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History of the Milwaukee Sentinel, 1901 to 1936

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HISTORY OF THE MILWAUKEE SENTINEL 1901 to 1936

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Olive H. Cook

particularly those in the colinical field.

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty
of the
College of Journalism, Marquette University,
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the
Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May, 1937

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to present a history of the <u>Milwaukee Sentinel</u>. Inasmuch as this newspaper is nearing its hundredth birthday, the history will be traced only from 1901, at which time it was purchased by Charles F. Pfister, to the end of 1936.

An attempt will be made to present the general changes effected from time to time in the content, appearance, ownership and management of the <u>Sentinel</u> and its policies, particularly those in the political field.

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Little has been done to trace the history of the Sentinel prior to this writing. In 1922 the S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago-Milwaukee, published a History of Milwaukee edited by William George Bruce. The first volume of this history includes six pages concerned with the history of the Milwaukee Sentinel, four of which are devoted to the years previous to the twentieth century. The remainder presents changes in ownership and staff, and a few dates of alterations in the paper, such as the inauguration of an afternoon edition, up to the year of 1917.

In that year an anniversary edition of the <u>Sentinel</u> was published which offered in some detail the early history of the paper and only such mention of the recent years as was presented by Bruce's history.

The writer assembled what data she could from these sources. To that she added the dates of various political campaigns and issues and of history-making events or eras. With the sketchy, chronological outline thus formed she examined the newspapers from the Milwaukee Sentinel files of those approximate dates, noting changes in the paper itself and studying the editorial columns for its policies.

That portion of the thesis concerned with the political stands of the <u>Sentinel</u> under the ownership and management of Paul Block may appear to be more complete and detailed than others. This is due to the fact that editorials

signed by Mr. Block frequently appear in the Sentinel, which editorials are to be found in the clipping files of the Milwaukee Sentinel-Wisconsin News reference room listed under his name. Hence the writer was better able to study Mr. Block's stands - which are the Sentinel's stands - on political and non-political issues than those of previous publishers and editors.

The writer found considerable difficulty in tracing completely the changes in ownership and management of the Sentinel. It is certain that in 1924 Charles Pfister sold the paper, but there seemingly is no proof as to the true identity of the purchaser. Only conflicting reports are available, which evidence will be presented in the body of this thesis.

There are gaps in the lines of executives. There is, for instance, a period of 16 years (from 1908 to 1924) during which there was apparently no publisher. Such omissions the writer covered as best she could by interviewing present executives. Hence some of the material concerning the personnel of the newspaper will be approximations as conceived by the memories of these men. Also dependent upon memory are the facts concerning a partial merger of the Milwaukee-Sentinel and the Wisconsin News in 1930, of which the only definite record available was that of the date.

Such is the scant and scattered material the writer found. It is hoped that from it can be formed an approximate if not a complete history of the Milwaukee Sentinel.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At this time the writer wishes to express appreciation to those without whose aid this thesis could not have been written:

To the late Dr. Maynard W. Brown, who made initial suggestions, and to Earl Huth who read and corrected the first draft.

To William A. Norris, political writer for the Milwaukee Sentinel - at the present engaged in preparing the centenial edition of the Milwaukee Sentinel - who indicated sources, straightened tangled facts and political issues for the writer and patiently answered questions on varied subjects from time to time.

Sentinel-Wisconsin News reference room, who made available the Sentinel files and who - with his assistants, Clement D. O'Rourke and Theodore J. Kryszak - answered questions, indicated sources and hunted isolated clippings and facts which aided immeasurably in tying up certain portions of this history.

To George Lounsbury, assistant editor of the <u>Sentinel</u>, who filled in gaps of the personnel records. To Dayton Johnston, promotion manager of the <u>Sentinel</u>, for the same service and for supplying information concerned with the circulation and distribution of the <u>Sentinel</u> as well as for answering

various unrelated questions.

And to Bernice Young, a fellow student, who offered many suggestions and who read or listened to various portions of the thesis about which the writer was uncertain.

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- 2. Editor and Publisher International Year Books
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 New York, N.Y.
- 3. Interview William A. Norris, political writer of the <u>Sentinel</u>, at present engaged in preparing the centenial edition of the <u>Sentinel</u>: concerning the history itself and various political campaigns in which the <u>Sentinel</u> was active.
- 4. Interview Dayton Johnston, promotion manager of the Sentinel: concerning the circulation, distribution and personnel of the paper and the partial merger of the Sentinel and the Wisconsin-News in 1930.
- 5. Interview George Lounsbury, assistant editor of the <u>Sentinel</u>: concerning the personnel.

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6. Interview - George B. Moffett - circulation manager of the Sentinel: concerning the circulation.

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THE SENTINEL UNDER CHARLES PFISTER 1901 to 1924

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Chapter I

THE SENTINEL IN 1901

The Milwaukee Sentinel is the oldest daily newspaper in Milwaukee and was founded in 1837 by Solomon Juneau. first white settler and the first mayor of the incorporated City of Milwaukee. 2The early history of this paper which began as a small five-column sheet includes a number of names such as those of Jason Downer. Rufus King. Horace W. Rublee and Lucius W. Nieman.

On February 18, 1901, the Sentinel, housed at the corner of Mason and Broadway streets, was purchased by Charles F. Pfister, one of Milwaukee's leading citizens. The only message concerning the change, which was given to the public, appeared the following day in a brief editorial announcement and pledge in the Sentinel. Under the title. The Sentinel Platform, the announcement read:

> 4"The Sentinel today is issued under the auspices of a new ownership and management.

"It will be its policy to provide its readers, at whatever cost, with the news.

"It will be a Republican newspaper. "It will do what it can to prevent factional divisions in the partyl or in the community.

"It will criticize, as the public interest may seem to require, men and measures without fear or favor.

^{1.} Bruce, W.G., History of Milwaukee; Milwaukee, Wis., 1922;
Vol. I, p. 711.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 711-716. 3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 715.

^{4.} Sentinel files: February 19, 1901, p. 4.

"It will endeavor to be just to its political opponents and courageous in its criticism, if such there shall be, of other newspapers.

"It will do its utmost to develop
the material and other interests of

this commonwealth.

BERTE .

"It will advocate justice to the people and justice to capital, corporate or otherwise.

"It will not be the organ of any person or of any faction, political or otherwise.

"It does not propose to be in any wise sensational.

"It will not criticize individuals unjustly because connected with corporate interests, nor will it attack corporate interests because of any dislike of individuals connected with them.

"It will not permit itself to be made in any way the vehicle of any man's spite or spleen, or the mere instrument

of any man's personal ambition.

"It will not assume to be infallible, or that it is the embodiment of all the wisdom, intelligence, and honesty in the community, or that all who disagree with it are actuated by unworthy or corrupt motives.

"In short, it will seek to be a fearless, fair, Republican newspaper, serving
the best interests of its party and the
state, helping to build up the commercial
interests of every nature, and adhering
to this purpose; it hopes to secure the
commendations and confidence of an ever
increasing constituency."

Upon purchasing the paper ⁵Pfister made Lansing
Warren, an able newspaperman from Chicago, publisher of the
paper; George H. Clement, managing editor, and placed Edgar
T. Wheelock at the head of a large staff of editorial writers.
Warren succumbed to typhoid fever in the summer of 1901 and

^{5.}Bruce; op. cit., p. 715.

was succeeded by Clement. W.J. Kuecker was made business manager and M.C. Douglas managing editor.

The content of the <u>Sentinel</u> in 1901, was much as it is today with the interest in the news columns centered in political and economical issues and crimes. Though divorces were not as common as today, even they were given space in the news. There were frequent fillers, items and short stories clipped from other publications. The editorial page contained from two to three columns of editorials, letters to the editor, jokes and some news. Society items in the dailies occupied only a partial column as did sports-events. The markets and finance and the field of real estate were given an average of four columns each.

The <u>Sunday Sentinel</u> consisted of three sections.

The first contained news stories and two or three book reviews with a column of society news on the last page. Section two also included news as well as the editorial page, two to three columns of sports under a common head and a full page of classified advertisements. The last section was given over to features on such subjects as travel, education and social projects; theatrical and musical items and a woman's page of fashion and food notes and fiction.

There were no startling heads in the columns of the Sentinel at that time. The largest were always at the top of the page - and only on page 1. Those beneath were of two

^{6.} Sentinel files; January and February, 1901.

sizes only, and very small. Notable was the practice of placing several similar headlines at the top of adjacent columns. Only one-column heads were used. The front page was always well balanced and frequently perfectly balanced. Frequently stories were run to the top of a second column with heither picture nor headline to separate it from the name plate. None were run over to another page.

Few pictures were used in these early issues. Those which appeared were small, usually only one column, and almost invariably portraits. Though the Sunday sports columns were sometimes accompanied by pictures, there was a total absence of action.

The first sign of change in the paper itself to follow that in ownership and management appeared in March. The old name plate printed in Old English type was abandoned for the plainer and more modern Goudy used today. The head-lines which previously had been set in Gothic capital letters were changed to Cheltenham and both cases were used. The new page presented a more modern and less monotonous appearance. There were seven columns $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

It was at this time that the practice of running stories over to another page was begun in the <u>Sentinel</u>. In the Sunday issues was inaugurated a page entitled <u>Our Young Folks' Page</u>, profusely illustrated and offering stories, riddles and games to the children.

^{7.} Sentinel files; March, 1901.

80n March 20 was published a statement naming the Milwaukee Sentinel the only newspaper in Wisconsin receiving the news service of the New York Service over a special leased wire and the complete double report of the Associated Press.

prganised. The paper consisted of four sections; a news |

mention; a four page sports sheet, an suitorial section and a

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Dentinel files, June 5, 1907; p. 44

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^{8.} Sentinel files; March 20, 1901; p. 1.

Chapter II THE SENTINEL 1901 TO 1914

George Clement retired as publisher of the Sentinel in 1903. Shortly thereafter John L. Foley became business manager of the paper. There is no record of an immediate successor to Clement.

2In 1904 the Sunday issues were enlarged and reorganized. The paper consisted of four sections: a news section, a four page sports sheet, an editorial section and a magazine section. The magazine included stories, features. fashion notes and four pages of comics. The number of daily sports columns was increased to five. They included notes on racing, baseball, bowling, sharpshooting, boxing and golf. Baseball news was increased and the whist column which appeared in the earlier paper was dropped.

3 During the financial panic of 1907 the Sentinel ran a Money and Markets column on the editorial page commenting on the New York Bank statements and concerned with crops. railroads, and supply and demand of gold in the United States and the scarcity of money.

Interesting to note is the paper's attitude toward flowery newspaper writing as it was revealed in 4an editorial reacting to conflicting reports of a criminal trial.

^{1.} Bruce, W.G.; History of Milwaukee; Milwaukee, Wis.; 1922; Vol. I, p. 715.

^{2.} Sentinel files; October and November, 1904.
3. Sentinel files; April, May and June, 1907.
4. Sentinel files; June 5, 1907; p. 4.

"It might be well for some 'picturesque' special writers employed by the press to furnish their general public with impressionist pen pictures of the court room proceedings at Boise to compare notes before dispatching their graphic copy to their respective papers. Otherwise, as is already evident, ludicrous discrepancies and contradictions are going to crop out in the published results of their labors inviting comparisons not favorable to the descriptive honesty of their word pictures.

"The correspondent at Boise who eschews slush, bridles his fancy, gets above his prejudices, sticks to facts and furnishes his employers with plain, honest court reporting, will render truth and justice a service that the public will learn to recognize and appreciate long before the trial is over."

5In 1908 Douglas retired as managing editor and was succeeded by John Poppendieck, Jr. who for many years had been city editor and assistant managing editor of the paper. He held the position until his resignation ⁶in 1922. At the same time ⁷Edward G. Johnson became editor. When Foley retired three years later Johnson added to his responsibilities those of business manager. Johnson had been an editorial writer for the Sentinel since 1901.

There was a considerable change in both the content and the general appearance of the paper during this year. ⁸In the fall were inaugurated two Sunday supplements. The first, the Magazine of the Sunday Sentinel, resembled a minature Saturday Evening Post, of tabloid size and offering a number of stories, state and local features and pictures. The other

^{5.} Bruce, op. cit.; p. 715.

^{6.} Sentinel clipping files; Roppendieck, John Jr.; November 23,

^{7.} Bruce, op. cit.; p. 715.

^{8.} Sentinel files; October and November, 1908.

made its appearance October 4 with the announcement that.

9"Beginning with this morning the Sentinel will each Sunday present its readers with a sheet of music containing the words and music of the song hit of some recent Broadway success."

As well as these additional supplements a woman's section and one of special features were added to the Sunday issues.

10An increased interest in real estate is seen at this time with articles on the subject as well as large advertisements which appear for the first time. The paper became more lively with an increased amount of pictures and cartoons. The first page was made less monotonous with shorter items, two and three column heads, pictures and sketches at the top and off-center to the right and with blacker headlines.

The following year, 1909, the <u>Sentinel</u> became an All-Day-newspaper issuing both morning and afternoon editions. The inauguration was preceded by the following announcement.

Sentinel will become an All-Day newspaper. Beginning on that date the Sentinel company will keep its entire plant in operation the full 24 hours of every week day, supplementing the morning edition now published with and afternoon edition. . . . Every edition will be a complete paper of all the news for the past 24 hours.

"General growth and prosperity mean larger needs along all lines. It is the policy of the Sentinel to keep pace with

these needs.

^{9.} Sentinel files; October 4, 1908; Cover of the supplement.

^{10.} Sentinel files; October and November, 1908.
11. Sentinel files; February 16, 1909; p. 2.

"All Milwaukee papers now operate their plants about ten hours a day. As a consequence the early editions of the papers are incomplete, since the early part of the working day must necessarily be devoted to catching up with the news and produce a complete and up to the minute newspaper with every edition. . . .

"The people in the state will get as complete a newspaper as those in the city, which has never been possible up to the

present time.

"The morning editions of the Sentinel will be strengthened and increased in size. The Sentinel's complete Associated Press service, its special correspondents at Washington and Madison and throughout the state and its increased local staff will keep it in its high place among the influential metropolitan newspapers of the country.

"The afternoon editions will contain a full United States report and a complete state and Washington news service, while their superior local news will keep the readers fully informed on city events. The sporting page will be the most complete in

the city.

"The afternoon issue will make a specialty of providing its readers with the best feature matter which will interest, entertain and instruct. It will be ahome paper in every sense of the word, prepared with a thought for the boy and girl as well as for the man and woman, and it will be the Sentinel's aim to make it a paper which will be read with pleasure by every member of the family. The price of the morning editions will continue at two cents a copy; the afternoon editions will be one cent a copy."

The Afternoon Sentinel proved to be just that more of a home paper. 12 There were a number of comics and
features for children scattered throughout the paper; more
of style and home interest for the women and more sport and
financial news for the men. The afternoon paper was more

^{12.} Sentinel files; March, 1909; A.M. and P.M.

lively in appearance, the front page more cut up and the entire paper more profusely illustrated than the morning paper. The former appeared in one twelve-page section and the latter in two sections totaling about twenty pages.

to be found in the advertising. Formerly there was no apparent system or plan for placing the advertisements.

13They were scattered here and there among the news items on every page but the first. It was not uncommon to run an advertisement with an ordinary headline making it necessary to read the beginning in order to differentiate between the news and the advertising. Identifying advertisements as paid advertisements was not required as at the present time. A great proportion of the advertising consisted of testimonials for various cure-all patent medicines. 14In 1912 the advertisements appeared in a more orderly fashion showing a tendency to group them in some one section of a page. In other respects the general appearance of the paper was unchanged.

It was during this year that two more Sunday supplements were added; one for boys and girls offering stories, pictures and features and the other a joke book, both of which were of tabloid size. The music supplement had been dropped but the magazine supplement was continued.

^{13.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1901 to 1910.
14. Sentinel files; October, November and December, 1912.

Chapter III

POLITICAL STANDS OF THE SENTINEL

1901 TO 1914

When Charles Pfister purchased the Sentinel in 1901 the platform which the paper printed declared that,

l"It will be a Republican paper."

That the <u>Sentinel</u> adhered to this manifestation is evident upon observing the editorial columns from time to time. Indicative of the republican stand and of a leaning toward the conservative element of the party is the following quotation from an editorial printed the day of William McKinley's inauguration as president of the United States in 1901.

2"Commencing a new term President
McKinley will keep the promises made for
him this time as he kept the pledges made
to the people in 1896. The honor of the
nation is in safe hands, our national
obligations will be redeemed, business
interests will be safeguarded so far as
it lies within the power of the executive
to exert an influence and conservatism
will not be replaced by extravagant excursions into the realm of the unknown."

And that the <u>Sentinel</u> had approved of Theodore Roosevelt as McKinley's successor upon the latter's death only a few months after the beginning of his second term was evinced by the paper's backing Roosevelt as candidate for presidency in the campaign of 1904. An editorial the day

^{1.} Sentinel files; February 19, 1901; p. 4. 2. Sentinel files; March 4, 1901; p. 4.

after his voctory over William Jennings Bryan was made known, reads:

3"The magnificent victory is a great and conclusive endorsement of the new national policies initiated under Mr. McKinley's administration and loyally carried forward by his successor. There will be no turning back of the hands of the clock, no shirking of new responsibilities, no policy of sneak and scuttle."

In the next campaign, that of 1908, the <u>Sentinel</u> again advocated the election of a republican candidate for presidency, William H. Taft.

The platform printed in 1901 by the <u>Sentinel</u> also stated that:

4"It will do what it can to prevent factional divisions in the party."

And this it did by supporting Taft wholeheartedly in the campaign of 1912. As was mentioned above, the paper was republican, but showed a definite leaning toward the conservative element. Roosevelt, during his administration, antagonized his party by causing himself to be classed more and more definitely with the progressive element of the party. In 1908 he had strongly favored the nomination of his successor, but in the next election came out against him, became a candidate for the nomination and was enthusiastically supported by a large portion of the party. When Taft and James S. Sherman were nominated over the vehement

^{3.} Sentinel files; November 10, 1904; p. 4. 4. Sentinel files; February 19, 1901; p. 4.

who were already calling themselves Progressives met in convention and nominated Roosevelt and Hiram W. Johnson. The <u>Sentinel</u> gave its support to Taft. As Roosevelt had led the group which caused the split of the republicans, the party itself and hence the <u>Sentinel</u> placed the blame for Woodrow Wilson's defeat of Taft upon him. An editorial the day following that of the election read:

5 MAS a republican paper the Sentinel regards with sincere regret the defeat of Mr. Taft for the deserved customary honor of a second term through a complication of adverse circumstances and for which he is not chargeable with responsibility.

"Assthe chief author of this result
Mr. Roosevelt may derive satisfaction from
the overthrow of his party and the defeat
of his former friend......

"Governor Wilson has made a clean, honorable and dignified campaign, As president elect of all the people, chosen decisively by the people, we heartily wish him well."

In addition to the news and editorial columns in the Sentinel during the campaigns there frequently appeared political items which were strictly neither news nor editorials.

6In 1904, throughout October and early November the editorial column was headed by reports of the republican committee.

The same year the paper sponsored a contest offering \$25,000 to be distributed among those persons who submitted the nearest correct estimate on the total number of votes for president.

6. Sentinel files; October, November, 1904.

^{5.} Sentinel files; November 6, 1912, A.M.; p. 10.

⁷During the weeks immediately preceeding the election of 1912 the paper ran a series of articles by Frederick J. Haskin, each of which described a previous presidential campaign and election. The series was concluded with a forecast of the results of the current election - from the republican angle.

Theodore Roosevelt was not the only former republican turned progressive whom the <u>Sentinel</u> fought. It was at the beginning of the century when Robert M. La Follete sat in the governor's chair at Madison that he became too progressive for the approval of the conservative republicans. It was then that the paper began an active protest against him and his principles. The biting tone of the editorials written about him is to be seen in one which appeared during the campaign of 1904.

8"If his sincerity is granted it follows naturally that he is of unsound mind. The only escape from this conclusion is to accept the belief that he is in full possession of his mental faculties and that his every word and act is deliberately designed to the attainment of a particular end without regard to its truth or untruth."

The <u>Sentinel</u> issued a last appeal on the morning of the election that year in which La Follette was running for governor, saying:

9"The Sentinel, a republican paper that consistently and persistently has labored for the advancement of republican principles, appeals to the voters of

^{7.} Sentinel files; October, November, 1912, A.M.

^{8.} Sentinel files; October 6, 1904; p. 4.
9. Sentinel files; November 8, 1904; p. 4.

Wisconsin today, to defeat Governor Robert M. La Follette and the candidates running on the state ticket with him."

The pride which the republican party possesses of its political strength in Wisconsin is exampled by the following excerpt from the editorial columns of the <u>Sentinel</u> in the campaign of 1908.

10"Now, two weeks before the election democracy is ready to throw up its hands and quit. Wisconsin is no longer doubtful. There never ought to have been the slightest doubt about Wisconsin. She is rock-rooted in her loyalty to the principles of republicanism. She will give a good account of herself on November 3."

The conservative <u>Sentinel</u> made a strenuous attack on the socialistic element in Milwaukee. Victor Berger, prominent and active socialist in the early century, sat in the state congress from 1911 to 1913, the first socialist to do so. The <u>Sentinel's</u> attitude toward him and his party is revealed by an editorial written in the fall of 1912 between the primary and the general elections.

Press notes that the Hon. Victor Berger in his campaign booklet of press extracts quotes from the Sentinel a courteous reference to himself on the day after his election (primary).

"The Sentinel was not alone in that course of good losership. Mr. Berger likewise quotes similar post-

^{10.} Sentinel files; October 20, 1908; p. 4.
11. Sentinel files; October 20, 1912, A.M.; p. 6.

election compliments of the occasion from our local anti-socialist contemporaries, the <u>Evening Wisconsin</u>, the Daily News and the Journal.

"Our morning neighbor ironically wants to know whether we have been disappointed in the quality of service rendered by Mr. Berger in congress.

"Well, on the whole, Mr. Berger has done about as well as could be expected from a socialist. We will go further and say that in the matter of bilious and incendiary talk Mr. Berger has done better than might have been expected from a socialist.

"Aside from his socialism, there is one fatal flaw in Mr. Berger's politics in congress. To illustrate, we quote from a supposed tribute furnished by Mr. Berger in his fragrant handbook:

"'Mr. Berger is correct when he says that nowhere else in the world is labor so insulted as it is here by this claim that protection benefits the toiling masses. The workingmen of America were fooled for some time by this plea, but they are wiser now.'

"After that we guess the republican fifth district will return to its former commendable habit of sending a reliable protectionist to congress."

The paper's attitude toward labor is indicated by an editorial concerned with a strike in which 250 men walked out because they were not permitted to have beer in the shops during working hours. It shows a leaning toward labor, but recommends more calm and sensible means of the class's gaining its objectives.

12"It seems incredible that the leaders should be so short sighted as to counsel a strike for such a reason.

^{12.} Sentinel files; June 3, 1907; p. 4.

"A strike based upon such grounds finds no support whatever amongst the people and it is not entitled to the support of public opinion or the help of other unions.

"No strike has been successful when not backed by public opinion and in the vast majority of cases in order to receive the benefit of public approval strikes must be based upon some sound reason.

"It is just such fool strikes that bring the whole labor movement into disrepute. It is the causeless, senseless walkout which arises public condemnation and results, and always will result, in losing a strike....

"If the labor unions expect to accomplish anything for their own good they cannot get very far if they count-

enance such a proceeding."

Chapter IV

THE WAR AND POST WAR ERAS

The world war seemingly effected a great change in the makeup of the front page of the <u>Sentinel</u>. Immediately upon the mobilization of the Serbian army the paper began to employ larger and blacker banners and spread heads, more pictures, maps and cartoons and printed daily bulletins of the military and political events and developments concerned with the war. The general make-up remained the same throughout the war and post war periods.

An announcement was printed in the afternoon edition of the Sentinel October 29, 1917, informing the readers that,

2"Beginning next Thursday, November first, the <u>Sentinel</u> will have the greatest news service west of New York.

"The <u>Sentinel</u> will then commence

"The Sentinel will then commence the operation of an exclusive, leased wire direct from the New York Times office in New York to the Sentinel office in Milwaukee.

"The New York Times has the most complete cable service of any newspaper in the world. The New York Times maintains bureaus in London, Paris, The Hague, Stockhomm and Rome and has special staff correspondents at all the battle fronts of Europe and also at Berlin and Vienna. The New York Times has eight trained newspaper correspondents at Washington. "In addition the Philadelphia North

"In addition the Philadelphia North American's special correspondent at the Western front will tell the Sentinel readers about the great war struggle.

^{1.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1913 to 1919.
2. Sentinel files; October 29, 1917, P.M.; p. 2.

"The Sentinel has also perfected arrangements with Underwood and Underwood and the International Film Service, both of New York, the greatest photographic news services in the world, for their unexcelled photo news services."

Also announced was the replacement of the afternoon edition by an <u>Evening Sentinel</u> to take effect the same day, which edition would have exclusive features, illustrations, comics and a specially prepared editorial page. The price of the evening paper would be one cent and the morning paper would continue to be sold at two cents a copy.

vertisements increased both in size and number as did automobile ads and news. The general appearance of the inner
pages changed little. At the time of the influenza epidemic
in 1918 the columns of the front page were shortened and the
name-plate moved down to make room for regulations, orders
and warnings of the health department.

A fire which damaged a number of buildings in the neighborhood of the <u>Sentinel's</u> Mason street building during the night of October 14, 1918, destroyed part of the paper's home. The following morning the Sentinel subscribers read:

Sentinel is issued under extreme difficulties owing to damage to the Sentinel building by fire which for a time Monday night threatened to sweep before it all the property in the block bounded by Wisconsin and Mason streets and E. Water street and Broadway.

^{3.} Sentinel files; October 15, 1918, A.M.; p. 1.

"Members of the Sentinel staff and men in the mechanical departments remained at their posts until they were driven from the building by flames, smoke and streams of water.

workers were driven out of the building the Milwaukee Journal company
kindly turned over its plant for this
edition of the Sentinel, and the entire
Journal organization rendered every
assistance possible.

"Editor Arthur Brisbane also generously offered the use of the

Evening Wisconsin plant.

"The Sentinel editors and reporters moved into the editorial room of the Journal and the Sentinel telegraph wires were hooked into the Journal office.

"If this edition of the Sentinel does not measure up to the usual standard it is because it was prepared and printed under handicaps.

"We ask our readers to be patient until the fire damage is remedied.

"The fire hit the south side of the Sentinel building with full force and for a time it seemed that the building was doomed.

"The roof was damaged and flames swept through the composing room on the ninth floor.

"Water was poured in and flooded the building from the ninth floor to the basement where the presses are located.

"This edition contains several pages which appeared in Monday's Evening Sentinel due to difficulties occasioned by the fire."

The Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning editions of the paper were edited and the type set in its own building and printed on the <u>Journal</u> presses. Thursday, though repair work was not completed, the <u>Sentinel</u> was printed in its home.

When President Wilson published a plea at the opening

of the war asking American citizens to keep their heads, the Sentinel replied with an editorial.

4"Our worthy president need be under no apprehension that our people are going to loose their heads. Why should they? We don't mean to be flippant, but the cold fact is that the baseball score board continues to be the real center of excited interest."

A month later the <u>Sentinel</u> urged maintenance of neutrality in the editorial columns saying,

States can render to the combatants in Europe collectively and to civilization is to preserve an attitude of benevolent neutrality in word and deed, so that all may trust us as the intermediary for peace when the time comes. We have a rarely cool, steady, sagacious, firm and fair pilot at the helm in Washington for just such a bit of difficult and ticklish sailing, and it should be a pleasure for every candid and patriotic republican to say that."

But that tone of benevolence toward the quarreling countries was dropped before 1919 when a <u>Sentinel</u> editorial concerning Wilson's activity in the peace conference said that many thought he should return home and let Europe settle its own questions.

"Something in that, too,
"And why apply it to Mr. Wilson
personally? Why not say that Uncle
Sam ought to pull out of this strictly

^{4.} Sentinel files; August 4, 1914, A.M.; p. 4. 5. Sentinel files; September 26, 1914, A.M.; p. 4.

^{6.} Sentinel files; April 26, 1919, P.M.; p. 6.

European mess of settling questions.

"What the deuce have we to do,
for instance, with who gets Fiume;
or what disposition is to be made of
the Dobrudja; or who is to be guardian
ad litem of the Ahkoond of Swat?"

Though the <u>Sentinel</u> was a republican newspaper it advocated a war tax under the democratic administration to be employed with economy.

7"The democrats have evidently made a mess of it with their tariff and their income tax in the matter of revenue and if an extra tax is necessary to recoup and fortify the treasury, it will have to be submitted to."

In April, 1917, President Wilson went before congress and advised that congress declare the recent course of the German government to be nothing less than war against the government of the United States. War was formally declared April 6 on which day the <u>Sentinel</u> published an editorial of a resigned tone saying:

*"The bitter truth so often controverted by the philosophy of our pacifist friends, that war is a never impossible calamity which may befall the most pacific and least aggressive of nations, finds its strongest proof in the fact that the United States is at war with Germany

"The United States has literally been dragged into this melee by events over which it had no control.

"But war has come to us and we must

"No half measures. We are sorry we are in for it, but now that we are in for it, we must go in for all we are worth and on the theory that it will be a long and

^{7.} Sentinel files; September 26, 1914, A.M.; .p. 6. 8. Sentinel files; April 6, 1917, A.M.; p. 6.

hard war, not a short and easy one. . .

"It is an ugly and hateful prospect and we fail to see that platitudes about democracy help it much. The United States is about in the predicament of a peaceful wayfarer who is suddenly entangled in a drunken street brawl and is forced to fight his way out. Never was a nation more out-rageously affronted and put upon than the United States has been for the last two years by these European governments. .

"Let our objective be to quicken

"Let our objective be to quicken the approach of a peace which shall be fair to all the peoples, whatever may befall their guilty governments."

During the autumn of 1918 the Allies drove back their enemy until defeat stared them in the face. They applied for an armistice and on November 11 hostilities came to an end, the terms of the Allies having been accepted. Over these terms a <u>Sentinel</u> editorial writer reasoned:

9"The armistice terms are terribly stiff, but no more so than the situation and from the 'safety first' principle requires, nor than Germany should in reason have expected.

"They may be and justly are stern and humiliating, But when did her government spare an enemy harshness and humiliation?

"She has made her bed, so must she

"The terms are meant to bind German militarism, hand and foot. For the final peace terms to be negotiated with the new democratized German government, the future will speak.

"Democracies will not strangle at birth a new and perhaps promising democracy.

"We fought this war not only to make the world safe for democracy but to encourage honest seekers of democracy; to

^{9.} Sentinel files; November 12, 1918, A.M.; p. 8.

make democracy safe for nations that essay it. For the final peace terms President Wilson's words are significant:

"'Everything for which America fought has been accomplished.

"It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober, friendly counsel and by material aid, in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world.'"

Soon after the armistice it was surmised by many that Wilson himself would cross the Atlantic to attend the peace conference, ¹⁰which proposal the <u>Sentinel</u> opposed strenuously in the editorial columns feeling that it would take him out of the country too long and suggesting republican former Justice Hughes as the leader for the commission. When the president announced his intention to go a few days later, a whimsical editorial was printed in the <u>Sentinel</u> reluctantly accepting the decision.

11"President Wilson has made an appointment extraordinary.

"Having carefully surveyed the field held for the transcendently qualified to present to the peace conference the American fundamentals of discussion for the final treaty, and failing to discover that paragon, he has cut the Gordian knot by appointing himself.

"Under the constitution, the president has the power of appointment of ambassadors and other public ministers of quasi-diplomatic character.

"Whether the power of self-appointment is included is not clear

¹⁰¹ Sentinel files, November 15, 1918, A.M., p. 6.
11. Sentinel files, November 20, 1918, A.M.; p. 6.

"But while the <u>Sentinel</u> was one of the papers that <u>disfavored</u> the proposal that Mr. Wilson drop pro tem his presidential duties and absent himself from the country, it is hoped that, now the adventure is determined upon, the senate will not prove refractory and precipitate a row that would turn the sublime into the ridiculous and detract greatly from the dignity of Mr. Wilson's self-alloted role in the great international spectacle shortly to be staged.

"So it appears to be the sensible part of former objectors to acquiesce, and to hope for a prosperous and dignified issue of the voyage of the new Jason

and his argonauts."

The Treaty of Peace with Germany was presented to the delegates of that country in the spring of 1919 and accepted. It was presented to the Senate and defeated in November in the form of the Lodge ratification resolution. An editorial writer of the <u>Sentinel</u> on November 21, deplored the fact that politics must enter into the acceptance of a peace treaty.

12" The Lodge ratification resolution was defeated by a majority vote. What stood in the way of ratification was failure to agree on wording reservations.

"The administration was unwilling to accept reservations so worded that the political advantage might seem to rest with the other side.

"Rather than incur the claim that the opposite side had got rather the better of the parliamentary sparring over the wording of the reservations, the administration forces (gleefully assisted by their bitterest opponents who wanted the treaty killed outright) killed the ratification resolution.

"One of the president's soundest supporters declares this gumming up of the peace treaty is the result of the

^{12.} Sentinel files; November 21, 1919, A.M.; p. 6.

Lodge policy of 'Rule or ruin'. Substituting 'Wilson' for 'Lodge' in that diagnosis it is fairly correct."

13Throughout this period the <u>Sentinel</u> had maintained the same general make-up, but at its close a few changes were made. The columns were reduced from $2l\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 20. The type of the main headlines was reduced to condensed American News Gothic. The advertising appeared in more orderly arrangements than formerly and included a great many institutional advertisements which early issues had not.

14 In 1921 George Lounsbury succeeded Edward Johnson as editor of the Sentinel. ¹⁵For more than a score of years Johnson had been chief editorial writer for the paper. Upon his death a Journal writer said of him,

"A forceful and vigorous writer,
he became a national figure in the
newspaper world.
"He was an ardent republican,
but he had independent political views
that gave outstanding strength to his
editorials."

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Then he saviet and wandtioned the

^{13.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1920-1924.

^{14.} Bruce, op. cit.; p. 715.
15. Sentinel clipping files; Johnson, Edward G., the Milwaukee Journal, September 28, 1934.

Chapter V

POLITICAL STANDS DURING

THE WAR AND POST WAR ERAS

The attitude with which the <u>Sentinel</u>, a republican paper, viewed Wilson, a democratic president, immediately before the war is well summed up in an editorial in which the writer describes him as being a "trifle peculiar".

landmitting the president means well, is it not true that he is a trifle peculiar? When he insisted on reading his messages instead of sending them to the clerk of the House of Representatives to be read by him as other presidents had done for a hundred years and more, he meant well, but was he not a trifle peculiar?

"When he ignored the precedents and undertook to regulate Mexican politics and to aid the constitutionalists to prosecute their bloody schemes to overthrow the de facto government and got himself into very serious trouble, he meant well, but wasn't he a trifle peculiar?

"When he called a crowd of admirers around him to see him use four pens to sign his name to a law for expanding imports and depriving American laborers of employment and compelling factories and workshops to shut down or run on short time, he meant well, but wasn't he a trifle peculiar?

"When he surveyed the great fields of American enterprise and activity and observed the widespread stagnation of business which began after the election of 1912 and attributed it to 'psychology', he meant well, but wasn't he a trifle peculiar?

"When he advised and sanctioned the placing of certain classes of citizens above the law for political purposes, thus, for the

^{1.} Sentinel files; July 5, 1914, A.M.; p. 4.

first time in our history trampling on the doctrine of equality before the lad, he meant well, but wasn't he a trifle peculiar?

"When he entered into a treaty with Columbia to pay the government \$25,000,000 with an apology for not submitting to her demand for \$40,000,000 when the scheme for the great canal was under consideration, he meant well, but wasn't he a trifle peculiar?

"But between us and our readers, wouldn't we all like to see a man in the White House with fewer peculiarities?"

The tone of the editorials on Wilson throughout the years of the war varied. In Chapter IV of this thesis is an excerpt approving of his stand of neutrality in the fall of 1914 as preparation for mediation at the close of the war and praising him as,

"....a rarely cool, steady, sagacious, firm and fair pilot at the helm in Washington for just such a bit of difficult and ticklish sailing."

Then in the campaign of 1916, in reference to him as the democratic candidate for the presidency a <u>Sentinel</u> editorial reads,

2"Mr. Wilson has made his record and the question is, do the people want four wears more of it.

want four wears more of it.

"Do they want a democratic congress and a democratic executive to deal with the great problems which will confront us at the time of the close of the war?

"Do they desire that our markets shall be made the dumping ground for the accumulated products of cheap labor when the war ends?

^{2.} Sentinel files; October 14, 1916, A.M.; p. 6.

"Do they want Wilson in the White House when another strike comes, as it is sure to come if he is re-elected?

"Do they want the president's Mexican policy to run through another term?

"We answer no, a thousand times no! If President Wilson and his pigmy cabinet are entitled to anything at the hands of our citizens, it is - rest, and relegation to the cool, sequestered shades of private life."

Also during this campaign, the paper says of his advocacy of the child labor law,

3"Senator Cummins says the federal law for the regulation of child labor is a credit to President Wilson.

"That federal child labow law is a law for political effect that barely scratches the surface of child labor abuses.

"It is notoriously in southern states under democratic control that the worst abuses of child labor flourish rankly and it is up to those states to smash those abuses by state laws honestly enforced as was done in New York when Mr. Hughes (republican candidate) was governor of that state."

Theodore Roosevelt had fallen from the good graces of the <u>Sentinel</u> in 1912 by withdrawing from the republican party and taking a substantial number of followers with him. He was not strong enough to defeat Wilson then, nor was the republican ticket, and it appeared that if the president were not to win out in a second election the split party would have to draw together again. The <u>Sentinel</u> accepted

^{3.} Sentinel files; October 5, 1916, A.M.; p. 6.

the idea of cooperation as a last resort, expressing its opinion in the editorial columns as early as 1914.

4"Colonel Roosevelt will begin a strenuous campaign for the presidential nomination in 1916. His hat is in the ring again.

"It will be war to the knife against the Wilson administration whose growing unpopulation is manifest. It will be a war of conquest against the Barnes-Penrose element in the republican party, and the colonel will hold his third party possibility in reserve as a trading asset and a weapon of compulsion. The republican party must take him on a rehabilitation and mutual consent compromise basis, or face the divided house situation again. That seems to be about the size of it."

The democrats nominated Wilson again in 1916 and the republicans named Charles Evans Hughes and Charles W. Fairbanks. For the second time in the century the Sentinel supported the losing party. During the weeks preceeding the elections the paper published at the head of its editorial columns extracts from campaign speeches made by Hughes. For a week or so the space was given over to an address signed by the redeemed Colonel Roosevelt which read,

for office and speaks well of labor.
Until he became a candidate for office and as long as he was president of a university, he, with entire safety, ignored or assailed the labor unions.
Indeed, he was then their bitter, ungenerous and often unjust critic. At the People's Forum on February 25, 1905, he said: 'Labor unions drag the highest man to the level of the lowest!' In an

^{4.} Sentinel files; July 7, 1914, A.M.; p. 6. 5. Sentinel files; October and November, 1916.

^{6.} Sentinel files; October 13, 1916, A.M.; p. 6.

address at a dinner in the Waldorf Astoria on March 18, 1907, in speaking of the capitalists, he said: 'There is another equally formidable enemy to equality and betterment of opportunity and that is the class formed by the labor organizations and leaders of this country.' In a letter written January 12, 1909, he said, 'I am a fierce partisan of the open shop.' In June of the same year speaking at Princeton, he said. 'The usual standard of the employee in our day is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trade unions and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under this regulation. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants.'

"I have no question that when Mr. Wilson thus spoke he expressed his sincere convictions."

This practice of repeating a message from a national figure day after day during the campaign was employed again in 1920 when one from Warran G. Harding, republican candidate for the presidency, urging the re-election of Irvine L. Lenroot and the defeat of La Follette for United States senatorship, was published daily during the two weeks before the general election.

The <u>Sentinel</u> opposed John J. Blaine, a La Follette progressive, in his campaign for the governorship in 1920 supporting Emanuel L. Phillip for the office then as it had in 1914, 1916, and 1918.

^{7.} Sentinel files; October 20 to November 3, 1920, A.M. 8. Interview: Norris, William A., Sentinel political writer; March 1, 1937.

As is indicated above, the paper did not let up on its opposition to La Follette. October 14, 1916, when he was running for United States senator, the <u>Sentinel</u> quoted the <u>Brooklyn Eagle:</u>

The hint that La Follette wants the democracy to take votes for Wilsom from his personal following, and pay for them with votes for La Follette, will amuse persons in Wisconsin who have always sneered at the great reformer who made the state what Roosevelt called an experiment laboratory to test novel legislature. It is a plain crooked deal of the oldest variety known to our politics. We understand and we are glad to believe that it has been refused by the democratic leaders, who refuse to sell out their own candidate for senator.

"We can't prevent La Follette from joining the democracy, if he is bent on doing so. That would be unconstitutional. But, for heaven's sake, let no democrat by word or gesture or intimation invite him in."

That the <u>Sentinel</u> had changed its attitude toward Victor Berger and the socialists no more than it had toward La Follette is evident in an editorial printed November 20, 1919.

^{9.} Sentinel files; October 14, 1916, A.M.; p. 6. 10. Sentinel files; November 20, 1919, A.M.; p. 6.

him, dividing the anti-socialist vote, with the result of sending Berger to congress on a small plurality.

"Happily this time there will be no divided opposition to Berger. All anti-socialists have centered on Mr. Bodenstab as the representative of the American sentiment that preponderates strongly in the district and Mr. Bodenstab will be triumphantly elected."

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PART II

THE SENTINEL UNDER AUGUST BACKUS
1924 TO 1929

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Milwentee Sentinel in 1984. There is no element of greens-

Chapter I

THE SENTINEL CHANGES HANDS

After 23 years of ownership Charles Pfister sold the Milwaukee Sentinel in 1924. There is an element of mystery about the transaction created by contradictory reports and producing a doubt as to the true purchaser. The story as it was given to the public by the Milwaukee Journal on Saturday May 30, 1924, ran:

l'Rumors that August C. Backus, judge of the municipal court, will resign his judicial position in a day or two to accept the position of publisher of the Milwaukee Sentinel are being circulated in the city hall and are among the latest reports following close upon the rumors of the last weeks that the Sentinel had been sold by Charles F. Pfister, its owner, to William Randolph Hearst.

"Mr. Backus left suddenly for New York last Monday afternoon and returned to Milwaukee Thursday afternoon. He admits that he went to New York to confer with the Hearst interests and does not deny that he has been offered the position of publisher under the newly reorganized Sentinel. At this time however he says he is not ready to make known his immediate plans and states that any announcement will have to come from the other side.

"There have been many rumors regarding the change in ownership of the Sentinel during the last 10 days. On Friday full page advertisements appeared in the Sentinel announcing that after Sunday, June 1, the Sunday Sentinel would be merged with the Milwaukee Telegram, the latter being Mr. Hearst's Sunday newspaper. The Evening Sentinel will be merged with the Wisconsin News under the joint name of the Wisconsin

as: June 1, 1924, L.M.

^{1.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, The Milwaukee Journal; May 30, 1924.

News and Evening Sentinel beginning Monday, June 2. The morning edition of the Sentinel, however, will continue to be published under the name of the Milwaukee Sentinel. It is understood that its typographical dress is to remain the same and that its policy for the time being at least will be conservative. . . "It is understood that the evening

"It is understood that the evening edition of the <u>Wisconsin News and</u>
Evening Sentinel will be published from the Wisconsin street plant of the Hearst interests while the morning editions of the <u>Milwaukee Sentinel</u> and the Sunday editions of the <u>Sunday Sentinel</u> and the <u>Milwaukee Telegram</u> are to be published from the <u>Mason street</u> office.

"While no editorial announcement of the reported sale of the Sentinel to Hearst has been made by either the Sentinel or the Hearst newspaper, it is understood that the proposed change will be officially announced in the Sunday Sentinel and Milwaukee Telegram Sunday."

²In the Sunday issue was announced that Wisconsin's youngest and most successful Sunday newspaper was merged with the state's oldest; that beginning with that issue the <u>Sunday Sentinel</u> and the <u>Milwaukee Telegram</u> were to appear as a united publication. The announcement continued:

"To the departments and features of the <u>Sunday Sentinel</u> that have most strongly appealed to its loyal readers will now be added the many features and services that have distinguished the <u>Sunday Milwaukee</u>

Telegram and won for it the largest circulation of new newspaper in Wisconsin.

"In the field of news will be a similar conjunction of forces - five great news services having been retained for the benefit of the paper's readers.

^{2.} Sentinel files; June 1, 1924, A.M.; p. 2.

"With the new united facilities, mechanical and editorial, of the Sunday Sentinel and Milwaukee Telegram the advertisers and the public are assured a mighty medium of service that they have not hitherto enjoyed.

"Such a newspaper medium, conducted in the best interests of Milwaukee
and the state, should greatly redound
to the progress, prosperity and welfare
of their people.

"To that end this merger of two great newspaper enterprises has been effected and to that end, with the confidence and support of the public, it will be carried on."

30n the same day the <u>Journal</u> quoted from a personal letter written by Arthur Brisbane of the Associated Press. In It he made a "formal announcement" of the fact that:

"Mr. Hearst has just purchased the Milwaukee Sentinel from Charles Pfister and paid a fortune for the exclusive morning and Sunday newspaper."

4Monday, June 2, the paper which morning <u>Sentinel</u> subscribers received, announced that the evening <u>Sentinel</u> readers would find all their old favorites in the consolidated <u>Wisconsin News and Evening Sentinel</u> that night and every other night.

Upsetting the report of the purchase of the newspaper by Hearst, ⁵a story was printed in the <u>Journal</u> three days later in which Judge Backus was quoted as saying:

"I have notified Gov. John J.
Blaine that I will resign having
acquired control of the Milwaukee
Sentinel and the Sunday Sentinel

^{3.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, the Milwaukee Journal; June 1, 1924.

^{4.} Sentinel files; June 2, 1924, A.M.; p. 1.
5. Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, the Milwaukee Journal; June 5, 1924.

and Milwaukee Telegram and will devote my entire time as publisher."

The management of the merged papers was alloted as was indicated by the <u>Journal</u>; ⁷the <u>Wisconsin News</u> took over the evening paper and the <u>Sentinel</u> the Sunday paper.

8June 9 the <u>Sentinel</u> announced that, as a result of the merger, it automatically took over the Hearst features and received the first option to purchase the daily morning features, special articles and wire services owned by the Hearst syndicates.

The advent of "A <u>Greater Milwaukee Sentinel</u>" was announced November 1 of that year. The daily newspaper was to continue the features of the present time in addition to:

1. Today by Arthur Brisbane

Service.

2. World news over three wire services

3. Timely sport gossip by Damon Runyan

4. Comedy chatter of "Bugs" Baer

- 5. Cartoon Toonerville Topics by Fontaine Fox 6. Barney Google and Spark Plug by Billy DeBeck
 - 7. Human interest revelations by Bruno Lessing
- 8. Jiggs and Maggie in Bringing up Father by George McMannus
- 9. Between The Lines by KCB (Kenneth C. Beaton)

7. Interview: Norris, William A., Sentinel political writer,
March 1 1937.

12. Zentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1926 to 1935.

lest intermittent velumes. June to December, 1984.

^{6.} Such is the evidence the writer has been able to collect concerning the change in ownership: that on May 30 Backus admitted conferring with the Hearst interests which admission conformed to current rumors; that Brisbane was quoted June 1 as announcing the purchase by Hearst and that June 5 Backus announced he had acquired control of the paper. He did become publisher and may or may not have been the owner of the Sentinel.

March 1, 1937. 8. Sentinel files; June 9, 1924, A.M.; p. 1.

^{9.} Sentinel files; November 1, 1924; p. 1.

10 The Sunday newspaper of 1924 was composed of nine parts: a 12 page news section; one of local news and classified advertisements; four pages of sports and a stock market page; an automotive section; one of features of the news and world topics; the editorial, society and theatrical pages; the Hearst American Weekly; four pages of comics and the Sunday Sentinel Magazine. There is more advertising to be found in the issues of this year and a steadily increasing amount of promotional advertising. The financial pages of the dailies increased to two and three and there were several scattered comics. Services employed were those of the Wide World Photo Service, the Associated Press, the Universal Service, the King Feature Syndicate and the International Service.

The system of placing three banners at the top of page one for three separate stories was employed at this time. Arthur Brisbane's column Today was run to the top of the first page at the left of the name plate.

 11_{In} 1926 a picture page was added to the daily paper and was run on the last page. It appeared spasmodically until 1935.

12 Having relinquished the evening edition, the paper's daily circulation dropped considerably, a loss which was compensated for by increased distribution of the Sunday paper.

^{10.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, June to December, 1924.

^{11.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1926 to 1935.
12. Interview: Johnston, Dayton, promotion manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 19, 1937.

13 The circulation of the Sunday Sentinel in 1923 had been 49.000 while in 1924 the Sunday Sentinel and Milwaukee Telegram had reached a distribution of 153,000. The daily circulation rose steadily reaching 72,000 in 1928 and dropped the following year to 68,000. That of the Sunday paper reached a high mark of 178,000 in 1927 dropping to 176,000 in 1928, only to rise again to 178,000 the next year.

15 In 1928 Jules Liebman held the position of managing editor. George N. Graham was general manager: Harvey R. Habeck, business manager: Ivan S. Spear, circulation manager and W.F. Patten, advertising manager. Backus was still publisher and Lounsbury editor.

16 The Milwaukee Sentinel during this period of 1924 to 1929 grew to a two section paper, usually consisting of 20 pages. The general advertising slowly decreased, particularly that in the classified department, and, equally as slowly. the front page became more cut up by a greater number of short items.

The Sunday issue still consisted of nine parts. Real estate news and advertising increased to cover three pages. Sporting news (five pages) and financial news (three pages) were combined in one pink section. The market reports in-

^{13.} Interview: Moffett, George B., Circulation manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 23, 1937.
14. Interview: Johnston, Dayton, Promotion manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 19, 1937.

^{15.} Editor and Publisher Year Book; 1928, Volume 60, Number 36. Section 2; New York, New York; p. 108.

16. Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1924 to 1929.

cluded those of New York, Chicago and Milwaukee. The comic section was enlarged to 16 pages. The automotive section was extended to the field of aviation. Also included was an eight page radio section of tabloid size.

The editorials of this period were fewer and shorter - seldom composing more than one column as compared to the two and three columns of earlier days - and set in larger type.

17 Total circulation of the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Sunday Sentinel and Milwaukee Telegram in 1929 had reached 246,000.

^{17.} Interview: Johnson, Dayton, Promotion manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 19, 1937.

Chapter II

POLITICAL STANDS 1924 TO 1929

The <u>Sentinel</u> maintained its republican stand under the new ownership and management. In 1924 it backed for the presidency Calvin Coolidge who had succeeded Harding upon the latter's death the previous year. The final campaign editorial printed the morning before the election read:

large Sentinel has supported President
Coolidge and General Dawes because it believes that the same, well ordered international policies of the republican party
will insure general prosperity and the welfare of the nation and its people. . . .

"The Sentinel has supported Coolidge and Dawes because of confidence in both men. Mr. Coolidge in his service as president has proved kimself a man of extraordinary ability, firm and courageous in his support of principles he believes to be right, steadfast in his opposition to those things which he believes endanger the public good.

"General Dawes by his varied services to the nation has proved himself a man of ability and strength, a fit running mate for the president and one who can safely be trusted, should the occasion present itself, with the highest responsibilities.

"If every American citizen who believes that Calvin Coolidge and Charles G. Dawes are the best candidates will go to the polls tomorrow and record that conviction, they will be elected by a great majority. But there should be no feeling of overconfidence, no relying upon others to do the work."

To be noted in the last paragraph above is the emphasis upon the duty of the voter to go to the polls.

^{1.} Sentinel files; November 3, 1924; p. 6.

While this had been done before, the campaign of 1924 was the first in which an editorial of campaigning tone was not published the morning of the election. 2In its stead was one urging every citizen over 21. whatever his political affiliation might be, to get out and vote. Also noted during this campgian was the appearance of political advertisements. They were run, however, only by the republican national committee. It was in the next presidential campaign, that of 1928, that the first advertising of the democratic party appeared in the Sentinel. In that campaign the support of the Sentinel was given to the republican candidate. Herbert C. Hoover.

> . . . there has emerged a general realization that one big issue confronts the nation now and that it is the continuance of our own splendid national prosperity.

"Numerous factors enter into that issue. the protective tariff, continued restriction of immigration along international lines that have been pursued in recent years. solution of the agricultural problem, the completion of the inland waterways system which the republican administration has advanced so materially, conservation of natural resources and many others. . . .

"The republican party under whose administration this splendid prosperity has been attained, offers the nation as its standard bearer Herbert Hoover, who has been one of the most powerful influences in

^{2.} Sentinel files; November 4, 1924; p. 6. 3. Sentinel files; October and November; 1924.

^{4.} Sentinel files; October and November; 1928.

the government's work, of building up this prosperity and whose name is a guarantee of a continuance of that work. The issue is up to the people and the Sentinel believes that their sound judgment ensures the election of Mr. Hoover and General Curtis tomorrow."

In state politics during this period the <u>Sentinel</u> continued its opposition to the progressive governor of Wisconsin, John J. Blaine, and supported his successor, republican Frederick Zimmerman. In 1928 it campaigned for Walter J. Kohler, republican candidate for governor, as is evinced by this editorial of November 5.

has been constructive. He has spent little time in criticizing those in whose charge the government of Wisconsin has been placed in the past. He has pointed the way, as he sees it, to improved conditions, to better business administration, to economical use of the state people's money and, as in his consideration of the conservation movement, to the legitimate function of government in promoting the comfort and the welfare not only of those of today, but of those who are to live in Wisconsin in the years to come.

"The candid citizen who has followed Mr. Kohler's admirable campaign cannot fail to be impressed with its demonstration of his entire fitness for the leadership to which he aspires.

"A vote for Mr. Kohler tomorrow will be a vote for sound, businesslike and genuinely forward looking government in Wisconsin."

The newspaper's scorn for the League of Nations of the day was demonstrated by an editorial writer in 1924 who said:

7"As might have been expected the League of Nations informs the world that

^{5.} Interview: Norris, William A., Sentinel political writer, March 1, 1937.

^{6.} Sentinel files; November 5, 1928; p. 6. 7. Sentinel files; October 31, 1924; p. 4.

it has achieved another 'triumph'.

It has 'averted war' by effecting a 'settlement' between Great Britain and Turkey in the dispute over the Moscul oil fields. . . .

"Neither side, says the cable, is satisfied with the decision.

"So the real difficulty remains as it was before. The triumph of the league consists in having artfully dodged the question and postponed its solution. The League has achieved a settlement which settles nothing. Meanwhile, the League no doubt is anxiously hoping that something will turn up to relieve the Geneva organization from the necessity of making a final decision."

Illustrative of the <u>Sentinel's</u> attitude toward the question of disarmament - as well as that toward the Kellog peace treaty - is the following which was published January 3, 1929, when a naval replacement bill was put before Congress with the treaty.

8"To seek to withdraw this necessary measure as a 'magnificent gesture' in the cause of peace; as a demonstration that we are foolish enough to scrap our national defenses and trust to the good faith and kind hearts of the other nations of the world, would be rank disregard of the welfare and safety of our nation and our commerce.

"The Senate ought to pass the cruiser bill without unnecessary delay. The treaty, it is promised, is to be thoroughly debated. It ought to be. The interest taken in its ratification by pacifist groups, internationalist sympathizers and others who have consistently placed the welfare of other nations above that of our own, gives ground for suspicion that it is an instrument that may work mischief."

^{8.} Sentinel files; January 3, 1929; p. 6.

Another editorial written during the same congressional session indicates the publication's stand on the problem of prohibition.

> 9"Senator Jones of Washington, offering a resolution for congressional investigation of prohibition, frankly announced that he expects the investigating committee, if the measure prevails, to be composed exclusively of the representatives of the dry elements

in congress.

"An investigation of the subject of prohibition would be an excellent thing if conducted by unprejudiced and unbiased persons who may be relied on to invest and report on all phases of the subject. Conducted by congressmen pledged to the doctrine that Vosteadism is the acme of accomplishment toward temperance, it will be of little value. Congress should turn down the resolution and see what Mr. Hoover's administration will do toward getting, what everybody desires, a truthful, fair and unprejudiced picture of conditions."

^{9.} Sentinel files; January 5, 1929; p. 6.

PART III

THE SENTINEL UNDER PAUL BLOCK

1924 TO 1936

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Chapter I

DENTARD TO AFEE

BLOCK PURCHASES THE SENTINEL

In the fall of 1929 the Milwaukee Sentinel again changed hands passing to its present owner. It was purchased by Paul Block of New York, an eastern advertising man and publisher of a chain of newspapers including the Toldeo Blade, the Brooklyn Standard-Union, the Newark Star-Eagle, the Duluth Herald and the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. October 1 his own announcement was published in the Sentinel.

Sentinel passes to my ownership. I am aware of the long distinguished career of this newspaper, now nearly 100 years old, and of the high character of the many men and women who have been and still are associated with it. It is my purpose to publish a newspaper which will be fair, just and independent in all its relations to public questions and to the people, no matter what may be their political beliefs, their race or religion.

"While the Sentinel has served Milwaukee and all this section faithfully
and well, it is my ambition that it may
in the future contribute in an even
greater measure to the welfare of the
city and of Wisconsin."

Block is publisher as well as owner of the Sentinel.

7. Esterblem: punebang, to

^{1.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul; the Milwaukee Journal,

October 1, 1929.

2. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul; the Milwaukee Sentinel, October 1, 1921.

In 1929 Liebman was editor and managing editor; Lounsbury, associate editor; M.F. Hanson, general manager; Robert Dyer, circulation manager and W.F. Patten advertising manager.

4Thirteen months later was announced a merger of the Sentinel and the Wisconsin News which took effect November 1, 1930. The two papers were operated as separate publications, the only active merger being that of the business and the medhanical departments. The Sentinel was moved to the building at W. Michigan and N. Plankinton streets which was the home of the News. At that time Lyn Fredenburgh was made managing editor, A.R. Bower, advertising manager and H.E. McMannus, business manager. The following year McMannus was succeeded by P.L. Bajus and Dyer, circulation manager, by George B. Moffett.

6When Block took over the paper he dropped the name Telegram from the Sunday edition and both that and the daily editions were called the Milwaukee Sentinel. There was no notable change in the appearance of the newspaper other than the fact that Brisbane's column was dropped to the lower half of the left column leaving the name plate free and making room for eight column spreads.

7The executive staff remained unchanged until 1933 when Paul A. Holmes was made executive editor and Liebman

^{3.} Editor and Publisher International Year Book, 1930; New York, New York; Volume 62, Number 36, Section 2, p. 114.
4. Interview: Akeman, Theodore W., Chief Auditor of the

Milwaukee Sentinel; April 1, 1937.

^{5.} Editor and Publisher International Year Book, 1932; New York, New York; Volume 64, Number 37, Section 2, p. 100. 6. Sentinel files; October, 1929.

^{7.} Interview: Lounsbury, George, Associate Editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 9, 1931.

the general manager, which position he held until his death in January, 1937. No successor has been chosen at the time of writing. In the spring of 1936 Roger H. Ferger became business manager.

8In the fall of 1934 a special Sunday night edition of the Milwaukee Sentinel was inaugurated. It offered the late Sunday news and the results of all sporting events of the day.

The merger of the Sentinel and the News was dissolved December 31, 1934, though the two papers continued to use the same building, composing room and equipment.

10 September 30, 1935, a four page peach section was added to the daily issues, which section is a part of the Sentinel at the end of this history. It offers short features and stories, puzzles, humor and stage, screen and radio news. The section is profusely illustrated.

11 The Milwaukee Sentinel is the only metropolitan morning newspaper in the state of Wisconsin. Its total circulation of 300,000 (1936) is distributed throughout the state and upper Michigan. The Sunday editions also are sold in Minnesota and to a lesser extent in the Dakotas and Montana.

relley and hake Shore, the

^{8.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, The Milwaukee Journal;

October 22, 1934.

9. Interview: Akeman, Theodore W., Chief Auditor of the Milwaukee Sentinel; April 1, 1937.

^{10.} Interview: Moffett, George B., Circulation manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 23, 1937.

11. Interview: Johnston, Dayton, Promotion manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 19, 1937.

The first section of the <u>Sentinel</u> today includes the news, the editorial page, the society page and the womanes page. On the last are health, beauty, style and bridge columns as well as Emily Post's etiquette and Dorthy Dix's advice to the lovelorn columns. The editorial page runs one column of editorials and a number of daily features among which are: <u>New York Day by Day by 0.0.McIntyre</u>, <u>Today and Tomorrow</u> by Walter Lippman and <u>Great Game of Politics</u> by Frank R. Kent. Editorials signed by Paul Block and set in bold type are frequently placed on the first and the editorial pages.

The second section includes local news and features, three pages of sports, two of markets and finance, classified advertisements and a page of comics.

The Sunday edition is essentially unchanged with a few minor exceptions such as the addition of four pages of comics and the changing of the sports and financial section from pink to white.

13 In December, 1936, the Sentinel inaugurated six special editions of the morning paper to be circulated in, and offering news from, specific territories. They are the Fox River Valley and Lake Shore, the Waukesha and Suburban, the Upper Michigan, the Racine-Kenosha, the Northern Wisconsin and the Madison and Southwestern Wisconsin editions.

^{12.} Sentinel files; intermittent volumes, 1936.
13. Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, The Milwaukee Journal,
December 8, 1936.

The other editions which bring the total to 11 are the Night City, the Suburban Mail, the Suburban Final, the Street Final and the Home editions.

The <u>Sentinel</u> offers from time to time various services to the reader both within and without the actual columns of the newspaper.

At the beginning of 1935, for instance, the Mil-waukee Health Department ordered that all the younger children be kept out of school as a precautionary measure to fight a scarlet fever epidemic. ¹⁵The Sentinel ran a school page for their benefit five days a week for three weeks. The page included reading and spelling lesson, games, riddles and pictures for coloring. It was printed in a large and bold, legible type.

16 From time to time, beginning with 1934, the newspaper has sponsored in conjunction with the three Schuster stores the exhibition of model homes planned to meet the means and needs of the average modern family.

17For 15 years the <u>Sentinel</u> has sponsored an annual four-day cooking school with demonstrations. ¹⁸In 1934 the school was supplemented by a home cooking study course

^{14.} Interview: O'Rourke, Clement D., Assistant reference room librarian of the Sentinel-News.

^{15.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, School page; The Mil-

waukee Sentinel.

16. Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, Model homes, The Mil-

waukee Sentinel.

17. Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, Cooking school, The

Milwaukee Sentinel.

Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, Home cooking course,
Milwaukee Sentinel.

composed of 24 lessons published in the paper two days a 19 In 1933 the newspaper was the sponsor of seven classes of lectures, demonstrations and exercises for women given by a health and poise club.

20 Another service the following year was that of a safety clinic operated for a period of two weeks. In that time 1,659 automobiles were tested for brakes, headlights, wheels and steering gears, free of charge.

It is not to be supposed that the editorial columns of the Sentinel are concerned only with political issues. 21 The paper from time to time has discussed social issues such as the urgency of public concern of education, of the curbing of crime and controling of firearms, of the improvement of the moving pictures. Yearly editorials are published backing the Community Fund drives, the sale of Christmas seals and the promotion of Milwaukee Day. A characteristic appeal for promotion of safety is the following editorial signed by Paul Block:

> 22 We fear war and we should fear war. Never again do we want to see young men, in solid ranks, marched into the fields of death. And yet, we are thoughtless and unconcerned when we learn that the number of Americans who lost their lives in the World War is far smaller than the number killed every year in automobile accidents. What is the cause of this constant parade of

^{19.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, Health Club, the Milwaukee Sentinel.

^{20.} Sentinel clipping file; Sentinel, Safety clinic, the Milwaukee Sentinel.

^{21.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, editorials.

^{22.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, editorials, September 12. 1936.

death and disaster on the highway? "Why these shocking statistics that seem not sufficiently shocking to sober

us and to slow us down?

"There is more than one answer, but the principle answer is speed -- the indefensible madness of speed. There are various types of careless driving, but the reason for the high rate of fatality

is speed, always speed.

"If automobiles were driven at a reasonable rate, the results of such accidents as might happen would, in most cases, be no more serious than damaged cars. If thirty miles an hour were the limit on American highways and eighteen or twenty miles in cities -- and if these laws were adhered to -- the number of deaths as the result of a few wrecks would be negligible.

"States which have done away with driving limits on the highways and cities which have put the rate too high on the streets, have made a grievous mistake. Lives pay the penalty. Twenty-five miles is fast enought. Thirty miles should be

maximum.

"Along with the law governing speed should come another making it a misdemeanor for motorists to smoke while driving. Smoking is inevitably distracting. It adds greatly to the likelihood of accidents. Men and women shake the ashes from their cigarettes out of car windows. The driver behind often mistakes this action for a signal. Confusion results and accidents follow.

"The time has come for the American people to stop yawning over the statistics of the automobile disasters and to start THINKING."

23 The Sentinel employs the services of the Associated Press. the Universal Service and its own correspondents for gathering the news. The feature services used are those of King Features Syndicate. Ledger Syndicate and Esquire features. Its pictures are obtained from the international Service or

^{23.} Interview: Johnston, Dayton, Promotion manager of the Milwaukee Sentinel; March 19, 1937.

the Associated Press, or taken by its own staff photographers.

Milwaukee Sentinel executives at the present are:

Publisher Business Manager Executive Editor Assistant Editor George Lounsbury Advertising Manager Circulation Manager George A. Moffett

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2. Senting: files: October and November, 1952. 2. Sentine: files: Mercenber 7, 1962. The sulterials queted in this shapter were all signed by

representative of the editorial pages throughout this

conflocatory variation. He make to be

Paul Block Roger H. Ferger Paul A. Holmes A.R. Bower

Chapter II

POLITICAL STANDS 1929 TO 1936

In the first presidential campaign during Block's control, that of 1932, ¹the <u>Sentinel</u> urged the re-election of Herbert Hoover, republican candidate. The appeals the publication printed are well summed up in this editorial signed by Paul Block and published on page one the morning before the election under the head of <u>Two Candidates and One Country</u>.

2"The people of the United States are going to the polls tomorrow to choose our next President.

"Will he be Franklin D. Roosevelt, inexperienced theorist, or Herbert C. Hoover, experienced administrator?
"Governor Roosevelt has talked in

"Governor Roosevelt has talked in 38 states in terms of theory. He has tried to capitalize on the discontent of unfortunate people out of work to gain election. He has made vague and futile promises to put all surplus labor on the government payroll.

"Governor Roosevelt, it may be assumed, did not receive help from these men (Huey Long, Senator Robert La Follette and others) unless he promised or at least intimated he would support their ideas—radical ideas for inflation of currency, putting the government into business and confiscatory taxation. He asks to be elected without a real record of achievement as governor of his own state and without a program for the administration of the United States. He offers no sound experience, no tested judgment, not even

^{1.} Sentinel files; October and November, 1932. 2. Sentinel files; November 7, 1932.

The editorials quoted in this chapter were all signed by Paul Block. The writer chose them because they are representative of the editorial pages throughout this period of the Sentinel's history.

certain familiarity with the operation of the Federal Government in a great crisis-and yet he asks for the confidence of the people!

"President Hoover offers all that Governor Roosevelt does not possess and more.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt has made appeals to discontent and sectionalism.

"Herbert C. Hoover has made appeals to commonsense and to the Nation.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt has varying theories for different classes.

"Herbert C. Hoover has one program for

all the people.

"President Hoover has shown that he stands for all the people. He has not tried to set class against class. He has stood for the essence of Americanism--government by, for and of the people--all the people--and he should be re-elected."

But Roosevelt was the victor and Block urged all to cooperate with him as president of the country.

3"In this hour we must deeply realize that we are Americans -- a united people. No matter what convictions we may have had, the majority have spoken and as loyal

citizens we accept their verdict.

"While we have fiffered with Governor Roosevelt in his political philosophy and on his proposed program, we have no reason to believe that he will not gather about him the strongest available men of his party for his cabinet, and that their advice and his actions will be such that the radical in Congress will not be allowed to try to pass any more bills such as they attempted to put over during this last session. . . .

"We congratulate President-elect Roosevelt on his victory. Let us all join together in wishing him a successful administration. He is to be the head of our nation, and as he begins his term of office we must stand behind him and support him in every effort to help the country."

And the fact that the Sentinel had opposed Roosevelt

^{3.} Sentinel files; November 9, 1932; p. 6.

in the election did not mean that it would oppose all of his measures during his administration. When in 1933 he asked Congress for authority to reduce the gold content of the dollar the <u>Sentinel</u> said:

4"President Roosevelt's embargo on gold exports is a move in the right direction. . .

"If Congress gives the president the authority to issue treasury certificates, reduce the gold content of the dollar, and permits him to accept silver in payment of part of the international debt, this should be beneficial. It is best for the President to have this power rather than leave such important monetary control to the various schools of thought in Congress."

The same year the publication endorsed the measures of the Industrial Recovery Act. Indicative of its opinion of the issue is the following:

5"As a program, the Industrial Recovery Act deserves support. There are, of course, pessimistic economists who say it will not work; but those who are responsible for it, and they include eminent men, assert with truth that something hitherto untried was absolutely necessary to save the country from the choas and fear in which the Nation found itself last spring. It was certainly evident when the Administration went into office that unless unusual, even radical steps were taken, the country would sink into a hopeless state of mind which might have had disastrous consequences. The Industrial Recovery Act, the Farm Relief, Home Aid, Reforestation and Public Works measures have already had a beneficial effect in providing employment, increasing wages, raising prices to producers and improving conditions which promise to eradicate unfair competition which is harmful to the public generally.

5. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; July 20,

^{4.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; April 22,

"For the first time business men find that cooperation with each other is not prohibited by laws such as the antitrust acts, and that they may now work together to raise wages without being undersold by sweatshop competitors. Decency and public spirit will not be penalized."

But the administration and its National Recovery

Act became too radical for the <u>Sentinel</u> which since its early
history had been conservative republican. Two years later

Block quoted Percy S. Straus, president of R.H. Macy and
company, New York department store, in a statement to stockholders. Then Block continued:

6"He points out that the NRA has been helpful in social endeavors such as the elimination of child labor, the establishment of minimum wages and maximum hours of work—a stand which is shared by most progressive retail executives and which, plus labor's right to collective bargaining, has repeatedly been affirmed by this newspaper; but except for these gains, there are few virtues which can be credited to this law.

"The industries which today endorse the NRA are those which have found ways to raise prices (sometimes by confidential agreements) but at the expense of the consumers.

"With Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture admitting that food costs must continue to advance and with many industries permitted under the NRA to increase their prices, it is not surprising that working people find it harder and harder each week to balance their budgets because of the increased cost of living.

"It is, of course, easy to say that wages should therefore go up, but many companies would have to close down or reduce the number of employees if this were to occur. The fact is that the majority of businesses, because of additional taxes and other costs that have been imposed are just able to 'carry on'.

^{6.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; April 10, 1935.

"It is not difficult to see what should be done. The NRA should be scrapped, except for the three or four social gains under the law which have been mentioned above.

"Congress should no longer listen to the remaining Socialists and Fascists who still surround the President and who influenced him to have such legislation enacted.

"Let us get back to sound American principles and pass laws that will speed recovery and help our people."

But the attitude of the <u>Sentinel</u> toward both Roosevelt and the World Court in 1935 is unmistakably evinced in the following protest against the president's having urged American adherence to the court in a special message to Congress.

7"The suddeness with which the proposal to tie this country to the World Court has been revived suggests that its sponsors hoped to put it over so quickly and quietly that the bulk of the American people would hardly know what had happened until it was all over.

"Certainly no great departure in the country's foreign polich should be undertaken without the fullest opportunity for the public to express its will. The League of Nations, and its instrument, the World Court, were generally considered dead issues so far as the United States is concerned, when President Roosevelt, in the 1932 campaign, specifically renounced his earlier advocacy of League membership and went on record as opposed to American participation.

"Since that time the country has been too busy with its domestic affairs and economic problems to give a thought to the irreconcilable minority that continued to urge internationalism. It was not mentioned in the recent Congressional campaigns. It was not even referred to in the executive's message to the new Congress. But suddenly,

^{7.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; January 21, 1935.

without warning, the administration controlled Foreign Relations committee reports it favorable, Senator Robinson, the democratic leader, urges prompt action on the floor, and the President himself sends a special message to the Senate advising ratification. . . .

"There was a time when a considerable body of public opinion hoped that the court could be disassociated from the League. This newspaper shared the hope. But it has become increasingly clear that instead of an active and independent agency for peace, it is in fact an appendage of the League, inseparable from it and subject to political manipulation and intrigue.

"Without a doubt, the administration considers the Eeague-Court as just another

of its many experiments. . . .

"In advocating that we join the World Court the administration may view it as just another experiment, but it has even more serious aspects than many of the others, since it would involve us in European politics and the threat of European wars..."

In February, 1936, the <u>Sentinel</u> suggested that partisan politics be forgotten in the coming presidential election. An editorial read:

8"If there ever was a campaign in which partisan politics should be forgotten it is the coming election in November. . . .

"The present Administration has been toying with dangerous theories of government borrowed from Europe. The results of Fascism, national Socialism and Communism have brought only horror and revulsion to the liberty-loving people the world over, yet there are those in high governmental positions who are actually attempting to take over control of our people, our business and our farms, as dictators have done in other countries.

^{8.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; February 25, 1936.

countries.

"We are told that such excesses cannot happen here, but the sooner we make
up our minds that they can happen anywhere unless we eliminate from public
life those who continue to experiment
with autocratic or collectivist theories,
the better and safer it will be for all
of us. . "

The rest of the editorial stated the <u>Sentinel's</u>
belief that by nominating a strong republican and a

Jeffersonian democrat for president and vice-president and
by promising a coalition cabinet the republican convention
could defeat the New Deal, and pledged the support of the

<u>Sentinel</u> to such a ticket. But when the convention nominated
Governor Alfred E. Landon, and Colonel Frank Knox, the paper
gave them its full support.

The <u>Sentinel</u> was not in favor of the Social Security law which figured largely in the 1936 campaign. Its stand regarding the issue is given below.

9"It is not to be presumed that this newspaper does not believe in social secutiry legislation and benefits to workers. This newspaper has for many years fought for more benefits for the workers, including old-age pensions. But it seems a sensible and workable social secutiry plan, and not one rushed through Congress without proper consideration, as the Roosevelt administration has done with its social security plan and with so much of its other 'must' legislation. "This newspaper believes in a decent

wage. It has on occasions voluntarily suggested to its workers to ask for more money or better conditions. We believe

^{9.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials, October 23, 1936.

that matter of wages and hours is something to be determined between employer and employee and not by law. In fact, the United States Supreme Court has stated such laws unconstitutional.

"This newspaper (like many other institutions) pays pensions to its workers and it does not ask the workers themselves to contribute to anything out

of their own pay envelope.

"As it now stands, the Roosevelt social security program places unfair brudens on the worker as they will have to pay so much for so long, only to receive so little in the end."

10 And the Sentinel from from to time fought for benefits for the workers and for social legislation. 11In 1931 Block wrote in an editorial that employers tempted to cut wages because of the large supply of labor should think twice; that high wages mean high buying power which is essential to prosperity. 12 In January of that year, a facsimilie of a letter from Block to M.F. Hanson, general manager of the Sentinel, was printed and read:

> "Please inform heads of all departments to notify every regular employee of the Sentinel and Wisconsin News that all their jobs are secure for 1931.

"We believe the business depression would be ended sooner if all employers acted in a similar manner, and we want to show out faith in the future of business by assuring all our employees that they have steady jobs, so that they may be relieved of worry and so they may continue to maintain their standard of living."

5. 1931.

^{10.} Sentinel clipping fale; Block, Paul, Editorials.
11. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; May 1, 1931. 12. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; January

13 Employers throughout the country applauded his move and followed his example.

When in 1935 the Supreme Court ruled out the NRA as unconstitutional 14 the Sentinel printed an editorial declaring that the decision should not swerve industry from the welfare program which should include the upholding of present day wages and additional measures such as old age pensions and unemployment insurance as well as the elimination of child labor and provisions for minimum wages and maximum hours.

15 The Sentinel discouraged industrial strikes believing them a mistaken means of rousing sympathy and understanding for the workers; advocated pensions and insurance for workers and opposed various tax proposals which it felt were too much for the people to carry. The following excerpt from an editorial evidences such opposition:

> 16" With the nation facing the greatest economic crisis in its history; with imperative need for an immediate balancing of its budget, Wisconsin's radical group in the House of Representatives are doing everything in their power to prevent a proper budget balancing bill being passed and instead demanding that the vast sum required by raised by confiscatory taxes on incomes and estates.

"They do not seem to have the intelligence to understand the business

1931.

^{13.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul. 14. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials, May 29, 1935. Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials.

^{16.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials,; March 26.

federal income has dropped is because business profits and large incomes have

disappeared. . . .

"Isn't Wisconsin today staggering under an almost intolerable load of income taxation, promoted by Mr. La Follette and his crowd, and bearing, with crushing force, not on the rish but on the great middle class on whose buying power a return to normal business now so largely depends. . . "

That the <u>Sentinel</u> maintained its conservative stand in state politics and in the continued struggle between the conflicting elements of the republican party is illustrated by the following:

17"Walter J. Kohler in defeating Governor Phillip La Follette for the republican nomination for governor has centered the attention of the entire country on Wisconsin.

"For many years Wisconsin has been known as the proving ground for radical legislation, much of which has been inimical to the best interest of the state, especially

from a business standpoint.

"Mr. Kohler's victory will be hailed by right thinking people everywhere as a step toward a return to sound and constructive government. It is all the more remarkable because it is the first time in more than forty years that a La Follette has been defeated for public office in Wisconsin.

feated for public office in Wisconsin.

"Also of interest to the nation is the defeat of John J. Blaine, radical senator, one of the foremost La Follette leaders for 25 years, as well as almost all of the La

Follette candidates for offices."

Another active stand of opposition which the <u>Sentinel</u> held is that against socialism in Milwaukee, a stand which was not relinquished as is indicated by the way it "caught up"

^{17.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul; Editorials, September 23, 1932.

the report that Mayor Hoan had used Milwaukee as an example of the fruits of socialism. An editorial printed in the Sentinel read:

18" Mayor Hoan, absent from the city again on a socialist propaganda tour, told a New York audience about Milwaukee.

"Truthfully he related the excellent conditions in this city, its freedom from crime and gangsters; its parks and playgrounds, its manifold advantages as a business or a home community.

"But according to the news dispatches, Mr. Hoan related these things to 'prove the socialist government of his city more beneficient than that of other cities', especially that of New York.

"The <u>Sentinel</u> has no objections to Mayor Hoan's telling people what a fine place Milwaukee is. It does object to the impudent assumption that Milwaukee's blessings are due to socialism or that Milwaukee has a socialist government.

"One swallow does not make a summer and a socialist mayor does not make a socialist administration. Nor do the benefits which Mr. Hoan so fondly relates date from the advent of Mr. Hoan.

"Milwaukee's splendid record for law and order is attributable directly to a non-political police force and non-political courts. Milwaukee had these long before the socialist party was anything more than an occasional puff of windy oratory. And the people of Milwaukee have insisted on maintaining a non-political force even against strenuous socialistic efforts to drag it into politics.

"Mr. Hoan in his self glorifying speeches forgets to mention that the common council, the governing body of the city, is anti-socialist; that the school board is anti-socialist, and that he is the only elected socialist administrative official. He forgets to tell his hearers that the only time the socialists were in control of

^{18.} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials, November 9, 1931.

city affairs, twenty years ago, the administration was so inefficient as to earn the name of blunderbound and the voters threw out the whole outfit at the next election.

"Advertising Milwaukee is a good thing, but Mr. Hoan should do it fairly and, we sometimes think it would be as well to have a little less advertising abroad and alittle more mayor at home."

On page 45 of this thesis is quoted an early advocacy of the repeal of the Volstead law which was printed by the Sentinel. Another evinces an intensified emphasis on the advisability of the measure.

> 19"Finland, in Europe, which, like the United States has had prohibition for twelve years has found its dry law a failure.

"The Dederation of Finnish Judges who daily come into contact with the effects of prohibition have found:

"1. That liquor consumption has in-

creased.

"2. That the law is so generally disregarded that it has caused disrespect for all laws, with a consequent increase in crime.

"3. That drinking is so great among young people that it is threatening the moral

and physical future of the nation.

"All this has been said, and proved, in the United States which is the only other country in the world which has prohibition.

"Finland is preparing for a change

in its dry law.

"How long will it be until we in the United States change our Volstead law so it will meet the approval of a majority of our people?

^{19,} Sentinel clipping file; Block, Paul, Editorials; Septembe > 11, 1931.

"We know that by modifying the Volstead Act so that people who want beer and wine could obtain them legally we could decrease crime, put to work more than a million men in a score of industries, help the farmers and provide \$5,000,000 of tax revenue annually toward our national deficit of over 1,000,000,000.
"We would help rid ourselves of many of

the racketeering gangs and corrupt pro-

hibition agents.

"We would bring back commonsense to public affairs, and help to creat work for a substantial part of our unemployed people who are seeking work and cannot find it.

"The next Congress should amend the Volstead Law as one of those steps in the National program to restore prosperity."

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CONCLUSION

This recent history of the Milwaukee Sentinel, from 1901 to 1936, reaches its conclusion. Throughout the early years of the period the newspaper passed through an almost constant process of change in form and appearance.

In the years before the World War an afternoon edition was inaugurated and during the war replaced by an evening edition, at which time it became more of a home paper. Various Sunday supplements were added and run for a short time, usually disappearing within a few weeks or months. Gradually but constantly the Sunday paper grew as to sections and content and both the daily and the Sunday editions became more and more departmentalized. The most sudden change in make-up was effected at the time of the World War. From that time on banners, a number of spreadheads, larger pictures and cartoons were common.

When Charles Pfister sold the Sentinel and Judge August Backus became publisher in 1924 the evening paper was given over to the <u>Wisconsin News</u> which in turn relinquished its Sunday paper, the <u>Milwaukee Telegram</u>, to the <u>Sentinel</u>.

During this time it seemed to have reached the end of constant, notable change. Though for three years commencing with 1930 the business and mechanical departments of the News and the Sentinel were merged, there was no apparent effect on the paper itself.

The most salient change to occur at the time of the purchase of the <u>Sentinel</u> by Paul Block is that in the editorial page. Throughout the years that Pfister owned the paper, and particularly when Edward G. Johnson headed the staff of 72/70 editorial writers, the page offered long, intense and comprehensive editorials - nonetheless interesting because of the length. While Backus was publisher there was less apparent concentration on the page. Editorials were brief and of a less fighting and comprehensive nature. There were few concerned with non-political issues as there previously had been. The page, and the editorials, improved after the sale of the Newspaper to Block.

The political policy of the <u>Sentinel</u> has not fundamentally altered at any time throughout this period of 36 years. The paper has always been republican, conservatively so, and fought any move toward dissention within the party. In the last presidential campaign, or prior to it, the paper did go so far as to suggest a coalition in the nomination, but only for the purpose of bringing about a republican presidency - for defeating Roosevelt.

As the only metropolitan morning newspaper in the state, the <u>Sentinel</u> has held its sway and is widely distributed. But it is not the writer's belief that it is any sense the home paper into which it seemed to be developing back in the years prior to 1930.