coloring, would be bottled up and labeled as the 'sure cure' for

tuberculosis, hang-nails, rheumatism, warts, cancer, freckles, epilepsy or in fact 'any ailment of man or beast.'⁵¹

Fifth, the critics believed that advertising hurt newspapers' popularity and credibility. Readers disliked papers that devoted a large space to ads and distrusted papers that manipulated the news to please their advertisers.⁵² For instance, some advertisers threatened, bribed, or boycotted papers. Because editors were sensitive to their advertisers' demands, they kept lists of individuals and businesses who they expected to be treated respectfully.

Conversely, editors might welcome embarrassing stories about businesses that never advertised in their publications.⁵³ Reporter Charles Russell experienced the problem in New York City. "At all times we were required to treat tenderly certain great advertisers, but the reason was not alleged to be that they were advertisers but only that they were friends of ours," he said. "The time came when, if an elevator fell in a department store that was 'a friend of ours,' we omitted all mention of the fact, no matter what might have been the casualties."⁵⁴

There were exceptions, of course. Advertisers were unable to obtain any special favors from Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. Pulitzer wanted to preserve his staff's independence and insisted that the *World* "serve no party, special interest, or class, and that it recognize no authority but the people. It was to be a vigilant guardian of the public welfare."⁵⁵ Any *World* employee who suppressed a story to please an advertiser was likely to be fired.⁵⁶

Emile Gauvreau worked for the *New York Graphic*. He said its publisher, Bernarr Macfadden, refused to accept ads for products that were against his beliefs. He criticized even important advertisers. After obtaining a series of ads for a shoe company, Macfadden, a physical culturist, attacked high-heeled shoes as a menace to women's anatomy. After publishing ads for men's hats, he urged men to go hatless to "air their hair." Further, he considered cigarette smoking loathsome and refused to publish ads for tobacco products. Gauvreau said, "I have never worked for another publisher who permitted his personal convictions to interfere with the money his paper could bring in."⁵⁷

Proponents of advertising, on the other hand, said that it helped transform papers into larger and more profitable institutions. They believed that newspapers would be affordable for every American because advertisers (not readers) paid their primary costs. Also, advertising was thought to provide the money needed to increase newsroom budgets and buy better production equipment.⁵⁸ Further, proponents argued that advertising contributed to the rise of the independent press, since newspapers with a multitude of readers and advertisers were better able to resist outside pressures.⁵⁹

(4) Concerns about the Press

There were also concerns about the press, including unethical behaviors of journalists, the perception of power, indecent newspaper content, and profit-motivated priorities. Following is an elaboration of each of these concerns.

Journalists' Unethical Behaviors. Morton Sontheimer, an early news editor, said journalists exaggerated advertisers' power. He was more concerned about journalists' unethical behaviors, especially tactics used to obtain stories. Sontheimer said journalists trampled on individuals' rights to privacy "with a sometimes ruthless disregard of consequences." He felt that advertisers were less of a threat since anyone who boycotted a newspaper eventually had to return because they hurt themselves as well.⁶⁰

Perception of Power. Educated Americans were concerned because they thought that the press possessed a tremendous power. Editors were believed to be more influential than ministers, teachers, politicians, and physicians. Their editorials were often found to be more stimulating and intelligent than sermons. Newspapers also reached a larger audience and were likely to reach them more frequently.⁶¹ The press not only informed the public, but also seemed to shape people's opinions and influence their actions. Critics believed that the press had the ability to raise or lower moral and intellectual development, and they wanted it to be an elevating force.

The Journalist estimated that newspapers provided nine-tenths of the information that adults acquired after leaving school.⁶² Moreover, the public seemed to accept what papers published.⁶³ In 1897, John Garnsey, who wrote an article in *The Arena*, said the masses believed what newspapers told them, “not because they have implicit faith in the papers...but because they do not care to take the time to reason about what they read.” So when the editor of a great newspaper spoke, “the people half-unconsciously take it for well-authenticated fact.”⁶⁴ Despite its power, the press was unregulated. In an 1889 article in *The Writer*, author H. R. Shattuck complained, “There is no institution, perhaps, that so nearly reaches autocratic power as the press. Its rights and its scope are wellnigh unlimited. The public is at its mercy.”⁶⁵

Indecent Newspaper Content. The proponents of endowed dailies also disliked papers’ content. They charged that big-city dailies were too indecent (i.e., vulgar, sensational, trivial, and inaccurate) to be taken into respectable homes. Journalists were believed to rejoice in the filth and pollution of the world and to earn a profit by pandering to the lowest tastes.⁶⁶ In 1903, W. H. H. Murray said that thinking men were tired of their inaccuracy, unfairness, and slanderous attacks. Newspapers seemed to devote more space to the drivel of a drunken prize fighter than to a speech by the pope or to a message from the president.⁶⁷

For example, the nation’s first successful penny paper, the *New York Sun*, appeared in 1833. It focused on stories about crime, sex, violence, and tragedy, which was a formula borrowed from cheap London newspapers. Critics called the *Sun* trash, but its formula worked.⁶⁸ Other editors also began to emphasize the types of shocking stories that the masses enjoyed, including those about murder, adultery, scandal, graft, and corruption.⁶⁹

Profit-Motivated Priorities. Journalists disillusioned by their jobs added to the criticisms. After years in the business, some concluded that newspapers exploited their employees and were primarily a business operated to earn a profit. Some journalists continued to insist that they served the public. However, Charles Congdon, an early editor, said that they seldom offered evidence to support their claim.⁷⁰

In 1908, William Salisbury wrote his autobiography as “a protest against the hopelessness of individuality in most newspaper work, and the almost utter disregard of the opinion or feelings of those who write and edit the news by the men who dominate the papers through the business office, or by the chief editors whom they appoint.” Salisbury had worked for newspapers in five cities and constantly thought about their mission. “I never heard this mission clearly defined, but I felt it was to be something high and noble,” he said. “I now realize that it is chiefly money-making.” Moreover, advertisers seemed to be his real master.⁷¹

J. W. Keller agreed that journalism was a business, pure and simple. “Money is invested to make money,” he wrote. “The fundamental principle of metropolitan journalism today is to buy white paper at three cents a pound and sell it at 10 cents a pound. And in some quarters it does not matter how much the virgin whiteness of the paper is defiled so long as the defilement sells the paper.”⁷²

Tentative Structure and Benefits of Endowed Newspapers

Before discussing the tentative structure and benefits of endowed newspapers, it is important to acknowledge their precursors, which include association- and government-subsidized newspapers and attempts at ad-less dailies. Then we outline the two tentative structures of endowed papers (university- and philanthropist-subsidized) and their potential benefits.

Association- and Government-Subsidized Newspapers

The idea of endowed newspapers was not really new. Many newspapers, including some of the best, were not expected to earn a profit. Almost every association whether religious, scientific, or educational, had its special organ. Other publications were supported entirely by readers.

Some were subsidized by cities or the federal government. For example, New York City published the *City Record*, a bulletin of official announcements. In 1912, Los Angeles established the *Municipal News*, a weekly that newsboys distributed free to every home. The paper’s expenses totaled a little over \$1,000 a

week and it was discontinued due to its cost.⁷³ The U.S. federal government published 39 periodicals (e.g., *Congressional Record*, *Crop Reporter*, *Labor Bulletin*, and *Monthly Weather Review*).⁷⁴ Also, when the U.S. began to dig a canal across Panama, the government published *The Canal Record*, a newspaper in English and distributed free to government employees working on the canal.⁷⁵

Plans and Attempts at Adless Dailies

Journalists preferred ad-less dailies. Three noteworthy illustrations are presented here: Dana and the *New York Sun*, Scripps and the *Chicago Day Book*, and Ralph Ingersoll and *PM*.

Dana and the *New York Sun*. Charles Dana published the *New York Sun*. It was a small daily that was serious, yet lively and highly profitable. By the late 1870s, the *Sun* had attracted a circulation of 140,000 but it published so little advertising that Dana hoped to eliminate it.⁷⁶ Edward Mitchell, who began to work for the *Sun* in 1875, explained that the price of paper was low and the *Sun* used little since each edition contained only four pages. However, Dana was forced to abandon his idea to publish a completely ad-less daily when the price of paper rose and readers demanded larger Sunday editions.⁷⁷

Scripps and the *Chicago Day Book*. Edward W. Scripps also dreamed of a newspaper that would obtain all of its revenue from readers. He believed "that a newspaper could remain free, vocal, and fearless only if scrupulously remained independent of the corrupting commercialism of advertising." He began with the *Chicago Press* in 1900, an attempt that failed because of the city's intense competition and because he became involved in a costly legal fight over a relative's estate. In 1903, Scripps established the *San Francisco News*, which initially was to be ad-less. As a compromise, the *News* accepted up to 10 unsolicited columns of advertising a day. After the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, the *News* was converted into a standard paper.

From 1911 to 1917, Scripps experimented with the *Chicago Day Book* with Negley Cochran as its editor. He wanted to prove that a newspaper could earn a profit from its readers alone, but also that almost anyone could afford to publish a free and independent paper. He gave Cochran a monthly budget of just \$2,500 (about \$100 a day) plus the cost of newsprint. The *Day Book* was about the size of a small magazine and contained 32 pages yet used no more newsprint than a regular four-page paper. Copies cost a penny and to succeed, the *Day Book* needed a circulation of 30,000. However, at its peak it attracted only 22,839 subscribers.

After five years of losses, Scripps killed the *Day Book* in July 1917. When the price of newsprint increased during World War I, he was forced to increase the paper's price to two cents, causing a decline in its circulation. Scripps apparently felt that the *Day Book* failed because he and Cochran lacked the necessary talent. He may have also been distracted by personal problems or simply lost interest in it.⁷⁸ Critics, on the other hand, said the *Day Book* was simply a mini newspaper with nothing distinctive to offer in a highly competitive market. Moreover, women disliked the publication because it did not include ads for department store bargains.⁷⁹

Ralph Ingersoll and *PM*. On June 18, 1940, Ralph Ingersoll launched *PM*, another daily that accepted no ads. Louis Kronenberger worked for *PM* and said it was an exciting time but the staff encountered unexpected problems. First, the first edition appeared on the day of France's defeat in World War II but *PM* was unable to cover the story adequately. It had no foreign correspondents and was unable to obtain stories from The Associated Press.

Second, many readers were unable to locate the paper. Goons who were hired by *PM*'s rivals attacked its delivery trucks and threatened news dealers. Third, readers who were able to find copies may have been disappointed. Kronenberger said that *PM*'s staff was not adequately prepared and the paper was not notably well written. The paper began to lose money and Ingersoll failed to realize how long it would take for it to earn a profit. After six years, *PM* began to accept ads and receive stories from The Associated Press but it was too late. *PM* ceased publication shortly thereafter.⁸⁰

Tentative Structure 1: University-Subsidized Newspapers

Critics wanted to curb or even eliminate the immoralities and crimes of the press by ending newspapers' need to earn a profit. They added that Americans already endowed universities, libraries and museums, and that those institutions might serve as models for the press. Universities subsidized other publications, and some men and women wanted them to publish newspapers for the public as well.⁸¹

In 1912, Edwin Slosson, in an article in *The Independent*, proposed the establishment of a university periodical for the general reader, yet more comprehensive and authoritative than the ordinary newspaper. He said that other papers covered news of spectacular interest (e.g., the catastrophic) but ignored the "gradual and quiet processes as the main factor in evolution." He added:

We often read the beginnings of interesting stories and never know how they came out...A university journal with a good endowment, freeing it in part from the compulsion of ever providing something new and startling would be able to follow up events more satisfactorily and to give adequate attention to inconspicuous countries and movements. It could also assist in getting at the truth by sending a corps of trained investigators into any locality at any time...The opportunities in the field of comment and criticism are greater than in news-gathering. There would be naturally a bi-partisan or rather a poly-partisan board of editorial contributors, who would in each issue discuss current events and pending questions from their respective points of view. For the benefit of those who want to avoid reading any side but their own, the columns could be headed by the symbols used on ballots. Especial efforts would be made to insure that every cause worthy of the attention of thinking men should at some time be adequately expounded by its advocates and criticized by its opponents. There would naturally spring up lively and well-argued debates of controverted points by competent authorities such as are common in English newspapers, but not so often seen in ours.

Slosson said that the journal should accept ads and it might be given to other newspapers as a supplement. The advantages of a university connection were great. Universities employed hundreds of specialists who were familiar with all branches of knowledge. They also had a multitude of students studying journalism who were anxious for more practice. No newspaper office could afford to maintain such a corps of assistants.⁸² Moreover, in 1889 Charles Levermore of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology felt that new laws might require the full and repeated publication of the names of everyone connected to a paper. Pseudonyms would be forbidden and every editorial would need to be signed. Since journalism was a profession, it might be organized with safeguards like those which protected older professions such as law and medicine. For example, journalists might be required to graduate from a reputable school, to obtain a state license, and to fulfill the requirements of a local editorial association.

Tentative Structure 2: Philanthropist-Subsidized Newspapers

Another proposed option was that one or more wealthy American philanthropists might donate a large sum (e.g., \$4 million in the 1880s). Interest from the donation would provide a permanent fund to subsidize (i.e., incorporate) an excellent and serious newspaper that would serve as a model for others. The paper would have a source of income to employ the best talent in the country. Also, because of its financial independence, the paper would be able to ignore pressures by advertisers. In particular, it would be able to avoid the temptation to publish more entertaining, superficial, and sensational stories in an effort to earn more money (by attracting more readers and advertisers).

Neither advertisers nor subscribers would be able to corrupt the paper's policies and no owner would be dependent on its income. The paper would be non-sectarian and non-partisan and the press "would come more and more under the control of the educated classes, and into closer affiliation with the institutions of higher education."⁸³ Presented next are ideas about the structure and benefits of these types of publications from several prominent journalists.

Edward Adam's Ideas. Edward Adams, an endowed newspaper advocate, had been hired to write editorials for a great paper. He received only one instruction -- "Find out the truth and tell it." However, he

discovered that a newspaper which supported a political party had to do so unreservedly, even if no person on its staff agreed with all of the party's policies. Adams concluded that the ideal newspaper would have to be endowed.

The biggest problem with an endowed newspaper, as he saw it, would be selecting a board. The sole duty of the board would be to select the editor and business manager, who should be given absolute power. The board might consist of presidents of colleges and heads of great libraries, and the publication's profits might go to some designated public purpose. If there was a deficit, income from the endowment would make it up.⁸⁴

W. H. H. Murray's Ideas. In 1903, W. H. H. Murray agreed that the U.S. needed newspapers that were more accurate, reliable, and discriminating. He blamed newspaper owners for the industry's problems and explained:

Money has no conscience, no honor, no patriotism, no sympathy with truth, right, and decency and never has. It loves and seeks but one thing – profits. Whatever will make the paper sell goes into it, right or wrong, true or untrue, slanderous or just, clean or unclean, it is all the same to money.

Murray said that an endowed press would enable the best minds of the nation to communicate to the people. It would provide a more thorough and accurate account of the news, lift editorial pages to the level of high culture, and raise journalism to a learned and noble profession.⁸⁵

Hamilton Holt's Ideas. While speaking at a conference of journalists in 1912, Hamilton Holt also pleaded for the establishment of an endowed paper. He said that a journal with an eminent, enterprising, and trustworthy staff could not be self-supporting. Rather, it needed an assured and sufficient income to enable it to compete with other journals. Once established, it would have an enormous educational value. It might not be read by millions, but it would be indispensable to all libraries, journalists, preachers, teachers, and other intelligent leaders. It would also exert a great influence for good on other papers, forcing them to become fairer and more accurate.

To be influential, Holt continued, the newspaper could not be a daily. The U.S. was too large and a daily could not be distributed everywhere. Nor could it be a monthly. Only a weekly could circulate throughout the U.S. and influence current events significantly. Holt said the board of trustees should be "composed of the most eminent men of different political parties and social classes." They would function like a university's trustees by supervising the publication's finances, selecting its managing editor, and seeing that the journal adhered to its principles. The managing editor would select a staff of about a half-dozen editors. Each would be in charge of a particular department (e.g., politics, finance, industry, literature, religion, science, art, education). The managing editor would also recruit a large corps of regular contributors from various parts of the U.S. and foreign countries who would be paid at space rates.

The newspaper would publish ads. The advertising columns might be opened to political platforms, personal opinions, poems, and stories published at their authors' expense. Holt stated, "This department, edited by the people, would be lively, informing, and profitable, for there are thousands of people who would be glad of a chance to bring opinions and literary efforts before the public in a periodical of wide circulation." Because of the diversity of views (and the skill of its writers), it would be more interesting and readable than any other newspaper. The paper might also establish a new department (one impossible for newspapers that depended on advertisers) that would treat popular commodities in the same way that newspapers already treated books and movies. That is, it would compare products such as automobiles, typewriters, and soaps impartially and would be frank in pointing out their merits and defects.

After a few years, the journal should attract a large income from subscriptions and ads "and this could then be put either into the improvement of the journal or the reduction of subscription rates, so as to in either case extend its influence."⁸⁶ In 1912, Holt concluded that an endowment of \$5 million would be enough to implement the plan.⁸⁶ Andrew Carnegie said he would be willing to endow a newspaper if nine other contributors helped, but none volunteered.⁸⁷

Reasons Endowed Newspaper Idea Was Abandoned

(1) Misperceptions about Public Preferences

Journalists and the proponents of endowed papers differed on a fundamental point -- what the public wanted. Journalists said repeatedly that they knew what readers wanted and gave it to them.⁸⁸ For instance, John Cockerill, an experienced editor, insisted:

The shrewd publisher learns in an amazingly brief period that he must not fire over the heads of his readers; that he must appeal to the general average of the community if he would achieve a success of the first order; that the average man is dainty neither in his moral nor intellectual demands; and that, so he be pleased, it matters little how much disgust be inspired in the hearts and brains of the few whose privilege it is to be particular. It is the average man who buys the newspaper, the average man who reads it, and the average man who profits by its advertisements.⁸⁹

O. B. Frothingham, in an article in *Forum*, insisted that it was not a writer's duty to improve the public but to gratify it. Like Cockerill, he was skeptical of other proposals and explained:

There is no general demand for nicety or profundity. The public taste is not cultivated to that extent, and the reporter gives only what is desired. The demand for the comical, the rage for sensation, the craving for immediate effects, the passion for personalities, the love of surprises, the delight in novelties, the appetite for gossip...effectually prohibit useful information about minds and hearts. It is simply impossible to give a serious account of character to a gaping assembly.⁹⁰

Several journalists tried to publish better newspapers but failed, and again concluded that the public did not want them. In an article published in *The Arena* in 1898, Edward Adams said that he admired a series of strong editorials published by a friend. The friend said that every one of the editorials had caused a dozen readers to cancel their subscriptions, yet had attracted no new subscribers. The friend's partners were complaining and he was tired. If he was rich, he said, he might try to reform the world but, "For a man of moderate means to attempt it meant disaster."

Adams then gave a second example. The dailies in another city seemed indecent and were denounced at mass meetings. A new owner supported the protestors and published a newspaper that was as good as any of the others and perfectly clean as well. He lost many of his paper's old readers and failed to attract a single new reader "whose subscription could be traced to his campaign." At considerable expense, the new owner obtained lists of the men and women agitating for better newspapers. He then approached ministers and society leaders who subscribed to the papers they denounced, but they refused to switch to his paper. The new owner concluded that every one of them "really wanted the nasty stuff which they were getting."⁹¹

The advocates of endowed dailies, on the other hand, believed that the public would welcome their reforms. They insisted that the public patronized the few good newspapers already available. John Garnsey found that a daily in Chicago (one he never identified) also approached near the ideal. The daily was well printed and illustrated, and it reported the news without bias. It was not sensational, yet attracted more readers than any other journal in Chicago. Thus, given the opportunity to obtain stories that were free of sensationalism and bias, people seized the opportunity. Garnsey said there was no real demand for putridity.⁹²

(2) Overestimation of Press Power

Critics may have exaggerated the power of the press. Editors rarely agreed with each other and rarely combined for any purpose, whether proper or improper.⁹³ Furthermore, journalists insisted that they could not advocate the unpopular. Instead, they discussed topics about which all their readers agreed or none

of them cared.⁹⁴ Edward Adams said that no newspaper that regularly advocated ideas disliked by its subscribers could prosper. To succeed, an editor had to give readers the stuff that they liked.⁹⁵ Charles Warner stated, "I confess that I am oftener impressed with the powerlessness of the press than otherwise."

Plus, there were other problems to consider. As a rule, journalists believed that profitable (not subsidized) publications were the best because they were able to give their readers the news promptly, discuss it impartially, and remain independent.⁹⁶ Some advocates of endowed newspapers wanted them to be published for the educated elite. Yet papers with small circulations would be less influential. Joseph Pulitzer explained, "If a newspaper is to be of real service to the public it must have a big circulation, first because it's news and its comments must reach the largest possible number of people, second, because circulation means advertising, and advertising means money, and money means independence."⁹⁷

To attract and influence a large number of readers, an endowed newspaper would have to be relatively inexpensive. To keep the price low and affordable, the paper may need advertisers, but then it would experience many of the problems encountered by other newspapers. An endowed paper that appealed primarily to the educated might be too small to attract many advertisers. Then, readers would have to pay more of its costs.⁹⁸ An endowed newspaper distributed in several states would be unable to publish much local news for its readers. So to succeed, the paper would have to convince people who already subscribed to a local newspaper to buy it as well.

(3) Underestimation of Newspaper Startup Costs

Journalists mentioned other reasons for the skepticism. Newspapers' critics seemed to exaggerate the importance of good editors and underestimate the importance of good business managers. They also seemed to underestimate the amounts of time and money needed to establish successful papers. By the late 1800s, newspapers needed highly skilled writers and editors as well as highly knowledgeable and competent people in their business offices. However, such people were rare and new publications often failed because they lacked the managerial talent needed to attract both readers and advertisers.⁹⁹

Allan Forman, editor of *The Journalist*, said that the mortality rate among new papers was much higher than suspected by those outside of the profession. Papers were born and died with almost no one noticing. Someone burst into Forman's office almost daily to announce he was going to start a paper and revolutionize journalism. Forman often sat down with the enthusiast to help estimate a new publication's costs. Almost invariably, the enthusiast underestimated the cost.

The enthusiast then announced that he would print a first edition of 20,000 to sell at six cents apiece, thus earning \$1,200 in 1887, and that he would earn an additional \$1,000 from advertising. Forman said that newcomers were unlikely to sell their entire first editions and that the papers they proposed seldom appeared. Those that did appear experienced a quick and quiet death.¹⁰⁰

(4) Assumptions about Writing Talent

Proponents of endowed papers wanted them to be written and edited by educated men and women. They assumed that university presidents and faculty would be able to write in an understandable style that would interest the public. Yet John Cockerill found that even many reporters lacked good writing skills. He was annoyed by their long sentences and lofty style. When he became managing editor of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, he told them, "Instead of trying to be literary or to impress Mr. Pulitzer, write your story as you would tell it to a friend."

William Randolph Hearst also wanted stories written simply and directly.¹⁰¹ Style was important but a story's topic was too. Cockerill encouraged his reporters to find "stories that would excite, infuriate, fascinate, and inform."¹⁰² The advocates of endowed dailies also wanted more constructive stories, including discussions about serious philosophical issues.

(5) Potential Conflicts of Interest

Endowed newspapers' ties to universities might cause other problems, including conflicts of interest. Warner warned that subsidized journals, whether they were supported by political parties, churches, or other special interests, were "poor affairs and, in the long run or short run, come to grief." A newspaper was powerful only when it was free of all such entanglements.¹⁰³ Similarly, F. B. Sanborn warned that a paper's owners should not possess much other property or, "else they will be tempted to use their newspaper to promote their private speculations." For example, university trustees might use an endowed newspaper to promote their university or other private interests.

Conclusion

The public's criticisms of the press seem remarkably consistent over time. As early as the 1880s and '90s, the proponents of endowed dailies complained that newspapers were too indecent (i.e., vulgar, sensational, trivial, and inaccurate) to be taken into respectable homes. They objected to papers' emphasis on crime, scandal, and profit. To solve those and other problems, well-educated men and women advocated the establishment of endowed newspapers. By eliminating papers' need to earn a profit, neither advertisers nor subscribers would be able to corrupt newspapers' policies and no owner would be dependent on their income. Endowed newspapers would provide a more thorough and accurate account of the news and lift editorial pages to the level of high culture. Advocates seemed confident that the masses would also prefer these types of publications.

Journalists responded defensively to criticisms of their performance. They were certain that their critics were mistaken and that the idea of endowed newspapers was folly. While not always commenting specifically about endowed papers, journalists discussed their industry's problems and insisted that, to succeed, newspapers had to give the masses what they wanted. Also, the industry was experiencing dramatic changes with unplanned consequences. Papers were becoming more dependent on the revenue provided by advertisers. To attract more advertisers, they needed larger circulations. Publishers, therefore, lowered the cost of subscriptions and emphasized more popular types of stories.

Although they were well educated, the advocates showed little understanding of the newspaper industry. Few had worked for a paper or seemed to understand the changes occurring in the field. They never acknowledged the rising cost of establishing or subsidizing a newspaper. Rather, they assumed that an endowed paper would soon earn a profit or at least break even. They also believed that talented editors could be recruited easily and they seldom acknowledged papers' need for capable business managers.

While most advocates wanted an endowed paper that would serve everyone, fewer favored one published for the elite (i.e., "cultivated classes," "educated classes," "eminent men," "the best minds," "thinking men"). However, if a newspaper appealed only to the elite (a small audience) it was unlikely to attract many advertisers. Then, its losses might increase, so an endowment of even \$5 million in the early 1900s might be inadequate. Conversely, if an endowed paper attracted a large audience, it would need more advertisers. Otherwise, readers would have to pay more for subscriptions -- a policy that would hurt the paper's circulation and influence.

The endowed newspaper advocates expressed great confidence in their ideas but also in universities. They believed that papers published by universities would be accurate, impartial, and interesting. None acknowledged the danger that newspapers controlled by universities might become subservient to them. University trustees might fail to protect free or controversial speech, especially when it involved criticisms of institutions they cherished. They also may become divided and fail to select capable editors.

In essence, there is no clear evidence that proponents of endowed newspapers: 1) had the knowledge, skill, or training needed to establish successful papers; 2) possessed the insight needed to hire successful editors; 3) could persuade the public to support the ideal newspaper they visualized; and 4) could find anyone willing to endow a newspaper. Thus, the idea failed. No individual or group of people ever felt strongly enough to donate the money needed to endow a paper.

Perhaps more importantly, the public rarely joined the advocates in demanding better newspapers. In essence, a small number of educated men and women wanted to determine what everyone read, and their proposals attracted little support. While more knowledgeable about their craft, journalists responded defensively. They seldom accepted anyone's criticisms of their performance. As a result, little changed -- not the public's criticisms of the press and not newspapers' performance.

The topic of endowed newspapers and potential industry solutions deserves further inquiry. There are several worthwhile avenues to pursue. We especially encourage historical and comparative analyses of the endowment model in other media such as magazines, television, and radio. Additionally, it would be interesting to conduct surveys and qualitative studies (i.e., focus groups, in-depth interviews) of present day stakeholders (e.g., editors, reporters, advertisers, philanthropists, university personnel, and readers of various socio-demographic backgrounds) on their opinions and ideas about endowed newspapers. Also recommended is the development of a comprehensive typology of different forms of subsidized publications to document and compare their origins, implementation, and implications. We offer our findings from the perspective of journalism's early insiders as a framework for future research.

Appendix A: Background Characteristics of Sample

Allsopp, Fred An old-fashioned journalist, Fred Allsopp began his career as an apprentice who learned the printing trade, then became a reporter and an editor during the late 1800s, spending part of his career at the *Arkansas Gazette*. He spent much of his time in newspaper offices selling space to advertisers. See: *Little Adventures in Newspaperdom* by Allsopp. Little Rock, Ark.: Arkansas Writer Publishing Co., 1922.

Cockerill, John After beginning his career at a weekly newspaper and serving in the Civil War, John Cockerill became Joseph Pulitzer's managing editor, first at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* then at the *New York World*.

Congdon, Charles T. After working as an editor, Congdon joined Horace Greeley's staff at the *New York Tribune*. See: *Reminiscences of a Journalist* by Congdon. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1880.

Dana, Charles One of the nation's greatest editors after the Civil War, Charles A. Dana directed the *New York Sun*. Beginning in 1849, he served as managing editor of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, briefly edited a new publication in Chicago, then returned to New York. In 1868, he began a 29-year career as editor of the *Sun*.

Forman, Allan In 1884, *The Journalist* was established as a weekly in New York City and called itself, "The only paper in the world devoted to the interests of the men who make papers." Allan Forman was its editor and owner, but also wrote about the newspaper industry for other publications. Forman reported that every prominent journalist in the country subscribed to *The Journalist*.

Gauvreau, Emile An editor at New York's sensational tabloids, Gauvreau was also a novelist and a playwright. He served as an editor at the *Graphic*, then at William Randolph Hearst's *Mirror* and wrote an autobiography titled *My Last Million Readers*.

Ingersoll, Ralph Ingersoll helped establish *PM*, a tabloid that appeared in New York City on June 18, 1940. *PM* supported liberal causes and accepted no ads to avoid the possibility that advertisers might influence its content. Ingersoll, a veteran of the magazine industry, adopted a magazine format and avoided the sensationalism of other tabloids. He remained editor until he joined the Army in 1942, and briefly resumed *PM*'s editorship in 1946. *PM* began to accept ads in 1947, but by then the daily had lost an estimated \$5 million and ceased publication in 1949.

Keeley, James Born during the late 1860s, James Keeley became the *Chicago Tribune*'s brilliant but not popular managing editor. Keeley believed that a newspaper was an organ of "personal service" and that the news was a commodity for sale like any other commodity.

Kluger, Richard Kluger worked for the *New York Herald Tribune* and in 1986 published a book about the newspaper's history. He also worked for other newspapers and magazines in New York as well as in the book publishing industry. In addition, he wrote several novels.

Koenigsberg, Moses At the age of 13, Koenigsberg became a reporter for the *San Antonio Times* at a salary of \$13 a week. He moved to Houston, New Orleans, and New York, becoming an executive in the Hearst empire. See: *King News* by Koenigsberg. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1941.

Macfadden, Bernarr An eccentric millionaire who published several magazines, Bernarr Macfadden established the *Graphic*, a sensational tabloid published in New York City. During the 1920s, the tabloid became famous (or notorious) for its lurid stories and faked or altered photographs, called "composographs." The *Graphic* failed after just six years.

Mitchell, Edward In 1875, Edward Mitchell began working for the *New York Sun*, and he succeeded Charles Dana as the newspaper's editor.

Russell, Charles After working as a journalist in Detroit, Russell moved to New York, where it took him months to find a newspaper job. Then, he quickly became one of the city's top reporters and by the 1890s had begun to work for a series of newspapers that included the *New York Herald* published by James Gordon Bennett and the *New York Journal* published by William Randolph Hearst. At the time he published his autobiography in 1914, Russell's newspaper career had spanned more than 25 years. During that time he held every job, from mailing clerk to publisher. His favorite job was city editor of a New York daily.

Salisbury, William Around the start of the twentieth century, Salisbury spent nine years working for newspapers in five cities and found it a disillusioning experience. Salisbury complained that originality and initiative were frowned upon, that reporters were exploited, and that newspapers were dominated by their business office. See: *The Career of a Journalist* by Salisbury. New York: B.W. Dodge & Company, 1908.

Scripps, Edward W. After beginning his newspaper career in Detroit, Edward W. Scripps established newspapers in Cleveland and Cincinnati then continued to expand. Scripps and his partners looked for growing industrial cities with little or weak competition, and established afternoon dailies that cost a penny and appealed to the cities' working people. Scripps' dailies were small, offering short but interesting stories and little advertising. Some historians consider Scripps the father of the modern media chain. He did not invent the idea, but may have been the first publisher in the United States to succeed at it. Scripps also established a news service, United Press. Born in 1858, Scripps died in 1926.

Sontheimer, Morton Entering the business when drunks were common and college graduates uncommon, Sontheimer, too, worked in several big cities, from Philadelphia to New York, and became an editor. See: *Newspaperman: A Book about the Business* by Sontheimer. New York: Whittlesey House, 1941.

Storke, Thomas M. After starting his journalistic career on Jan. 1, 1901, Thomas Storke published the same newspaper in his hometown, Santa Barbara, California, for more than half a century. At the age of 24, Storke borrowed \$2,000 to buy a dying daily with less than 200 paid subscribers. He had no previous newspaper experience and competed with two other dailies in Santa Barbara. During the Depression, he acquired the *Press* and later merged it with his *Daily News*, creating the *News-Press*.

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 35. Koenigsberg, *King News*, 204.
 36. J. W. Keller, "Journalism as a Career," *Forum*, August 1893, 701-702.
 37. Charles Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making* (NY: D. Appleton and Co., 1897), 80-81.
 38. Charles Clayton, *Little Mack: Joseph B. McCullagh of The St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 67.
 39. Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making*, 80-81.
 40. Homer King, *Pulitzer's Prize Editor* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1965), 75.
 41. Allen Churchill, *Park Row* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1958), 9; See also, King, *Pulitzer's Prize Editor*, 128-129.
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 43. E. W. Stephens, "The Newspaper Profession," *The Journalist*, 18 June 1892, 10-12.
 44. Kluger, *The Paper*, 182.
 45. Evelyn Wells, *Fremont Older* (NY: D. Appleton-Century Company Inc., 1936), 314.
 46. Katharine Graham, *Personal History* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 59-67.
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 48. T. F. Anderson, "Clarke on Journalism," *The Journalist*, 1 March 1889, 13.
 49. George Murray, *The Madhouse on Madison Street* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1965), 66-67.
 50. "By far most of the outright lies and flagrant inaccuracies in American newspapers appear in the advertising columns," Morton Sontheimer said. Morton Sontheimer, *Newspaperman: A Book about the Business* (NY: Whittlesey House, 1941), 298-301; See also, Thomas Storke and Walter Tompkins *California Editor*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Westernlore, 1958), 124-125; See also, DeLorme and Fedler, "An Historical Analysis of Journalists' Attitudes toward Advertisers and Advertising's Influence" 7-40.
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 52. Charles Warner, "The American Newspaper," *American Social Science Association* 14 (1881), 52-70.
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 65. H. R. Shattuck, "Reporters' Ethics," *The Writer* (March 1889): 57.
 66. "The Duty of the Press," *The New York Times*, 26 January 1897, 12; See also, "Ethics of Newspapers," *The New York Times*, 25 March 1897, 2; "Against Yellow Journalism," *The New York Times*, 16 June 1897, 3; John Ferre, "The Dubious Heritage of Media Ethics: Cause-and-Effect Criticism in the 1890s," *American Journalism* 5 (4, 1988): 191-203.
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 68. Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press*, 21.
 69. Murray, *The Madhouse on Madison Street*, 35-36 and 162-163; See also, Calkins, "Gnats and Camels: The Newspaper Dilemma," 3-4.
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 71. William Salisbury, *The Career of a Journalist* (NY: B.W. Dodge & Company, 1908), 517-524.
 72. Keller, "Journalism as a Career," 691.
 73. James Lee, *History of American Journalism* (N.Y.: The Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1923), 410-412.
 74. Edwin Slosson, "The Possibility of a University Newspaper," *The Independent*, 15 February 1912, 192.
 75. Lee, *History of American Journalism*, 408; See also, Hamilton Holt, "A Plan for an Endowed Journal," *The Independent*, 8 August 1912, 299-303.
 76. Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press*, 139; See also, Kluger, *The Paper*, 141.
 77. Edward Mitchell, *Memoirs of an Editor* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924): 228-229.
 78. Oliver Knight, ed. *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E.W. Scripps* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 207-210; See also, Oliver Knight, "Scripps and His Ad-less Newspaper," *The Day Book* *Journalism Quarterly* 41 (1964): 51-64.
 79. Lee, *History of American Journalism*, 409.
 80. Louis Kronenberger, *No Whippings, No Gold Watches: The Saga of a Writer and His Jobs* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 155-186; See also, Sontheimer, *Newspaperman*, 320-321.
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 82. Slosson, "The Possibility of a University Newspaper," 192.
 83. Levermore, "A Plea for Endowed Newspapers," 485-490.
 84. Edward Adams, "Limitations of Truth-Telling," *The Arena*, 20 (November/December 1898): 604-613.
 85. Murray, "An Endowed Press," 553-559.
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 88. "Ethics of Newspapers," 2.
 89. John Cockerill, "Some Phases of Contemporary Journalism," *Cosmopolitan*, October 1892, 697-700.
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 91. Adams, "Limitations of Truth-Telling," 604-613.
 92. Garnsey, "The Demand for Sensational Journals," 681-686.
 93. Warner, "The American Newspaper," 52-70.
 94. Holt, "A Plan for an Endowed Journal," 299-303.
 95. Adams, "Limitations of Truth-Telling," 604-613.
 96. Warner, "The American Newspaper," 52-70.
 97. Alleyne Ireland, *An Adventure with a Genius* (NY: Dutton, 1920): 115-116.
 98. Charles Chapin, city editor of Joseph Pulitzer's New York *Evening World*, wanted to make advertisers pay newspapers' increased costs. Chapin said his greatest regret was that publishers increased the price of their papers. "I believe in the one-cent newspaper that even the poorest can afford," Chapin said. "I believe in the widest possible circulation that newspapers can attain....Make the advertiser pay! Let the poor read!" Charles Chapin, *Charles Chapin's Story* (NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 263-264.
 99. Louis Kirby, *Fourscore Breathless Years* (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1951), 86-87 and 306-307.
 100. "New Papers and New Men," *The Journalist*, 16 April 1887, 8.

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101. Murray, *The Madhouse on Madison Street*, 66-67.
 102. King, *Pulitzer's Prize Editor*, 132.
 103. Warner, "The American Newspaper," 52-70.