

2010

The spectacle of citizenship: Halftones, print media, and constructing Americanness, 1880--1940

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**The Spectacle of Citizenship: Halftones, Print Media, and Constructing
Americanness, 1880-1940**

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**A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

American Studies Program

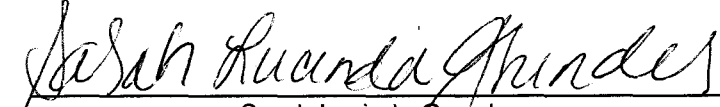
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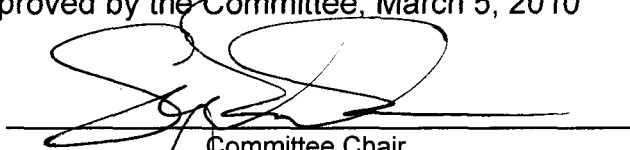
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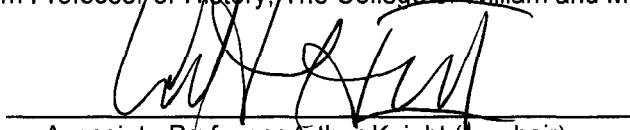


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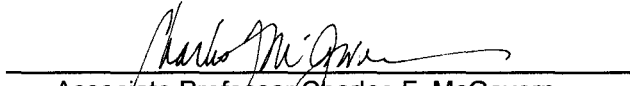
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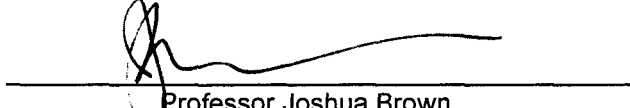
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ABSTRACT PAGE

Advances in photography and conceptions of national identity proceeded side by side during the nineteenth century. The introduction of halftone reproductions marks the beginning of an information revolution and is an important moment not only in media history, but in studies of nineteenth and twentieth century cultural history and studies of national identity. Visual representation of differences between people and places was one means by which people identified and validated Americans' belonging because photographs were infused with authority: they seemed to be truthful, to provide infallible evidence of events and of people. As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, and technological advances made the halftone process quick and inexpensive, men and women of the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, Jazz Age, and the Great Depression used photographs for visual storytelling in the pages of newspapers, books, journals, and magazines. Editors embraced the seeming realism of photography in their publications; halftones in print helped Americans see each other in new ways and themselves for the first time on a regular, mass-circulating basis.

"The Spectacle of Citizenship" examines how three publications and their strong-willed editors used halftones to display and distribute their views of nationhood and belonging in a period when the United States was undergoing significant changes as a consequence of industrialization, immigration, urbanization, and international military and economic crisis. Paul Kellogg, editor of "Charities and the Commons," and his brood of social justice progressives used halftones to display and include/exclude immigrants, racial minorities, and workers belying reform-minded middle class Americans claims of sympathy, understanding, and acceptance and instead riddling the journal with images that construct a sense of belonging for white, middle class Americans by explicitly identifying who did and did not belong. Joseph Medill Patterson, blue-blooded founder the "Daily News," took a British idea for photograph-based newspapers aimed at the working class and reinvented it as the nation's first tabloid. The newspaper captured Jazz Age New York City with splashy photographs emphasizing crime, scandal, celebrity, politics, and world events and invented a vision of America rooted in popular culture, patriotism, and American "values". Patterson's newspaper reinforced the hegemony of white, upper and middle class Americans, but it did so with an acceptance of rapidly changing social and cultural values in the country and the recognition of the importance of the urban working class population. C.K. McClatchy, long-time editor and publisher of the "Sacramento Bee," used photographs to reinforce the suffering and make morally-loaded pleas for federal help during the Great Depression, to demonstrate the success of New Deal Programs, and to recast almost all Californians, regardless of their origin, as representative of America and Americans. Yet McClatchy's inclusive vision was problematic: he remained fervently anti-communist; he continued to believe Asian Americans, particularly Japanese Americans, could not be assimilated; and he virtually ignored the plight of Mexican Americans in the pages of the "Sacramento Bee" during the Great Depression, despite the fact that they were a significant part of the state's population.

"The Spectacle of Citizenship" is a study of the interplay of technology, society, and culture that offers a new understanding of how notions of national identity were understood, produced, and disseminated and consumed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study analyzes the importance innovative editors placed on visual representations while at the same time demonstrating the necessity of contemporary scholars' understanding those images.

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To my family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I figured out pretty early on that no one does this alone. Luckily, I never felt as if I was doing it alone.

I owe many thanks to Scott Nelson, Arthur Knight, and Charlie McGovern for their guidance and scholarly insights. As co-chair of my dissertation committee, Scott Nelson commented on multiple drafts of every part of this dissertation and did so with intelligence and humor. Arthur Knight served as co-director of this project, provided detailed comments, particularly on the chapters about *Charities and the Commons*, and encouraged me to think about my project broadly. Charlie McGovern spent hours talking to me about citizenship and consumer culture long before I started this project and has offered encouragement throughout. Thanks in addition to Joshua Brown for providing thoughtful comments to guide me as I begin to think about the direction a book manuscript might take. Mistakes are my own, and insights and value are rooted in the direction and help I received from my committee.

My committee members were not the only people at The College of William and Mary to whom I owe a debt. Robert Gross, now at the University of Connecticut, first helped me see how a short research paper I wrote for his History of the Book seminar during an intolerably humid Williamsburg Spring might well have the seeds of an interesting dissertation project. Jim Whittenburg, whose pro-seminar helped me appreciate the importance of Colonial America, gave me the chance to teach summer school for several years in the History Department, keeping me in food, rent, and coffee/wine while I wrote. Additional assistantships with the Reves Center, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, and the National Park Service provided financial support.

The most extraordinary aspect of my graduate schooling was the amazing community of graduate students in the History Department and the American Studies Program at the College. My peers listened to me talk about my project and provided a rich and supportive intellectual community. I have benefited enormously from their wisdom, their thoughtfulness, and their companionship.

Thanks especially to Ellen Adams, Libby Atkinson Masters, Josh Beatty, Jennifer Blanchard, Dave Brown, Sarah Chasse, Jim David, Jack Fiorini, Bronwyn Fletchell Boumendil, Sean Harvey, Caroline Hasenyager, Merit Kaschig Anglin, Kristen Proehl, Dave McCarthy, Sarah McLennan, Troy Marshall, John Miller, Caroline Morris, Emily Moore, Andrew Sturtevant, and John Weber. It didn't feel like work with all of you around for coffee breaks at the Daily Grind, lengthy nights at the Greenleafe, Season's happy hours, Western Wednesdays, shopping adventures, Nawab lunches, Wiffle and softball games, walks through CW, ice cream work stops, and late nights sitting around with red wine and endless talking. My roommates at the crumbling, lovely house on Nelson Avenue, Jennifer Hancock, Sarah McLennan, Caroline Morris, and Emily Peterson Sclafani deserve special thanks for their friendship as we navigated the early years of our graduate study over baked goods, English costume dramas, and – in that house – questionable roaring fires.

I had financial and archival support from several sources as I traveled the country gathering materials for this project. At the Donnelley and Lee Library Archives & Special Collections at Lake Forest College, Arthur Miller made sure I was put up in a rambling house on campus – along with a convention of rail road enthusiasts – and provided detailed information about the rich archive at the university and critical background information about the McCormick, Medill, and Patterson families. At the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota both David Klaassen and Linnea Anderson happily shared information about Paul Kellogg and the publication history of *Charities and the Commons*, even sending along additional article finds

and citations months after I finished my on-site research. The staffs at both the Sacramento Archive and Museum Collection Center and at the California State Library were also helpful as I researched C.K. McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee*. Grants from the American Studies Program, the Charles Center, the Graduate Student Association, and Mom and Dad helped fund these journeys. In addition, I owe thanks to the staff at Swem Library, particularly the Interlibrary Loan staff who tracked down obscure reels of microfilm and materials for me with puzzled humor and diligence.

I feel fortunate that I had the opportunity to teach throughout my doctoral studies. In addition to rich opportunities in both the American Studies Program and the History Department at the College of William and Mary, my studies were also funded through teaching gigs with the History Department at Thomas Nelson Community College in Hampton, VA, the American Studies Program at Temple University in Philadelphia, and the History Department at DePaul University in Chicago.

I have an eclectic group of friends who have supported my work through places to stay, meals, and encouragement throughout this process. Thanks are owed especially to Janet Hodur and Alan Leonardi (and Emma) who regularly opened their Washington, D.C. home to me for research trips, delicious food, and fun; to the women of Suite R401-406 from U.C. San Diego who have remained friends since our time in that freshman dorm and have served as cheerleaders throughout this process; and to the Kirby family, especially Jo Ann, who always seemed to know when I needed a phone call, a card, a funny kid story, or a bottle of wine.

Most importantly, I have to thank my family for their emotional and financial support. My parents – Janet Silva Grunder and Eric Grunder – never asked how much longer or when I'd be back in California; instead they asked what I was learning and where I was going to take it. Emily, my red-headed kid sister, never doubted I'd finish this and never ceased to be proud. Finally, Sean Harvey has lived with this project, and me, for a long time. Sean listened to hours of talk about my “news guys,” offered criticism, encouragement, love and, when needed, the occasional push. Now I owe you.

Chapter 1: Introduction: The Halftone, the Mass Media and Visualizing National Belonging

Halftone photographic reproductions – the tiny dots that together reproduce a photograph for mass publication – revolutionized print culture, the mass media, photography and photojournalism at the end of the nineteenth century.¹ To contemporary eyes, it is almost impossible to imagine a newspaper without striking photographs and visual storytelling. It is hard to imagine a newspaper without photographs serving as evidence and proof of textual truth and accuracy. It is hard to imagine a newspaper without photographs with the power to define a people, a nation, a citizenry. But photographs have only appeared with any regularity in daily newspapers since the turn of the twentieth century; the technology to reproduce them only became available in the 1880s.

From the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century newspapers and periodicals worked to negotiate how photographs appeared in print, and the meanings attached to them. One aspect of this use is how halftone photograph reproductions in newspapers and

¹ The halftone remains an understudied phenomenon among historians, though communications scholars have long recognized its significance. Michael Ayers Trotti comes to much the same conclusion about the revolutionary nature of the halftone, and its limited historical study, in his essay, “Murder Made Real: The Visual Revolution of the Halftone”, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 111, No. 4 (2003), pp. 379-410. Trotti’s work recently appeared as part of a larger work about sensationalism and southern murder cases in the nineteenth and early twentieth century’s and how they were reported by the black and white press: Trotti, *The Body in the Reservoir: Murder and Sensationalism in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). Several scholars have written essays or dedicated portions of their larger works to halftones. See, for example, several of the essays in Ardis Cameron, ed., *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005) collection; Michael L. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Michael L. Carlebach, *American Photojournalism Comes of Age* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Neil Harris, “Iconography and Intellectual History: The Halftone Effect” in Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), the essay first appeared in John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (New York: The MIT Press, 1969); Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1974); Miles Orvell’s chapters, though mostly focused on art photography, rather than photojournalism, “Photography and the Artifice of Realism” and “The Camera and the Verification of Fact”, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989); David Phillips, “Art for Industry’s Sake: Halftone Technology, Mass Photography, and the Social Transformation of American Print Culture, 1880-1920” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996); and Robert Taft’s chapter, “Photography and the Pictorial Press”, in *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1938). Phillips work, arguing that the halftone is responsible for the modernization of print media, has been particularly useful and influential.

periodicals visualized belonging in the first decades of the twentieth century as the United States grappled with the effects of urbanization, industrialization, immigration and population growth, world war and, finally, economic depression. The introduction of halftones, and particularly their claim to represent reality, was nothing short of an information revolution. Like modernized transportation systems, the telegraph, the telephone, rotary presses, and other technological advances, the introduction of photographs into daily newspapers transformed the way people in America connected with each other and visualized each other. Halftones helped reshape the media, and the country. Indeed, they helped reshape how news is gathered, how news is presented, and how news is absorbed by a mass audience. And, like other technological changes in the late 19th century, halftones were part of a more widespread move to modernize, to organize, and to professionalize.² Within a few decades, photographs became an indispensable part of news. They made events not just readable, but *experiential* for the public. And, importantly, the

² Obviously journalism wasn't the only profession undergoing changes in the late 19th century. Indeed, professional organizations such as the American Bar Association (1878), the American Newspaper Publishers Association (1887), and the American Medical Association (1847) were also founded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Indeed, the eventual founding of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (1922) held as one of its responsibilities to move the industry toward professionalization and establish standards for journalists. Chris Daly, "The historiography of Journalism History: Part II, 'Toward a New Theory', *American Journalism*, Winter 2009 (148-155), claims newspaper photography in print is one of the elements that marks the professionalization of journalism, in a period he dubs the "professionalization of news", spanning roughly 1900-1974. Moreover, during the first decades of the twentieth century journalism schools were first established at many universities signaling a desire to be considered a "profession" on the part of journalists. Robert Wiebe, *Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 1967) sees the post-Reconstruction to 1920 period as one during which America was transformed from "island communities" to an organized nation that relied on centralized, bureaucratic institutions (often urban) that gave the "new middle class" the tools they needed to grapple with changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wiebe's take, while in direct contrast to Robert Hofstadter's, *The Age of Reform: From Byron to FDR* (New York: Knopf, 1955), "status anxiety" interpretation of cast aside middling professionals and the progressive impulse, has been complicated in recent decades. Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Politics and Culture in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982) argues that corporations helped shape new hierarchies domestically and internationally and became the centerpiece that shaped American identity in the nineteenth century. Finally, in Jackson Lears' recent, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009) Lears synthesizes recent work about the Gilded Age-Progressive Era and argues that Americans from various backgrounds and for various reasons yearned for rebirth (this came in many forms: spiritual, moral, physical, etc.) during the period. This desire manifested itself in forms such as progressivism, militarism, imperialism, evangelicalism, etc. and helped form the basis of twentieth century American life and culture. The historiography of the Progressives is detailed in Part II.

representation of news and events in photographs would come to stand for objectivity: the photo didn't appear to lie.³

Except, of course, photographs could lie.

Photographs had the power persuade the public of their truth: they could challenge the status quo, or they could reinforce it in the minds of readers. These images, apparently untouched by an artist's hand, were infused with authority because they seemingly pictured events as they were. It was hard to argue with claims of literal representation, particularly when presented with evidence.⁴ Nineteenth century Americans were accustomed to "reading" faces and making judgments about moral character based on "types"; photography played directly to these "sciences" of physiognomy and phrenology and helped reinforce racial and class constructions.⁵ Phrenology claimed character could be seen in a person's physical attributes. Photographs helped reinforce these ideas and lent authenticity to the theory's assertions.⁶ From its inception, scientists

³ Photographs have been altered, tinkered with and used as hoaxes since photography was invented. A recent story in the *New York Times* details the history of faked photos: Bill Marsh, "Faked Photographs: Look, Then Look Again," *New York Times*, 22 August 2009.

⁴ In fact, numerous historians and visual culture specialists have chronicled the use of mug shots and photography by law enforcement. See, for example, Ardis Cameron, "Sleuthing Towards America" Visual Detection in Everyday Life", in Cameron, ed., *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People*; Sandra S. Phillips, et al, *Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 19XX); Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive" (1986), reprinted in Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco, eds., *The Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Shawn Michelle Smith's chapter "The Criminal Body and the Portrait of a Type" in *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Trotti's chapter, "Images of Murder: The Visual Revolution of the Halftone" in *The Body in the Reservoir: Murder and Sensationalism in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); and Martha Merrill Umphrey, "'The Sun Has Been Too Quick for Them': Criminal Portraiture and the Police in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Studies in Law, Politics and Society*, 16 (1997).

⁵ Cameron, "Sleuthing Towards America" p. 21-23. See also, Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Matthew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p.3-70; Russell Roberts, curator, and Chrissle Iles and Russell Roberts, eds., *In Visible Light: Photography and Classification in Art, Science, and The Everyday* (Oxford, Museum of Modern Art Oxford, 1997); Andrea L. Volpe, "Cartes de Visite Portrait Photographs and Culture of Class Formation", Shawn Michelle Smith, "Photographing the 'American Negro': Nation, Race, and Photography at the Paris Exposition of 1900", Laura Wexler, "Techniques of the Imaginary Nation: Engendering Family Photography", and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Private Eyes, Public Women: Images of Class and Sex in the Urban South, Atlanta, Georgia, 1913-1915", all in Cameron, *Looking for America*.

⁶ For more on the history of phrenology and social Darwinism in nineteenth century America see: Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), especially chapter 7, "The New Ethnology"; Reginald Horsman, *Race and*

used photography to classify and chronicle difference among people. For example, scientist Louis Agassiz's slave daguerreotypes, taken in 1850 in Columbia, South Carolina analyzed physical differences between European whites and African blacks and to prove the superiority of the white race.⁷ To place races in a hierarchy, Agassiz and other scientists used an aesthetic Caucasian ideal standard – sometimes represented in the form of a neoclassical statue – and classified blacks midway down the evolutionary scale between the classical ideal and the orangutan.⁸ Photographs, infused with authority by nineteenth century America, reinforced and reshaped social constructions and paradigms to manipulate the way an audience saw belonging. Even more, these images illustrate the way an individual shapes the intended message, or worked to change an existing message, of photographs and highlights the importance of textual cues such as headlines, captions and accompanying stories in directing audiences to view photographs in particular ways.

The meaning of photographs and the agency of those pictured and of the audience has been debated since the technology was invented in the nineteenth century.⁹ For mass circulation

Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981); and Stephen Jay Gould, *Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996, 1981).

⁷ Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerrotypes", *American Art*, Summer 1995, pp. 39-61. Agassiz's first stop when he emigrated to the United States in 1846 was Philadelphia to view "the American Golgotha" a famous skull collection of Dr. Samuel Morton. Morton's research led him to conclude that races always had the same physical and mental characteristics – and thus were static and not evolutionary – and that the races of mankind had been separately created as distinct, unequal species (p. 42). Agassiz's daguerreotypes were never formally used. Along this line see Allen Sekula, "The Body and the Archive", in Fraser, et al, *The Body*.

⁸ Ibid. Wallis also notes that exaggerated distortions of blacks in American popular culture most often followed the scientific representations of African Americans.

⁹ For an excellent summary of major writings on photography in the nineteenth and twentieth century, see Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1980), particularly writings by Charles Baudelaire, Henry Pach Robinson, Lewis Hine, Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, Paul Valery, Walter Benjamin, William M. Ivins, Jr., Roland Barthes, and John Berger. For an interesting approach to photography see Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980). Barthes argues that photographs have some tie to reality, that they are a "certificate of presence" and serve as a "reference". In this late-life work, Barthes maintains that the photographs are a type of realism, that they are not encoded; that it is the audience who, based on experiences, encode the photograph. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), also takes a realistic approach to photography by claiming that photographs are traces of reality and represent people as they "once were". In his essay "Understanding a Photograph", printed in Trachtenberg, *Classic Essays on Photography*, John Berger argues that photographs bear witness to a human choice being made (i.e. the photographer's decision to create an image of a given thing at a given time). Moreover, a photograph, "whilst recording what has been seen, always and by its nature refers to

publications textual clues are key; they cannot be divorced from photographs. Photographs did not appear in newspapers as singular expressions or as art. Instead, they were part of a greater product that was shaped and produced by the individuals behind the scenes with an intention of mass consumption. These publications reached a wide and varied audience. Halftone photograph reproductions in journals and newspapers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can best be read for the intent behind them by examining the role of individuals involved in their production and dissemination and by considering the context in which the halftone photograph reproductions were produced and disseminated. It is essential to examine halftones in newspapers with a holistic approach. Textual clues, page make-up, and the individuals behind the newspapers – from publishers to editors to photographers – are the most important factors when considering how a newspaper shapes or crafts the news. Photojournalism is different than photography for art’s sake.¹⁰

Photographs were just as touched by an artist’s hand as the illustrations, engravings, and crude drawings that preceded them. Editors subjectively assigned stories based on their personal news judgment; photographers chose subjects and framed photos – making decisions about what to include, what to exclude, what kind of story they wanted to convey – before the shutter even clicked; page layout determined how readers first encountered the images; and even the subjects had agency – they could alter their expressions, set the tone for how they were presented. Beyond the mechanical aspects of sending a photograph to press, there were the personal biases and backgrounds of those making the decisions. Photographs, then, are as much a reflection of those assigning them, taking them, editing them, and posing for them as they are of the events they

what is not seen” by preserving a single moment among many. Berger says, finally, that “every photograph is in fact a means of testing, confirming and constructing a total view of reality.”

¹⁰ I am not an art historian or photography historian. Instead, as a student of journalism history I take a much more holistic approach to the study of halftones in newspapers. Textual clues, page make-up, and the individuals behind the newspapers – from publishers to editors to photographers – are the most important factors when considering how a newspaper shapes or crafts the news. And photojournalism, as David Phillips and Neil Harris have suggested is different than photography for art’s sake. Phillip’s dissertation, “Art For Industry’s Sake” makes a compelling case for the role of the halftone in transforming an industry, rather than an art.

claimed to truthfully depict. And, as always, words matter and have the power to fundamentally alter the meaning of an image.

Within this system, national belonging was constructed by halftone photograph reproductions used by editors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Editors based their decisions on editorial “judgment” – and personal bias – to frame class, status, and belonging. Who belonged in the frame changed based on region, personal views of those taking and placing the images, and by people’s sentiments over time in the Progressive Era, Jazz Age, and Great Depression. And as those images circulated throughout the country, they reconfigured the way Americans saw each other, and themselves. Photographers, editors, reporters, the reading public, and even, at times, the subjects themselves, had the ability to cast what belonging and citizenship meant in visual terms. Never before had visual proof of belonging been so available to so many people so rapidly. Photographs, for the first time, and with an *assumed* authority not present in illustrations and drawings, had the power to shape consciousness about what it meant to belong – to be American – for a mass audience on a daily basis. In visualizing the people, places, and events through photographs, editors claimed to picture the world as it was – but ended up picturing how they wanted it to be. Halftones became a tool by which various news agencies could represent the truth and evidence of assertions about people, places and national belonging in a period marked by social and political change. They altered the business and technology of news, and they helped redefine Americans and America on the printed page.

Photographic invention and innovation closely correspond with an era of national self-creation.¹¹ Visual representations of social and cultural difference in mass circulating periodicals provided a means for people to validate their own identity and prove how other people and places were different. While individuals shaped the message sent out in newspaper and periodical photography, the audience also had a role in the use of the images. Photographs helped people

¹¹ Laura Wexler, “Techniques of the Imaginary Nation” Engendering Family Photography”, in Cameron, *Looking for America*.

imagine themselves as belonging to various groups and to visualize others -and themselves – as part of a nation, allowing them to “see” an imagined national identity. Benedict Anderson describes the importance of print capitalism to nation building in explicit terms:

The search was on, so to speak, for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together. Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.¹²

Newspapers in the United States, particularly during the crisis of empire and American Revolution and Early Republic played a crucial role in constructing a national identity for a community of readers.¹³ This model is easily extended to photographs and photojournalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – a time of internal debate about national belonging and identity amid social, economic and cultural change.¹⁴ As the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth century these images were disseminated to a wide, mass audience, something Walter Benjamin addresses when he describes how photography altered art’s traditional “elite” nature by allowing quality reproductions to reach a lower and middle audience, thus demystifying the process of creating art and making it available as mass culture.¹⁵ Once the halftone was in

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, revised edition* (London: Verso, 1991, 1983), p. 36. I am, of course, influenced by the way Anderson approaches the newspaper as essential in the formation of imagined national identity. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, revised edition* (London: Verso, 1991, 1983). For Anderson, print capitalism was essential in allowing national consciousness to be imagined. He argues that “print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness” and allowed “fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print” to form “the embryo of the nationally imagined community.” (43-44). Historians of American print culture have relied on Anderson’s work to explain the imagined community created by print culture in the United States. See, for example, Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

¹³ Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

¹⁴ Anderson is used by a number of scholars to explain the way communities were constructed around a media. Some of the studies that have been particularly useful to me include, Susan Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (New York: Random House, 2004, 1999); Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); and Nord, *Communities of Journalism*. See also, Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation* for an interesting discussion of the way people sought rebirth and re-imagined themselves in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

¹⁵ Though, of course, these reproductions lack the original’s presence in time and space and “aura”, or authenticity, in the new era. Moreover, the mass audience now participates in infusing the art with meaning. Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”, in Hannah Arendt,

place and used regularly by about 1900, Americans from a variety of backgrounds could envision the nation in the pages of mass-circulating periodicals. This vision of national belonging was aided by textual clues and cues in headlines, stories, and captions, that directed readers to interpret what and who they saw in particular ways. While Americans may have had a role in attaching meaning to the photographs they consumed, as Benjamin suggests, they do not, however, play a role in the intent and attempt to construct meaning or in the physical construction of the page of the daily newspaper or periodical. The mass audience was a literal consumer of what editors and publishers were selling – consumers of a particular vision of national identity being performed in the pages of mass circulation periodicals in the first decades of the twentieth century. Editors strove to infuse their publications with meaning that did not leave room for misinterpretation. To do this they used opinion pieces, headlines, captions and the physical make-up of the page to draw readers into visual representations in particular ways. As producers of this message, editors and publishers constructed a vision of national identity that ultimately reinforced the hegemony of white middle and upper class Americans, but at the same time allowed the masses to see themselves as belonging and to literally buy into that belonging by acquiring the publication.¹⁶

Even today photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shape the way historians and the public envision the past. Some historians have noted the importance of images to history survey textbooks and argue that the books place photographs at the center of narratives but fail to reflect on the meanings of the images or the role they played in shaping American history.¹⁷ One of the most enduring images of the Great Depression is Dorothea Lange's *Migrant*

ed., *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin, Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1955, 1968, originally published in 1936), pp 217-251.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the ways hegemony and the media interrelate see, for example, Stuart Hall, "Encoding/decoding", in Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis, eds., *Culture, Media, Language* (London: BFI, 1980).

¹⁷ For an excellent account of the importance of images to the history survey textbook market see Louis P. Masur, "'Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity': The Use of Images in American History Textbooks", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 84, No. 4 (March 1998), p. 1409-1424.

Mother. Many texts that use this image to symbolize the suffering of the Depression also textually explain the Dust Bowl, the stock market crash, and New Deal Programs. A few even consider the documentary impulse of the Farm Security Administration. But most give no time to analyzing the image itself, the context and motives under which it was taken, or its lasting legacy.¹⁸ In fact, the image of Florence Owens Thompson was part of a series of images Lange took when she pulled off the highway following a lengthy documentary trip. Lange, rushed, did not record anything about the woman, other than her age, noting that she had “recorded the essence of her assignment.”¹⁹ Instead, she produced the enduring image of the Depression, an image that arguably helps define the entire Great Depression era for many Americans. Owens died in 1983, near poverty, just a few hundred miles from the Nipomo, California camp where Lange captured her image. The image of Owens as a Dust Bowl refugee is also inaccurate. She was born in the Indian Territory of the Cherokee Nation, and her family was eventually displaced from tribal lands. Owens had been in California for nearly a decade by the time the 1936 photograph was taken (though she did return to Oklahoma briefly in 1933). Moreover, Owens never benefitted financially from the image and was not publically identified as the subject until the 1970s.²⁰ Textbook readers are left presuming that images presented to them represent the “reality” of American history. This is problematic because it fails to consider the intentions behind photographs, the motivations of those involved in editorial production, the context in which the images were taken, or the way in which images were received by an audience. Moreover, it allows people to envision the past without questioning what they are seeing.

Charities and the Commons

Part I examines use of halftone photograph reproductions to champion political causes and social agendas and to redefine national belonging during Progressive Era reform movements.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Quoted in “Photographic License.” *New Times: San Luis Obispo* (2002), http://web.archive.org/web/20020602103656/http://www.newtimes-slo.com/archives/cov_stories_2002/cov_01172002.html, retrieved 6 December 2009.

²⁰ Ibid.

These chapters focus on the social welfare journal *Charities and the Commons* in the period when the magazine published the findings of several sociological studies in the first decade of the twentieth century and examine how images were used as evidence of organized studies, to construct spectacle of immigrants, the poor, and racial minorities, and, finally, to construct a sense of belonging for its intended audience by identifying those who belong and those who do not.²¹ Editors wanted to effect social change, but in doing so crafted a vision of national belonging that didn't always measure up to their rhetoric of acceptance, sympathy, and inclusion.

Led by *Charities and the Commons* editor Paul Kellogg, the journal and its staff fused photographs with the written word and “scientific” data and research techniques in an effort to advocate for fundamental changes to the unregulated industrial capitalism they claimed was to blame for leaving the working classes and immigrants in such dire circumstances. The social justice progressives and researchers behind the studies had a genuine desire to help those who were suffering, but in doing so appealed to the prejudices of middle and upper class Americans. The authority of reformers and professional experts is reinforced in the visual-textual product they produced. Using investigation as a means for understanding conditions and the written word, in concert with gritty photographic proof, these reformers sought to sway public opinion by moving their reform-minded readers to action. In the process they created a vision of national belonging characterized by white, middle class Protestant values and norms.

The Pittsburgh Survey, a sociological examination of the Pittsburgh region (with special attention to the living conditions in the steel district) done in the early 20th century (1907-1908), was published in *Charities and the Commons* with hundreds of photographs, statistical charts and

²¹ John Tagg's, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988) details how photographs came to be used as “truth” and “evidence” for legal purposes. On Riis: Alexander Alland, *Jacob A. Riis: Photographer and Citizen* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1974); Margen Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Peter B. Hales, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984); Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (editor, David Leviatin) (Boston: Bedford Books, 1996); Louise Ware, *Jacob A. Riis: Police Reporter, Reformer, Useful Citizen* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938), and Bonnie Yochelson and Daniel Czitrom, *Rediscovering Jacob Riis: The Reformer, His Journalism and His Photographs* (New York: New Press, 2008).

graphs and stories by leading reformers and social workers.²² In addition, findings were published in other magazines, shown in traveling exhibitions, disseminated in speeches and, finally, published in six large volumes from 1909-1914. The motivation was simple: surveyors wanted to educate the general, mass public about conditions in Pittsburgh and use its example as symbolic of urban-industrial problems facing society as a whole. They hoped it would promote reforms. Its intended audience was not those people it was trying to help; instead, *Charities and the Commons* aimed for a broad middle class audience. In the process, it reinforced the authority of middle class professional experts while casting immigrants as helpless victims, an unassimilated heap of people who could not combat the urban decay around them. And like many social justice-oriented reformers, many of the people behind *Charities and the Commons* and its studies had a blind spot when it came to race.



In “Night Scene in a Slavic Lodging House”, an image that accompanied the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey in *Charities and the Commons*, the photograph depicts the cramped home of immigrant workers.²³ In concert with the accompanying article that explained stereotypical features of “Slavs and

²² Several historians have noted the importance the Survey’s use of images. Maurine W. Greenwald’s “Visualizing Pittsburgh in the 1900s: Art and Photography in the Service of Social Reform” in Maurine W. Greenwald and Maro Anderson, eds, *Pittsburgh Surveyed* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) suggests that the context of the images instill the illustrations and photographs with meaning. He finds that Paul Kellogg, the project’s leader, selected images to serve a specific political agenda (“engineering social reform in Pittsburgh by experts”) and to reinforce the reform proposals. Margen Stange’s *Symbols of the Ideal Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988) looks at how photographs are used for political and reform purposes from the Progressive Era, including a specific focus on Hine and the Pittsburgh Survey, through the New Deal. She finds that Hine made images not to tell the individual stories of those he pictured, but to promote reform goals. Likewise, Alan Trachtenberg’s *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989) traces Hine’s role as a social documentarian. Peter Saxis takes a slightly different approach in “Lewis Hine: From ‘Social’ to ‘Interpretive’ Photographer” in *American Quarterly*, V39, N3 (Autumn 1987), noting that Kellogg wanted to present a sympathetic portrait of the immigrants in the Survey. Hine, in taking the pictures, saw “truth” as that which would make the appeal for reform the most effective.

²³ “Night Scene in a Lodging House”, in Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 540-541.

Kindred Immigrants” in Pittsburgh, the image crowds the men together in the frame. The caption turns a domestic scene into a scene of humiliation, noting that in many of these “typical” lodging houses a bed might be used by one man during the day and another during the night. In short, the image provides literal evidence of the immigrant stereotypes, conditions and life. Reformers hoped that anyone presented with the “facts” in Pittsburgh would be moved to help effect legislative change and improve conditions. But, many reformers were unable to let go of long-term prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants, the working poor, and African Americans

New York’s *Daily News*

Joseph Medill Patterson’s world view turned the vision of social justice Progressives on its head. In the aftermath of World War I, Patterson founded and ran America’s first photo-filled tabloid newspaper and aimed for a mass audience of common, working Americans. Splashy photographs were used alongside text in stories, captions, headlines, and editorials to define national belonging in ways that satisfied Patterson’s political agenda. Its style of bold headlines and large photographs over stories focused on crime, scandal, celebrity, and politics was new to American readers, though copied from a formula well-known to British readers. Within a few years it was the highest circulating newspaper in the country. The pages of the *Daily News* envision urban 1920s America; the city, work and leisure lives of urban inhabitants, notions of patriotism, national identity, and foreign relations. There, the urban masses saw themselves, saw immigrants, and saw a changing social and economic order.

These photographs and stories clarified for a mass audience contested ideas about national identity. Immigrants and the working classes literally bought into American life and culture when they purchased the newspaper. To purchase the newspaper was to self-identify as someone subscribed to the ideas Patterson articulated, to belong, to be American and, in exchange, to see oneself reflected in the pages of the newspaper. The *Daily News* selected its subjects carefully, yet also served a mass audience by identifying them as a legitimate base of

culture. While the newspaper reinforced the hegemony of white middle-class values, it also recognized the social and cultural shifts that characterize the 1920s.



In addition to the photographs carried with stories, the *Daily News* also dedicated two pages of each edition to photographs with captions and headlines. In the pages of one such example from September 1922 the two page spread of photographs construct a slice of this

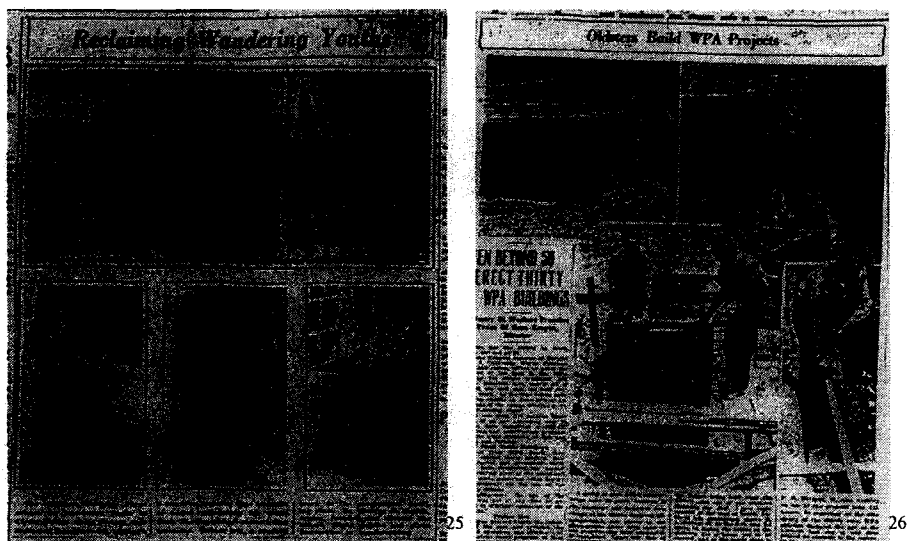
New York.²⁴ Pictures include the full urban cacophony: captured, illegal whiskey; a murder scandal, an airplane, junior firefighters being honored, striking coal barges tied up in New Jersey, pictures of society debutantes about to marry, and even a few “freak” animal stories. Together, and in concert with the accompanying captions and headlines, these photographs create a day in the life of Patterson’s America. He recasts assimilated immigrants as fully American as long as they follow the formula he prescribes based on popular culture, patriotism and “American” values.

Part III: The Sacramento Bee

Like Patterson, C.K. McClatchy, editor, publisher and owner of the *Sacramento Bee*, had specific ideas about what it meant to be an American. In McClatchy’s America, California represented the best of the country and its people. He supported labor, but was stridently anti-communist. He accepted and encouraged European immigration and new immigrants, believing they contributed to nation-building and creating a strong American type. When faced with the Great Depression, McClatchy advocated sympathy and help for those suffering as a consequence of the Great Depression; opposed President Herbert Hoover; and supported President Franklin Roosevelt and the projects of the New Deal. Yet his newspaper roundly rejected more radical

²⁴ “Strike-Hit Coal Barges All Tied Up and No Place To Go”, “Zoo’s Oddest Freak Dead”, “First Exclusive Photos of Figures in Sensational Killing Scandal at Rochester”, *Daily News*, 1 September 1922.

elements of the emerging Popular Front in California. But McClatchy struggled with race. He targeted Asian Americans, particularly the Japanese, claiming they could not be assimilated. He used very few images of Mexicans or Mexican Americans at a time when they made up a significant portion of the state's population. And he claimed that African Americans, though a small percentage of California's population, had never been assimilated. In the *Sacramento Bee*, American identity in photographs, stories and editorials was characterized as something more fluid; McClatchy was earnest in his claims that he wanted his newspaper to represent America and be fair and decent to all people, though he never came to terms with the way African Americans, Asian Americans, or those with radical politics should be a part of this vision.



In picturing the Depression, as in the two images of New Deal programs above, McClatchy and his editors aimed to reinforce the worth and success of federal intervention for all Americans. McClatchy believed that federal aid helped everyone, not just those going to work in Civilian Conservation Corps camps or those employed by the Works Progress Administration. The images above are typical of how the *Sacramento Bee* covered New Deal programs in photographs. On the left, a story, photos and captions about the CCC under the headline “Reclaiming Wandering Youths” emphasizes the order and regulation of the CCC men. The story

²⁵ “Reclaiming Wandering Youths,” photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 20 July 1935.

²⁶ “Oldsters Build WPA Projects”, photo, caption, and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 June 1936.

notes that they gain practical experience and skills that are put to use to benefit the public. On the right is a story and photos about a WPA program that put old, unemployed skilled laborers to work. The story points out that the men, who are visually depicted working hard, are all over the age of 50 and that none had to be trained, thus saving money and using skills for vital construction. For McClatchy, these men were Americans. They represented various ethnic and religious backgrounds, and they all needed help. McClatchy expanded national belonging by constructing an America in which national origin was irrelevant and in which the federal government and Californians had an obligation to ease the suffering of fellow Americans.

These three disparate publications – a social welfare journal, an upstart tabloid, and a broadsheet from the far West – and their editors constructed ideas about national belonging amid rapid social and cultural change. While each publication was unique in form, audience and intent, each captured the unique political, economic, and social and cultural conditions of its era. All three negotiated those changes by using halftone photograph reproductions to create a visual representation of citizenship for their audiences.

Chapter II: Introduction: Picturing American Newspapers

Newspaper and magazine editors met public demand by incorporating visual news into the information palette in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The images presented in their pages record the people, the period, and the subjects they depicted through the lens of early twentieth century American journalism practices, personalities, and social and cultural movements. The photograph quickly became a mainstay of American periodicals and newspapers by the beginning of the twentieth century.

But the visual dissemination of information and news began long before the advent of photography and the halftone process. Illustrations, cartoons, and other forms of visualizing the news were an important part of daily papers before the photograph became the standard method of visual proof and an important component of journalistic storytelling. Newspapers and magazines in the United States and Great Britain (as well as France and Germany) began to regularly experiment with various kinds of illustrations as early as the 1830s.²⁷ And cartoons and other woodcut drawings often appeared in print, though less frequently in newspapers than in books and other circulating materials, in the eighteenth century.

Photographs were used as a device to communicate information – information infused with truth and evidence – to the public almost from the moment they were developed in 1839. The public was quick to embrace the new technology. The earliest photo-technology, the daguerreotype, was an instant success with the public, and, importantly, with newspaper editors.²⁸ Publishers used daguerreotypes to create engravings of famous people that were published in

²⁷ Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000). p. 113

²⁸ Carlebach, *Origins of Photojournalism in America*, 7. Louis-Jaques-Mande Daguerre (France) and Henry Fox Talbot (England) invented photography independent of each other in 1839. Daguerreotypes were the first to catch on with the public – though the images produced on metal could not be reproduced. Talbot, in contrast, used paper negatives. Though his images did not catch on in America because of patent issues and poor quality, it is in Talbot's invention from which photography as we know it is derived, despite Daguerreotypes early success. Both men, according to several historical accounts, owe their discoveries to inventors and painters in the 1820s and 1830s who experimented with various photo techniques. See, John Asa Berger, *Seeing is Believing: An Introduction to Visual Communication* (Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1989) and Lemagny and Rouille, *A History of Photography*.

newspapers and periodicals, making them available to the public as early as the 1840s. The fact that these engravings came directly from the photograph gave them authority, and, even more, the public accepted engravings as honest reproductions of people and events.²⁹ Stenograph cards, prints, and portfolio albums all made their way into 19th century American homes.³⁰ Demand and popularity created another side effect: rapid technological advancement and invention that would leave a gap of just 40 years between the invention of the daguerreotype and the first successful halftone reproduction in print.³¹ The acceptance, and positioning, of photographs within the home indicates just how widespread and important photos became to Americans, particularly middle class Victorians, in the nineteenth century.³² This rapture with the new technology shows strong public demand for a visual form that would offer proof and present reality.

This desire to present reality is not surprising. While most works on photography and photojournalism begin with the daguerreotype, it is inaccurate to describe this as the first realization of how images might be reflected or captured with light. Even before daguerreotype technology artists struggled to present objects, people, and events in the most realistic way possible. The *camera obscura* was used for hundreds of years in order to allow artists to picture

²⁹ Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), p. 14.

³⁰ Orvell, *The Real Thing*.

³¹ The technological inventions are too numerous to detail, but from the time the first permanent image by Niepce (1826) to the halftone process (1880) there were dozens of photography methods used and new techniques and technologies introduced. Among them, Daguerreotypes (announced in 1839), calotypes (1841, Europe), the wet plate process (1851, this allowed for a number of the methods that followed), ambrotypes (1851), tintype (1855), the first color image (1861, London), Woodburytype (1866), gelatin dry-plate process (1871, announced; commercial in 1878); faster shutters that allow photographs of objects in “motion” (Eadweard Muybridge, 1877); the invention of repeating cameras that can record multiple images on the same plate (1881); the invention of the roll holder for film (1885); the invention of photographic emulsion (rather than paper film, 1886); the introduction of the first Kodak camera (easy to use and mass produced, 1888, cost: \$25); the x-ray photograph (1895); the Lumiere brothers exhibition of a cinema projector (1895); the introduction of the Brownie Camera (1900, retail price \$1); reliable flash bulbs for cameras (1930). For a good overview and synopsis of photo technology see, for example, Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*, Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth Century America* and Newhall, *The History of Photography*.

³² Orvell, *The Real Thing*, 75.

people and objects with as much realism as possible.³³ While the basic principles of the device – a small hole where light is allowed to enter a dark room or dark box and produces an inverted image on the opposite wall or side (the aperture eventually had a lens added which helped make the image produced more distinct) – remained much the same, the type, mobility, lenses, and uses of the apparatus changed over several hundred years.³⁴ The *camera obscura* first came to wide attention during the Renaissance when artists used it and wrote about it.³⁵ And by the 18th century several forms of the *camera obscura* and other devices were well-known and widely used, particularly by artists to trace and enhance the reality of their paintings.³⁶ Thus, by the time Daguerre and Talbot invented processes for a medium that could create a likeness of people, places, and events, artists had long tried to capture reality with their illustrations, drawings and paintings.

Photographs, by the 1840s, were thought to render the artist (in this case the photographer) objective because they seemed to be captured by light rather than by human hands. “No man quarrels with his shadow, nor will he with his miniature when the sun was the painter. Here is no interference and the distortions are not the blunders of an artist,” wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson in the mid 19th century.³⁷ In the next few decades the technological process of creating and printing photographs transformed, as did the job of those who practiced it.

But, the photograph would not wield true power in print until there was a process in place that allowed distribution of photographs to the masses. During the mid-to-late 19th century,

³³ The basic principles behind the *camera obscura* were noted by Aristotle when observing a solar eclipse. Jean-Claude Lemagny and Andre Rouille, eds., *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) note that from the 11th through the 15th centuries works by a number of scientists mention the device and its use in astronomy. The first uses of the *camera obscura*, then, were for scientific endeavors. Gradually it became popular with artists and was used in order to trace images. The artists could then add color to the tracings to produce accurate depictions.

³⁴ Lemagny and Rouille, 12.

³⁵ Lemagny and Rouille, 12.

³⁶ Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography*, 6. Gernsheim notes that these devices ranged from entire rooms to being small enough to be held.

³⁷ Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds. *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1820-1872* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1911), quoted in Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*, p. 2.

photography evolved through the collodion-on-glass negative process to the tintype to the stereography and the carte de visite. Tintypes and carte de visites broadened the appeal of photography by making it affordable for the middle classes.³⁸ Yet, photographs still could not be reproduced in newspapers or books and still could not reach a truly mass audience quickly and with uniformity. Without the ability to reproduce photographs as photographs in the pages of mass circulation publications, the images remained obviously subject to the artist's hand, and, therefore, suspect.

While artists, photographers and inventors were experimenting during the early and mid 19th century, American newspapers and publishing underwent a modernization of their own that would move the news business from provincial and political to national and seemingly “objective.” During the Revolutionary and early national periods, American newspapers were primarily concerned with commerce and politics and were aimed at an audience that could afford to participate in both. Newspapers rarely acted independently of the political parties or business interests that supported them financially. Newspapers and politics were both tumultuous during the early republic (consider, for example, the arguments presented about the Federalist Papers in 1787-8 in the *New York Independent Journal* urging the ratification of the Constitution or the battles waged in the political press between Jefferson and Adams before the election of 1800).³⁹ For various reasons, including the fact that newspapers were one of the few ways to transmit ideas across time and space and that political candidates did not campaign for themselves, newspapers were the instruments through which political parties engaged in idea-shaping and promoting events.⁴⁰ Newspapers and newspaper publishers helped create the American political

³⁸ Vicki Goldberg, *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed Our Lives* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), p.14.

³⁹ See Jeff Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001) for a discussion of newspapers and politics during the Revolutionary and early national periods. Pasley argues that newspapers in early and antebellum America were the “political system’s central institution”, and stayed so through much of the 19th century.

⁴⁰ Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*, p.5.

structure. Far from being merely instruments of the party system, they helped create it.⁴¹ What's important here is that even in a period when newspapers were fairly unorganized, contained primarily words and stories copied from others, and were subject to the politicians and newsprinters political views, they had the capacity to reach and influence an audience. This audience shared the experience of the text and ideas presented in the pages of the newspapers across geography.⁴²

Though these early papers show the potential for links tying the audience together, they did not yet create a mass press in the modern sense. Technology, as well as social and cultural shifts, came first. Early papers had few illustrations because technology, time, and costs were prohibitive. Most visual components of newspapers and periodicals were limited to crude woodcuts and cartoons. Newspaper editors took their cues – though not necessarily their political orientation, ideological grounding, or press rules – from European publications. And, for the young republic, it would be England that first integrated the visual into newsprint on a regular basis.

It's impossible to discuss the importance of the visual press in the United States without examining the rise of the visual press in England.⁴³ By the 16th and 17th centuries, crude woodcuts and other illustrations were considered a selling point for broadsides and street literature in

⁴¹ Pasley, *The Tyranny of the Printers*.

⁴² For discussions of the colonial and early national American press, see, for example, Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench, *The Press and the American Revolution* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981); Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Robert A. Gross, "Printing, Politics and the People." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 99 (1989): 375-97; Richard R. John, *Spreading the New: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); David Paul Nord, "Newspapers and American Nationhood, 1776-1826" in *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); and, in particular, Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

⁴³ That being said, Great Britain, as well as France, restricted the economic development and autonomy of the press through most of the 19th century. Reporting on Parliament and the Royal family remained fairly deferential until the end of the century. See Starr, *The Creation of the Media*, p. 147.

England.⁴⁴ These papers, pamphlets and booklets predate the widespread settlement of and emergence of a popular press in America. The American colonies had an active press in place by the eighteenth century, but British publications continued to set the standard. By the mid-1700s, monthly magazines in Britain regularly printed drawings and illustrations, though newspapers remained largely without visual content. The first broadsheets to occasionally illustrate the news in England, in the first decades of the 19th century, were *The Times* and the *Observer*, though visual content remained rare.⁴⁵ It was not until 1842 that a newspaper was founded that held as its central mission to illustrate the news.⁴⁶

The Illustrated London News was founded by Herbert Ingham and set the standard for the pictorial press in the 19th century on both sides of the Atlantic.⁴⁷ Though the paper's approach was built on the example of periodicals that preceded it, what the *Illustrated London News* did differently was continually use images to tell stories. Publisher Herbert Ingram had noted the attraction of the masses to cheaply produced papers that contained woodcuts and illustrations.⁴⁸

The first issue, on May 14, 1842, included 16 pages with 32 engravings, and featured two pages

⁴⁴ Bob Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899* (Ashgate: Burlington, VT, 2004), 247.

⁴⁵ Clarke, 247. It remained costly and complicated to illustrate the news and most publications used pictures only rarely in the early 19th century, particularly daily newspapers.

⁴⁶ There were illustration-based publications earlier, though they were not designed to illustrate the news. *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* was founded in 1832 with a mission of popular education. The magazine was aimed at curbing the influence of the radical press which founders feared was aiding popular social unrest. And, of course, the magazine weaved together social mores and codes within the text and images presented. The circulation did top 200,000, though its purpose was the dissemination of general knowledge, not news and information. In addition, other magazines of similar purpose were founded in England during this period. See Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁴⁷ See, for example, George Perry, "Pioneer of the picture scoop", *The Sunday Times Magazine*, May 7, 1967; Frederick Dorling Bone, "The birth of the picture paper: early days of the *Illustrated London News*", *World's Press News*, July 25, 1929; Leonard de Vries, ed. *Panorama 1842-1865: The World of the early Victorians Through the Eyes of the Illustrated London News* (London: John Murray, 1967) and *History as Hot News 1865-1897: The Late 19th Century as Seen Through The Eyes of the Illustrated London News and The Graphic* (London: John Murray, 1973); Alan Hamilton, "All the Pictures Fit to Print", *The Times* (London), October 22, 1981; Christopher Hibbert, *The Illustrated London News: Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1977); Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), etc.

⁴⁸ Robert Craig, "Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising" printed in Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, eds., *Picturing the Past: Media, History and Photography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999): 44.

of illustrations of the Fancy Dress Ball at Buckingham Palace and a cover illustration of a fire in Hamburg, Germany.⁴⁹ The first edition is representative of the types of stories –royal happenings, major disasters and news events, and cultural and political leaders - the *Illustrated London News* carried for decades.

The engravings in the *Illustrated London News* were larger, more detailed and exacting than any visual news that had appeared in the press before. They seemed to render the text secondary.⁵⁰ Ingham himself set forth the mission of the paper in its first issue:

We know that the advent of an Illustrated Newspaper in this country must mark an epoch – give wealth to Literature and stores to History, and put, as it were milestones upon the traveled road of time ... The life of the times – the sins of its taste and intelligence – its public monuments and public men – its festivals – institutions – amusements – discoveries – and the very reflection of its living manners and costumes – the variegated dresses of its mind and body – what are – what must be all these but treasures of truth that would have lain hid in Time’s tomb, or perished amid the sand of his hour-glass but for the enduring and resuscitating powers of art – the eternal register of the pencil giving life and vigor and palpability to the confirming details of the pen.⁵¹

The paper, then, would picture the news. And those pictures would provide proof for the words of the pen. The editors did this self-consciously: “The public will have henceforth under their glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality, and with evidence, visible as well as circumstantial.”⁵² Despite the fact that the pictures in the paper were drawings, rendered by an artist, they were infused with reality and truth. They were, in fact, evidence of events. Yet, because of the artists’ hand in picturing events, those pictures and drawings would remain suspect.

⁴⁹ Clarke, 247.

⁵⁰ Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp 14- 15. Brown’s book provides the most detailed, nuanced account of the pictorial press in nineteenth century America. His work highlights the role of Frank Leslie and *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* to reveal social and political strife in the United States, and the often contradictory role and messages of the pictorial press in as the country. His analysis places the pictorial press at the center of several interwoven aspects of U.S. modernization in the nineteenth century – both as representing these tensions and as an agent/actor in provoking change.

⁵¹ “Preface,” *Illustrated London News* I (1842); quoted in Brown, 15.

⁵² *Ibid*, *Illustrated London News*, May 14, 1842.

Over time, the *Illustrated London News* came to represent the journalistic standard – they “covered” the Crimean War with wood engravings of photographs and brought Queen Victoria to life through portraits. The publication was successful, measured by its steep rise in circulation. Within a year of publication, the *Illustrated London News* had a circulation topping 60,000. With the coverage of events like the Crimean War (1854-1856), celebratory coverage of Great Britain’s colonial empire, and detailed followings of the royal family, circulation pushed past 100,000 by the middle of the 19th century. Ingram placed an emphasis on speedy gathering and picturing of the news. He wanted his “readers to see as well as read the news.” He used pictures to convey information that might be difficult to verbalize.⁵³ And, the publication referred to its illustrations as the “pictured register of the world’s history” – advancing the idea of illustrations continuing the tradition of history painting and offering a record of events and “treasure trove” for future generations.⁵⁴ In the pages of the *London Illustrated News*, a modern age of visual journalism was born.

But, the *Illustrated London News* took this one step further by promoting the values and appealing to the social mores of the middle-class, and, in short, redefining the audience for pictured news. Rather than focusing on crime and salacious stories popular at the time, especially in pictured news, the paper focused its attention on wars, royalty, and international events.⁵⁵ The paper also didn’t hesitate to moralize. When a young soldier, Colonel Fawcett, was killed in a duel in 1843, the paper was quick to call for a stop to the practice: “Wipe away the stigma of dueling from the world’s escutcheon, and let the sin perish from the bosom of the land. Let the press and the pulpit assist the people to put it down. Let all human eloquence and virtue and

⁵³ Schuneman, “Art or Photography: A Question of Newspaper Editors of the 1890s,” 44.

⁵⁴ Dona Schwartz, “Objective Representation: Photographs as Facts”, in Brennen and Hardt, 165

⁵⁵ Among the authors who discuss this point are Clark, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street*; Brown, *Beyond the Lines*; Celina Fox, “The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration during the 1840s and Early 1850s,” *Past and Present*, no. 74 (February 1977); Christopher Hibbert, “*The Illustrated London News*”: *Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus and Robertson, 1975); Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885); etc.

power have a voice for its extinction for evermore.”⁵⁶ The paper appealed to people in moral – and explicitly Christian – terms. In calling for the end of dueling, the paper also argued that Christian spirit and God’s will needed to be abided by in calling for the Government to legislate dueling as murder. In the same edition as news of the duel, readers also received other forms of moral uplift: illustrations of the exhibition of cartoons in Westminster Hall; the Thames Regatta; and a two-page spread on the “brilliant reunions of the Court which ever excite an interest among the people.”⁵⁷ This two-page illustrated package included pictures of nobility being presented to Queen Victoria, nobles mingling in the tapestry chamber and the guard room, and long lines of carriages and processions.

Beyond the pomp and circumstance, there was news from foreign lands that exemplified the chaos of the world outside England. In an article and illustrations about the opium trade, the Chinese are depicted as physically and intellectually attached to opium, though the primary focus of the article is to discuss how it is produced in different countries and how demand for the drug has changed. Opium packages and an opium smoker are pictured – though the smoker is, of course, not English. Instead, an Asian man is depicted barefoot in non-western dress, smoking opium. In short, the article and accompanying pictures make the opium problem non-English; and it is only a last line of text that acknowledges that the drug is growing in popularity among “workers” in England and should be outlawed by Parliament– in the hopes of disassociating England from the disorder of the outside world.⁵⁸ The paper, even in this single edition, is appealing to the social mores of a middle and upper class audience through its focus on royalty, intellectual uplift through education, and its depiction of “otherness” in the opium trade. The paper defines what it means to be English. And that definition is crafted by a vision using illustrations and text in concert to make claims about national belonging.

⁵⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, III, July 8, 1843.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Britain was culpable. At the end of the First Opium War in 1842, was fought with the aim of allowing free trade of opium.

The paper had a middling to upper class target audience. The price of the *Illustrated London News* – sixpence – would have been too expensive for anyone outside of the middle and upper classes. Moreover, the vision it presented of England was decidedly idealized and class-based.⁵⁹ Problems of England’s laboring classes and immigrants were largely absent from the pages of the newspaper or, if present, attributed to the influence of outsiders. The vision being promoted in the pages of the *Illustrated London News* was one in which England stood as an ordered, prosperous, industrial society.⁶⁰ Chaos was something that happened in other countries. And holding the values of the middle and upper classes were what it meant to be an English subject. Indeed, the *News*’ vision of the world pictured England, particularly the middle and upper classes, at the heart of the civilized, moral world. The experiment worked. The paper’s circulation topped 300,000 by 1863.⁶¹ It paid to have a vision pictured.

The paper was a success, and imitators quickly appeared: *The Pictorial Times* (1843), *Illustrated Midland News* (1869), the *Graphic* (1869), the *Penny Illustrated Paper* (1861), and the *Illustrated Police News* (1864).⁶² The success of illustrated papers was not unnoticed on the Continent or across the Atlantic.

In the days before illustrated newspapers were established, daily newspapers in the United States underwent profound technological and ideological transformations that included experimentation with visual news and the first inroads to an “independent” and “objective” press.⁶³ The penny press era, inaugurated when Benjamin Day launched the *Sun* in New York

⁵⁹ Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, p. 16.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 17. Brown also notes that during this period the leading daily newspaper in the country, *The London Times*, had a circulation of just 70,000. The public had an appetite for seeing, as well as reading, the news.

⁶² Clarke notes that these papers were all aimed at different audiences. While the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic* tended to appeal to the middle and upper classes, the *Penny Illustrated Paper* and the *Illustrated Police News* aimed at a lower or working class audience. At issue, according to Clarke, was the content of the papers – what each covered, the quality and truth of the drawings, and the text that accompanied each. Finally, regional versions of the national London illustrated papers also emerged.

⁶³ Among those inventions in place that allowed transformations of newspapers business to take place: availability of cheaper paper, the invention of faster and more efficient presses, including steam power, new typesetting and preparation techniques, and others.

City in 1833, marked a significant transition in newspapering in the United States.⁶⁴ Instead of relying on the patronage of political parties and newspaper cost, Day and his contemporaries relied on advertising dollars and circulation numbers to stay financially afloat. This gave the newspapers political “independence” and allowed them to claim objectivity, something editors and the public would later claim photographs also provided.⁶⁵ But, it also meant the newspapers needed high circulation to attract advertisers. The price of these newspapers was dropped from sixpence to a penny (thus the term “penny press”) and newsboys sold the papers on the streets of New York and, eventually, other major American cities. And importantly, stories in the paper were geared toward a mass audience by focusing on crime reports, sensational events, and human interest news.⁶⁶ These types of news stories were among the first to be “pictured” in the 1830s, though engravings and woodcuts, for the most part, remained too expensive and time consuming to be part of daily newspapers with any regularity.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ There has been some historical debate about the importance and influence of the penny press. Some historians, such as John Nerone in his “The Mythology of the Penny Press”, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 376-404, argue that the penny press represents just one moment in one urban center during a small period. However, most historians agree that while the penny press may not have sparked immediate change in the press nationally, it is an important moment in newspaper history because of claims of independence and the types of stories and issues being covered. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, argues that the penny press replaced the elite mercantile press and should be read as parallel to the changing relationship in society as a whole, with the rise of the middle class and the increasing importance of the marketplace. Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, argues that in fact ideas are at the root of the rise of the penny press and that the press championed an egalitarian vision of the nation and its people. See also, Tucher, *Froth and Scum* and Starr, *The Creation of the Media*.

⁶⁵ Newspaper editors were no longer on the direct payroll of political parties. Most, however, maintained an editorial policy that aligned with one of the major political parties. And, as discussed earlier, newspaper publishers in the Revolutionary and Early National periods were often as much politicians as they were printers, meaning they had a profound impact on the construction of the American political system.

⁶⁶ Prior to Day’s *Sun*, the biggest circulating newspapers in New York were *Journal of Commerce*, the *Post*, and the *Courier and Enquirer* and were distributed via subscription rather than street sale. Six penny papers continued to exist during the penny press period, geared toward politics or toward commerce. Publishers at these papers considered the penny press reprehensible and unfortunate – beneath the standards they had set (see, for example, Schudson, *Discovering the News*; Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*; Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Tucher, *Froth and Scum*; etc.). In the end, however, it was the penny press that came to represent the norm in American newspaper publishing and from which we can trace modern journalism practice and form. The transition from partisan/mercantile press to a more commercial press took decades. See, for example, William E. Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865, The History of American Journalism*, Number 3 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994)..

⁶⁷ Tucher notes that woodcut illustrations were “too expensive” and “too time-consuming” in the 1830s for publishers the penny press to include even in their most sensational stories. Tucher, *Froth and Scum*, p. 28.

These papers also began a move toward the doctrine of objectivity in their claims to independence. Separated from the ties of political patronage and strict merchant interest, these papers were increasingly interested in the facts and truths they were presenting. They wore their independence with pride, though the newspapers still reflected a strong point-of-view and shaped stories to match. During this period, editors claimed they were presenting the “facts” to people, and that people would then be able, facts-in-hand, to understand the issues and make value judgments. However, stories and engravings reflected the stories editors wanted told – humbug, embellishment, and blatant fiction included.⁶⁸ Even more, these editors helped shape a vision of the world as they wanted it to be. They helped define and reflect the tenants of citizenship, nationhood, and belonging. In picturing events, they tried to shape an idealized vision of themselves, and draw lines between those who did not meet the established values of what being American was all about.

The most successful of these new editors was James Gordon Bennett, founder of the *New York Herald* (1835).⁶⁹ Bennett was among the first to successfully employ illustrations as an aspect of reporting and communicating news and information. Bennett used some illustrations in the *New York Herald* in the 1830s and 1840s (as did other major newspapers) to appear alongside stories of politics and crime – pictures of people involved in sensational news and events, though

⁶⁸ See Tucher, *Froth and Scum*.

⁶⁹ There are numerous studies available on Bennett and the penny press. In James L. Courthamel, *Bennet's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), Bennett is seen as the central figure in establishing a cheap, modern popular press. This thesis, of course, is questionable given the importance of Day, the rise of illustrated newspapers, and the technological and industrial innovations that characterized the rise of the press at the end of the 19th century. Other scholars treat Bennett in the wider realm of the rise of the penny press and the doctrine of objectivity. Still, these beginnings have been called an “origins myth” by some scholars, notably John Nerone in his “The Mythology of the Penny Press”, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 376-404. Michael Schudson sees Bennett as his peers as part of a middle class penny press responsible for the democratization of the press and the roots of the American press infatuation with objectivity in *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). See also, Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); David T.Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How Objectivity Came to Define Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); and Starr, *The Creation of the Media*.

these illustrations didn't stand alone or convey news independent of the text.⁷⁰ The *New York Herald's* relationship with illustrations began with an engraving depicting the fire of 1835 that left lower Manhattan in ashes. The paper ran occasional news engravings on the front page that followed the type of news it covered: crime, sensational events, important people, and high-society events.⁷¹

But these illustrations, as was the case with much of the penny press in this era, were unburdened by the constraints of the modern press in the "facts" they presented.⁷² Illustrations were used alongside elaborate stories that were sometimes over-dramatized, falsified, or even faked. When New York prostitute Helen Jewett was murdered in the mid-1830s, her image and story were printed in papers and cheap pamphlets and distributed throughout the city. Bennett's descriptions of Jewett bordered on martyrdom and all New York's newspapers took liberties in retelling her story, fitting the facts to their pre-established findings.⁷³ Truth had a different meaning and the public understood that information presented in the rag-tag broadsheets in Jacksonian-era New York were to be eyed with suspicion.⁷⁴

Still, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century newspapers started to include illustrations to enhance storytelling. Bennett's *New York Herald* was the first paper to devote an entire cover to pictures. When Andrew Jackson died in 1845, the paper published five detailed wood cuts on the front page of the funeral procession. The authenticity of the images was called into question by other newspapers – the images had already appeared to illustrate Queen

⁷⁰ Tucher, *Froth and Scum*.

⁷¹ Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 12.

⁷² See, for example, Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) or Tucher, *Froth and Scum*.

⁷³ Tucher, *Froth and Scum*, 26-36.

⁷⁴ Many historians have written about the exaggeration, ballyhoo, and humbug, as well as about P.T. Barnum during this period. See, for example, Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P.T. Barnum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Tucher, *Froth and Scum*; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Catherine M. Andronik, *Prince of Humbugs: The Life of P.T. Barnum* (New York: Atheneum, 1994); and, of course, books written by Barnum himself: *Struggles and Triumphs of P.T. Barnum, Told By Himself*, John G. O'Leary, ed. (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967) and *Humbugs of the World* (New York: G.W. Carleton, 1865).

Victoria's coronation, William Henry Harrison's funeral, and other events.⁷⁵ And while the artist put on a defense of his work, the "truth" presented in the pages of the penny press – both in text and in pictures – were dubious at best. But, the images of luxury carriages and a procession are telling in several respects. They reflect a desire for the sense of state that the images of the British coronation conveyed. They demonstrate a desire on the part of editors to visually tell stories. And they demonstrate a desire to use illustrations to display, craft, and create nation.

Bolstered by circulation booms brought on by the American Civil War, a lively and booming national illustrated press emerged in the United States in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ The introduction of illustrated weeklies provided visual news inroads into telling stories in concert with words. The biggest contributors to illustrated news in the United States, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* and *Harper's Weekly*, made illustrations the major component of each edition. *Leslie's*, the first commercially successful illustrated weekly in America when it appeared in 1855, was a socially conscious paper that took up crusades in pictures.⁷⁷ Photos were used as models for illustrators to describe news events. The first edition featured an engraving copied from a Matthew Brady photograph – credit was given to both Brady *and* the engraver.⁷⁸ Already, the importance of the photograph, and the photographer, had seeped into American culture. Giving credit to Brady infused the image with authority – it had come from a photograph of the actual event. *Harper's Weekly* began publication two years after *Leslie's* and fashioned itself as competition with the older magazine. In May 1857 it announced a new policy: the magazine would "be happy to receive sketches or photographic pictures of striking scenes, important events, and leading men from artists in every port of the world, and to

⁷⁵ Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 12-14.

⁷⁶ And, indeed, following in the footsteps of the illustrated press already established in Great Britain. Illustrated papers appeared in the United States after the *Illustrated London News* proved the logistics of how an illustrated paper could be produced and the fact that it could be a financial success.

⁷⁷ Frank Leslie, in fact, had worked at the *Illustrated London News* prior to founding *Leslie's*. Brown's *Beyond the Lines* recounts the story of how young Henry Carter arrived in New York in 1848 and adopted the name Frank Leslie as his American identity. Brown, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁸ Michael L. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 63-64.

pay liberally for such as they may use.”⁷⁹ *Harper’s* felt the draw of the visual in the form of a circulation boom and treated illustrations and engravings as factual news. For example, it published carved illustrations of Civil War battles (many copied from photographs), and it nearly always gave credit to the photographer, understanding the public’s belief in the infallibility of the medium.⁸⁰

Like the *Illustrated London News*, *Harper’s* was aimed at the middle and upper classes.⁸¹ In contrast, Leslie’s tried to attract a larger audience by depicting a variety of scenes with a more “inclusive” appeal, and, at times, even targeting elites.⁸² In some ways, illustrations like those used by *Harper’s* and *Leslie’s* had the ability to capture and communicate more; photos were still and static.⁸³ Artists working from photographs for these publications could choose what to emphasize, what to leave in an illustration and what to remove, and to shape how readers viewed events. The perception at the time was the photographs were not as open to interpretation or altering by the artist. Indeed, pictures were thought to be powerful tools. Pictorial news in this period offers insight into the way the public perceived and responded to major events of the period – from the Civil War to labor crises to Reconstruction.⁸⁴ Editors at *Leslie’s Illustrated* were trying to negotiate a unity among classes, regions, religions in a period marked by rapid social change and a demanding “middle” readership (itself in crisis because of the tensions of the Civil War and Gilded Age). This effort failed. Leslie and his staff tried to balance a positive picture of American progress and potential, yet also reflect the prevailing fears of immigration, industrialization, black-white tensions, and labor unrest in the 19th century.⁸⁵ Again, Leslie, like

⁷⁹ quoted in Carlebach, 64.

⁸⁰ Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*, 64-65.

⁸¹ In addition to Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, the *Harper’s Weekly* website has detailed information about the history of the paper and its aims: <http://www.harpweek.com>

⁸² Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 41-43.

⁸³ Craig, “Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising” printed in Brennen and Hardt.

⁸⁴ Brown, *Beyond the Lines*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

the editors at the *Illustrated London News*, used his illustrated paper to reflect a vision of America and what it meant to belong, however contradictory that vision might be.

Woodcuts and steel engravings were often identified as “photographs” by editors, providing them with newsworthiness and legitimacy prior to the introduction of photography in the pages of newspapers and periodicals.⁸⁶ But in the late nineteenth century, as photography became affordable to a wider audience, the demand grew for a technology to reproduce photographs in publications. As early as 1852, editors of the *New York Daily Graphic*, who used photographs as the basis of their illustrations, saw the benefit of photographs for representing events: “We propose to illustrate daily occurrences in such a way that the life of our times shall become photographic’ and the illustration of events will be as accurate and pleasing and elegant as any word painting in the text.”⁸⁷ But photographers and publishers continued to search for an effective, inexpensive way to reproduce photographs for almost 30 more years. In the 1870s at the *New York Daily Graphic* (a different newspaper, but with the same name), photographers began experiments that culminated with the March 4, 1880 publication of a halftone. This photoengraving involved the use of cross-lined screens that broke the tones of photos into a series of tiny dots that were nearly invisible to the naked eye.⁸⁸ The photograph that the *Daily Graphic* carried that day depicted a shantytown in New York and included a description that claimed it was a “reproduction direct from nature.” The process was not fully developed, nor was it adopted by most newspapers and periodicals for nearly two decades.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Carlbach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*, 3.

⁸⁷ “Topics of the Day: About Ourselves,” *New York Daily Graphic*, 4 March 1853, quoted in Carlbach, p. 150.

⁸⁸ Information taken from Carlbach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*, particularly pp. 161-163.

⁸⁹ There were a variety of reasons for this, including competing types of halftone processes that made editors reluctant to invest money in a process that might not survive; a belief that halftone screens were incompatible with the large high-speed presses that newspapers adopted in the nineteenth century; and, according to some scholars, like Phillips, the complicated labor issues connected to engravings and photography. Halftone technology was improved during the 1880s and 1890s and eventually left little doubt that they would ultimately replace steel and wood engravings in periodicals. See, Carlbach, p. 165. It is worthwhile to note that once the halftone was in place it very much fed off the style, iconography, and subjects of the pictorial press that preceded it.

Any discussion of late nineteenth century American newspapering must consider the role of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in using visual elements to tell stories. Joseph Pulitzer arrived on the New York City newspaper scene in 1883 when he purchased the *New York World*. Pulitzer, an Austrian Jewish immigrant, started his career in St. Louis years earlier, earning enough to purchase the *St. Louis Post and Dispatch* by 1878.⁹⁰ It was in St. Louis that Pulitzer developed the “newspaper crusade” that would later characterize the coverage of the *New York World*. But when Pulitzer arrived in New York, he had work to do because circulation had slipped to 15,000. Pulitzer, who believed the highest mission of newspapers was to speak the truth about current events, used crusading, investigative journalism, sensational stories and a new visual formula that included large illustrations, stunning headlines and breezy stories to capture readers.⁹¹ It worked: circulation rose to 60,000 within a year; and to 250,000 by the mid-1880s.⁹² Pulitzer was a shrewd businessman: he wanted people to buy his newspaper to increase circulation which, in turn, helped increase advertising sales and revenue. By the end of Pulitzer’s first decade in New York, *The World* alone stood atop the newspaper market.

Pulitzer was not alone in New York for long. William Randolph Hearst, the son of wealth and privilege, thundered into New York City in 1895, purchasing the stumbling *New York Journal* from Joseph Pulitzer’s estranged brother Albert. The publication was known along New York’s Park Row, where newspaper life in the city centered, as a “washer-woman’s gazette,” meaning it was full of gossip and paid little attention to politics and civic causes.⁹³ Hearst brought the most talented members of his *San Francisco Examiner* staff to New York and was not coy about out-spending and out-sensationalizing the *World* to attract readers and to challenge

⁹⁰ Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 91.

⁹¹ Hy B. Turner, *When Giants Ruled: The Story of Park Row, New York’s Great Newspaper Street* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), p. 103.

⁹² Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 92.

⁹³ Turner, *When Giants Ruled*, p. 119.

Pulitzer.⁹⁴ He also blatantly emulated the style of Pulitzer's newspaper with bold headlines, liberal use of illustrations and cartoons, and sensationalized stories and crusades. In fact, Hearst made it his mission to dethrone *The World* as the most widely read newspaper in the country.⁹⁵ Both newspapers relied on self-promotion in the form of billboards, advertisements, and stories that embellished the role of their reporters in getting and telling the news.⁹⁶ Within months the newspaper owners engaged in a circulation war that had reporters scrambling for the biggest news, editors making use of illustrations, and self-promotion campaigns that involved just about everyone. These battles took place on the eve of the Spanish American War, a conflict that played out in Hearst and Pulitzer's newspapers in striking headlines, dramatic illustrations and both visual and textual exaggeration.

The United States had a long and complicated interest in Cuba.⁹⁷ As events unfolded during the last half decade of the nineteenth century, Americans watched with anticipation, hoping that the island would fall under U.S. influence.⁹⁸ The Cuban war for independence officially began in February 1895 when a group of Cubans organized the Cuban Revolutionary movement in opposition to Spanish rule of the island. Spanish authorities tried to quash the movement, but in the 18 months that followed the movement spread across the island as Cubans rejected Spanish reforms and developed their own military structure and government institutions.

⁹⁴ "Hearst in New York", in David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), pp 95-124.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp 123-124.

⁹⁶ This is commonly considered the era of "yellow" journalism, characterized by illustrations, embellishment and sensational stories, and a circulation war between Hearst and Pulitzer that led each man to up the stakes with more sensationalism and claims each year.

⁹⁷ Historians describe the Cuban conflict, and the U.S. intervention from a variety of viewpoints, including "American imperialistic endeavors; expansionism; international national politics; masculinity; newspaper circulation wars and sensationalism; and Spain's failing empire.

⁹⁸ For more on the United States-Cuban relations in the nineteenth century see, among others, Louis A. Perez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); and Walter LeFeber, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. 2* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 1993).

Spain tried to enforce peace, but when that failed, destroyed crops and goods used by the revolutionaries.⁹⁹ Newspapers of the era chronicled the suffering of women, the elderly and children in the aftermath of the devastation. In 1897 the Spanish government sent Ramon Blanco to govern the rebelling island; it was too late because Cubans, in the wake of Spanish abandonment, joined the revolutionary cause.¹⁰⁰

The American press, throughout the rebellion, engaged in a crusade to encourage the U.S. government to intervene on behalf of the Cuban rebels. The newspapers awakened sympathy in the United States for the suffering Cubans, actively encouraged their mass readership to pressure the government to aid the revolutionaries, and promoted the acquisition of an empire within the United States' sphere of influence. The rebellion, then, gave the United States the opportunity to join a crusade to both free the island from Spain, but also to add to its own empire and thereby spread American ideology. Moreover, the shift toward intervention in the United States occurred just as Spain faced discontent domestically on the heels of plummeting credit on the European markets and a colonial uprising in the Philippines.¹⁰¹ The struggle for Cuba gave Hearst and Pulitzer just the cause they needed to expand readership and promote the internationalist, jingoistic politics they advocated in the pages of the *Journal* and *World*. Both newspapers would use drawings and illustrations to rally Americans to their position.

Hearst and Pulitzer's use of illustrations is particularly evident in coverage of the "rescue" of Evangelina Cosio y Cisneros, a woman from a prominent Cuban family who was imprisoned by the Spanish on suspicion of aiding Cuban revolutionaries.¹⁰² Evangelina Cisneros was discovered by Hearst correspondents visiting Casa de Recojidas to investigate reports that

⁹⁹ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, p. 43. In addition, in 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii, defeated Spain, acquired Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam. Cuba was not acquired, much to the dismay of numerous twentieth century American presidents, but it was occupied by the U.S. military after the war ended. It eventually was forced to accept protectorate status.

¹⁰² Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, p. 58.

American women were being held captive. The reporters noticed Cisneros and obtained her story from the jailer: she accompanied her father when he was banished to the Isle of Pines in 1895. She was saved from the carnal desires of the military governor by three prisoners on the island. She was then accused of “enticing” the military governor to enter her room where three rebels waited to kill him, free other prisoners and take control of the island. She was captured and brought to Havana for trial, and had been in prison for 10 months when the American correspondents spotted her.¹⁰³ Evangelina Cisneros and her supporters told a different story, claiming her only “crime” was that she resisted the military governor’s advances.¹⁰⁴ The press played a significant role in bringing Cisneros’ story to the American public, but more than that, the press reshaped Evangelina Cisneros’ story and image for a mass audience in order to meet jingoistic and circulation goals of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer.

Hearst’s attention was first drawn to Cisneros’ story when he received a dispatch from one of his Cuban-based correspondents: “Havana. Evangelina Cisneros, pretty girl of seventeen years, related to President of Cuban Republic is to be imprisoned for twenty years on African coast, for having taken part in uprising of Cuban political prisoners on Isle of Pines.”¹⁰⁵ Hearst’s campaign to encourage the United States’ entry into the Cuban conflict with the Spanish had faltered during the summer of 1897 and he saw Cisneros as a story that would be viable for the front page and refocus reader attention on various atrocities in Cuba.¹⁰⁶ During the next several months, Hearst and his staff worked tirelessly for the release of the “Cuban Joan of Arc” in the pages of the *Journal*. Hearst’s lead correspondent James Creelman collected more than 10,000 signatures and letters of appeal from prominent figures, including President McKinley’s mother,

¹⁰³ Charles H. Brown, *The Correspondent’s War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1967), p. 95-6.

¹⁰⁴ Joyce Milton, *The Yellow Kids: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989).

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Ben Procter, *William Randolph Hearst: The Early Years, 1863-1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.105-6.

¹⁰⁶ David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston:Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), p.128.

Julia Ward Howe, Varina Howell Davis (wife of Jefferson Davis), former President Grant's wife, and many others.¹⁰⁷ From the moment Hearst learned about Cisneros, he knew he had a story that could be used to rally the American people by highlighting gender, portraying the Cuban cause as just and right, and by arguing against a European power, in this case Spain, interfering in the sphere of influence of the United States. Regardless of whether it was an event worth covering, whether conditions were as bad as Hearst's correspondents reported them, or whether Cisneros was guilty, Hearst launched a full-blown campaign on her behalf casting her a martyr. But the real "story" was yet to come.

The real event, and illustrations, came when Cisneros was "rescued" in October of 1897 by Hearst and the *Journal*, at least according to the newspaper. Newspaper staffers circumvented government inaction, official channels, and red-tape to "rescue" Cisneros. The stories and illustrations started on October 8, 1897 with the *Journal* announcing Cisneros' escape from prison. The newspaper carried an illustration of Cisneros and a copy of a handwritten note from Cisneros thanking the *Journal* and its staff for their efforts on her behalf.¹⁰⁸ The accompanying caption calls Cisneros a "patriot" and the "heroine" of a "sensational adventure with the Spanish Governor of the Isle of Pines." It goes on to say that the "*Journal's* work on her behalf to secure her release excited the sympathy and support of the women of the nation."¹⁰⁹ Hearst's newspaper takes credit for keeping the Cisneros case before the public and constructs her as a beautiful patriot heroine, rather than a revolutionary accused of plotting the death of a Spanish official. Two days later, the *Journal* admitted its role in Cisneros' escape, noting that "An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a Single Stroke What the Red Tape of Diplomacy Failed Utterly to Bring About in Many Months" in its headline. Within the story, the *Journal* reporters claim that they arranged her escape by crossing the space between their rented house and the prison next

¹⁰⁷ Brown, 97 and Milton, 198 for a description of the ways women got involved with the Cisneros case in the United States.

¹⁰⁸ "Evangelina Cossio Cisneros on Her Way to the United States After Her Sensational Escape from Prison", illustration and caption, *The New York Evening Journal*, 8 October 1897

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

door via a wooden plank across the roof. Moreover, the stories claim the newspaper accomplished with “Strength, skill, and strategy what could not be accomplished by petition and urgent request of the Pope.”¹¹⁰ Later in the week the newspaper ran an extra edition of the newspaper that included several illustrations of Cisneros and the conditions of her *Journal*-arranged “rescue.” Among the drawings is an illustration demonstrating its “rescue” of Cisneros (below). In the illustration, the *Journal* is portrayed as a knight, rescuing the maiden Cisneros from a Cuban prison where a guard sleeps.



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Nearly all of the images of Cisneros in the *Journal* portray her as a beautiful, somewhat helpless woman in distress. She is cast in this role by the *Journal* for political and economic reasons. In using images along with sensational stories, the *Journal* constructs Cisneros as a victim of Spanish treachery and shows a mass American audience what it should be fighting for politically and how it should view the world. But it is a win-win situation for the newspaper because depicting Cisneros as a heroine-martyr also works economically by helping the newspaper achieve its circulation and revenue goals.

Meanwhile, down Park Row from the *Journal*'s inventive newsroom, Joseph Pulitzer and staffers at the *World* did their best to ignore the Cisneros story as long as possible and, indeed,

¹¹⁰ *The New York Morning Journal*, 10 October 1897.

¹¹¹ “The Days of Knight Errantry Are Still With Us”, illustration, *New York Journal*, Extra Edition, 13 October 1987.

attempted to uncover the “rescue” as fraudulent. Eventually, of course, Pulitzer and the *World* were caught up in the hyper-reality of the event and published a series of stories about Cisneros’ escape. Unlike the stories and illustrations in the *Journal*, the *World* downplayed the role of journalists, but noted the sympathy her plight received in the United States. Though the *World* did not acknowledge it, this sympathy was created by Hearst and staffers at the *Journal*. The *World* dedicated pages of print, including illustrations, to the Cisneros rescue, admitting that two American reporters aided her (though not mentioning they were from arch-rival the *Journal*). On October 14, 1897, the *World* dedicated a full page to the story of Cisneros’ escape. The newspaper included a series of illustrations tracing how Cisneros escaped on the Seneca steamship. The accompanying story recounts how she escaped, donning the clothing and passport of a man, and made her way past guards. The images (below) capture her escape panel-by-panel for an American audience.



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But, as with the stories in the *Journal*, the *World* portrays Cisneros as a frail, beautiful woman, and ignores her background as a rebel and revolutionary. Among the illustrations are pictures of Cisneros “praying,” dressed as a man, surviving a treacherous sea voyage, and telling her story to

¹¹² “Incidents in the Escape of Miss Cisneros From Havana and her Voyage to New York”, illustration, *The World*, 14 October 1897.

fellow passengers. Cisneros was who Pulitzer needed her to be; in the illustrations and text she is a beautiful, faithful Christian woman victimized by the treachery of the Spanish.

Both Hearst and Pulitzer continued their newspaper circulation war throughout the Spanish American War, running full-page illustrations with each major event of the conflict. For example, in both newspapers stories about the bombing of the Maine coincided with calls for U.S. intervention and control. However, this was more than just a circulation war for the two men. Both had a point-of-view about U.S. overseas expansion that was perpetuated in the pages of their newspapers. Part of the way they expressed these political goals and desires was through the use of illustrations to represent events. And within these illustrations are representations of national belonging. Foreigners are depicted in particular ways and the United States is constructed as the literal knight in shining armor. These images, however, are important in the birth of photojournalism. Twentieth century editors, many of them familiar with the work of Hearst and Pulitzer, understood how late nineteenth century editors used illustrations to make points, to visualize events, and, importantly, to visualize people and belonging. As the twentieth century dawned, social justice progressives, armed with an understanding of visual power in the mass media, descended into America's urban centers to reconstruct America and Americans.

Part I: American Charity: Paul U. Kellogg and *Charities and the Commons*

Chapter 3: *The Survey* and Halftone Photograph Reproductions

We wanted to make the town real – to itself; not in goody-goody preachment of what it ought to be; not in sensational discoloration; not merely in a formidable array of rigid facts. There was the census at one pole; and yellow journalism at the other; and we were on the high seas between the chartings of such dauntless explorers as Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens before us. This is why we try to tell our findings through the eye as well as through the written word.

*Paul U. Kellogg, 1914*¹¹³

In 1937, Paul U. Kellogg penned introductory remarks for the celebration commemorating the 25th anniversary of Survey Associates, noting that reporters, editors and photographers at *Survey* “were quick to catch that distinction between fact gathering and editorials” and that the journal was among the first to use photographs, drawings, and charts explain social conditions for a wide audience.¹¹⁴ Kellogg, editor at *Charities and the Commons* and *Survey* for much of the first half of the twentieth century, cited four main ingredients that made the social welfare magazine a success: the tradition of muckraking journalism; the arts, including photography; dynamic social work; and research techniques. Looking back across decades of crusading social work journalism, he cited 1907 as a banner year “when, with the backing of the Russell Sage Foundation, we set out on the Pittsburgh Survey, which was to give us our name, our scope and many of our techniques.”¹¹⁵ The Pittsburgh Survey also represents a high-point in the fusion of halftones and text for *Charities and the Commons* (renamed *Survey* in the wake of the Pittsburgh Survey’s success). In special editions of *Charities and the Commons*, investigator’s findings were highlighted with photographs, drawings, charts and maps in a visual formula the magazine tinkered with for years in an effort to attract a broad, non-specialist

¹¹³ Paul U. Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work off the Pittsburgh Survey”, in Kellogg, ed., *The Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage*, (New York, Arno Press, 1974, 1914), p. 510.

¹¹⁴ Paul U. Kellogg, December 1937, Paul U. Kellogg papers, box 9, folder unnumbered, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota (hereafter cited as SWHA). The exact date of the document is unclear in the folder, though it was to commemorate the silver anniversary of Survey Associates, the cooperative publishing society that oversaw the magazine. Kellogg’s work with *Survey Graphic*, *Survey*, and *Charities and the Commons* (the name changes, in reverse order, the magazine underwent in the twentieth century) begins at the turn of the century.

¹¹⁵ Paul U. Kellogg, December 1937, Paul U. Kellogg papers, box 9, folder unnumbered, SWHA.

audience to what had been a journal aimed at practitioners of the new social work. With the Pittsburgh Survey and other studies the journal undertook in the first decades of the twentieth century, *Charities and the Commons* made the formula work by using halftone reproductions to highlight social conditions in Progressive-era America and by using images to present reformers' interpretations of America and Americans.

Kellogg understood the power of photography and strove to pair photographs and text in the same way the journal merged social work, advocacy journalism, and Progressive impulses in the Pittsburgh Survey and other studies.¹¹⁶ Kellogg was dedicated to finding a way to convey information about conditions in a manner that would clearly explain, but also compel readers to action. In the early twentieth century, as the journal conceived its visual formula, Kellogg understood the power photographs had to draw in a broad audience. "The illustrated magazine numbers have made possible the increase in general readers secured for the magazine in the last three years," Kellogg said in an internal memo in 1906.¹¹⁷ Kellogg and his staff wanted to make *Charities and the Commons* cutting edge, both in reform methodology and visual content. Using halftone photograph reproductions alongside reform-inspired stories and headlines allowed staffers to present their political and social agenda to readers in a new way – with visual proof. In doing so, the staff reconfigured the way Americans saw themselves and each other.

The vision of national belonging presented in the pages of *Charities and the Commons* and in the photographed reports of the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey is as much a depiction of the men and women behind the camera, the editors, and the era in which they were produced, as they are a depiction of their subjects. Indeed, amid social, economic and cultural upheavals of the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, the images used by editors take on even more complicated meanings. The vision in *Charities and the Commons* demonstrates a notion of national belonging characterized by middle-class values of thrift, high moral principles, and

¹¹⁶ Paul U. Kellogg, December 1937, Paul U. Kellogg papers, box 9, folder unnumbered, SWHA.

¹¹⁷ Paul U. Kellogg to Edward T. Devine, July 27, 1906, Paul U. Kellogg papers, box 11, folder 103, SWHA.

assimilation. There is a clear desire to help on the part of these social justice reformers and editors, but it is help with a price: those depicted needed to eventually embody and embrace American values. The authority of reformers and experts is reinforced in the visual-textual product they produced. Using investigation as a means for understanding conditions and the written word, in concert with grim, realistic photographs, as the proof, these reformers sought to sway public opinion by moving their reform-minded readers to action. Undertaken just as Theodore Roosevelt dismissed crusading journalists as muckrakers, Progressive reform campaigns peaked, and a new emphasis on “scientific” research methods and charity giving were born, the vision propagated in the *Charities and the Commons* is imprinted by the era and by those individuals behind the camera and editing the journal.

Despite the ambitious agenda of social justice progressives, many reformers were unable to let go of long-term prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants, the working poor, and African Americans. Race, in particular was a blind spot for many reformers.¹¹⁸ At the same time, editors, photographers, and writers used halftone images in *Charities and the Commons* to offer a critique of industrial capitalism, and argue for a more equitable distribution of American wealth through fair wages, shorter working hours, the elimination of child labor, and decent housing conditions. By advocating industrial reform, reliance on expertise, and a redistribution of wealth – though stopping short of calls for socialism – the reformers at the helm of the magazine believed industrial workers and immigrants would benefit.¹¹⁹ At the same time, the authority of middle-

¹¹⁸ I am, of course, influenced by the work of Maureen A. Flanagan and Gary Gerstle. See, Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: 2002) and Maureen A. Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism, 1890s-1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁹ There are several interpretations of the work done by *Charities and the Commons* and *Survey* employees that highlight various motivations and intentions. Mary O. Furner offers an excellent overview of these positions in her book review, “Seeing Pittsburgh: The Social Survey, the Survey Workers, and the Historians”, *Journal of Policy History* 12.3 (2000), pp 405-412. She notes that historians have looked at the *Survey* in three distinct ways, positioning it: 1. within a greater movement toward expertise by an educated middle class in a way that ultimately expanded the authority of experts; 2. Within the history of liberalism where ideological constructions are key as are the character, institutions and trappings of corporate capitalism; and 3. Within the story of the rise of social sciences and, in particular, sociology. Furner has also written about the competition between corporate liberalism and democratic collectivism in deciding

class Progressives was reinforced by the vision, based on their values, presented in the pages of the journal. They were the experts and they had tunnel vision when it came to how best address social and labor issues in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The publication of the Pittsburgh Survey results in three special editions of *Charities and the Commons* does not mark the onset of photojournalism in the journal. Rather, photographs began appearing in the magazine years before the Pittsburgh Survey as *Charities and the Commons* negotiated a visual formula that used halftones to reinforce textual claims and as a tool to draw in audiences. Editors understood the importance of visual demonstrations to attract a wide audience: graphs, charts, and halftones were an important part of the publishers' attempts to do this. In other studies, such as "The Negro in the Cities of the North" series and the study of Washington D.C. neighborhoods, staffers at *Charities and the Commons* weaved together text and photographs in ways designed to tell stories and inform public action.¹²⁰ But in all of these reports, editors, photographers, reporters, social workers, statisticians, and other employees of the magazine crafted a vision of what it means to be American that painted their subjects as hapless victims of industrial society who needed to embrace the process of Americanization. This is important because editors were constructing their message for a particular audience: middle class Americans who were already predisposed toward reform. Even more, halftones served to express

how best to reform capitalism. In Mary O. Furner and Barry Supple, eds., *The State and Economic Knowledge: The American and British Experiences* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Furner claims that two bodies, The Commission on Industrial Relations and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, played a key role in defining the debate, and that the empirical work and corporatist view of the BLS and the analysis of determinants (for wages, unemployment, etc.) and statist view of the CIR define critiques and capitalist reform to this day. The collection of essays in Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) that Furner reviews offer an excellent overview to various aspects of the Pittsburgh Survey, the social scientists and writers and photographers who worked on the project. While Furner sees three important historiographical threads in the collection, these threads are not as disparate as she portrays them. Instead it is important to note that Kellogg and his contemporaries were both relying on "expertise", fueled by their middle class backgrounds, and social science observation techniques—some of those involved were also part of rising academic sociology and social work departments. Naturally these instincts led to an expansion of the authority of experts, rather than a more democratic reform movement.¹²⁰ The Negro in the North series was published in 1905 and the study of Washington DC was published in 1906. These two studies, both of which made significant use of photographs and other images, are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

the moral outrage of reporters, photographers, and editors. Editors made photo choices, designed placement, and wrote captions that would affect maximum impact and promote action beyond the realm of social workers. The political allegiances and activism of those making editorial decisions reflect this commitment to combating “economic self-interest.”¹²¹ The hope, as Paul U. Kellogg described to Edward Devine in a memo about circulation, projects and planning for *Charities and the Commons*, was to attract and appeal to a middle class – and more general – audience who would be sympathetic to the conditions of those depicted.¹²² But images also reinforced and legitimized many early twentieth century American prejudices about racial, ethnic, and immigrant groups while making larger points about the dangers of industrial capitalism. Editors hoped to appeal to a “progressive”, reform-minded audience – particularly the middle classes.¹²³ The

¹²¹ Chambers, 49. Chambers notes that Paul U. Kellogg and Edward Devine were disappointed by the failure of the United States government, political parties, and action committees to live up to expectations. According to Chambers, “Paul Kellogg and his associates on the Survey suffered a number of disappointments before they were willing to recognize that somewhere on the high road to the promised land humanity had inadvertently taken a wrong turn.” By the 1920s, Kellogg and his staffers saw industrial warfare, union unrest and collapse, the red scare, and witnessed Supreme Court dismantling of child labor and minimum wage legislation (Chambers, 77.).

¹²² Paul U. Kellogg to Edward T. Devine, July 27, 1906 and January 29, 1907, Paul U. Kellogg papers, box 11, folders 103-104, SWHA

¹²³ Historians have long debated the “what” and “who” of the Progressive Era. During the twentieth century, scholars have claimed it was a movement of elites, a movement of the middle classes, a movement of the working classes or of immigrants. Historians struggled to define the role of racial and ethnic minorities within the movement (if at all) and made claims about the role of women within various reform campaigns (from temperance to suffrage to child labor to Americanization and assimilation). And they’ve considered the aims and motivations of those involved in relation to reform as social control. In short, the Progressive Era has sparked a lively literature that has yet to resolve itself in a single or standard interpretation. If anything, the era has become increasingly complex and rich for study.

In the first half of the twentieth century, historians looked at the Progressive Era as a movement in which people attempted to curb the power of special interests, big business, and corrupt politics – a democratic movement. In the latter half of the twentieth century, however, these ideas of the Progressive Movement as merely a democratic uprising to combat corruption have been challenged and complicated. Historiography since the mid-1950s has focused on the disunity of the movement, the varied backgrounds of participants and, importantly, the contradictions within it as participants tried to solve challenges raised by industrial capitalism, urbanization, and mass immigration and migration.

The first challenges came from George Mowry and Richard Hofstadter who saw the Progressive Movement as rising from displaced elites who were trying to restore their authority. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951) examines the rise of Progressives in California and finds that they are a small group of professionals, particularly newspapermen and lawyers, who united to elect – undemocratically – Progressive leadership in the state. The idea was to hold on to power in the wake of industrial and social change. In *The Age of Reform* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), Hofstadter went so far as to say these people suffered a psychological anxiety – and were attempting to apply order to the world. But these works have been expanded on, and often challenged, by a number of recent studies on the Progressive Era that go a long way to demystifying the contradictions, basis, and

journal did not try to appeal to those people it depicted; those photographed and written about in the journal were merely the social and economic problems, not the solution. The Progressive period, while still debated, did change the relationship between American society and government, enacting changes in government, politics, and the economy. Writers and editors of *Charities and the Commons* were touched by the Progressive impulse. Just as that impulse

impact of the Progressives. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), argues that Progressivism replaced small-community society and power with a centralized, rationalized, bureaucratic order. Those most involved were businessmen, professionals and others in the middle-class that were tied directly to the rise of the national – and at times international – economy and politics through communications, voluntary associations, and increasing interactions with one another.

During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars focused on what made the Progressive Era diverse, examining the role of women, racial and ethnic minorities, class, religion, and other groups in an effort to grapple with the complexity of the period. Studies were done on Progressive Era reforms at the national, state, regional, and local level.

More recent works on the Progressive Era and Progressive reformers have focused on the diversity and contradictions of the movement. Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1977-1919* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1987) considers how the Progressive Era (which she sees as a continuous period with the Gilded Age) can be viewed through the lens of politics, social and cultural orders and the variances between those in possession of power and prosperity and those without it (which she characterizes as a conflict between those advocating prosperity vs. those advocating equity and democracy). John Milton Cooper, “Pivotal Decades, 1900-1920”, in Leon Fink, ed. *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, Second Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), looks, as his title suggests (the essay is drawn from his book of the same name in 1991), at the first part of the twentieth century as a turning point in American history. He demonstrates, particularly through an examination of women, race, class, immigration, and mass media, fundamental shifts in society during the first two decades of the century. Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), traces how the United States underwent tremendous economic and political changes in the first decade of the twentieth century with the triumph of mass production technology and managerial control. In addition, he considers how the arrival of immigrants, the continued subjugation and segregation of African-Americans, and moves for women’s rights manifested themselves in contradictory movements for reform. He argues that understanding liberalism is the key to understanding the period. Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), argues that the era was one of rapid and nervous change and connects the daily, ordinary lives of Americans directly to the politics and reform of the period, including ties to the new, and he argues most important change of the era, corporate economy. Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003) examines the period as both one of middle-class and radical reform. He casts the Progressives as idealistic and determined to craft an almost “utopian revolution”. And, he finds that the decline of the Progressive Movement can be found within the movement itself – its contradictions led to its demise. Finally, Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890-1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 2007) looks at how Americans organized themselves in order to conduct reforms in four particular areas (social justice, political, economic, and foreign policy) and, in a broader sense, how these new ways of organization helped alter people’s relationship with the federal government and their ideas about the American state and democracy. Further, she holds that despite the progress of reforms, reformers were sometimes too “blinded” by the social constructions of race, gender, ethnicity, and class to see just how contradictory their proposals for reform really were.

Obviously, scholarly studies of the Progressive Era are open – and at times easy – to criticize. These works attempt to synthesize a complex, disparate period characterized by contradictory reforms and messages, and clashing ideas about the nature of the American state and people.

represents disparate ideas about reform, the nature of the American political and industrial systems, and contradictory thoughts about the role of immigrants and racial groups, so too do the views of the individuals at the journal.¹²⁴

As such, the pages of *Charities and the Commons*, and particularly in reports on the “Negroes in the Cities of the North”, Washington, D.C., and the Pittsburgh Survey, weave a story of how muckrakers and social welfare journalists could make photographs convey messages about political and moral concerns that ultimately reinforced the dominant vision and emerging expertise of middle class Americans. The blend of Progressive era reform, muckraking journalism, urban social work, and social documentary photography undertaken by the ambitious reformers who ran *Charities and the Commons* resulted in a unique crafting of America and Americans. Just as New York City newspaper editors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century centuries used images to reach an audience with ideas about overseas expansion, American empire, and ethnic identity, compelling Americans to “see” citizenship for the first time, so too did social reformers use halftones in an attempt to reconfigure the way immigrants and industrial workers were seen by middle class Americans. Social justice progressives borrowed yellow journalism conventions that used the visceral power of images and fused them with the “scientific” methods and evidence collection to reinforce the photograph as objective, but also as persuasive. Halftones in the pages of *Charities and the Commons* represent an important moment in media and photojournalism history. Halftones, still only a few decades old, were used to shape, define and reorganize ideas among reform-minded Americans about what it meant to be an American and what poverty and suffering in America entailed. And through them, a new truth was told about national belonging in the pages of *Charities and the Commons*.

¹²⁴ See Flanagan, *America Reformed* for an in-depth discussion of how the progressives succeeded and how they failed.

Chapter 4: *Charities and the Commons*, Charity, and “Hineography”

Late nineteenth century America was a place of transformations. Industrialization, immigration, urbanization, and westward expansion fundamentally altered the country: the economy, the workplace, the social structures, and culture changed rapidly alongside innovations in transportation, communication, and manufacturing. With these transformations came seemingly more complicated problems. As the economy and population grew rapidly, so too did the accumulation and concentration of wealth in a few hands, strains on existing social and governmental structures, and economic uncertainty. Charity workers waded into this new society after the Civil War; photographers turned their cameras on the urban poor; journalists raked the muck; and *Charities and the Commons* was born.¹²⁵

Post-Civil War charity groups – from prison reform to working with the crippled to education to poverty – were conceived as disparate organizations. Relief and aid to the poor fell to sectarian and private organizations, most of which were struggling to exist as well as provide services after federal Reconstruction ended.¹²⁶ As problems of poverty grew, so too did frustration that “progress” didn’t eliminate social ills. Increasingly, aid groups turned to science and organization principles for new ways to eliminate poverty.¹²⁷ As the nineteenth century drew to a close, these groups began coming together to exchange ideas, experiences, and techniques.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ During the first half of the nineteenth century, the single biggest influence on American giving and charity was religion. Those engaged in charity were motivated by religious concerns and framed their giving based on religious doctrines. See, James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). This era is characterized by the “poorhouse” and “outdoor” relief schemes. The poorhouse served as a place where poor, old and sick people were shut away – in an attempt to discourage the working classes from seeking relief. Outdoor relief helped the poor in their homes. See, Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America: Tenth Anniversary Edition* (New York: Basic Books, 1996, 1986).

¹²⁶ June Axinn and Mark J. Stern, *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need*, Third Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001).

¹²⁷ Axinn and Stern, *Social Welfare*, p. 96.

¹²⁸ Clark A. Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) 1971.

They wanted to bring order to professions that were attempting to address what they considered the chaos of modern society.¹²⁹

One of the approaches that emerged from this desire for a central oversight of charity was Charity Organization Societies [hereafter COS]; groups that focused on a “scientific” approach to charity that embraced many of the tenets of Social Darwinism.¹³⁰ The first COS in the United States appeared in Buffalo, NY in 1877, but the movement rapidly spread particularly to northeastern urban centers. The root of the Charity Organization Societies movement is found in their dedication to “scientific charity”, whereby individual personal failings and low morals, rather than the environment, industrial capitalism, racism, or any other outside system, was blamed for the conditions in which the poor lived.¹³¹ Most COS members believed public charity perpetuated dependency among the poor, rather than solving it. This social science work, as practitioners called it, was intent on identifying, investigating, and offering solutions for poverty, which included determining worthiness for charity.¹³² “Private charity can and will provide for every case that should be kept from resorting to public sources of relief ... where public out-door relief has been abolished ... [which will have] the most beneficial effects on the character, and as a natural consequence, on the condition of the people who formerly depended on it,” wrote Josephine Shaw Lowell, a leading advocate of private charity in the late nineteenth century.¹³³ Lowell, and others in her peer group, believed public charity should be limited to institutions and

¹²⁹ Chambers, 5.

¹³⁰ Axinn and Stern, *Social Welfare*, p.97.

¹³¹ It is noteworthy that the Charity Organization Movement eventually failed because they could not meet goals – the reality didn’t match theories of the movement and, by the turn-of-the-century it was clear that ideas about central charity organization, observation, investigation and private home visits were not going to solve poverty in American cities. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, p. 83.

¹³² Joan Waugh, “Give This Man Work!?: Josephine Shaw Lowell, the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, and the Depression of 1893”, *Social Science History*, 25.2 (2001), 217-246.

¹³³ Josephine Shaw Lowell, *Public Relief and Private Charity* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1884; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1971), 59-60. Lowell came from a family with a tradition of reform and left wing leanings. Her parents were prominent radical abolitionists. Her father, a one-time contributor to the Brook Farm literary journal, helped organize the Freedmen’s Bureau. Her brother Robert Gould Shaw led the first black regiment during the Civil War and was killed. She also lost her husband Charles Russell Lowell in the war. After the war, she began a career as a “professional reformer”. For more on Lowell, see Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* and Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

that all other forms of charity should come from private groups. In turn, private groups were to help people to help themselves because “the struggle is hard, he needs all his determination and strength of will to fight his way, and nothing that deprives him of these qualities can be ‘charitable’.”¹³⁴ For Lowell, the COS was a necessary component of this philosophy “to check the growth of pauperism in cities, and to guide charity toward wide measures.”¹³⁵ The COS movement eliminated nearly all forms of outside charity (in some cities), and established a central organization scheme for charity giving. Lowell was among the founders of the New York Charity Organization Society in 1882 and was involved until her 1905 death.

Still, despite roots opposed to direct charity, Lowell’s dedication to the principles of “scientific charity” – particularly observation and investigation – made her, as well as others within the COS movement, adaptable to altering the ways they cast the causes of poverty during the next two decades.¹³⁶ As these organizations studied poverty and living conditions during the 1890s, they came to understand that blame didn’t lay just with individual fallibility. Instead, reformers began to organize women, support unions, and fight for higher wages, all toward the goal of economic reform.¹³⁷ Yet, it’s important to keep in mind the origins of scientific charity because it remains an important part of the attitudes and background that informed those who ran *Charities and the Commons* in the first decade of the twentieth century. Change did come, but it wasn’t smooth, swift, or easy.

¹³⁴ Lowell, *Public Relief and Private Charity*, 93.

¹³⁵ Lowell, *Public Relief and Private Charity*, 100.

¹³⁶ Waugh notes that the process of “science” the COS members were engaged in – observation, investigation, advocacy for change – allowed them to “recognize the complexity of the conditions of poverty that were being observed.” This, in turn, helped propel Lowell and other COS leaders to become leaders in explaining the consequences of industrial labor and changing the way non-profit groups responded. See Waugh, “Give This Man Work!’: Josephine Shaw Lowell, the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, and the Depression of 1893”, *Social Science History*, 25.2 (2001), 217-246

¹³⁷ Katz, *The Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 83. One might also note that Lowell’s position among reformers in the nineteenth century demonstrates just how important women were to this movement, something that certainly holds true for *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women were at the forefront of many Progressive-era associations, reform organizations, and campaigns, despite being without a formal vote in politics during much of the period.

During the late nineteenth century, the ideal of COS's did not always match the reality, because they had a difficult time convincing charity groups to cooperate with a governing body, they offered little in the way of direct relief to those suffering, they never had enough volunteers, and their influence remained concentrated in northern cities.¹³⁸ *Charities and the Commons* was initially founded on many of the principles outlined by Lowell and other reformers who believed that poverty was due to personal flaws. The best way to eliminate such flaws, according to this philosophy, was through direct interaction with the poor in the form of sympathy and service, but not monetary support. The poor, with the help of charity workers, should strive to eliminate personal defects. Once accomplished, poverty and urban decay would naturally vanish. *Charities and the Commons*, however, would not stay true to the constraints of early scientific charity for long. As the twentieth century opened, various tenets of new Progressive thought seeped into the journal and gradually, poverty came to be seen as not just the fault of individuals, but as the result of corruption in the institutions of industrial capitalism.¹³⁹ Finally, another important influence – and contributor – to *Charities and the Commons* was the Settlement House Movement. Settlement Houses began appearing in American cities and immigrant neighborhoods in the 1890s.¹⁴⁰ Staffed by mostly by educated, middle-class reformers – often women – these centers provided services and education for immigrants. In addition to English classes, spaces for meetings and other courses, education often came in the form of “Americanization” and “assimilation.” Indeed, Settlement Houses often played a central role in the Americanization movement during the first decades of the twentieth century, put in a position to do so because

¹³⁸ Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, p. 83.

¹³⁹ Obviously, the Progressive Era is a complicated label as it represents disparate movements for reform and reorganization that often were contradictory and in opposition. The use of “progressive thought” here is merely to highlight how “new” ideas about the causes of poverty were directly tied to industrial capitalism.

¹⁴⁰ The Settlement movement originated in England in the 1880s as part of a larger movement of university students to help solve problems associated with industrialization and urbanization in London, particularly poverty. See “Introduction”, Domenica M. Barbuto, ed., *The American Settlement Movement: A Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999). As with the Progressive Era, historians of the Settlement House movement also debate the motivations of those involved in reform effort, characterizing participants as striving to either control new immigrants to the United States by stripping them of their culture or as idealists intent on providing genuine relief to those living in abject poverty.

they “served an intermediary role” that introduced immigrants to the country. As such, workers in the settlement houses often pushed their own white, middle-class, often Protestant, values onto recent immigrants, encouraging them to abandon their own culture, language, and customs.¹⁴¹

The most famous Settlement House workers, Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, contributed to *Charities and the Commons*, with Addams sitting on the publication committee. Historians have noted that the Settlement House movement, and, indeed, the centers themselves, often became the center of Progressive reform movements.¹⁴²

As reformers and charity workers spread out in the late nineteenth century they found they needed a way to communicate with each other about techniques, activities, and aid. The New York branch of the COS founded an official publication, *Charities Review*, in 1891 as an academic journal, focusing on scholarly concerns and theory about social welfare. At the same time, New York’s COS leaders, particularly Edward T. Devine, were interested in finding a way to reach a larger, and less specialized, audience and founded, in 1897, a second “official” publication, *Charities*, that absorbed *Charities Review* in 1901, which in turn absorbed *The Commons* in 1905, becoming *Charities and the Commons*.¹⁴³ The new combined journal strove to address professional concerns, but also to highlight issues and stories that appealed to a wider, non-specialized audience. The pages of *Charities and the Commons* reflected a more broadly conceived idea about “charity” by focusing on immigrant experiences, playground revitalization,

¹⁴¹ See, for example, Domenica M. Barbuto, *American Settlement Houses and Progressive Social Reform* (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1999).

¹⁴² As with all reform movements of the era, pressing for Americanization came in varying levels and ways. Some reformers insisted on full Americanization while others were far more accommodating about seeing the immigrants past as part of their future. Many historians argue that the push for Americanization came out of a fear of the newcomers – forcing them to adopt American culture made them less of a threat and reinforced the idea of American democracy as the height of civilization.

¹⁴³ Edward T. Devine, according to Chamber’s account in *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey: Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice*, came to social work by chance. He completed graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Halle in Germany and landed a lecture job in economics at the American Society for Extension of University Teaching in Philadelphia. He, like many of his generation, was touched by the suffering he witnessed during the depression of 1893 and began teaching about social work. In 1896, he was recruited to be the secretary of the New York COS. Devine would, in addition to his job with the COS, serve as editor, in turn, of *Charities*, *Charities and the Commons*, and *Survey* until the post was handed over to Paul Kellogg in 1912. See also, Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer*.

social work and nursing professions, African Americans, urban decay and other issues. At the same time as the journal was working toward mass appeal, leaders at the COS in New York recognized that the publication had “outgrown its name and its home” within the organization. A National Publications Committee (the Charities Publication Committee) oversaw the journal and transformed it into a national publication for both practitioners and non-practitioners of charity work.¹⁴⁴

Devine, who served as secretary of the COS in New York and as editor at *Charities* and *Charities and the Commons*, proved to be a force for change despite being a product of a generation that saw poverty’s roots in moral failings. Devine “prodded and pushed” the COS to consider the root social causes of poverty, and helped establish a standard-of-living (poverty) line under which Americans should not be allowed to fall.¹⁴⁵ By 1900, he focused on scientific modes of investigation in order to identify the root causes of poverty by the time *Charities and the Commons* was born in 1905, this approach was typical of “progressive” reformers of Devine’s generation.¹⁴⁶ He, like others connected to the COS and *Charities and the Commons*, had “faith

¹⁴⁴ Chambers, 23. The Publications Committee included a string of old-line social workers including Jane Addams, Daniel C. Gilman, Joseph Lee, John M. Glenn, Robert Treat Paine and Paul M. Warburg. Paul Kellogg objected to this list, calling for members who represented new social thinking, including, among others, Jacob Riis, Charles Booth, Simon N. Patten, Robert Hunter, and others. Chambers notes that the final list more closely matched the former, though Riis and Patton were included.

¹⁴⁵ Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer*, p. 209. Waugh notes that Devine and Lowell had a good relationship because Lowell was open to change. Lowell was open to hiring and working with professionally trained experts, looking to the structural and environmental causes of poverty and other reforms, though she remained a “powerful symbol for a fading vision.” Devine’s writings from 1901 also reflect this: His writings from 1901 reflect this wider shift: “*Investigation*. In modern organized charity this has come to mean something more than it had meant for those who had proclaimed the necessity of discriminating between the deserving and the undeserving. Investigation is not solely or even primarily for the purpose of thwarting the expectations of imposters. It is not even merely a device for preventing the waste of charity upon unworthy objects, in order that it may be used for those who are really in need. It is analogous to the diagnosis of the physician, who does not attempt to treat a serious malady from a glance at its superficial indications, but who carefully inquires into hidden and early manifestations of the disease, and seeks to know as much as possible of the complicating influences with which he must reckon in effecting a cure. Investigation, therefore, while it should never be inconsiderate, or blundering, or heartless, must be painstaking, conscientious, and honest. It will exclude irrelevant gossip, but will embrace a close scrutiny of the actual facts, its aim being not to enable the investigating agent to affix a label of worthy or unworthy, but to determine what help can be given, from what source it should come, and how these agencies may be brought into definite and hearty co-operation.” See, Edward T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity: Individual, Associated and Organized* (New York: Lenthion and Company, 1901) p.16.

¹⁴⁶ Chambers, 29.

in an elite of well-trained social analysts and practitioners, standing above class, above special interest, impartial and objective, serving only the general good.”¹⁴⁷ Yet, Devine focused on investigation that distributed charity in a way that made “scientific” judgments the most deserving. But by the late 1890s and early 1900s, Devine recognized there were shifting ideas about charity. Just as Lowell had been receptive to his ideas when they were new, Devine was now open to ideas promoted by Kellogg and other young charity workers.¹⁴⁸

The last merger into *Charities and the Commons* increased the circulation of the journal and editors called for more general information and studies to attract higher circulation numbers in the form of a non-specialist audience.¹⁴⁹ Part of that move was the inclusion of visual elements that would quickly, clearly, and simply explain issues and stories to a wide audience.¹⁵⁰ By the first part of the twentieth century, these issues and the reform movements connected to them seeped even into the mainstream press and other national magazines, often with editorial comment favoring the work. As the *Dallas Morning News* noted in a 1905 article announcing the merger into *Charities and the Commons*, the publication was intent on setting “the results of social investigation before the public.”¹⁵¹ In encouraging broadsheets and other magazines to take notice of their work, *Charities and the Commons* began to reach that goal. It is also likely that editors saw the importance of the visual element to general magazine and newspaper subscribers and sought to incorporate it, both as a way to make the journal familiar and accessible and to capitalize on mainstream media attention.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Chambers, 18-19.

¹⁴⁹ Charities Publication Committee, Meeting (minutes) October 9, 1905, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Box 10, Folder 101, SWHA.

¹⁵⁰ Charities Publication Committee, Minutes in brief of meeting held Monday afternoon, October 9, 1905, Robert W. deForest in the Chair, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 10, folder 101, SWHA. Following the merger, for example, editors were engaged in research for “The Negro in the Cities of the North” special edition of *Charities* and planning was underway for special series on housing conditions in major American cities, tuberculosis, and child labor.

¹⁵¹ *Dallas Morning News*, October 26, 1905. Dozens of newspapers from diverse regions of the United States carried notices about the merger and the plan for a broad campaign of public education.

Along with the “new” ideas about reform and social welfare work came new, younger staffers. Paul Underwood Kellogg and his older brother Arthur Kellogg were among those who joined the magazine in the first years of the twentieth century, just as the journal was turning from nineteenth century ideas of scientific charity to reformed theories of investigation, poverty, and giving.¹⁵² It was in New York, as a special student in sociology at Columbia University, that Kellogg first came into contact with Devine and other leading social welfare academics/practitioners and began concerning himself with social work.¹⁵³ Devine, one of the instructors in the course, noticed Kellogg’s eagerness and offered him a job as assistant editor at *Charities*.¹⁵⁴ Arthur Kellogg followed his younger brother to New York in 1903, completed the

¹⁵² The Kellogg brothers were born and raised in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Paul U. Kellogg, younger by two years, arrived at *Charities* in 1902. Arthur Kellogg joined the staff in 1903. They had a “typical small-town boyhood”, complete with outdoor activity, family, church and school. However, though academically solid, hard times in the 1890s prevented them from attending college. Though both worked at their high school newspaper, both held post-graduation odd-jobs until Paul, and then Arthur, were hired by the *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*. Working and living at home, both managed to save enough money to break free of Michigan and pursue careers in journalism and advance their education. See, Chambers, 16-17.

¹⁵³ In the summer of 1902 Paul Kellogg enrolled in the six-week Summer School in Philanthropic Work sponsored by the New York COS, one of the first professional schools for social work in the United States. The COS was, in 1902, preparing to launch a more substantial training course. “The purpose of the course is to ground the student in the teachings of experience and in the principles of helpfulness in order that he may be ready with keen sympathy and crystallized mind to deal with every case of need,” read a pamphlet on the proposed two-year version of the COS’s Philanthropic Education training program.¹⁵³ See, Committee on Philanthropic Education of the Charity Organization Society, New York City, Proposed Two Years’ Course of training in Philanthropic Work, ca. 1902, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 3, folder 27, SWHA, University of Minnesota. The school changed its name in 1919 to the New York School of Social Work, and became fully integrated into Columbia University in 1955.

Courses for the program were an expanded from the six-week summer school: Care and Treatment of Needy Families; Care of Destitute and Delinquent Children; and Nature and Extent of Medical Charities. The courses for both courses were to be “practical rather than theoretical, keeping in close touch with families needing assistance ...” In the six-week summer school, where Lilian Brandt was a classmate, Kellogg visited different charity agencies in New York and had practical classroom training. Brandt became a prominent, and influential, welfare writer and teacher. Among her more than 40 book publications are a study of the Charity Organization of New York and a co-authored study of the Russell Sage Foundation: John Mark Glenn, Lilian Brandt, Frank Emerson Andrews, *Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1946* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947). Brandt also served as secretary of the Committee on Social Research for the Charity Organization Society. Chambers, 15-19.

Chambers notes that because Kellogg didn’t have access to a classical high school education, he was not eligible for regular admission to Columbia University. Instead he spent the 1901-1902 school year enrolled full-time under “special” status. He continued his studies, according to Chambers, for several years as a part-time student. Chambers also notes that both Arthur and Paul Kellogg felt their lack of education had to be overcome, Paul telling his son that it took him many years of self-directed study and reading to achieve what he would have in a four-year degree.

¹⁵⁴ Chambers, 18.

summer school program, and also became an assistant editor at *Charities*.¹⁵⁵ It was Paul Kellogg who would encourage Devine to let go of some of his “stodgy” and “narrow” visions at *Charities* and try to appeal to a wider audience.¹⁵⁶

Yet, even with the focus on national issues, a wider audience, the merger with *The Commons*, and increasingly Progressive sentiments in the pages of the magazine, *Charities and the Commons* suffered financially.¹⁵⁷ Editors often turned to subscribers, philanthropists and the public with appeals for money. For example, to fund its March 1906 study of Washington D.C. as a model city the journal solicited donations.

This special enlarged number, effectively illustrated, will cost \$1000, but the General Publication Committee will give half, hoping to help all American cities through the effort to make the National Capital a model By raising locally only five or six hundred dollars we can do four things: (1) Send a personal letter with a magazine to every newspaper in the country requesting an editorial on Washington as a model city: (2) Communicate with leading charitable organizations in twelve hundred towns and cities asking them to write their congressmen in our behalf. Women’s clubs and other organizations can also be enlisted: (3) Send a copy and personal letter (from New York) to every congressman: (4) Distribute 1500 to 2500 copies among resourceful Washingtonians. This will all be additional to the general circulation of the magazine, about 10,000 copies.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ The brothers had a close relationship throughout their lives, to which a lively correspondence between the two attests. Arthur Kellogg, in particular had a keen sense of humor in his personal correspondence (and a heightened professionalism in his formal correspondence), and his early death in the 1930s spurred an outpouring from people who knew him.

¹⁵⁶ Chambers, 19.

¹⁵⁷ Financial struggles forced the magazine to turn to outside sources for funding, including private foundations and donors. The Russell Sage Foundation, which helped off-set the cost of the Pittsburgh Survey, was a major early donor. The magazine would fold once Paul Kellogg, who, in many ways, became the guiding force and financial booster for *Survey* in the twentieth century, could no longer continue to both run the periodical and raise money. In reporting the passing of *Survey*, one newspaper noted that “Mr Kellogg, at the end of four strenuous and distinguished decades, finds that he no longer has enough strength to raise money to keep the *Survey* going in addition to his labors as editor ... It [*Survey*] has had a deep humanity as well as a sound instinct for accuracy.” *The New York Times*, May 28, 1952. Paul Kellogg died in 1958 – his *New York Times* obituary credits him with helping to abolish the “7-Day Steel Industry Week” and calls him a “tireless worker in the cause of human justice and equality.” *The New York Times*, November 2, 1958.

¹⁵⁸ S.W. Woodward, Washington Representative on the General Publication Committee to Mr. C.A. Snow, Warder Building, The City, February 21, 1906, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Box 10, Folder 102, SWHA, University of Minnesota. This letter, while addressed to a specific businessman, was a form letter sent to numerous people. Interestingly, Snow responded (on the back of the original letter) saying he would do more than was asked of him in the letter, including continuing to write about the national capital and desirability of making it a model city. The letterhead alone included the names of Jane Addams, Jacob A. Riis, and a dozen more well-known reformers who made up the newly-formed publications committee.

Aside from the obvious financial plea, the letter highlights a desire to send a copy of the magazine and letters to every single newspaper in the country and the importance of effective illustrations.¹⁵⁹ The body that oversaw the publication of the magazine was created to reach a broad national audience with their message, even if it meant targeting areas where “public opinion is mostly formed” (i.e. philanthropists and community leaders) for cash.¹⁶⁰ Kellogg sought the advice of wealthy individuals; William Guggenheim suggested three ways to raise funds: substantial donations from a few individuals; subscriptions; and advertising.¹⁶¹ “This letter(,) please understand(,) is purely sent to you to convey my impressions as you requested suggestions from me,” Guggenheim wrote, noting he’d consider being involved in a larger fund-raising effort among a few individuals.¹⁶²

Charities and the Commons eventually formed a long-term partnership with the Russell Sage Foundation, founded in 1907 with a general goal of “the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America.”¹⁶³ At the time the Russell Sage Foundation was

“Investigation by trained men and women, the publication of results and their circulation in quarters where public opinion is mostly formed require more money than subscriptions and advertising produce.” The form letter then urges “will you not help?” Donation letter, *Charities and the Commons* Publication Committee, 1905-06, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 10, folder 101, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

¹⁵⁹ Illustrations, charts, graphs, and photographs are, as publication committee members state in numerous memos, meeting minutes, and other documents, key to explaining social welfare issues to a wide audience. And, they provide concrete “evidence” for claims the magazine makes about conditions, people, and issues. But even more

¹⁶⁰ Donation letter, *Charities and the Commons* Publication Committee, 1905-06, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 10, folder 101, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

¹⁶¹ William Guggenheim to Paul U. Kellogg, April 11, 1906, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 10, folder 102, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ David C. Hammack and Stanton Wheeler, *Social Science in the Making: Essays on the Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1972* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation) 1994, ix. Margaret Olivia Sage was left more than \$65 million when husband Russell Sage died. The family had made its money in a variety of late nineteenth century industry: railroads, telegraphs, lumber, stocks, and bonds. Ironically, Russell Sage was opposed to charity work of any kind.¹⁶³ When her husband died in 1906, Margaret Olivia Sage took “delight” in using her husband’s fortune for all kinds of philanthropic work, though her interest was highest in helping the working classes and their children.¹⁶³ Advised by attorney, and COS of New York president, Robert W. de Forest, Margaret Olivia Sage developed a plan for distributing her money in the most effective way possible, rather than handing it over to charity.¹⁶³ With that in mind, de Forest recommended establishing the Sage Foundation for Social Betterment and charging it with the investigation of “the causes of adverse social conditions, to suggest how these conditions might be remedied or ameliorated, and how to

formed there was little printed information about social work and conditions in American cities beyond the reach of journals and magazines like *Charities and the Commons*. Part of the mission of the foundation was extending the resources of libraries, universities, and other organizations. It set its publishing arm up as an authority on social work and conditions, and published the six volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey from 1909-1914; within 10 years of establishment it published 47 books, and numerous pamphlets and articles.¹⁶⁴ In addition to the six volumes the foundation funded, results of the Pittsburgh Survey also appeared in a series of special editions of *Charities and the Commons* and in various mass circulating magazine and newspaper articles, exhibitions, press releases, and public addresses. In all, the Foundation provided \$27,000 for the Pittsburgh Survey and designated regular monetary gifts to keep *Charities and the Commons* afloat. Findings of the survey of Pittsburgh promoted mass interest and led to public cries for reform in Pittsburgh.¹⁶⁵ Neither the Russell Sage Foundation nor *Charities and the Commons* had the resources to undertake surveys of communities that clamored for studies in the wake of the Pittsburgh Survey. However, the foundation did dedicate funds to start a Division of Surveys and was quick to recognize “current interest in graphic methods of presenting facts about social conditions and social work, and their value in setting forth findings of surveys, has led to a decision to broaden the scope of the Department to include exhibits.”¹⁶⁶

put into operation means to that end.”¹⁶³ Margaret Olivia Sage agreed and the Russell Sage Foundation was incorporated in 1907 with a \$10 million endowment. At the time, there were only eight incorporated foundations in America – and social workers and educators were quick to weigh in with praise in the pages of *Charities and the Commons*. See, for example, *Charities and the Commons*, February 2, 1907 where a number of prominent reformers and social workers penned defenses and praises of the work of the Sage Foundation and its partnership with *Charities and the Commons*. Further, the Russell Sage Foundation served as a model for later foundations, including the Rockefeller Foundation.

¹⁶⁴ Glenn, Brandt, and Andrews, *Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1946*, p.205.

¹⁶⁵ Findings of the Pittsburgh Survey as a whole are credited as having “started a train of events that resulted in substantial improvements in working and living conditions of workers in industries in Pittsburgh.” See, Glenn, Brandt, and Andrews, *Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1946*, p.213.

¹⁶⁶ See, Glenn, Brandt, and Andrews, *Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1946*, p. 68.

Still, the relationship between *Charities and the Commons* and the Russell Sage Foundation was viewed with suspicion by some inside, as well as many outside, the charity profession. Indeed, in February 1907, *Charities and the Commons* printed pages of outsider praise for the partnership as well as an article about its own editorial independence. *Charities and the Commons*, February 2, 1907. Among the articles printed was “The Act of Incorporation and Current Editorial Comment” which outlined Margaret Olivia

Parallel to changes at *Charities and the Commons*, photographers and reformers started working in concert to produce a worldview for a mass audience that incorporated social and economic changes. Maren Stange has noted that the medium was particularly useful for reformers, especially those intent on stressing professional expertise and organization.¹⁶⁷ Professional expertise, scientific research and organization were exactly the instincts that came to guide *Charities and the Commons* contributors and editors during the first decade of the twentieth century. While social documentary photography wasn't born with *Charities and the Commons* or the Pittsburgh Survey, the journal did provide one of the first major uses of it in a publication in concert with magazine text and reformist intentions. A number of major figures, including Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, are the subject of scholarly interest.¹⁶⁸

Sage's desire to help with the social betterment of society and how the foundation had been incorporated. The paper also reprinted reports about the founding of the Sage Foundation from the *New York Tribune*, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *New York Sun*, the *New York American*, the *New York Evening Mail*, the *New York Evening World*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Philadelphia Ledger*, and the *Baltimore American*. Staffers were trying to paint the Sage Foundation and its donation to the journal as something that everyone supported.

To combat speculation, editors at *Charities and the Commons* drew up a policy that outlined editorial independence of the magazine and its editors: "One of the vital services of the magazine in the cause of social improvement will be as critic, sympathetic but independent and candid, of the social undertakings, supported or promoted by the Sage trustees ... Independence will insure two blows in every fight for the improvement of social conditions. Were the magazine a mere organ, this strategic advantage would be lost." Paul U. Kellogg, Memorandum, Possible Relationship Russell Sage Foundation and Charities Publication Committee, ?1907, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 11, folder 104, SWHA. Less than decade later, Paul U. Kellogg was personally attacked in *Pearson's Magazine* by George Creel. Creel accused Kellogg, editor of the then-renamed *Survey* of being influenced, if not controlled, by the Rockefellers and similar interests. George Creel, "How Tainted Money Taints", *Pearson's Magazine*, (March 1915): 289-297. Despite claims of editorial independence, *Survey* would be attacked for its relationships with private foundations and philanthropic organizations.

¹⁶⁷ Stange, *Symbols of the Ideal Life*, xiii. Even more, Stange argues, the photograph had status as an "index" - and the "documentary mode testified both the existence of painful social facts and to reformers' special expertise in ameliorating them, thus reassuring a liberal middle class that social oversight was both its duty and its right."

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs* and Stange, *Symbols of the Ideal Life*; Art photography of this period, particularly the work of Alfred Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession have also been the subject of many scholarly studies. Stieglitz was an early proponent of "art for art's sake" and went on to found his own gallery, publications, and, in 1902, an organization of art photographers like himself, the Photo-Secession. See, for example, Jay Bochner, *An American Lens: Scenes from Alfred Stieglitz's Photo-Secession* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Rachel Cohen, *A Chance Meeting: The Intertwined Lives of American Artists and Writers, 1854-1967* (New York: Random House, 2006); Sarah Greenough,

Jacob Riis, considered a forefather of social documentary photography, used images coupled with text to draw attention to social conditions and call for reform. Riis blended the sensationalism that characterized late nineteenth century urban publications with social work and crusading to produce work that caught public and political attention. Riis was a “social worker of the pre-professional era, a generalist rather than a specialist, a crusader rather than a technician, and a moralist rather than a social engineer or therapist.”¹⁶⁹ Riis, by this account, was concerned with using education as a way to lift children from poverty. Further, Riis’ actions derived directly from his religious convictions; reform was a religious mandate.¹⁷⁰

Riis, a prolific author, traces his origins from an ideal Danish town to New York City in an effort to explain his views and work.¹⁷¹ He paints his village as an ideal place for a child to be raised and contrasts it to the tenements he lobbied against in adulthood. Historians have noted this dedication to open spaces and parks in all areas of the city may well be tied to his descriptions of his childhood – the open spaces and access to the land. Riis believed these were fundamental to

Modern Art and America: Alfred Stieglitz and his New York Galleries (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2000); Margaret Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession Movement in Photography in Britain, 1892-1910* (London: Heineman, 1979); Williams Innes Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz and Photo Secession* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1983); Weston Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz: 50 Pioneers of Modern Photography* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978); David P. Peeler, *The Illuminating Mind in American Photography: Stieglitz, Strand, Weston, Adams* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001); Stephen Perloff, et al, *Camera Work: A Centennial Celebration* (Langhorne, PA: Photo Review, 2003); Gene Thornton, *Masters of the Camera: Stieglitz, Steichen and Their Successors* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976); David Travis, *At the Edge of the Light: Thoughts on photography and photographers, talent and genius* (Boston: David R. Godine, 2003); and Richard Whelan, *Alfred Stieglitz: A Biography* (Boston: Little Brown, 1995).

¹⁶⁹ Roy Lubove, “Introduction to the Torchbook Edition”, in Riis, *The Making of an American*, xii.

¹⁷⁰ Lubove, “Introduction to the Torchbook Edition”, in Riis, *The Making of an American*, xiv. He also believed the world would be saved and victory would come over the forces of poverty, working conditions, and child neglect. He “muckraked the tenements for a quarter of a century” and was active in tuberculosis control and public health, children’s welfare and education, and a struggle to make cities more habitable, pleasanter places to live. He gave lantern slide shows and lectures, wrote for newspapers and journals, and worked tirelessly for publicity for the downtrodden of society – all with a middle-class sensibility to his work.

¹⁷¹ Jacob Riis, *The Making of An American*. Riis also penned a number of studies and other works, including *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*; *The Battle With the Slum*; *Jacob A. Riis: Photographer and Citizen*; *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*; *The Children of the Poor*; and *Hero Tales of the Far North*. Among these, *Hero Tales of the Far North* is an interesting work because it sheds light on Riis’ views of the American immigrant experience and the “melting pot” of American life. Also interesting is that Riis dedicated the book of “my dead heroes” to “my living hero Theodore Roosevelt.”

youth, and after seeing the conditions in which children in slums lived – he made one of his strongest goals the creation of parks in urban settings. “The Bend had become decent and orderly because the sunlight was let in, and shone upon children who had at last the right to play, even if the sign ‘keep off the grass’ was still there.”¹⁷² Thus, Riis believed that charity had to begin with changing the environment and neighborhoods where destitution flourished, that the problem had to be dealt with at its root: “Until the tramp lodging-houses were closed, until the Bend was gone, it seemed as if progress were flat down impossible. As I said, decency had to begin there, or not at all.”¹⁷³ This view would color his attitude toward charity and, eventually, social work, for the rest of his life.

Yet, historians have also shown Riis to be a product of the age in which he worked – both embodying nineteenth century “morality” and challenging it through his photographs and advocacy of reform – his desire for the “pride of the poor person” to be “restored and nurtured,” even as those he portrayed often appeared as victims.¹⁷⁴ Maren Stange notes that Riis was far from radical, and was intent on affirming traditional middle class American values and supporting individuality and capitalism. In fact, Stange points out, the photographs Riis displayed during the lantern shows “came to symbolize for audiences a public statement of class sensibility, solidarity, and morality” for their middle-class audiences.¹⁷⁵ In short, Riis believed in personal responsibility and private philanthropy to solve problems of tenement housing and child labor. He believed that if moral people were given the opportunity – in this case charity – many could raise themselves out of poverty.

Riis understood that his pictures had the capacity to sway opinion and demonstrate conditions, particularly when coupled with stories and text. In his autobiography, Riis highlights

¹⁷² Riis, *The Making of An American*, 285.

¹⁷³ Riis, *The Making of An American*, 264.

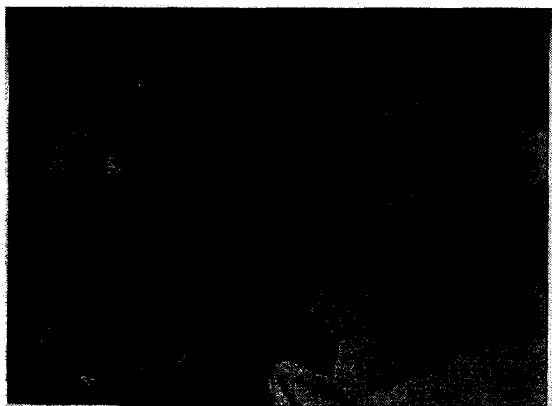
¹⁷⁴ Keith Gandal, *The Virtues of the Vicious: Jacob Riis, Stephen Crane, and the Spectacle of the Slum* (New York: Oxford University Press) 1997.

¹⁷⁵ Stange, *Symbols of the Ideal Life*, 2. Stange also describes, in detail, the emergence of lantern slide shows and notes that the lectures were particularly popular among educational and religious subjects. Lantern shows were an early form of slide shows.

several instances where his pictures clearly made a difference. He recounts a midnight expedition to Mulberry Bend with local authorities to look at overcrowded lodging houses.

When the report was submitted to the Health Board the next day, it did not make much of an impression – these things rarely do, put in mere words – until my negatives, still dripping from the dark-room, came to reinforce them. From them there was no appeal. It was not the only instance of the kind by a good many. Neither the landlord’s protests nor the tenant’s plea ‘went’ in the fact of the camera’s evidence, and I was satisfied.¹⁷⁶

One of the pictures from the 1886 trip to Mulberry Bend, “Lodgers at Five Cents a Spot” is a classic Riis work, depicting a cramped room, stacked with pots, pans, clothing, and people.



¹⁷⁷ Riis charts the importance of images to reinforcing the text, and the way that images wield an authority that influenced public action. The validity of images was not challenged. They were evidence.¹⁷⁸ His images, however, were often sensational and treated the poor and

downtrodden as morally inferior and repugnant.¹⁷⁹

Riis’ lantern shows and early work, including *How the Other Half Lives*, took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century, just as the New York COS, and its early publications began their work. Riis and Paul Kellogg were friendly and even toured Nova Scotia together one summer.¹⁸⁰ Though separated by a generation, the two became friendly during the last decade of Riis’ life.¹⁸¹ Riis sat on the Publication’s Committee for *Charities and the Commons* and lent his

¹⁷⁶ Riis, *The Making of An American*, 273.

¹⁷⁷ Reprinted in Jacob Riis, *How The Other Half Lives* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997, 1890), p.57.

¹⁷⁸ For a discussion of the ways photographs were used as legal evidence in nineteenth century America, see the introduction.

¹⁷⁹ Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 170-171.

¹⁸⁰ Chambers, 23.

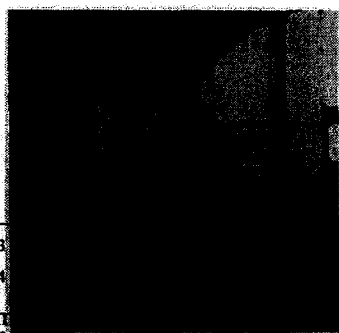
¹⁸¹ When Paul Kellogg wrote to Riis to tell him of his impending marriage in 1909, Riis responded with his congratulations in a handwritten note that said he and his wife had long wanted to hear the news and “shouted with delight” when it arrived. Jacob Riis to Paul U. Kellogg, July 10, 1909, Supplement 4 – Paul U. Kellogg Papers, folder 10, SWHA.

name to fundraising letters. But Riis, in his twilight years, though still influential, would not be the photographer to make the greatest visual impact in the pages of the social welfare journal.

Instead, self-proclaimed “social photographer” Lewis Hine provided visual leadership for *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey.¹⁸² While Hine followed Riis, his body of work, motivation, and style are markedly different. Rather than using photography as a means to shock or portray people with an air of moral judgment in the process of advocating reform, Hine

¹⁸² Lewis Hine has been the topic of a number of historical studies. See, for example, Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*; Alan Trachtenberg, Walter Rosenblum, Naomi Rosenblum and Marvin Israel, *America and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940* (New York: Aperture, 1977); Verna Posever Curtis and Stanley Mallach, *Photography and Reform: Lewis Hine and the National Child Labor Committee* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1984); John R. Kemp, ed., *Lewis Hine: Photographs of Child Labor in the New South* (Jackson, MS and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1986); Judith Mara Gutman, *Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience* (New York: Walker and Company, 1967); Mary Panzer, *Lewis Hine* (New York and London: Phaidon Press, 2002); Stange, *Symbols of the Ideal Life*; Peter Seixas, “Lewis Hine: From ‘Social’ to ‘Interpretive’ Photographer,” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Autumn, 1987), 381-409; Russell Freedman and Lewis Hine, *Kids at Work: Lewis Hine and the Crusade Against Child Labor* (New York: Clarion Books, 1994); Daile Kaplan, *Lewis Hine in Europe: The ‘Lost’ Photographs* (New York: Abbeville, 1988); Anthony Bannon, et al, *Lewis Hine: Passionate Journey : Photographs 1905-1937* (New York: Stemmler, 1997); and George Dimock, “Children of the Mills: Re-Reading Lewis Hine’s Child Labor Photographs,” *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1993), 37-54. Hine is also included in a number of studies that chart the major figures of twentieth century photography. See, for example, Bruce I. Bustard, *Picturing the Century: One Hundred Years of Photography from the National Archives* (Washington D.C. and Seattle: National Archives and Records Administration, in association with the University of Washington Press, 1999); Reuel Golden, *Photojournalism: 1855 to the Present, Editor’s Choice* (New York and London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2005); Ken Light, *Witness in Our Time: Working Lives of Documentary Photographers* (Washington D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); James Guimond, *American Photography and the American Dream* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Diana Emery Hulick with Joseph Marshall, *Photography: 1900 to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998); Anthony Bannon et al, *Photography from 1839 to today: George Eastman House, Rochester, NY* (Koln, London, Madrid, New York: Taschen, 1999); John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (New York: MacMillan, 1988); and Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915*, American Civilization Series, ed. Allen F. Davis (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984). Hine also appears in many studies of FSA photography of the New Deal. Additionally, Hine is a prominent figure in many studies of immigrant and industrial life during the first decades of the twentieth century as his pictures helped define the era. Finally, once Hine’s work captured the attention of the art and photography world, his work has been featured in dozens of museum shows. Indeed, as Hine’s work has increased in value, so too have scandals related to its sale. Husband-and-wife art historians Walter and Naomi Rosenblum, long-time advocates of Hine’s importance, sold hundreds of prints from their private collection of Hine’s work that have been ruled “suspicious” as original prints. In 2001 they came under investigation and eventually settled the dispute out of court. See, Richard B. Woodward. “Too much of a good thing: photography, forgery, and the Lewis Hine scandal. The theoretical physicist who ignited the biggest firestorm in the history of the American photography market ...” *The Atlantic Monthly* 291.5 (June 2003): 67-72 and 74-6. *Expanded Academic ASAP*. Thomson Gale. College of William & Mary. Retrieved, 9 Feb. 2007

worked to restore dignity to his subjects.¹⁸³ Born (1874) and raised in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, Hine's formal training in both Chicago and New York was as an educator. His father died in 1892 and, in order to help support his mother and older sister, a series of unskilled jobs followed for Hine, one of which led to a chance meeting with Frank A. Manny, principal of the State Normal School. Manny urged Hine to pursue teaching, and Hine did.¹⁸⁴ Hine taught botany and nature studies at the progressive Ethical Culture School in New York City in 1904 when he first ventured to Ellis Island with his camera.¹⁸⁵ Hine, who increasingly used the camera as a teaching tool beginning sometime in 1903, took students with him to Ellis Island to observe immigrants.¹⁸⁶ The faces of those depicted "are a curious compound of weariness, fear, and hope," and are among the most famous chronicles of early twentieth century immigration.¹⁸⁷ Further, the images were produced during a period of domestic nativist sentiment, yet manage to infuse their subjects with dignity, reflecting Hine's "affirmation of these hard-pressed foreigners seeking a better life in the United States."¹⁸⁸



¹⁸⁹Indeed, as Alan Trachtenberg has noted, Hine's images were entirely new and unlike Jacob Riis' sensational exposures or the

¹⁸³ Lewis Hine, 120, and Stange, *Symbols of the Ideal Life* 52.

¹⁸⁴ *Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

¹⁸⁵ Hine was originally brought to New York from Chicago by his mentor and teacher Frank Manny. Manny was superintendent of the New York Ethical Culture School and had known Hine from his time in the Midwest. It was Manny who in 1903 asked Hine to use the camera to teach his students. See, Judith Mara Gutman, *Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience* (New York: Walker and Company, 1967).

¹⁸⁶ Guimond, *American Photography and the American Dream*, 61-2.

¹⁸⁷ Diana Emery Hulick, *Photography 1900 to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998). It is also noteworthy that Hine's depictions of immigrants and child labor also serve to illustrate many general survey textbooks of American history, lending credibility to the idea that these images are used to portray the "facts" of history. See, Louis P. Masur, "'Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity': The Use of Images in American History Textbooks", *The Journal of American History*, V. 84, No. 4 (March 1998), 1409-1424.

¹⁸⁸ George Dimock, "Priceless Children: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal" in *Priceless Children, American Photographs, 1890-1925: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal* (Weatherspoon Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2001).

¹⁸⁹ Lewis Hine, *Young Russian Jewess at Ellis Island, 1905*. International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, reprinted in Stange, *Symbols of an Ideal Life*, p.53.

pictorialism of Stieglitz. He used the medium in the practice of ‘social work’.”¹⁹⁰ Photographs from the early Ellis Island treks (1904-1909) were published in several small journals and Hine wrote accompanying text detailing how the camera can be used as an educational tool and as a means for practicing one’s beliefs.¹⁹¹ Hine nearly always wrote captions to accompany his images in an attempt to explain their meaning and provide context for the audience. In this way, he tried to shape the way the audience experienced his images and construct meaning. Trachtenberg and Stange have noted that Hine’s photographs from Ellis Island like the one above, both infuse their subjects with individuality and in the process of experiencing their surroundings.

Hine’s beliefs were informed by his experiences as a teacher, particularly at the Ethical Culture School in New York and, during the next several decades, the expression of those beliefs most often found publication in *Charities and the Commons*, *Survey* and *Survey Graphic*.¹⁹² Hine, then, was as much a pioneering photojournalist as he was pioneering social documentarian. His work, in addition to serving the function, methodology and moral impetus of social work, also strives to document events and people through photos, a classic charge of photojournalism.¹⁹³ And, in working to make text and photographs work in concert, particularly in his work for the NCLC and for *Charities and the Commons*, Hine extended the relationship between images and words, photographer and subject, and editor and artist.

Along with the Ellis Island images, Hine’s most famous works are those images he produced while employed as photographer and researcher for the National Child Labor

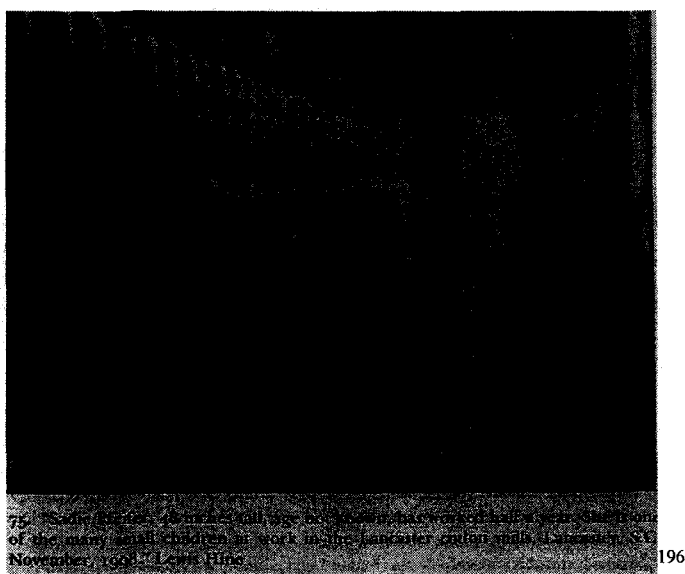
¹⁹⁰ Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 171.

¹⁹¹ Trachtenberg, *America and Lewis Hine*, 122.

¹⁹² The Ethical Culture School was founded by Felix Alder, a philosopher and humanist who first opened the doors of the school as the Workingman’s School – free for the working poor – in 1887. The school’s focus was on “moral education, psychological development, teacher training, and the integration of ‘manual arts’ with academics.” The school was renamed the Ethical Culture School in 1890 and admitted paying students for the first time. The school, however, remained committed to educating a diverse student body – regardless of ethnicity, gender or class. Alder was also deeply involved in movements for tenement house reform. The school still exists and is now known as the Ethical Culture Fieldston School. See, <http://www.ecfs.org/about/missionhistory/history.aspx>

¹⁹³ See Kaplan’s introduction in *Photo Story* for further discussion of Hine’s role as photojournalist. Kaplan asserts that Hine “proposed photo assignments to Kellogg, suggested photo layouts, shared insights into his methodology, and argued about picture rights and credits ... Hine understood the value of picture currency.” Kaplan, xix.

Committee (NCLC). The committee held as its mission to convince people and legislators to outlaw child labor. It was a perfect fit for Hine and his vision. From 1907-1918, Hine traveled throughout the United States and created more than 5000 photographs depicting child labor practices.¹⁹⁴ The NCLC series images were “frankly reformist” and were “produced and used to expose and change frightful social conditions” in line with Hine’s personal belief that child labor needed to be outlawed.¹⁹⁵



In the image above Hine’s caption explains how tall the young girl is, how long she has worked, and how she is merely one of many small children at work in the cotton mill. The shocking site of the small girl in contrast to the large factory machinery, coupled with text noting she is one of many work together to convey Hine’s political opposition to child labor and express the magnitude of the problem. But, the images did something else – they brought Hine to the attention of social reformers and leading New York welfare advocates. By 1907, Hine was

¹⁹⁴ Dimock, “Priceless Children: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal”, 9.

¹⁹⁵ Verna Posever Curtis and Stanley Mallach, *Photography and Reform: Lewis Hine and the National Child Labor Committee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1984), 10.

¹⁹⁶ Hine wrote the caption. It reads: “Sadie Pfeifer, 48 inches tall, age not known, has worked half a year. She is one of the many small children at work in the Lancaster cotton mills, Lancaster, S.C. November 1908.” Lewis Hine. Reprinted in Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, p.208.

working for the NCLC and submitting photographs to *Charities and the Commons* on a freelance basis.¹⁹⁷ In a 1906 letter to Manny, Hine detailed his early interactions with *Charities and the Commons* staffers.

I just hauled up Mr. Kellogg, editor of *Charities*, & have started him thinking over the advisability of hiring a man (good-looking, enthusiastic & capable, of course) to do the photog. for his magazine ...the economy of money & effort appeals to them and Kellogg is greatly interested.¹⁹⁸

Hine also encountered Arthur Kellogg when both were students, albeit in different departments, at Columbia University. It is likely that it was Arthur Kellogg who first introduced Hine to Paul Kellogg, sparking a friendship spanning nearly four decades. Paul Kellogg remained a source of income and artistic support for Hine throughout his life. In fact, years after *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey first put Hine to work as a professional photojournalist, he continued to rely on the Kellogg brothers for employment, references, and friendship. He credited Paul Kellogg as being the one who “‘saw’ so long before others began to notice ‘em much,” Hine’s work for what it was.¹⁹⁹

I want to tell you that I shall always remember what a factor you two and *Survey* have been in putting my stuff on the map, to say nothing of what your appreciation and encouragement have meant all through the first quarter-century of Hineography. The other three quarters ought to be that much easier. I am convinced that had the Paul-Art co-operation failed to synchronize at various critical periods I might still be polishing brains at the Ethical Informary so, please, for them and for me accept my heartfelt thanks.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Hine’s work, according to historians, was used by progressive era reformers “in their publications, posters and lantern-slide lectures to convince the American electorate that the child’s proper place was no longer the industrial workplace or the city streets, but rather the public school, the cloistered interior of the domestic household, and the idyllic countryside.” See, George Dimock, “Priceless Children: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal” in *Priceless Children, American Photographs, 1890-1925: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal* (Weatherspoon Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2001).

¹⁹⁸ Lewis Hine to Frank Manny, [1906?], printed in Kaplan, ed., *Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine*, 3-4.

¹⁹⁹ Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg, October 30, 1930, box 81, folder 614, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁰⁰ Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg and Arthur Kellogg, February 7, 1931, box 81, folder 614, Survey Associate Records, SWHA, University of Minnesota. The Kellogg brothers and Hine seem to have a friendly and humorous relationship. Hine signed this letter “Hiney”.

And, indeed, it would be Paul Kellogg who recommend Hine for work and provide financial aid during hard times. “And I’m sure we will not only want this sky-scraper feature now, and that new bunch of work portraits later on, but may want to tap you in other directions... your old friend and mine, Dr. Edward T. Devine, is the key person in that new housing commission’s work ...” Paul Kellogg wrote to

Hine was nostalgic for the early days of his collaboration with the Kellogg boys. Late in 1936, he reminded Paul Kellogg that it was actually Arthur who coined the term “work portraits” and “it was he who gave me the first mental hypo that started me on the quest for visual documents in life and labor.”²⁰¹ Hine remained in contact and appreciative. “One test of a real guy being the ability to sense the usability of the products of the House of Hine. It takes both of us to do the job right now,” Hine wrote to Paul Kellogg in 1937, noting that he was unable, alone, to promote his work with success.²⁰² In fact, Hine received little attention until decades after his 1940 death.²⁰³

Simultaneously a new sort of journalism was on the rise in turn of the century American cities. These investigative journalists, “muckrakers,” practiced exposé journalism – attempting to hold big business, greed, and political corruption accountable – all the while appealing to the

Hine in 1930 following a luncheon meeting at which Hine pitched photographs. Paul U. Kellogg to Lewis Hine, October 28, 1930, box 81, folder 614, Survey Associates records, SWHA, University of Minnesota. A 1936 letter from Paul Kellogg to Hine has Kellogg offering up journalistic projects at *Time* and at the *Times Week Pictorial* that are “up your street ... I don’t know the people in either of these projects but felt they ought to know about you. Do enlighten them.” Paul U. Kellogg to Lewis Hine, September 15, 1936, box 81, folder 615, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota. In 1933, Paul Kellogg wrote a glowing letter of recommendation for Hine to Arthur E. Morgan, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. “In our Coal and Power Numbers in recent years we have ... turned to Lewis W. Hine, whose work portraits had been a feature of our Pittsburgh Survey to give us the cast of characters of the electric industry from line men up to superintendents ... Hine is the pioneer in social photography of this sort, assisting with his camera the early work of the National Child Labor Committee in bringing out the human appeal of immature wage earning. More recently he has done some excellent work in visualizing railroad labor, in his pictorial record of the work that went into the Empire State Building (under Governor Smith), and in his assignment for the Shelton Looms ... It occurred to me that your imagination might warm to a similar sort of treatment of the Tennessee Valley project.” Paul U. Kellogg to Arthur E. Morgan, July 10, 1933, box 81, folder 614, Survey Associates Records, SWHA, University of Minnesota

²⁰¹ Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg, November 27, 1936, box 81, folder 615, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁰² Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg, February 5, 1937, box 81, folder 615, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁰³ In 1936, broke and battered, Hine wrote to Paul Kellogg to offer up a few volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey that Paul had lent him years before. Hine wrote that he figured Paul “knew someone who could make more use of them than I can, - also, I need the room. Be glad to tote ‘em in to your office some time if they might be usable.” Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg, September 16, 1936, box 81, folder 615, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota. Daile Kaplan has noted that it is likely Hine was merely looking for an excuse to see Paul Kellogg and visit the *Survey* offices. And, indeed, Paul Kellogg responded swiftly: “It’s good of you to offer the return of those Pittsburgh Survey volumes ... I’d hate to take them unless you are altogether sure you need the room.” Paul U. Kellogg to Lewis Hine, September 22, 1936, box 81, folder 615, Survey Associate records, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

moral indignation of a mostly middle-class audience. This was the very audience editors of *Charities and the Commons* tried to broaden their appeal to in the early twentieth century.

Muckrakers, like *Charities and the Commons*, wanted to spur this audience to action: to speak out against injustice, greed, and to demand and participate in reform. Historians disagree on the lasting impact of muckraking journalism, it's clear that muckraking voices were heard during the first decade of the twentieth century.²⁰⁴ The investigative techniques, expose style, and images had a lasting impact on journalism, social welfare reform, and progressivism.

²⁰⁴ Historians have taken several approaches to the muckrakers and the historiography of the group often parallels that of the Progressive Era in terms of approach, membership, class, motivation, etc. For example, in *Age of Reform* Richard Hofstadter paints the muckrakers as part of the group that experienced anxiety as a consequence of status loss. A number of general studies of muckrakers have been done, almost all of which link the style of journalism to the Progressive reform. A number of the essays in Harry H. Stein and John M. Harrison's, eds., *Muckraking: Past, Present, and Future* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973) make such links, including the editors' "Muckraking Journalism in Twentieth-Century America" in which they argue that 1902-1912 was the heyday of the first generation of muckraking journalists and that they expressed their uneasiness about "malfunctioning" political, economic and social institutions through their investigative exploits. In the same collection, Louis Filler, "The Muckrakers and Middle America", points out that the muckrakers represented a middle class sensibility and outrage. While also labeling the abolitionist press and the exposure of the Tweed ring as muckraking, Filler claims the first decade of the twentieth century saw changes in the style of writing and reporting that have stayed with the media to this day. Filler, the one-time chief historian of muckrakers, *Crusaders for American Liberalism: The Story of the Muckrakers* notes that muckrakers were liberals, though moderate and fallible, and believed that their "facts" would stand for themselves in altering public opinions and action. Their failure, according to Filler, was in not recognizing the diversity of America and in holding up democratic materialism as a worthy goal. Also in the Harrison and Stein collection, Jay Martin, "The Aesthetics of Muckraking", argues that muckraking during the Progressive era was the result of four main threads: social experimentalism and utopian visions; postindustrial recognition of the effects of unrestrained capitalism on workers; and the development of a naturalistic style in literature. David Mark Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers*, (New York: The Citadel Press, 1964), argues that the rise of the muckrakers coincided, and as a consequence cannot be separated from, the profound economic changes at the end of the nineteenth century and the emergence of cheap, mass-circulation magazines. He sees the muckrakers as striving to better social and political conditions, rather than operating with an agenda for destroying business and social institutions. To him, the muckrakers reported the "fact" of widespread corruption of society by the holders of capitalist wealth. See also, Harvey, Sados, *Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers* (New York: Meridian Books, 1962); Walter M. Brasch, *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and American Social Conscience* (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1990); William Serrin and Judith Serrin, eds. *Muckraking! The Journalism that Changed America* (New York: New Press, 2002); James Kates, "Small-town Editor, Big-time fight", in Robert Miraldi, ed., *The Muckrakers: Evangelical Crusaders* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000); Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Cecelia Tichi, *Exposes and Excess: Muckraking in America, 1900-2000* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and James Aucoin, *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 2007)..

See, for example, works by Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, David Graham Phillips, Burton J. Hendrick, Jacob Riis, Upton Sinclair, etc.

Chapter 5: Envisioning Neglected Neighbors

The expansion of *Charities*' interests to a broadly conceived notion of social work, affecting public action, demonstrating national belonging, and utilizing the visual as proof of textual claims is evident in the October 1905 publication of "The Negro in the Cities of the North." In a note to readers about the edition, staff explained the idea allowed them to, "... afford a suggestive survey of the common situation; of the salient and typical facts in regard to the make-up of these groups, of some of the forces which lead to emigration from the South ... and then, at greater length, of the social conditions which result from it ..."²⁰⁵ Staffers examined a range of subjects from emigration, to housing, to work life, to community life, to crime, to dependence, and other topics. Writers included some of the most influential figures of the period, including African-American leaders such as W.E.B. du Bois and Booker T. Washington, white academics, and social and charity workers.

The vision of African-Americans presented in the pages of *Charities* is dual: they occupy a space within America, but, at the same time are not fully American, kept out by legal discrimination, tradition, and their differences from white people (as outlined in the articles).²⁰⁶ Authors acknowledge problems created by Jim Crow and a tradition of racial discrimination; but, rather than promoting full equality with middle-class, white Americans, they most often advocate forms of technical and industrial training and are quick to point out "differences" between black and white home life, values, and work; thus, reinforcing a subservient position for African-Americans in American life and culture and reinforcing the authority of the white middle classes.

²⁰⁵ *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. xv, no. I, p. 1.

²⁰⁶ Maureen A. Flanagan and Gary Gerstle both address how progressives approached the question of race and racial justice. In general, both find that race remained an area to which social justice reformers were blind. See, Flanagan, *America Reformed*, and Gerstle, *American Crucible*. See also, McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, esp. chapter 6.

Despite the claims of Kellogg and *Charities and the Commons*, true racial justice remained a blind spot for social justice reformers.²⁰⁷

These ideas are promoted within the study by using a combination of charts, graphs, photographs, captions, stories and headlines to prove assertions of staffers. The photographs that accompany the text demonstrate an emerging understanding of the relationship between text and visual proof. In the pages of the special edition, many of the stories include photographs to reinforce or bolster textual claims.

Editors justified a separate place for African Americans by highlighting grim conditions for those who moved to the North and singling out the success of one community in the South where African Americans stuck to the soil. In “Kowaliga: a Community With a Purpose: What one Alabama Town is Doing to Counteract the Movement of Negroes from Country to City,”²⁰⁸ the author opens the article by disparaging African-Americans who have moved to northern cities and are “intoxicated with the largeness of their freedom.” Migrants have no “visible resource for a livelihood other than the various forms of gambling and licentious living known to their sect,” the article claims, going on to say that the “Negro problem” will spread to the north unless “some powerful train of influences is set in motion to counteract the ever-increasing tide of young Negroes who are drifting north year after year.”²⁰⁹ With that, the story turns to examples of African-Americans who have had success by “sticking to the soil,” and the author points out that farming is the only profession at which African-Americans have a chance to make themselves “indispensable to the South.”²¹⁰ At the heart of this effort is the Kowaliga School, which by 1905 housed 243 students and eight teachers and aimed to “give to the boys and girls who live in the

²⁰⁷ See Flanagan, *America Reformed*, p. 51-55. However, of course, some of those reformers involved with *Charities and the Commons* were also actively involved in racial issues; including Jane Addams.

²⁰⁸ William E. Benson, “Kowaliga: A Community With a Purpose”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no.

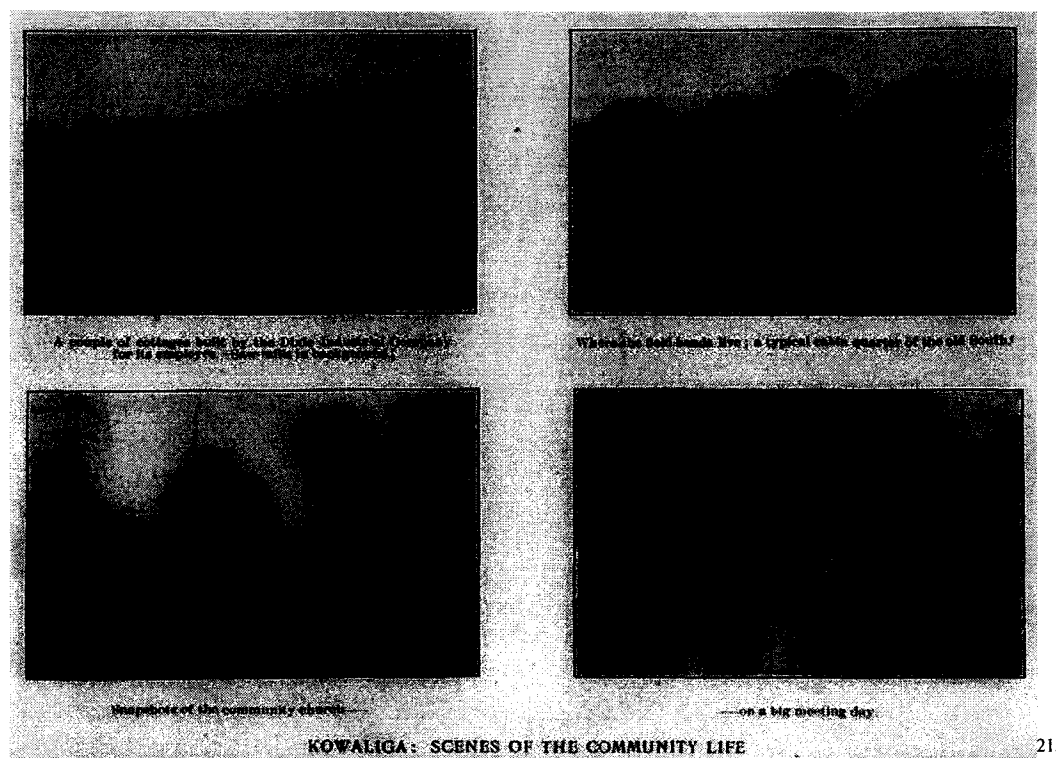
1.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* African-Americans, the story argues, are kept out of skilled trade unions in the North and are rapidly being excluded from them in the South. The idea, according to the author, is to give African-Americans skills in farming that integrate them into the Southern economy – making them less likely to move North and more likely to have success without directly competing with whites for jobs in either the North or the South.

immediate neighborhood the opportunities of a thorough common school education along with manual and industrial training.”²¹¹ The goals were simple: keep boys in the area as farmers and industrial workers and girls in the area as good housewives. But the mission was deeper: keeping them from competing with whites for jobs. The author acknowledges institutionalized racism in the South, but claims building churches, homes, schools, and providing training encourages African-Americans to stay in the South and contribute to the region and economy more successfully than they would in moving north.²¹²

The textual claims are bolstered by photographs that picture Kowaliga as a serene, happy place where African Americans have the opportunity to achieve and prosper within a supportive community.

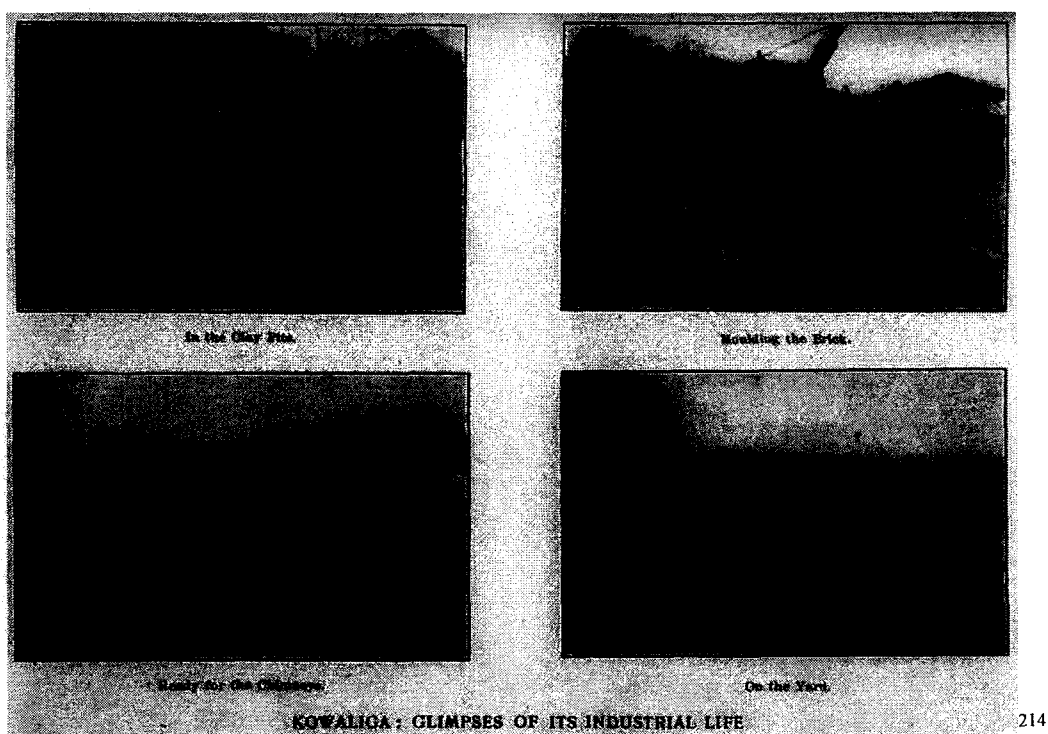


²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ “Kowaliga: a Community With a Purpose: What one Alabama Town is Doing to Counteract the Movement of Negroes from Country to City”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1. http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

The first page is “scenes of the community life” and demonstrates a sound town: there are young people, old people, mothers and fathers and they’re all interacting with each other in what appears to be a vibrant small community. As the text reveals, this community is separate from white people; and indeed, there are no white people depicted in the photographs. But there is an implied white aid if blacks stay in the community. The first photo depicts sturdy wooden houses built by an industrial company for its black employees, according to the caption. Churches and homes – two factors keeping African-Americans in the South, according to the author – are central features of the photographs. Their success is evident in that people are crowded around them. The second page of photographs makes the absence of white competition for jobs stark.



Black men are shown working in the clay pits and moulding brick, and there are no white men in the images. Moreover, it is evident the men work hard (in contrast to the fears of idleness and

²¹⁴ ²¹⁴ “Kowaliga: a Community With a Purpose: What one Alabama Town is Doing to Counteract the Movement of Negroes from Country to City”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1. http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypl/digital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

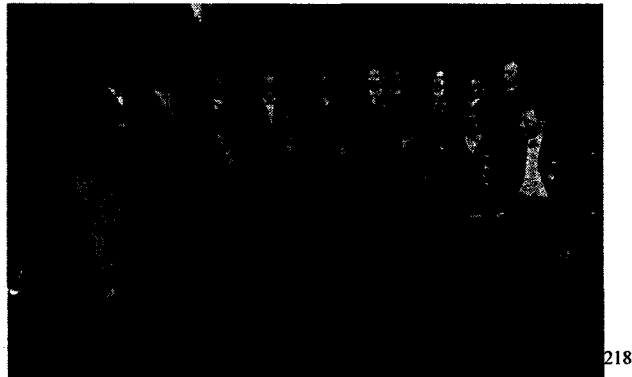
intoxication with freedom of blacks in the North expressed in the text) in agriculture and local industry. They swing picks, mould bricks, and construct buildings. They literally are building their community. Photographs provide visual proof of success for African Americans; but, that success come only in the South, only if they don't compete with whites for jobs, and only if they focus on agricultural and low-level industrial labor. The photographs present a reality of the "place" of African-Americans in American society – one that both reinforces old stereotypes and regionalism, but also embraces certain progressive-era reforms such as education. As with much that appears in *Charities and the Commons*, these images are designed to appeal to a mass, middle class reform minded audience, many of whom had a blind spot when it came to racial justice.²¹⁵

In the same vein, Booker T. Washington contributed an article advocating black businessmen head south because "there is no other part of the United States that begins to offer a field more inviting than the South. We should see to it that we do not lose in the South that which we now possess."²¹⁶ Washington's argument rests on the supposition, much like the Kowaliga article, that the greatest opportunities for blacks will remain on the farms and in the small towns of the South – in short, where the greatest concentration of turn-of-the-century African-Americans resided. "I believe, even in the North, that the largest opportunities for the Negro in business are in providing for the needs of other members of his race ..."²¹⁷ To illustrate the piece, editors at *Charities* carried a formal photograph of the "Officers and members of the Executive Committee of the National Negro Business League," a group of southern businessmen. The caption gives each man's name.

²¹⁵ Flanagan, *America Reformed*, p.51-55.

²¹⁶ Booker T. Washington, "Why Should Negro Business Men Go South?" *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*



The portrait is similar to formal photographs *Charities* ran during the first years of the twentieth century. The major difference: race. In this photograph, African-American men are distinguished leaders. The photograph stands in contrast with many of the other photographs that ran with “The Negro in the Cities of the North” series featuring run-down tenements, poorly-cared for children, and African-Americans in need of aid. Yet, coupled with the caption and Washington’s text, the implication is clear: African-Americans can only have the kind of success depicted in the photograph if they stay in the South.²¹⁹

The Kowaliga images are reinforced by images of black northern urban life and homes that confront squalid conditions many African Americans found in the North. “The Negro Home in New York” concludes that “the Negroes pay more and get less for their money than any other tenants” and that they “are confined to certain localities, and usually to only a few houses in each block” because of their race.²²⁰ The story casts African-Americans as every bit as foreign as their neighbors in New York City’s tenements. Writer Mary Ovington notes that African-Americans are “not to any appreciable extent with the descendants of the men who fought for his freedom – he speaks mournfully of wishing that he might take his chances among the American ...” Still,

²¹⁸ “Why Should Negro Business Men Go South?” *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1. http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

²¹⁹ Interestingly, “The Negro in the Cities of the North” included articles by both Washington and Du Bois, but did not incorporate an interaction between them and their divergent viewpoints. Instead, Du Bois’ piece focused on black voters in Philadelphia. It was one of the few pieces not illustrated with photographs.

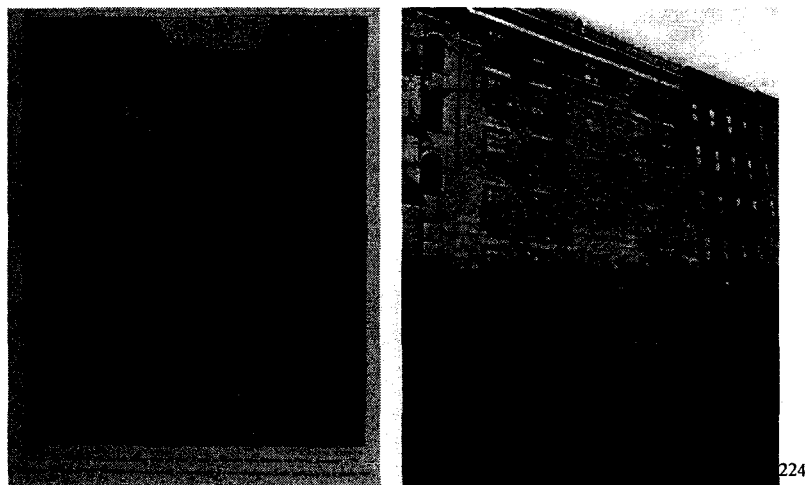
²²⁰ Mary White Ovington, “The Negro Home in New York”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.

the African-Americans of Ovington's article are neither a part of white America, nor are they part of immigrant America. "He is living among many races, the most of whom have but lately found their way to this country and are without tradition of friendliness."²²¹ And, indeed, just as other immigrant groups are cast in the pages of *Charities* and in the Pittsburgh Survey, the article gives some "typical" characteristics of African-Americans who reside in the tenements – from their work ethic to cleanliness to familial ties. Women work and raise children because men are working away from home; homes tend to be cluttered with "cheap pictures, photographs, cards, vases and little ornaments that ... give an air of homelikeness"; meals carry an "air of a social function;" family and kin ties are tight; and the community takes care of itself.²²² But, the article notes, "The Negro is imitative, and all this must and does have an unfortunate effect upon his home."²²³ Ovington writes that there is "hope." She examined 50 families living in the "most demoralizing neighborhood of New York" and found a full 70 percent of them headed by mothers known to be "moral" by area charity workers. But, that does not matter, according to Ovington, when the vast majority of Americans establish their opinions based on the "loud colored woman who parades on the streets." In short, while Ovington strives to explain that the vast majority of African-Americans are honest, hard-working people struggling to make a life for themselves and their children, she also reinforces stereotypes of African-Americans and separates them from the "dominant" culture of Fifth Avenue. They are not middle class. They are not white. They are not a part of the idealized society of Progressive Era reformers. In the North, they lack the opportunities for individual achievement that residents of Kowaliga possess. This is clear in photographs:

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid. Ovington makes a number of claims about family structure and the reason African-Americans do not seek charity, even though they are among the poorest in the city. The primary reason, she says, is because the community takes care of its own. She does not address issues of availability and race with regards to seeking charity.

²²³ Ibid.

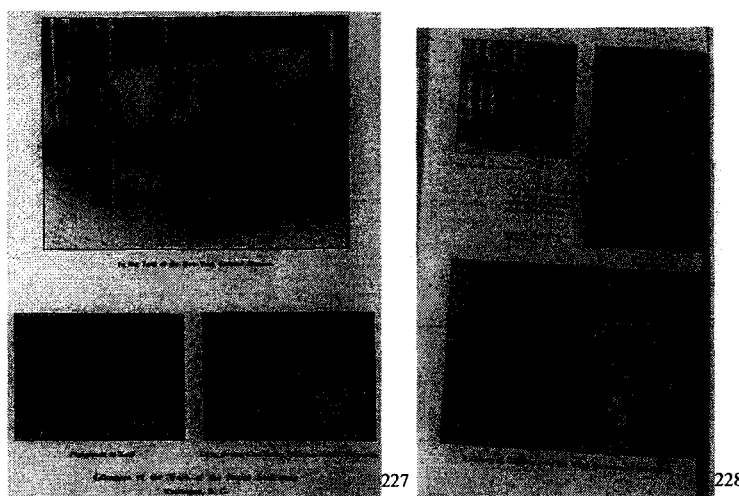


Two page-sized photographs illustrate Ovington's story and show the effect of environment on behavior. In first, "An Alley on the Lower West Side of New York – Within Two Blocks of Fifth Avenue", two young African-American children sit in the center of a narrow tenement alley. The caption notes the alley was originally constructed as a wagon way. It is cluttered with wash-barrels, ladders, laundry strung between buildings, and open window shutters. At the center two children huddle. The tenements appear close together, crowded, and lack privacy. And, as the caption notes – this tenement is within block of Fifth Avenue, rendering it near, but not part, of main-stream middle-and-upper class America. Again African Americans are literally positioned as near, but not part of white American society. The world African Americans live in is in stark contract to the open spaces, single family homes depicted in the Kowaliga photos. Positioning these two stories and images together reinforces the idea that African Americans are better off in the South. Still, the second photo, "The Tuskegee", shows a long shot of the front of a clean, new tenement building at 213-215 West 62nd Street in New York. The caption tells readers that the building depicted is a "model tenement for colored people." The windows appear broader than in the Lower West Side photograph. The photo demonstrates to readers what can be accomplished if reforms are enacted – and just how much the environment can affect change and enforce order on

²²⁴ ²²⁴ "The Negro Home in New York", *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.
http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

people. The African-Americans depicted in the image are orderly, well-dressed, and embody a white, middle-class vision of America. But, the building is still a place where African Americans, as in most of Progressive-era America, live outside the reformers' vision for Americans. The reformers are constructing a separate space for African Americans where they will live by middle-class white standards, but not be a part of middle class white America.

Other articles in the series focus on the moral duty and obligation of reformers to “uplift” African-Americans. Sarah Collins Fernandis, an African-American who opened the first settlement house specifically for African-Americans, begins her article “A Social Settlement in South Washington” by recounting several personal encounters with young, neglected black children.²²⁵ Describing their squalor, Fernandis says that “these bits of meager, stunted childhood existence used as mosaics for the life histories of such specimens of adult delinquency ... turn disgust to sympathy.”²²⁶ To illustrate Fernandis' story of uplift in the form of the social house settlement movement, seven photographs are used.



²²⁵ It is interesting to note that Fernandis was a graduate of Hampton (and, indeed, was a poet and penned the school's alma mater) and was the first African-American hired as a social worker for a state agency by the state of Maryland in the early twentieth century.

²²⁶ Sarah Collins Fernandis, “A Social Settlement in South Washington”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.

²²⁷ “A Social Settlement in South Washington”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1. http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

²²⁸ “A Social Settlement in South Washington”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.

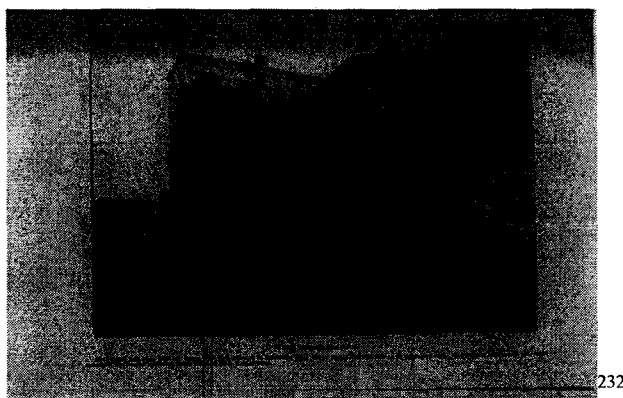
Again, these pictures illustrate how social order can be imposed on African-Americans through direct reform. In a full page of photographs, “Glimpses of the Work of the Social Settlement,” the neat, happy-appearing children are engaged in orderly play and learning. Yet, the images do not depict any interaction with white America or any relationship to the world outside of the settlement, including any relationships with parents. A second full page of photographs shows children at the settlements. Adults are entirely absent from the photographs. Stereotypes, including two black children eating watermelon, are reinforced in the images.²²⁹ The implication is clear – these children are in need of the services of the settlement, with its adult supervision, order and material benefits. They cannot be fully integrated into American society without it. And yet, the children receiving the benefits of the Settlement House are still not integrated into white society. These children, living in Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, D.C. lack the long-term opportunities of their peers in Kowaliga because there are in the North. Moreover, the conditions of all but the model tenement are described in photographs and in the text as deplorable, and African Americans are portrayed as dependent on white people.

Helen B. Pendleton’s article on the dependence of blacks in Baltimore takes this idea further, noting that, “A charity worker among the colored people in North Baltimore says that the parents there seem to lack a feeling of responsibility for their children,” and that school-aged children are rarely found in school, or if they are, the schools are located close to houses of “ill-fame.”²³⁰ The story paints African Americans in Baltimore as lazy, needy, and idle. Because, Pendleton writes, after slavery ended blacks “fresh from a life of tilling the soil and untrained in the habits of self-governance – turned to the city as a toward a door of golden opportunity”, and,

²²⁹ For more on this and other African American stereotypes in American minstrel shows and their use in popular culture see, Nell Irving Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African American History and Its Meanings, 1619-present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Patricia A. Turner, *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies: Black Images and Their Influence on Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1994); and Patricia A. Turner, *I Heard it Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African American Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Doris Witt, *Black Hunger: Food and the Politics of U.S. Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. chapter five; and, of course, Eric Lott, *Love and Theft*.

²³⁰ Helen B. Pendleton, “Negro Dependence in Baltimore”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1

“very soon the more ignorant, incompetent, and defective among the newcomers fell into the temptations and degradations of city life.”²³¹ A number of photographs reinforce Pendleton’s textual claims by depicting rubbish, unsanitary conditions and “idle” newcomers to Northern cities. One photo shows a two-story dilapidated house which, according to the caption, has been “sold for taxes” and is now occupied by four black families who “pay no rent.”



Another, a deep-focus photograph of “A Street in Baltimore Well Known to Charity Workers,” depicts a street scene.



The photograph shows both sides of an unpaved Baltimore street. Men, women, and children loiter in front of crumbling apartment buildings. Together, these images reinforce Pendleton’s

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Helen B. Pendleton, “Negro Dependence in Baltimore”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1

²³³ “A Street in Baltimore Well Known to Charity Workers” in “Negro Dependence in Baltimore”, *Charities*, October 7, 1905, vol. 15, no. 1.

http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital_dev/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=465469&word= (accessed, September 18, 2009)

claims by depicting the environment as decaying and grimy, and the people as slothful and destitute. The people and places portrayed in the article are not a part of mainstream America and, in fact, Pendleton's article positions them further from national belonging by describing and picturing them as ignorant, dependant, and unwilling to labor like the middle-classes to earn a place in American society. She ends the article by noting hope in the form of increasing awareness and generosity of white Americans.

The *Charities* publication committee attempted to distribute the study to as wide an audience as possible. Internal minute meetings from the period show an interest in getting the issue in the hands of people who could effect change. "Repeated representations that this survey should be distributed widely in quarters where it would prove of very positive influence for betterment, led to the organization of this fund, and letters were sent out to those known to be interested in the Negro problem."²³⁴ The success of the study led editors in early 1906 to publish a study of conditions in Washington, D.C. and the movement to make the metropolis a model city.²³⁵ Editors opened the Washington, D.C. study with a cover articulating the problem "Next Door to Congress":

Year after year has brought defeat to measures that would restrict child labor and lower a frightful infant mortality; would require compulsory education for its children at the hands of the same authority which builds school-houses for the Tagalogs; and would raze alley shacks fairly under the eves of the Capitol, which, on the word of two senators, are not fit for cow stables.²³⁶

²³⁴ *Charities* Publication Committee, Meeting Minutes, October 9, 1905, Paul Kellogg Papers, Box 10, Folder 101, SWHA. In response to letters, the publication received \$175 in contributions from readers (and investigators) in New York, Hampton, Va., Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. The money allowed the publication committee to print 8,000 copies of the study and set 600 aside to be distributed for free. In addition, 16 extra pages were added to the study.

²³⁵ This model city, of course, coincides with the City Beautiful Movement and Washington's McMillan Plan (1901-01), one of the first attempts at city planning. See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: Politics, "Corruption," and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861-1902* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), and the University of Virginia's Crossroads, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/CITYBEAUTIFUL/dchome.html>, retrieved December 27, 2006. *Charities* became *Charities and the Commons* once the journal merged with several other social welfare and professional journals

²³⁶ *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24.

The study is critical of lawmakers for allowing the nation's capital to fall into ruin as they concern themselves with the rest of the nation and, indeed, the world.²³⁷ The study blends textual analysis of Washington, D.C.'s social, cultural, and economic problems with charts, graphs, and photographs in an effort to produce outrage that the "world's great republic" has a population living in squalor blocks from its capitol building.²³⁸ For Kellogg and his peers, Washington, D.C. did not meet the standards of Progressive-era America.

The main article blames conditions of poverty in Washington D.C. on the legislative impotence of the district's population, rather than focusing on personal morality and failings of the population. "Indeed, the local residents have no powers, except through public opinion,"²³⁹ the article notes, explaining everyone has a vested interest in D.C. because all citizens pay taxes for the city.

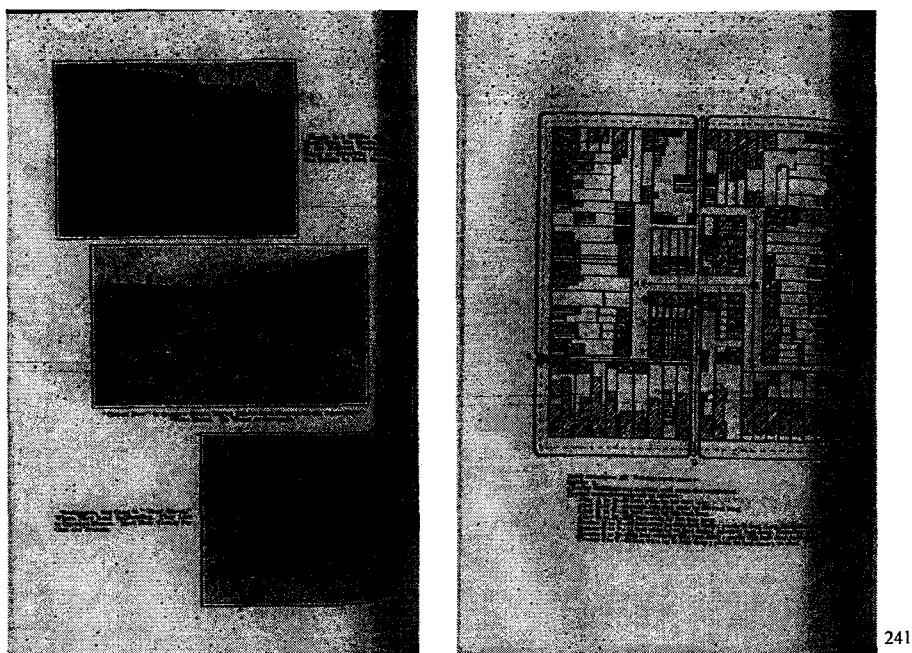
The story claims alleys in the city are breeding grounds for "moral degradation" because they are overcrowded, dilapidated, lack sewers and water, and that disease runs rampant and light and ventilation are non-existent.²⁴⁰ The detailed descriptions of these alleys are accompanied by photographs and graphics.

²³⁷ It is interesting to note that editors chose to use "Tagalog", spoken in the Philippines, as their example. The United States took possession of the Philippines as part of the Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish America War. The United States was involved in the Philippine-American War from 1899-1902 (when President Theodore Roosevelt declared it over); though uprisings periodically erupted for the next decade.

²³⁸ "Neglected Neighbors", *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24

²³⁹ "Neglected Neighbors", *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*



The photographs and graphs provide visual confirmation and evidence of textual claims. The alleys serve as a “rendezvous for drinking, gambling idlers” and are home to “open box toilet(s) where infected water matter from a typhoid fever patient was deposited during the scourge of that disease.” And, indeed, the three photographs (above, left) show communal outhouses, crowded family conditions, and loitering youth. Moreover, the images also have captions that direct readers to visual meanings, highlighting the lack of sewage, the number of people who live in each room, and constructing the boys not as a ball team, but as a “boy gang” that is regularly truant from school. The graphic (above) demonstrates the crowded conditions in the alleys and includes measurements and horse stables. This allows readers to see in map form how crowded the alleys are, and it allows reformers to categorize housing and conditions in a seemingly objective way. The article points out that while many of those who live in the alleys are not saints, a number of people in residence are merely victims of landlords, low-paying jobs, and neglect.²⁴² This is particularly true in the way the images depict the family and the boys. All of this reflects the doctrine among editors at *Charities and the Commons* that the facts speak for

²⁴¹ “Neglected Neighbors”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24

²⁴² *Ibid.*

themselves and will compel Americans to action. Editors felt that when the people and their leaders were informed about conditions they would come to the right conclusion and instigate Progressive reforms.²⁴³ The Washington, D.C. study strived to lay out the facts of conditions in the alleys of the region by providing readers with a bleak look at the environment, bolstered with statistical and observational data, including photographs. Readers and officials, then, would *have* to take action based on the “facts” put before them. And those pictured facts show an America – in the United States capital city – foreign to the middle-classes. And it was an America they were meant to be ashamed of.

The piece goes on to peer inside the shacks and shanties in the alleys and quotes Jacob Riis, following a visit to D.C., as saying “you can’t rise people in pig styes and then expect them to act like men.”²⁴⁴ This idea, that the conditions in which people live influence behavior, is found throughout “The Negro in the Cities of the North” and Washington, D.C. study. This was particularly troubling to editors and reformers given the fact that this was Washington, D.C., the most American of American cities. It represents America to the world. Within blocks of the nerve-center of decision-making, is another America. This America was described to charity organizations and leagues in a letter soliciting support as the Washington, D.C. issue was released.

Facts have been put before us which challenge our patriotism and which we are putting before you ... Within gun shot of the halls of Congress and the White House are alley shacks in which girls, (white and colored) are growing up in the midst of disease, filth, and dilapidation which are indescribable as an American home. This need not be so.²⁴⁵

The letter claims with higher standards Washington, D.C. may serve as a model for “bettering living conditions throughout the country.”²⁴⁶ Because it is the national capitol, reformers believe

²⁴³ Chambers, 28.

²⁴⁴ “Neglected Neighbors”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24

²⁴⁵ Solicitation letter, March 6, 1906, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Box 10, folder 102, SWHA.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

the city might lead the way in the “social and economic environment” and in “broad avenue(s) and stately public buildings.”²⁴⁷

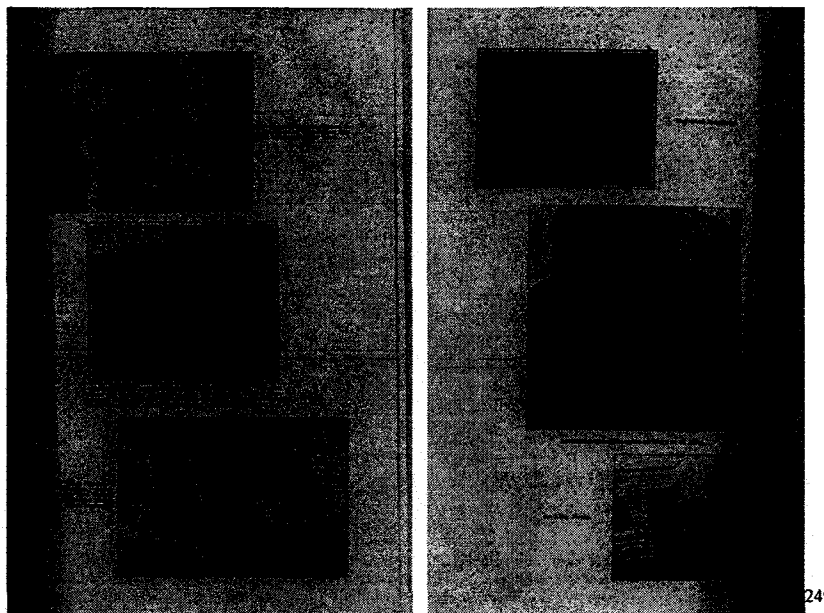
To make the story of Washington, D.C. even more compelling, editors used personal stories, particularly children, to individualize the experience of these “neglected neighbors” within the descriptions of run-down buildings, open sewers, and moral ambiguity. In doing so, the researchers, editors and writers attempt to alter the face of poverty, classifying those who are morally suspect as well as those who are merely hapless victims:

He was a handsome little lad who lay suffering with typhoid fever, beset by vermin, frightened by rants and nursed by two drunken women, his mother and grandmother, in a two-room shanty which was one of a row of fifteen sheds built only as temporary barracks at the time of the Civil War. Dissolute colored men and white soldiers from the arsenal coming to see the two women disturbed the sick boy. Bad odors were thick about him. The wooden box toilet in the backyard was offensive. The floors and walls of the two unplastered rooms were moldy, water drained down into the house from the backyard, a foot above the door sill...In rainy weather the wabby roof leaked and the boy's bed had to be moved about from place to place ... Fragments of food were left decaying upon the table and the floor. “Doodlebugs,” a pet goose, roamed at will around the room, while a footless chicken crawled about by aid of his leg stumps and breast bone and tried to mother a brood of fourteen young kittens. There is not time and space in this review to tell the whole story of the lad's rescue, the poor mother's commitment to the penitentiary, the old grandmother's pathetic death, and, finally, the enforced vacation, though not, unfortunately, the removal, of the whole row of shacks.

Here the victim of the moral lapses of two women is a child. The writer describes in detail the unsanitary conditions, rot, and filth of the abode, but does so while interjecting the child into the home. The condition of the child, then, is the primary concern of the passage. The child isn't morally suspect; he is a victim of both the moral failings of his caretakers and of a system that allows squalor and poverty blocks from the national legislature. The story and half-tones reinforce the idea that urban decay leads to crime and moral ambiguity - key claims behind the City

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

Beautiful Moment.²⁴⁸ A page filled with photographs of shacks that depict crumbling exteriors and filthy, decrepit interiors is near the description (left, below).



Readers are able to put the small child in the conditions pictured nearby. The three photos demonstrate conditions and accompanying captions, note the proximity to the capitol, the fact that the president and senator have toured the homes, and not that people still live in the homes. The point being made in the pictures is that these conditions are intolerable, particularly for the children mentioned in the accompanying captions and story. And, as the story indicates, these

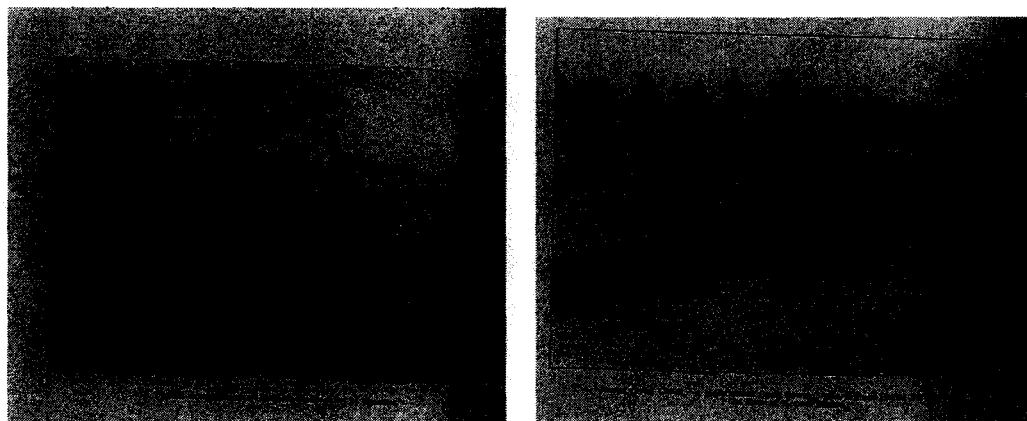
²⁴⁸ John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt discuss this idea further in their chapter “Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform: The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning” in Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996). They note that that “physical degradation could contribute to crime, delinquency, labor violence, and epidemic disease formed a key element of urban Progressivism; it informed the Pittsburgh Survey and gave verve and meaning to the young profession of urban planning.”

²⁴⁹ “Neglected Neighbors”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24 The first photograph, “Stairs in Swelling Shown to President as Worse Than Any in Chicago or New York”, depicts unsupported, interior house stairs. The second photograph, “Stood (?) Near Twenty-fifth and M Streets Northwest. The One House the Housing Committee Has Succeeded in Having Condemned – Only Because ‘Structurally Unsafe’; as yet Insanitary Conditions Do Not Afford Grounds for Legal Condemnation,” shows a leaning shack, with non-existent and boarded-up windows, and trash surrounding. The final image in the set, “‘Factor Hill’ Near ‘Boston’ in the National Capital. Seven Persons (Youngest Two Weeks Old) Living in This One Room (10 x 12 feet) When Inspected by Two Senators,” shows an interior. Large gaps are visible between the boards that comprise the room’s walls, plaster has been ripped from the walls, and laundry and trash litter the floor.

conditions lead to the overall degradation of the community and its people. Just as the “handsome little lad who lay suffering from typhoid fever” was a victim of the conditions surrounding him, so too the American image is tarnished by such streets just blocks from the center of national decision-making.

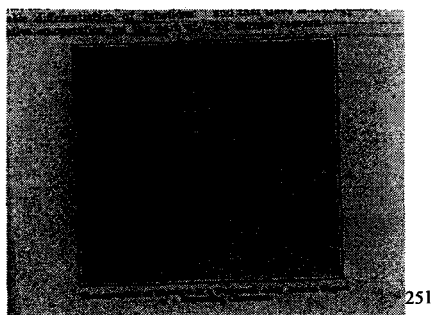
While the Washington, D.C. study focuses on neglected neighbors, there are a few photographs and some text dedicated to demonstrating how successfully implemented reform programs work. One photograph highlights the work of Associated Charities by showing a worker, complete with late Victorian-style dress and hat, amid the grime of a Washington, D.C. alley. She appears to be knocking on the door of a residence, and rubbish is visible at her feet (above, right). It’s also a testament to American ingenuity and strength that neighborhoods once in squalor can be reborn – as long as this rebirth happens within the confines of Progressive morals and codes.

Deep in issues on Washington, D.C., the first photographs of black Americans living in poverty in Washington, D.C. appear, telling given the fact that at the time of the study more than 30 percent of the city’s population was black in 1900 and the study included descriptions of African Americans and photographs of whites throughout the first part of the article.²⁵⁰



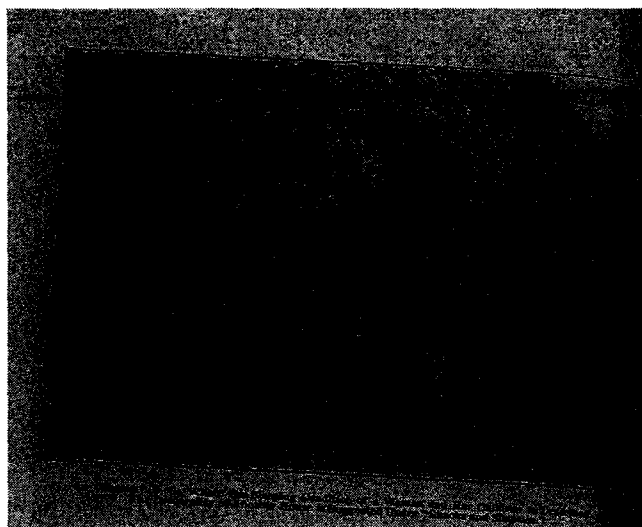
²⁵⁰ See, <http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt> for Census population numbers and <http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0076/DCTab.pdf> for Census race numbers in Washington D.C. Retrieved, April, 22, 2007.

Two images and captions demonstrate that whites are not the only people suffering in the shadow of the capitol. In fact, in one of the images the U.S. Capitol is visible in the distance. The captions draw reader attention to certain facts. For example, in the image above (left) of African Americans amid rubble and trash, the caption calls it “typical accumulation.” In the other image, the caption notes that the open sewer pictured is next to the “colored social settlement” row homes. The next page features a photograph of a small black child, alone in an alley (below). The caption reads “Photographed at Midnight in a Neglected Alley Amidst Scenes of a ‘Degrading’ Character.”



The rag-attired child looks forlornly beyond the camera, surrounded by dirty blankets and clothing. It appears the child’s bed is outdoors and no family is evident in the picture, nor is one mentioned in the caption. The child sits in the heart of America’s national capitol, yet is abandoned. The combination of the caption and photograph construct a shocking vision of what it is to be a black child in America. This shock is something editors banked on to move Americans to action. While the child is black, and while Kellogg and his peers did not envision an America as integrated, they also did not envision an America where anyone lived in such circumstances. A nearby photo shows an African-American woman and nine children standing outside a shack in the “Boston” district of Washington.

²⁵¹ Neglected Neighbors”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24



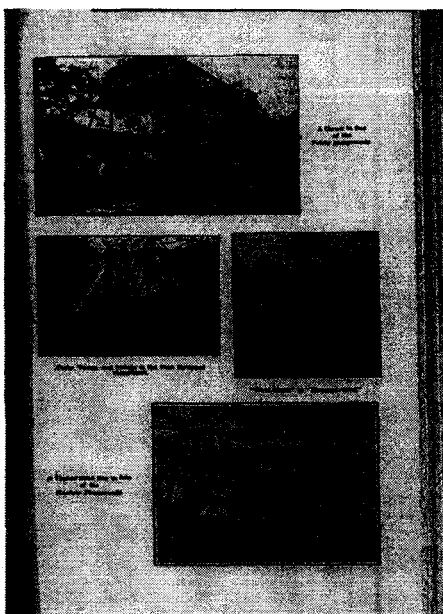
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The caption alludes to another story of a black-occupied home where “immorality” is “suggested.” The caption taints the woman and children pictured by associating them with immorality. In the text the sleeping condition of the woman and her nine children is described

One author notes that “we are coming to see that the English are right in their idea that the best place for social and moral training is a well-directed playground,”²⁵³ claiming it is a space where good little Americans are bred. The article highlights playground use, the importance of recreation, and the way in which as a model city, playgrounds in the District might serve to influence the rest of the nation. The playground story is illustrated with a full page of photographs depicting children at orderly play on well-stocked playgrounds (below).

²⁵² “Neglected Neighbors”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, Vol. XV, No. 24

²⁵³ “The Playgrounds of Washington”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 3, 1906, v. XV, no. 22. Other articles in the Washington D.C. series include “For a Beautiful Washington” by Bernard H. Green, Superintendent of the Library of Congress and “The Playgrounds of Washington” by Henry S. Curtis, Supervisor of the Public Playgrounds Committee. Both articles highlight the ways in which Washington can transform itself to serve as a model city for the rest of the nation – a truly “American” place.



In all four photographs, children are shown energetically swinging, teeter-tottering, and sliding. They are dressed neatly and appear at orderly, well-mannered recreation and play. The children stand in lines, help younger children and sit together in the sandbox. Captions reinforce this by noting the “typical” play taking place on the public playgrounds.²⁵⁴ This, then, was what an American city – a model American city – was supposed to look like. By instilling order in the appearance and dwellings of the city, the moral and social failings of its people would also be uplifted. And readers had proof of this in photographs.

Editors were pleased with the influence and publicity both “The Negro in the Cities of the North” and the Washington, D.C. study received, believing they extended subscriptions and enabled the magazine to reach a broader audience, thereby validating efforts of the national publication committee.²⁵⁵ Internal memos claim the Washington campaign was particularly

²⁵⁴ Chambers notes that editors believed, as was true among many reformers at the time, that “communities beautified by parks and playgrounds and civic centers” ended up making neighborhoods more “sanitary and healthy”. Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey*, p. 31.

²⁵⁵ *Charities and the Commons*, Memorandum, undated (fall, 1906?), Paul Kellogg Papers, Box 11, Folder 103, SWHA.

Charities and the Commons editors again solicited donations from subscribers and notable figures of the era to support the dissemination of the Washington study. An additional 2,000 copies of the edition were distributed in the city; and copies of it, along with letters, were sent to every member of Congress, to 500 newspaper and magazine editors, and to more than 1,000 child labor committees, civic leagues,

influential in reaching a national audience, “to make the National Capital a model city along social and economic lines.”²⁵⁶ Both studies mark inroads for *Charities and the Commons* in the use of images to tell stories, compel and attract readers, and provoke legislative attention and change. Both studies used photographs to make visual claims about national belonging in the pages of a journal that was distributed to the reform and legislative intelligentsia of the era. But it would be the Pittsburgh Survey, undertaken in 1907 and published in 1908-1909, where the fusion of photographs and text would reach a pinnacle in the reform journal. And the story those images told would again show a desire to redefine American citizenship and belonging.

tuberculosis committees, women’s clubs and charity organizations. Those who received free copies of the Washington study were encouraged, via accompanying letter, to write directly to their congressman to persuade them to earmark money and action to make Washington a model city. Memos also claim the study was, in part, responsible for encouraging the city to make two blind alleys into minor streets, a possible housing commission to be appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, passage of an unsanitary dwellings bill, a wife desertion bill, and a juvenile court bill, and increasing support for both child labor and compulsory education bills. *Charities and the Commons*, Memorandum, undated (fall, 1906?), Paul Kellogg Papers, Box 11, Folder 103, SWHA

And, Edward T. Devine received a letter from James B. Reynolds, the man commissioned by President Roosevelt to do a social survey of Washington, D.C., commending them for their work. “I want to express my appreciation of the very valuable contribution to the betterment of the city of Washington ... I have found it extremely informing and suggestive for my researches,” Reynolds wrote to editors, going on to criticize the systemic lack of interest on the part of Washington’s “better” citizens and lawmakers. James B. Reynolds to Edward T. Devine, March 26, 1906, Paul Kellogg Papers, Box 10, Folder 102, SWHA.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 6: Pittsburgh in the Public Eye

How the Pittsburgh Survey came about is not entirely clear, but Alice B. Montgomery, chief probation officer for the Juvenile Court of Allegheny County wrote a 1906 letter to Paul Kellogg urging a study of Pittsburgh.²⁵⁷ “Would it be possible for you to appoint a special investigator to make a study and a report of the social conditions in Pittsburgh and its vicinity?” she wrote, adding that she and other social workers felt that “the people of Allegheny County are not yet very wide awake as to the needs of their poor.”²⁵⁸ Montgomery’s letter came on the heels of the publication of the Washington D.C. study. The Pittsburgh Survey followed, and likely drew inspiration from Charles Booth’s *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902-1904) and Jane Addams’ *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895), among others.²⁵⁹ Leaders of the Pittsburgh Survey chose Pittsburgh, they said, because it was representative of the urban-industrial problems inherent in many of America’s cities during this era.²⁶⁰ Paul Kellogg wrote:

In a sense the Pittsburgh Survey was a demonstration in social economy made graphic against the background of a single city – a city set as it were on the hill of our material development ... Pittsburgh itself is the social expression of one of the master industries of the country, iron and steel... We did not turn to

²⁵⁷ Chambers notes that the “exact origins of the impulse for the Pittsburgh Survey is lost in legend and clouded by the contradictory recollections of participants many years after the fact.” Chambers, 33. Montgomery was the first juvenile probation officer in Pennsylvania and was a steady advocate for reform and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders, rather than punishment or jail. She also was a one-time Settlement House worker. A resident of Philadelphia, Montgomery was invited to move to Pittsburgh in 1903 to become the chief probation officer for the new juvenile court.

²⁵⁸ Alice B. Montgomery to Paul U. Kellogg, June 11, 1906, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Box 34, Folder 330, SWHA. Chambers also cites this story in his chapter on the Pittsburg Survey, noting that it is the “story most often told”. Chambers, 33. In addition, Margo Anderson and Maurine W. Greenwald cite the Montgomery story in their Introduction their edited collection of chapters on the Pittsburgh Survey noting that “key participants and their biographers told the story so frequently that it became something of a parable.” Anderson and Greenwald, “Introduction: The Pittsburgh Survey in Historical Perspective,” Anderson and Greenwald, eds., 7.

²⁵⁹ Pittsburgh was a subject of national reform efforts even before Pittsburgh Survey investigators arrived in the city in 1907.

²⁶⁰ Paul Underwood Kellogg, ed., *Civic Frontage: The Pittsburgh District* (New York: Arno Press, 1974, 1914), 494. Stange also notes that Kellogg saw Pittsburgh as nationally representative and that a study of the region would prove instructive for the entire country. Though, recent scholarly studies have argued quite the opposite, suggesting Pittsburgh was unique in terms of the local character of reform efforts. Keith A. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005). Zahniser argues that rather than recent trends in linking American Progressive Era reforms to a wider transatlantic movement, Pittsburgh was in fact unique because of existing reformers, and a local character that created a particular kind of reform in the Pittsburgh area that can’t be taken as “representative”.

Pittsburgh as a scapegoat city; progressive manufacturers have here as elsewhere done noteworthy things for their employees, and for the community. Yet at bottom the District exhibits national tendencies; and if the great industries of the country are to be owned by the great bodies of stockholders scattered all over the country – or if we are to change that system of ownership and control – then on the shoulders of a national public opinion must rest the responsibility for sanctioning, of for changing, the terms of work and livelihood which accompany industry. As a basis for that national public opinion, facts are needed; such facts as the Pittsburgh Survey endeavored to bring to the surface.²⁶¹

Kellogg claimed Pittsburgh was not being singled out, it was being used to evoke national reaction and change throughout the country. For him, it represented the problems of industrial America and, at the time of the study, was home to a viable Progressive movement, centered at the Civic Club of Allegheny County and the Kingsley Settlement House, providing a sort of natural match for the New York-based survey staffers. But the CCAC was not interested in radical moves for social justice, a viewpoint that would come to challenge survey findings and end up pitting many members of the CCAC against *Charities and the Commons* staffers once Pittsburgh Survey results hit newsstands.²⁶²

Survey workers studied not just neglected neighborhoods, but also labor, industrial and work conditions, housing and home life, urban childhood, immigration, city planning, and other

²⁶¹ Paul U. Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey” in Kellogg, ed., *Civic Frontage: The Pittsburgh District* (New York: Arno Press, 1974, 1914), 493-4.

²⁶² The Civic Club of Allegheny County had long been active in reform efforts for Pittsburgh. First established in 1895 in response to the Homestead and Pullman labor violence, the Civic Club focused much of its attention in the waning years of the nineteenth century on environmental reform. See, Bauman and Spratt, “Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform: The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning” in Greenwald and Anderson, *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social reform in the Early Twentieth Century*. Populated mostly by upper-middle-class and elite women, the group – like the related City Beautiful Movement – believed a clean, attractive, orderly city would have an uplifting impact on its residents. This idea – that the urban environment could effect change in behavior and city character – would be a foundation of the CCAC and, indeed, would inform studies for the Pittsburgh Survey. Staffers, as noted, had already given expression to such ideas in the *Charities and the Commons* study of Washington D.C. In Pittsburgh, these notions would be taken even further. It’s interesting to note that the CCAC was the group that brought Alice Montgomery to Pittsburgh and was a group populated by women married to the city’s business and professional leaders. Thus, familial ties were key in assuring the organizations political success and financial support. The intellectual basis of the group was informed by these relationships. Pittsburgh businesspeople, as John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt note, feared labor unrest and class warfare. So an organization like the CCAC was most concerned with the problems of Pittsburgh’s businesses, not of labor and wage earners. The organization did advocate some seemingly traditional progressive reforms for housing, a beautiful and clean urban environment, and orderly social uplift.

aspects of daily life in Pittsburgh. They were intent on using scientific and rational methods of “survey” to shed light on problems created by industrial capitalism in Pittsburgh; and to showcase an America most Americans didn’t know existed. In doing so, editors also crafted a vision of America that expressed outrage about social and economic conditions based on “facts” they collected in Pittsburgh. It was a vision that demanded assimilation and acceptance of reformer’s values from new immigrants and pointed out the inferiority of their culture and backgrounds.

The Kingsley House, a settlement house first established in 1893 and under the direction of William H. Matthews, served as Pittsburgh headquarters for the Survey. This proved important once the study came under attack when findings were released.²⁶³ Paul Kellogg oversaw the project as the coordinator, director and editor, and collected a staff of veteran social welfare advocates and journalists, including, Crystal Eastman, Florence Kelley, John Fitch, Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, and Margaret F. Byington.²⁶⁴ Many staffers were well-known social workers, progressive reformers, and, in the case of Eastman and Kelley, socialists. They were among the

²⁶³ “Matthews has been acting as our sturdy defender against various assaults and criticisms among the steel men ... Matthews feel(s) there might be a concerted movement put forward to discredit the Survey,” Paul Kellogg wrote in a memo in 1910. Paul U. Kellogg, Pittsburgh Trip Memo, Confidential, January 15, 16, & 17, 1910, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁶⁴ Crystal Eastman, sister of Max Eastman, was a Vassar graduate and had a law degree and was a journalist, socialist, sociologist and a leader in suffrage and equal rights movements in the early twentieth century. Eastman was also among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union (1917 as National Civil Liberties Bureau). Florence Kelley, niece of Sarah Pugh (a prominent Garrisonian abolitionist and women’s right advocate who influenced Kelley greatly), attended Cornell and sought an advanced degree in Europe where she also embraced socialism and married an ex-patriot Russian Jew (they eventually separated). Upon her return to the United States, Kelley floundered and finally landed at Hull House, befriending Jane Addams and took work with the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics and then with the National Consumers’ League in New York. For more on Kelley and her politics see Kathryn Kish Sklar. *Florence Kelley and the Nation’s Work: The Rise of Women’s Political Culture, 1830-1900*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) Elizabeth Beardsley Butler was secretary of the Consumers’ League of New Jersey and wrote about women’s employment. Margaret E. Byington covered family life among industrial workers. John Fitch, a sociologist who became one of the tireless advocates of ending the 12-hour day, worked for the New York Department of Labor and for *Survey* magazine. He examined data about the steel industry – workers, economic and social conditions, interviewing hundreds of steel workers during the course of his stay in Pittsburgh. Fitch was actually a student of another Pittsburgh Survey investigator, John R. Commons. Commons was a professor in Wisconsin and a well-known labor and economics scholar. Others who aided the Survey included Beulah Kennard, the secretary of the Pittsburgh Playground Association; Helen A. Tucker, a U.S. Department of Labor and Commerce employee (on leave to participate in the survey); D. Lucille Field Woodward from the Federal Immigration Commission; and S. Adele Shaw and Ann Reed who would both end up working for *Survey* magazine. Chambers, 36.

most left-leaning of social progressives.²⁶⁵ In addition, Paul Kellogg was concerned with using expertise – much like many of his reformer generation – to bolster and legitimize Survey findings and recruited Pittsburgh visitors like Jane Addams, university professors, and social workers to help and to critique the findings.²⁶⁶ Yet, despite being among the most liberal of the progressives, their work reflected inherent biases of their generation, including blindness to social justice when it came to African Americans. The picture of Pittsburgh and her people they produced was at once sympathetic to the conditions and living situation of industrial workers, but at the same time critical of immigrant culture and those who refused to embrace American middle-class ideals and assimilation.²⁶⁷ Paul Kellogg himself expressed some of these attitudes in his essay about the fieldwork for the Pittsburgh Survey. “Here, as nowhere else, was a district conditioned by a tariff policy for which a generation had obstructed competing European goods and by an immigration policy which had opened wide the doors to let in Slavs, Huns, and Italians to compete with resident labor.”²⁶⁸ So the view of immigrants presented by many of the reformers reflected their contradictory world views. While recognizing the way immigrants had contributed to society and that mixing “races” had produced a distinct culture, the final goal of the reformers was to bring the urban slums into concert with the quintessential middle-class Protestant world they envisioned themselves belonging to.²⁶⁹ They sought a sort of industrial democracy that with fair wages and hours, decent living conditions and protection from disease would usher in a distinctly American working class culture that embraced the systems and ideas of progressive reformers. Their vision left little room for Slavic dances, Italian temporary workers or Jewish synagogues and schools.

²⁶⁵ For more on progressives interested in social justice, see Flanagan, *America Reformed*.

²⁶⁶ Paul U. Kellogg, Memorandum, December 6, 1907, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplemental, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁶⁷ Eva Morawska, “The Immigrants Pictured and Unpictured in the Pittsburgh Survey,” in Greenwalk and Anderson, *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) also notes the dual perspective presented by Survey staffers in their investigations. Morawska identifies a shared cognitive perspective of those people involved in the project, including contradictions within their individual worldviews, which are grossly reflected in their depictions of immigrants in the Pittsburgh Survey.

²⁶⁸ Paul Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey”, in Paul Kellogg, ed., *Civic Frontage*, 493.

²⁶⁹ Survey staffers used the terms racial and race in the way ethnic and ethnicity might be used today.

They sought an industrial democracy – within that vision fair wages and hours, decent living conditions, and protection from disease would naturally follow.

Robert A. Woods, a Pittsburgh native and leading advocate of the settlement house movement who lobbied for fundamental change in order to precipitate economic and social justice, contributed a chapter to Paul Kellogg's *The Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage* that traced Pittsburgh's origins as the most American of American cities built on the backs of its Scotch-Irish and German settlers. "Pittsburgh is all the more characteristically American for having been built up from the first to the last by immigrant stock, not merely by unsettled natives ... Americanized not by any tradition or other educational process than that of having had the typical American experiences in what still remains the heart of the country."²⁷⁰ Yet Woods, as a leading advocate of the Settlement House Movement, a movement that often held as one of its central objectives the Americanization of the immigrants, like many of the survey staffers, had an agenda.

Once key researchers were in place, Paul Kellogg faced figuring out how to bring Pittsburgh to life. To do so, he emphasized the need for photographs, charts, graphs, and other visual images as an essential part of reporting the data collected in the Pittsburgh Survey, recognizing that it was a way to achieve maximum impact for the study and reach the broadest, non-specialist audience. To envisage findings, Paul Kellogg hired Lewis Hine to take photographs and Joseph Stella to draft sketches and paintings. In addition, images provided by industry, local amateur photographers, and survey staffers were used in both *Charities and the Commons* and the six-volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey. The images produced provide the text and data with visual proof of findings and evoke sympathy for victims of industrial capitalism and urban poverty.²⁷¹ And, halftone photograph reproductions and text are wedded in the pages of *Charities and the Commons*, dependent on each other for meaning and value. Together they are

²⁷⁰ Robert A. Woods, "Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of Its Growth", in Paul U. Kellogg, ed., *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage* (New York: Arno Press, 1974, 1914), 7.

²⁷¹ Pittsburgh government officials and steel industry leaders were naturally unhappy with the findings and countered with their own series in a local newspaper using some of the very same images.

the Pittsburgh Survey. Historians have noted the importance of the visual to the project and it is clear that reformers believed in using images of industrial problems and living conditions, that social justice and welfare were illuminated for a wider audience.

Moreover, these images bolstered the claims of reformers expertise by providing evidence of statistical data. Not only did these images reinforce the claims of social scientists, but they also served a broad-based political agenda aimed at reforming industrial democracy. The individuals, their work, and their lives were important to reformers, but more in the way reformers were able to use them to classify and categorize problems than as individuals.²⁷² Paul Kellogg was well aware of this relationship.

We wanted to make the town real – to itself; not in goody-goody preachment of what it ought to be; not in sensational discoloration; not merely in a formidable array of rigid facts. There was the census at one pole; and yellow journalism at the other; and we were on the high seas between the chartings of such dauntless explorers as Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens before us. This is why we try to tell our findings though the eye as well as through the written word.²⁷³

Paul Kellogg told readers in the first edition of *Charities and the Commons* carrying survey results, the “text will be reinforced with such photographs, pastels, maps, charts, diagrams and tables as will help give substance and reality to our presentation of fact.”²⁷⁴ Within this

²⁷² A number of historians have noted the importance of using images in the publication of the Pittsburgh Survey results. Maurine W. Greenwald’s “Visualizing Pittsburgh in the 1900s: Art and Photography in the Service of Social Reform” in Maurine W. Greenwald and Maro Anderson, eds, *Pittsburgh Surveyed* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) suggests that the context of the images instill the illustrations and photographs with meaning. He finds that Paul Kellogg, the project’s leader, selected images to serve a specific political agenda (“engineering social reform in Pittsburgh by experts”) and to reinforce the reform proposals. Margen Stange’s *Symbols of the Ideal Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988) looks at how photographs are used for political and reform purposes from the Progressive Era, including a specific focus on Hine and the Pittsburgh Survey, through the New Deal. She finds that Hine made images not to tell the individual stories of those he pictured, but to promote reform goals. Likewise, Alan Trachtenberg’s *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989) traces Hine’s role as a social documentarian. Peter Sexis takes a slightly different approach in “Lewis Hine: From ‘Social’ to ‘Interpretive’ Photographer” in *American Quarterly*, V39, N3 (Autumn 1987), noting that Kellogg wanted to present a sympathetic portrait of the immigrants in the Survey. Hine, in taking the pictures, saw “truth” as that which would make the appeal for reform the most effective.

²⁷³ Paul U. Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey”, in Kellogg, ed., *Civic Frontage*, 510.

²⁷⁴ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p.517-526.

framework, for Paul Kellogg, the visual component played a key role in crafting a vision of Pittsburgh and the study findings. Even more, it allowed editors, photographers, and survey staffers to shape the way readers saw Pittsburgh and its people. Photographs were infused with meaning by *Charities and the Commons* editors by the context of their presentation.

The planned three months of survey time on the ground in Pittsburgh stretched to more than 18 months so to advertise the project, and perhaps drum up financial aid, the Publications Committee of *Charities and the Commons* produced a pamphlet explaining its goals.²⁷⁵

Our plan is to get at the facts of underlying needs through investigation by experts in sanitary and civic work; to supply unbiased reports in each field as a basis for local action; and to publish a special Pittsburgh number for distribution locally so as to reach public opinion and for use nationally in movements for civic advance in other American cities.²⁷⁶

The brochure noted the Pittsburgh project was endorsed by the city's new Progressive (and Democratic) mayor, George W. Guthrie, and goes on to outline the different aspects of the planned survey, including studies of the working population, working women, public health, water, crime, poverty, housing, immigrants, African-Americans, children, education, cultural, relief agencies, and civic improvements. The pamphlet concludes with a subtle bid for monetary and political support.

The purpose ... is to put those facts before the public in a way that will count. ... There is not a movement for social betterment but is made saner and broader by this interchange of experience and suggestion. To these ends the weekly issues of *Charities and the Commons* afford a singularly unique and effective medium.²⁷⁷

Kellogg saw the Pittsburgh Survey as local in investigation, but national in scope, influence, and impact. He hoped to reach as broad an audience as possible with the findings. To do so, they

²⁷⁵ Chambers, 34. Once *Charities and the Commons* staffers decided to undertake the project, there was still the sticky matter of how to fund it. Initial funding for the study, originally planned to last just three months, came from the New York COS (\$1,000), the CCAC (\$350), and, of course, the Russell Sage Foundation (\$7,000). The Russell Sage Foundation provided an additional \$20,000 to publish the findings, only recovering a small portion of it from the sale of the six-volume set.

²⁷⁶ Pittsburgh: Inventory of Social Conditions in an Industrial Community, date unknown (1906-07?), Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, Box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

reached out to institutions, organizations, media, and individuals to support their endeavors even before the Pittsburgh Survey was finished. Those findings, embedded in the personal “progressive” ideologies of staffers, would be presented as “facts”, the consequence of methodical investigation. And with the “facts” in hand, the middle classes would be forced to act.²⁷⁸

Once in Pittsburgh to conduct research, staffers had trouble securing industrial and labor information, found many managers uncooperative, and had trouble obtaining basic statistics and data from the city and county. Even workers were reluctant to talk to investigators, fearing retaliatory repercussions from employers and managers. Researchers also were impaired by their own contradictory vision of the place and role of immigrants in American society.²⁷⁹

John Fitch encountered numerous problems in attempts to collect “social facts.” As he worked to assess the steel industry and interview steel workers he faced challenges in data collection and social relations with wage earners. At the Alderman’s Court he was given the wrong hour for a trial he wanted to attend and believed he was “viewed with great suspicion” when he asked for information. Fitch also found it difficult to get industrial laborers to talk to him because they feared losing their jobs. Several companies, including the National Tube Company and Jones and Laughlin, refused information he requested about hours and wages. Finally, he

²⁷⁸ In addition, letters were sent to people who had previously supported the journal and its studies monetarily. “As an industrial center, the Greater Pittsburgh bears to the rest of the country somewhat the same position that Washington, D.C. does politically, and advances worked out there are bound to influence the development of American urban life,” the publication wrote in a letter sent to previous donors. Charities and the Commons Publication Committee to Andrew Carnegie, April 3, 1907, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, box 8, folder: *Charities* editorial and operational 1907, SWHA, University of Minnesota. The irony of this letter, of course, is apparent, as many of Carnegie’s business practices would come under attack as a consequence of the work of the Pittsburgh Survey. The letter goes on to urge potential donors – this form letter was addressed to donors who had given money to advance education – to participate in this “national service” and to remember that “the conservation of the actual working population is an important corollary to their technical education, to which in Pittsburgh you are contributing so notably.”

²⁷⁹ See, Flanagan, *America Reformed* and Gerstle, *American Crucible* for more on Progressive era reformer’s contradictory relationship with immigrants.

found “foreigners” particularly reticent, and that “they lied eloquently when at all talkative.”²⁸⁰

Fitch expressed concern about the honesty of his subjects, the very subjects for whom he advocated better, safer working conditions.²⁸¹

Likewise, Margaret F. Byington encountered problems with statistical recordkeeping and information and records release. She found that records about foreigners were particularly poor, and that “not much pains is taken to get them correctly.”²⁸² Survey staffers both had their own preconceived ideas about immigrants, and also dealt with institutionalized bias against immigrants inherent in the social, political, and cultural record keeping of Pittsburgh. Editors considered the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey so important that they dedicated three editions of *Charities and the Commons* to them beginning in January 1909. Each with a special focus: “The People”; “The Place and Its Social Forces”; and “The Work.”²⁸³ Results were also published in book form by the Russell Sage Foundation a few years later.

The first of these special editions, “The People,” takes an in-depth look at residents of Pittsburgh, with particular attention to immigrants. The study highlights the various immigrant groups and African Americans, their culture, and their struggles and daily lives. But it also, as a whole, reinforces ethnic and racial stereotypes and argues for assimilation and Americanization

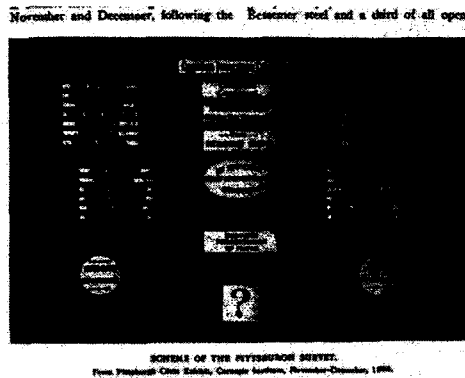
²⁸⁰ John A. Fitch, Memo Regarding Availability of Social Facts, 1907-08?, Paul U. Kellogg Paper Supplemental, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁸¹ Other researchers were met with poor record-keeping, a lack of interest in bookkeeping about immigrants, and direct misinformation. Crystal Eastman had trouble securing statistics, including receiving confused numbers, duplication of names and streets. She also found that the absence of an industrial directory, lack of school statistics and poor bookkeeping meant that she had to rely on hearsay and follow-up claims in person. Crystal Eastman, Memoranda for Meeting, 6/9/08, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Supplemental, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁸² Margaret F. Byington to Paul U. Kellogg, Failures in Social Bookkeeping in a Borough, 1907-08?, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Supplemental, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

²⁸³ Each special edition, at 140-180 pages, was substantially longer than 20-30 pages *Charities and the Commons* typically published in an issue. Even still, because of space limitations in the magazine, editors had to leave out 10 reports that were filed as part of the Pittsburgh Survey. Some of these were published as standalone articles in later editions of the journal; others were only published once the Pittsburgh Survey volumes were published a few years later. Paul U. Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey” in Kellogg, ed., *Civic Frontage*, 502. Kellogg details the pieces that were excluded and how the information was presented in other places and in the Pittsburgh Survey volumes.

as an important step for Pittsburgh reform.²⁸⁴ The text opens with a piece by Paul U. Kellogg explaining the survey, methodology, purpose, and outcomes. A graph reinforces Kellogg's claims, demonstrating the scientific organization of social workers and reformers.



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Paul Kellogg makes a case for the factuality of both the text and visual elements of the Pittsburgh Survey, telling readers that the findings are an “unbiased presentation of facts.”²⁸⁶ The data presented in the graphic supports his assertion, demonstrating a clear hierarchy, organization, and expertise utilized in the survey. The article goes on to describe the importance of understanding the people of a community and where those people come from in order to get a full picture of the city and the work. Kellogg lays out immigration and migration to the Pittsburgh region and how it has influenced the development of the community. In doing so he highlights some of the underlying tensions between reformers and their subjects by reiterating ethnic and cultural stereotypes as he describes the unique people of Pittsburgh.

You do not know the Pittsburgh District until you have heard the Italians twanging their mandolins round a construction campfire, and seen the mad whirling of a Slovak dance in a mill town lodge ... I have seen a company of Syrians weaving almost unceasingly for four days a desert dance that celebrated the return of one of them to Jerusalem ... You have heard of Shakespeare's London, of the port of Lisbon in the days of the Spanish Main, of the mixtures of caste and race and faith on the trade routes of the East. They are the ilk of Pittsburgh ...

²⁸⁴ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 516.

²⁸⁵ “Scheme of the Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 519. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO.54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

²⁸⁶ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 519.

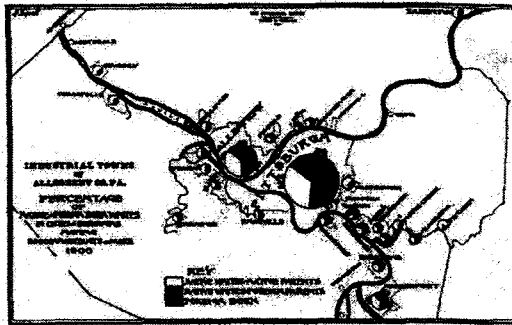
No American city presents in a more clear-cut way than Pittsburgh the abrupt change from British and Teutonic immigration. ...It is from Slavs and mixed people of this old midland, with racial and religious loves and hates seared deep, that the new immigration is coming to Pittsburgh to work out civilization under tense conditions.²⁸⁷

Kellogg goes on to note that sociologists claim that “mixed peoples” are responsible for the greatest advances in human history. But in Pittsburgh, while immigrants understand each other, great “gulfs” still separate the Slav and the English-speaking. A “large proportion is from the country and small villages. This is no less true of the influx of Southern Negroes, – a northbound movement here and in other cities, the final outcome of which we do not know. The newcomers, it is true, may be groomed in passage.”²⁸⁸ Both immigrants and blacks are central to “The People” edition of *Charities and the Commons*. Grooming, Kellogg explains, involves acculturating immigrants to city and industrial life, be it through railroad work in Hungary, or plantation work in Bessarabia, or mining work for Slovaks on their way west. The presumption on the part of Kellogg and other staffers is one that recognizes the contribution and existence of immigrants in the American landscape, but that is tempered by a desire for newcomers to assimilate to American ideals of citizenship. One further aspect of “the people” Paul Kellogg zeroes in on is the “invasion of women into industry.”²⁸⁹ Women, Paul Kellogg notes, are affected by all the same forces as immigrants (in fact, most of them are also immigrants), but they also complicate those forces. Kellogg’s article is devoid of pictures that include people. There are shots of the blast furnaces, the Pittsburgh arch, and the coke ovens, all dark images of heavy industrial equipment or Pittsburgh sites, and graphics of sources of “new immigrants” and of native and foreign born whites in the region.

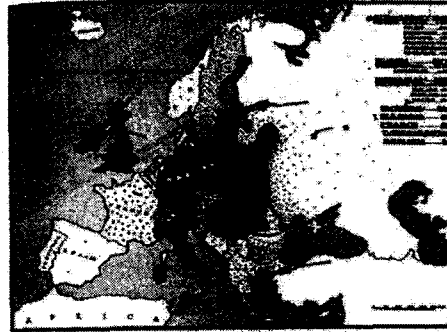
²⁸⁷ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 521-522

²⁸⁸ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 523.

²⁸⁹ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 524.



box to busy itself as a thousand stints; completed bridge. Work is organized but it has fore-shortened trade knowledge nationally. The steel center like the mill



Pittsburgh which is continental here, a about him the potent aftermath of those

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But, throughout, actual photographs – or even drawings – of the new inhabitants are missing. Instead, the “facts” are laid out for readers: how many immigrants, from where, what they do, etc. In this way, Kellogg sets up the data-based factuality of the Survey’s findings before introducing photographs, thereby establishing “facts” in the minds of readers so that they might see photographs of the people in particular ways. The story, and the one that follows, direct readers to think about immigrants in a particular way without actually showing them. His text sets the tone for the entire survey with his words providing the tone for readers approach to the rest of the findings before they even reach the visual photographic proof of the findings.

Still, for Kellogg and his fellow surveyors the central concern is to “fashion a city not alone for the hereditary householder, but for the mobile and transient and half-assimilated, for workers with multiple tools, and above all for people on an upward trend.” Kellogg claims that the city is not a “scapegoat” but instead is the capital of “untrammelled industrial development” that “for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, for vigor, waste and optimism, is rampantly American.”²⁹⁰ And, in making it American, those who reside and work in it must strive to

²⁹⁰ “Percentage of Native and Foreign-Born Whites” (right) and “Sources of Immigrant Labor Force, Carnegie Steel Co.,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 523-24. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO.54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

²⁹¹ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Pittsburgh Survey,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 525.

embrace America's values, drawn as the height of civilization, of democracy, and progress.

Pittsburgh, half-assimilated is, according to Kellogg, an American issue.²⁹²

Photographs of Pittsburgh's residents first appear with a story directly focused on immigrant and worker's impact on the community written by Peter Roberts, a Young Men's Christian Association employee. Readers, educated and informed about the immigrant types, their jobs, and their role in Pittsburgh by Kellogg and other introductory articles encounter the images in the Survey that reinforces these stereotypes. So it is no surprise when photographs of southeastern immigrants appear showing them as worn, tired people, living in cramped conditions and squalor. Paul U. Kellogg and others described the consequences of industrial capitalism and half-assimilation. Roberts' writings before the Pittsburgh Survey demonstrate an understanding and sympathy for immigrants.²⁹³ Yet he also was deeply involved in the first decades of the

²⁹² This point is driven home in the next article, without the aid of photographs, by Robert A. Woods, head of the South End House in Boston, who traces the history of Pittsburgh's settlement through trading post to market town to beneficiary of canals to industrial center. Woods looks to the Scotch-Irish and English as the founders of the town and as those who still hold the vast majority of its wealth and land. For Woods, the town is a pioneer city and, in turn, quintessentially American. Woods notes that there is an undercurrent of morality in Pittsburgh that is quashed in the face of material and economic concerns. He notes that once the moral movement of the people is brought to the surface, true changes can be made. He traces the urban decay in the city center, lashes out at the landlord system of housing and anti-trade-union practices that fix immigrant wages, and cites a "backwardness" in the development of community culture and public spirit stemming from sectionalized social unity in the face of the "overwhelming influx of every type of immigrant." For him, as with proponents of the City Beautiful Movement, fundamental changes need to be made in the physical environment of Pittsburgh in order to change the situation of the people. In addition, Woods sees the emergence of institutions like the Carnegie Institute, libraries, and parks as key to promoting a city sense. Finally, he cites the rise of a reform mayor, George W. Guthrie, as essential for municipal reform. Again, Woods, like Kellogg, lays a framework for understanding the stories (text) and images (photographs) that complete the rest of the special edition on Pittsburgh's people. For him, the city has untapped potential that can only be brought to the surface by fundamental changes in the industrial system and the physical structure of the city itself. There is no doubt that the American system is the best, it just needs to reach its potential and immigrants need to embrace it. Robert A. Woods, "Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of its Growth", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 527-533.

²⁹³ Peter Roberts, "The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh," *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 533-552. As an employee of the Young Men's Christian Association, Roberts came from a decidedly Protestant organization in which Americanization was emphasized. In 1907, the YMCA organized an immigrant division that sent workers to Ellis Island to greet newcomers and to Europe to pass out pamphlets and preach to would-be immigrants. They also established recreational and religious services and offered medical aid, legal aid, and classes in English, citizenship and naturalization, law, sanitation, and "specially adapted literature". Peter Roberts' background and relationship with the YMCA and the Americanization movement is discussed at length in Paul McBride, "Peter Roberts and the YMCA Americanization Program, 1907-WWI", *Pennsylvania History* 44 (April 1977), 145-162

twentieth century in developing an English program for immigrants that helped teach them to adopt the culture (dress, values, life style, etc.) of middle class America.²⁹⁴ His view was that immigrants would adopt the standards of American life to which they were exposed and much of his life work was dedicated to exposing them to the “right” aspects of American culture.²⁹⁵ In the story, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” Roberts notes:

The most backward of these foreigners are superstitious and ignorant and are the victims of cunning knaves and unscrupulous parasites. On the other hand, the whole territory is thrown into a stern struggle for subsistence and wage-standards by the displacements due to these resistless accretions to the ranks of the workers. The moral and religious life of the city is not less affected by this inflow of peoples. Their religious training differs widely from that of peoples of the Protestant antecedents, and institutions that were dear to the founders of the city are fast under-mined by the customs of immigrants from southeastern Europe.²⁹⁶

The customs and backgrounds of the new immigrants are problematic for the Protestant middle-classes that once dominated the region, represent a challenge in the mind of middle-class reformers keen on assimilation and countering the impact of industrial capitalism.

Roberts’ article traces the arrival of immigrants from southeastern Europe, noting wages bring them to Pittsburgh and that they are “strong physical organisms” whose “food in the fatherland was coarse, their habits simple, their cares few.”²⁹⁷ Roberts places immigrants in the economic order defining and organizing their physicality, labor, and wages. He calls them “children in factory training” and says that the “common opinion of American employers is that they are stupid.” To picture the first part of his story, head shots of immigrants are used. But, beyond being identified as a “Young Slovak” or a “Young Croatian,” the men are not

²⁹⁴ McBride, 153.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 533-534.

²⁹⁷ Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 535. Among those Roberts highlights: “Poles, Italians and Jewish immigrants”, “Lithuanians, Croatians, Servians, Slovaks, and Ruthenians”, and “Magyars, Greeks, Bohemians and Roumanians”

distinguished from each other by individual characteristics, a symbol of the sociological organization of the survey, which ultimately serves to reinforce stereotypes.

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In Pittsburgh where the contract labor law... Labor speaks in New York city... The labor who implore most...

ing the yards and reaching. Finally... to describe the case of the laborer... in his native town and Sweden...

I have noted the conditions in the yard... On the other hand, it is a common sight in the district...



men, have nothing to support and each... of New Jersey the State. Perhaps...

and over three without a contract. For... as a rule men the longest period...

We have seen, then, the State day in... lower quality than the steel made in...

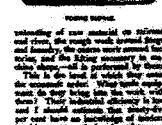
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most fit for the development of our in-... dustry. Moreover, had she been better...

of the future. See, also, one of... these nations who settled in the city...



the petty of entry and crowded to ac-... cept.



I have spoken of the laborers which... labor and money and have been in...

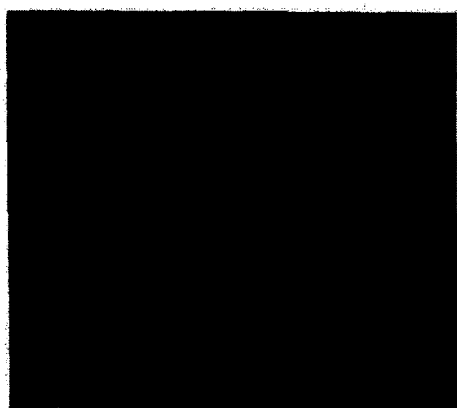
the petty of entry and crowded to ac-... cept.

I have spoken of the laborers which... labor and money and have been in...

No names are used. Each of the four young men is dressed in a similar fashion, appears to be about the same age, and stares at the camera with a fixed, firm face. In the same manner as the photographs, Roberts gives several anecdotal examples of immigrants' experiences with foreman and bosses and wages, without every identifying them as individuals beyond ethnicity.

The article also examines housing and living conditions for the new immigrants, explaining that immigrants are kept in specific districts of Pittsburgh and pay higher rents than the "white man." Roberts points out the difference in how recent immigrants live compared to an "American" standard: "the recent comers, who too often live in lodgings that are filthy; whose peasant habits seem to us uncouth; and whose practices are fatal to decency and morality in a thickly settled district." Much of the blame is placed on greedy landlords who do not repair lodgings and try to crowd as many people in a room as possible. But, while immigrants are portrayed as victims, they are also portrayed as helpless and, given the descriptions of their skills and morality, of dubious intellect. To picture this, two half-page photographs are used.

298 Peter Roberts, "The New Pittsburghers", Charities and the Commons, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 536-37. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).



NIGHT SCENE IN A SLAVIC LODGING HOUSE.
 Three men in the far bed, two in the others, twelve in the room. In some of these lodgings day workers sleep nights in the beds occupied by night workers in the daytime.



SLAVIC LODGING HOUSE ON THE SOUTH SIDE.
 Four beds; two in a bed. The young fellow at the table was writing home. Before him were pictures of his mother and sisters in immaculate peasant costumes. 299

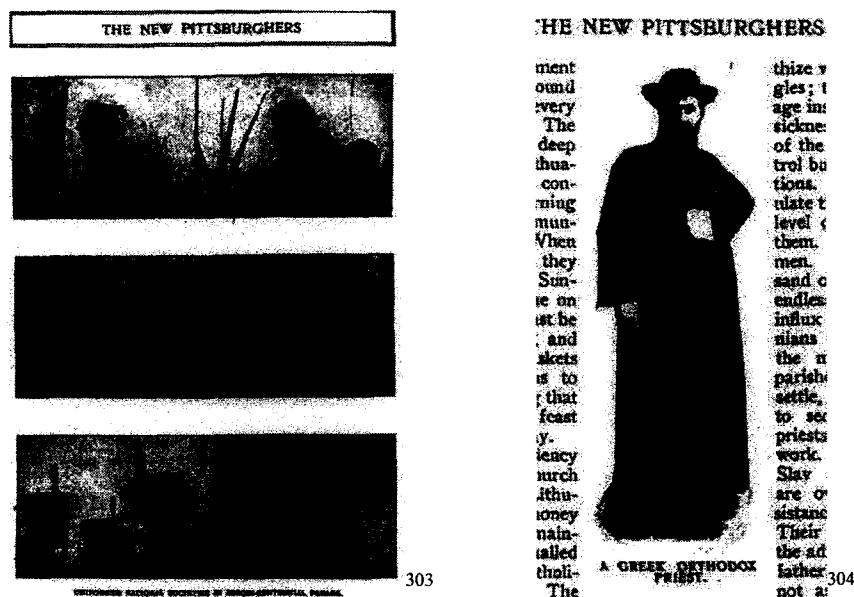
The caption for the first photograph explains: “Night Scene in a Slavic Lodging House: Three men in the far bed, two in the others, twelve in the room. In some of these lodgings day workers sleep nights in the beds occupied by night workers in the daytime.”³⁰⁰ The second photograph’s caption notes: “Slavic Lodging House on the South Side: Four beds; two in a bed. The young fellow at the table was writing home. Before him were pictures of his mother and sisters in immaculate peasant costumes.” The meaning here is striking. These are simple men – peasants, as indicated by the focus on the clean peasant pictures one of the men gives a place of prominence in the room – who have been forced into a sort of moral degradation by the industrial system. And, again, these men are nearly anonymous – no names are used and they are described by their “racial type” alone. Surveyors stressed this in order to paint a picture of Pittsburgh as typical of industrial cities. Individuals became “types” that allowed the reformers to make generalizations and explain their data as experts. They have not been assimilated into American life and culture and until they are, and the industrial system is reformed, there is little hope for bettering their conditions. Roberts places blame on both the system and the people. “Before we condemn immigrants for the filth of their lodgings, we must remember that they are largely rural people

²⁹⁹ “Night Scene in a Slavic Lodging House” and “Slavic Lodging House on the South Side”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 541-42..
<http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO.54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³⁰⁰ Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 540-541.

unused to such city barracks.”³⁰¹ But the photographs do not depict the immigrants as trying to change their conditions or doing anything to become American (as defined by reformers).

Roberts’ article also investigates fraternal and religious groups that aid immigrants and argues such groups prevent Americanization and assimilation. “There is reason to believe that the home governments of these people foster the formation of organizations along racial lines; the church also fosters these national societies ... they tend to make assimilation difficult.”³⁰² Roberts notes the work these organizations do in terms of aid and social opportunities, but sees them as an impediment to Americanization. Several photographs are used to demonstrate how organizations keep immigrants from becoming American. In “The New Pittsburghers: Uniformed National Societies in Sesqui-Centennial Parade” a series of six photos show men – of unidentified nationalities because that is not the point for surveyors – in traditional uniforms.



³⁰¹ Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 542-543.

³⁰² Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 549.

³⁰³ “The New Pittsburghers,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 548. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³⁰⁴ “The New Pittsburghers,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 551. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

There are unfamiliar, foreign hats and coats. Several non-Protestant churches are shown, including an Eastern Orthodox and a Greek Orthodox Church and there is a photograph of a “Greek Orthodox Priest.” The priest does not “look” American, and, in fact, the text reinforces this: “Slavs, Lithuanians and Italians have a strong religious element in their make-up which plays a never-ending part in such racial communities ... unless this element is reckoned with they are not to be understood.” By pairing text about how the Eastern Orthodox churches and the Roman Catholic Church differ from Protestant churches of the city’s founding with photographs of ornate buildings and traditional priests’ dress, it makes the religious culture of new immigrants seem even more foreign. Roberts makes this more explicit by explaining the tremendous power religious leaders wield: “The priests have great power over the lives of their people ... taken as a whole, I view them as a body of men loyal to their vow and honoring the profession wherein they serve.” Yet Roberts’ motives are suspect because the story holds hints of his own evangelical Protestantism and desire to Americanize as a way to neutralize the impact of immigrants on America.³⁰⁵ Moreover, Roberts claims it is the responsibility of Americans “to train these peoples of southeastern Europe in the principles of democracy. Thousands of these peoples yearn for a knowledge of our language and an insight into that form of government that has made America great among the nations of the earth, and we should be willing to go half way and meet the need.”³⁰⁶

One of the most heavily “pictured” stories in “The People” is a piece on women that highlights the importance of women’s labor, yet also reinforces ethnic, gender, and racial stereotypes.³⁰⁷ Article author Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, secretary of the Consumer League of

³⁰⁵ Roberts’ was an employee of the YMCA – and former Protestant preacher with a divinity doctorate from Yale.

³⁰⁶ Peter Roberts, “The New Pittsburghers: Slavs and Kindred Immigrants in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 552.

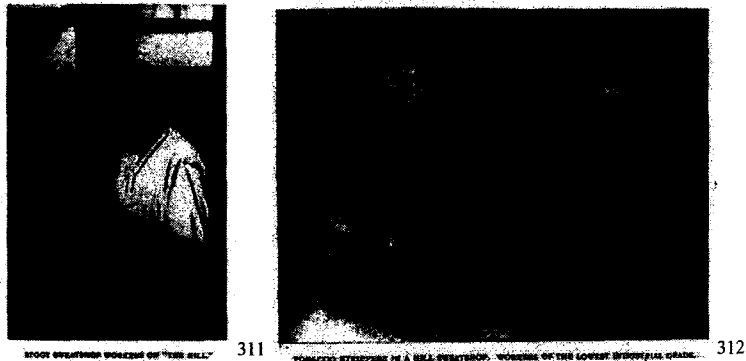
³⁰⁷ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, “The Working Women of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, Vol. XXI, No. 14, p. 570-580. Butler was secretary of the Consumer’s League of New Jersey, but didn’t fully realize her potential as a social worker because she died of tuberculosis at the age of 26 in 1911.

New Jersey, traces the work patterns of women of different “racial” groups, noting that 22,185 women are wage earners outside of agricultural, professional, and domestic service, and that each trade has its “characteristic racial group” defined by industry managers. For example, she finds Italian women are more likely to work at home; Polish women, lacking the “conservatism” of Italians are likely to work in a variety of industries because they “have not the same standard of a close-knit family relationship,” and have a “flexibility in their attitude toward life and their part in it”; American-born Irish and German girls are likely to clerk at mercantile houses because it appeals to those with “personal ambition but without the training for an office position”; a few “bright” Jewish girls also work in the mercantile houses and “have a characteristic dislike for the noise of machines”; and other Jewish girls work in garment factories under poor conditions. Butler’s article clearly defines national and religious backgrounds of workers in various industries, noting that bosses have chosen specific “racial elements” in “response to a specific industrial demand.” The survey does nothing to undermine these stereotypes. Instead, it reinforces the existing stereotypes by expanding on them textually and visually allowing the audience to witness the stereotypes first hand as photographic evidence. She notes that Polish women are held back by a lack of training and a “trade indifference, as well as by the stolid physical poise that cannot be speeded at the high pressure to which an American girl will respond.”³⁰⁸ Among Polish girls, Butler adds additional categories and organization, noting that in canneries and cracker factories there are Polish girls “who are lighter-handed, fairer, more delicately built than those of the metal trades and the glass houses.” While Butler does not support some of the work that women do in Pittsburgh, questioning its effect on the industrial system, she does note that women’s work is a fixture and that it needs to be reformed.³⁰⁹ Eight large photographs illustrate Butler’s story, depicting women engaged in various aspects of

³⁰⁸ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, “The Working Women of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 570-580.

³⁰⁹ Butler, of course, was herself a college graduate and a working woman and her primary concern seems to be with the type of work women do, the wages they earn, the potential for self-sufficiency, but also with the undermining of the industrial labor force.

industrial work. The opening photo, just below the article title, “Stogy Sweatshop Workers on ‘The Hill,’” shows women, bent over their work.³¹⁰



Nothing in the photo itself reveals the women’s nationality, but, in the text, Butler claims “stogy work” is the lowest level of employment and that Polish women are the most prevalent in these factories. Stripping tobacco, according to Butler, is the least desirable work for women and that it depicted in her story and in the photographs. In “Tobacco Strippers in a Hill Sweatshop. Workers of the Lowest Industrial Grade” (above, right) two stogy workers who occupy the lowest of the low industrial work pose for the camera.³¹³ Though looking at the camera with open expressions, their hands are in motion. The two women sit in front of a wallpapered wall, suggesting they do contract work in a domestic setting. Butler repeatedly points out in her story that this is the work done by immigrant, particularly Polish women, who lack skills and ambition. With the textual cues, readers are left to assess whether the women are ambitious or unhappy with their situation.

Other photographs focus on more skilled female workers who appear happier with their work. including “Semi-Skilled American Girls in a Glass Decorating Factory”.³¹⁴ In the

³¹⁰ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, “The Working Women of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 570.

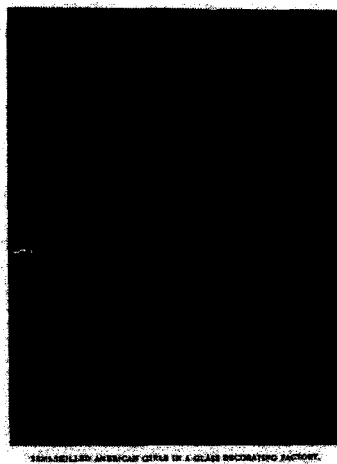
³¹¹ “Stogy Sweatshop Workers on ‘The Hill’”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 571. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³¹² “Tobacco Strippers in a Hill Sewatshop”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 575. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³¹³ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, “The Working Women of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 575.

³¹⁴ See also, “A Cannery Girl – Bottling Pickles With A Grooved Pick”, a woman, hair hidden under a white hat, is smiling as she puts pickles into a narrow jar. Beside her sit several empty jars and a bowl of pickles. Another image, “One of the South Side Glassworkers”, shows a woman in profile holding a glass.

photograph, one woman appears to be working at a machine that edges the glass. The other woman is loading glasses into boxes. Both are looking at their work, rather than the camera, and both are smiling. The woman packing boxes wears an apple cap.³¹⁵



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Both women have more space around them and are labeled as both American and semi-skilled. Butler's text explains to readers that women in glass factories are likely American or first-generation American born children of immigrants. Their skills and ambition are higher and so too is their satisfaction with their labor. Together the text and photographs reinforce this, making it "fact" for readers of *Charities and the Commons*.

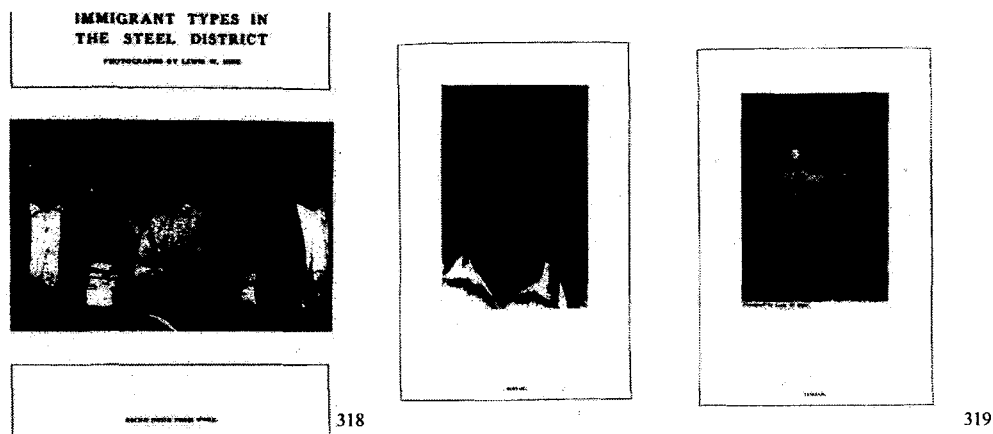
"The People" also includes photographs of immigrants as a composite look at the immigrant worker in Pittsburgh, and, by extension, America. Eight Lewis Hine photographs are

Her hands are in motion and she appears to be inspecting the glass closely. Another photo, "A Laundry Worker at a Body Ironing Machine. One of the Skilled Hands." has a short, round happy-looking woman standing at a machine that seems to iron clothing. She is guiding a white shirt through the machine. Her work conditions do not appear cramped and, in fact, no other workers are visible in the large image. Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "The Working Women of Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 570-580. Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "The Working Women of Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 579.

³¹⁵ These caps are sometimes called touring hats or a newsboy caps.

³¹⁶ "Semi-skilled American Girls in a Glass Decorating Factor", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 579. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?/PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

presented on glossy pages under the heading of “Immigrant Types in the Steel District”.³¹⁷ The opening image, under the headline, is a shot of six men “Going Home From Work.”



With the exception of the first page, each page that follows in the series contains a single image of a single man. Each man is identified by his nationality: “Croatian”; “Lithuanian”; “Italian”; “Russian”; “Servian”; “Slovak”; and “A Young Slav.” These portraits look as if they could have been taken in a studio setting by paying customers. Hine seems to be injecting these men with dignity and individuality, while still working within the confines of the Pittsburgh Survey goals of providing an overview of life and conditions in the steel district. The men remain anonymous – names are not used, thereby falling in line with the survey’s study of overall conditions in the district and representing “types.” Yet under Hine’s gaze, the men are smiling and infused with individuality in the portraits, despite being used to represent a distinct “type.”

Interestingly, photographs of African Americans are not included in a story on African-Americans in Pittsburgh that explores the role of blacks in Pittsburgh and the need for African

³¹⁷ Lewis W. Hine, “Immigrant Types in the Steel District”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 581-588.

³¹⁸ “Going Home From Work”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 581. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³¹⁹ “Slovak” and “Italian”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 587 and 584. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

Americans and whites to work together to address the “problem” of black migration.³²⁰ As with *Charities*’ earlier series on black families in northern cities and the study of Washington, D.C., here Helen Tucker traces how African Americans of different backgrounds moved North (rural, educated, criminal, etc.), their reasons, and their contribution. The author draws distinct lines between African-Americans and “foreigners”: “Compared with certain of the foreigners, the Negroes do not overcrowd their houses, but they do often shelter too many people for comfort or decency.”³²¹ She notes that reform has to come from both blacks and whites: “Left to themselves the Negroes are slow or unable to organize but until they do, much of their efforts as individuals will be wasted and but little definite good can be accomplished.”³²² Yet, despite the presence of more than 27,500 black people in the community, they are not pictured at all. So while the “problem” of black migration is discussed, it is not pictured. It once again places blacks outside the middle class vision of America and beyond the scope of Americanization. They seem to occupy a separate space in *Charities and the Common*, in Pittsburgh and, in America.

“The People” also took on housing discrepancies, amusements, work conditions and industry, and religion and the negative impact of a town run by an industry by turning the camera and social work on Homestead.³²³ Homestead, a smaller town than neighboring Pittsburgh, hosts living conditions that are little better, according to author Margaret Byington. “Courts where seventy-five, or even in a few instances more than a hundred people, are dependent for water supply on one hydrant, and houses with an average of four or five persons to each room are frequent.”³²⁴ She notes that, with the exception of the “Slavs,” Homestead residents do not tend to segregate themselves into neighborhoods by nationality. Though, she writes, “the more desirable

³²⁰ Helen A. Tucker, “The Negroes of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 599-608.

³²¹ Helen A. Tucker, “The Negroes of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 601.

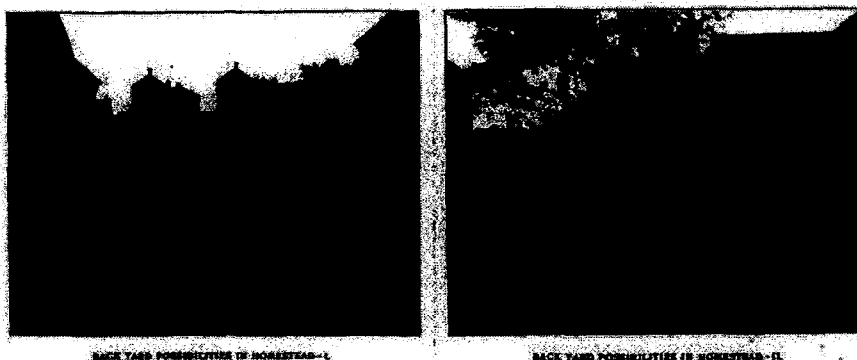
³²² Helen A. Tucker, “The Negroes of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 608.

³²³ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 612-628.

³²⁴ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 614.

part of town ... is occupied by the whole English speaking group" that includes native whites, English, Scotch, and Irish residents.³²⁵ She assesses amusements such as bowling alleys and nickelodeons, but claims they are not intellectual pursuits. She notes that one worker, a socialist, told her that the men were "so unintelligent and were so unwilling to talk about social questions."³²⁶ This lack of intelligence and disinterest in politics, according to Byington, prevents them from organizing and questioning labor and industrial conditions. Finally, Byington calls morality in Homestead "average," citing alcohol as the main morality issue challenging dwellers.

Editors used 12 photographs and several charts illustrate the town's potential and to highlight its problems. Several photographs within the Homestead story demonstrate progress and possibility of the town. Importantly, this is the neighborhood Byington describes as "English-speaking." Two pictures of "Back Yard Possibilities in Homestead" (I and II) appear on opposing pages.



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In the first, tall, thin houses are seen surrounding a large open area that appears to be uncultivated. Dirt and rough grass appear to be the only gardening. In the second image a similar area is shown, this time with large trees, ground foliage, and shaped gardens. In fact, so stark is

³²⁵ Margaret F. Byington, "Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 614.

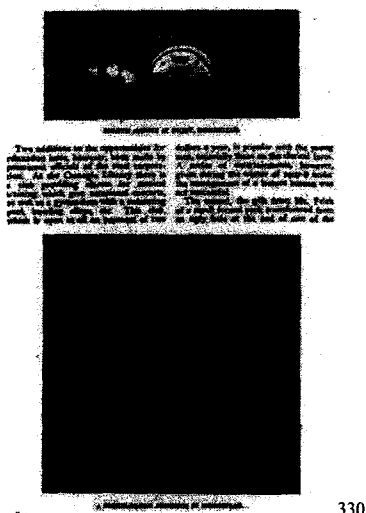
³²⁶ Margaret F. Byington, "Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 623.

³²⁷ "Backyard Possibilities in Homestead - I" and "Backyard Possibilities in Homestead - II", *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 618-619".

<http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

the change, that several bonneted children are visible playing in one of the gardens.³²⁸ With a living wage, with improved living conditions, with open spaces, with Americanization – Homestead and its people can reap the benefits of democratic industrialization.

Three pictures illustrate “leisure” in Homestead offering an image of working-class immigrant culture merging with turn-of-the-century American amusements.³²⁹ Two of them are dedicated to the nickelodeon and include lines of people outside the brightly-lit Nickelodeon building at night and an interior shot of the theater.



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On both sides, it is evident this is a diverse audience – young children and adults; men and women. Missing, of course, are African-Americans and identifiers of ethnicity.³³¹ It is also

³²⁸ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 618-619

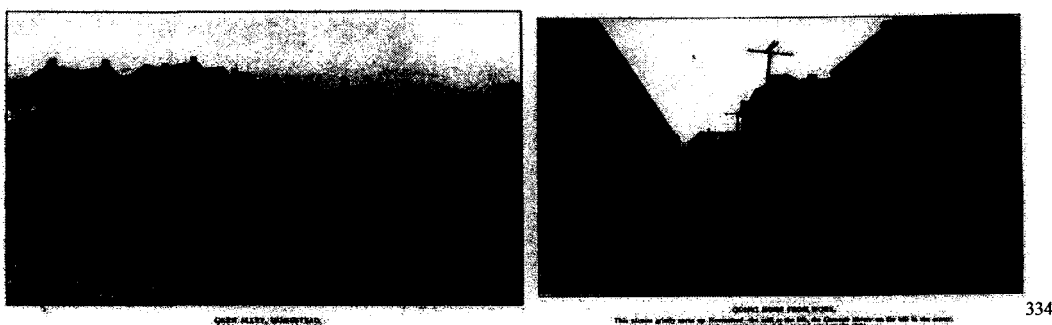
³²⁹ There are dozens of scholarly works that trace the amusements of turn-of-the-century Americans and recent immigrants/national identity. See, for example, John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn of the Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples At Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); and Charles F. McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) among many others.

³³⁰ “A Nickelodeon Audience in Homestead”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp. 620. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³³¹ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 620.

important to remember that nickelodeons came under sharp attack in the first decade of the twentieth century from certain progressive reformers.³³²

Two photographs mark Homestead as a grim and desolate place to live and work. One shows an area with less visual appeal than other neighborhoods depicted. The other shows men and children, according to the caption, “Going Home from Work.” The caption goes on, “This picture grimly sums up Homestead – the mill at the left, the Carnegie library on the hill in the center, and the mean houses of the second ward to the right.”³³³



Byington is critical of Homestead, but praises the American ingenuity that created it: “the wonderful development of the industry itself, with its splendid organization, its capable management, its efficient methods ...” To her, Homestead lacks political organization, leadership and the physical and moral efficiency which “can come only through leisure to think and to enjoy.” She gives residents, despite “outward physical disadvantages, the hindrance of inadequate income, the lack of proper training in household economics, and the limited outlook”, credit for creating “homes”.³³⁵ A back-handed compliment to be sure. The people, though making attempts

³³² For more on Progressives relationship with nickelodeons and movie culture see, Robert Sklar, *Movie Made America: A Cultural History of the Movies* (New York: Vintage/Random House Books, 1994, 1975) and Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

³³³ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 622.

³³⁴ “Glen Alley, Homestead” and “Going Home From Work”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, pp.616 and 622. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 19, 2009).

³³⁵ Margaret F. Byington, “Homestead: A Steel Town and Its People”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 628.

at making homes, have not realized the middle-class ideal and thus are not fully integrated into American middle-class values and belonging.

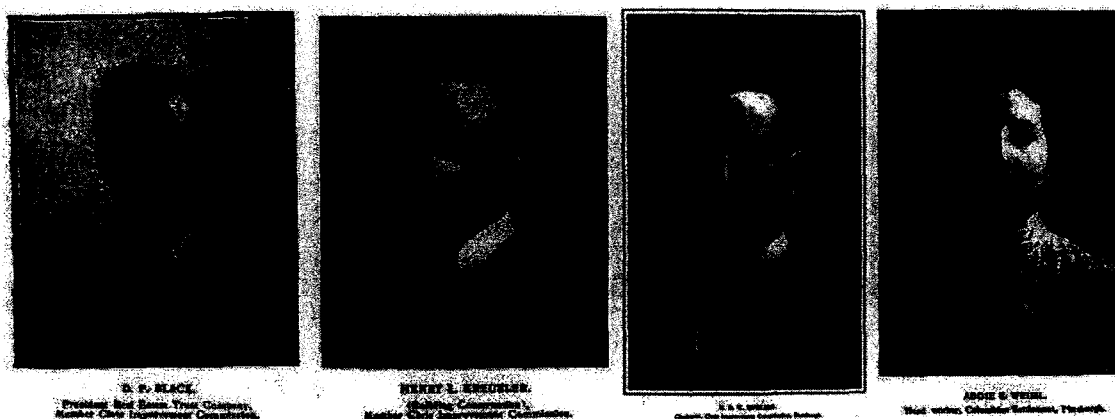
“The People” ends with another piece by Paul U. Kellogg, this one an indictment of the failure of democracy to do its job in Pittsburgh and the surrounding areas. Kellogg, to be sure, does not dismiss the notion of democracy. Rather, he embraces it as the height of American ingenuity and creativity. For him, democracy is what separates the United States from Europe and makes American civilization outstanding. He wants democratic standards and institutions applied fairly. “My point, then, is that democracy must overhaul the social machinery through which it operates if it would bring its community conditions up to standards comparable to those maintained by its banks, its insurance companies and its industrial corporations ...”³³⁶ For Kellogg, the city must come together as an American democratic community to meet the responsibility of crafting a city of national democratic importance. Its residents, including new immigrants, must also participate in this democratic community-building.

In “The Place and Its Social Forces” and “The Work” editions of *Charities and the Commons*, a different approach is taken toward the city of Pittsburgh, one that sidelines its residents in order to highlight problems in the city proper and in the workplace. Immigrants and wage earners are still important, but they do not occupy center stage either textually or in photographs. However, both editions do shed light on reformers ideas about national belonging by illuminating conditions investigators categorized as un-American and urging the city’s residents to embrace Americanization.

The first article in the second *Charities and the Commons* dedicated to the Pittsburgh Survey reinforces the centrality and authority of experts and social justice progressives by

³³⁶ Paul U. Kellogg, “The Civic Responsibilities of Democracy in an Industrial District”, *Charities and the Commons*, January 2, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 14, p. 629-638.

examining various aspects of community life in the city.³³⁷ “There are elemental changes coming in the life of Pittsburgh. The new immigrants will within a short generation, be rising into social and political power, and their standards will in large part fix the moral and even economic prospects of the city.”³³⁸ For author Robert S. Woods, current community leaders need to provide leadership that reforms Pittsburgh in order to provide the next generation with the tools they need to be productive American leaders. Sprinkled throughout the story are portraits of city officials and community leaders.



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Unlike the images of immigrant workers, the names and titles of the 20 men and women are in the caption, once again reinforcing their authority and importance. Immigrants and industrial workers remain anonymous in photographs as a means to classify and organize them as types to speak to greater points the reformers make about conditions and the quality of life in Pittsburgh. However, this strips immigrants of individuality and reinforces ethnic stereotypes. The goal for the author and other reformers is to turn these “types” into Americanized civic and reform leaders within a generation.

³³⁷ Robert S. Woods, “A City Coming To Itself”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 785-800.

³³⁸ Robert S. Woods, “A City Coming To Itself”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 799-800.

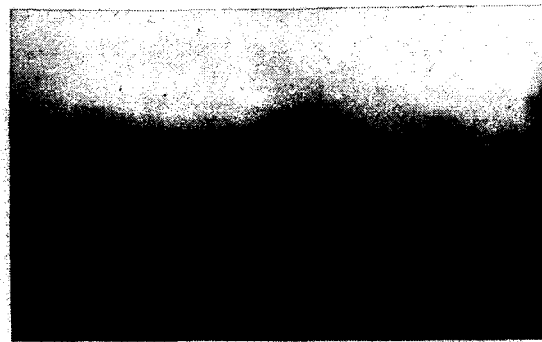
³³⁹ “A City Coming to Itself”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, pp.785-800. http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO_54411 (accessed September 20, 2009).

The Pittsburgh Survey also embraced tenants of the City Beautiful movement by arguing that the city must beautify its public spaces to evoke a change in its people.³⁴⁰ Article author Charles Mulford Robinson was at the forefront of urban planning and, notably, the City Beautiful Movement.³⁴¹ His research and focus on possibilities for improving the Pittsburgh city environment by examining the city in distinct areas that need attention: business district, slum district, manufacturing area, homes of the wealthy and the cultural district, the suburban district, and, finally, the community as a whole. More than 30 photographs illustrate the story to promote Robinson's claims about beautification and helping the city rise. The opening photograph, above the article title, shows the city of Pittsburgh in the distance.



THE ALLEGHENY RIVER VALLEY.

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The image makes the city appear natural, beautiful, quiet, and serene. There is no hint of the decay and troubles described in the article and no indication of ethnic and racial tensions. The photograph is of what Pittsburgh could be. Likewise, “Natural Beauty vs. Industrial Odds” shows a wide expanse of river, with . factory smoke stacks and dark smoke fogging the landscape. It is

³⁴⁰ Charles Mulford Robinson, “Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 801-826.

³⁴¹ In fact, some of his first writing was focused on Chicago's World Columbian Exposition. Charles Mulford Robinson was active in urban planning. His books, include a number of works on beautifying America's cities: *Modern Civic Art: Or, The City Made Beautiful* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905); *The Call of the City* (New York: Paul Elder and Co., 1908); *A City Plan for Raleigh: Being a Report to the Civic Department of the Women's Club of Raleigh, NC* (Raleigh, NC: Women's Club of Raleigh, 1913); *City Planning: With Special Reference to the Planning of Streets and Lots* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916); *Landscape Gardening for Playgrounds* (New York: Playground Association of America, 1913); and dozens of other city studies, urban studies, and contracted studies.

³⁴² “The Allegheny River Valley”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.801. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411>. (accessed September 20, 2009).

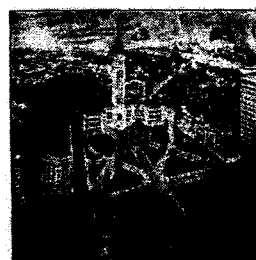
³⁴³ “Natural Beauty vs. Industrial Odds”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 802. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411>. (accessed September 20, 2009).

natural beauty and industrial decay coming face to face over the river. This struggle – between the natural beauty of the Pittsburgh landscape and the decay caused by industrial endeavors is a central theme of Robinson’s article and the images that accompany it. “In the midst of this strange mingling of opposites, of great opportunities and fearful handicaps, of vast needs and vast resources there appears the gradual stirring of a new ideal.”³⁴⁴

Photos weaved throughout the story reflect this paradigm.



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PANTHER HOLLOW,
Schenley Park



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PLAN OF PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER



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PLAN OF PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER

The text of the story advocates for more open spaces and more parks in order to highlight the natural beauty of Pittsburgh and give its residents a release from work. For example, the photograph of “Panther Hollow, Schenley Park” presents an open space easily accessible to residents. “Neither in total acreage, nor in distribution, nor in manner of development, are these parks what Pittsburgh ought to have ... the beauty of nature may be a new thought to these people. They should be helped to appreciate it.”³⁴⁷ Four images also show proposed improvements to the city landscape that Robinson advocates in his text. Architecture is key to

³⁴⁴ Charles Mulford Robinson, “Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 803.

³⁴⁵ “Panther Hollow”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 825. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁴⁶ “Plan of Proposed Civic Center”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 811. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁴⁷ Charles Mulford Robinson, “Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 823-824.

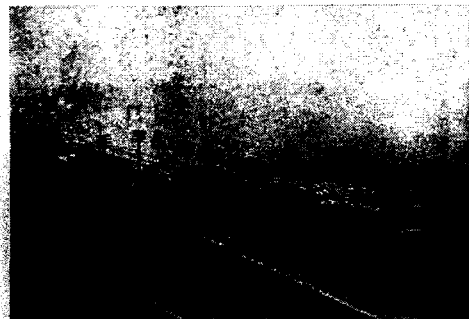
Robinson's improvement of Pittsburgh and its people. "It is a plea for comprehensive planning ... in most cities the 'improvement' problem is largely aesthetic. In Pittsburgh, it is also economic and social."³⁴⁸ On the next page, a full page of sketches show just what improvements would look like, mimicking the style of the improvement projects in Washington, D.C. Broad boulevards would lead to imposing, white buildings.³⁴⁹

Much in Pittsburgh is in decay and in need of improvement, and editors do not shy away from picturing those areas as well. "Where the Cars Loop" and "Second Avenue reflect how reformers believe the environment affects people. The images depict crowded, urban decay and reinforce the reform agenda for beautification. Moreover, these conditions, much like the Washington, D.C. study reflect an American city. Pittsburgh is a center of American industry and represents that industry to the country and world. Without improvements in the landscape, authors argue, how can you expect the people to improve."³⁵⁰



WHERE THE CARS LOOP

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SECOND AVENUE

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"The Place" also examines the role of forests and the natural environment, public transportation, courts, and charity organizations in Pittsburgh to demonstrate how external factors affect residents and the Pittsburgh environment. The environment, as depicted in pictures, is key

³⁴⁸ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 826.

³⁴⁹ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 811.

³⁵⁰ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 803.

³⁵¹ "Where the Cars Loop", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.803. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁵² "Second Avenue", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.813. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

in the quality of life for the people of Pittsburgh. In several photographs, parts of Pittsburgh are shown under water, the victim of flooding that is a consequence of “man crowd(ing) streams, only to be driven back when they reassert their suzerainty.”³⁵³

EFFECT OF FORESTS ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

W. W. ASHE
U. S. FOREST SERVICE

These rivers determined the location of Pittsburgh. They have been important factors in creating its industrial position; they are now important agents affecting the health and earnings of thousands of its citizens. The two acres of iron and coal mines which are known as the Pittsburgh District fringe the banks of these rivers. Mine, factory and furnace alternate with the residence, cattle.



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The message is two-fold, man is responsible for many of the natural disasters which afflict the region, but those people most affected by the flooding and deforestation are those who can least afford it.

“The Place” also assesses the housing situation in Pittsburgh, arguing that empirical evidence demonstrates owners take advantage of residents; yet articles at the same time portray immigrants and wage-earning tenants as victims helpless to change their situation.³⁵⁵ Together these articles portray a housing situation in crisis. The articles tell readers of the deprived conditions, but are also heavily illustrated to show readers dire living conditions and recast the way Americans see how immigrants live. The space in which immigrants live is corrupted, and editors and writers imply that until it is cleaned up, new arrivals have little hope of becoming

³⁵³ W.W. Ashe, “Effects of Forests on Economic Conditions in the Pittsburgh District”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 827. Ashe had first-hand knowledge of environmental concerns: he worked for the United States Forest Service.

³⁵⁴ “Effect of Forests on Economic Conditions in the Pittsburgh District”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 827. http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO_54411 (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁵⁵ The articles are: F. Elisabeth Crowell, “The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh”, Emily Wayland Dinwiddie, “Pittsburgh’s Housing Laws”, Florence Larrabee Lattimore, “Skunk Hollow: A Pocket of Civic Neglect in Pittsburgh”, F. Elisabeth Crowell, “Painter’s Row: The United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord”, Leroy Scott, “Little Jim Park”, and Margaret T. Byington, “The Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers”.

American or assimilating into American middle-class values. The stories note that decades of neglect have left the overcrowded housing in grim condition. Rigorous sanitary work, owner change, and personal acceptance of immigrants still need to be done.

We label the foreigner as an undesirable neighbor; we offer him the meanest housing accommodations at our disposal; we lump him with the least desirable classes of our citizens; then we marvel at his low standards of living. Give him better, cheaper, houses where he may have a decent and comfortable home, instead of a mere shelter from the elements, unwholesome, overcrowded, and expensive, and then see what his standard of living would be.³⁵⁶

Author F. Elisabeth Crowell hits on many of the tenants of City Beautification movements. In order for people to be uplifted, their surroundings must be clean and orderly to inspire them. And for immigrants to become American, they must be offered the standards of living expected by middle-class America. Several images provide evidence for Crowell's text – demonstrating tenements, one-and-two dwelling homes, outhouses, filth, and rubbish.



357
See how dark the street, which is full of people.



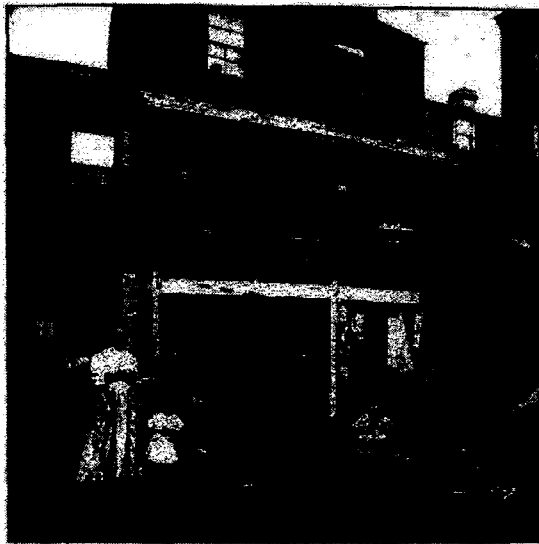
358
The poverty of the people in the tenement. Home displaced.

These images prove Crowell's point about the living conditions of foreigners and the impossibility of assimilation under such circumstances.

³⁵⁶ F. Elisabeth Crowell, "The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.879.

³⁵⁷ "Saw Mill Run", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 872. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁵⁸ "Stewart's Row", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 877. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).



COMBINATION BRICK TENEMENT AND ALLEY DWELLING, WASHINGTON AVENUE. NEGROES AND WHITES LIVE HERE. 359

TENEMENT CENSUS.			
Nationality	No. of Fam.	Nationality	% of Total
American	5,282	American	47.41
Polish	2,064	Irish	18.64
Hebrew	1,077	Hebrew	9.76
German	665	German	6.09
Negro	607	Negro	5.58
Italian	448	Italian	4.09
Slovak	380	British	3.44
Bohemian	176	Misc.	1.47
Croatian	166		
Hungarian	118		100.00
Chin.	104		
Serian	98		
Latvian	87		
Russian	87		
Swedish	80		
Czech	87		
Austrian	81		
French	81		
W. Irish	78		
Scot.	71		
Portuguese	19		
Swiss	9		
Yiddish	4		
Chinese	1		
Portuguese	1		
Turkish	1		
Danish	1		

Total No. of Fam. 13,800—No. of people 42,899
 No. of Fam. Tax Payers 8,500
 No. of Boarders 1,849
 Total population in tenements 45,899

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Though the caption says both blacks and whites live in the building, only whites are featured in the photograph. In a similar vein to the study of Washington D.C., blacks and whites are not shown together in photographs. And, though they make up a significant part of Pittsburgh's population, they remain largely un-pictured, and outside the middle-class reform ideal of the American city. It is also interesting to note the data in the tenement census (above, right), black people are not listed among "Americans." Instead they occupy a category of their own. Moreover, the numbers indicate the largest sub-group in the deplorable housing is "Americans." This serves two purposes. Reformers undoubtedly hoped their audience would connect the conditions depicted in the photographs with "American" and support reformer's causes and, perhaps, be moved to action.

Blacks do not appear in photographs in the Pittsburgh Survey until the end of "The Place and Its Social Forces," when "Skunk Hollow" uses several photographs of blacks to illustrate a particular pocket of neglect in Pittsburgh.³⁶¹ Author Florence Larrabee Lattimore calls the

³⁵⁹ "Combination Tenement and Alley Dwelling", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 879.. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁶⁰ "Tenement Census", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 878. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁶¹ Florence Larrabee Lattimore, "Skunk Hollow: A Pocket of Civic Neglect in Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.890-896.

housing on one of Skunk Hollow's streets, Ewing, indistinguishable from that of housing for "horses" or "cows, and finds that in these homes "one finds the most desirable clinical material for a study of Pittsburgh's ills, all in one well packed group of abnormalities."³⁶²



INSTITUTIONAL CHARITY IN SKUNK HOLLOW.



PLAY IN SKUNK HOLLOW. THE BALL TEAM.

SKUNK HOLLOW

A POCKET OF CIVIC NEGLECT IN PITTSBURGH

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She describes the people living in sub-human conditions and, indeed, this population is invisible to Protestant middle-classers and in conflict with their ideals. In a scene of "Play in Skunk Hollow, The Ball Team" a group of 10 or 12 mostly African American boys are lined up in front of the camera, holding baseball bats and a few gloves. The portrait is meant to evoke sympathy. These children want to participate in the great American pastime – to take up something that is as "American" as any leisure-time activity. But they don't have enough equipment or space. They don't quite fit the picture yet. This photograph's placement under the story headline contributes to this vision, "a pocket of civic neglect." The article is also illustrated with numerous looks down Skunk Hollow roads – also raising questions of what kind of America is present in these alleys so near, yet so far away, from the world of middle-class reformers.

This tactic of using children to evoke outrage about conditions is present throughout the series by editors at *Charities and the Commons*. A series of four standalone photographs and

³⁶² Florence Larrabee Lattimore, "Skunk Hollow: A Pocket of Civic Neglect in Pittsburgh", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.890.

³⁶³ "Institutional Charity of Skunk Hollow", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 895. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?/PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁶⁴ "Play in Skunk Hollow. The Ball Team", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 890. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?/PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

captions illustrate the “Four Types of Housing Ills in Mill Towns” and have children in every picture.



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366
Drinking water comes from the pump being in Painter's Row and for the operations in the mill.

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“The ‘Town Pump’” (above, right) shows two small girls using a water pump in an empty, and industrial looking square.³⁶⁷ The caption tells readers that the pump the girls are using is the only source of water for the more than 550 people who live in the Painter’s Row area and for the operations of the mill. The rest of the article’s photographs show images of privies and open drains, of dark passageways through which women and children have to pass to reach their homes and water, of pipes emptying used mill water into open drains between homes, and of areas where tenements have been torn down. Crowell notes that responsibility for the pump is firmly with “one of the great corporations.” She notes that the company still has much work to be done – that men, tired after a long day of work, and their small children, are still trudging to the pump, are still forced to use open-draining privies and that it is time for “men and women and children might live like men and women and children.”³⁶⁸ Together, the text and images create a stark,

³⁶⁵ “Four Types of Housing Ills in Mill Towns”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, pp.897-898. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁶⁶ “The Town Pump”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 903. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁶⁷ F. Elizabeth Crowell, “Painter’s Row: The United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.903.

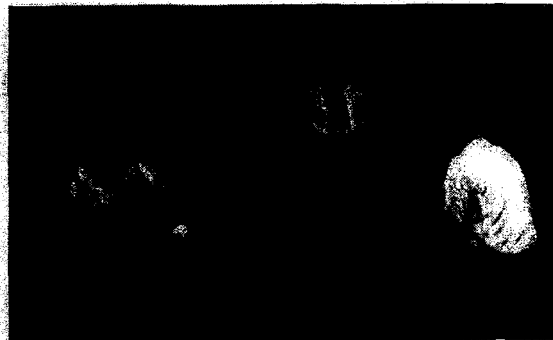
³⁶⁸ F. Elizabeth Crowell, “Painter’s Row: The United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.910.

dark picture of life in a company town. Two small American girls, using a pump bigger than they are, illustrate this idea and are meant by reformers to spark action and outrage among readers.

Kellogg also uses photographs to identify how important “the place” is in constructing and ordering the daily lives and socialization of residents.³⁶⁹ Lewis Hine was charged with making sense of “Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers” for Margaret F. Byington’s article.³⁷⁰ While the article details the mixed make-up of mill town courts (“for the sixty-three rooms in the houses about the court shelter a group of twenty families, Polish, Slavic, and Hungarian, Jewish and even Negro”) and the unsanitary conditions in which the families live, Hine’s photographs bring something quite different to the picture. His work infuses these workers with a normality.



Photograph by Lewis H. Hine.
WASH-DAY IN A HOMESTEAD COURT.



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EVENING SCENE IN A HOMESTEAD COURT. 372

In “Wash-Day in a Homestead Court” a mother leans over an outdoor basin while her two children sit on the porch sorting clothing. In “Evening Scene in a Homestead Court” men gather around a card table, several of them holding children, as women watch from behind. Hine has infused his subjects with some of the tenants of middle-class values by focusing on community, on family, and on ordinary chores. And in doing so, it makes the conditions that surround them

³⁶⁹ In fact, Hine was one of the first photographers to insist on photo-credit.

³⁷⁰ It’s interesting to note that Hine is the only photographer who receives credit for his images, something Hine insisted on. Hine saw his camera as an extension of his social work. For him, the camera was the way he recorded evidence.

³⁷¹ “Wash-Day in a Homestead Court”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 913. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁷² “Evening Scene in a Homestead Court”, *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 917. <http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO,54411> (accessed September 20, 2009).

even more shocking. Given that Hine's goal was social work via the camera, this is unsurprising. In "Butch Alley" Hine shows the conditions and unpaved alleys through which residents must trek. In the photo, three girls are walking toward the camera – almost as if they were on their way to school – amid deep mud and grime.³⁷³



Photograph by Lewis W. Hine.
BUTCH ALLEY.
Showing conditions in the unpaved alleys.

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Photograph by Lewis W. Hine.
CLOSE QUARTERS. ONE ROOM AND THREE IN THE FAMILY.

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Charities and the Commons published the final edition of the Pittsburgh Survey results in an edition dealing with the workplace, with special attention to labor conditions, workplace accidents, and the way work wrought havoc on the lives of laborers. To open the finale of the series in the magazine, editors published a list of findings about the general conditions of the American steel industry in Pittsburgh that indict low wages, absentee capitalism, a "continuous inflow of immigrants with low standards," the destruction of family life and homes, and archaic social institutions. Editors cite the disparity between the wealth and prosperity of America and the conditions and lives of its workers as more problematic in the United States than anywhere else in the world.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Margaret F. Byington, "The Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p.913-922.

³⁷⁴ "Butch Alley", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 922.
http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO_54411 (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁷⁵ "Close Quarters", *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, vol. XXI, no. 19, p. 920
http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu/u/?PRO_54411 (accessed September 20, 2009).

³⁷⁶ By the Editor, "Social Forces", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, p. 1035.

Articles treat Pittsburgh as a center of the industrial economy, but are sharply critical of how wage earners are pressed into the economy in different ways. One such article is illustrated with Lewis Hine portraits.



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In “A Steel Worker – ‘A Genuine American’” (above, right) a worker wears a baseball cap, a plain button-down shirt and striped suspenders. The nationality of the men are not listed or explained, with the exception of the “genuine American,” in the captions (unlike in prior portraits done by Hine) they stand in for all industrial workers.



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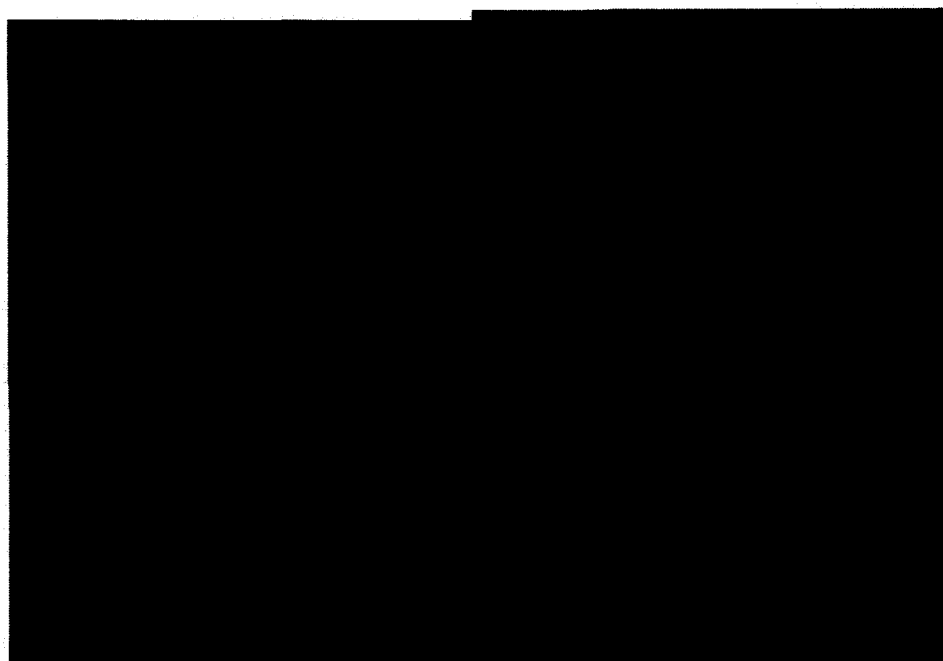
However, labor leaders are identified by name and are given the same kind of treatment in *Charities and the Commons* as city progressive leaders and reformers – they’re identified by name, trade, and responsibility. They’re shown clean and dressed as if they were city leaders.

³⁷⁷ “Wage Earners of Pittsburgh”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909 vol. XXI, no. 23, p. 1055-1059.

³⁷⁸ “Some Pittsburgh Labor Leaders,” *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909 vol. XXI, no. 23, p. 1061.

While Commons' article focuses on the difficulties of laborers, the images of the workers focus not on the work, but on the people.

The focus on work extends to the work itself and the journal included a photo essay illustrating the process of steel making. The text gives a brief history of the steel making process, but it is the pictures that allow readers to really see and understand the process.



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Beginning with a full page photograph of the “Mountains of Ore in One Ore Yard at the Blast Furnace” through the “Shipping Yard, Modern Steel Plant,” readers are taken step-by-step, visually, through the dangerous steel-making process. Many of the images include people and the dangerous work conditions are evident as each step of the process is described in captions. Men work around furnaces where liquid steel is shaped into ingots, and most of them do not appear to be wearing protective gear. While the photographs tell a story, they are informed by the textual clues around them outlining the danger of the work, the poor wages, and the exploitation.

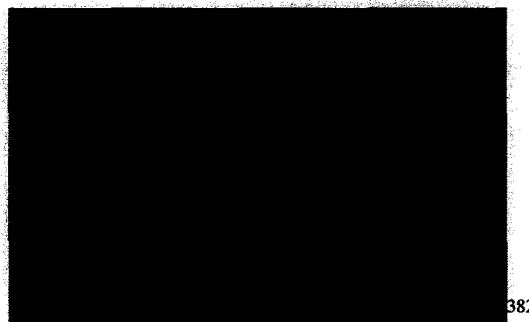
Editors also used “The Work” to highlight the fact that the wages, hours, environment, and industrial processes inflicted on women are among the worst. To make matters worse

³⁷⁹ “The Process of Steel Making”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, 1065-1079.

women's jobs often require dexterity and speed, not skill and intelligence, according to study author Elizabeth Beardsley Butler. A number of photographs are used to illustrate the article. The images depict hundreds of women toiling in confined spaces over monotonous work. The next two photographs – full page Lewis Hine images facing each other in the journal – show women laboring in the garment industry.



Again the women are working in cramped conditions, or over large, complicated machines and are overseen by male foremen. Photographs also show women working in large factory workrooms that are cramped and house hundreds of female workers.



³⁸⁰ Lewis Hine, "Garment Workers", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, 1117-1130.

³⁸¹ "A Box Factory Machine", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, 1117-1130.

³⁸² "Girls Pasting Mica at East Pittsburgh Factory," *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, 1117-1130.

In all, the photographs give an image, one explained in the text by Butler, of women in poor working conditions who have no choice but to continue working for low wages. Butler ends her piece with a cry to change conditions: "Should we not rather insist that the wage be raised sufficiently to make a life decent, healthy, colored and individualized by recreative leisure?"³⁸³

Editors saw the use of startling images to elicit a reaction, even if it meant showing the true consequences of work accidents. Crystal Eastman's story on work accidents is illustrated with graphics and charts.³⁸⁴ Before readers even reach the text of Eastman's article, two images, one a photograph altered with red ink and one a month-by-month chart of industrial deaths with the number of deaths listed in the same red ink. The first, "One Year's Work Accident's And Their Cost" serves as cover for the article. A statue (Meunier, "The Puddler") of a shirtless worker is pictured sitting, one arm resting on his knee, one arm hanging over his other leg.³⁸⁵



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³⁸³ Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "The Industrial Environment of Pittsburgh's Working Women", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1117-1130.

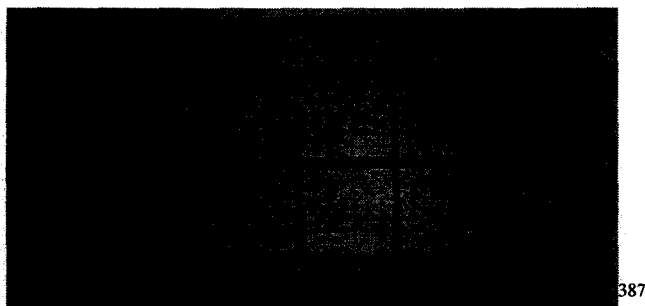
³⁸⁴ Crystal Eastman, "A Year's Work Accidents and their Cost", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1143-1174.

³⁸⁵ Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) was a Belgium artist who focused on themes related to laboring classes. An exhibition of his drawings, paintings and sculpture traveled to the United States in 1913 and was popularly received. See, Melissa Dabakis, "Formulating the Ideal of the American Worker: Public Responses to Constantin Meunier's 1913-14 Exhibition of Labor Imagery", *The Public Historian*, Fall 1989, Vol. 11, No. 4, 113-132. Art during the Progressive Era often did focus, in contrast to the high society focus of the Gilded Age, on the working classes, in a style that focused on realism.

³⁸⁶ "One Year's Work Accidents, And Their Cost", *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1174.

Along the side of the image are slashes with price tags in red indicating how much compensation is paid based on the type of injury a man received while working. But the image is startling in the way it uses red ink in order to slash through arms and legs to show the worth of a worker.

Similarly, the “Death Calendar in Industry for Allegheny County” shows a red cross for each man killed on a given day.

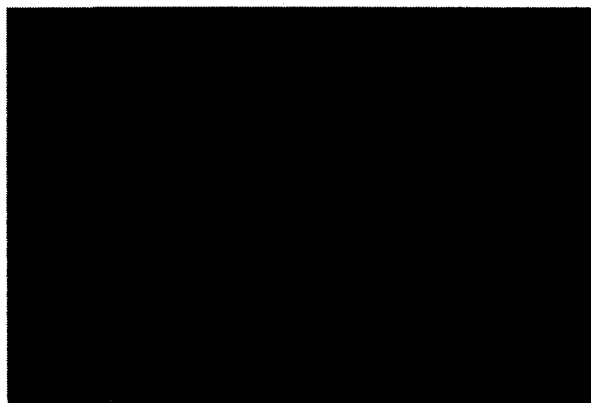


Nearly every square in the 12-month calendar has a red cross. It is the only time in the Pittsburgh Survey results in *Charities and the Commons* that any colored ink is used. Eastman’s story is just as sobering, laying out in detail the ways men are killed on the job, punctuated with charts demonstrating the raw numbers and explaining how compensation for death and injury do not allow families to survive. She ends by noting that “facts have been set forth which believe justify legislative interference for the purpose of reducing the number of preventable industrial accidents and for the purpose of adjusting more fairly the economic burden entailed by them.”³⁸⁸ Yet, it is the graphics and photograph of Meunier’s work that stand out in the story. They illustrate just how widespread and horrifying the conditions of accidents and injury are by drawing attention to how men’s worth is calculated, how injuries are categorized, and how men die.

The final two “pictured” stories in the Pittsburgh Survey editions of *Charities and the Commons* are about local elementary schools and images highlight the grounds of schools and children in a classroom.

³⁸⁷ “Death Calendar in Industry,” *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1174.

³⁸⁸ Crystal Eastman, “A Year’s Work Accidents and their Cost”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1174.



In “A Basement School Room,” rows of orderly students are seated in a classroom that occupies a basement of a church. However, despite poor conditions, the message of the photograph is clear: young people in school are orderly and well-behaved. Investing money to fix schools and provide an education to children of the workers will help make these first-generation born Americans into assimilated Americans. And, as with the City Beautiful Movement and arguments throughout *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey, the environment plays an essential role in the creation of a stable, clean, progressive middle-class capitalist world.

Results of the Survey were also circulated by holding exhibitions, including one in Pittsburgh, held at the central hall of the Carnegie Institute. It was an “elaborate exhibit of maps, charts, diagrams, drawings and enlarged photographs.” Attendance hit around 1,000 a day and the program was extended.³⁹⁰ In addition, meetings and exhibits about the findings led, according to *Charities and the Commons* records, directly to the establishment of Civic Improvement Commission to oversee and evaluate conditions and reforms.³⁹¹ Years later, Kellogg and others associated with the Pittsburgh Survey would claim its results “bore directly on subsequent moves to modernize the public school system and recast an antiquated tax system that bore heavily on

³⁸⁹ “A Basement School Room”, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, pp 1175-1194.

³⁹⁰ Charities Publication Committee, Minutes of Meeting, December 5, 1908, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, Box 6, no folder, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

³⁹¹ Charities Publication Committee, Minutes of Meeting, December 5, 1908, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, Box 6, no folder, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

the least well-to-do.”³⁹² Paul Kellogg also claimed that as a direct result of the Pittsburgh Survey local reforms were made to housing and health and national reforms were made to workmen’s compensation and industrial safety. Finally, Kellogg also cited the Survey as being, in part, responsible for, many years later, ending the 12-hour workday. In short, it was viewed by those involved as a complete success and one that would define the magazine and its contributors for decades as well as cast a shadow of the life and people of Pittsburgh.

In addition to the public exhibits and book volumes, people beyond the reach of *Charities and the Commons* still relatively small circulation base were acquainted with findings of the Pittsburgh Survey through a number of articles in mainstream magazines such as *World’s Work*, the *Outlook*, the *Independent*, *Collier’s Weekly*, the *American Magazine*, and the *Review of Reviews*. Results also were published and publicized in specialized labor journals like *Iron Age*, *Engineering News*, and the *Iron Trade Review*. Paul Kellogg claims that the results were spoken of to such an extent that Jacob Riis, during a speaking tour on the West Coast, heard about them and noted that he had “never known the results of an investigation to have such widespread and practical currency.”³⁹³ And indeed, staffers of the Pittsburgh Survey were enamored with the importance of their work and its long-term influence.

But not everyone was receptive to the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey. Paul Kellogg was particularly frustrated by the local response. He became acutely aware of it during an early 1910 trip to visit the city, writing that:

... the fact that the average Pittsburgher who is used to boom pamphlets can’t see why we didn’t picture the fine houses as well as the bad tenements; and partly to the attacks which have been made on the steel industry on the one hand by the Federation of Labor and on the other by the tariff reformers. Unless our facts as to actual conditions among waver earners are discredited, they feel that they are likely to cause them trouble.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Paul U. Kellogg, *A Bit of Survey History*, 1947, Paul U. Kellogg Papers, box 17, folder 155, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

³⁹³ Paul U. Kellogg, “Appendix E: Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey”, in Kellogg, ed., *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage*.

³⁹⁴ Paul U. Kellogg, *Pittsburgh Trip Memo*, Confidential, January 15, 16, & 17, 1910, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

Expectations among Pittsburgh's existing reform community – married to city leaders and active in the CCAC – were that findings of the survey would align with their view of reform. They hoped findings would be akin to goals of city beautification and social uplift. They were unprepared for calls for social justice for immigrants and laborers and proposals for reform. Moreover, local booksellers in Pittsburgh refused to place orders for the bound volumes of the study because it had given the city a “black eye.” “Of course, local shopkeepers are of all residents in the community are the most provincial and loyal, but their attitude rather shows the extent to which the newspaper and public attacks on the Survey have played on local sentiments.”³⁹⁵ As Kellogg notes, the strongest direct attack came from the *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times* in the form of a series of scathing articles directed at “correcting” the work of the Survey.³⁹⁶ And if *Charities and the Commons* made use of photography to spread their vision of the “facts”, the *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times* used the same images with an entirely different goal, at times using the very same industrial images in an opposite textual context.³⁹⁷

At the time, the newspaper had a circulation of more than 130,000 daily and was a leader in content, page make-up, and style.³⁹⁸ By the first few years of the twentieth century, the newspaper had an art department and owned photoengraving technology and cameras. And in 1906, just before reformers descended on Pittsburgh, the *Sunday Gazette* added an entire section to halftone photograph illustrations. This was not, however, the newspaper of immigrant wage-

³⁹⁵ Paul U. Kellogg, Pittsburgh Trip Memo, Confidential, January 15, 16, &17, 1910, Paul U. Kellogg Papers Supplement, box 5, folder 111, SWHA, University of Minnesota.

³⁹⁶ When reports of the Pittsburgh Survey began appearing in *Charities and the Commons* and in other national magazines and periodicals, local newspapers were quick to respond. Certainly many publishers wanted to defend their community, and there were few examples of support from local journalists. However, intense criticism of the Pittsburgh Survey, its findings, and its investigators came from the *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, a Republican-leaning newspaper run by the George Oliver family. For a full account of the newspaper see, J. Cutler Andrews, *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette: "The First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies"* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970, 1936). Andrews' treatment of the newspaper and its editors, particularly in the period that concerns this project, is glowing and congratulatory. He does not dwell on criticisms of the newspaper; nor does he specifically deal with the Pittsburgh Survey and the paper's response to it.

³⁹⁷ Clarke M. Thomas, *Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the "Post-Gazette"* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005).

³⁹⁸ Andrews, 246.

earners. *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* had a dual character: both advocating civic improvements to infrastructure, but defending the city from “outside” reformers and instigators. *Gazette* staffers were suspicious of Pittsburgh Survey staff and reformers. When findings seeped into mainstream media outlets such as the *New York Times* even reform-minded businessmen and club women rallied in Pittsburgh set up a defensive action.³⁹⁹ Thus, reformers weren’t only publishing results in their magazines, but also in disseminating them to a wide public – damaging the city’s image worldwide. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* had an editorial board that favored the interests of big business. So it is no surprise that *Post-Gazette* staffers reacted badly to survey results. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* answered in the form of a scathing series during the winter of 1909-1910. “Pittsburgh: A City To Be Proud Of” ran for seven weeks – highlighting the ingenuity, productivity, and diversity of the city and providing readers with answers to Pittsburgh’s greatest critics, especially out-of-town reformers and “maligners.”⁴⁰⁰

Kellogg and his staffers were not happy. Never mind that the same sorts of images, techniques, and a frank point-of-view were also characteristic of their work. They wanted their point of view to be the point of view of everyone. But, perhaps, in the end, the editors said it best in the magazine: “The Pittsburgh Survey is completed with this issue of *Charities and the Commons*, so far as paper and ink can put it in magazine form ... The Survey is the most careful and detailed study of life and labor ever made in this country. It has measured in fair, unbiased terms the old but never ceasing discussion between capital and labor, wages and health, efficiency and tonnage.”⁴⁰¹

The combination of words and halftone photograph reproductions in the pages of *Charities and the Commons* create a distinct vision of America and Americans and represent an

³⁹⁹ Thomas, 197.

⁴⁰⁰ “Pittsburgh: A City to be Proud Of” ran in the *Sunday Gazette Times* on December 26, 1909, January 2, 1910, January 9, 1910, January 16, 1910, January 23, 1910, January 30, 1910, and February 6, 1910.

⁴⁰¹ Front Matter, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, vol. XXI, No. 23, p. 1031

important way in which halftones were used as “evidence” to tell compelling stories. The small cohort of Progressive reformers, led by Paul Kellogg, left an imprint both on social reform movements and on the way national belonging, the industrial worker, and poverty were depicted in print. Using halftone technology, these reformers conducted a comprehensive documentation and visual archive of conditions in Pittsburgh. The materials produced through this collection of data and visual evidence used a language and narratives familiar to early twentieth century readers in how they pictured poverty and reinforced ethnic and racial prejudices. At the same time, these reformers demonstrated how they could incorporate new ideas about poverty, and new visualizations like those done by Lewis Hine, to tell stories about industrial America and its effect on the working and immigrant classes.

This vision, informed by long-term prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants, the working poor, and African Americans, was aimed at an audience of middle class reform-minded Americans. Kellogg wanted readers to feel sympathy for those depicted in order to cultivate political support for broad-ranging reform efforts. He believed that if presented with the “truth” and evidence about conditions, people would feel compelled to act to effect change. To induce this reaction, Kellogg and his editors fused grim, realistic photographs with “scientific” research methods, statistics, and expertise to present a “factual” vision of America and Americans to the public. Yet, at the same time, the people *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey depicted were cast as just outside the America in which Kellogg’s reform-minded middle class lived. Images of them – from American-born “foreigners” in native dress to industrial worker “types” – served to reinforce the hegemony of the middle class. Despite seemingly “liberal” social agendas, *Charities and the Commons* reinforced the importance of middle class experts and existing prejudices about race and class, ultimately reinforcing existing paradigms.

At the same time, *Charities and the Commons* and the Pittsburgh Survey gave reformers platform to reach a large number of potential donors and to broaden the appeal of their causes. Beyond the journal, Kellogg and his associates reached a mass audience via publicity their work

generated. Studies conducted by the reformers were publicized in public presentations, given to libraries, and written about in publications like the *New York Times*. Even publicity against their work seemed to work in their favor. When the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* challenged the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey with a “study” of its own, it only served to draw more attention to *Charities and the Commons*’ work. The fusion of halftone reproductions and reformist words created a worldview in the pages of the journal that is as much a representation of the men and women behind the camera as it is of the subjects depicted. But social reform and national belonging visions were redefined once again during the next decades by a young blueblood, himself a socialist during the period when reformers took to the streets of Pittsburgh. In the 1920s Joseph Medill Patterson identified an effective way to capture the urban scene in America and redefine national belonging through the lens of the Jazz Age and the “common man”.

PART II: Jazz Age Americans: Joseph Medill Patterson and New York's *Daily News*

CHAPTER 7: Joseph Medill Patterson and the Birth of the *Daily News*

In a curt July 1919 letter to *Illustrated Daily News* editor William M. Field and staffers, Joseph Medill Patterson ordered his staff to improve the quality and the content of the newly-launched tabloid photo newspaper.⁴⁰² “Remember, lay emphasis on romantic happenings and print pictures of girls who are concerned in romances, preferably New York Girls. Also, one or more pictures every day with reference to a crime committed the previous day in New York. Please remember particularly, make it snappy, make it local, make it news.”⁴⁰³ Though the paper was merely days old, Patterson was already shaping how it used photographs to tell stories and convey meaning. His vision for the tabloid – aimed at the common man and filled with breezy prose, lively photographs, beautiful girls, New York stories, and an emphasis on American ideals – quickly found expression in the pages of the paper. It was the first daily tabloid photograph newspaper in America, its rise was swift, and within a few years its reach, astounding.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² The *New York Daily News* began its run as the *Illustrated Daily News*.

⁴⁰³ Joseph Medill Patterson to William M Field, July 8, 1919, Box 17, Folder 1, Joseph Medill Patterson Papers (hereafter JMP Papers), Archives and Special Collections, Donnelley and Lee Library, Lake Forest College (hereafter, LFC).

⁴⁰⁴ There are not many academic studies of the *Daily News* or Joseph Medill Patterson. In fact, while there are several book-length treatments of the *Daily News*, there is not a biography of Patterson presently in circulation. Books about the *Daily News* were produced prior to the 1980s and often were written by journalists (usually ones who worked for the *Daily News* or News Syndicate), rather than academics. For example, John Chapman, *Tell it to Sweeney: The Informal History of the New York Daily News* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977) traces the development of the newspaper from its inception and gives Patterson much of the credit for making the *News* what it was. Chapman was the newspaper's long-time drama critic. Likewise, Leo E. McGivena, *The News: The First Fifty Years of New York's Picture Newspaper* (New York: News Syndicate Co., Inc., 1969) was written by a long-time news staffer and, importantly, published by the News Syndicate, the *Daily News*' ownership organization. McGivena, who died before the completion of the book (it was completed by other staffers), considers Patterson and the *News* thorough the lens of an insider. The book is written by a *News* newspaperman – brief sketches of the important figures and a “factual” account of events that shaped the newspaper. But it also positions the *Daily News* as a journalistic trend-setter. John Tebbel, *An American Dynasty: The Story of the McCormicks, Medills, and Pattersons* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1947) argues that Joseph Medill Patterson held a lot of Medill blood and was willing to sacrifice both money and advertising to produce real news and a good story. To Tebbel, “the restless, over-stimulated mass mind of the twenties found horror and scandal in the new tabloid's news columns, escape in its comics and features, sympathy in its editorials and subway convenience in its handy size”; in short, Patterson understood his audience and catered to the needs of the era. Tebbel also notes that Patterson and his staff often posed as ordinary people to see what readers were interested in, what types of people were buying the paper, and how it was being

Buried in the pages of this common man's newspaper were visions of Americans and their urban, leisure, and work lives that expanded the definition of who was American – in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity. Moreover, as seemingly transformative events unfolded in the pages of the newspaper, American urban society experienced upheavals in the 1920s leading to a

read. The *Daily News*, he argues, was the peak of the Medill-McCormick-Patterson empire and Patterson, as the true force behind it, understood what the “common man” (i.e. readers) needed depending on events of the era.

Other, more general studies of the birth of the tabloid also include a history of the *Daily News*. Simon Michael Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspaper* (New York: EP Dutton and Co., 1938) credits the tabloid for being the best gauge of post-World War I America because it is a “mirror of the day” that reflects the issues, personalities and events of the period and pleases the public in doing so. Like others, Bessie credits Patterson and the *Daily News* with introducing the tabloid genre and notes that the story of the *Daily News* is the story of tabloids in America. Where the *News* differs, according to Bessie, is with its adaptability: it was a somber post-war newspaper; a sensational paper reflective of the times in the middle-1920s; and with the 1929 stock market crash, it transformed itself into a sympathetic advocate for the people. This, of course, came before President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who enjoyed Patterson's support and friendship through most of the 1930s, and Patterson had a falling out over the United States' increasing involvement in World War II.

Richard John Walsh, “The Ideological Undercurrents of the Jazz Age Tabloids: And Examination of Meanings in the Commercial Mass Media” (MA Thesis: University of Washington, 1990) argues that the *Daily News* and 1920s tabloids, rather than being an empty form of entertainment, represent the true precursors to today's media. While tabloids did serve as a source of entertainment, they also “disseminated visions of life which were intimately associated with and supportive of particular social, political and economic spheres within society at the time”. Similarly, James E. Murphy, “Tabloids as an Urban Response”, in Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens, eds. *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1919-1941* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984) sees tabloids as serving as a socially beneficial form that helped readers adapt and assimilate to the complexities of life in an American city. Murphy sees them as serving a “variety of sense-making (or metaphoric) functions” including, providing escapism, making leisure legitimate, creating a “norm” for urban values and life, institutionalizing gossip, and constructing a comprehensible view of the city and world for urban-dwellers. He complicates his vision by using the work of Todd Gitlin. Murphy looks at one newspaper, the *Daily News* as a window to discuss cultural hegemony, and finds that the newspaper's images are designed to support the dominant strains of hegemonic ideology of the era. Further, the *Daily News* attempted to incorporate and domesticate people during the period, one marked by alternative and oppositional values. Ultimately, he argues that the information presented in the paper – personal conflicts like divorce, the criminal underworld, Prohibition, movie stars' sexual escapades, etc. – provided an information diet that was non-essential, representing what the public wanted based on circulation numbers, but still, in the end, serving the ideological aims of capitalists of the era. The major problem with Murphy is that he fails to examine or consider some of the individuals involved in the production of these newspapers, particularly dominant figures like Joseph Medill Patterson and William Randolph Hearst.

In contrast, Paul F. Droesch, “The New York *Daily News*”, (MA Thesis: School of Public Communication, Boston University, 1973) does just the opposite. Droesch charts *Daily News*' success to Joseph Medill Patterson. Patterson, Droesch argues, fashioned himself as a common man (though he wasn't), who had the capacity and know-how to appeal to the masses in an era when people wanted to let go of seriousness and idealism. During this period, cynicism toward the law under Prohibition, moral foundations loosened, culture rose from the masses to the middle class and elite, and the numbers of the “common man” grew as immigrants and migrants flooded into New York City. That said, Droesch fails to complicate his narrative by examining the content of the newspaper as more than mere entertainment and scandal, and doesn't consider the role of consumerism in the production and purchase of the newspaper.

prominence of new moral, commercial, and political values.⁴⁰⁵ Post-World War I America was articulated in the *Daily News*. Within the pages of the newspaper, the urban working classes saw themselves, saw immigrants, and saw a changing social and economic order. The *Daily News* and its halftone reproductions played a clarifying role for a mass audience confronting contested ideas about belonging, nationhood, and citizenship and in defining Jazz Age America and Americans.

New Yorkers participated in the act of consuming ideas presented in the stories, editorials, and photographs published in the pages of the *Daily News*. In purchasing the *Daily News* the common man (and woman and immigrant) could compare themselves to vision of New York and America the paper promoted. Thus, for recent immigrants and new Americans, purchase of the *Daily News* was a way to consume and signal entry into American culture and national belonging. Part of the job of a good Americans was to consume.⁴⁰⁶ Even more, these “Foreign-Built Americans” were attracted to the newspaper because it was picture-based. The newspaper helped them in the process of Americanization by allowing them to “read” the images and, in time, decipher the accompanying text. Halftone photograph reproductions in the *Daily News* – from photos of scandals, to baseball players, to world leaders and political events, to immigrants arriving at American shores, to leisure time snapshots at Coney Island, to murders – crafted a vision of “Americanness” that expanded belonging by including a broadening spectrum of people as identifiably American. Immigrants were not fully American, but by consuming the newspaper and its pictured American “values” they took an active step in achieving belonging.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ See Charles F. McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ My study of Joseph Medill Patterson is influenced by Gary Gerstle’s work on racial nationalism and civic nationalism. See Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, c. 2002). Historically, the United States has grappled, according to Gerstle, with two seemingly contradictory forms of nationalism: racial and civic. Gerstle traces how these two forms of nationalism helped shape the United States, particularly in the 20th century. In the pages of the *Daily News* and in Patterson both civic nationalism and racial nationalism are evident as the newspaper negotiated the 1920s. Amid waves of immigration, Americanization, socialism and communism, economic success, and cultural changes the newspaper offered an inclusive message for working class and new immigrants so long as they embraced American “values”, democracy, individual liberty and ideals. However, at the same time, this message was tempered in the newspaper and by Patterson with hysterical

To purchase the newspaper was to self-identify as an American, as someone who belonged. In exchange, they saw reflections of themselves in the pages of the newspaper.

In capturing this New York in halftones, the *Daily News* was at once controlling the parameters and definitions of “American,” and serving the personal financial interests of its owners and publishers by posting the highest circulation figures in the country by attracting a mass audience. The *Daily News* performed a role for the urban working classes and immigrants: it visualized and belonging and allowed an uncertain urban audience to acquire it by getting the newspaper. While the newspaper reinforced the hegemony of white middle-class values, it did so with recognition of social and cultural shifts that characterizes the 1920s. Within the pages of the *Daily News*, white Americans found a shared, common culture. Excluded from this transformation, directly and indirectly, were African Americans and Asian Americans who, according to the *Daily News*, could not be assimilated into the homogeneous American-type for which the newspaper rallied. Yet, these “outsiders” were as important in defining Jazz Age Americans as those that Patterson counted among his American ideal.

The force behind the *Daily News* – who constructed the common “American type” and pulled readers into his newspaper – was Joseph Medill Patterson.⁴⁰⁸

anti-communism, isolationism, anti-immigration, and white racial unity. On nationalism see also, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York and London: Verso, 1996, 1983); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Patrice Higonnet, *Attendant Cruelties: Nation and Nationalism in American History* (New York: Other Press, 2007); Walter L. Hixson, *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002, 2000); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); and Cecilia Elizabeth O’Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Nationalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, 1998).

Moreover, the *Daily News* certainly represents material nationalism – both in on the editorial and advertising sides of the business. Buying this product – consuming it – was, as with many products, a part of the collection of consumer goods that made one a good American. See McGovern, *Sold American*.

⁴⁰⁸ Amazingly, there is not a book-length scholarly treatment of Joseph Medill Patterson. There are several works on his sister Eleanor “Cissy” Patterson and cousin Col. Robert McCormick. On Eleanor “Cissy” Patterson see, Ralph G. Martin, *Cissy: The Extraordinary Life of Eleanor Medill Patterson* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979); Paul F. Healy, *Cissy: The Biography of Eleanor M. “Cissy” Patterson* (New

The Medill-Patterson-McCormick Empire

Joseph Medill Patterson was born into the wealth and the arrogance of the Medill newspaper family. From the time his grandfather, Joseph Medill, arrived at the *Chicago Tribune* in 1855 the family was involved in every aspect of American political, social and cultural life, but especially the news. Both the newspaper and family wealth were handed down through Medill's two daughters: Katherine Medill McCormick and Elinor Medill Patterson. The marriages between the Medill, Patterson, and McCormick clans united three of Chicago's prominent families – and their money. The offspring of those unions shaped American journalism for generations. Joseph Medill Patterson founded and ran the *New York Daily News*. His sister, Eleanor “Cissy” Patterson, a ground-breaking female editor and publisher, ran Hearst's *Washington Times-Herald*, eventually buying him out and serving as editor and publisher.⁴⁰⁹ Their cousin, Col. Robert McCormick ran the *Chicago Tribune* and co-founded the *New York Daily News*. Joseph Medill McCormick, another cousin, was a leader in the Progressive Party and served as a U.S. senator from Illinois from 1919-1925. Joseph Medill Patterson's daughters, despite being told by their father that journalism wasn't for women, entered the family business and politics. Alicia Patterson Guggenheim – who served as Patterson's surrogate son – founded and ran *Newsday*. Josephine Patterson Albright was a journalist who worked for a rival Chicago newspaper and was

York: Doubleday, 1966); Alice Albright Hoge, *Cissy Patterson: The Life of Eleanor Medill Patterson, Publisher and Editor of the Washington Times-Herald* (New York: Random House, 1966). On Col. Robert McCormick see, Jerome E. Edwards, *The Foreign Policy of Col. McCormick's Tribune* (New York: University of Nevada Press, 1971); Joseph Gies, *The Colonel of Chicago* (New York: Dutton, 1979); Charles M. Madigan, *Robert R. McCormick: A Celebration of His Life and Legacy, The History of the McCormick Tribune Foundation* (Chicago: McCormick Tribune Foundation, 2005); Gwen Morgan and Arthur Veysey, *Poor Little Rich Boy (and How He Made Good, The Life and Times of Col. Robert R. McCormick)* (Carpentersville, Ill.: Crossroads, 1985); Richard Norton Smith *The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick, 1880-1955* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2003); and Frank C. Waldrop, *McCormick of Chicago* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966). McCormick is a central figure in many books about tabloid journalism, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the Medill-Patterson-McCormick families. Patterson also receives mention in most biographical treatments of William Randolph Hearst, Arthur Brisbane, and other prominent early 20th century newspaper men in New York and Chicago.

⁴⁰⁹ Eleanor Patterson's name was originally spelled Elinor – she changed the spelling as an adult. For clarity purposes “Eleanor” is used throughout.

the one-time mother-in-law to former Secretary of State Madeline Albright. Elinor Patterson Baker became a philanthropist. Joseph Medill Patterson's private life might generously be called complicated. He married a Chicago socialite, Alice Higgenbotham, in 1902,⁴¹⁰ but for years carried on an affair with Mary King, a *Chicago Tribune* employee who became an editor at the *New York Daily News*.⁴¹¹ Patterson, dividing time between New York and Chicago, had a family in each city. After a 1938 divorce, Patterson married King. Their son, born in 1923, James Joseph Patterson, became an editor at the *NYDN* and a trustee of the McCormick/Patterson news empire.⁴¹²

Joseph Medill Patterson was more than a blue-blood.⁴¹³ He was independent and outspoken, but also stubborn, prone to defying his family (particularly his father), and, above all, determined and resourceful. His sense of entitlement at carrying the Medill name was countered by his seeming dedication and embrace of the common man in the pages of his newspaper.⁴¹⁴

The Black Sheep Leads the Flock

Joseph Medill Patterson's dedication to the "common man" first surfaced years before he was active in the family business. After completing a degree at Yale, Patterson went to work for

⁴¹⁰ Higgenbotham's father was a partner in Marshall Fields. She also came from old Chicago money and family power.

⁴¹¹ Mary King, according to one historian, was a key ingredient in the *Daily News* – and Patterson's success. She "seemed to be born a newspaper woman ... she became so familiar with Patterson's thinking that she was almost his editorial alter ego and often contributed a point of view that escaped him." McGivena, et al *The News: The First Fifty Years of New York's Picture Newspaper*, 277. McGivena's work, of course, is published by the News Syndicate Company – owner of the *Daily News* and is rather laudatory of the paper and its employees and founders. McGivena was an employee of the newspaper and the man behind the "Tell It to Sweeney" campaign. Indeed, McGivena, of course, makes no reference to Patterson and King's affair while he was still married. Instead it just calls King Patterson's second wife. James Patterson's obituary notes his 1923 birth and paternal line establishing that his birth to King and Patterson more than a decade before they wed. *New York Times*, June 25, 1992.

⁴¹² The Medill/Patterson/McCormick news empire went public in 1983 and a series of mergers, notably in 2000 with the Times-Mirror Company, expanded the holdings and increased corporate oversight and the "business" side of the empire (though, interestingly, the merger meant that *Newsday* was rejoined with Alicia Patterson Guggenheim's family's newspapers). Today, the newspapers have again been split due to corporate mergers and a decline in newspaper readership.

⁴¹³ Though, of course, he attended private schools in Chicago before spending six years at Groton. From there, he went to Yale.

⁴¹⁴ At different times Patterson referred to the "common man" as the "working man" or the "masses" – throughout, I'll use these terms interchangeably for clarity.

the family – as a reporter. But while covering Chicago, he developed an interest – or, as one author suggests, a “zeal” – for reform politics.⁴¹⁵ He was quickly elected to the Illinois legislature, helped elect a municipal-ownership mayor in Chicago (opposed by his father and the *Chicago Tribune*), and, finally, took a post as Commissioner of Public Works.⁴¹⁶ Even more jarring for Patterson’s family: he adopted radical politics and began writing socialist editorials, pamphlets, and books. His formal venture into socialism came when he announced that he was resigning from his job as Chicago’s Commissioner of Public Works and sent a public letter to Mayor Edward F. Dunne’s office decrying municipal ownership as not going far enough to end social ills in the United States. Days after sending out the letter he – along with his father – was interviewed by the *New York Times*. The resulting article, “*Patterson, Jr., Believes He Has Too Much Money*,” pitted Joseph Medill Patterson against his father Robert W. Patterson, then-editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. “Personally, I believe that Socialism is the wildest kind of fanaticism, and that municipal ownership, as practiced in Chicago is a flat failure,” the elder Patterson is quoted as saying. He noted the *Tribune* had not supported his son when he worked for Dunne’s campaign on municipal ownership and that they would continue to oppose him if he ran for mayor on the socialist ticket.⁴¹⁷ But, Robert W. Patterson also said his son was an adult and entitled to his views. In direct opposition to his father – something of a family trait among the Medills and Pattersons – Joseph Medill Patterson is quoted: “It isn’t fair that because my grandfather worked hard and left money I should have everything and so many people should have nothing.”⁴¹⁸ Some historians argue Patterson was never a true socialist, dabbling instead as a temporary rebellion against his blue-blooded lineage.⁴¹⁹ Yet Patterson actively sought out the company of socialists and leaders of communist organizations, and he wrote and published on their behalf. Not long

⁴¹⁵ Chapman, 33.

⁴¹⁶ Chapman, 34. Municipal-ownership in this case refers to favoring city ownership of public utilities and other natural monopolies.

⁴¹⁷ *New York Times*, March 4, 1906.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ See, McGivena, et al *The News and Chapman, Tell It to Sweeney.*

after announcing his rebirth as a socialist, Patterson published “Confessions of a Drone” in the *Independent*. “The work of the working people and nothing else, produces the wealth, which by some hocus-pocus arrangement is transferred to me, leaving them bare,” Patterson wrote in the indictment of young heirs like himself who “did nothing” and lived well.⁴²⁰ Patterson also served as Eugene V. Debs’ campaign manager and, as editor of the *Socialist Campaign Book* (1908), he pulled together essays and articles in support of Debs and Ben Hanford’s presidential run. Among the entries are pieces by Debs, Max S. Hayes, Victor L. Berger, and H.G. Wells. After working for Debs, he retreated to an Illinois farm to write books and plays.⁴²¹

Yet, once Patterson decided socialism was not doing enough to solve society’s ills, he turned his back on the party and went into the family newspapering business. His concerns for working men and women – at least on the surface – colored his newspaper career and, ultimately, helped him build the *New York Daily News* into the largest circulating newspaper in the country. While the question of his loyalty to “socialism” is open, Patterson’s views on working men and women are clear: they made the pages of the *Daily News* in photographs, editorials, and stories, as well as in internal memos and orders from Patterson that request his staffers make “the people” the heroes of the *Daily News*. And in embracing the working men and women, including recent immigrants and their children, and striving to gain their trust and loyalty as readers, Patterson played a profound role in recasting them as Americans, and in the process of Americanizing them.

While Patterson left socialism behind – in fact, he adopted an ideology dedicated to deporting communists and “reds” – he did not leave the cause of the working man behind. Once Patterson swore off socialism, he returned to run the *Chicago Tribune* jointly with his cousin

⁴²⁰ Joseph Medill Patterson, *Confessions of a Drone: Marshall Field’s Will and the Socialist Machine*, Pocket Library of Socialism, no. 45 (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 19--?), reprinted from the *Independent*.

⁴²¹ John Chapman, *Tell It to Sweeney: The Informal History of the New York Daily News* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1977). Among Patterson’s works: *Confessions of a Drone*; *Little Brother of the Rich*; *By-Products*; *Dope*; *The Fourth Estate*; and *Rebellion*.

Robert McCormick. Though the men often differed politically and in work-style, both were patriotic and dedicated to the news business, and both wanted to build the Medill-Patterson-McCormick news empire. Joseph Medill Patterson, the black sheep of the family, returned to the flock and within a few years would lead his family and American journalism into the new world of tabloids.

Wielding the Visual: Patterson Goes to the Movies

Patterson's early support of films and nickelodeons signal his understanding of the importance of images for telling stories and their appeal to a mass, diverse audience. He quickly saw that the new form of entertainment had implications beyond its first contact with the working classes and immigrants. But he also realized that "common" men and women could constitute an economically significant audience for movie-makers, and, eventually, tabloid readers. Patterson witnessed culture devised "below" making inroads toward the middling classes. Patterson wrote a 1907 article for the *Saturday Evening Post* in support of nickelodeons. In it he does not dismiss either the working and immigrant classes or the images being presented to them. "The nickelodeon is tapping an entirely new stratum of people, is developing into theatre-goers a section of population that formerly knew and cared little about the drama as a fact in life," Patterson wrote. He was quick to see how a medium – particularly a visual one – had the power to attract an audience not traditionally seen as a target of culture. Patterson elaborated:

Civilization, all through the history of mankind, has been chiefly the property of the upper classes, but during the past century civilization has been permeating steadily downward. The leaders of this democratic movement have been general education, universal suffrage, cheap periodicals and cheap travel. To-day the moving-picture machine cannot be overlooked as an effective protagonist of democracy. For through it the drama, always a big fact in the lives of the people at the top, is now becoming a big fact in the lives of the people at the bottom. Two million of them a day have so found a new interest in life.⁴²²

⁴²² Joseph Medill Patterson, "The Nickelodeons", *The Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 23, 1907.

In this are the very elements Patterson promoted in the *Daily News*. His paper argued for democratic and universal education as a means to cultivate good Americans. He was a proponent of universal suffrage, arguing that women were reasonable, intelligent people entitled to full participation in politics as a right of their citizenship. The *Daily News* was a cheap and “readable” tabloid; customers could read it cover-to-cover during a short train commute; its audience, after all, worked for a living. In short, Patterson, touched by socialism, his upbringing, and the birth of new visual media, was quick to see how powerful the “common man” could be when united about nickelodeons. He also understood how a media, in this case moving pictures, could be used to promote democracy, liberty and American ideals.

In this eternal struggle for more self-consciousness, the moving-picture machine, uncouth instrument though it be, has enlisted itself on especial behalf of the least enlightened, those who are below the reach even of the yellow journals. For although in the prosperous vaudeville houses the machine is but a toy, a “chaser,” in the nickelodeons it is the central, absorbing fact, which strengthens, widens, vivifies subjective life; which teaches living other than living through the senses alone. Already, perhaps, touching him at the psychological moment, it has awakened to his first, groping, necessary discontent the spirit of an artist of the future, who otherwise would have remained mute and motionless.⁴²³

For Patterson the moving picture had the capacity to expand the vision of those at the bottom – including the working poor and immigrants – by raising them up, broadening their perspective, and, in short, making them a part of “civilized” America.⁴²⁴ A mere decade later, he brought this vision to the nation’s first tabloid newspaper.

Capt. Patterson and Lord Northcliffe: WW I and the Daily News

Robert McCormick and Joseph Medill Patterson opposed intervention in World War I.

This isolationist position, in time, came to dominate the editorial, and sometimes news, pages of

⁴²³ Joseph Medill Patterson, “The Nickelodeons”, *The Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 23, 1907.

⁴²⁴ In time, this became a fairly common approach to film. Once the middle class realized movies were not going to disappear (and, in fact, were only growing in popularity) some decided it could be used as a force for education and social “good”. See Sklar, *Movie Made America* and May, *Screening Out the Past*.

both the *Chicago Tribune* and *Daily News*.⁴²⁵ Despite this, both enlisted when the United States entered the war, feeling that it was the best way to demonstrate their patriotism and put the *Tribune* in the service of the nation.

In joining the army you and I are making it possible for the *Tribune* to be of much greater service than if we had remained at home. Great tasks in national organization must be accomplished ... These tasks will only be accomplished as the public is educated to demand them ... The *Tribune* is the Great War, the great patriotic newspaper.⁴²⁶

This bellicose, bustling, patriotic tenor would remain in the pages of both the *Tribune* and the *Daily News* throughout McCormick and Patterson's reigns. Following this WW I military stint (after which he was regularly referred to as "Captain" Patterson; his cousin, "Colonel" McCormick), Joseph Medill Patterson returned to Chicago to plan a New York tabloid.⁴²⁷

In founding the paper, Patterson wasn't revolutionizing pictures in print. Instead, he imitated the style and content of English newspapers he saw on furlough during World War I. In London he met Lord Northcliffe and saw first-hand how the city's *Daily Mirror* tabloid picture-

⁴²⁵ In fact, Patterson supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal programs during the Great Depression; the relationship turned sour and Patterson become one of FDR's most vehement critics when it became apparent the United States was involved with WWII and would eventually enter the war. Patterson his sister Cissy, along with their cousin Robert McCormick were under fire throughout WWII for their isolationist views. At times, they were accused of being "pro-Fascist" and pro-Hitler". Indeed, the Friends of Democracy, Inc. – a group that charged itself with investigating anti-democratic and pro-Fascist groups and individuals in the United States – published a piece that examined how the *Tribune* and *Daily News* promoted a "propaganda line". L.M. Birkhead, "The Case Against the McCormick-Patterson Press: Sampling the *Chicago Tribune* and N.Y. *Daily News* Propaganda Line Over a Period of Years", (Girard, KS: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1945). Among the accusations: that Patterson was courted by Fascists who saw his paper as beneficial to their cause and that his "patriotic" "America First" campaign in editorial pages and news columns was akin to Father Conghlin. Birkhead, 16(?). Patterson and his daughter Alicia Patterson Guggenheim (editor of *Newsday*) also broke over the war and FDR. Guggenheim supported FDR and American involvement in World War II. Still, Patterson was hardly a fascist as the propaganda suggests.

⁴²⁶ Robert McCormick to JMP, June 26, 1917, Box 20, Folder 10, JMP Papers, LFC. Joseph Medill Patterson sent several lengthy letters to family members detailing his training and deployment, and was critical of his unit's readiness.

⁴²⁷ A legend related by Chapman in *Tell It to Sweeney* has McCormick and Patterson meeting in a farmyard barn near Mareuil-en-Dole in France (atop a pile of manure, no less) to pound out the idea for the New York *Daily News*. Other historians have denied this was where the idea was born, though there is little doubt the meeting between the two took place.

paper told stories in photos and appealed to a mass, “ordinary” audience.⁴²⁸ Northcliffe, who had relinquished control of the *Daily Mirror* by the time he met Patterson, encouraged the young American to consider starting a tabloid newspaper in New York, seeing it as a fertile ground for the burgeoning genre – the common man was a widely untapped news audience.⁴²⁹ Patterson saw first-hand the impact of war coverage in the London newspaper on the English population.⁴³⁰ Patterson wanted to start a paper that was as close to the people as the *Mirror* was to ordinary Londoners.⁴³¹ What started as a knock-off, soon took on a life of its own as the *Daily News* came to be the tabloid that others used as their standard. Years later London’s newspapers took their

⁴²⁸ Lord Northcliffe, Alfred Harmsworth, founded a number of British newspapers, including the *Daily Mirror*. One historian claims the *Mirrors’* genius was how it attuned itself to the aspirations of its age: “It was vulgar. It spoke for the crowd. At critical times it became the voice of the people ...” Maurice Edelman, *The Mirror: A Political History* (New York: London House and Maxwell, 1966). Another historian gives Northcliffe credit for being the voice of the newspaper: “powerful, patriotic, bellicose, fearless and at loggerheads with the government, defying noisily in both his papers its efforts to censor criticisms of various kinds of ineptitudes.” Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Newspapermen: Hugh Cudlipp, Cecil Harmsworth King and the Glory Days of Fleet Street* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2003).

⁴²⁹ Lord Northcliffe cut his ties with the *Daily Mirror* in 1910, selling it to his younger brother, Harold Harmsworth (Lord Rothermere). Rothermere didn’t have his brother’s talent for news, but World War I turned out to be a gift to the newspaper – circulation jumped from 1.2 million to 1.7 million during the first year of the war. The paper also found a loyal following among those in the army; it was distributed to the men in the trenches and provided a slice of life back in England. At the same time, the home audience embraced the visual experience of war the newspaper provided. The *Daily Mirror* produced “War Picture Specials” that included everything from the sinking of the German battleships Blucher and Emden during the naval battle over the Falkland Islands to the shooting down in flames of a German Zeppelin airship off the coast of Norway to the collapse of the Russian army. It was, in fact, the only London-based newspaper to have both a reporter and a photographer on the Eastern Front. See, Chris Horrie, *Tabloid Nation: The Birth of the Daily Mirror to the Death of the Tabloid* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1998). During his visits to London, Patterson would have seen the impact of these photographs of the war had on the audience. Northcliffe was declared insane by 1922, and died shortly thereafter; Rothermere inherited the entire newspaper dynasty. Patterson was so eager to get his newspaper off the ground, in order to beat William Randolph Hearst to the newsrack, that the paper was launched quickly and got off to a shaky start. But, one of Patterson’s advantages, beyond having the family money and newspapering know-how to pull it off, was that he listened and learned when he met with Northcliffe.

⁴³⁰ In fact, the *Daily News* and Patterson would continue to rely on their British connection as the paper was being launched in 1919-1920. “This letter is about the luncheon we had yesterday with Mr. John Cowley, managing director of *The London Mirror* He believes that our name is too long He says *The Mirror* is known popularly as “Pic” ... He says that their good printing is due entirely to the fact that their presses were made, with instructions to the manufacturers to make presses that would print pictures He says they have fifteen photographers ...” William F. Field to Joseph Medill Patterson, Nov. 4th, 1919, Box 17, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC. A few days later, Patterson responded that he agreed with Cowley about the tabloid’s name being too cumbersome: “In my opinion the name is rotten and I wish you would all put your minds together to think of a better one.” JMP to William F. Field, November 6, 1919, Box 17, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴³¹ John Tebbel, *An American Dynasty: The Story of the McCormicks, Medills, and Pattersons* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947), 253-4.

cues from New York; the *Daily News* was a newspaper with pictures, rather than a picture paper with news.⁴³² At the same time, Patterson redefined American journalism with photographs, humorous captions, comic strips, and short, clear news stories designed to appeal to a broad audience. He infused newspapers with an element broadsheets couldn't ignore: readability and a closeness (or understanding) to their audience. And, his audience served as a community of readers, bound together by the education they received in the pages of the *Daily News* and a sense of belonging taken from it.⁴³³

The Illustrated Daily News Debuts

Once back in the United States, McCormick and Patterson set about finding a way to launch a New York City newspaper, determined to found the right paper, with the right editors, and, most importantly, for the right audience. But launching a newspaper took time – despite Patterson's eagerness to get a tabloid on the streets as quickly as possible.⁴³⁴ Among their competitors: William Randolph Hearst, William Boyce (a newspaper chain owner from Indiana), and Arthur Brisbane.⁴³⁵ Despite threats and attempted buy-outs during the *News*' first years, no one else managed to get a tabloid on the streets of New York until Hearst debuted the *Mirror* in 1924. By then, the *Daily News*' circulation topped 1 million.

⁴³² Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Newspapermen: Hugh Cudlipp, Cecil Harmsworth King and the Glory Days of Fleet Street* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2003)

⁴³³ For a detailed discussion of how communities are created via the media see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2000 c. 1983), David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), and Susan Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1999).

⁴³⁴ Chapman notes that William H. Field, a retired general manager of the *Tribune*, had moved to New York and had a "roving assignment" to do anything that he wanted to do for the newspaper and its syndicate. This proved serendipitous for Patterson, as he soon put Field to work. Field would become editor of the *Daily News* when it launched.

⁴³⁵ In a January 1919 letter, Field details his attempts to purchase an existing newspaper from which to launch the tabloid, rather than starting the newspaper from the ground up. He entered into talks with a number of struggling newspaper publishers, but to no avail. William H. Field to JMP and Robert McCormick, January 28, 1919, Box 51, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC. Hearst would eventually launch a tabloid of his own. Brisbane, a legendary Hearst editor and businessman in his own right, eventually returned to work for Hearst.

Once Patterson and McCormick decided to build the tabloid from the ground up they still had one more obstacle to overcome: their moms. “I sent your letter to your mother. When I was in New York I saw mine and told her about the thing in some detail. As I wired, they believe the best chance is the two-cent paper and we have agreed on that.”⁴³⁶ The Medill daughters still had a role in their father’s business because they controlled the money. Moreover, they wanted to be sure that the family name and money were used appropriately. Still, the young men were not above a few manipulations, and humor, to get their way. “I talked to my Ma in New York and she is acquiescent in the scheme. In case your Ma bucks at all would it not be a good idea to point out to her with the danger of bolshevism and so on it is good to have a stake in two communities instead of one?”⁴³⁷ The mothers also were not above sending along suggestions and comments about the newspapers. This oversight started while Patterson was still at the *Chicago Tribune* – it was something of a family trait to have an opinion about every article, editorial and photograph that appeared in one of the family’s newspapers. “In reference to what you say about the policy of the paper, you know the times move and we must move with them,” Patterson wrote in 1912 about changes at the *Chicago Tribune*.⁴³⁸ Likewise, in 1913, he attempted to explain opinion page editorials: “I have been reading over the editorial quite carefully since your letter came and must frankly testify that I think you have read into the editorials a good deal that you fear might be there, but which isn’t there. The paper is far from radical as compared with other editorials.”⁴³⁹ Never mind that Patterson himself was just a few years removed from his flirtation with socialism.

Moreover, the men depended on their mothers for income: “My allowance is now \$25,220. I will try to stay in that, but, if you remember, you asked me what I thought I could stay in and I said \$27,500. I then made it as low as I thought I could possibly do,” Patterson wrote to

⁴³⁶ JMP to Robert McCormick, June 2, 1919, Box 51, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴³⁷ JMP to Robert McCormick, June 3, 1919, Box 51, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴³⁸ JMP to Elinor Medill Patterson, November 1, 1912, Box 70, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴³⁹ JMP to Elinor Medill Patterson, March 15, 1913, Box 70, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

his mother in 1912 along with a request for her to pay a dinner and theatre bill.⁴⁴⁰ Requests, in writing, for more money were routine in the 1910s and early 1920s. In 1916 the request was so he could join “Shoreacres” a new “horribly expensive” club being formed in Lake Forest, IL: “Inasmuch as the children are getting to the age where they will soon be young ladies and would feel out of it unless they belonged to such a club, I joined it, but it cost me one thousand dollars (\$1000.00), so if you feel like making me a nice Christmas present, that’s the kind of one I would like.”⁴⁴¹ Patterson’s contradictions – his advocacy for the working classes while still retaining his blue-blood ties and lifestyle – was yet another element that marked his *Daily News*. He advocated for his working class (Patterson used the terms “working class” and “masses” interchangeably) readers, yet fed them news of society and scandal, and indoctrinated them with a middle class vision of American life and culture.

McCormick and Patterson, with a few adjustments, convinced their mothers of the venture’s worth, and planning for the paper continued:

Will start with a beauty contest – the prettiest girl in New York; ten-thousand dollars prize to the winner ... the judges will be a moving picture director, a theatrical manager and an artist. It looks like the best way to make an initial impression ... I understand you said you wanted me for president, yourself for treasurer and Field for vice-president. What about secretary? Or, do you want to be vice-president and have Field secretary?

The way I feel is that we have a good even chance to get away with it, and if we succeed we will establish a valuable property and if we lose we will lose only a moderate amount of cash. So I think it is good business.⁴⁴²

The cousins agreed Patterson would be in charge of the newspaper on both the editorial and financial side. McCormick, busy with the day-to-day running of the *Chicago Tribune* took a secondary role. Patterson spent far more time working on the editorial than business side;

⁴⁴⁰ JMP to Elinor Medill Patterson, January 2, 1912, Box 70, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁴¹ JMP to Elinor Medill Patterson, November 23, 1916, Box 70, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁴² JMP to Robert McCormick, June 2, 1919, Box 51, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

McCormick was quite the opposite.⁴⁴³ That said, both men knew something about both editorial management and business culture: each did time as overseas correspondents (Patterson covered World War I in Germany, France, and Belgium before the United States' entry into the conflict); and both had experience on the business/financial end of newspapering at the *Tribune*.⁴⁴⁴ Patterson remained co-editor at the *Tribune* and ran the *Daily News* on a day-to-day basis, in part because the newspaper was his idea.⁴⁴⁵

Even more, Patterson remained in day-to-day editorial control despite spending more than half his time in Chicago. Patterson was the boss and snappy, critical letters and telegrams regularly passed between Chicago and New York. Patterson demanded his proposals be carried out, including photograph and story ideas, and had final control on opinion pieces and editorials. This gave him command of both content and vision. The *Daily News* was Patterson. Within the first six months of publication, a number of letters were sent between Patterson and Managing Editor Arthur L. Clarke, highlighting what Patterson expected of his editors and staff: obedience and flexibility.

There seems to have been some misunderstanding about my sending orders to you, as to what I want done. Now, I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, so some of the orders I give will be mistakes. However, more efficiency can be obtained by carrying out the orders, both the good ones and the bad ones, than by not doing so This probably seems like a rather elaborate argument to explain why I want my suggestions adopted, but it is based on a fact. It is far better to let me experiment freely than to try to hinder me from mistakes. I can get out of the mistakes almost as fast as I can get into them, and some of the time some of my suggestions will not be wrong.⁴⁴⁶

Patterson wanted it clear: he was in charge of the *Daily News*, even when not in New York.

Moreover, he was confident his vision was right for the tabloid and would produce the highest

⁴⁴³ Chapman notes that when Patterson rejoined the family business he and McCormick “often differed heartily over the running of the paper; but they always disavowed any personal dislike.” Chapman, 35. Indeed, correspondence between the two seems, for the most part, friendly – even in disagreement.

⁴⁴⁴ Patterson joined the Illinois National Guard in 1916. When the United States entered World War I, he was sent overseas as a lieutenant in the Rainbow Division, eventually rising to captain, with his division commander Douglas MacArthur. Chapman, 35-36.

⁴⁴⁵ See Chapman.

⁴⁴⁶ JMP to ALC, December 2, 1919, , Box 16, Folder 6, JMP Papers, LFC

circulation, advertising revenue, and customer loyalty. While there was no doubt who was in charge, Patterson didn't engage in yelling or order people to do his bidding. His suggestions, however, as he indicated to Clarke, were to be taken. At the same time, fidelity gave Patterson's editors freedom to make suggestions.

I have an idea for breaking out with a weekly edition of the News ... [I] marked the most interesting news pictures, and then put them together in a sixteen page dummy, containing no news except the captions under the pictures. The result was extraordinarily interesting, and gave the week's news in pictures, with their brief captions, in a form which was quite captivating to the eye.⁴⁴⁷

Field's ideas became the basis of a Sunday edition of the *News* – an edition he hoped to make even more pictorially oriented than the daily paper.⁴⁴⁸

Though Patterson's paper would emerge as the leader of the tabloid style, the newspaper that first hit the streets in 1919 was a far cry from the paper at the height of its circulation and power in the mid-1920s.⁴⁴⁹ However, in the first weeks of publication, Patterson's ideological views are clearly on display. The ideas central to the *New York Daily News* – advocacy for working people; pressing for limited overseas involvement; the creation of a common culture and a homogeneous “American type”; and redefining Americans based more on the acceptance of American ideals, laws, and spirit rather than on personal national origin – are on display in early editions of the newspaper. Likewise, he also knew that the “common man” had a fascination with the lives and loves of the rich, beautiful and famous. This was due, in part, to the democratization of desire that took place at the end of the 19th century as comfort and prosperity became an expectation of the American experience and all people, regardless of race, gender, ethnic background or class. All people had an equal right to desire the same world of comfort and

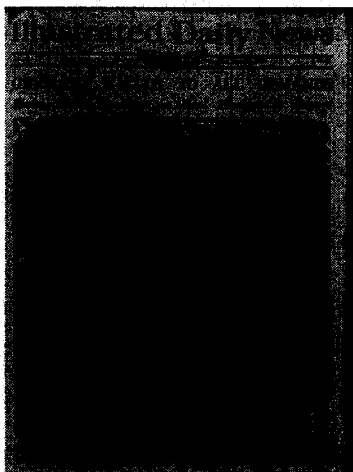
⁴⁴⁷ William F. Field to JMP, November 5, 1919, Box 17, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁴⁸ A Sunday edition, the *Sunday News*, complete with expanded pictures and a photo magazine, appeared in 1922.

⁴⁴⁹ Part II of this dissertation covers the *Daily News* from 1919-1925. By 1925 the *Daily News* established the style, content, circulation, and editorial bent that characterized it throughout the rest of the 1920s.

material goods that the wealthy and leisure class enjoyed.⁴⁵⁰ Part of this desire was a fascination with those who possessed wealth, status and power.

The first edition of *The Illustrated Daily News* that hit the streets contained international news, opinion pieces introducing the paper to the people, and features showing hard-working Americans with tangible signs of their “Americanness” on display.⁴⁵¹ The cover of the first edition highlights developments in the peace process – a two-line headline runs across the top of the page: “Germany Yields to All Demands: Sinks More Warships in Kiel Harbor, Is Report”. Under it is a full page photograph of a soldier overlooking the Rhine with a small caption “Foch. Generalissimo of All the Allied and Associated Armies Actually on the Rhine with Every Arm of the Service Ready to Seize All Strategic Points, if Peace had Failed.”



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An inside story explains German readiness to sign the peace treaty. Other prominent stories include: a high-profile murder trial; recent prohibition battles; and news from Washington, D.C. With the exception of the lead story on the peace process, most stories are limited to a paragraph

⁴⁵⁰ For a full discussion of the democratization of desire see, William Leach, *Land of Desire” Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vantage Books/Random House, 1993), especially pages 4-7.

⁴⁵¹ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 24, 1919.

⁴⁵² *Illustrated Daily News*, June 24, 1919.

or two and are highlighted with mug-shots (head-shots) of those involved.⁴⁵³ Deeper in the first edition an editorial, “Who We Are”, explains the paper’s goals and allegiances:

The *Illustrated Daily News* is going to be your newspaper. Its interests will be your interests The story that is told by a picture can be grasped instantly With the pictures we shall give you short, concise news stories, covering every happening recorded by the news gatherers. Pictures and stories together will supply a complete understanding of the events of the day, and that is liberal education. It will be aggressively for America and for the people of New York City. It will be written and edited by New York men, who believe rightly, that New York is the greatest city in the world, and that it is just entering upon the greatest and most prosperous era of its career as the world’s intellectual and commercial capital. This newspaper always will be fearless and independent. It will have no entangling alliance with any class whatever – for class feeling is always antagonistic to the interests of the whole people⁴⁵⁴

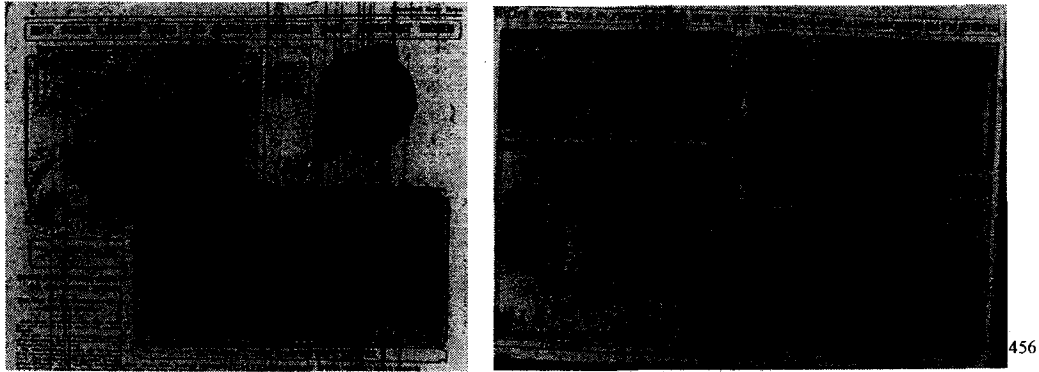
In short, the newspaper wants to represent the great masses in New York and highlight the city and its people as the best of America and Americans. To do so, it needed to appeal to as broad an audience as possible, including the working classes and first-and-second generation Americans. Part of the appeal of news via photographs was, of course, that it didn’t require advanced literacy skills to understand meaning. And while the newspaper claimed no class allegiance, it clearly tried to represent working Americans and embrace the tenor of the 1920s in international affairs, leisure, race relations, crime and scandal, and optimism. Yet, at the same time, Patterson’s paper strove to construct a national identity rooted in the values and politics of the middle class. National myths, materialism and consumption, and desire were used by Patterson’s *Daily News* to persuade the working classes to embrace an ideal homogeneous American type created by the newspaper and based in patriotism, isolationism, and American political systems.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ A mug-shot in this context refers to a close-up photograph of an individual, usually from the upper chest up. It does not imply a police or criminal photograph in journalism terminology.

⁴⁵⁴ “Who We Are”, *Illustrated Daily News*, Tuesday, June 24, 1919, p.5

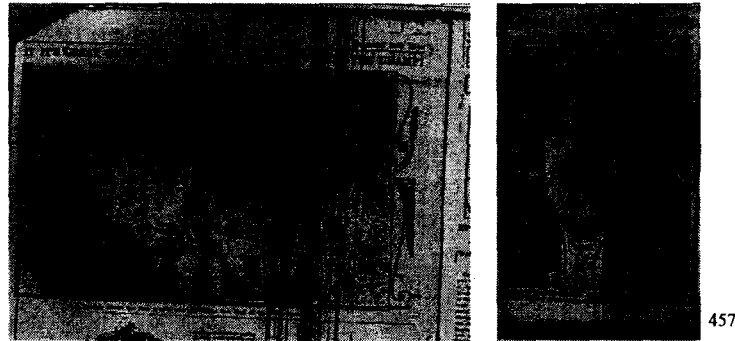
⁴⁵⁵ For a discussion of national identity, capitalism, and hegemony, see Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* and the work of Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Stuart Hall, and many others.

Text in the *Illustrated Daily News* is short, breezy, and simply written. Opposite the introductory editorial is a half page of photographs of “How Some Kiddies Used the German Helmet Papa Brought Home.”



In three pictures the helmets are trivialized and made into American playthings. In one of the images the “trophy dad captured in the Argonne” is upside down and full of sand with an American flag stuck in it as two children and a dog dig in the dirt nearby. Additionally, each issue of the *News* has a two-page photo spread; the first features Allies, the Prince of Wales, and couples dancing on the beach at Coney Island. The juxtaposition of European class structure with jolly Americans enjoying their leisure time is striking. Europe caused a world war; Americans, not guilty, can laugh and dance. The newspaper, and Patterson in particular, embraced an ideology based on nonintervention and America first, and claimed Europe and the United States government tricked the American people into entering World War I. Sports pages in the first edition focus on sports with wide class appeal: boxing, horseracing, baseball, and golf. A half-page photograph of Jack Dempsey shows him bare-chested, playing with several “kiddie” fans.

⁴⁵⁶ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 24, 1919

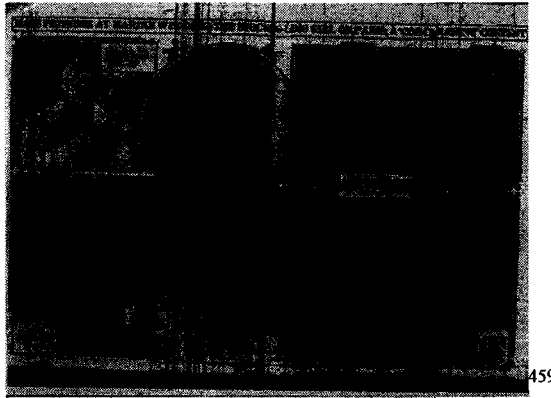


Finally, the back page of the tabloid highlights a contest, “\$1000 Will be Given New York’s Prize beauty! – Who Is She?” with movie-star-like portraits of five contenders. Patterson knew that sports, contests and beautiful women were among the items that might sell newspapers. During the first half of the 1920s the newspaper tinkered with this formula in an effort to reach as sizable audience as possible.

The first week contained more of the same as the newspaper developed its voice. It was apparent the *Illustrated Daily News* was a different kind of newspaper; its pages carried images of people from all walks of life and highlights of both news and ordinary events. The first week of publication, roughly June 24-July 2, 1919, featured photos and stories that set the tone for the tabloid. And while the tabloid would undergo transformations throughout the 1920s and 1930s to be in sync with readers; antecedents of what the newspaper would become dwell in the pages from mid-summer 1919.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 24, 1919.

⁴⁵⁸ The newspaper’s style and tone were fully realized by 1925, the year this study ends.



In one edition, the newspaper carried a photograph of a fickle German prince alongside an editorial demanding an end to royal visits to the United States.

Americans do not believe in royalty or in hereditary office We do not quarrel with English democracy if it wishes to pay for a decorative façade or to preserve its sense of historic continuity by keeping the form of kingship without its reality. But why ask us to receive the symbol?⁴⁵⁹

Indeed, American democracy has triumphed over monarchies and (literally) Germany. Inside that edition the paper's two-page picture spread turns to matters more local (above): a family eating contest on the East Side and photographs of numerous beautiful women. The family eating contest shows four small children receiving food. The caption notes that on the East Side the "living cost is a real problem" and that the eating contest is really a chance for the children to have good, hot food.⁴⁶¹ Again, Patterson's dedication to issues of the working classes is fully on display in the images. But, paired alongside something Patterson believed everyone could appreciate: beautiful women. Patterson knew that sex sells.

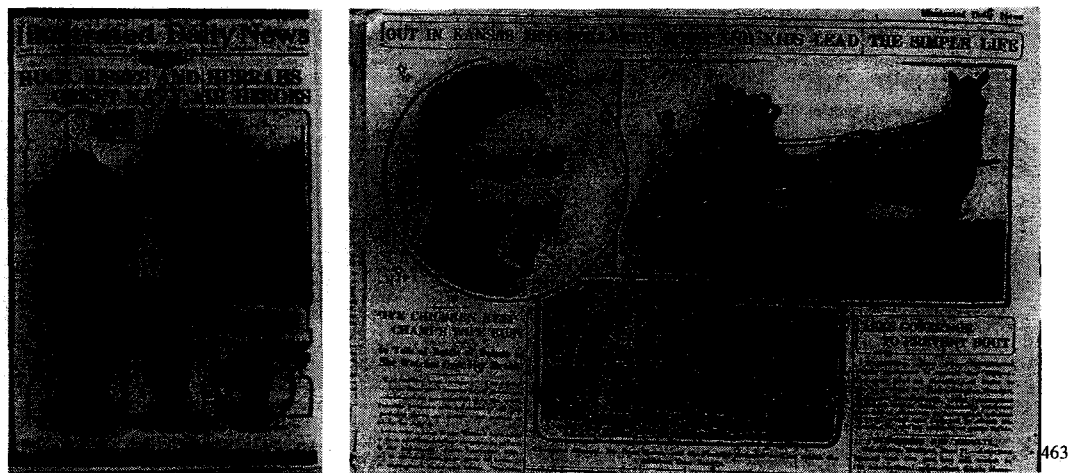
More explicit American pride is evident the following day when the front page carried a collage of images: a beautiful woman with a bull-horn waving to an arriving ship; an inset of the arriving ship with an American flag waving in the foreground; and three mug-shots of naval officers. The headline explains the military ship is arriving home with "Hugs, Kisses and Hurrahs

⁴⁵⁹ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 27, 1919.

⁴⁶⁰ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 27, 1919.

⁴⁶¹ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 27, 1919.

Greet Navy Air Heroes.”⁴⁶² A caption notes that a wife’s “fearless hope and devotion that burned bright in every moment of the first flight from America to Europe” were a reward for the returning American soldiers. In the same edition there are photographs of women standing on a fence to watch horse races; a “naughty ‘shimmy doll’”; an East Side lemonade peddler demonstrating how to serve the beverage; a street sweeper at work who says, according to the caption, that “his son, now ten, must go to Law College”; and the family of boxer Jess Willard leading the “simple life” in Kansas.



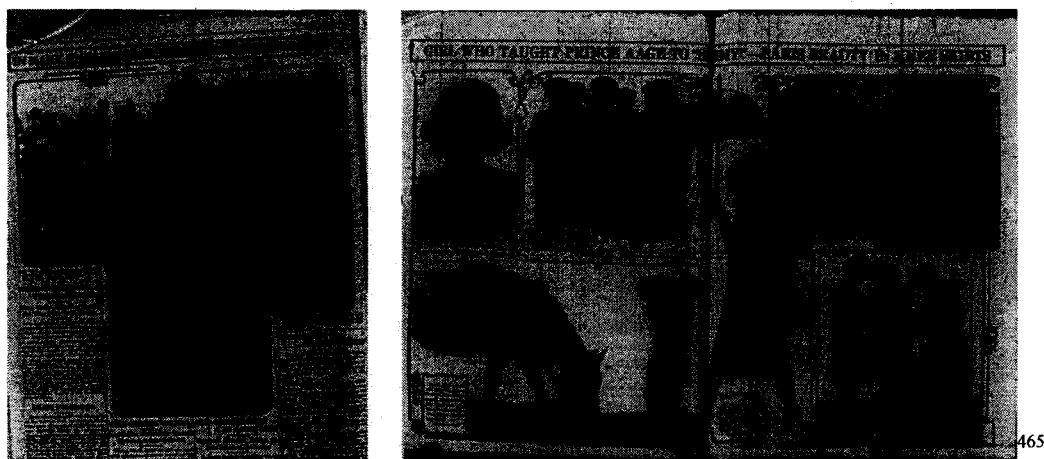
Patterson and his staff attempted to appeal to a broad audience by picturing a variety of activities – from society women, complete with elaborate hats, at the races to a street sweeper at work and sacrificing to raise the prospects of his son. Likewise, boxer Willard, nearing a match with Jack Dempsey, is seen in a more “common” light. His family’s “simple life” in Kansas is shown via photos of a simple house and horse-drawn carriage. Willard becomes a “common man” via the images – he’s just like every other working man in America.

The first week also concerned itself with foreign affairs. On Monday, June 30, 1919, the *Illustrated Daily News* ran a full page photograph of President Wilson and his wife in Europe

⁴⁶² *Illustrated Daily News*, June 28, 1919.

⁴⁶³ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 28, 1919

under the headline “Wilson Guarded by 5 Ships.”⁴⁶⁴ The lead inside story says Wilson is on his way home, and preparing for a Senate fight over his peace treaty. Inside, a three-quarters page photograph shows hundreds of soldiers marching in New York with American and British flags under the headline “In Many Uniforms But From One Country – America”.



The story is about homecoming and demobilization of 531 American soldiers who joined branches of the British armed services before the United States' formal entry in the war. The story notes that 20 of the men brought home foreign brides.

The newspaper always had room for beautiful women: the two-page photo spread centers on ordinary women at work and American soldiers returning home, including: a half-page photo of “Farmerettes” smiling at the camera as they kneel, working the soil; sailors posing with animal mascots aboard the USS *Arkansas*; office girls, dressed in short skirts and stockings, with newsboy caps, taking sides to play a baseball game in Central Park; and a photo of the “most beautiful woman in Paris” with a caption reading “Who Says Our Boys Still in Paris Are Out of Luck?” The focus on international affairs depict a decidedly American take on matters foreign. Wilson is preparing to bring European peace home to American and expects a fight for ratification within the dictates of American democracy. American soldiers, no matter what

⁴⁶⁴ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 30, 1919. The date skips June 29th because the paper did not have a Sunday edition during its first few years of publication.

⁴⁶⁵ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 30, 1919

uniform they wear, are still brave Americans. And “common” Americans engage in decidedly “American activities” (even if they are women!) like playing baseball. Images of women also promote change. Women can farm, play ball and be beautiful in the new age. The newspaper also recognized the reality that many women did work. The first week, the paper carried a story, “Stop Senseless Arrests of Women,” defending working class women who were accused by police officials of being prostitutes because they were out alone in the streets after dark: “Thousands of girls – shop-girls, telephone operators, and other night workers must use the streets after nightfall.” Again, Patterson and his editors are setting up a tone that will characterize the newspaper throughout his tenure. In this case the paper comes not only to the defense of working people, but also to the defense of women.⁴⁶⁶

Patterson and his staff readily admitted their early mistakes to readers. A week after the paper published its first edition, the editorial page carried “A Frank Talk with Our Readers” highlighting the failures and the successes of the tabloid’s first week on the street.

We want to make this the kind of paper you will like to read, and we know we can do this, if you will help us ... If it is a good picture, a useful newspaper, you will like it ... Help us to make it the kind of a paper you want it to be – in pictures, text, features, everything.⁴⁶⁷

Again, the editorial seeks to identify the *Illustrated Daily News* as belonging to, and reflecting, the people. Its method was to combine photographs and stories. The mothers Medill were not initially impressed. Patterson’s mother wrote within the first week of the newspaper’s publication to complain about how poorly it reflected on the family standards and how it seemed to lack an eastern tone in its content and style. Patterson’s reply was quick, admitting its flaws, but defending those putting it together:

The paper is not very good as you suggest. However, it is edited by easterners. Arthur Clarke was City Editor of the *World*. George Utassy, the Business Manager, was Business Manager of *Vanity Fair*. Field was born and brought

⁴⁶⁶ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 30, 1919.

⁴⁶⁷ *Illustrated Daily News*, July 2, 1919.

up in the East and except for the time he spent here has lived his life there. The paper has a lot of faults, but it is not run by westerners in the East.⁴⁶⁸

But it wasn't only the Medill women who complained. During those first months, Patterson and his editors constantly turned to other newspapers, particularly those in England, for advice and a formula that would attract the broad "common" audience they wanted. Circulation did not rise at nearly the rate Patterson and McCormick hoped. In fact, in November 1919 *Daily News* Business Manager William Field sought out the directors of the *London Mirror* to learn how the English newspaper functioned and spent money to attract an audience.

He says that they have fifteen photographers, who are trained to be reporters first and photographers afterward. Caption writing, following the selection of pictures, is the most important function. Highly trained specialists are employed to write captions exclusively ... he says that, after experimenting for these years, they prefer to have it technically incorrect, as long as the public seems to want what they produce; -- in other words, their present standards are fixed entirely by what seems to be the popular demand, rather than by theory ... from the moment it was made a pictorial newspaper, its success was apparent.⁴⁶⁹

Again, photographs – halftone reproductions – remain central to the success of the newspaper, particularly a newspaper charged with picturing the news. Taking that cue, the *Daily News* sank money into bettering the quality, composition, and printing of photographs. In addition, Patterson admitted quality problems in an editorial, "OUR PRINTING": "So far our printing has been the worst in New York. Before we're through it will be the best. Watch us."⁴⁷⁰ In time, New Yorkers would.⁴⁷¹

In ensuing years, the newspaper put photographs to work for a number of causes and people including: the working classes; immigrants; foreign policy; scandal and society; sports, movies, entertainment and consumerism; and crime. In time, the paper developed a formula for

⁴⁶⁸ JMP to Elinor Medill Patterson, July 7, 1919, Box 70, Folder 5, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁶⁹ WHF to JMP, November 4, 1919, Box 17, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁷⁰ *Illustrated Daily News*, June 28, 1919

⁴⁷¹ The newspaper's circulation climbed beginning in 1920. Within a few years circulation topped 1 million and the *Daily News* became the top circulating newspaper in the country.

each; but always under the personal guidance, authority and leadership of Patterson. The *Daily News* was Joseph Medill Patterson.

With marriage of the tabloid style and photographs, Patterson hit on a formula that worked. During the next half decade he used photographs to tell stories and shape attitudes about the meaning of being an American and a New Yorker. Patterson's personal views colored each page of his newspaper. He established ideas about Americanness based in patriotism, American ideals, history, and acceptance of American "values" (political systems, freedom, individual liberty, hard-work, thrift, etc.). He rallied for the working classes, seeing the "masses" of working Americans as both his audience and the lifeblood of America. He opposed immigration, yet was willing to accept foreigners as American as long as they assimilated and molded to his rigid vision of Americanness. He wanted the United States government to embrace a noninterventionist policy that put domestic America first. He viewed the United States as the model for what a country and society should be and, as such, drew unflattering portraits of other countries. He grappled with race, accepting whiteness as American, and viewing African Americans and Asian Americans as unassimilable. And, finally, he strove to make the 1920s – entertainment, sports, society, new women, crime and scandal – come to life in the pages of the *Daily News*, allowing readers to see a reflection of themselves in this depiction of American life and culture and allowing Patterson to reinforce and control the message and values disseminated to his diverse, mass audience.

CHAPTER 8: The Consuming Common Man

The initial audience Patterson wanted was the working class – his “common man” or “masses” – and the paper explicitly positioned itself to serve their interests through support in editorials, in plainly picturing ordinary men and women at work and play, and in covering stories Patterson believed were of interest to them. This audience, not traditionally seen as a target of cultural production, became the *Daily News* target audience. Patterson built his paper by identifying it with the masses of New Yorkers, covering stories about 1920s America in which this audience could see itself. With that goal, the newspaper covered labor, working and housing conditions, and the popular culture embraced by this post-World War I urban audience. In the bustling 1920s Patterson had his finger on the pulse of his readers. His newspaper represented the age – it was quirky, it was lively, it was diverse, it was irreverent. Each day its pages were filled with photographs and stories centered on entertainment, sports, scandal and crime, celebrity and society news, new women, new morals, and curious contests – all aimed at attracting readers. Patterson and his staff knew what sold: sensational crimes, sports champions, sex and beautiful women, gangsters and movie stars, and everyday heroes. And while both the *Daily News* and *Chicago Tribune* had seriousness of purpose when it came to their editorial policies and politics, they were also cognizant of their audiences.

The paper is purchased strictly on its merits by the younger element, whose ages range anywhere from seventeen to thirty years. The majority of our readers are women ... My investigation proved to me, by watching the street stand sales and the people that buy our paper, that we circulate to the element that rolls up a large circulation very quickly.⁴⁷²

When Max Annenberg, the *News*' business manager, wrote this memo to Patterson in 1919, just months after helping launch the *Daily News*, publishers were attempting to build an audience. And, indeed, within a few years the paper's readership toppled that of every other newspaper in the country – reaching more than a million. The newspaper first reached, according to observations of staffers like Annenberg, women and the young. But in time, that readership

⁴⁷² Max Annenberg to JMP, November 25, 1919, Box 15, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

expanded to Patterson's precious working classes, immigrants, and – though they wouldn't admit it – middle and upper classes. Everyone, it seemed, read the *News*. But more than attracting raw readership through titillating stories and contests, the *Daily News* helped define what American society and culture in the 1920s were all about. Once attracted, this represented an audience to which Patterson could solidify and disseminate a vision of national belonging, American ideals, and homogeneity. Of course, Patterson was doing more than trying to portray the lives and leisure of the working classes. He also wanted to attract a loyal, large audience that would boost circulation and bring in advertising dollars. For in addition to advocating for the working classes in his newspaper, Patterson served as advocate for the family business. Still, Patterson made sure the paper clarified issues for readers via easy to understand photographs, graphics and headlines. To broaden the newspaper's appeal, Patterson routinely ordered his editors to tightly lash prose to pictures.

Make our paper just as clear and easy as possible and the fewer references you have on one page to something that takes place on another page, the better off you are, but when you do have a head on a page referring to a story in another place, make sure to put in your little index, telling where the story is.⁴⁷³

Within days of the first edition, Patterson's editorial staff began its crusade in print for the common man – celebrating the hard work and labor of Americans and identifying it as a uniquely American characteristic. On July 8 and July 16, 1919, the editorial page featured opinion pieces calling for a reduction in the rents faced by working New Yorkers and for punishment of profiteers in the wake of World War I. On July 18, the editorial page carried an explanation of its actions “We are getting out this newspaper for you. Naturally we want you to like it Make this newspaper your forum.”⁴⁷⁴ In short, the paper would cater directly to the common man and his (or her) interests.

⁴⁷³ JMP to Arthur Clarke, Dec. 2, 1919, Box 16, Folder 6, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁴⁷⁴ “Take Your Pens in Hand”, *Illustrated Daily News*, July 18, 1919.

One of the ways the newspaper celebrated the American worker was with Labor Day coverage that highlighted the particular strengths of the laborer. A “Labor Day” editorial notes that:

Civilization is founded upon labor. Without it there could be no progress. However brilliant may be the brain, it is idle without hands. And the combination of the hand and brain, which is the characteristic of the American worker, is the strongest combination in the world today.⁴⁷⁵

The American worker is celebrated – and portrayed as uniquely American. Labor occupied much of the newspaper’s emphasis on the working classes and trouble of the working man. In coverage of strikes, minimum wage, working hours, and other labor issues the newspaper strove to promote the interests of everyday working people. Yet, at the same time, the newspaper maintains a dedication to the American capitalist system, reinforcing middle and upper class values by wrapping them in worker-friendly rhetoric that appeals to their desires for material attainment and social acceptance. This complicated relationship characterizes Patterson and the newspaper’s views on organized labor.

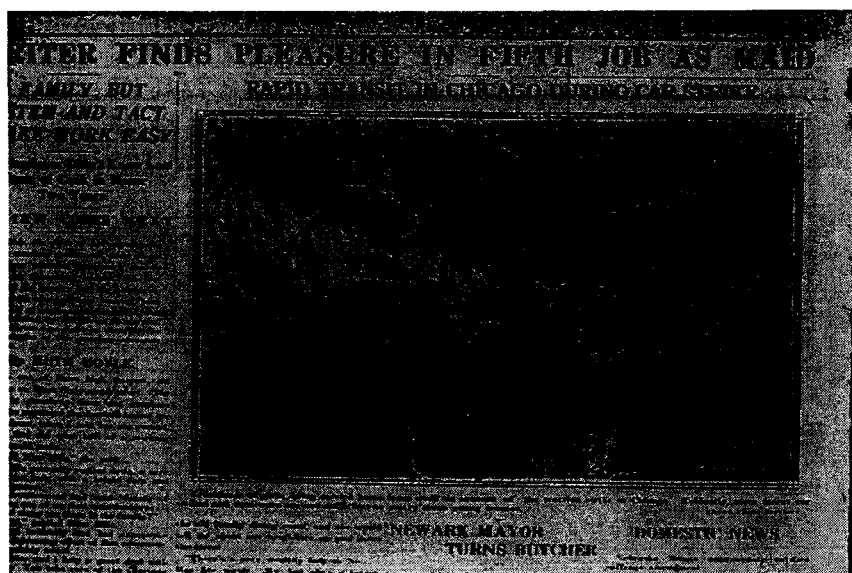
In labor, Patterson knew a good story with wide, personal appeal and art translated to readers and money for the newspaper. During a streetcar strike in 1919, Patterson was quick to criticize his staff for missing the opportunity.

The trouble is, you have a great big strike with everybody in New York talking about it and only have about four pictures of it. Being a picture paper you should have had more ... Frankly, I was disappointed you didn’t get more value out of a big local news story like the street car strike.⁴⁷⁶

Staffers promptly played up the story in the newspaper’s pages. A few weeks before the 1919 New York streetcar strike became front page news, the *Illustrated Daily News* ran photos of the fall-out from a similar streetcar strike in Chicago.

⁴⁷⁵ “Labor Day”, *Illustrated Daily News*, September 1, 1919.

⁴⁷⁶ JMP to Arthur Clarke, August 6, 1919, Box 16, Folder 6, JMP Papers, LFC.



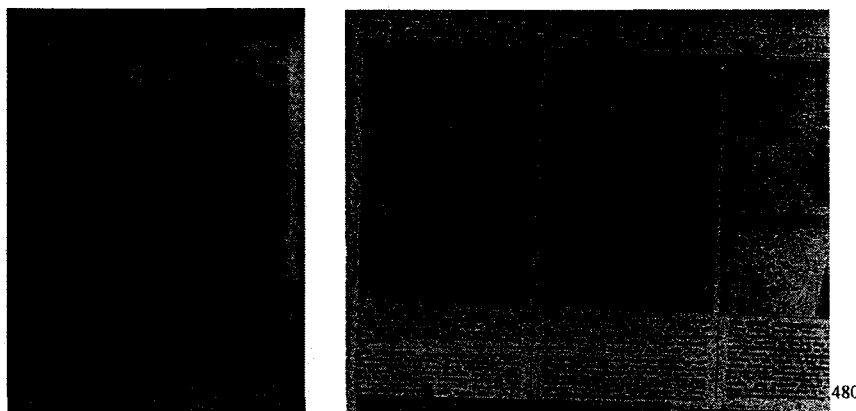
A top of the page, above-the-fold photograph shows women sitting along the sides of a truck with the caption “Truckloads of girls being carried home from work on account of the transit strike in Chicago. Evidently, mere streetcar strikes and race wars are not sufficient to worry these young women.”⁴⁷⁸ Pairing the caption with the photo of straight-backed, well-dressed working women riding in a truck enabled the newspaper to demonstrate their dedication to work and labor. Indeed, the women come to represent the best American pairing of hands and brain – despite the conditions they’re forced to endure to get to work. And yet, the paper also managed to remain sympathetic to the cause of labor – even when it did not support a strike.⁴⁷⁹

Patterson was sympathetic to labor’s concerns about low wages, working conditions and hours, but also felt that strikes disrupted the lives of too many ordinary Americans. In September 1920, with transit labor on strike, the paper ran a series of front page photographs and headlines about the unrest.

⁴⁷⁷ “Rapid Transit in Chicago During Strike”, photograph, *Illustrated Daily News*, August 1, 1919

⁴⁷⁸ “Rapid Transit in Chicago During Strike”, *Illustrated Daily News*, August 1, 1919.

⁴⁷⁹ Amid a national coal strike of the United Mine Workers of America in November 1919 the *Illustrated Daily News* found its loyalty divided and carried a full front page of pictures, troops, and coal mines under the headline “Arbitrate Coal Strike: Bosses As Wilson to Name Tribunal; Gompers Protests Injunction”. See, *Illustrated Daily News*, Nov. 1, 1919



Under the headline “Disorders in Brooklyn” are images of young men and police battling in the streets of New York. The caption notes:

The truck load of young men was following a trolley car in Brooklyn yesterday ostensibly to prevent strikebreakers from operating it ... (police) attacked the van as shown. A lieutenant was the first to go over the top (into the van). The strike sympathizers at first gave battle. But after one or two of them had disappeared over the back end the entire load of them started to follow suit. And the fight became a flight from police.⁴⁸¹

An inside story notes that the strike disorders have swept the city and left a 13-year-old boy dead. Inside, another half page is dedicated to the strike. “Careless Brooklyn Hits ‘Em Differently – Some Make a Lark of It” heads a series of photographs that show Brooklyn coping with the strike – from the policemen forced to work overtime, to commuters carrying heavy bags and walking long distances, to the Coney Island concessionaire losing money because visitors cannot reach the area. Each of these photos captures a common working man or woman – engaged in doing what they have to in order to work.⁴⁸²

While Patterson and the *Daily News* could, at times, seem inconsistent in their support of organized labor, editorial support of working men and women, and many of the causes and concerns expressed by organized labor, remained unwavering. In a November 1920 editorial,

⁴⁸⁰ “Disorder in Brooklyn”, photos and stories, *Daily News*, Sept. 2, 1920.

⁴⁸¹ *Daily News*, Sept. 2, 1920. New York spent nearly \$2.5 million during the strike, two-thirds of which was used to pay strike-breakers. Source: *New York Times*, July 17, 1922.

⁴⁸² The newspaper covered Labor Day uprisings drawing distinct lines between orderly Labor Day celebrations and protesters. See, *Daily News*, Sept. 7, 1920.

“‘Americanization’ Doesn’t Mean the Crushing of Organized Labor,” the paper argued that membership in a labor union did not equate, as many employers of the era insisted, to Bolshevik or anarchist tendencies.

Yet every employer who wants to get rid of union labor in this country is busy with what he calls a campaign of ‘Americanization’, which is merely a campaign to get cheap labor ... To say that every demand for better wages, whether justified or not, is ‘un-American’ is itself about as un-American as any assertion can possibly be. ... The average citizen knows from his own acquaintance with workmen that they are patriotic and law-abiding. He knows that having wives and children and homes they have the same stake in the country that their employers have. And he knows, too that they served their country just as loyally and just as patriotically during the war as did the men who are now seeking to break up their organizations.⁴⁸³

Again, Patterson and his staff worked hard to characterize ordinary working men and women as American by citing their patriotism, service, loyalty, and dedication to the principles of capitalism and American institutions. The newspaper defines and constructs what “American” means, positioning itself as the authority for working men and women and appealing to them by portraying the working classes as the backbone of American society and the heart of urban cultural life. The result was two-fold: sympathy and support from labor and workers for its support, but also the ability to control the message once it commanded the audience. Moreover, the paper supported the eight-hour workday because it would provide more people with jobs. “The steel industry can supply 75,000 of them by adopting the eight-hour day in place of the un-American 12 hour day, which helped to precipitate the last strike and which has been a source of troubles and attacks for years.”⁴⁸⁴ And the paper again chided owners and managers for being un-American themselves for subjecting workers to 12-hour days, often six or seven days a week. “It keeps them from their homes and families, bars them from any cultural advantages, and maintains them as aliens rather than helping to make them Americans”⁴⁸⁵ So in siding with workers and their labor representatives in this case, Patterson and his editors argue, in an attempt to persuade

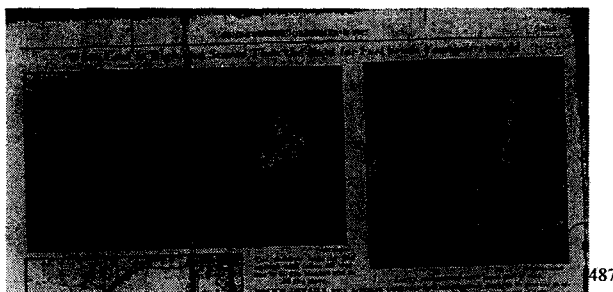
⁴⁸³ *Daily News*, November 24, 1920

⁴⁸⁴ *Daily News*, February 16, 1921.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

the “masses” that reasonable conditions, and the opportunity to fully integrate into American home and cultural life are “American”. This allowed Patterson and the *Daily News* to impose middle and upper class values of home and family on working class and immigrant Americans.

Still, in late 1922, a few months after a U.S.-wide coal strike ended, the *News* carried photographs of children scavenging for coal on the streets of New York and was explicit that the strike hurt the working classes more than anyone.⁴⁸⁶



The caption notes, “The children hope to find enough coal fallen off wagons to fill the blanket and so fill the stove.”⁴⁸⁸ A few days later, it was tenement dwellers suffering because of coal costs the newspaper featured.⁴⁸⁹ The *Daily News* aligned itself with real, everyday concerns of working Americans, particularly New Yorkers. So while the newspaper supported fair wages and the eight hour day and was critical of big business, it was also critical of strikes because they had the power to hurt New York consumers and common working people.

The complicated relationship the newspaper maintained with organized labor did not prevent editors from frequently using photographs of striking workers, labor leaders, and owners/managers, often picturing them as orderly groups. In a 1922 photograph of striking shirt-waist makers, women donning hats sit in rows with rapt attention to the words of their (male) union official.

⁴⁸⁶ Coverage of the strike found in the *Daily News*, April 1, 1922.

⁴⁸⁷ “When Coal Is High and Scarce Then the Hunt for Fuel Sends Youngsters Afield”, *Daily News*, December 3, 1922.

⁴⁸⁸ “When Coal Is High and Scarce Then the Hunt for Fuel Sends Youngsters Afield”, *Daily News*, December 3, 1922.

⁴⁸⁹ *Daily News*, December 6, 1922.



The caption notes that they “were addressed by Salvatore Amico at the Labor Temple yesterday. He urged them to remain firm in their efforts to enforce the closed shop.”⁴⁹¹ Indeed, the women look as if they are attending church – they are well-dressed, paying attention, and listening to a figure of authority.⁴⁹²

While Patterson supported the common man, he also served the interests of his business empire. Patterson attempted to thwart even the possibility of a strike among his workers. He wanted to protect his circulation numbers and the newspaper’s bottom line. To do so he proposed an agreement that guaranteed his workers, on the condition they did not join industry-wide strikes, the same compensation a strike might earn other workers.

Unlike other newspapers, we have got to have pictures I think we are justified in demanding from the local and international photo-engravers’ unions, in the event of establishing our own photo-engraving plant, and manning it with their members, what might be termed a separate and secret treaty. This treaty should provide that under no circumstances shall work in our photo-engraving department be interrupted. It should provide that, in the event of a strike in all newspaper photo-engraving plants, our plant would continue to work with the understanding that whatever agreement was finally reached between the contending parties, such an agreement would apply to our departments.⁴⁹³

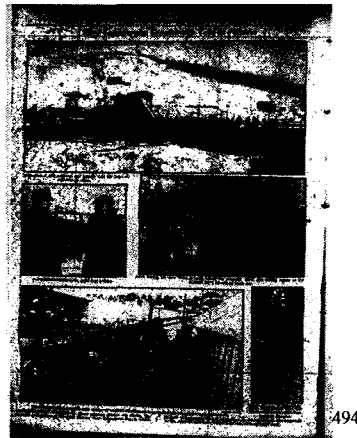
⁴⁹⁰ “Leaders Urge Striking Waist Makers to Stand Firm,” *Daily News*, February 1, 1922.

⁴⁹¹ “Leaders Urge Striking Waist Makers to Stand Firm,” *Daily News*, February 1, 1922.

⁴⁹² For additional examples of strikes, particularly women, see, *Daily News*, February 8-12, 1923

⁴⁹³ JMP to J.W. Barnhart, March 29, 1922, Box 15, Folder 6, JMP Papers, LFC. The paper did face the consequences of union strikes. A year later, pressmen throughout New York City struck. Labor, particularly pressmen and photo-engravers remained a constant issue, as with other New York newspapers, throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Publishers Hearst, Roy Howard, and Adolph Ochs, along with Patterson, banded together in 1929 for negotiations with the unions. Joseph Medill Patterson’s papers show that the four men signed joint statements and participated in negotiations as a group. Most of the correspondence appears in Box 15, Folder 8, JMP Papers, LFC.

But Patterson and the *Daily News* editors were not without sympathy for victims of industrial disasters. Following a 1924 mine disaster the *Daily News* ran a full page of pictures under the headline “Mine Catastrophe Graphically Told in Pictures”.



The photographs, each depicting a different aspect of the mine explosion – from photographs of relatives awaiting news at the entrance of the mine to rescuers emerging from the mine – show readers efforts being made to rescue or recover the miners, the danger of this type of work, and the human toll. It is a sympathetic portrait of workers and their families.⁴⁹⁵ Yet, when coal workers went on strike in 1925, the *Daily News* carried stories and photographs centered on New York coping with coal shortages.⁴⁹⁶ That coverage culminated with a photograph of a German supply ship arriving with coal for the city.⁴⁹⁷ That the newspaper routinely dismissed European powers, entanglements, and alliances and drove home isolationism and the superiority of American workers and products gives this photograph takes on additional meaning. American ideals had to be sacrificed to heat New York’s homes. Worse yet, they were heated by a power the United States defeated only a few years before.

⁴⁹⁴ “Mine Catastrophe Graphically Told in Pictures,” *Daily News*, February 3, 1924.

⁴⁹⁵ *Daily News*, February 3, 1924.

⁴⁹⁶ Stories and images of the 1925 coal strike can be found in editions from September-December 1925, especially the first week of December.

⁴⁹⁷ *Daily News*, December 5, 1925.

Despite coal and transit strikes, Patterson and his editors did possess a sense of humor that extended to even the smallest protesters, particularly when it matched *Daily News* editorial views.⁴⁹⁸

The newspaper, and Patterson, railed against inadequate public school facilities in the city for most of the 1920s. One of the platforms of the editorial page was a call for a seat in public schools for every youngster in the city. The idea being that schools and the home were the two places to instill values and create patriotic, American citizens. In 1925, New York City schoolchildren staged a strike after being transferred to remote schools.⁴⁹⁹



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The front page carried a photograph of six Bronx schoolchildren seated along a bench reading. The image portrays these youth as model students – even on strike from school they spend their day reading and learning. This drives home the point the *Daily News* makes about schools because these are the types of children they produce: orderly, disciplined and hard-working youngsters.

In fact, The News' editorial platform on providing public education for all the city's children was born because Patterson, and his editors, believed education essential in promoting American values and identity and in creating good citizens. And they said so, repeatedly, in editorials, in photographs, and in the relentless demand for better facilities.

The American of tomorrow depends on the child of today. This striking truth is the motto of the United Parents' Association of Greater New York. It shows that the parents of our school children realize the importance of a full education today for the future citizens of the metropolis. Full-sized men and women cannot be

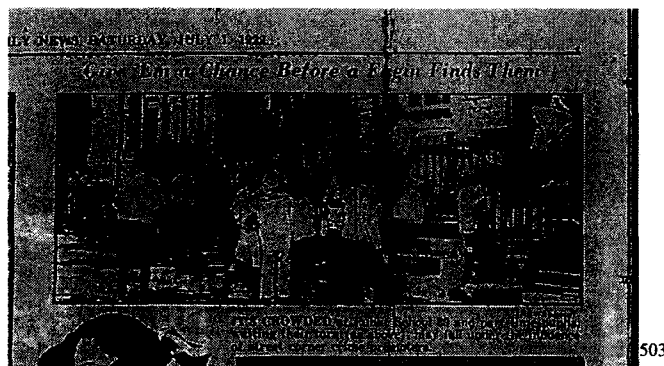
⁴⁹⁸ For other humorous takes on strikes, see "Down With Sugar", *Daily News*, May 1, 1923.

⁴⁹⁹ "School Strike," *Daily News*, September 17, 1925.

⁵⁰⁰ "School Strike," *Daily News*, September 17, 1925.

had from half-educated children. Full education cannot be had on part time in the schools ... As the motto says, the kind of American we will have tomorrow depends on what we do for today's child. And if the child of today is denied proper education by reason of lack of seats in the schools, it is not hard to guess what kind of an American he will make tomorrow.⁵⁰¹

On the next page *News* editors published a photograph of students waiting outside a crowded public school for their turn in the classroom. Under the headline “Give ‘Em a Chance Before Fagin Finds Them”, the picture shows a dozen part-time students waiting on the school steps of Public School 89. “It’s Crowded at Public School 89 and part time pupils, waiting their turn (as above), may fall under the influence of street corner crime promoters,” the caption reads.⁵⁰²



The newspaper equates students on the streets with unruly criminals in an effort to win popular support for school funding and buildings. Fagin, the pickpocket who lures *Oliver Twist* into crime in a Dickens's novel, would presumably be stymied by a strong public school education. The issue remained a regular feature in the pages of the *News* for more than a year.⁵⁰⁴ Editors and Patterson were unrelenting: “The Bronx Zoo takes good care of its inmates; museums guard well their treasures of art and antiquity. Are the children of Greater New York less valuable to its welfare than the things in zoos and museums?”⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰¹ *Daily News*, July 1, 1922.

⁵⁰² “Give ‘Em a Chance Before Fagin Finds Them,” *Daily News*, July 1, 1922.

⁵⁰³ “Give ‘Em a Chance Before Fagin Finds Them” *Daily News*, July 1, 1922.

⁵⁰⁴ See also, *Daily News*, June 1, 1922, September 1, 1922, February 3, 1923, and November 1, 1923.

⁵⁰⁵ “The Eternal School Problem,” *Daily News*, February 3, 1923.

Likewise, Patterson and his staff highlighted new school openings with fanfare and celebration. In 1924 two new high schools opened within days of each other. For nearly a week, the *News* ran photos of the schools, highlighting facilities, opening ceremonies, and the new pupils. On October 1 the newspaper ran several photographs under the headline “New High School to Be Dedicated.” The caption and photograph reinforce the idea that education helps civilize children and make them into better, orderly Americans.⁵⁰⁶



On October 7 the newspaper ran several photographs of the new Thomas Jefferson High School in which the connection between education and good citizenship are made explicit by the large American flags and fanfare. Schools gave the young the tools they needed to be good, patriotic Americans.

Patterson wanted education for all and made sure the newspaper’s platform plainly made the connection between education and national identity. These ideas were regular put in print both in photographs and on the editorial page. In 1922, the *News* highlighted the connection between American citizenship and education in explicit terms in an editorial called “Making Citizens”:

⁵⁰⁶ “New High School to Be Dedicated,” *Daily News*, October 1, 1924

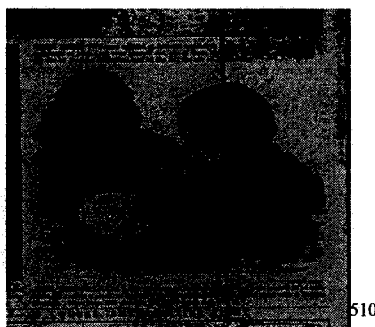
⁵⁰⁷ “New High School to Be Dedicated,” *Daily News*, October 1, 1924. See also, *Daily News*, October 2, 1924

⁵⁰⁸ “Brooklyn’s Newest High School Gets Chief,” *Daily News*, October 7, 1924

Every sane person will admit that every child needs and is entitled to an education. The public school is the blazed American trail the child must follow to find an education ... The boys and girls of today are the citizens of tomorrow ... It is the sacred duty of the public schools to make good citizens of all children who enter their doors. Are the public schools of New York City making good citizens – or marring them?⁵⁰⁹

For Patterson education marked the central point at which Americans were “made” and values – for him, patriotic, middle-class values – instilled. This, as described in the next chapter, was particularly true for immigrant children and the children of immigrants.

Moreover, education needed to be affordable – public and free – and needed to come with additional perks for the children of the working poor. The newspaper ran a photograph in December 1922 illustrating the importance of low-priced school lunches, a close-up of two students, a girl and a boy, sharing a lunch. The girl has one hand on the younger boy’s back and is feeding him a piece of bread and smiling.



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The caption says, “Real Economy – The 7-cent luncheon at Public School 28 has been proved to be sufficient for two in a pinch, as is shown by this girl sharing that priced meal with a hungry brother. More than 150 children eat there everyday.”⁵¹¹ School fed their minds and their bodies and aided in the process of Americanization by exposing students to an American diet.⁵¹²

Editorials in the newspaper also called for changes to how pupils were taught.

⁵⁰⁹ *Daily News*, December 6, 1922.

⁵¹⁰ “Real Economy,” *Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1922.

⁵¹¹ “Real Economy,” *Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1922.

⁵¹² Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America’s Favorite Welfare Program* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008). Levine notes that you cannot dismiss school lunches as

We have believed for some time that there are so many frills tacked onto school teaching methods that the pupil is unable to find the facts Thirty years ago a child entered school and began at the beginning. Today he seems to begin somewhere in the middle. His mind shoots out in all directions, like a star shell rocket, and, like the rocket, spends its force in one brilliant flash.⁵¹³

Patterson and his staff, while envisioning democratic access to education, also wanted the system reformed to ensure it provided the right type of education: an education that would construct good Americans.

In 1925 the newspaper highlighted just how far Americans could climb with the right education and dedication to hard work. A bricklayer who not only graduated from Columbia, but did so with honors was featured in a photograph on an inside page of the newspaper.



⁵¹⁴ Under the headline “Phi Beta Kappa Bricklayer”, the photo shows the man working on constructing a brick wall. The man’s face is half-hidden as he leans over his work, cementing and placing bricks in the sturdy wall. The caption notes: “Coveted Phi Beta Kappa key has been won by William Leider, young bricklayer, shown at work yesterday on Brooklyn building. Leider has earned way in Columbia college, and hopes eventually to become a teacher of Philosophy.”⁵¹⁵ The image of Leider, demonstrates the power of education – to take a working class bricklayer and make him into a philosophy teacher. The editors’ placement of the picture at the top of the page, coupled with a caption that describes his achievement, is in line with the editorial page and Patterson’s stand on the importance of education, yet also emphasizes the importance of hard work and the laboring classes. In short, this man embodies the mixture of both advocated by Patterson and his editorial board: he’s using his brain and his hands – and achieves with a decidedly American dedication to hard work.

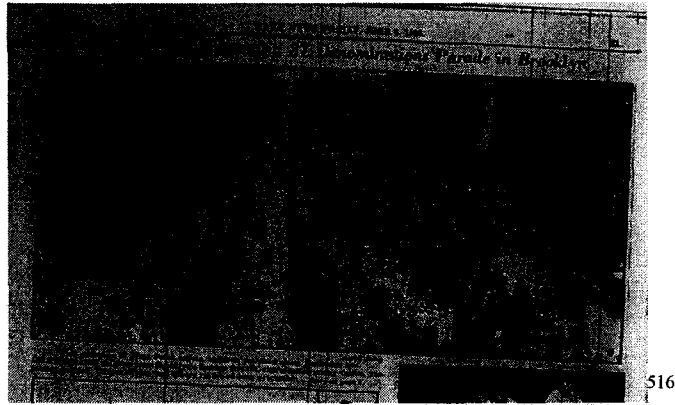
just one aspect of Americanization during this period, but rather they play an important role in larger debates about education and family. Throughout the 1920s school lunches became a part of a comprehensive health and general education program in many American schools.

⁵¹³ *Daily News*, March 2, 1923.

⁵¹⁴ “Phi Beta Kappa Bricklayer,” *Daily News*, June 2, 1925

⁵¹⁵ “Phi Beta Kappa Bricklayer,” *Daily News*, June 2, 1925.

Patterson also used children and schools to present a message that expanded the parameters of who exactly is an American among the working classes. Students and children of different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds are pictured together at play, at school, and banding together for common causes. In 1925, the newspaper ran a half-page photograph of a march of more than 100,000 children parading in Brooklyn.



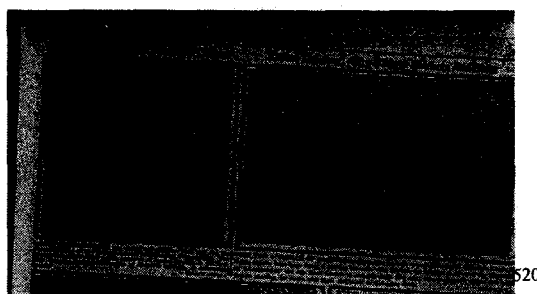
The headline, “Youngsters Representing 37 Denominations Parade in Brooklyn” sits over the photograph, shot from above, of Bushwick Avenue in Brooklyn. Down the street as distant as the photograph shows, are rows and rows of parade marchers. Below it is another photograph showing a child with a lemonade stand alongside the parade route where the cool drinks were “going faster than hot cakes.”⁵¹⁷ The parade includes children “representing many faiths” and was attended, according to the photo caption, by the mayor and other dignitaries. While the fact that these were Sunday school children indicates these “many faiths” were Christian, it also is inclusive in its message.

In fact, Patterson, at least on the surface, wanted to appear impartial to religion – something that would have been a major factor among the working classes and first and second generation Americans, many of whom were Catholic or Jewish. “In religious matters show impartiality and if you run a few priests, run a few rabbis and a few parsons, but I wouldn’t go in

⁵¹⁶ “Youngsters Representing 37 Denominations Parade in Brooklyn,” *Daily News*, June 5, 1925.

⁵¹⁷ “Youngsters Representing 37 Denominations Parade in Brooklyn,” *Daily News*, June 5, 1925.

for religious pictures of any kind, too much.”⁵¹⁸ And that’s exactly what editors did. Rabbis appeared at Passover; priests and pastors at Easter. In 1920 the paper ran side-by-side headlines and photographs: “Jews Prepare for Passover Feast” and “Easter Coming! City Flower Markets are Busy.”⁵¹⁹



Underneath each headline is a photo of preparations. The Passover photo shows two small children carrying “Passover matzoth, or unleavened bread.” The children, who appear to be under the age of six, stand on either side of a box they’re carrying. The caption adds “Great Preparations are under way in New York City for the Passover feast of the Orthodox Jews, which begins Friday night.” Next to it is the Easter picture. The photo shows a man buying a lily plant from a flower vendor. But, interestingly, it also has two young children, each clutching a potted flower plant. While this pictures – highlighting young children – appear at first similar, they are quite different. The children in the Passover picture appear to be laboring, carrying a box far too big for their small hands. Meanwhile, the children in the Easter picture are carrying flower pots. In the Passover picture, the children do not wear fancy clothing or appear wealthy and, in fact, the caption notes they live on the East Side with other Jewish families. They appear unaccompanied for their shopping trip. The Easter children are accompanied by a well-dressed man. So while Patterson and his editors attempt to show all religions and faiths – how those were depicted could vary enormously. Yet, Patterson’s editorial page reflected an egalitarian approach to religion.

⁵¹⁸ JMP to Frank Hause, Oct. 22, 1925, Box 17, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵¹⁹ “Jews Prepare for Passover Feast” and “Easter Coming! City Flower Markets are Busy,” *Daily News*, April 1, 1920.

⁵²⁰ “Jews Prepare for Passover Feast” and “Easter Coming! City Flower Markets are Busy,” *Daily News*, April 1, 1920.

This will be a free and a peaceful country only so long as religious liberty is tolerated. The Pilgrims came to America to escape religious persecution. When they got here they mistakenly sought to make every one else believe as they did ... Just now a few narrow-minded men and women who have more time than judgment are stupidly trying to foment a feeling against the Jews, pretending to believe a forged document that purports to be a Jewish plot to control the world. It is incredible that any one would believe such a preposterous forgery as this. Yet the fact that it is being employed as a weapon against a class of citizens who have always been a patriotic and valuable element in the community proves the necessity of being on watch against the spread of religious prejudice. For more than a hundred years Jews, Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, Lutherans, Congregationalists have lived side by side in America, laboring together to make it a great and a free country. There have been no distinctions of creed or race. There is no American college of any importance which makes such a distinction. There is no business now that will not welcome any able and industrious young man, Jew or gentile. In the professions Jews and gentiles work together and for the same objects ... This country is too big and too broad and too great to harbor religious prejudice of any sort.⁵²¹

For Patterson and his editors religious tolerance helped make people good American citizens. Patterson, again aware of the diversity of the country, advocates a historical understanding of American – even though his history is flawed and inaccurate. He grounds religious freedom within a historical, American founding myth. But this went beyond educating gentile Americans about those of the Jewish faith as non-Protestant religious leaders also found their way into the pages of the newspaper. Thus religion, at least as far as Patterson could make it, ceased to qualify as criteria for what made people American. Instead he crafted an egalitarian view that offered appeal to various working class Americans, accepting their faith to provide inclusion, yet also building a loyal audience.

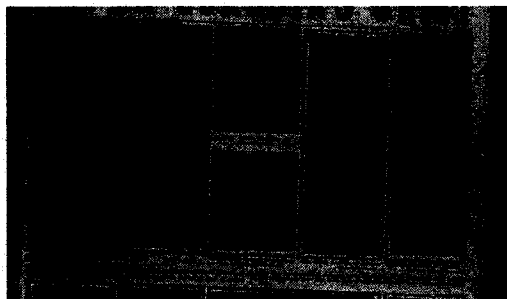
The *Daily News* also complicated May Day celebrations by alleging communists had utterly co-opted the holiday so Americans needed to reclaim it as “American Day”.

Here in America there is talk of strikes and demonstrations. Organized unrest, which means organized dissatisfaction, believes in terrorizing the population. And it has chosen May as ‘the Day’. Such demonstrations are utterly un-

⁵²¹ *Daily News*, December 29, 1920. It is, of course, interesting to note that Mormons are not mentioned, nor are any non-Judeo-Christian faiths. For other examples of depictions of Catholics and Jews, including religious leaders such as the Pope, see *Daily News*, March 1, 1922, October 8, 1924.

American and utterly opposed to American principles ... counter-demonstration in which all patriotic Americans shall have a part.⁵²²

And, to give legitimacy to claims of the communist threat, the *News* carried photographs of the “Reds’ Assassination List” on the cover of the newspaper the same day.



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Among the pictures: Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, Commissioner-General of Immigration Anthony J. Caminetti, Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, and Judge Elbert H. Gray. Each man is posed for the camera either at work or as a mug-shot. Inside, a brief article notes the threat of a “red outbreak,” increased police presence, and plans for a “singing army” for more than 46,000 boys planning to belt the Star Spangled Banner and march down Fifth Avenue in a May Day show of patriotism.⁵²⁴ In short, Patterson and his editors advocated for an “American Day” celebration by allying May Day with anti-American, communist, leftist politics and ideals. Americans would sing the Star-Spangled Banner, march down 5th Avenue, and celebrate “American Day”. In the process, Patterson and the *Daily News* represent “true” American values and embrace American identity via explicit actions that reinforce their middle and upper class vision. Interestingly, after the end of the Red Scare, as the newspaper became more focused on sensational crime, the happenings of movie stars, and political shenanigans, explicit focus on communists took a backseat to the creation of a homogeneous American culture and experience in the pages of the paper. By May Day 1925, a

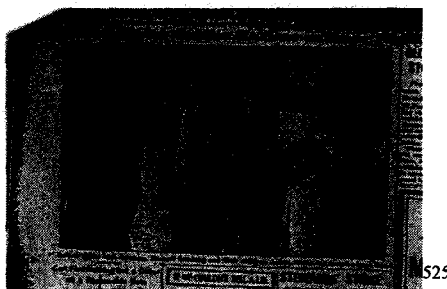
⁵²² “American Day,” *Daily News*, May 1, 1920.

⁵²³ “Reds’ Assassination List,” *Daily News*, May 1, 1920

⁵²⁴ “American Day,” *Daily News*, May 1, 1920.

story on potential disorder during celebrations appeared on page six with only a mug-shot of the police chief.

Still, despite strong anti-communist, anti-May Day, and ambiguous labor union and strike editorials and coverage, the *Daily News* identified itself with working Americans struggling to make a living. The newspaper was quick to rally to the support of individuals who worked hard yet didn't earn enough to live well. In mid-1920 the case of a postal worker unable to meet his rent caught the attention of editors. The story first appeared on June 2 inside the paper. A photograph of postman Michael Lamberg, in uniform, alongside his wife and three children appears under the headline "Postman Evicted, Can Rent No Home on Meager Pay".



The story explains the Lamberg family was evicted because the landlord wanted to turn their home into high-rent apartments. The story goes on to describe Lamberg's low pay (\$31 a week), high cost of real estate, and notes that Lamberg is docked pay by the U.S. Postal Service for every hour he takes off to look for accommodations.⁵²⁶ A few days later, editors weighed in with an editorial: "An Insult to Postal Employees [sic] – And The Public".⁵²⁷ The editorial focused on congressional proposals for postal service employee raises, noting that proposals were not only an insult to letter carriers, but to the public as well. "They have been loyal because they took pride in their work, but when it is proved to them in this conclusive manner that patience is no longer a

⁵²⁵ "Postman Evicted, Can Rent No Home on Meager Pay," *Daily News*, June 2, 1920

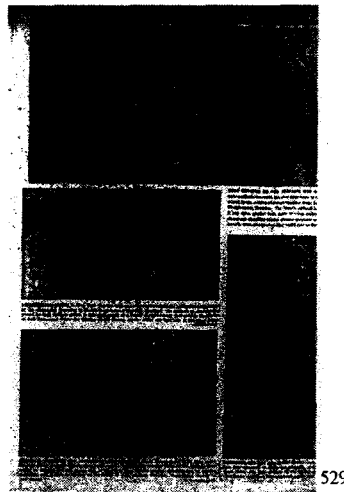
⁵²⁶ "Postman Evicted, Can Rent No Home on Meager Pay," *Daily News*, June 2, 1920

⁵²⁷ "An Insult to Postal Employees [sic] – And The Public," *Daily News*, June 4, 1920. See also, *Daily News*, June 7, 1920.

virtue they will quit their jobs and become day laborers if necessary to support their families.”⁵²⁸

By using Lambert and his family to represent working Americans, a person working for the United States government no less, and then running follow-up stories about postal services wages, and the lack of an organized strike among workers, the *Daily News* paints a sympathetic image of the workers.

Housing availability and prices were a concern that regularly appeared in the pages of the *Daily News*, and the newspaper advocated for the concerns of its target readers: common, hard-working, patriotic Americans trying to provide for their families. Yet, this vision is wrought with middle-class values of hard work, family security, and patriotism that the *Daily News* transmitted to a mass audience. In 1920 the newspaper published a full page of photographs about the housing situation in New York City’s tenements.



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Together, these photographs, in concert with captions and headlines, show appalling living conditions for young families. The captions claim the photographs represent “an example of the crowding caused by high rents is shown in this photograph of a family of eight taking their meal in the kitchen of their three-room flat in the building at 302 Cherry Street. There are four beds in

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

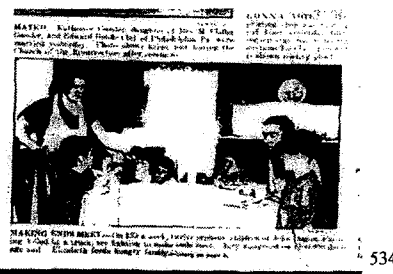
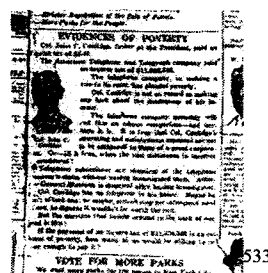
⁵²⁹ “The Housing Crisis,” *Daily News*, October 2, 1920.

the three rooms.”⁵³⁰ The use of women and children in the pictures gives them particular urgency, and makes their plight more compelling. A story in the same edition of the newspaper explains new rent laws and notes tenants are threatened by “unscrupulous” landlords while rents remain exorbitant.⁵³¹ Again, the newspaper’s writers, photographers, and editors rally to the cause of the working poor and those who reside in crowded, overpriced tenements. Landlords and manufacturers are the villains. For Patterson’s *Daily News*, hard work should translate to reasonable comfort for American families.

The working poor and working-to-make-ends-meet classes were important to Patterson and his staff, both as stories and for their readership. Thus, their stories regularly appeared in the pages of the newspaper. On editorial pages, the newspaper chided big business for claiming poverty and demanding tax breaks while real, working Americans suffered. In one instance the paper highlighted the poverty of President Coolidge’s family as an example.

Col. John C. Coolidge, father of the President, paid an income tax of \$3.41. The American Telephone and Telegraph company paid an income tax of \$11,528,548. The telephone company, in seeking a rise in its rates, has pleaded poverty. Col. Coolidge is not on record as making any kick about the inadequacy of his income ... If payment of an income tax of \$11,528,548 is an evidence of poverty, how many of us would be willing to be poor enough to pay it?⁵³²

The newspaper positioned a photograph of John C. Coolidge alongside the editorial.



⁵³⁰ “The Housing Crisis,” *Daily News*, October 2, 1920.

⁵³¹ “The Housing Crisis,” *Daily News*, October 2, 1920.

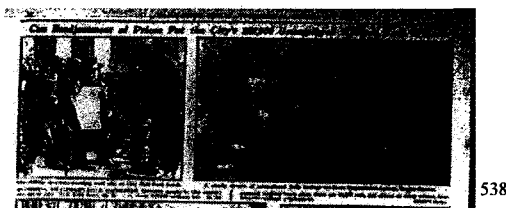
⁵³² “Evidence of Poverty,” *Daily News*, November 1, 1924.

⁵³³ “Evidence of Poverty,” *Daily News*, November 1, 1924.

⁵³⁴ “Making Ends Meet,” *Daily News*, November 1, 1924.

In the same issue carried a photograph of a family of 12 orphans struggling to make ends meet. The smallest children sit around a cramped table while the eldest daughter serves food. The kitchen and table are virtually bare. The caption notes “Making Ends Meet – On \$35 a week, twelve orphans, children of John Dugan, Flushing, killed by a truck, are fighting to make ends meet.”⁵³⁵ Patterson wanted the common, hard-working men and women of New York to be seen. The stories were told in photographs to such an extent that Patterson was quick to react if a photograph was not used. And he wanted those he featured to be viewed in a favorable light to raise sympathy and awareness among Americans. “Think in terms of pictures stop You ought to have had a picture of the News reporter disguised as a beggar in Friday’s story stop” wrote Patterson in a telegram to his editors criticizing the way stories and photographs were paired.⁵³⁶

The unemployed also appeared in photographs in the newspaper, though images also carried qualifying captions that encouraged a solution to the problem of the jobless and idle. In late 1920 the newspaper ran several photographs of unemployed men under the headline “Can Readjustment of Prices Put the City’s 300,000 Unemployed Workers Back in Jobs?”⁵³⁷



The photographs show “idle clothing operators scanning the want ads” in Central Park and men lined up at the State Employment Agency office. The photographs make these men look as if they want to work and are pro-active in seeking it. A caption cites nationwide unemployment numbers:

⁵³⁵ *Daily News*, November 1, 1924. For other examples see, *Daily News*, December 4, 1924.

⁵³⁶ JMP to S.N. Blossom, Sept 9, 1922, Box 15, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵³⁷ “Can Readjustment of Prices Put the City’s 300,000 Unemployed Workers Back in Jobs?” *Daily News*, November 19, 1920.

⁵³⁸ “Can Readjustment of Prices Put the City’s 300,000 Unemployed Workers Back in Jobs?” *Daily News*, November 19, 1920.

According to conservative estimates 2,500,000 people in this country are out of jobs. New York heads the list with about 300,000 workers idle. In the garment making trade alone there are 48,000 men, and almost as many women, temporarily without employment.⁵³⁹

The editorial in the same edition chastises the U.S. government for continuing to allow immigrants into the country during an economic downturn. It goes on to bemoan immigration in the shadow of industrial slowdowns and widespread unemployment, noting the United States is “Importing Misery.” “We shall be foolish if we permit an influx of strangers. If the government has any consideration for America it will act promptly and effectually to check it ... use that influence now for the protection of American workers and the country at large.”⁵⁴⁰ This again shows Patterson’s isolationist and anti-immigration politics, but at the same time demonstrates how he championed integration of immigrants already in the United States into American society. A news article in the same edition claims the price of piece clothing is on its way down and may make it possible to rehire many laid-off workers. The message is two-fold: the American unemployed want to work and are actively seeking work, but immigration only hurts their chances of procuring work. The photographs show displaced and idle workers, but those jobless are attempting to remedy the situation. The editorial ties their situation to a larger issue of immigration and demand for jobs. This connection was made again and again by Patterson and his editors.⁵⁴¹ The tone of the newspaper – and its attitude toward the unemployed -- changed with the times. Following the 1929 stock market crash, the paper’s tone became more serious, addressing the problems and concerns of an uncertain time for the common working man. Indeed, in 1931, the newspaper conducted a detailed unemployment survey of New York City.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁹ “Can Readjustment of Prices Put the City’s 300,000 Unemployed Workers Back in Jobs?”, photographs, *Daily News*, 19 November 1920.

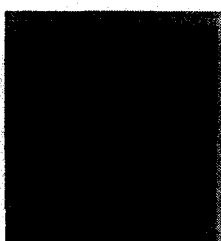
⁵⁴⁰ “Importing Misery”, editorial, *Daily News*, 19 November 1920.

⁵⁴¹ Patterson’s views on immigration and immigrants are dealt with extensively in the next chapter. See also, *Daily News*, March 1, 1922 and January 31, 1921.

⁵⁴² Lowell M. Limpus, *Daily News* Editorial Staff, September 1931, Box 20, Folder 8, JMP Papers, LFC. While this is outside the time period of this chapter, it is interesting to note the newspapers somber tone and

With the onset of the Great Depression, Patterson and his peers knew they were likely to feel the pinch as well. “But conditions are bad, and they are going to get worse. As I was telling my friends in the fall of 1929, we have not had our slump yet. When you hit a grizzly bear in the heart, he runs quite a distance before he knows what has happened, I am told,” Arthur Brisbane wrote to Patterson in the fall of 1931, declining an invitation to travel overseas.⁵⁴³ Brisbane and Patterson did see the Great Depression as an opportunity: “In a depression, new fortunes are established, and I need a new one. In a depression, you can buy what you want, at your own price, and be glad of it. In prosperity, you buy, if you can get it, at a ridiculous price.”⁵⁴⁴

The *Daily News* took supporting working Americans one step further by supporting women in the workforce, recognizing that many women had little choice but to contribute to the family income. A photograph of women departing New York City for fruit-picking jobs in upstate New York makes explicit some of the troubles faced by these workers. The caption reads: “To Pick Fruit: Many young women,



some of whom are shown leaving here, have found they can earn more money as fruit pickers on upstate farms than in offices in Manhattan. This group is bound for Suffern, N.Y, where the average wage is \$3 a day.”⁵⁴⁵

The job situation and wages in New York are so poor that city women are returned to rural farms to contribute to the family income.^{546 547}

Even more, the newspaper fully supported extending the right to vote to women. In an editorial, “Make Women Voters Welcome,” the newspaper called for politicians to stop treating women like children because these women are the same people who managed to secure the vote –

ability to change with the times. Indeed, it further demonstrates Patterson and his staff’s dedication to the cause of working Americans.

⁵⁴³ Arthur Brisbane to JMP, September 3, 1931, Box 15, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ “To Pick Fruit,” *Daily News*, August 24, 1920

⁵⁴⁶ See also, *Daily News*, February 1, 1923.

⁵⁴⁷ “To Pick Fruit,” *Daily News*, August 24, 1920

even without votes in the legislatures. “If they could accomplish so great a reform without votes, it must be conceded they know a great deal about politics. In making up the delegations to the national conventions party leaders will be wise to give women equal representation. They are entitled to it.”⁵⁴⁸ It goes on to say women should have a say in every committee, political decision, and platform. Photographs of Alice Paul and other suffrage leaders regularly appeared in the newspaper in and around the time of political conventions in 1920. It likely was not a coincidence that women were the first audience the *Daily News* attracted. Nor is it insignificant that Patterson’s mother and aunt were strong voices in Patterson’s life. Patterson was also quick to point to losing audience focus when circulation numbers dipped: “Second, the face we have forgotten the origin of our success which was the interest of young women and have been reaching out too much to interest young men.”⁵⁴⁹ Patterson was aware that 1920s New York was a place where many young women lived, worked, and experienced freedom for the first time.⁵⁵⁰

But beyond appealing to women, Patterson made sure the newspaper’s positions in political campaigns were designed to appeal to a broad group of working Americans. Editors at the *Daily News* routinely weighed in on the editorial page and tried to shape campaign issues in ways that reflected what they considered the interests of the “common man”. In 1921 the issue the *Daily News* tried to “make” was the 5 cent fare. “At the outset of the campaign the *DAILY NEWS* declared that the important issue was the five-cent fare ... we showed how an advanced fare would hurt business and threaten prosperity,” the editorial noted. Further the newspaper “naturally takes pride in having made the issues and held these candidates to it.”⁵⁵¹ And the *Daily News*’ – i.e. Patterson’s – position on political events and issues of concern to the people of New York were never understated. Under the headline “If You Vote Right Things Can’t Go Wrong,” Patterson’s newspaper ran three pictures: Calvin Coolidge, Alfred F. Smith, and Charles G.

⁵⁴⁸ *Daily News*, March 1, 1920.

⁵⁴⁹ JMP to William Field, Oct. 16, 1920, Box 17, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵⁵⁰ See, for example, Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.

⁵⁵¹ *Daily News*, November 1, 1921.

Dawes, the candidates the paper endorsed for president, governor and vice-president. Below the photos appeared an editorial explaining to readers who they should vote for in order to make America strong.⁵⁵² Again, just as Patterson and the *Daily News* advocated for the “masses,” the newspaper served as a platform to reinforce certain political and social norms held by the middle and upper classes.

Patterson’s personal politics were always on display, but framed in a way that emphasized how his positions benefited the common man. This held true throughout Patterson’s rule at the newspaper. As a 1924 election approached, Patterson wrote “I don’t want to come out editorially in favor of the nomination [Smith] but you can and should give him plenty of publicity stop You can also refer to him as New York’s favorite son and New York’s candidate in your news stories and captions stop My own opinion is that he will not be nominated on account of the religious and wet questions stop”⁵⁵³

Patterson, a veteran of the World War I supported the men demanding the soldier bonus. In editorials sprinkled throughout the early 1920s, the newspaper remained firmly on the side of returned soldiers:

Morally we owe our soldiers some remuneration for sacrificing time, money, opportunity and health in defense of our homes and institutions while most of our civilian population was prospering ... They went into untold hardship. And today all too many of them are homeless and in want while the stay-at-homes enjoy the comfort and ease of prosperity.⁵⁵⁴

Likewise, Patterson opposed prohibition – knowing the law was both unenforceable and hugely unpopular with working-class Americans. On New Year’s Day 1924, the newspaper ran photographs of New Years’ revelers and a story “1924 Born With Corkscrew in Mouth Throughout U.S.”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² *Daily News*, November 2, 1924.

⁵⁵³ JMP to Philip Payne, June 13, 1924, Box 20, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC

⁵⁵⁴ *Daily News*, February 1, 1920.

⁵⁵⁵ “1924 Born With Corkscrew in Mouth Throughout U.S.,” *Daily News*, January 1, 1924.



The story noted that while the “drys” claimed a dry New Year’s celebration in New York, in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles quite the contrary was true. “‘Hic-hic’ read the wire from Philly. ‘Wettest night since ‘bition. Drunks? A whole cityful [sic]...’”⁵⁵⁷ Another story noted that New Yorkers “got wet inside and out” during celebrations, and that fun was “fast and furious.” By the end of the day, the news was sober as the newspaper’s final edition of the day carried the headline “Poison Rum’s New Year Toll.”⁵⁵⁸

While editors ridiculed Prohibition and celebrated New Yorkers’ drinking, they also promoted hard work and thrift as distinctly American characteristics. In a 1924 editorial, staffers printed a photograph of two horses under headline “The Mischief of Laziness.”⁵⁵⁹ The photo, according to the editorial, was taken in California and features the animal known as the “laziest horse in San Francisco.” Indeed, the horse in question is attempting to sit on the wharf while waiting for work. Editors use the image as a jumping off point to discuss the trouble with laziness.

But there are many humans that do not compare so favorably ... The mischief of laziness is worked not alone upon the one that is lazy. The family of a lazy man or woman suffers because of it. Workers who continually sit down in the harness double the labors of others who work with them. This kind of worker gets little and saves nothing; for a slothful man is never a thrifty man ... work is not killing; it is healing.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ “Toot! Bang! Rah!” *Daily News*, January 1, 1924.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ Prohibition is discussed further in a later chapter.

⁵⁵⁹ February 3, 1924.

⁵⁶⁰ “The Mischief of Laziness”, editorial and photograph, *Daily News*.

The hard work and brain-power of Americans produced amazing feats and progress, according to Patterson and his editors. Engineering, scientific, and intellectual progress were celebrated in the pages of the newspaper. When the auto tunnel beneath the Hudson connecting New Jersey and New York was completed the editorial page noted the progress: “It is an occasion for self-congratulations by the people of both states.”⁵⁶¹ When then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover gave an address at the National Radio Congress in Washington that was broadcast across the country, the *Daily News* weighed in on the extraordinary access this gave common Americans to be connected with each other across the country.⁵⁶²

Think of it! A man standing in Washington, D.C. speaking in an ordinary tone of voice, is heard by the flat dweller in the Bronx, the steel worker in Pittsburgh, the coal miner in Illinois, the mechanic in Michigan, the farmer in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota – the rancher in Colorado and the fruit grower in California.⁵⁶³

Indeed, the editorial specifically identifies the role radio plays in making Americans a part of a community with shared experience through sports, politics, news, and information.

Mr. Hoover said radio is the greatest gift to the greatest number of people that science has made. None will dispute that: least of all the American boy who, with his home made receiving set, finds himself transported at will to theatres, football games, championship boxing matches and world’s series contests.⁵⁶⁴

In much the same way the *Daily News*, with its millions of “common man” readers, tried to shape a community via the newspaper. Being a part of the community was part of articulating your Americanness (or, in case of immigrants buying into it).

And, indeed, beyond labor strikes and labor unrest, Patterson’s newspaper celebrated the ordinary work and labor of everyday Americans. In May 1923 the newspaper ran a two-page

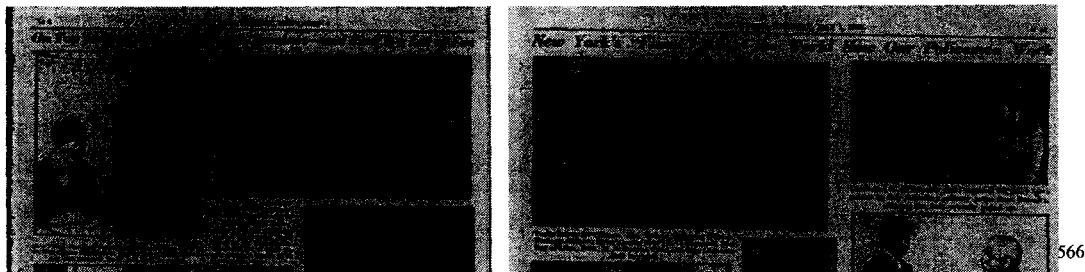
⁵⁶¹ “Wheels of Progress”, editorial, *Daily News*, 31 October 1924.

⁵⁶² For more, see Susan Douglas, *Listening In*.

⁵⁶³ “The Wonders of Radio”, editorial, *Daily News*, 10 October 1924.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

spread of photographs featuring teachers and students swapping jobs for the day and New York City police officers explaining their work to foreign visitors.⁵⁶⁵



In the first set of photographs students play “teacher.” In the first image a student “teacher” sits at a desk going over materials while the teacher “student” stands nearby. In another, students are shown sitting at desks and following along with a lesson given by a student “teacher” at the blackboard. On the opposite page, policemen take the limelight. Under the headline “New York’s ‘Finest’ Show the World How Our Policemen Work”, New York officers are shown with visitors from Peru, Italy and Denmark. In the first, “Traffic lesson for visitors,” five of the foreign police officials are shown standing around a table with miniature street and traffic signs. In the second, a New York City officer explains a bomb exhibit to a visiting military judge from Denmark by showing him a live shell police recently recovered. They stand in front of a sign that says “Bombs-Radical” with a series of fuzzy photographs beneath it. The international officials, according to one of the captions, were in the city for an international police convention. The work of ordinary Americans was of interest to international officers who visited New York to learn American techniques, according to the newspaper.

Patterson and his staff went beyond serious coverage of labor and the working classes. The pages of the *Daily News* were also a place where American mass culture was articulated and disseminated to an eager, and willing, and consuming audience. Entertainment was a major part

⁵⁶⁵ *Daily News*, May 1, 1923.

⁵⁶⁶ “On Top for Day” and “New York’s Finest”, *Daily News*, May 1, 1923.

of the product – a major part of the Americanness – Patterson and the *Daily News* peddled each day.

We are encountering more competition. *American* has a new editor who seems to have some of our ideas as to what news stories to play up with result they are giving us a swifter game. They are going after the Romantic and the sensational and playing up local strong. We are strengthening our lines here and there and keeping up so far ... Your suggestions on Coney outings noted ... I hear a lot of comment on our baseball pictures.⁵⁶⁷

Embedded in the pages of the *Daily News* were common cultural and social touchstones for New Yorkers in the second decade of the 20th century. To read the *News*, to participate and embrace the cultural markers it highlighted – from Babe Ruth, to movies, to Coney Island, to an obsession with crime and society and scandal – was to articulate your Americanness. The newspaper approached Prohibition with disdain. It embraced the American flag and American values and established exactly what that love of country meant. It created everyday heroes out of good Americans and followed sports, film, and stage celebrities relentlessly – creating a common culture and common interests for its most American public. Paradoxically, the readers who consumed this culture and vision in the pages of the *Daily News* both asserted their Americanness in the act of purchasing it and also bought in to the vision and ideas percolating in its pages. Through sports, celebrity and movies, crime and scandal, society, and new women, the *Daily News* held a mirror to post World War I New York City, often reflecting what people wanted to believe about themselves and each other.

SPORTS

The 1876-1926 is widely considered an era in which an American national sporting culture was born, and in which American popular sports became a part of daily life, culture and activity. Moreover, according to some historians, many people felt that sporting culture provided the “glue” for a nation of diverse classes, regions, religions, ethnic groups, and politics.⁵⁶⁸ The

⁵⁶⁷ Burke to JMP, July 29, 1920, Box 16, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

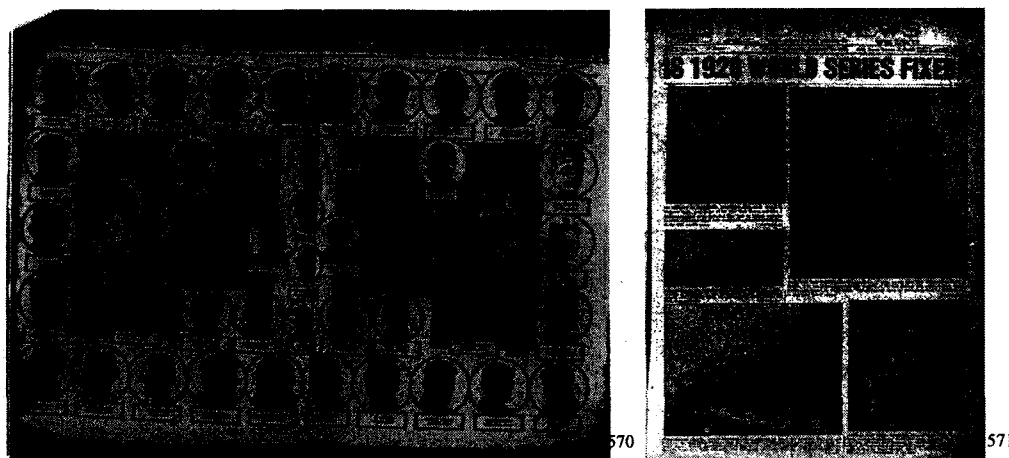
⁵⁶⁸ S.W. Pope, *Patriotic Games*:

Daily News, along with other newspapers and the exploding radio audience, helped promote American sports as a part of American culture and life. In sports a diverse audience found common ground in the rise and fall of their favorite teams and players. Common language, ethnic background, and class were not needed to understand and share the experience of the game. Sports also provided stories of upward mobility, fair play and professionalism. It encouraged the breakdown of formal class structures and ethnic assimilation. In a sense, it allowed Americans to be Americans.

No sport received more coverage – or had a more storied history – in the pages of the *Daily News* than baseball. The sport appeared in the newspaper almost everyday – sometimes on both the front page and the back sports pages. Large amounts of space were given over to action and candid photographs of teams, individual players and events. It was the American game and Patterson’s newspaper gave it rapt attention that helped make it a storied game in the 1920s.

The most American of all sporting events was the World Series. The first World Series covered by the newspaper in 1919, notable because a year later it became known as the “Black Sox” scandal, pitted the White Sox against the Cincinnati Reds. Yet in 1919 the *Daily News*, like other media outlets, accepted the Series as legitimate. The first day of the World Series the newspaper carried two full pages of photographs of the players for both teams under the headline “White Socks and Redlegs Start Battle for Baseball Championship of the World Today”.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁹ “White Socks and Redlegs Start Battle for Baseball Championship of the World Today”, *The Illustrated News*, 1 October 1919.



This laudatory celebration of “America’s pastime” would be marred by the Black Sox scandal. That scandal colored coverage of the 1920 World Series. Before the 1920 series kicked-off, the newspaper ran a bold, page one headline asking: “Is 1920 World Series Fixed?”⁵⁷² Under the headline the newspaper carried a 2-inch by 2-inch photograph of one of the New York Giants owners and the team’s manager. The caption explains that the two “left New York for Chicago yesterday to testify before the Grand Jury investigating alleged crooked dealing in the 1919 world’s series.”⁵⁷³ An inside story, complete with photographs of the White Sox owner and two players, recounts rumors – dismissed by National League officials – that the 1920s series is fixed. Despite these distractions, the newspaper managed focused elaborate attention on the players and upcoming games – free from the scandal. A few days later, on the eve of the 1920 World Series, scandal still rocked the headlines as testimony continued in the case. *The News* ran a full page of photographs showing men testifying, conferring on the scandal and the offices of the Brooklyn club – swamped with applications for World Series tickets. Running these images side-by-side sent another message: while the sport had a black spot, the game would go on.

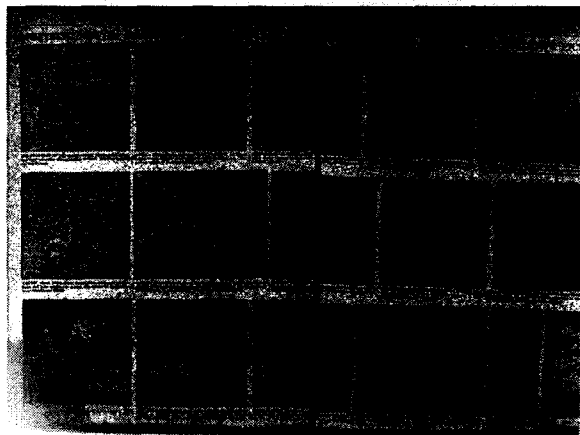
⁵⁷⁰ “White Socks and Redlegs Start Battle for Baseball Championship of the World Today”, *The Illustrated News*, 1 October 1919.

⁵⁷¹ “Is 1920 World Series Fixed?”, *The News*, 28 September 1920

⁵⁷² “Is 1920 World Series Fixed?”, *The News*, 28 September 1920.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

Merely giving the Black Sox scandal, and possibility of 1920 series corruption, space reflects the importance of baseball to American life during the early 1920s. And, in its coverage, the *Daily News* legitimized its role in American life. The newspaper said as much in an editorial: “Now that the truth is out, the game has a chance to survive Millions of Americans enjoy baseball every year. It is too popular of a sport to fall into the hands of gamblers and thieves ...”⁵⁷⁴ This reflects a broader effort on the part of Patterson and his staff to shape the working class, including their leisure time, into something that reflected his own values. Good Americans were honest people who loved fair play and healthy competition. Yet, even as the White Sox scandal ruled the headlines, *Daily News* staffers could not help but brag about their new “play-by-play” photographs of the 1920 World Series.



In a two-page photo spread the newspaper ran action shots from Game 1 of the Series. The headline, “Something New in Baseball – The Opening Game, Play by Play, Shown in Daily News Exclusive Pictures,” gives some Americans their first detailed photographic vision of baseball action.⁵⁷⁶ And, indeed, the 16 photographs used in the spread represent a potpourri of at-bats, close plays, slides, and fielding. The photographs are arranged in three rows, giving the appearance of a filmstrip – the action sequential and immediate. This coverage, along with

⁵⁷⁴ “Better Knowledge Than Suspicion”, editorial, *The News*, 1 October 1920.

⁵⁷⁵ “Something New in Baseball – The Opening Game, Play by Play, Shown in Daily News Exclusive Pictures”, photographs, *The News*, 6 October 1920.

⁵⁷⁶ “Something New in Baseball – The Opening Game, Play by Play, Shown in Daily News Exclusive Pictures”, photographs, *The News*, 6 October 1920.

burgeoning radio in the later 1920s, allowed readers to see their teams for the first time in action – an almost play-by-play photographic representation. It allowed readers and baseball enthusiasts to participate in following the games as an American community of fans.

The *Daily News* took glee in poking fun at baseball following the scandal – recognizing the problems created in its image by the Black Sox scandal, but also noting its place in the national consciousness:

We have deluded ourselves that it was a good, wholesome thing for the American people. It was a waste of time. ... It was vicarious exercise and skill for thousands of soft, idle citizens who ought to have been hoeing beans and picking potato bugs ... We're off baseball. We swear to never go to another game – until the Giants or the Yanks open in the spring of next year.⁵⁷⁷

The *Daily News* was back the next year with increased coverage: photographs grew in number and size, copy occupied more inches, and stories helped build up and tear down baseball heroes. The 1920 season is considered a turning point in baseball history. It came on the heels of the Black Sox scandal and marked Babe Ruth's debut season in Yankees' pinstripes. It was a transformative year for American baseball: a moralizing voice became the game's first commissioner; former White Sox players found innocent of criminal wrong-doing in court in the Black Sox scandal were banned for life from baseball for "guilty knowledge" of the conspiracy; Babe Ruth shattered his own home run records and began the storied era of the New York Yankees, attracting new fans to the game; the "Curse of the Bambino" began for the Boston Red Sox, beginning a World Series winless era that would stretch until the 21st century; and racial lines were solidified as African American players were kept out of the Major Leagues and formed the Negro National League – the first African American league to last more than a season.⁵⁷⁸ It

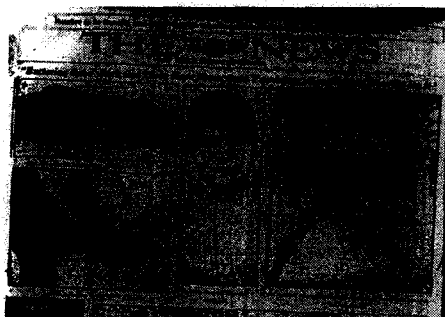
⁵⁷⁷ "Nix on Baseball", editorial, *The News*, 15 November 1920.

⁵⁷⁸ See Robert C. Cottrell, *Blackball, Black Sox, and the Babe: Baseball's Crucial 1920 Season* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002).

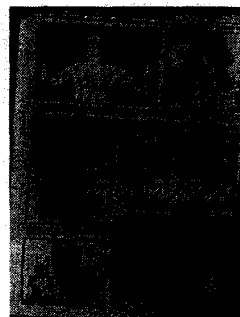
was a shared American culture. And the *Daily News* breathlessly covered every moment – except, of course, the Negro League.⁵⁷⁹

The biggest hero - and the most despised player of the era – was, of course, Babe Ruth. Ruth made the pages of the *News* regularly, almost daily during baseball season and fell in and out favor with the *Daily News* based on his performance on the field and his antics off. Editors knew Ruth sold newspapers. “I think the Babe Ruth feature would be a good one for us to have Ruth will pose exclusively for us for any special picture ideas we may have,” Editor Philip Payne wrote in a 1925 pitch to Patterson.⁵⁸⁰ Patterson, however, saw things differently: “I don’t want the Babe Ruth service. I have a hunch, which may be a mistaken one, but still I have a hunch that Babe won’t be the roar this year that he was last year, and I hate to clutter up our limited sporting space.”⁵⁸¹ Patterson, ironically, was correct as 1925 was one of Ruth’s weaker seasons and he only played in 98 games. Nonetheless, the newspaper regularly carried photographs of the slugger – both on the field and off. Ruth was an American icon and celebrity. He sold newspapers. He helped construct a shared American culture in the 1920s.

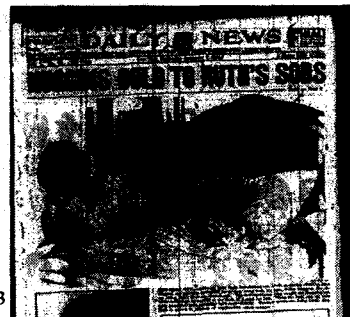
When the *Daily News* considered Ruth good, he was very good. In mid-summer 1920 the newspaper ran a half page photo feature on Ruth under the headline “‘Battering Babe’ Ruth Got Three More Home Runs Yesterday. How, O, How, Does He Do It?”



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⁵⁷⁹ For more on the Negro National League see Major League Baseball’s account of the league at: http://mlb.mlb.com/mlb/history/mlb_negro_leagues_teams.jsp (retrieved, 24 September 2008).

⁵⁸⁰ Philip Payne to JMP, March 6, 1925, Box 20, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵⁸¹ JMP to Philip Payne, March 9, 1925, Box 20, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁵⁸² ‘Battering Babe’ Ruth Got Three More Home Runs Yesterday. How, O, How, Does He Do It?’, photographs, *The News*, 3 June 1920.

Under the headline are four photographs of Ruth.⁵⁸⁵ A few days later the newspaper carried a full page of Ruth-oriented photographs under the headline, “Almost Everybody Knows Babe Ruth Is the Home-Run King; He’s a Model Husband, Too.”⁵⁸⁶ The infatuation with Ruth, which helped make him a celebrity, continued throughout the summer of 1920. His celebrity, sports prowess, and apparent rags-to-riches American story made Ruth into a popular culture myth and role model, despite his penchant for womanizing, booze, and gambling.⁵⁸⁷ He was an everyman and Americans could not get enough of him. Neither could the *Daily News*.

But in the pages of the *Daily News*, when Ruth was bad, he was very bad. In 1925, amid spring training health problems, domestic marital turmoil, and public spats with Yankees manager Miller Huggins, Ruth made regular appearances in the *Daily News* – likely not in the way he hoped. In early September 1925, after a lackluster performance (compared to previous seasons) on the field, Ruth’s saga regularly occupied the front page of the newspaper. On the first of the month, the newspaper carried a front page headline, “Ruth Showdown Here Today,” leading to an inside story with a photograph of Ruth’s alleged mistress, Claire Hodgson.⁵⁸⁸ The next day, the newspaper carried a half-page photograph of Ruth, face hidden with his head in hands, sitting on a bed next to his prone wife. The headline: “Huggins Cold To Ruth’s Sobs.” The caption clarifies that Ruth’s troubles are both domestic and professional:

He’s Still Out – Although Babe Ruth had a sweet tete-a-tete yesterday with Col. Jake Ruppert and abjectly apologized for getting sassy with his boss, Miller Huggins, the silver lining didn’t show up immediately The dethroned swat king

⁵⁸³ “Almost Everybody Knows Babe Ruth Is the Home-Run King; He’s a Model Husband, Too”, photographs, *The News*, 6 June 1920.

⁵⁸⁴ “He’s Still Out”, photograph, *Daily News*, 2 September 1925.

⁵⁸⁵ “Battering Babe’ Ruth Got Three More Home Runs Yesterday. How, O, How, Does He Do It?”, photographs, *The News*, 3 June 1920.

⁵⁸⁶ “Almost Everybody Knows Babe Ruth Is the Home-Run King; He’s a Model Husband, Too”, photographs, *The News*, 6 June 1920.

⁵⁸⁷ Pope, 159.

⁵⁸⁸ “Ruth Showdown Here Today”, headline and story, *Daily News*, 1 September 1925. Hodgson, a widow, was, in fact, Ruth’s long-term mistress. The couple met in 1923, and Ruth separated from his first wife in 1926. She died in a house fire in 1929 and Ruth married Hodgson three months later. He also adopted Hodgson’s daughter – who at 92 threw out the first pitch at the last game at Yankee stadium in September 2008 in honor of her father. The team moved to a new Yankee Stadium, next-door to the old stadium beginning with the 2009 season.

sought out Huggins, but latter said when he wanted to see Ruth, he'd send for him. When the Babe and his wife were reconciled here yesterday both wept bitterly. Unaware the photo was being made, Mrs. Ruth is shown in attitude of supplication.⁵⁸⁹

The caption also directs readers to an inside story and photographs. Babe Ruth was a “bad boy” and deserved to “spend time in the corner,” according to the *Daily News*. The *Daily News* had the capacity to make heroes and to break them.

But it was not just baseball's stars that received attention from the newspaper. Children playing baseball and baseball fans made regular appearances in the pages of the *Daily News*. In many ways they had the potential – as all white Americans did – to be the stars of tomorrow. Babe Ruth had humble beginnings and through talent, hard work and a little luck, became a hero. Baseball was a game all Americans could play and enjoy. It was a marker of Americanness. Prior to the 1921 start of spring training the *Daily News* carried a photograph of a young Yankees fan – wearing a baseball uniform with his baseball glove held high above his head and a big smile on his face.⁵⁹⁰



The caption notes that the boy has already declared the Yankees winner of the 1921 American League pennant. The game was enjoyed by young and old, seventh generation and first generation Americans, men and women, and wealthy and poor. It was a shared American experience.

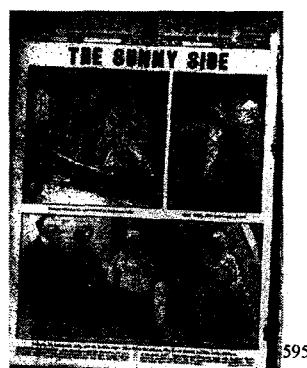
After World War I boxing took its place among nationally popular American sports as a consequence of its popularity and success in the military.⁵⁹¹ The media helped popularize it. Sports and movies boosted *Daily News* circulation and Patterson took advantage of this and helped construct American celebrities. Jack Dempsey held the heavyweight boxing title from 1919-1926 and captured the attention and awe of American sports fans. Dempsey was born into a

⁵⁸⁹ “He’s Still Out”, photograph, *Daily News*, 2 September 1925.

⁵⁹⁰ “The Pennant’s Won”, *Daily News*, February 1, 1921.

⁵⁹¹ Pope, pp 3-5 and 115-116. The military demonstrated the usefulness of boxing for training soldiers during the war. After the war the military successfully campaigned against state laws that prohibited prize fighting. The media played an important role in popularizing it.

poor family and left school early to work to help his family, eventually becoming a barroom brawler and professional fighter. He became famous in 1919 after he defeated Jess Williard to win the heavyweight title.⁵⁹² His fame stretched across class and ethnic groups. This made Dempsey a natural fit for the pages of the *Daily News*. Along with Babe Ruth, Dempsey was one of the most covered sports stars of the era.⁵⁹³ As a celebrity, every aspect of Dempsey's life came under public scrutiny – including his marriages and a charge, later proved false, of draft dodging during World War I. Following a year of scandal, Dempsey prepared to fight the internationally popular European heavyweight champion, and veteran, Georges Carpentier (French), the newspaper in June 1921 again dedicated ink and space to the bout, tracking the preparation of both athletes and stirring popular interest in the fight.⁵⁹⁴ At the end of the month – with the fight date rapidly approaching – the newspaper ran a full page of photographs of the boxers in casual settings.



⁵⁹² Pope notes (p 115) that Williard took the title in 1915 from African American fighter Jack Johnson. That same year, an unofficial boycott of black boxers began. Dempsey would never fight a black boxer for the title.

⁵⁹³ For more on Dempsey see Roger Kahn's, *A Flame of Pure Fire: Jack Dempsey and the Roaring 20s* (New York: Harcourt Press, Inc., A Harvest Book, 1999). Kahn, a friend of Dempsey's, is not a historian and his grasp of the 1920s has been disputed, but he does provide an accurate overview of Dempsey's life and of his boxing matches. A more academic, and better, treatment of Dempsey's life and career is Randy Roberts, *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979). Finally, Bruce J. Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum, and Storytelling in the Jazz Age* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996) examines the role of sportswriters and newspaper editors in the construction of celebrity.

⁵⁹⁴ See stories and photographs in the *Daily News*: "Today", photograph, *Daily News*, 31 May 1921, "The Answer in Their Faces?", photographs, *Daily News*, 1 June 1921, "Eye Injury Makes Jack Quit!", photograph, *Daily News*, 7 June 1921., and "Let's Go!", photographs, *Daily News*, 1 July 1921.

⁵⁹⁵ "The Sunny Side", photographs, *Daily News*, 30 June 1921.

One photograph shows Carpentier in his boxing robe prior to a work-out; in another he leans over a spout of water, taking a “drink after each round – of golf”; and the last shows Dempsey sitting on a porch with three women and another man. The caption explains that Dempsey poses for photographs with his bodyguard and his kitchen staff.⁵⁹⁶ The fanfare with which the *Daily News* covered the lead-up to the bout (Dempsey won) was designed to heighten anticipation and sell newspapers. But more than that, the *Daily News* participated in the creation of celebrity around the match and in promoting it to a mass, purportedly working and middle-class American audience. They could identify with the rough and tumble Dempsey who came from the lower classes and worked his way up to the championship.⁵⁹⁷ The newspaper built anticipation for the fight through regular features on the boxers, their styles, and their home lives, and through this the newspaper actively participated in constructing Dempsey’s personal American story, and an American sport.⁵⁹⁸

As boxing attracted new audiences in the post-war period, another sport was quickly emerging on the national stage both at the collegiate and professional levels: football. Though the first professional football league emerged in 1920, football was still very much a collegiate sport in the 1920s and it frequently appeared in the *Daily News* as part of the newspaper’s university coverage. In photos and stories, hard-working, all-American young men play for their college teams. Rivalries were born. As with boxing, football provided a venue to strengthen American notions of national identity and create teams that appealed to a national audience.⁵⁹⁹ Football taught discipline, fair play and healthy competition – all characteristics of Americans, according

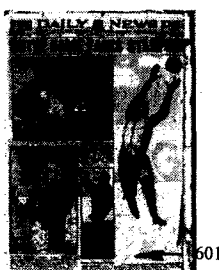
⁵⁹⁶ “The Sunny Side”, photographs, *Daily News*, 30 June 1921.

⁵⁹⁷ Pope, 116.

⁵⁹⁸ But Dempsey wasn’t the only thing the *Daily News* celebrated when it came to boxing; the paper tried to provide a blow-by-blow account of the action in photographs, giving readers, some for the first time, a visual look at boxing matches. See, for example, “Greb Retains His Title”, photographs, *Daily News*, 31 January 1923. This stop-action style of photograph gave readers the chance to see a fight as they had never seen it before.

⁵⁹⁹ Pope, *Patriotic Games*, 124. For examples, see, “Center in Penn Football Scandal”, photograph, *The News*, 3 December 1919, and “Columbia’s Grid Captain”, photograph, *The News*, 7 December 1920. For an early example of professional football, which was an expansion following the popularity of college football, see Photos, *Daily News*, 27 November 1925.

to Patterson. Big college football games also received attention in the pages of the *Daily News* as the sport increased in popularity and attracted the attention of more readers. As Notre Dame prepared to face Stanford in the 1925 Rose Bowl (the 11th played), the newspaper ran several large photographs of the players under the headline “Notre Dame Faces Stanford.”⁶⁰⁰



It was the first time the two teams had ever played and marked Notre Dame’s first appearance (and, funny enough, last) in the Rose Bowl. Additionally, the trip west marked the beginning of Notre Dame’s annual games against the University of Southern California, a rivalry that persists to this day. It also began the first cross-country football rivalry – significant in attracting fans to the sport. The anticipation captured in pre-game coverage – and the game itself – sparked national interest in the bowl games and likely helped nationalize teams like Notre Dame.⁶⁰² It’s interesting to note that while the *Daily News* ran frequent stories on college football another media also highlighted it: film. The growing popularity of football to the American masses in an era when popular film embraced a mass audience and helped popularize the sport for a significant

⁶⁰⁰ “Notre Dame Faces Stanford”, photographs, *Daily News*, 1 January 1925.

⁶⁰¹ “Notre Dame Faces Stanford”, photographs, *Daily News*, 1 January 1925.

⁶⁰² Notre Dame players also represent one of the first photo opportunities for the sport. In 1924, after Notre Dame beat Army, journalist Grantland Rice of the *New York Herald-Tribune* wrote one of the most famous sports summaries in history: ““Outlined against a blue, gray October sky the Four Horsemen rode again. In dramatic lore they are known as famine, pestilence, destruction and death. These are only aliases. Their real names are: Stuhldreher, Miller, Crowley and Layden. They formed the crest of the South Bend cyclone before which another fighting Army team was swept over the precipice at the Polo Grounds this afternoon as 55,000 spectators peered down upon the bewildering panorama spread out upon the green plain below.” A student publicity aid posed the four players on horses, dressed in their uniforms, and snapped a photograph. The image went out over news wires and the myth of the four horsemen was born.

American audience.⁶⁰³ Films, much like Patterson's paper, provide a vision of middle-class American values that was designed to spread to the masses and become a shared mass cultural experience and tradition.⁶⁰⁴ As the decade moved on, college football was featured more often and in more elaborate photo spreads in the *Daily News*.

But more than just expanding American infatuation with sports and aiding in the use of sport in the construction of the American national identity, the newspaper also used international sporting events to demonstrate American superiority, readiness, and excellence. When national pride was on the line, *Daily News* staffers were quick to promote American athletes, celebrate their victories, and complain about their defeats on the international stage.⁶⁰⁵ International games were about athletics, fair competition, national identity and international prestige. American spirit attached to international sport competitions continued in the *Daily News*' coverage of the 1920 Olympic Games. As the Games, held in Antwerp, Belgium following the bloodshed of World War I (and, as a punishment to original host Hungary, a German ally – Germany was excluded, as was the new Soviet Union), drew to a close in late August, the *Daily News* carried two pages of photographs dedicated to the games and American victories.

⁶⁰³ See Robert Sklar, *Movie Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*, (New York: Random House, 1974, 1994), pp 116-117. In dozens of films, including *Feet of Mud* (1924), *The Freshman* (1925), *The Plastic Age* (1925), *The Quarterback* (1926), *The Drop Kick* (1927), *West Point* (1928), *The New Halfback* (1929), and *The Forward Pass* (1929), Hollywood stars from Clara Bow to Harry Langdon to Harold Lloyd to Joan Crawford and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. enacted football games on the field and romances off. Lloyd, a well-known silent film comedian was, indicative of a move toward bourgeois comedy – comedy that didn't challenge the traditional social order, but worked within it – in film in the post World War I-era. *The Freshman* then plays on this order as Lloyd is transformed from a water-boy/nerd into a football hero in full view of his classmates reflecting, some historians have argued, the "perpetual striving" for upward mobility and paranoia of the middle classes.⁶⁰³ Likewise, Clara Bow, a "classic flapper star" of the 1920s, known for films featuring the "new woman" like 1927's *It*, gives up her chance at happiness as a "sexy co-ed" in 1925's *The Plastic Age* so that her love interest can return to the success he had on the football field prior to meeting her. In the end, this sacrifice proves her worth and she and the football star reunite. See, Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp 218-219. Both films, and dozens of others made during the decade, provide a link between the rising popularity of college football (and indeed, help explain the rise of professional football leagues during the 1920s) and its reach to and influence on a mass American audience.

⁶⁰⁴ It was of particular interest to Patterson's newspaper when the military academies met on the football field in a show of both athletic prowess and military readiness. See, for example, "70,000 To See Army vs. Navy", photographs, *Daily News*, 28 November 1925.

⁶⁰⁵ See, for example, "Picture Story of the Inter-Allied Games at Paris", *Illustrated Daily News*, 10 July 1919. Also, for a secondary account see, Pope, *Patriotic Sports*, 151



The two headlines, one for each page, illustrate the theme of the photographs that accompany them: “First Photographs From Olympic Games at Antwerp Show Victorious American Boys” and “The American Flag Led Them All at the Start and Led Them All at the Finish.” One of the captions for the 10 photographs cites a warm relationship between Belgium and the United States: “The royal party, though ‘rooting’ for their own athletes, were warm in their praise of Americans.”⁶⁰⁷ But it wasn’t always so celebratory – if the United States failed to meet expectations the *Daily News* said so. The games were also an opportunity for an American invasion of Europe of a different sort. Prior to the games both federal and private efforts were made to support the games. Posters reading “Help Americans win the Olympic Games” appeared in schoolhouses, police stations, fire houses, municipal buildings, and athletic clubs throughout New York City in 1920, eventually spreading nationwide.⁶⁰⁸ International sports events allowed the United States to engage in foreign competition that promoted a unified, national sense of pride

⁶⁰⁶ “First Photographs From Olympic Games at Antwerp Show Victorious American Boys” and “The American Flag Led Them All at the Start and Led Them All at the Finish”, photographs, *The News*, 26 August 1920.

⁶⁰⁷ “First Photographs From Olympic Games at Antwerp Show Victorious American Boys” and “The American Flag Led Them All at the Start and Led Them All at the Finish”, photographs, *The News*, 26 August 1920.

⁶⁰⁸ Pope, *Patriotic Games*, 55. For a less flattering portrait of American athletic performance overseas see, “U.S. Poor Third In Olympics”, headline, *Daily News*, 30 January 1924.

and identity. It was designed and sold in America so that the audience became a homogenous “American” for international competition.

Movies and Celebrity

It wasn't only sports figures and sports the *Daily News* used to capture the imagination – and readership – of New Yorkers and celebrate a shared national culture. Celebrities came from several walks of life – including sports stars, film and stage stars, society types, beautiful girls, and from politics. One of the most obvious ways the *Daily News* used celebrity was to promote American “ideals” and “values” for the mass audience. So, for example, when the newspaper carried stories about Mary Pickford it showed off her home, her family life, and her films, crafting her as a star who at once remained true to the “norms” of the middle classes, yet embodied the “new woman” of the 1920s. But, the *Daily News* didn't stop at instilling admired celebrities with middle-class values. The newspaper, at times, made explicit connections between stars like Pickford and being American by showing her celebrating the Fourth of July, and instructing others how to celebrate. Pickford, considered by some one of the few early actresses who could walk a “thin line between virtue and vice,” was a woman of her era – embracing and even demanding changes for women in the realm of pay and independence.⁶⁰⁹ She regularly supported the work of suffragists, had an affair with Douglas Fairbanks while still legally married to another man, and was, along with Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and D.W. Griffith one of the founders of United Artists, giving her a degree of control over her films and a salary of more than \$1 million a year. Moreover, Pickford openly discussed her humble beginnings and gave much credit to her mother and grandmother.⁶¹⁰ Yet, on screen, while emancipated, Pickford still embodied middle class values of domesticity and family. When the *Daily News* began publication in 1919, Pickford was among the most famous women in the world and commanded the attention

⁶⁰⁹ Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry*, pp 118-124.

⁶¹⁰ Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry*, pp 118-124.

of the press worldwide. The *Daily News* was no exception. Pickford divorced her first husband in 1920 and married Fairbanks four weeks later, becoming one-half of Hollywood's golden couple. Both were at the peak of their careers and they'd be in the headlines throughout their marriage. *Daily News* staffers were aware that public fascination with the stars meant that any item published about them would be consumed by a mass audience.⁶¹¹

Celebrity was used by the newspaper to promote specific visions of American identity. In 1923, the *Daily News* ran a full page of photographs of Mary Pickford showing how she celebrates the Fourth of July.



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Under the headline “The Spirit of Independence Day as Mary Pickford Sees It” are photographs showing Pickford in various aspects of her celebration. In the first photograph Pickford is shown lighting a giant firecracker next to an American flag. The caption notes that “Our Mary” is a “brave girl” and claims that the photograph offers “an excellent Fourth of July picture.”⁶¹³ The Fourth, of course, was the most American of holidays and movie stars helped perpetuate these images. They were, as historian Lary May has noted, models, not the enemies for the middle class.⁶¹⁴

While Fairbanks and Pickford were Hollywood royalty – the newspaper still took a healthy interest in actual royalty and “society.” Patterson, of course knew news of New York’s society sold newspapers. And while a proponent of the working classes, Patterson also

⁶¹¹ See, for example: “A Little Touch of Home Life With Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbanks”, photographs, *The News*, 1 April 1920; “Mary Says She’s Happy With Doug”, photograph, *The News*, 2 June 1920; “Happy Newlyweds Romp and Play as Joyous Youngsters”, photographs, *The News*, 3 June 1920.

⁶¹² “The Spirit of Independence Day as Mary Pickford Sees It.”, photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 July 1923.

⁶¹³ “The Spirit of Independence Day as Mary Pickford Sees It.”, photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 July 1923.

⁶¹⁴ May, *Screening Out the Past*, p233.

understood that those “masses” were interested in reading about the doings of the rich, famous, and infamous – particularly when things were not going well. Indeed, the troubles of the rich and famous, especially older American families, were of great interest to Patterson. In 1922, amid the Whitney-Fontaine-Vanderbilt scandal, Patterson ordered his staff to “go to the Whitney story hard.”⁶¹⁵ He saw the story as an opportunity for the newspapers. “We do not, of course, wish to help blackmailers, but if young Whitney was the probable father of that baby, it is right for him to settle,” Patterson wrote, going on to say that “as to ruining a young man’s career, of course it does nothing of the sort. If it were a similar case in which a girl was involved, I would be much easier. It would very probably ruin a girl ...”⁶¹⁶ But beyond society “scandals” (Whitney was not held liable for any wrong-doing) even mundane doings of society circles made the pages of the *Daily News*.

Please investigate and let me know why the Wednesday News had nothing about Jean Whitney coming out party ... you should have a good story about this Sunday pointing out that she is perhaps the most important debutante of the year and those present marked the exclusive younger set of New York society. Then have a little account and some pictures showing who these people are.⁶¹⁷

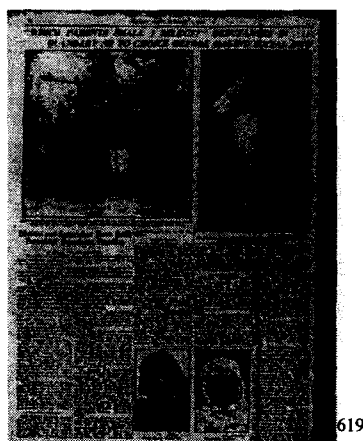
The newspaper ran frequent photographs and stories of upper class, rich Americans and overseas royalty, casting them as celebrities. And, in fact, the coverage of “important” New Yorkers and visitors to New York helped promote the centrality of New York and the importance of its American identity. It also helped make New Yorkers feel like they were part of this – sometimes even including “ordinary” people in the coverage. For example, in late 1919 the newspaper regularly carried pages with “News About People” that offered a run-down of marriages, overseas travel, and social events.

⁶¹⁵ JMP to M.E. Burke, July 22, 1922, Box 16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC. Cornelius “Sonny” Vanderbilt Whitney was sued for \$1 million and breach of contract in 1922 by a dancer, Evan Fontaine, who claimed he had promised to marry her and had fathered her baby. Whitney won the case and later suits brought by Fontaine who, among other things, was eventually brought up on charges of perjury (claiming she lied on the stand and encouraged others to lie on her behalf). Subsequent suits filed by Fontaine also failed. See newspapers from July 1920-1924.

⁶¹⁶ JMP to W.H. Field, March 11, 1921, Box 17, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶¹⁷ JMP to M.E. Burke, December 23, 1921, Box 16, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

A few years later the newspaper dedicated an entire page to the plight of young debutantes choosing between their divorced parents. Under the headline “‘Which Parents Shall I Select?’ Debutantes in Quandary as to Choice Before Making Social Bow” the newspaper carried a four photographs of young ladies whose divorced parents were making their debuts into society complicated. The lead of the story suggests the images and story are not serious: “It is almost as hard for young Miss Millions making her bow to society nowadays to select her parents as it is for her to select her gowns.”⁶¹⁸



Among the photographs: a photo of Blanche Strebeigh, the daughter of a wealthy banker whose divorced wife married the great grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, youngest brother of Napoleon, participating in a high jump contest; a large studio portrait of a well-dressed Pauline Bourne, who has three marriages on each side of her family; and smaller photos of both Muriel Vanderbilt and Ellin Mackay.⁶²⁰ The article pokes fun at the trappings of “polite society” such as formal

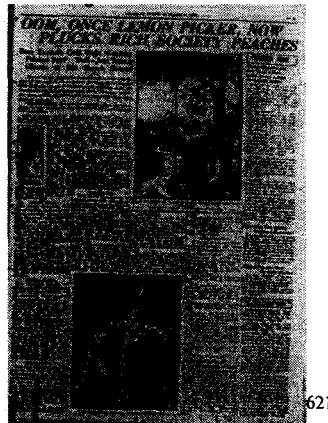
⁶¹⁸ “‘Which Parents Shall I Select?’ Debutantes in Quandary as to Choice Before Making Social Bow”, story and photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 January 1922.

⁶¹⁹ “‘Which Parents Shall I Select?’ Debutantes in Quandary as to Choice Before Making Social Bow”, story and photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 January 1922.

⁶²⁰ An interesting side note: Ellin MacKay became Ellin Berlin, wife, of famous songwriter Irving Berlin, and a famous novelist in her own right. She turned her back on her families millions to wed the Jewish Berlin and, upon the 1926 wedding, was expelled from her father’s home. It took more than five years for the two to reconcile. Prior to her marriage, “Miss Mackay wrote what her friends called her ‘saucy but amusing’ opinions in articles for *The New Yorker*. In one article she defended her generation’s abandonment of the Junior League and ‘polite society’ for the gayer life of cabarets and dancing the Charleston. ‘It is not because fashionable young ladies are picturesquely depraved that they go to cabarets,’”

introductions to society, but also describes the strange intermarriages and intermingling of New York's elites. The photographs, of course, just show beautiful young women, though even they hint that the world is changing, evidenced by a young woman wearing shorts and hurdling over a bar and a debutante who prefers the Charleston and jazz clubs to balls and charity work.

The newspaper tried to hit the right tone with its desired mass readers, and often made fun of those occupying the upper echelons of society. In 1922 the newspaper carried a full page story and photographs about Pierre Arnold Bernard (known as Oom the Omnipotent to some of his followers). Bernard was a pioneer of hatha yoga in the United States founded the first "Tantrik Order" in America (1906), the New York Sanskrit College in New York (1910), and the Clarkstown Country Club in South Nyack, New York (1918).



Among his followers were several prominent people of the era, including several Vanderbilts. Bernards' teachings centered on Tantric Hinduism combined with hatha yoga, and, sexual aspects of tantra were included in the study.⁶²² That's not, however, how the *Daily News* portrayed Bernard's work and followers. The newspaper, like many journals of the period, considered Bernard's followers cultists being led by a sexual deviant. The headline: "Oom, Once Lemon

she wrote. "They go to find privacy." See, "Ellin Berlin, 85, a Novelist, Dies, The Songwriter's Wife of 62 Years", obituary, *The New York Times*, 30 July 1988.

⁶²¹ "Oom, Once Lemon Picker, Now Plucks Rich Society Peaches: Does Tantrik Cult With Wealthy Patrons Pay? Well – Just Take a Glance at His Nyack Estate", story and photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 October 1922.

⁶²² J. Gordon Melton, ed., *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Triumph Books, 1989).

Picker, Now Plucks Rich Society Peaches: Does Tantrik Cult With Wealthy Patrons Pay? Well – Just Take a Glance at His Nyack Estate.”⁶²³ The story portrays Bernard, referred to throughout as “Om” or “Om Bernard,” as preying on the rich and supporting himself in luxury at their naiveté. Among his disciples, according to the story, are Vanderbilts, Otto P. Hein, a wealth insurance broker, and Mabel de Puyster Haskell, former wife of a J.P. Morgan executive and considered to be a member of the “most aristocratic in America”.⁶²⁴ The newspaper makes it clear that this is not American and, moreover, that inherited wealth leads to un-American values. An unsigned editorial proof from Patterson’s papers also demonstrates how he aligned himself in opposition to the wealthy and blue-blooded, despite being a member of the clan.

The estate left by William K. Vanderbilt, the American sportsman who died recently in Paris, may have been worth one hundred million dollars. Most of it is going by will to his oldest son, William K. Vanderbilt, Jr. The idea of leaving most of the money to the eldest son is a favorite one with the Vanderbilts. It is copied after the English principle of entailed estate. The idea is neither a healthy nor a sensible one for America ... in America many able men leave large sums of money which means the control of business to unable heirs. This is bad for the business, for the employes [sic] in it and for the heirs themselves. It seems to us that a most reasonable point of incidence for taxation is at the moment of inheritance.⁶²⁵

Moreover, the editorial argues that those who are taxed didn’t earn the money themselves and it helps to prevent the continuance of disproportionately large fortunes.⁶²⁶ Patterson may have rationalized this position because even though he had an inheritance, he worked to earn money.

Still, the newspaper took pride in how many celebrities and “important people” visited the United States. In 1922, under the headline “The Second Discovery of America, 1921 – World-

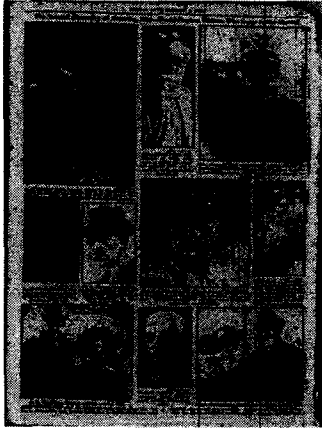
⁶²³ “Oom, Once Lemon Picker, Now Plucks Rich Society Peaches: Does Tantrik Cult With Wealthy Patrons Pay? Well – Just Take a Glance at His Nyack Estate”, story and photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 October 1922.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ “For a Heavy Inheritance Tax” draft, Box 17, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶²⁶ “JNO. D. JR’S \$6,277,669 Tops Tax List: Ford Motor Company Heads Corporations with \$16,483,160 Check, While Henry Pays \$2,608,600”, *Daily News*, 2 September 1925. Likewise, when “poverty” potentially struck the rich the newspaper was quick with a quip. In 1924 as the children of financier and railroad executive George Jay Gould (himself the son of financier Jay Gould) squabbled about the estate, the *Daily News* ran a front-page headline, “Poverty Threat For Goulds”, along with a photograph. The story makes fun of the family’s situation. “Poverty Threat For Goulds”, photograph, *Daily News*, 2 October 1924.

Famous Visitors who Came to Our Shores!” the newspaper ran a full page of images of leading politicians, royals, scientists, writers, and thinkers who visited the United States.⁶²⁷



Among those pictured in the 10 photographs: Rear Admiral David Beatty, Baron of the North Sea in full uniform; Rabindranath Tagore, poet laureate of India; physicist Albert Einstein; English novelist W.L. George; scientist Marie Curie; composer Richard Strauss; and a former Premier of Greece. While the images include several people who hold titles or are considered among the social elite in their countries, it's notable that the newspaper chose to highlight a group of people with measurable achievements in their fields. In many ways, the *Daily News*, then, participated in the creation of a new class of celebrity based on talent and hard work – something that certainly would appeal to a mass audience indoctrinated with the idea that hard work, talent and a little luck could lead to great success for anyone. Those in the photographs worked hard, and had natural ability and luck, in their chosen field and received recognition for it.⁶²⁸

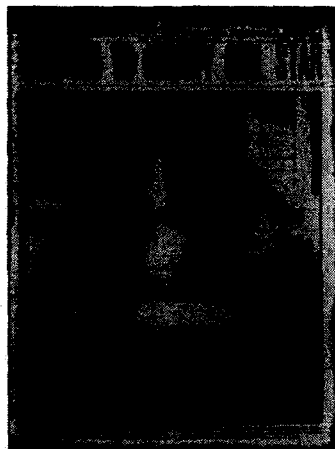
The paper was not always laudatory toward the celebrities it covered. The newspaper embraced covering the private lives and troubles of film stars. Rudolph Valentino, Fatty Arbuckle and Charlie Chaplin all received attention unfavorable coverage by the newspaper. In 1924, as Charlie Chaplin prepared to marry his co-star Lita Grey, the newspaper carried almost daily stories about the pair.⁶²⁹ Days after the nuptials, the newspaper discovered that Grey was only 16 years old at the time of the marriage. The newspaper ran a front page photograph of Grey with the

⁶²⁷ “The Second Discovery of America, 1921 – World-Famous Visitors who Came to Our Shores!”, photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 January 1922.

⁶²⁸ Patterson did grapple with how to picture members of his family and newspaper rivals, such as William Randolph Hearst. JMP to Philip Payne, April 11, 1925, Box 20, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC. For other examples see, “Bride of the Day”, photograph, *Daily News*, 1 April 1921.

⁶²⁹ See, for example, “Chaplin to Marry Girl Star”, photograph, *Daily News*, 24 November 1924.

caption: “Must School – Lisa Grey (above), who a few days ago became Mrs. Charles Chaplin, is only 16 and not 19 as marriage certificate attests, it became known yesterday.



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Hence, under California law, she must go on studying until 18.” The photograph presents Grey wrapped in what appears to be a shawl or draped dress, her shoulders bare. She looks far older than her 16 years. An inside story quotes school officials about her age and notes that she falsified her birth year when she signed the marriage record. The story also points out that Grey first met Chaplin at 14 when she had a small part in his film *The Kid*.⁶³² Just a few months later the *Daily News* dedicated ink to the marital troubles of the couple.⁶³³

Patterson and his staff understood that working class and immigrant readers had a fascination with the lives of the rich and famous. The first decades of the twentieth century ushered in a new relationship between people and material goods and consumer items. A democratization of desire took place that led to an expectation among many Americans that they

⁶³⁰ “Chaplin to Marry Girl Star””, photograph, *Daily News*, 24 November 1924.

⁶³¹ “Must School”, photograph, *Daily News*, 3 December 1924.

⁶³² “Must School”, photograph, *Daily News*, 3 December 1924.

⁶³³ Grey, pregnant at the time of the marriage, and Chaplin were constantly in the *News* during the first months of their union. In early February the newspaper ran a lengthy story about negotiations between the duo for a financial settlement. A front page photograph of Grey referred readers to a lengthy inside story and photographs under the headline, “Chaplins Discuss Settlement: Romance Flits, Cash Tunes Up to Jingle Hello to Stork”, story and photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 February 1925. The story claims that “the break which these negotiations indicate was first forecast in *The News*”, and points out that Grey was among Chaplin’s most youthful leading ladies. It also speculates about how long Grey had been pregnant at the time of the marriage, and about whether the couple resided together at any point, and it points out that Grey was returned to school in California just days after her marriage.

could attain comfort, prosperity and material goods. This desire was also characterized by a fascination with those who possessed wealth, status, fame, and power.⁶³⁴ Most Americans of the era experienced leisure lives in surroundings that enhanced this experience – plush theatres, department stores that emphasized making dreams come true, and the ability to purchase consumer goods that were unavailable to the previous generation. In many ways, what the *Daily News* did foretells contemporary celebrity journalism. Patterson brought the lives and loves of the rich and famous into a mass-circulating daily newspaper with an audience that had an insatiable appetite.

Crime

As much as the *Daily News* focused its attention on the lives of the rich and famous, crime and scandal were the newspaper's bread and butter. From "fiends" to bootleggers and from murderers to bigamists, the newspaper carried a colorful assortment of crime stories, reflecting different social and cultural experiences of Americans. Patterson and his editors wanted those stories in the newspaper every day. "I believe we should print the Interesting Sex or crime story on page three so as to permit a front page head. The big story of the day should carry pictures. When we get halftones they go very well on page one,"⁶³⁵ Burke wrote to Patterson in 1920. Both men knew that sex and crime sold papers, particularly, they believed, to their target audience. "Both the *Mirror* and the *Boston Post* seem to pick out one good sex crime and give a full account of it playing down other stories. This I think is the model for large circulation," Patterson wrote in 1923.⁶³⁶ The pages of the newspaper reflect this dedication to covering crime. As the 1920s were the age of Prohibition, the newspaper naturally covered liquor, the law, and gangsters with aplomb. Patterson was fundamentally opposed to Prohibition and the editorial page carried frank opinion pieces saying as much. "This paper does not believe in prohibition and is frank to say so ... [Prohibition] skates on mighty thin sheets of ice and the water of public opinion

⁶³⁴ See Leach, *Land of Desire*.

⁶³⁵ Burke to JMP, August 27, 1920, Box 16, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶³⁶ JMP to Philip Payne, January 18, 1923, Box 19, Folder 10, JMP Papers, LFC.

beneath it is deep and cold.”⁶³⁷ At times, the newspaper even seemed to mock law enforcement officials in their efforts to enforce the laws.⁶³⁸

The *Daily News* covered rum runners and bootleggers with large photographs, snappy headlines, and snazzy stories – all designed to lure in readers and give them a taste of 1920s crime and culture. In 1924 rum runners were captured by authorities less than three miles from the coast. The *Daily News* carried two front page photographs of the ship.



In one, the ship sits in the middle of the ocean and in the other, the ship is towed by a Coast Guard boat back to shore. The caption explains the ship’s predicament:

Tale of Rum Row – Schooner Dorothy M. Smart lay at barge office yesterday while profiteering crew prepared to press charges that they had been shanghaied. Capt. B.L. Brockway of the coast guard cutter which made capture tells story in THE NEWS.⁶⁴⁰

The next day the paper carried another story of rum running. A front-page photograph captures a docked ship as it sinks. The caption captures the suspense associated with the black market rum

⁶³⁷ “Guilty As Charged”, editorial, *Daily News*, 1 February 1924.

⁶³⁸ This was particularly evident during New Year’s coverage. On New Year’s Day 1924 the newspaper published a number of photographs tracking New Year’s merriment. Inside a story with the headline “Old Man 1923 Reels Out in Jag: Wet Outside and Inside, City Pays and Revels at Hotels” recounts the drunken celebrations. According to the story, “if you didn’t get yours last night it was because you didn’t bring your own or meet with somebody who did ... New York got wet inside last night from the stuff that made Volstead famous.” See, “Old Man 1923 Reels Out in Jag”, photos and stories, *Daily News*, 1 January 1924.

⁶³⁹ Shanghaied Rum Boat Mutineers Center of Rum Row Thriller,” photos, *Daily News*, 1 November 1924.

⁶⁴⁰ “Tale of Rum Row”, photographs, *Daily News*, 1 November 1924.

trade: “Another Sea Mystery – Sinking of rum yacht 4249 at Barge office until only its nose was above water gave U.S. officials real mystery to solve.”⁶⁴¹

Rum running and Prohibition violations were one thing, but what Patterson considered true crime – gangsters, murder, kidnapping – were treated with much more seriousness and hysteria in the *Daily News*. The newspaper often launched campaigns against the most egregious crimes and sought the public’s help in solving mysteries. In 1923, Payne wrote to Patterson with one such proposal:

The dramatic murder of Kid Dropper, notorious New York gangster, has exposed a great evil which I think is responsible for a very large percentage of crime in New York City. The Dropper and his associates have been arrested dozens of times and in spite of their notorious records, bonding companies were always on hand to get them out of jail. The percentage paid to bonding companies for this service is very large. It is my opinion we should start a general campaign against crime, hitting as we always have from the sale of pistols angle and then go after the bonding companies by a series of stories, using names of notorious criminals that have been arrested many times and bailed out.⁶⁴²

The newspaper’s editors actively sought the help of its readers when it came to crime. The paper pointed out how crime affected all people; in soliciting help from the “masses” it invested them fully in the community.

The most spectacular stories and photographs to appear in the *Daily News* were centered on murders, murder trials, and kidnapping. The more sensational the killing the more *Daily News* staffers played it up. Patterson wanted the newspaper’s coverage to be more sensational and descriptive as every other newspaper’s in New York. Moreover, the *Daily News* had to have photographs to tell its story. Patterson wrote:

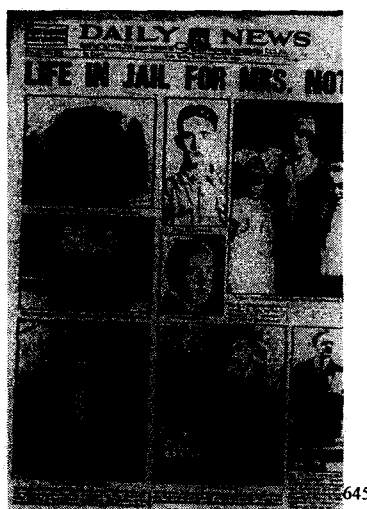
Every paper, including the *Tribune*, occasionally prints scenes of murder with a dead body sketched in ... Sometimes the point of a story may depend on where the corpse was found. In order to make it perfectly clear that it is not an actual photograph, let it be described as ‘photo-diagram of where the body was found’ or words to that effect.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ “Another Sea Mystery”, photograph, *Sunday News*, 2 November 1924.

⁶⁴² Philip Payne to JMP, August 30, 1923, Box 20, Folder 1, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁴³ JMP to W.H. Field, March 11, 1921, Box 17, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

Scandal titillated editors. “New developments in the Seldow case today, make it very sordid. He now faces charge of bigamy, having married two other girls ... Girl he married lived with other man before she married Seldow and gave birth to child by that man”⁶⁴⁴ Editors loved a murder involving the strange – axe murderers, multiple killings, murdering mothers, family murders – particularly when it came with good art, sordid details, and scandalous players. “Murderesses” were particularly appealing to the newspaper because they often came with scandals stories of betrayal, motherless children, and fantastic trials. In 1920, the newspaper dedicated ample space to photographs related to Ethel H. Nott’s trial for murder. Nott was tried as an accessory to murder for planning, counseling and hiring men to kill her husband, George E. Nott. The breathtaking trial ended suddenly in early June 1921 when Nott plead guilty to second degree murder after the state presented letters she penned about the crime. The day of the trial’s abrupt end, the *Daily News* carried a half page of page of photographs on page one.



The photographs demonstrate the brutality of the murder and the spectacle of the trial, including the trunk where Nott hid the body and images of the Nott children. Indeed, the photographs also play on readers’ sympathy by picturing Ethel Nott with her two children – youngsters who now

⁶⁴⁴ Philip Payne to JMP, March 17, 1925, Box 20, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁴⁵ “Life in Jail for Mrs. Nott”, photographs, *Daily News*, 2 June 1921. For other examples of how female criminals were treated in the pages of the *Daily News* see: “Wonders”, photograph, *Daily News*, 2 February 1923; and “Maid Chops Man to Death”, photograph, *Daily News*, 28 November 1924.

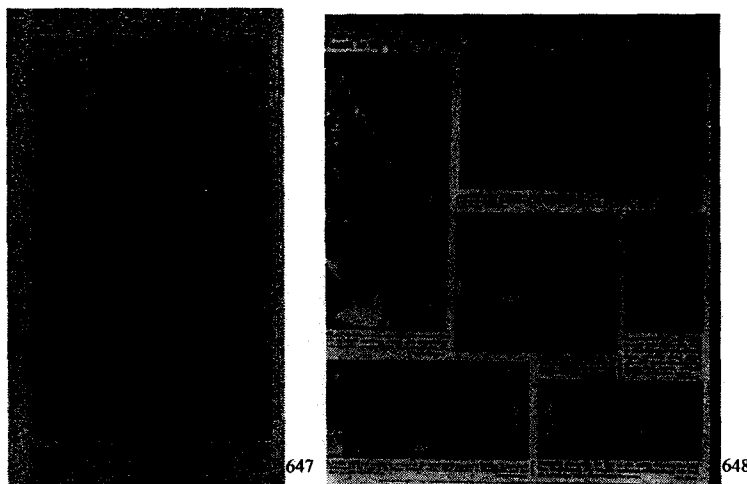
face life without either of their parents.⁶⁴⁶ The newspaper used stories about murder and mayhem to make readers part of a community. The stories had the capacity to draw in a large audience, and Patterson's paper made them into a community of readers – tied together through events and shared cultural experiences.

New Women/Jazz Age

As women in the 1920s grappled with changing social, economic and cultural conditions, the *Daily News* and its staffers saw an opportunity to reach a large male and female audience. Women were used by the newspaper both to attract readers based on beauty contests and as an integral part of the 1920s New York City landscape. Indeed, if this was the age of the “new woman,” the *Daily News* embraced it full-force and worked to shape what these new American women were all about. Patterson was shrewd – he knew women read his newspaper and were important for circulation.

In 1920, the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, giving women the right to vote, and giving Patterson a way to appeal to a broad, newly franchised audience. In August the *Daily News* carried several photographs of women, including a front page image of Alice Paul and other suffrage leaders

⁶⁴⁶ And when murders, particularly of the young, seemed to lack a motive, the newspaper pounced with judgment and explanations. In 1925, the newspaper carried a series of stories about the murder of a teenager by one of his friends. In one edition the newspaper carried a front-page headline, “Boy Slayer Mocks Grilling” over a photograph of the accused murderer shackled to a sheriff's deputy. Inside the newspaper carried a full page dedicated to the slaying (with a few shorter stories on other sensational murder investigations underway at the same time). The inside headline, “Just Notion, Says Boy Slayer”, leads to a story that claims Gordon Pirie said he killing his friend George Nye because “I just took the notion ---”. Between the headline and the story are a series of four photographs – each representing a phrenological study of young murderers, including one of Pirie. Among the other skulls photographed are Leopold and Loeb. Pirie's photograph includes hand-written lines connected to “characteristics” that his skull indicate. Among them: cold and passionless [eyes]; Apex round indicating impulse [nose]; strong sex impulse [mouth]; receding and weak [jaw], lack of will, self esteem; lack of will power [crown of head]; and lack of control and temper [ears]. The caption explains that the phrenological study indicates that he did not kill his friend for the \$6.50 he carried, and defends the study as “scientific” by how it “corresponds with other recent youthful slayers”. See, *Daily News*, 29 November 1925.



On the street below her are a dozen other women. The caption explains: “Women are rejoicing – Miss Alice Paul, head of the National Women Suffrage party, is shown rehearsing the demonstration in front of headquarters in Washington, D.C. which the women there staged in celebration of winning the nationwide ballot in Tennessee.”⁶⁴⁹ Months before the Tennessee ratification, the *Daily News* was already a proponent of votes for women and for allowing women full participation in the nominating conventions for 1920.

Women will have a vote in the presidential election this fall. They ought to have a voice, and an important voice, in the selection of the candidate. The politicians who think that the new voters can be treated like children are due to have an unpleasant surprise ... They won that fight [to vote] without any votes in the legislatures or in the state elections in which legislators are chosen. If they could accomplish so great a reform without votes, it must be conceded they know a great deal about politics.⁶⁵⁰

The newspaper splashed coverage of women in voting lines at their first presidential election that November. The *Daily News* carried a full page of photographs of women casting their ballots, including, elderly women waiting in line, a woman casting her first presidential vote alongside her husband who was casting his seventeenth, and suffragists

⁶⁴⁷ “Women are Rejoicing”, photograph, *Daily News*, 19 August 1920.

⁶⁴⁸ “Women in the Voting Lines for the First Time Feature Presidential Election”, photographs, *Daily News*, 3 November 1920.

⁶⁴⁹ “Women are Rejoicing”, photograph, *Daily News*, 19 August 1920. Tennessee’s ratification of the 19th Amendment marked the moment when it became part of the Constitution. Mississippi was the last to ratify the 19th Amendment, in 1984.

⁶⁵⁰ “Make Women Voters Welcome”, editorial, *The News*, 1 March 1920.

Mary Garrett Hay and Carrie Chapman Catt receiving their first presidential ballots.⁶⁵¹

Inside the newspaper carried a lengthy first-person article as a *Daily News* reporter recounted following women around the voting booth throughout the day. Patterson recognized women, particularly working women and middle class women, as an



important component of his readership.

Patterson's newspaper also didn't shy away from publishing photographs of women at work.⁶⁵² In 1924, the newspaper carried news – and photographs – of the first female dog catchers in the city. In the photo two women in uniform grapple with a medium sized dog and carry animal crates. The caption explains: "First Women Dog Catchers, Jean Gregersom and Jessie Snyder of Brooklyn A.S.P.C.A.

yesterday found their first customer a tough one."⁶⁵³ So while women's work was acceptable, the newspaper still found room for poking a little fun at their "tough customers." Editors knew their audience.

But the newspaper did more than celebrate the right of women to vote and work. The newspaper embraced cultural and social aspects of changes in women's lives as well, and recognized new forms of recreation and a willingness to experiment with sexual mores. Women with short hair, short skirts, and lots of make-up made their way into the pages of the *Daily News*. These women drank illegal alcohol, drove cars, smoked cigarettes, and danced the Charleston.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵¹ "Women in the Voting Lines for the First Time Feature Presidential Election", photographs, *Daily News*, 3 November 1920.

⁶⁵² See also "Bosses All Women", *Daily News*, February 1922; and "Sic 'Em, Lady! Sic 'Em!", editorial, *Daily News*, 1 February 1923.

⁶⁵³ "Hail the Woman!", photograph, *Daily News*, 2 December 1924.

⁶⁵⁴ They appeared not only in the *Daily News*, but in popular literature of the era such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (1920) on film in movies like *It* (1927) and in popular magazines. See also, "Censored", photograph, *Daily News*, 1 September 1921.

In November 1922, the newspaper carried several images of flapper style and influence. In one photograph two French performers are pictured wearing short skirts.



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The caption explains that Parisian women have “heeded America’s protest against long skirts.” In another image, artist Alfred Ringy attempts to restore his painting. Apparently while Ringy spent time away, his painting of Joan of Arc was the victim of vandals who remade the martyr into a flapper – giving her lipstick, modern hair and stylish garb.⁶⁵⁶ Flapper style, alcohol, dancing, and fun played an important role in the newspaper. Patterson encouraged stories that appealed to a “new” audience. He encouraged his employees to think about stories that would have pull in, charm, and fascinate readers. Patterson even issued orders for stories on dancing:

I understand that the dancing now-a-days is greatly changed and sometimes risqué Stop Please put Martha on this story Stop Let her go around to the various places where there is dancing and analyze it Stop She is not to be ever prudish but rather in the line of comparing modern dancing with that of a few years ago.”⁶⁵⁷

A few weeks later, he asked for more: “Can’t you get photographs to illustrate the points you make in your dance articles?”⁶⁵⁸ Patterson did not want to alienate readers – those who embraced the modern and those offended by it. But he did want the newspaper to represent the people of New York and craft a common, shared cultural experience for them in the pages of his

⁶⁵⁵ “Long Skirt ‘Grows’ Short” and “Joan the Flapper? – Horrors!”, *Daily News*, 1 November 1922.

⁶⁵⁶ “Long Skirt ‘Grows’ Short” and “Joan the Flapper? – Horrors!”, *Daily News*, 1 November 1922. See also, “Gloria’s Gowns” and “Charleston to Blame?”, photographs, *Sunday News*, 29 November 1925.

⁶⁵⁷ JMP to M.E. Burke, August 20, 1921, Box 16, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁵⁸ JMP to M.E. Burke, August 29, 1921, Box 16, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

newspaper. Patterson knew beautiful women sold newspapers and he regularly splashed large photographs of them in his newspaper. He ordered his editors to respond accordingly:

We have made great progress during the times that we have had pictures of girls like the bathing girls now and then and the Venus contest. I asked Burke to have pictures of brides frequently since there are such a number of interesting weddings going on in New York⁶⁵⁹

And, indeed, the newspaper did carry frequent photographs of New York's beautiful girls.⁶⁶⁰ In 1922, the newspaper published photographs of "bathing beauties" as part of a Beach Queen Contest sponsored by the newspaper.



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The caption explains that "Fame and Fortune await the beauty who is to be chosen Queen of the New York Beaches, and the girls are now crowding to get in. They are a charming crowd, as witness here ...".⁶⁶² Patterson knew that pretty women – particularly women on the beach in bathing suits – would lure readers. Moreover, pretty girls had the capacity to both attract women, who wanted to follow fashion and style, and men, who wanted to look at pretty girls in bathing suits.

These contests were not rare. The newspaper frequently carried stunts seeking the most beautiful women in the New York area. But contests went further than that. The paper carried hundreds of contests and promotions during the 1920s – almost always with halftone photographs

⁶⁵⁹ JMP to W.H. Field, October 16, 1920, Box 17, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁶⁰ See, for example, "Office and Home Girls Are Prize Beauties of Middle West in *Chicago Tribune* Contest", photographs, *Daily News*, 7 June 1921.

⁶⁶¹ "The Girls are Crowding the Beach Queen Contest, and a Charming Crowd They Are", photographs, *Daily News*, 1 August 1922.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

– aimed at engaging readers and luring them to participate in the life of the newspaper.⁶⁶³ Some contests, however, were rightly killed by Patterson. “It is the idea to first advertise for the ugliest woman in New York ... Miss Donnelly will select one who has possibilities. She will diet her and exercise her, put her through a beauty parlor course, teach her to display her features to their best advantages and to clothe herself properly. The garments we believe can be obtained for photographic purposes from specialty shops by giving them credit under the photographs for the design of the gowns.”⁶⁶⁴ Patterson’s response was to rework the idea: “I don’t like advertising for the ugliest woman stop Take this attitude No woman need be unattractive if she doesn’t want to stop By a rearrangement of your clothes your diet your hair and your sleep you can in a months time become twice as beautiful as you are etc. etc. If you handle it that way I have no objection.”⁶⁶⁵ Patterson was not interested in ridiculing his readers. That was reserved for the lazy, non-workers, criminals, and the wealthy, leisure class.

Patterson was the first to aim a photo-based tabloid newspaper specifically at working class Americans. In the pages of the *Daily News* working class Americans saw a reflection of post-World War I America characterized by leisure activities like sports, movies, and celebrity. But Patterson also recognized that his “masses” had an interest in society, in crime, in sports, in drinking, in bathing beauties, and in scandal. Patterson satisfied this desire by splashing large photographs and detailed stories about the lives and crimes of the rich and famous. Moreover, Patterson appealed to his masses by making the *Daily News* a voice for causes that most affected ordinary working Americans. The newspaper advocated against poor housing conditions, rises in transportation fees, and hereditary inheritance. For the first time, this “mass” of Americans had the opportunity to see itself in photographs in a widely circulated newspaper. This allowed people

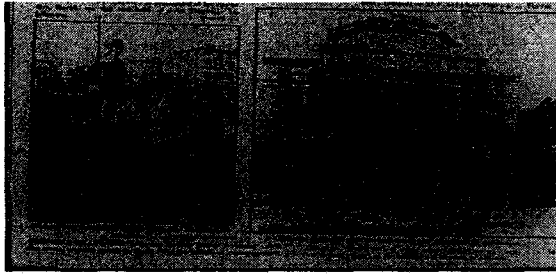
⁶⁶³ For a memo detailing all of the contests see, M.E. Burke to JMP, April 18, 1921, Box 16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC and “A Real Newspaper” memo, April 15, 1921, Box 19, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁶⁴ M.E. Burke to JMP, April 18, 1922, Box 16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁶⁶⁵ JMP to M.E. Burke, April 19, 1922, Box 16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

to see themselves as part of a community, as part of a people that belonged to a select set of leisure activities, a select city, a select nation. By purchasing the newspaper, New Yorkers in the 1920s announced their belonging. But within this appeal to the masses, Patterson was able to perpetuate his vision of national belonging and identity based on patriotism, anti-communist rhetoric, anti-immigration policy and strict assimilation for the immigrants already in the United States.

Chapter 9: “Foreign-Built Americans”: Immigration, Race and Internationalism in the *Daily News*



In early June 1921 the *Daily News* carried two photographs of boisterous Columbia University students parading through the campus and city streets. The images were not unusual; the paper often carried pictures of college students

participating in outdoor activities, graduations, and special occasions. But the all-American undergraduates in these images attract attention not for their parade, but for their attire: native “garb” and costumes from around the world. In one of the photographs the students wear “oriental” costumes (and carry parasols); in another students ride camels.⁶⁶⁶ The caption notes the “weird” clothing from around the world and the nature of the “historic and hilarious procession.” Ironically, the same edition carried photographs of the royal family of Annam.

The photographs offer insight into the world vision propagated by Joseph Medill Patterson and carried in the pages of the *Daily News*. Patterson’s worldview – vehement American nativism articulated by highlighting contrasts between the United States and other countries – was based on patriotism, the United States’ political system, a free market, and the creation of a homogeneous American type. . For Patterson, anything outside these ideals did not meet the political, social, cultural, and economic standards of the United States and was, therefore, inferior. He envisioned the United States as a model to which other nations should aspire. In the pages of the *Daily News* this vision of “America First” appeared almost daily in editorials, photographs, and news stories. In many ways Patterson and the *Daily News* defined Americans by using the pages of the newspaper to define what it was not – such as communist, warlike, monarchical, expansionist – and to fashion an image of other countries, political systems and people as inferior, backward, and uncivilized. In the process, Patterson and his newspaper

⁶⁶⁶ “Columbia Graduates”, photographs, *Sunday News*, 5 June 1921.

crafted an America in opposition to the international scene. His view was of an America that was generous overseas, often manipulated by European powers and conflicts; against the League of Nations and Wilsonian ideals; vehemently anti-Communist and anti-Russian; but one that aspired to be a model to other nations and extend its will within a sphere of influence in the Americas. It was to be a country that served as a city on a hill.

Under the guise of concern for the economic welfare of the common American, but undoubtedly influenced by ideas of American civilization and “barbarian” characteristics of foreigners, Patterson wanted all immigration into the United States stopped and those in the country Americanized. As Matthew Frye Jacobson has suggested, immigrants and foreigners provided native-born white Americans a context in which they forged ideas about national identity.⁶⁶⁷ Where Patterson differs from Jacobson’s assessment is that he articulated a perspective that claimed these people were the raw materials of good Americans and that with education, fierce patriotism, and the free market, they would become a homogenized, American type. Patterson was willing to give those foreigners status as “Americans,” contingent upon their full embrace of Patterson’s “American” ideals. This national identity was on display throughout the 1920s in the pages of the *Daily News*. In this, Patterson helped recast a substantial group of people as American – a part of the national melting pot he advocated in the pages of his newspaper. This melted “American,” according to Patterson, took the best characteristics from which it was made to become a homogenized, but unique, American-type. Yet at the same time as Patterson and his staff strove to integrate immigrants already in the United States into a form of belonging, they also reinforced racial stereotyping, cultural, political, and social hegemony, eugenics, and notions of “whiteness” perpetuated by scholars, writers, and politicians of the era. In effect, this helped reinforce white, middle-class values, demand conformity from citizens, and

⁶⁶⁷ See Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues* and *Whiteness of a Different Color*.

reinforce the inferior status of African American and Asian Americans in the United States.⁶⁶⁸ A vision of national belonging emerged in the paper's pages rooted in patriotism, American values and ideals, and racial unity. But those outside of this vision of national belonging, particularly American Indians, African Americans, Asian-Americans, communists, the super-wealthy and idle, played an important role in defining Patterson's America

As Congress debated restrictive immigration legislation in the early 1920s, the paper articulated this philosophy in its editorial pages.

Race does not merge with race immediately. Immigrants, like misery, love company. They stick with their gang for the first generation and sometimes into the second, because of custom and tongue. But gradually the public school establishes a common tongue and common customs. ... Guido Viafori can talk about Bill Hart and Katie Flaherty, and Tille Hansen has the same interest in the Gumps as Ignace Comelnscky ... We are mixing, and we are mixing right along. Just at present we are content to let well enough alone. We need no more outside materials in the mixture until those already here are blended.⁶⁶⁹

These themes – “racial mixing”, the “melting pot,” restricting the entry of newcomers to allow the “Americanization” of those already in the United States, and the essential need for public education – were centerpieces of the newspaper's editorials, stories, and photographs throughout the first years of its publication.⁶⁷⁰ Used in concert they established a notion of Americanness, citizenship, immigration policy, public education and foreignness for a mass audience. And, Patterson's constructed American served as a model for the working classes and immigrants adopting American culture. This helped attract a broad readership to the paper, expanded what American meant while explicitly excluding others. Americanness was tied to white European traditions and cultures – remade and homogenized by Patterson – and recast American. Moreover, immigrants who purchased the newspaper asserted themselves as American or

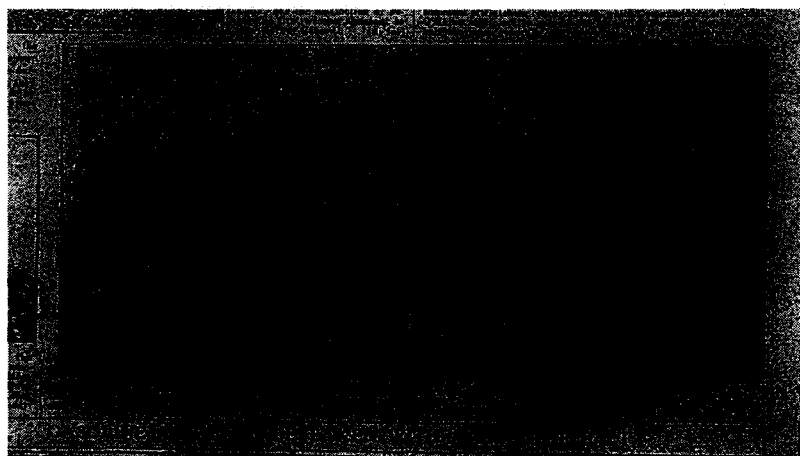
⁶⁶⁸ Latinos were seldom mentioned in the newspaper outside of border conflicts with Mexico during the Mexican Revolution.

⁶⁶⁹ “What is an American?”, editorial, *Daily News*, 7 May 1921.

⁶⁷⁰ Racial here is used in the context Patterson used it – meaning people from various ethnic groups. Education and its importance to Americanization and citizenship is discussed in Part II, Chapter II.

Americanizing by consuming the newspaper. To purchase it was to signify your status as an American and literally and figuratively buy in to the message it promoted.

Within days of the paper's first publication, an editorial establishing this argument ran. It noted that, "Whatever your birth, whatever your race, you are Americans, and believe in America. And America, as long as the world endures, will continue to be a nation which will stand supreme in the world."⁶⁷¹ Likewise, the newspaper frequently backed up these opinions by depicting just how American immigrants could become in photographs and articles. For example, a little more than a year later the newspaper published a photograph of eight men in military uniforms, with their right hands raised, surrounded by American flags. The caption explains:



Red Tape Cut – Eight soldiers, graduates of the Recruit Education Center, Camp Upton, N.Y. yesterday took the oath of citizenship at the Naturalization Bureau. None of the men had been in the service more than a year. From left to right they are Bozo Stagick, Hario Cacciaccarro, Christian Christianson, Frank Delle, Cristafaro Laudato, Joseph Falcomato, Julius Nielsen and Harry Johnson.⁶⁷²

These men, immigrants to the United States, joined the army before becoming naturalized citizens. The photograph demonstrates some of the criteria for being a good American citizen as defined by Patterson and the *Daily News* – patriotism, sacrifice and loyalty.⁶⁷³ The process of

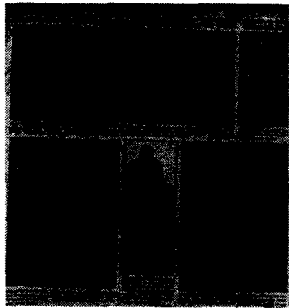
⁶⁷¹ "A Truly Glorious Fourth", editorial, *Illustrated Daily News*, 4 July 1919.

⁶⁷² "Red Tape Cut", photograph, *The News*, 11 September 1920.

⁶⁷³ The men were part of a U.S. Army program, the Recruit Educational Center at one of half a dozen bases in the United States during the period. The men enlisted and were sent for training in English, literacy and American citizenship as well as traditional "soldiering". The idea, according was to "turn them out [as]

Americanizing began (or should) from the moment immigrants arrived at Ellis Island, according to the *Daily News*. The newspaper carried a photo of just-arrived immigrants at Ellis Island on Thanksgiving 1920.

In it, half a dozen people are sitting at a table full of food. The caption reads:



War worn immigrants from Europe found the United States a good place in which to live and found the day one for real thanksgiving. Commissioner Wallis saw to it that all enjoyed a real old-fashioned turkey dinner with all the fixin's [stet] at Ellis Island. Above are shown girls of six nations enjoying Uncle Sam's substantial welcome. Even the baby was provided for.⁶⁷⁴

In short, the newspaper both demonstrated how generous the United States was toward the newcomers and how the process of Americanization began before the newcomers even left Ellis Island. The newcomers celebrated American Thanksgiving, giving thanks, in a way, for the United States, before departing Ellis Island. It is ironic that Patterson, who opposed immigration, worked to capture immigrant readers as soon as they stepped onto Ellis Island. The immigrants, according to the *Daily News* editorial page, appreciated the efforts of the newspaper staff to tell stories with pictures and to use clear, simple language when employing text.

Being a foreigner and only two years in this country, I was unable to read any English newspaper on account of their superabundance of words ... But your way of publishing the world happenings must appeal to everyone and especially to the foreigners as *THE NEWS* is written in very plain language. – M.M.⁶⁷⁵

Patterson surely recognized that appealing to the “masses” also meant appealing to a large new group – the millions of immigrants that flooded into New York City during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Photographs made the paper as accessible to them as it did to the working classes, and provided a fresh and abundant audience for the newspaper. The newspaper was also

intelligent, patriotic, and disciplined American soldiers and citizens.” In, “The Army’s Work as Americanizer”, *New York Times*, 21 November 1920.

⁶⁷⁴ “Refugees of Six Nations Are Guests of Uncle Sam at Thanksgiving Dinner”, photograph, *Daily News*, 26 November 1920. See also, “Future Americans”, photograph, *The News*, 2 June 1920

⁶⁷⁵ “A Foreigner’s Appreciation of *The News*”, letter to the editor, *Illustrated Daily News*, 1 September 1919.

useful for immigrants and the foreign-born. It taught them about American life and culture, as defined by Patterson and his staff, and allowed them to “read” the photograph. In time, reading the abundant pictures and deciphering text might help them with English language literacy. It also allowed Patterson to extend the audience and profits of the newspaper. The newspaper’s editorials were more direct. In one 1920 editorial the paper noted:

This country, as we repeatedly have said, is for Americans. That does not mean native-born Americans, but it does mean men and women who believe in America and American ideals ... Of our millions of foreign born population the great majority are as truly American as the descendants of the Knickerbockers and the Pilgrim Fathers. They came to this country because it offered a haven for the oppressed and an opportunity to the ambitious. They have remained here to become good citizens and to bring up good American children.”⁶⁷⁶

In another, editorial writers – Patterson, when not writing the editorials, dictated and established their content – went so far as to call immigrants “foreign-built Americans”:⁶⁷⁷

The first Americans were Europeans. They were such good Americans that they have supplied a model for Americanism for three hundred years ... All Americans who come from Europe are not of the same stuff that these Pilgrims were, but all of them ought to be... They can be if they are taken in hand when they arrive and taught a few things about this country and its government... The man or woman who leaves Europe to come to America has at least enterprise and independence. That is a great deal. They usually have also a craving for liberty. That is still better ... Catch these people in time, make them understand that this is a country of equal opportunity, and that if they work instead of loaf they will attain the blessings for which they came, they will become the best kinds of Americans ... Education and work will make the immigrants of to-day good Americans. And it cannot be started too early.⁶⁷⁸

It’s interesting to note the very next day, the paper’s editorial page carried an opinion piece about Columbus Day – and specifically cited the contribution of Italians to the founding of America and ignored American Indians entirely. “And in celebrating it all Americans are glad that so many of

⁶⁷⁶ “Send Them Where They Belong”, editorial, *Illustrated Daily News*, 18 October 1919.

⁶⁷⁷ Leo McGivena notes that during the 1920s Patterson would meet with the editorial writer every morning to talk about specific ideas for the following day’s editorial. Typically the editorial writer didn’t speak much during these meetings. The final editorial was given to Patterson for review and approval in the afternoon. See McGivena, *The News*.

⁶⁷⁸ “Foreign-Built Americans”, editorial, *Daily News*, 11 October 1920.

the great Italian's countrymen have found homes and prosperity in the world he discovered."⁶⁷⁹ Yet, the newspaper treated displays of Italian culture as a curiosity – and certainly not American – they still need to be assimilated or “melted” into a homogeneous American type. The newspaper marked a 1920 Italian summer celebration of Our Lady Mary's Day with a half page photograph. The image shows a crowd of people parading through a city street, many of them carrying statues and figures. The caption, however, treats the parade as an oddity:



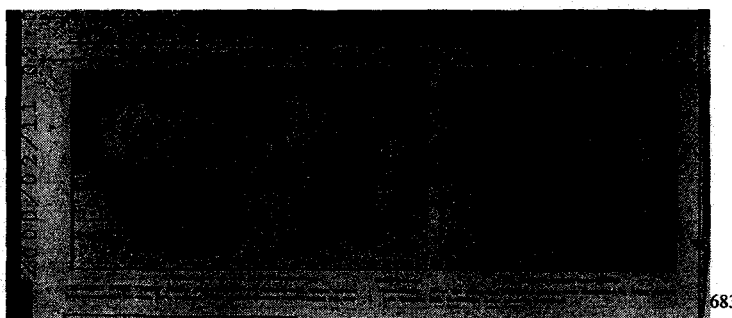
Strange Processions wound their way through 'Little Italy' yesterday, to the Mount Carmel Church in East 115th Street where the marchers offered penance for their sins. It was part of the Italian ceremony of celebrating Our Lady Mary's Day. Many of the marchers carried strange wax models.⁶⁸⁰

With a large Italian immigrant population the *Daily News* could not ignore events that attracted thousands, but they did stop short of weaving their behaviors and traditions into the “melted” American citizen. The Italian celebration represented a culture and people in the process of assimilating into Patterson's homogeneous American type. But, until they were Americanized, they were treated as outsiders. National belonging was defined by Patterson against those who didn't belong like specific racial groups, the politically undesirable like communists, and the unassimilated foreign-born.

⁶⁷⁹ “Columbus Day”, editorial, *Daily News*, 12 October 1920.

⁶⁸⁰ “Italians Celebrate Our Lady Mary's Day With Old Fashioned Pilgrimages”, photograph, *The News*, 17 July 1920. See also, “Giant Statue in Italian Parade”, photograph, *The News*, 7 September 1920

Acceptance of “foreign-born Americans” didn’t translate into acceptance of more immigrants and Patterson and his newspaper often placed vehement anti-immigration policy in the context of jobless numbers and serving the population already in America.⁶⁸¹ Opposition to additional immigrants was also contextualized by the *Daily News* as a desire to protect those who had already emigrated and give them opportunities enjoyed by other Americans. The newspaper regularly published photographs that showed the “serious condition” and “neglect” in urban tenements and streets – the very places where immigrants lived.⁶⁸²



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Throughout 1920 the newspaper published a series of photographs depicting poor living conditions and loosely tying those conditions to overcrowding, and excessive immigration.⁶⁸⁴ In July 1920 the newspaper carried photographs of children playing in trash and dumps on Lower East Side streets. The meaning is clear: due to overcrowding in the city, caused primarily by the influx of immigrants, conditions are unsuitable, particularly for children. Patterson does not blame the immigrants, instead he focuses attention on what he considers laws that encourage immigration and inattention of landlords to their properties. That same month, the newspaper carried a photograph of hundreds of women waiting to board buses. The caption explains:

Fresh Air Season Opens – 400 tenement mothers and babies left from the food of East Twenty-third street yesterday in motor buses en route for Sea Breeze Home, Coney Island, one of the establishments conducted by the New York Association

⁶⁸¹See, “Importing Misery”, editorial, *Daily News*, 19 November 1920 and “Selection and Distribution of Immigrants”, editorial, *Daily News*, 29 November 1920

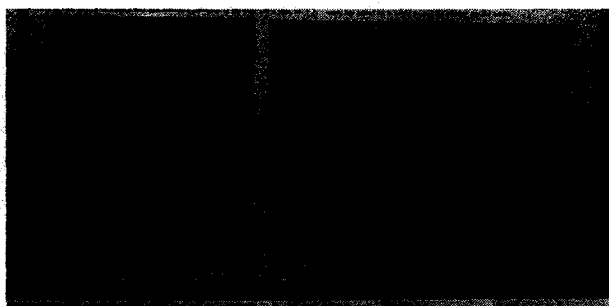
⁶⁸² “Photographs Show East Side Streets Are Again In Serious Condition of Neglect”, photograph spread, *The News*, 20 July 1920.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ The newspaper claimed there was excessive immigration, but World War I actually lowered immigration in the second decade of the twentieth century.

for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The outing, one of a series to be conducted during the summer months by the organization, will last two weeks.⁶⁸⁵

The paper manages to point out that the overcrowding in working class and immigrant neighborhoods leads to charitable relief, and emphasize the point with a photograph illustrating just how many mothers are jammed into the area to board buses. In photographs the same week, the newspaper illustrated a new “high tide” of immigrants into the city. Side by side, these images explicitly demand the United States provide for immigrants already in the United States. In one front page photograph at Ellis Island recently-arrived families are surrounded by a few suitcases and other new arrivals.⁶⁸⁶



The caption explains that a record 18,161 people were “inspected” at Ellis Island during a seven-day period.

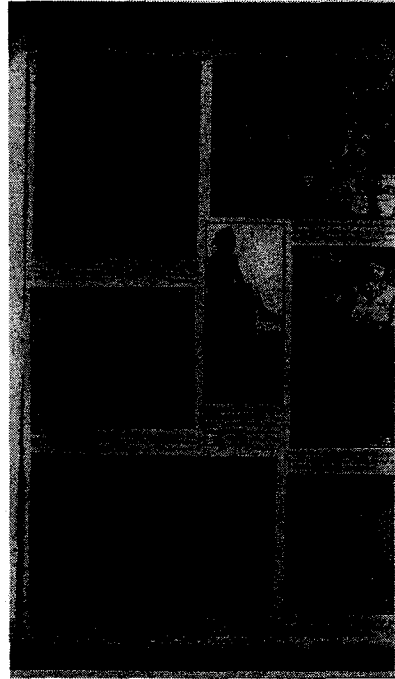
The paper stoked American fears about the number of immigrants in an editorial in which the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration said steamship lines had “reported to him that 15,000,000 Europeans, representing all classes and governments, are clamoring for passage to America.”⁶⁸⁷ The paper takes issue with this and notes that Americans should be “devoted to the improvement of American conditions for Americans rather than the relief of indigent or otherwise unfortunate individuals in Europe.” Finally, the editorial closes with a call for Americans to oppose

⁶⁸⁵ “Fresh Air Season”, photograph, *The News*, 2 July 1920.

⁶⁸⁶ “High Tide”, photograph, *The News*, 12 July 1920. See also, “Relief for Ellis Island”, photograph, *The News*, 28 September 1920.

⁶⁸⁷ “More About the Immigration Menace”, editorial, *Daily News*, 6 December 1920.

immigration – “we believe some 100,000,000 Americans are likely soon to be clamoring that they be kept out.”⁶⁸⁸



Immigration into the United States from Europe declined significantly during World War I. Following the war, immigration rose steeply with some 1.5 million immigrants arriving in the country in the second half of 1920 and the first half of 1921. Those arriving came primarily from the “new immigrant” origins, particularly southern Europe and Jews.⁶⁸⁹ Between 1880 and 1920 more than 1.5 million immigrants settled in New York City, driving the foreign-born population of the city to more than 40 percent.⁶⁹⁰ The *Daily News* positions itself as the authority on what the “masses” want and uses that authority to promote a specific world vision: in this case a political position calling for the protection of those who are already American. To illustrate the point, the newspaper in October 1920 ran a story about immigrants arriving at Ellis Island at a rate of more than 3,000 a day and a full page of photographs showing how New York’s housing capacity was

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ See, Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, pp 144-154. European immigration shifted toward Southern and Eastern Europeans (including Jews) just before the turn of the twentieth century. During World War I immigration from Europe declined to record lows.

⁶⁹⁰ For more on the wave of immigrants into New York City see Nancy Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York’s Two Great Waves of Immigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

already taxed to the limit.⁶⁹¹ A line at the end of the news story directs readers to the page of photographs. The photograph page, under the headline “New York City’s Housing Capacity Already Taxed to Utmost ...”, depict immigrants and their families in various situations in and around New York and Ellis Island and include “typical Czech children” and a “typical Russian family” that has “deserted” their homeland, “Red Russia.”⁶⁹² The caption reads “Anxious relatives of newly arrived immigrants are often forced to stand for hours outside the gates of the immigration station before they are admitted to see their kinsmen. Fifty per cent of the immigrants, it is estimated, expect to make their homes in this city.” The newspaper draws explicit connections between New York’s housing crunch and the influx of new immigrants.⁶⁹³ There is no subtlety. According to the newspaper, New York’s housing crisis is caused by immigration. Immigrants are flooding into the United States, exacerbating the situation. In fact, housing in the Lower East Side, where a number of immigrant groups gathered, was overcrowded.⁶⁹⁴ The paper rouses some sympathy for the immigrants by showing children waiting to eat and trying to find space to be alone; it also uses those images to argue that it hurts immigrants for the United States to continue to welcome them. They’re subject to over-crowding and long waits at Ellis Island and face an expensive, tight labor and housing market once ashore. In addition, the photographs reinforce ethnic stereotypes by showing “typical Czech” and “typical Russian” families.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹¹ “Immigrants Storm Ellis Island, Arriving at Rate of 3,000 a Day”, story, and “New York City’s Housing The post World War I surge helped precipitate a quota system beginning in Capacity Already Taxed to Utmost”, photographs, *The News*, 1 October 1920.

⁶⁹² “New York City’s Housing Capacity Already Taxed”, photographs, *The News*, 1 October 1920.

⁶⁹³ In fact, the Lower East Side of Manhattan did have a housing crunch in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. For more on housing in New York City, see Mario Maffi, *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures on New York’s Lower East Side* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi B.V., 1994); and, especially, Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). In Burrows, see especially, Chapter 63, “The New Immigrants”.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁵ Tenements are discussed at length in the previous chapter. “Few Evictions Mark Traditional Moving Day – Tenements Constitute Health Risk”, photographs, *The News*, 2 October 1920.

The immigration hysteria was, predictably, more astute and directed during the first few years of the *Daily News*' run. Indeed, the early years of the *Daily News* coincided with the passage of highly restrictive immigration legislation, increasing worry about the "right" kind of immigrants, and public opposition to further eastern and southern European immigration. Patterson believed in the inferiority of other cultures ("races") and in hierarchical scales of civilization and political systems.⁶⁹⁶ That is, until the immigrants were educated in American schools in American values. At that point, according to Patterson, they became American.

Swelling nativism, the 1919-1920 Red Scare, increasing Ku Klux Klan membership, publication of books like Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*, and other events helped propel restrictions on immigration at the end of the 1910s and during the 1920s.⁶⁹⁷ Already excluding most immigrants from Asian countries, in 1921 Congress passed the Emergency Immigration Act, limiting European immigration to 3 percent of the foreign-born of any nationality in the 1910 U.S. census. In 1924 Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Act, restricting immigration to 2 percent of the number of people from that country living in the United States in 1890. This, of course, decimated the number of immigrants who could enter the U.S. from southern and eastern European countries. Overall, immigration from southern and eastern European countries fell dramatically during the mid-to-late 1920s – just as Patterson and others of the era hoped it would.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁶ See, for example, the Dillingham Commission's Report on Immigration, *A Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, where Europeans are cast into "races" based on their language and cultural differences and creates hierarchies based on physical appearance, "skills", "morality", "intellect", and levels of "savagery".

⁶⁹⁷ Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, p. 139-140. Roediger notes that other historians have shown that Madison Grant occupied key policy roles in shaping immigration legislation that restricted newcomers.

⁶⁹⁸ For example, the number of immigrants who arrived from Russia/Soviet Union, declined from more than 2.5 million from 1900-1920 to about 62,000 from 1920-1940. Likewise, more than 3 million Italian immigrants entered the United States from 1900-1920; from 1920-1940, the number decreased to slightly more than 500,000. Articles, studies, and imagery of immigrants and immigration done by the *Daily News* also were in demand from government officials. The fact that the newspaper received requests for information from government officials for entry into the record as the "facts" of the issue means the newspaper had an undeniable influence in shaping not only public opinion, but official government opinion as well. The chairman of the committee on census of the House of Representatives wrote in 1921 as the immigration debate continued: May I ask you to kindly send me three full sets of the articles which have been written by Miss Geneiveve Forbes in order to have some placed before the committee on immigration

In editorials and photographs leading up to the restrictive legislation, the *Daily News* relentlessly supported limits on who could enter the country.⁶⁹⁹ After Congress passed the immigration bill, the newspaper noted that “we can make 100 per cent Americans of a three per cent immigration” and that it “will mean protection to American workingmen and a continuance of American living conditions.” The paper congratulated the “patriotic” members of Congress for doing a good job and protecting the country from “what would have been an overwhelming influx of illiterate and perhaps criminal immigrants.”⁷⁰⁰ So while Patterson and the newspaper could and did defend those already in America – and accept them as American – they saw outsiders, those without American values or citizenship, as inferior.

When immigrants were involved in crime and scandal once inside the United States, the *Daily News* was quick to emphasize their ethnic origins and their failure to assimilate and become true Americans.⁷⁰¹ In 1921, just as the debate about immigration reached its peak, the newspaper ran a series of stories about the kidnapping of a five-year-old Italian-American boy from his New York City home. The case was handled by the New York City Police Department’s Italian Squad, a unit founded in the first decade of the 20th century to deal with Italian-instigated crimes, particularly organized crime.⁷⁰² Stories highlight how the suspects signed a confession in the “Sicilian dialect” and that the five men held for kidnapping and blackmail were Italians and members of a gang. At the same time, the story credits the Italian squad, composed of mostly Italian-American officers, for their work in uncovering the plot and discovering the kidnapers.

and naturalization of the house of representatives [sic], the senate committee on immigration and naturalization and Secretary of Labor Davis. I have read some of them, and the facts stated therein are sufficiently startling as to bring the truth before the authorities mentioned above ... See, M.E. Burke to JMP, October 24, 1921, Box 16, Folder 3, JMP Papers, LFC.

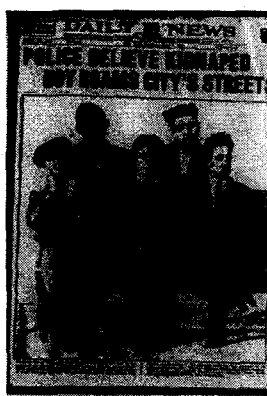
⁶⁹⁹ See, “Checks on Immigration”, editorial, *Daily News*, 15 December 1920; “Save America First”, editorial, *Daily News*, 20 December 1920; and “Overloading the Melting Pot”, editorial, *Daily News*, 15 March 1921.

⁷⁰⁰ “Three Per Cent Immigration and 100 Per Cent Americans”, editorial, *Daily News*, 17 May 1921.

⁷⁰¹ Of course, most of the crimes committed in New York had nothing to do with new immigrants. And, the *Daily News* did run daily crime stories, basing much of its circulation lure on crime and sensationalism.

⁷⁰² “Return of Kidnaped [sic] Boy Expected Soon: Suspects’ Confessions Give Police Clew To Kidnapers Identity”, story, *Daily News*, 4 June 1921. The boy, seized outside his home, was taken by a “gang” of Sicilian immigrants to blackmail \$500 from the child’s father, according to stories published in the *Daily News*.

In a sense, the story serves to undermine Italians who have not assimilated and become law-abiding Americans by portraying them as Italian with no ties to the United States. On the other hand, the story points to the Italian officers, including the female officer who found the kidnapers, as an example of good, law-abiding Americans. They are the success story. They have embraced American society so well that they are American law enforcement. The same day the lengthy story ran, the newspaper dedicated the entire front page to a photograph of the five suspects held by police. The caption explains the men's capture:



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Snared by a woman's wit. - Information which will lead to the arrest of the kidnaper [sic] of five-year-old Giuseppe Varotta when a Black Hand demand for \$2500 was ignored, was obtained yesterday from two of these five men, who had been arrested through a ruse of Mrs. Ray Nicolli, a patrolwoman.⁷⁰⁵

The next day the paper carried a photo of the young boy with a caption that notes that the alleged kidnapers have their "lips sealed through fear of a vendetta" and refuse to offer further information as to the boy's whereabouts.⁷⁰⁶ The boy, named Giuseppe Varotta, is also from an immigrant family. But his family is law-abiding, and Americanizing, they are part of the new world. The kidnapers are ruled by vendettas and the old world.

⁷⁰³ "Police Believe Kidnaped [sic] Boy Roams City's Streets", photograph, *Daily News*, 4 June 1921.

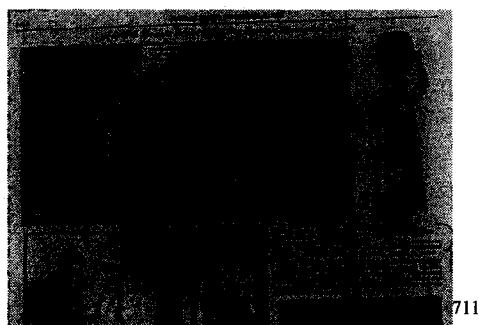
⁷⁰⁴ "If You See This Boy Notify Police", photograph/caption, *Daily News*, 5 June 1921.

⁷⁰⁵ "Police Believe Kidnaped [sic] Boy Roams City's Streets", photograph, *Daily News*, 4 June 1921.

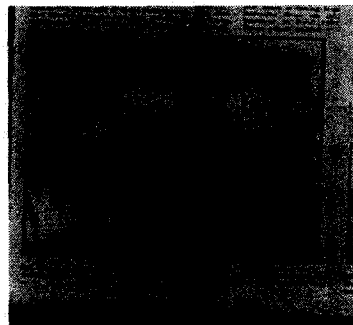
⁷⁰⁶ "If You See This Boy Notify Police", photograph/caption, *Daily News*, 5 June 1921. For other examples of how immigrants were portrayed: "Pet Hen From Turkey", photograph, *The News*, 24 August 1920

Another group that spurred disdain from the newspaper and Patterson: Communists. For Patterson, once a self-proclaimed socialist, it marked an interesting shift.⁷⁰⁷ The newspaper was avid in its anti-communism and anti-Red campaigns from inception. A 1919 editorial calls for sending “the trouble makers home”, because it is “criminal” they are allowed to stay. It goes on to say it would be good to have “all of them sent back to the country from which they came. Surely they have no place in American life ...”⁷⁰⁸ For Patterson, communists would never be assimilated in American society, would never belong.

The *Daily News* continued to run stories and photographs about immigrants attempting to enter the United States – some in violation of the new quotas – throughout the 1920s. The editorial position of the paper rested on not allowing “sentiment for the immigrant ... obscure the best interests of the United States.”⁷⁰⁹ It was easier said than done. After restrictive legislation was in place, the newspaper carried occasional photos of immigrants at Ellis Island attempting to arrive before quotas filled. In 1922 the newspaper published several photographs of Italian immigrants. In one image a group of immigrants with suitcases are running through Ellis Island to reach officials before the quota is filled.⁷¹⁰



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⁷⁰⁷ Patterson’s flirtation with socialism is discussed in Part II, Chapter I.

⁷⁰⁸ “Send the Trouble Makers Home”, editorial, *Illustrated Daily News*, 29 August 1919. The *Daily News*’ position on Communism is discussed at length in the next chapter.

⁷⁰⁹ “Sentiment and Immigration”, editorial, *Daily News*, 1 November 1923.

⁷¹⁰ “Hopeful Hearts from Italy See Quota’s Sorrowful Sunset”, photographs, *Daily News*, 3 December 1922.

⁷¹¹ “Hopeful Hearts from Italy See Quota’s Sorrowful Sunset”, photographs, *Daily News*, 3 December 1922.

⁷¹² “In!”, photograph, *Daily News*, 6 June 1923.

Nearby is an image of a woman balancing a barrel on her head. The caption explains how the immigrants are trying to beat the quota: “When these immigrants learned yesterday at the reception station that the quota was almost exhausted they rushed the gates.” Moreover, the caption goes on to explain that several steamers full of Italian immigrants arrived, a “frantic rush and stampede” ensued, and a number of potential immigrants were sent back to Italy (including the woman who paused to have her photograph taken with the barrel on her head).⁷¹³ The next year, as the quota for Swedish immigrants reached fulfillment, the newspaper ran a photograph of three children posed for the camera on Ellis Island. The caption reads, “In! These picturesque little Swedes (left to right) Harry, Karl and Henry Johansson were yesterday counted in as the last of this year’s Swedish quota. With parents, they’ll settle down on Michigan farm and grow up in the U.S.”⁷¹⁴ The Swedish children are desirable immigrants by the *Daily News*’ standards – they’ve arrived with their family, they’ll be living outside New York City, contributing to the American economy by farming, and they are young enough that education will make them Americans. That was not the case for most immigrants clamoring for admission in the 1920s, according to the newspaper.⁷¹⁵

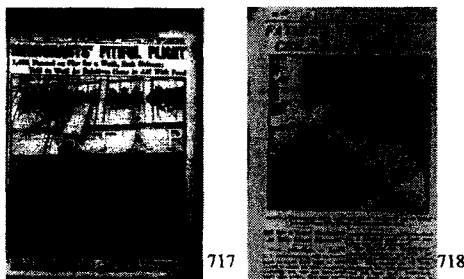
Despite animosity, the newspaper did chronicle trials faced by new arrivals with stories of those trapped on Ellis Island, photographs of immigrants taking the citizenship oath, and images of how “grateful” new immigrants were toward their new home (and, at times, the *Daily News*) and how much foreigners wished they, too, could be Americans. In the 1920s the newspaper published numerous stories with a sympathetic tilt toward immigrants trapped at Ellis Island or in quarantine. In 1921, as a group of more than 1,400 was held on a pier in quarantine, the newspaper dedicated the entire front page to their predicament.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Ibid.

⁷¹⁴ “In!”, photograph, *Daily News*, 6 June 1923.

⁷¹⁵ See also, “Alien Jam at U.S. Gateway”, headline and photographs, *Daily News*, 2 July 1923; “In Mad Rush for America’s Opportunities, Alien Thousands Arrive”, photographs, *Daily News*, 2 July 1923; “The Ridiculous Race”, editorial, *Daily News*, 3 July 1923.

⁷¹⁶ “Immigrants’ Pitiful Plight”, headline and photograph, *Daily News*, 1 March 1921.



The headline reads: “Immigrants’ Pitiful Plight: 1,400 Penned on Pier for a Week, Seek Release; Told to Wait as Relatives Come to Aid With Food”. The caption explains that the immigrants are waiting their turn for examination at Ellis Island and that officials are making sure none of the foreigners carries a communicable disease. But, these immigrants might just make good Americans according to Patterson’s criteria – one of them developed a way to receive extra food and clothing by dropping a rope and, “invention became the mother of imitation and within a short time scores of string and slender rope were doing full duty.”⁷¹⁹

Immigration officials and Ellis Island examiners often received less than favorable evaluations in the pages of the newspaper. In 1923 a father won his daughter from officials at Ellis Island after a two year fight.⁷²⁰ The girl, 10, was held at Ellis Island’s medical facility, initially for medical attention; later because her father hadn’t paid the \$822 the government claimed he owed them for her medical care. The photograph shows Concetta Dellacioppa, the mother, embracing her daughter Edith Vercelli Dellacioppa. The story explains the girl was finally released after the Secretary of Labor (James J. Davis) heard about the story and ordered Dellacioppa’s immediate release to her family.⁷²¹

Citizenship oath ceremonies gave the *Daily News* a chance to sing the praises of the American system and chronicle how it worked for law abiding immigrants who embraced American values and ideals. In early 1923 the newspaper ran a photograph of a large group of

⁷¹⁷ “Immigrants’ Pitiful Plight”, headline and photograph, *Daily News*, 1 March 1921

⁷¹⁸ “Father’s Fight Wins Child Back from U.S.”, story and photograph, *Daily News*, 1 June 1923.

⁷¹⁹ “Immigrants’ Pitiful Plight”, headline and photograph, *Daily News*, 1 March 1921

⁷²⁰ “Father’s Fight Wins Child Back from U.S.”, story and photograph, *Daily News*, 1 June 1923.

⁷²¹ See also, “Immigration Tragedy”, photograph, *Daily News*, 27 January 1924.

people taking the oath in front of a large American flag. The photo shows the backs of the new citizens, with right hands raised. A judge and other officials stand before them. The caption says “in appreciation of honor accorded them in permitting them to become American citizens, two hundred Poles who took the oath of allegiance in Chicago, presented the court with an American flag of huge dimensions.”⁷²²



The photograph shows these new citizens as embracing American ideals by giving the flag – a supposed symbol of American freedom and values – to the court in a gesture of thanks. It was a privilege to become an American citizen, something Patterson wanted his readers to understand and take seriously.⁷²³

Once immigration restrictions were in place, Patterson and *Daily News* staffers turned their attention to the education of the foreign born already in the United States. Education was the centerpiece of Patterson and the *Daily News*' platform for the Americanization of foreign-born and children of immigrants.

Children of foreign parents grow up to be Americans. They learn naturally and easily to speak English without accent. They adopt the customs of the country ... Italians, Russians, Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Greeks, Armenians, all with their own notions of behavior, must be taught what real liberty means and made to understand what America really is. With a sufficient number of teachers and adequate school facilities this task, difficult as it seems may be accomplished.⁷²⁴

While many immigrants, according to Patterson's *Daily News*, became “good Americans” by attending school and being indoctrinated with American, middle-class values, there were still

⁷²² “New Citizens Give Court New Flag”, photograph, *Daily News*, 1 January 1924.

⁷²³ See also, “New Land in New Year”, photograph, *Daily News*, 2 January 1924 and “A New Land”, photograph, *Daily News*, 31 March 1924.

⁷²⁴ “The Fire Under the Melting Pot”, editorial, *Daily News*, 7 August 1921. See also, “Part-Time Schools and Part-Time Americans”, editorial, *Daily News*, 6 October 1921; and “Studious”, photograph, *Daily News*, 6 July 1923. The importance of schools to citizenship and national belonging are covered in more detail in Part II, Chapter II.

aspects of the foreign-born that the newspaper used to perpetuate stereotypes and reinforce existing paradigms. Some, of course, were Patterson's deplored Communists/Reds, some criminals, some immigrants from the wrong ilk, unwilling to assimilate to Patterson's narrow definitions of Americanness, and some considered among those who could not be assimilated (i.e. Chinese, Japanese, and – while certainly not immigrants – black Americans).⁷²⁵

Patterson's newspaper reinforced existing prejudices about African Americans and Asian Americans as outside mainstream American culture. Whiteness, then, was one of the ways the *Daily News* identified the ability to assimilate.⁷²⁶ And whiteness became – in time and post-assimilation – a marker by which Americanness was measured. The newspaper promoted this same vision when it counted blacks and immigrants from Asian countries among those who could not be assimilated and, in fact, decried the potential arrival of more immigrants. "The problem is one of Japanese immigration ... a real danger to their standards of living and a competition which is damaging the prosperity and defeating the ambitions of their own nationals" a 1920 editorial published in the paper read on the question of where Japanese immigrants should immigrate.⁷²⁷ Moreover, editorial writers were quick to note that African Americans represented 10 percent of the U.S. population – a 10 percent that could not be assimilated into national culture: "We have welcomed and do welcome the infusion of virtues from other stocks, but the trend of the United States must be toward homogeneity. Already nearly

⁷²⁵ See editorials, photographs and stories discussed about race later in this chapter.

⁷²⁶ For scholarly debates on immigrants and whiteness (including the timing of whiteness) see, for example, Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White, The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). See also, Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996) and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

⁷²⁷ "The Anglo-Jap Treaty – An Opportunity", editorial, *The News*, 17 July 1920.

a tenth of the nation, the negro population, is not assimilated, and few think that it can be.”⁷²⁸ The *Daily News* used African Americans as an example of why further racial immigration was problematic.⁷²⁹ The claim that African Americans could not be assimilated, according to the newspaper, put the United States at a disadvantage in creating the homogeneous American society Patterson and his writers envisioned. In defining “What is an American?” the paper noted, “Isn’t he composed of more or less of every race, save the black and the yellow, that followed the quest of liberty to our shores?”⁷³⁰ Thus, the newspaper, like Patterson, took the position, in text, that European immigrants, once assimilated, were Americans based on their adoption of American values and ideas and the color of their skin.⁷³¹ African Americans, Asian Americans, and even American Indians were important in defining Patterson’s Jazz Age Americans based on their exclusion from the vision.

Race was a difficult issue for Patterson and the *Daily News* staff, and the pages of the newspaper tell a complex story about race relations in 1920s New York. As Patterson and his editors grappled with if, and how, to include American Indians, African Americans, Asian Americans and Latino Americans, a transformation occurred in the urban environment they occupied. New York City was one of the most diverse places in the United States during the 1920s, and editors constantly confronted how, or even if, to include African Americans and American Indians. While the newspaper did not consider most African Americans and Asian Americans among “true” Americans who could be assimilated into the homogeneous American type editors advocated, Patterson and his peers recognized significant numbers of both groups occupied an important, and growing, place in the urban environment. All three groups became essential in helping Patterson define national belonging. While he could not deny that they were

⁷²⁸ “Breeding True”, editorial, *Daily News*, 8 December 1920. The question of Japanese immigration is discussed further in the next chapter and in PART III: C.K. McClatchy’s America.

⁷²⁹ Racial here refers to people from Asian countries.

⁷³⁰ “What is an American?”, editorial, *Daily News*, 7 May 1921.

⁷³¹ Though, of course, Roediger, Jacobson and others argue about when exactly immigrants became “white” and when “race” stopped being used interchangeably with ethnicity or origin. Patterson’s public position puts this in the early 1920s at the moment of “assimilation”.

part of the American landscape, he did situate them outside of his American vision, thereby making them important in defining national belonging.

American Indians

The newspaper regularly carried photographs of American Indians that acknowledged their role as the first Americans, but also treated them as curious artifacts of history. They appear as fish-out-of-water in the city, almost always are photographed in traditional costume, are shown experiencing American life as if they are not a part of the ordinary world the “masses” occupy, and are used to promote a stereotype of simple English speaking people who, though “noble,” remain outside the “civilized” world. Americans looked to Indians to help define national identity in a world struggling with modernity and a search for authenticity.⁷³²



While American Indians are pictured in the *Daily News* as non-threatening and an almost dying civilization and way of life, they're also presented as noble, authentic, and truly American. In 1919, the News ran a photograph of three American Indians in traditional dress under the headline “Indian Debutantes at Reunion”. The caption reveals why they appear unhappy: “Alas, Poor Miss Lo – At the last

⁷³² See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Deloria’s study examines the ways white Americans “played” Indian through American history – using the play to construct various identities – including personal and national identities. In his treatment of the first half of the 20th century, Deloria argues that modernization, characterized by Alan Trachtenberg’s “incorporation of America”, marked a cultural shift that encouraged the “objectification of products and people alike”. At the same time, Americans experienced what he characterizes as a loss of rootedness that worried intellectuals thought meant a people losing track of their individual and social identities. American identity became increasingly tied to the search for authentic social identity that gave meaning to people anxious about modernity. During the early 20th century this led intellectuals to advocate a return to the frontier – scouting, wilderness, and nature study. Deloria traces how Boy Scouts’ founder Ernest Thompson Seton recast Indians as figures within the American boundaries – that is to say, they represented the “images, emotions, and ideologies” of Americanness. Intellectuals used Indian “characteristics” to “reimagine and dispute a contradictory American identity”. See, chapter four: “Natural Indians and Identities of Modernity”, pp 95-127.

reunion of the Apache tripe at Mescalera, N.M., it was stated that the tribe is rapidly dying out. These debutantes attended the session.”⁷³³ These women represent a lost society.⁷³⁴ This relationship with the land, native artifacts, and traditional dress allows Americans to view the Indians as a connection to the past and unattached from the trappings of modern America, including those considered weak. Yet, at the same time, the American Indian is looked to as an authentic, “real” American.⁷³⁵



Editors were quick to point out the service and contribution of American Indians. “Proudest – Chief William Neptune, of the Indian village of Deeting Oaks near Portland, ME, whose tribe supplied twenty-four soldiers during the war is the proudest man at the Maine centennial celebration at Portland.”⁷³⁶ In the accompanying photograph Neptune wears a feather headdress, ear decorations, and a woven scarf. In celebrating the military achievement of American Indians and photographing Chief Neptune in a feather headdress the editors reassert the American Indians ties to a true American identity. Neptune embodies this. As an Indian he represents those values Americans hold most dear – freedom, personal liberty, and a relationship with the land. In addition, he proves his dedication to contemporary America with his military service. Yet at the same time, the photograph depicts him as an “other,” an exotic. He is still outside contemporary America, yet is revered because he is no longer a real threat.

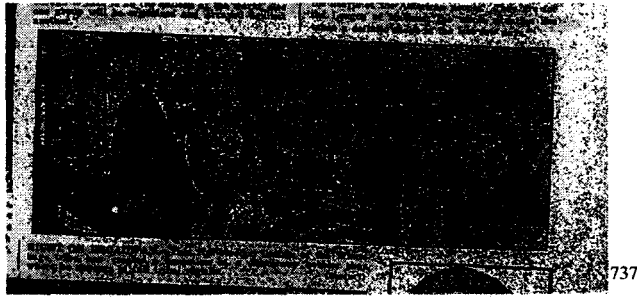
American Indians were also pictured in the pages of the newspaper as out of place in the bustling metropolis. In 1920, the newspaper carried a photograph of an Indian – immediately identifiable by his long dark hair and Indian-style dress – attracting attention in the city.

⁷³³ *Illustrated Daily News*, July 16, 1919.

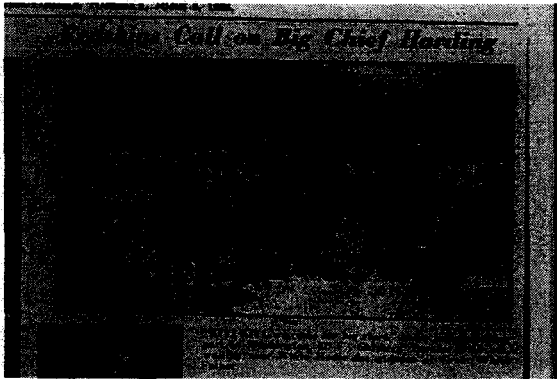
⁷³⁴ See also, *Daily News*, October 1, 1924; *Illustrated Daily News*, September 1, 1919; *Daily News*, August 1, 1922; and *The News*, December, 2, 1919.

⁷³⁵ Deloria, *Playing Indian*. Deloria examines how “playing Indians” by whites served as a rite of passage into nationhood and is intimately tied to the articulation and construction of an authentic, “real” American identity.

⁷³⁶ *The News*, July 3, 1920



Noted the caption, “Right on Broadway – This full-blooded Indian of the Winnebago tribe has created a sensation in a Broadway cobbler shop where he appears in full tribal regalia.”⁷³⁷ So, while American Indians might represent true and authentic Americans, they are not prepared for the reality of a modern American city. It is not where they belong, it is not authentic, according to the *Daily News*. These authentic Americans are out of place in the modern world.⁷³⁹



Meetings between American Indian leaders and politicians, as well as international visitors, also proved newsworthy for the *Daily News* and reinforced stereotypes about American Indians. In 1923, the newspaper published a photograph of American Indians,

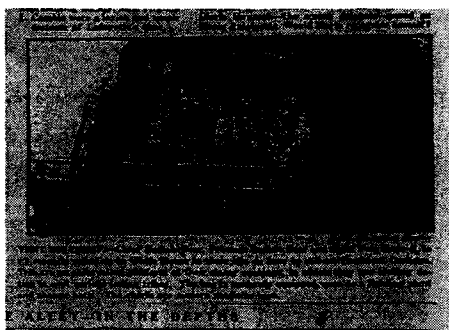
wearing feather headdresses, and riding horses through Washington D.C. The headline explains: “Redskins Call on Big Chief Harding”, and the caption takes it further: “‘Kiyi Kiyi, we come see big chief,’ these Indians taking part in Washington D.C. Shriners’ Parade, cried out, waiting near White House for glimpse of Great White Father.”⁷⁴⁰ The president spent time with authentic, true Americans, instilling him with authenticity and – by extension – authority over them. In 1925 the newspaper ran a photograph of three Indians in headdresses and other traditional American Indian garb visiting the White House.

⁷³⁷ “Right on Broadway”, *The News*, October 18, 1920.

⁷³⁸ “Right on Broadway”, *The News*, October 18, 1920.

⁷³⁹ See also, *Sunday News*, February 3, 1924.

⁷⁴⁰ “Redskins Call on Big Chief Harding”, *Daily News*, June 5, 1923. See also, “Great White Father”, *Daily News*, July 6, 1923



The caption notes:

Visit Big Chief – Chief Buffalo Bear, Princess Buffalo Bear, and Chief Two Moons (l. to r.) recently rolled up to the White House in their bus de luxe to call on President Coolidge. [The] Trio are on observation platform of their classy equipage, in which they are touring the nation to visit various Indian tribes. The bus is modernly equipped, even to a lighting plant and shower

bath. The chiefs are modern medicine men.⁷⁴¹

The caption does not identify what tribe or nation the Indians are from or their destinations and final purpose. The headdresses support their membership in a tribe from the Great Plains, but imagery of most American Indians came to include elaborate headdresses by the late 19th century.⁷⁴² Other papers did publish stories offering fuller accounts of the journey. Indeed the party traveled on the next day to Richmond, Virginia where they met with the governor and asked that he declare an “Indian Day” each year in honor of native people who died fighting in World War I (detailed in the local newspaper).⁷⁴³ The Richmond account quotes the chief as saying the “sun sets” on his people and culture. In a way, Chief Two Moons highlights the service of American Indians in the cause of American liberty and freedom (war) and the relationship between Indians and white men. They are, according to Chief Two Moons, “our white brothers.” Chief Two Moons explicitly ties the two “races” together as part of one “American” and passes the torch of Americanness and cultivating American identity, freedom, liberty, and land to the white man.

⁷⁴¹ Daily News, December 3, 1925.

⁷⁴² For a discussion of how American Indians were staged during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

⁷⁴³ *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 5, 1925. At Richmond, the Indians asked that a day be set aside as “Indian Day” in memory of Indians who fought in American wars, particularly World War I. The description of the group in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* made reference to their brightly colored clothing and headdresses and noted that Chief Two Moons was worth “millions”, having “hit it rich in oil”. The Richmond paper quoted Chief Two Moons as saying with “characteristic Indian eloquence” that “my people are passing”. He elaborated: “In a comparatively short time the Indian as a race will have been engulfed in the white nations. We have been good to our white brothers. We have fought for them. In the recent war we sent 10,000 braves to the front in France. Of this number 2,000 returned. Our sun as a people is setting.”

As authentic Americans, Indians represent tradition, freedom, liberty and a relationship with the land. They have not been corrupted by the tenets of modernity and offered *Daily News* readers a connection with America's past and their own past. The newspaper cast Indians as good, true Americans: they fought and died in American wars, and they represent authentic freedom and individual liberty. At the same time, it is a culture on the verge of disappearing and the torch of the authentic American is being passed to white Americans – the true, homogeneous American-type Patterson's paper identifies. This type, of course, includes the American Indian.

African Americans

In sharp contrast to the imposed public performance of American Indians as authentic, true Americans pages of the *Daily News*, Patterson and his staff also had a complicated relationship with African Americans. Indeed, at times blacks are explicitly excluded from the pages of the paper, depicted as the instigators of race riots and crime, and excluded from the ranks of those who can be assimilated into "Americanness." At the same time, the newspaper mocked the Ku Klux Klan, celebrated black workers' contribution to the economy, and was overwhelmingly sympathetic to Alice Rhineland in a miscegenation case where her white husband sued for divorce alleging she had lied about her race. While not fully casting African Americans as "American," the newspaper nonetheless acknowledged their presence in the national landscape and struggled with how to represent and include or exclude them.

Following a 1921 race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the newspaper carried stories and photographs and African American residents of the black section of town are painted as the victims. Yet, African Americans still come off as a lesser race in the stories. "The Tulsa World says: 'Members of a superior race, boastful of the fact, permitted themselves to degenerate into murderers and vandals' ." ⁷⁴⁴ Moreover, the newspaper notes that local news reports in the state place most of the blame for the riots on Tulsa police and the sheriff for "lacking vigilance." The paper continues, "most of them express a desire to redress the wrong done to the Negroes in that

⁷⁴⁴ Daily News, June 4, 1921.



town.⁷⁴⁵ The rest of the story describes the actions of the Red Cross, numbers of dead and injured, and the number of African Americans left homeless following fires. Yet, the paper did choose to publish accounts of the Tulsa paper, referring to white people as a superior race. The newspaper fails to identify the root causes of the riots, examine the consequences of racial bigotry

and economic and social subjugation, or openly condemn whites for their treatment of African Americans. Blacks, according to editorials in the newspaper, were likely not capable of assimilation, and therefore were never quite fully American.. A few days later the newspaper ran the “first pictures” of the aftermath of the riots.

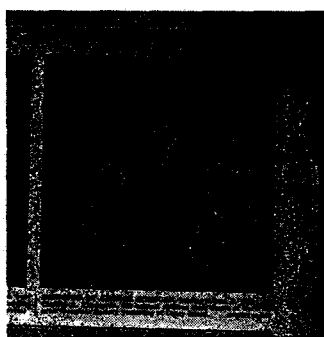
Under the headline “Charred Debris Is All That Remains of Tulsa’s Negro Quarter”, the photo shows burned out buildings, scalded frames of furniture, and scorched trees. The once-occupied area of Tulsa is a wasteland. The caption notes that “this picture shows the manner in which ten blocks of the Negro residential section were razed by torches in the hands of an infuriated mob. The Negro population faces the future with only the clothing in which they escaped.”⁷⁴⁶ The caption and photograph work in concert to elicit sympathy from the reading audience. The picture shows ruin. The caption explains the human toll. And while the *Daily News* expected the “masses” to express sympathy, they did not embrace African Americans into the American mainstream. This is particularly interesting given that African Americans in New York – particularly writers, artists, anthropologists, musicians, and others – transformed African American culture during the 1920s as part of the Harlem Renaissance. The coverage of this cultural explosion received almost no attention in the *Daily News*. The same was true for the

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Daily News, June 6, 1921.

flourishing Negro Leagues in baseball. African Americans were not part of the “masses” of common people Patterson aimed to describe and subscribe to his newspaper.

African Americans were placed outside the “American” Patterson constructed. That homogeneous American type consisted of white Americans blended from various European ethnic backgrounds, including Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.⁷⁴⁷ This racial identification is clear in coverage of leisure-time activities. In midsummer 1920 the newspaper ran a photograph of two black children at Coney Island under the headline “Colored Folks Happy



at Coney.”⁷⁴⁸ In the photo two small boys are held by George Wibecan. It is not apparent why the boys are at Coney Island until you read the caption: “600 colored children were guests of the Frederick Douglass Society yesterday at Coney Island.” Coney Island, of course, was segregated in the 1920s and, as the work of both David Nasaw and Jason Kassin suggests, a place where ethnic groups gathered together as an inclusive group, but also a place where racism persisted and black patrons were segregated, limited to specific “days”, or excluded altogether.⁷⁴⁹ Indeed, many of the rides and amusements at Coney Island reinforced racial stereotypes and used African Americans for entertainment. At Coney Island, according to a story by entertainer (and booth runner) Eddie Cantor, there was a “Hit the Nigger – Three Balls for Five” concession booth in which patrons threw balls at an African American hired to lure them to the booth by yelling remarks at them. Pride, according to Cantor, wouldn’t let patrons quit until they’d hit the man.⁷⁵⁰ In a sense, Patterson’s treatment of African Americans in the pages of the News reflects this pattern of white identity at the expense

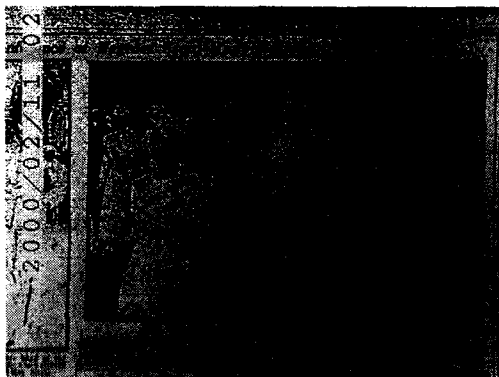
⁷⁴⁷ For Patterson, Americanness was achieved when you were assimilated – as long as you were white. He transformed the idea of race as defined by ethnic origin in the pages of his newspaper. In the *Daily News* race was used to talk about Asians and blacks.

⁷⁴⁸ The News, July 31, 1920.

⁷⁴⁹ See, David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993). Nasaw’s analysis is limited to the 1880-WWI period, though his ideas certainly apply into the 1920s. See also, John F. Kassin, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

⁷⁵⁰ The Eddie Cantor story is reprinted in Nasaw, *Going Out*, pp 92-94.

of racism against blacks. Patterson believed in the creation of a homogeneous national culture that embodied the “melting pot” philosophy, but he did not include African Americans or Asian Americans in the pot. So, while blacks are seen in the newspaper and are, at times, given space in positive stories, they are not necessarily a part of Patterson’s America.



Yet while not included in Patterson’s America, the newspaper did cover some international black advocacy groups gathering in Harlem for a conference sponsored by the Universal Negro Improvement Association.⁷⁵¹ Alongside a story about the conference, the paper ran a quarter-page

photograph of black nurses from Philadelphia marching through the streets of Harlem. The nurses are the model of professionalism – dressed in crisp white aprons and nurses caps bearing the Red Cross symbol. The caption notes that one of the “businesses” of the UNIA is “concerned in part in the ‘Back to Africa’ movement.”⁷⁵² The paper does not address the fact that African American nurses likely only worked in black hospitals and would be barred from treatment in most “white” hospitals and that African American medical professionals likely could not attend the same schools as white doctors and nurses. Nor does the paper take a position on the Back to Africa movement.

From the beginning of the newspaper’s run editors and Patterson debated how to include African Americans in the pages of the *Daily News*. “Should we print a negro in the ‘smile’ search?” M.E. Burke queried Patterson in 1922.⁷⁵³ Patterson’s response was clear: “No objections in including a negro but would do it toward the end of the contest.”⁷⁵⁴ African Americans, then, were regulated to the “end” of contests, to a different space in the pages of the newspaper. In part

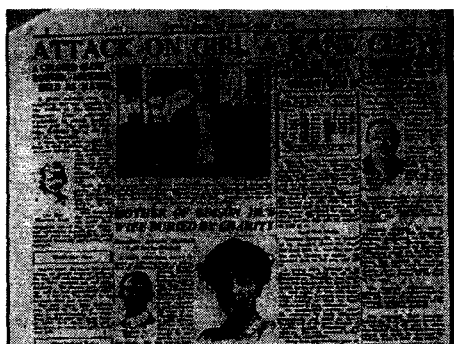
⁷⁵¹ The News, August 3, 1920.

⁷⁵² The Back to Africa Movement of the 1920s was initiated by Marcus Garvey.

⁷⁵³ M.E. Burke to JMP, January 17, 1922, Box16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁷⁵⁴ JMP to M.E. Burke, January 17, 1922, Box16, Folder 4, JMP Papers, LFC.

this was because they were not a part of Patterson's white homogeneous American type; and in part because of existing racism and racial stereotypes. It is unclear from circulation statistics whether African Americans subscribed to the *Daily News*, but Patterson clearly was not aiming his newspaper at them. Instead, he focused on a white American identity designed to appeal to a mass working class audience.



While there were instances where African Americans were featured in a positive light, *Daily News* editors didn't hesitate to blame African Americans for crime or sensationalize incidents.⁷⁵⁵ In 1925 weeks of stories following the murder of a white woman culminated with a story about an attempted attack by a "giant colored man" on another white woman that led investigators to incarcerate a number of "suspects."⁷⁵⁶ On June 4th, the newspaper ran a headline, story, and several photographs about the second attack. The headline, "Attack on Girl a Kane Clew: A Colored Giant Routed, Another Held As Slayer," coupled with a picture of a tall African American man, handcuffed and held by a police officer, in a jail sends a message that he is the killer, rather than just a suspect.⁷⁵⁷ The accompanying story details the second attack: "A giant colored man, resembling the one sought by the police as the slayer of Florence Kane, attempted yesterday to attack another white girl." The story goes on quote others who saw the attempted attack: "He was tall and black His sleeves were rolled up, and he had particularly thick lips. I tell you I'm afraid to go to work alone anymore."⁷⁵⁸ The story and photographs convict the suspect and play directly to physical racial stereotypes.

Patterson provided specific instructions on how African American people were to be identified by race in the newspaper:

⁷⁵⁵ See, for example, *The Illustrated Daily News*, October 1, 1919 and *Daily News*, June 4, 1925, and *Daily News*, February 1, 1922.

⁷⁵⁶ See, for example, *The Illustrated Daily News*, October 1, 1919 and *Daily News*, June 4, 1925.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁸ *Daily News*, June 4, 1925.

Colored people don't like to be called 'negroes' or 'negresses' [sic]. Therefore, when possible, refer to them as 'colored'. 'Patrolman Smith was shot down by John Brown, 31, (colored)'. But, it is especially when you want to be complimentary that you should use the word 'colored' instead of 'negro' or 'negross' [sic]. In the enclosed somebody made the Final more offensive by inserting the words 'a negross' [sic]. He should have said 'colored girl'.⁷⁵⁹

After the memo "colored" became the term used by the newspaper.⁷⁶⁰ The debate about the inclusion of blacks continued throughout the 1920s. Race was an issue in the entertainment pages.

Patterson issued instructions:

We are to run a story in the regular Sunday edition of May 25 and the Pup of June 1 on the question of whether Paul Robeson will play Othello in this country to a white girl's Desdemona. Robeson is now playing in London with a white actress, Peggy Ashcroft. ... The story must be written so as not to offend either white or colored people. In the matter of intimating that there might be violence, we are to use only Robeson's own statement that 'the audience would get rough', etc. We are to check on whether a white girl has ever played Desdemona in this country with a colored man, and also check on exactly what a Moor is.⁷⁶¹

However, the most sensational race case covered by the *Daily News* during the 1920s was the Rhinelander annulment court battle. This miscegenation case involved a white man married to a woman whose father had "non-white" blood.⁷⁶² Leonard Kip Rhinelander and Alice Jones (Rhinelander) married in 1924, moving in with her parents in New Rochelle, New York. He was from one of New York's oldest and wealthiest families, and suffered from nervous disorders. She was from a modest, yet urban family. Alice Jones' father George was of non-white descent. A

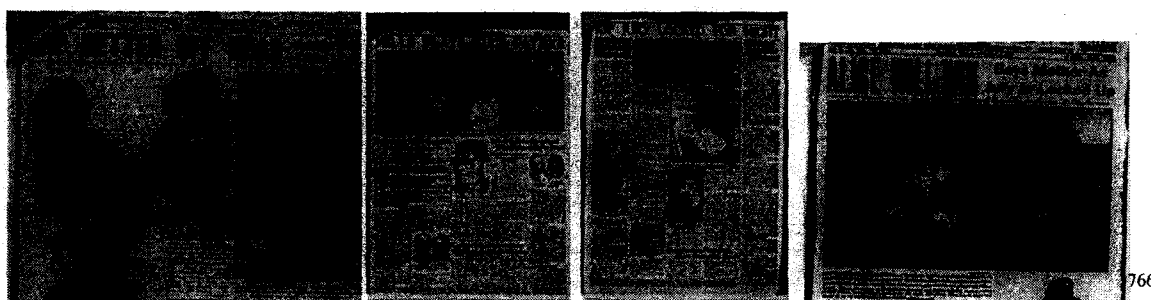
⁷⁵⁹ JMP to Phillip Payne, September 25, 1922, Box 19, Folder 9, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁷⁶⁰ On the first day of 1923, the paper's two-page spread of photographs included a number of photographs of racial and ethnic groups, including a photograph of the first "colored New Yorker to be appointed Assistant District Attorney." See, *Daily News*, January 1, 1923.

⁷⁶¹ R.G. Shand (memo at Patterson's request), May 23, 1930, Box 20, Folder 5, JMP Papers, LFC. See also, *Daily News*, December 6, 1923. It is also worth noting that this is just eight years after *The Birth of a Nation* promoted a racist, caricatured image of African Americans on screen. Local NAACP chapters at that time tried to protest, but were unable to exert enough pressure to harm the popularity of the film with white audiences.

⁷⁶² The Rhinelander case is dealt with in Earl Lewis and Heidi Ardizzone, *Love on Trial: An American Scandal in Black and White* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001). Lewis and Ardizzone use the case as a backdrop to explore shifting racial and class categories in the early 20th century. The authors pay particular attention to the decade, of course, of the annulment trial – the 1920s. This period, one of increased separation in the South, increasing Ku Klux Klan activity, and a shutting down of immigration, added fervor, they argue, to the case and demonstrates the "permeability" of racial categories during the mid-1920s.

local newspaper published a front page account of their nuptials that was picked up by newspapers across the country. Rhinelander's family pushed for an annulment on the grounds that Alice Jones misled her fiancée about her racial make-up. Her attorney acknowledged that she did have nonwhite blood and suggested that Leonard Rhinelander married her anyway. At the time New York was one of more than a dozen states without a legal definition of race. Leonard Rhinelander lost the case and the jury found that Jones had not lied to him, that he had known she was "colored," and that he would have married her regardless. Newspapers from various parts of the country followed the court case with daily transcriptions of court proceedings, pictures, debates about the meanings of "colored" and "negro" and what constituted grounds for annulment.⁷⁶³ In early December 1925, as the case was about to go to the jury, the *Daily News* ran front pages stories and photographs every day.⁷⁶⁴ The paper's sympathetic portrayal of Alice Rhinelander served as both warning about the danger of racial mixing, but also as a way for the newspaper to grapple with the meaning of racial categories. On December 3, the closing remarks of Judge Mills, attorney for Kip Rhinelander, were covered by the newspaper under the headline "Kip Better Off Dead, Judge Mills Tells Jury."⁷⁶⁵ Accompanying the headline on page one is a quarter page photograph of Alice Rhinelander and her white mother.



The caption reads: "Clasping and unclasping her hands, Alice Rhinelander (left) and her mother fixed their gaze on Mills as he deplored the mating of white and colored persons."⁷⁶⁷ Inside the

⁷⁶³ Ibid., Lewis and Ardizzone, *Love on Trial*.

⁷⁶⁴ See stories in the *Daily News*, December 1-10, 1925.

⁷⁶⁵ Mill's first name is Judge; it is not a legal title.

⁷⁶⁶ "Kip Better Off Dead", "Mills Flays Kip's Father", "Kip Jury Locked for Night", "Alice Will Win", *Daily News*, 3-5 December 1925.

paper ran several stories and additional photographs. The paper ran part of Judge Mills' summation:

There is not a mother among your wives who would not rather see her daughter with her white hands crossed on her shroud than see her locked in the embrace of a mulatto husband. This race feeling belongs to decent blacks as well as whites Why, gentlemen, stop and think – There isn't a father among you who would not rather see his son dead than wed to a mulatto woman.⁷⁶⁸

The newspaper often pictured Alice Rhinelander with her white mother, associating the young woman with her mother. Moreover, the newspaper portrayed Kip Rhinelander as unstable and made it clear that editors believed he knew Alice's father was part-black and married her anyway.

The newspaper also ran a number of photos during the 1920s that featured Asian-Americans; but, again, they were not a part of Patterson's America. Asian Americans – regardless of their background and origin -- were treated as outside the American landscape. They could not be assimilated and should not be allowed to continue to immigrate to the United States, according to Patterson's *Daily News*. Yet, Asian Americans also were an undeniable presence in the United States and the United States had economic and geopolitical relationships with countries in Asia.⁷⁶⁹

Asian Americans seemed an invisible presence in the *Daily News* unless involved in crime or ethnic celebrations. The paper gave ample space to "Tong" warfare in the streets of Chinatown. Under the headline "Sinister Silence Broods Where Tong Guns Flamed Death", the paper carried a one-third page photograph of a Chinatown street with people milling around. The caption notes, "Peace reigned yesterday in narrow streets of Chinatown and there was nothing to indicate that at this spot, Pell and Doyers Sts., the day before a Hip Sing had been mowed down

⁷⁶⁷ "Kip Better Off Dead," *Daily News*, December 3, 1925.

⁷⁶⁸ "Kip Better Off Dead," *Daily News*, December 3, 1925.

⁷⁶⁹ Nasaw, *Going Out*, notes that Asian Americans were not as represented in leisure-time performances and events because they largely participated in leisure activities within their own community and, thus, did not threaten white Americans. For a lengthy discussion of Asian Americans in the United States see Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1989, 1998).

by On Leong guns. A truce is on but police are on watch.”⁷⁷⁰ In the photo, a building wall is covered with fliers in Chinese characters and several people stand at the wall reading them.

Several police officers are visible in the photograph – all surveying the scene.



The police are visually, as well as textually, the authority and orderly peacekeepers. The Chinese-Americans, left to their own devices, engage in “sinister silence” and “tong warfare.” Even more, showing American police in an immigrant setting offers an additional message that there is incipient trouble and disorder in the neighborhood. Despite the “peace” of the photograph, the accompanying text makes it clear that peace only reigns due to the presence of white American authorities.⁷⁷²

Whiteness was one of the ways Patterson’s newspaper identified who belonged and who had the capacity to assimilate. For Patterson, African Americans had been in the United States for hundreds of years, but still had not been assimilated and were not part of his homogenous American type. Asian American culture was cast as vastly different from “American” culture, and they were invisible unless involved in crime or ethnic celebrations. American Indians were often pictured in the *Daily News*; those images reinforced their place as the first Americans, but treated them as if they were artifacts of American history and clues to an intangible American identity.

⁷⁷⁰ “Sinister Silence Broods Where Tong Guns Flamed Death”, *Daily News*, November 1, 1924.

⁷⁷¹ “Sinister Silence Broods Where Tong Guns Flamed Death”, *Daily News*, November 1, 1924

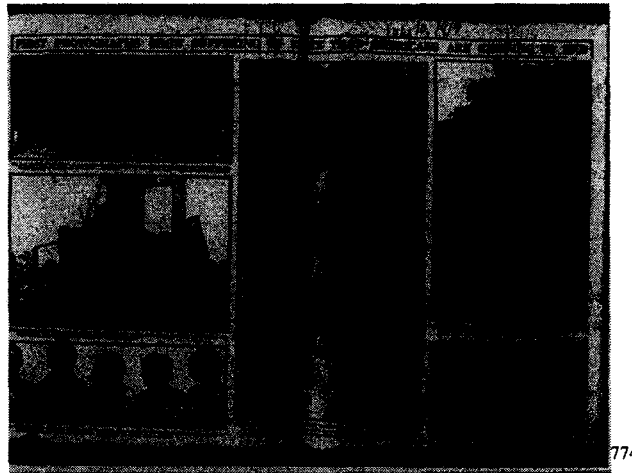
⁷⁷² In fact, the uprising in October-November 1924 was part of an ongoing feud between rival Chinese-American groups in New York City for control of Chinatown. The Hip Sing, the On Leong, and the Four Brothers were among the most active groups involved in the conflict over territory during the early part of the 20th century.

But Patterson's relationship with race is more complex than simple racism. While African Americans, Asian Americans and American Indians are not treated as part of the homogenous American type Patterson envisioned, they are part of the American landscape. Patterson, like many of his peers, struggled with race and was forced to increasingly confront it during the 1910s and 1920s. For example, during immigration and labor shortages at the time of World War I thousands of African Americans moved into Midwestern and Northern urban areas. African Americans had been in North America for hundreds of years – long before many of Patterson's ancestors arrived. So while the *Daily News* acknowledged that non-whites were part of America, they were cast as outsiders; as people who did not belong.

The *Daily News* was clearer about the way it positioned the United States in relation to the rest of the world than it was about race. Patterson believed the United States was a model and that other countries, particularly corrupt old world European powers and countries Patterson considered backward and uncivilized, should want to emulate America. Moreover, he positioned the United States in opposition to these countries, and the people, in photographs, stories, headlines, and captions. Patterson advocated anti-Wilsonian, isolationist principles, yet wanted the United States to be prepared to defend itself; he wanted the United States to have a sphere of influence based out of the Monroe Doctrine; and he was anti-communist and anti-Russia.

A mainstay of the *Daily News*' editorial page was the overwhelming generosity of the United States' – often referred to colloquially as “Uncle Sam” – government, military, and people toward Europe, European immigrants, and those suffering around the world. Within weeks of beginning publication the newspaper ran two full pages of photographs showing the suffering of ordinary people in war-ravaged France – and what Americans were doing to help them.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷³ “First photographs show suffering in France that Americans are striving to end”, photographs, *Illustrated Daily News*, 10 June 1919.

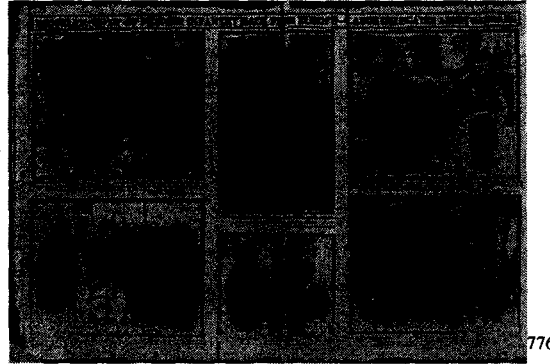


The caption notes it is the “first substantial food many had received for years” and that the meals are “given by the committee.” It goes on to say, “apparently the food is most welcome.” Another photograph shows a mailman delivering post to a family with a caption that reads, “The first mail – Though the efforts of the committee the martyred people in the devastated regions are receiving some of their former comforts, but the ruined house in the backgrounds shows what still is to be done.” Other photographs show families in homes dug into hillsides and constructed from pieces of scrap. Together, these images and captions prove the suffering of France. But more than that, they show Americans determined to help – making this explicit in the headline, captions, and even in the photographs themselves (in using a photograph with American relief workers). European folly led to the Great War and the suffering of France’s “masses”. The implied generosity of the American government and military in winning the war is coupled with an explicit generosity in the form of aid in the post-war recovery.

While Patterson opposed the United States’ involvement in European conflicts, he – perhaps as a veteran himself – and his newspaper celebrated the work of soldiers and, particularly, their return from overseas. In 1919 this included stories about soldiers returning to the United States following World War I. When, in 1919, a shipload of Brooklyn soldiers

⁷⁷⁴ “First photographs show suffering in France that Americans are striving to end”, photographs, *Illustrated Daily News*, 10 July 1919. See also, “Health Missionaries”, photograph, *Daily News*, 4 June 1921

returned to New York, the newspaper ran three large photographs of the returnees and highlighting their overseas accomplishments.⁷⁷⁵



Interestingly, the three photographs ran on the same page as a number of photographs depicting an ongoing controversy about the admission of Germany representatives to a Labor conference. In short, the *Daily News* proposes that while American boys are home, the conflicts and rivalries between European countries did not end with the war.⁷⁷⁷ Images and stories in the paper tell the story of shifting alliances, warring nations and the failure of international peace efforts. Amid this, by the images and photos the newspaper published, the United States appears free and peace-loving, beyond the reach of rivalries and war if the country stays on a noninterventionist track.

Despite advocating isolationism, the *Daily News* did not advocate the United States being unprepared to defend itself. If anything, the newspaper's editorials regularly called for military expenditures to make sure the United States remained capable of defending its national borders and sovereignty against foreign elements. "The world is not yet safe for democracy, and no one knows when it will be safe," reads a 1919 editorial.⁷⁷⁸ This cautious approach to Europe – coupled with anti-Wilsonian and anti-League rhetoric – characterized the pages of the *Daily News*

⁷⁷⁵ "Brooklyn 'Boys' of Pioneer Infantry Back From Europe", photographs, *Illustrated News*, 1 November 1919.

⁷⁷⁶ "Brooklyn 'Boys' of Pioneer Infantry Back From Europe", photographs, *Illustrated News*, 1 November 1919.

⁷⁷⁷ For more on overseas conflicts and American soldiers see: "Ready as Usual for Fight or Frolic and They Don't Care Much Which It Is", photographs, *Sunday News*, 1 October 1922; "Adieu!", photograph, *Daily News*, 3 February 1923; "The Prophecy of 'Moloch'", editorial, *Daily News*, 3 February 1923; and "Guard the Ruhr", photograph, *Daily News*, 2 February 1923.

⁷⁷⁸ "Naked to Our Enemies", editorial, *Illustrated Daily News*, 9 July 1919.

throughout the 1920s. These positions, articulated by Patterson and his cousin Col. Robert McCormick throughout their lives, were one area where the cousins always aligned politically. And, indeed, both came under fire in the late 1930s and during World War II for their opposition to the United States' entry in the war.⁷⁷⁹ In 1920, as the general election approached, the newspaper endorsed Warren G. Harding for president, arguing that "it is a president of the United States, not a President of Humanity, that is to be elected in November."⁷⁸⁰ Moreover, the editorial argues, Harding is the right choice because:

He is against Mr. Wilson's League of Nations programme [sic], which proposes to supply American men and American money whenever the nations of Europe need them to settle quarrels in which America has no interest ... And while the people of the United States are kindly disposed toward humanity, and have just fought and won a great war for humanity, they are entitled in their own election to pick out a man who is for America first and Europe afterward.⁷⁸¹

The ridicule of Wilson and his ideals wasn't limited to election-time coverage and, in fact, continued after Wilson left office. In a 1922 editorial the newspaper labeled Wilson the nation's "leading Bourbon".

He declined to take any advice even from the men he appointed to his Cabinet He refused to learn anything from the election of 1920 or the preceding Congressional one. So now we find him telling a recent delegation of admirers that the action of the Senate in refusing to ratify the agreements he made in Paris did not represent popular opinion in this country ... no one but a bourbon could look on either as a victory. It displays an even greater blindness than he was thought to suffer from.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ Patterson supported FDR though most of the 1930s and was a proponent of the New Deal. However, once it became apparent to Patterson that FDR was leading the U.S. toward war, an enormous rift developed. At the end of the war the Friends of Democracy published "The Case Against the McCormick-Patterson Press: A Sampling of the Chicago Tribune and New York Daily News Propaganda Line Over a Period of Years", LM Birkhead (Girard, KS: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1945). The document claimed that "The behavior of these papers represent one of the most flagrant cases of editorial irresponsibility in the history of our country" and that "..... the impact of these papers on the mind of America is bound to be tremendous. These papers feed prejudice, bigotry, distrust and defeatism to the American people day after day". The document goes on to claim Patterson and his cousin did nothing but aid the Fascist regimes with their newspapers. Patterson's reputation and legacy were hurt by his stance during World War II (and, in fact caused a rift with his daughter Alicia Patterson Guggenheim, editor of *Newsday*). But they didn't have an impact on his career as he died in 1946.

⁷⁸⁰ "Why We Are For Harding", editorial, *The News*, 19 October 1920.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

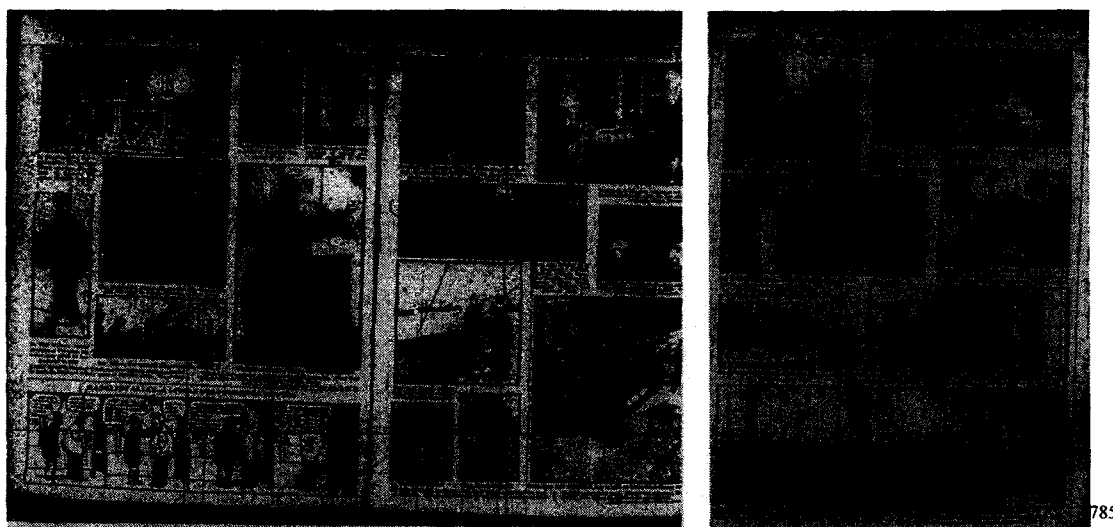
⁷⁸² "Our Leading Bourbon", editorial, *Daily News*, 1 December 1922.

The editorial goes on to complain that Wilson's internationalism would have resulted in "plunging into the mess of European politics" and "fixing boundary lines and reparation." This treatment of Wilson as a figure determined to involve the United States directly in European wars and politics continued up to – and, to an extent, including – the coverage of his 1924 death.

The *Daily News* began its death coverage in early 1924, running daily stories beginning February 1. Each day's coverage included various photos and discussions of his legacy. As Wilson grew sicker, the tone of the paper changed and Wilson was called a "wartime president" and a "distinguished patient" who had a "distinguished career" and "left a deep mark on the history of our country."⁷⁸³ Wilson's death and funeral provided an opportunity for the newspaper to reinforce its position on international affairs while honoring an American who led the world to the "haven of democracy." In essence, the newspaper was laudatory toward Wilson in its pages, but at the same time used Wilson's death to explore Patterson's opposition to the United States' involvement in European affairs. On the day of Wilson's death the newspaper published an entire front page and nine inside pages dedicated to his presidency and life. Inside, the editorial makes the *Daily News* position clear: Wilson was a good wartime president, but an utter failure after the war when he took a position as an internationalist. "He could not, and not many could, come down from a mountaintop to give laws to all the peoples, but a nationalistic President should have served the righteous interests of the United States and have preserved American rights." The lengthy editorial goes on to say that the people must not "forget Mr. Wilson's indifference to American interests or the motive which made him indifferent. We are glad of an escape from his damaging internationalism which considers Armenia more important than the United States."⁷⁸⁴ Three full pages of photographs trace the trajectory of Wilson from Virginia to Princeton, to Governor of New Jersey, to wartime President, to failed internationalist. The photographs reinforce the textual claims and arguments of Patterson's newspaper about Wilson's career path.

⁷⁸³ See, "Wilson Ill; Doctors Worried", photograph, *Daily News*, 1 February 1924; "Woodrow Wilson", editorial, *Daily News*, 2 February 1924

⁷⁸⁴ "The Great Internationalist", editorial, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924.



Thus, Wilson emerges as an all-American young man from the time of his Staunton, Virginia birth to a modest home to his presidency of Princeton and the governorship of New Jersey.⁷⁸⁶ The caption notes his progression and lends credence to the idea that Wilson worked hard to achieve his offices, pointing out that his political ideas were developed during “forty years of intensive study.” Education is key to making good Americans. The second page of photographs reinforces the newspaper’s position that Wilson was a good wartime president, but that it marked the high point of his career. After the war, as the newspaper indicated during years of coverage up to, and including, the coverage of Wilson’s illness and death, Wilson’s policies went awry of the best interest of the United States.⁷⁸⁷ The newspaper remains clear that Wilson was a president and deserves the respect and loyalty of the American people, despite flaws identified by the *Daily News*. Finally, the third page of photographs portrays Wilson the way the *Daily News* most often depicted him – as a rabid internationalist with little interest in the domestic concerns of the American public. The headline reminds readers of this: “Eyes of the

⁷⁸⁵ “Steps in Woodrow Wilson’s Climb Up the Ladder of Fame”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924, “Came the War Years and With Them Climax in Wilson’s Career”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924, and “Eyes of the World Were on Wilson in Post War Days”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924.

⁷⁸⁶ “Steps in Woodrow Wilson’s Climb Up the Ladder of Fame”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924.

⁷⁸⁷ “Came the War Years and With Them Climax in Wilson’s Career”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924.

World Were on Wilson in Post War Days.” Moreover, every single picture of Wilson on the page – and there are seven of them – show him with foreign leaders. All but one are photographs of Wilson abroad.⁷⁸⁸ The page makes no mention of anything Wilson did domestically between 1917 and 1920. The focus is entirely on Wilson’s international presence and struggles. The depictions of him with world leaders and royals gives readers the impression Wilson was a globe-trotter determined to align the United States with “Old Europe”. Moreover, the editorial that accompanies the photograph notes that the United States “needed a nationalistic instead of an internationalistic (sic) President ... he could have provided for the United States in the Peace Conference But he was riding his altruistic idea that America asked nothing for itself and he asked nothing for it.” Still, like the Decatur quotation that ran daily above the editorial, he was “right or wrong” an American president – and the *Daily News*’ coverage reflects Patterson’s sense of national pride and patriotism.

Still, while Patterson and his editors wanted the United States to have little to do with European conflicts and affairs, that didn’t mean the country was to be without an international role or presence. Indeed, the Monroe Doctrine was celebrated by the newspaper. In 1923 the newspaper carried a photograph of the 100th anniversary celebrations of the Monroe Doctrine. In the photograph hundreds of people line the front of New York’s City Hall and veterans groups run the festivities.⁷⁸⁹



The caption explains the impact of the doctrine: “Just 100 years ago yesterday the Monroe Doctrine, behind which the Americas have grown into sturdy nations, was proclaimed.”⁷⁹⁰ A sphere of influence was acceptable to Patterson and the *Daily News* in order to

⁷⁸⁸ “Eyes of the World Were on Wilson in Post War Days”, photographs, *Daily News*, 4 February 1924.

⁷⁸⁹ “Century”, photograph, *Sunday News*, 2 December 1923.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

protect the economic and security parameters of the United States.⁷⁹¹ The newspaper's editorials went further by encouraging American trade and relations with close neighbors, particularly Spanish-speaking countries.

As a result of the war there will be a readjustment of international trade ... The United States can easily do most of the manufacturing for the countries of Central and South America. Sooner or later Mexico, too, will realize the folly of continuing anarchy and become a good customer of ours. To gain this trade, which will mean continued prosperity for the whole American people, it will be necessary for large numbers of American boys – and girls – to learn to speak and write Spanish.⁷⁹²

The newspaper recognized the United States was in an era where international trade opportunities were on the rise and might contribute to the prosperity of the United States. Central and South American countries fell within a realm of influence acceptable to editors. But, even more, the editors recognized Spanish was an essential ingredient to foster the trade and that a generation of Americans needed to expand their language skills to expand the nation's economic reach. Editors in 1919 believed Mexico posed a threat to Americans along the border and traveling to Mexico City.

What the Mexicans need is a little education. And inasmuch as they appear to be totally unable to educate themselves, Uncle Sam will have to do the job. It must be done eventually anyway, and it might as well be done now ... The Monroe Doctrine made Mexico possible. We will permit no other nation to civilize her. Therefore it is our duty to do this job ourselves, and to do it so thoroughly that Mexico not only will be of no further trouble to us but will become happy, well governed and prosperous.⁷⁹³

Editors relied on the Monroe Doctrine to argue their position. In essence, Patterson and others at the newspaper felt that it was within the rights of the United States to interfere in Mexico. Mexico, not abiding by American standards of democracy and freedom was “uncivilized”

⁷⁹¹ For a good introduction to United States economic-driven foreign policy in the late nineteenth and twentieth century see Edward P. Crapol, “Coming to terms with empire: the historiography of late nineteenth-century American foreign relations” in Hogan, Michael J., *Paths to Power: the Historiography of American Foreign Relations to 1941* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: Norton and Company, 1972, 1959).

⁷⁹² “Learn to Talk to Your Neighbors”, editorial, *Daily News*, 3 February 1920.

⁷⁹³ “Mexico Needs a Lesson”, editorial, *Illustrated Daily News*, 1 October 1919.

compared to the United States. In October 1919, Mexico's Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) was still underway and hundreds of thousands of Mexicans fled to the United States. While Patterson and his staff wanted the United States to have nothing to do with European affairs, they saw Mexico as an entirely different case. Mexico, according to the editorial, represented a direct and immediate threat to the safety of Americans both in Mexico and in border states.



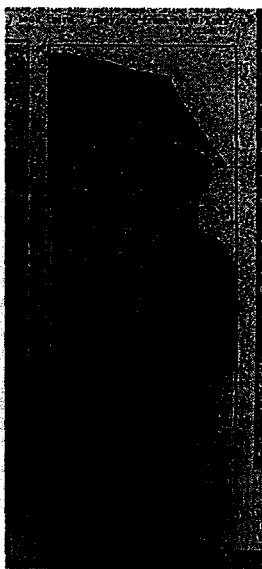
When Patterson had a personal interest in an overseas story the *Daily News* played the story up in its pages. The newspaper's coverage of the Terence MacSwiney arrest, hunger strike and death demonstrated Patterson's deep sympathy for the Irish people, disdain for the British government, and a kinship between Irish and Americans, undoubtedly because many of *Daily News* readers, much like Patterson himself, were descendents of Irish immigrants.⁷⁹⁴ The day of MacSwiney's death the newspaper carried a front page photograph of two women picketing in front of New York's British Consulate. The caption notes that the women are dressed in "mourning."⁷⁹⁵ The inside stories explain how "Irish Sympathizers" in the United States will stage demonstrations in honor of the "hero martyr". On the editorial page, a piece dedicated to MacSwiney notes that "the Irish question is almost as much a part of American politics as it is of British."⁷⁹⁶ Moreover, according to the newspaper, the British permitting MacSwiney to die in the way he did was a "blunder, a blunder worse than a crime." Further, the editorial claims that MacSwiney "gave his life with the determination of a patriot to make the extreme gift to a nation." The rhetoric and images in the newspaper's

⁷⁹⁴ Nor did the newspaper shy away from covering international events it considered of particular interest to Americans. Such was the case with the 1920 Terence MacSwiney hunger strike (and eventual death) and general British-Irish relations in the 1920s. See stories, photos and editorials in the *Daily News*: "Strongly Armed Guard About Prison Where Lord Mayor Macswiney Is Held", photographs, *Daily News*, 9 September 1920; "Women Pickets", photograph, *Daily News*, 26 October 1920; "MacSwiney", editorial, *Daily News*, 26 October 1920. For background on MacSwiney see, Quoted in Jason Perlman, "Terence MacSwiney: The Triumph and Tragedy of the Hunger Strike," *New York History Summer 2007* <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/nyh/88.3/perlman.html>> (2 Sep. 2008). See also, Francis J. Costello, *Enduring the Most: The Life and Death of Terence MacSwiney* (Dingle, Ireland: Brandon, 1995).

⁷⁹⁵ "Women Pickets", photograph, *Daily News*, 26 October 1920.

⁷⁹⁶ "MacSwiney", editorial, *Daily News*, 26 October 1920.

coverage place the Irish freedom fight and MacSwiney's death to America's history, and draw connections between Ireland and the United States by evoking the enormous percentage of American citizens with Irish ancestry. Moreover, Patterson disdained the British royalty as un-American and held to his belief that England was, in part, responsible for U.S. involvement in World War I.



The *Daily News* also took an interest in foreign relations with Asian countries – particularly Japan and China. Given Patterson's opposition to any immigration from Asia, and editorials about how Asian immigrants could not be assimilated, the frequency with which the newspaper covered relations with Japan and China is interesting. Patterson cast Asian countries as significantly different from the United States in culture, values, and social and economic conditions. Still the newspaper also recognized a growing relationship between the United States and the countries of Asia, particularly Japan and China. A 1920 photograph of a Chinese woman illustrates this point. In the small photograph a woman holds an umbrella in one hand and a tea cup in the other. The caption reads: "She Comes From China – An indication that America and China are closer together than ever before is seen in the arrival of Miss Lieou-Ping Yeh who saved her money in Shanghai to attend a university here. She hopes to become an American school teacher."⁷⁹⁷ She also represents something Patterson held important – spreading American values, love of freedom and democracy, and principles. Yeh is in the country to achieve an American education, something Patterson saw as the foundation of good citizenship in democratic and free societies.

⁷⁹⁷ "She Comes From China", photograph, *The News*, 24 August 1920. See also, The First Photographs of the Royal Family of Annam or Cochin-China", photographs, *Sunday News*, 5 June 1921 and "Jap Admiral Visits Classmates at Annapolis", photograph, *Sunday News*, 5 June 1921



The newspaper also highlighted the failings of countries like Japan to live up to American standards when it came to gender relations. In 1922 the newspaper carried a front page photograph of a Japanese opera star. The woman, dressed in a kimono and holding a parasol, stands on the deck of a ship, posed for the camera.⁷⁹⁸ The caption explains: “Art Unbound - Following protest of her husband over Tamiki Miura (above), Metropolitan star, sailing with her accompanist Franchetti, Tokio [sic] reported yesterday that a Miura family council had decided artists are not bound by ordinary moral standards.”⁷⁹⁹ The newspaper points to Japan’s outdated gender policies, that a woman required permission to travel. Given 1920s gender relations in the United States, and Patterson’s support of women voting and working, the newspaper portrays Japan’s treatment of women as backward.

Editors at the *Daily News* did use the newspaper to express their fear of growing Japanese military power – and a desire to keep certain Pacific islands and regions under the “protection” of the American flag. In a 1921 editorial *News* editorial writers published an editorial noting the vulnerability of the United States’ Pacific forts, including, prophetically, Pearl Harbor. Government officials were at a conference with the Japanese where negotiations were ongoing about the Pacific fortifications of each country. “If the United States does not fortify it cannot defend, and if it cannot defend it is open to attack and humiliating loss any time Japan chooses to attack.”⁸⁰⁰ The editorial goes on to say, “an agreement which involved the taking down of Hawaiian defenses could not be entered into by a sane American Government.” The same concerns haunted the editorial pages of the newspaper throughout the 1920s. As Congress returned to session in 1924, the newspaper requested they do something about “defenseless America”. The editorial notes that the Hawaiian Islands and the Panama Canal are both “vital to

⁷⁹⁸ “Art Unbound”, photograph, *Daily News*, 1 August 1922.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ “American Forts in the Pacific”, editorial, *Daily News*, 1 December 1921.

the country's defense" and would be "easy prey for a powerful enemy."⁸⁰¹ While the newspaper maintains an apparent aversion to European wars and affairs, the editorial policy and photographs are explicit in the defense of regions Patterson and his staff consider vital to the protection of the United States itself. Part of their belief system involved fortifications and defenses that discouraged foreign countries from attacking the United States.

Patterson's most important criteria in defining American behavior in the world and "good Americans" manifested itself in fierce opposition to communism and "reds." Domestic and foreign communists attracted the attention of the *Daily News* regularly during the 1920s. Communist countries, particularly Russia, and domestic communists were attacked regularly in photographs, editorials and stories. In addition, Patterson helped enflame fears of domestic communism and used Russia as an example of why the United States should remain distant from European conflicts. Patterson, once a self-proclaimed socialist, became a hard-line anti-communist by the 1919 *Daily News* founding (amid, of course the Red Scare).

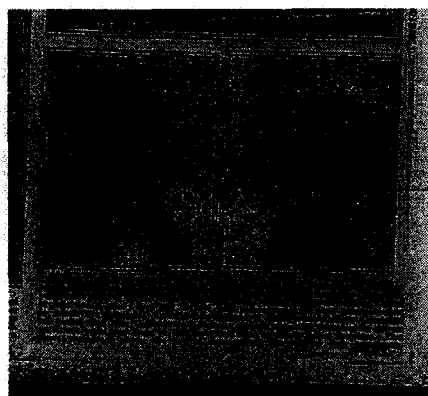
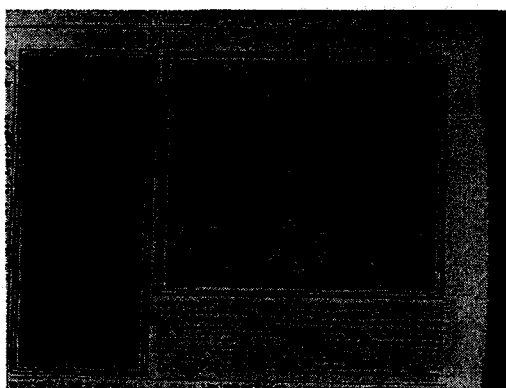
Domestic communists represented a particular problem for Patterson and his editorial staff. The newspaper promoted anti-communist sentiment, encouraged communist sympathizers to move abroad and offered antidotes to communism in the form of schooling and deporting recent immigrants accused or suspected of communists beliefs or membership. Not long after the newspaper started publication, Emma Goldman, the famous anarchist, was deported. Editorials, photographs, and stories expressed glee. In December 1919 the newspaper carried two photographs under the headline "Emma and Alex Will Soon Be Leaving."⁸⁰² The paper carried a full-length shot of Emma Goldman, posed for the camera with her hands behind her back. In another photograph Alex Berkman and another woman stand amid pigeons –each hold several on their arms and shoulders. The caption explains why the two are being deported to Russia:

⁸⁰¹ "Defenseless America", editorial, *Daily News*, 2 December 1924. It is interesting to note that Patterson's newspaper was 26 years and six days prophetic.

⁸⁰² "Emma and Alex Will Soon Be Leaving", photographs, *The News*, 1 December 1919.

Two Thriving Anarchists, Emma Goldman and Alex Berkman, will soon be taking themselves back to Russia, from where they came to spread the doctrines of the Reds through the United States. Emma's deportation was ordered Saturday in a statement issued by Anthony Gaminetti, United States Commissioner of Immigration. The department will request that she be deported to Russia and in all probability the request will be granted. Her deportation was delayed because she claimed her long lost husband, Jacob Kershner, was a naturalized citizen. Investigation revealed that the naturalization papers of the man were cancelled several years ago. Beekman, who claims to feel "inexpressibly near and soul kin to the Russian Nihilist," was ordered deported several days ago.⁸⁰³

Later in the week, on the eve of Goldman and Berkman's deportation, the newspaper ran front page, side-by-side photographs of the pair. The photos are not flattering – showing both open-mouthed and angry-looking.



The caption explains that these are "characteristic poses" of the "radicals."⁸⁰⁶ The newspaper, then, published photographs portraying the duo as poorly as possible alongside stories about the danger of "reds" and communists within the United States. The newspaper does not attempt to present a balanced look at Goldman's case or explain how her anarchism or her speeches may or may not relate to communism. Instead, Goldman and Berkman are presented as a threat to the United States and its people – and photographs prove their anger and venom. The blurring of editorial and news lines was apparent on news pages; the newspaper also used editorials to make its points explicit. During the same week, the newspaper carried an editorial calling for the

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ "Emma and Alex Will Soon Be Leaving", photographs, *The News*, 1 December 1919.

⁸⁰⁵ "In Spite of All Their Efforts ...", photographs, *The News*, 5 December 1919.

⁸⁰⁶ "In Spite of All Their Efforts ...", photographs, *The News*, 5 December 1919.

deportation of anyone suspected of ties to the Bolsheviks or the “Reds.”⁸⁰⁷ The editorial, in line with the tenor of the First Red Scare, claims that Russians are “seeking to stir up trouble in America” and calls them more of a danger than the “Kaiser and his Junkers,” a fairly strong statement given the United States was just removed from a war with Germany. The editorial goes on to characterize communists and their sympathizers as a “mischievous, idle, venomous, gang; useless as citizens of any country, and especially worthless as citizens of America.” The editorial, like much of the rhetoric Patterson espoused during this period, paints communists as people possessing lower intelligence, dedicated to idleness, unable to understand liberty and equality, and intent upon destroying the United States. These people were ill-suited for American citizenship, according to the newspaper.⁸⁰⁸

The *Daily News*’ coverage of Russia and international communism remained vehement during the 1920s. The coverage was biased, calculated, and with a purpose: Patterson wanted ordinary Americans – the working classes and recent immigrants – to understand the danger of communism and turn their backs on it. He also wanted to encourage Americans to display their patriotism and freedom. With that in mind he personally directed editorial decisions about the coverage. By 1930 Patterson issued explicit orders:

Mr. Patterson today ordered a feature for next Sunday on the Russians wheat situation to tie up with an editorial on the same subject. The story is to ridicule the idea that the Russia of today is on a par with the Russia of the Czarist regime, either economically, in territory or in a military way – and back up that statement with facts.⁸⁰⁹

Patterson wanted pictures of Russian women workers carrying food and ordered that the pictures demonstrate “present Russian civilization still has many paces to go.”⁸¹⁰ In short, Patterson

⁸⁰⁷ “Color-Blind ‘Red’ Hunters”, editorial, *The News*, 1 December 1919.

⁸⁰⁸ For more of the *Daily News*’ coverage of communism see, “Sixty-three ‘Undesirable’ Aliens Arrive at Ellis Island to Be Deported”, photographs, *The News*, 26 July 1920; “Red Arrests End May 1 Plot”, cover photograph, *Sunday News*, 1 May 1921; and “Gomers’ Fight for Americanism”, editorial, *Daily News*, 2 May 1921.

⁸⁰⁹ R.G. Shand to Hause, September 24, 1930, Box 20, Folder 5, JMP Papers, LFC.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

ordered stories with a particular point-of-view, and ordered they be tied to editorials expressing his personal opinions. Everything the *Daily News* published about Russia or communism during the 1920s has Patterson's stamp, crafting a vision of communism and Russia as evil. Patterson wanted Americans to understand and support his view that no good American could have communist sympathies.

Any Russian policy Patterson and his staff found distasteful was publicized in the *Daily News*. Stories, photographs, and editorials in the paper pointed out flaws in the Soviet system and the suffering of the Russian people.⁸¹¹ In 1921 the newspaper played on readers' sympathy for women and children when it ran a front page headline "Tragic Days in Russia" with an inside story detailing a village of "living death" and "famine stricken Russians too weak to move."⁸¹² Because photographs were impossible to obtain from the region, the newspaper instead relied on a photograph-type description of the village:

"The thatch roof was gone from a number of the roofs. There was no living soul in sight – no barking dog – no playing children – no sign of life apparent. Coming up the middle of the street we looked into the windows of the log huts on either side, but not a single face peeped out. Our two panting horses were the only animals in the scene over which hung a terrible silence."⁸¹³

The communist system led to suffering, decrepit housing, and the degradation of the people. These stark images are in direct contrast to 1920s America depicted in the *Daily News*, an America of movie stars, dance, Prohibition, economic success, political stability, and, most of all, peace and prosperity. It might not represent the reality of the 1920s, but it was the America Patterson sold to the "masses".

Even in death, noted communists didn't escape criticism. When Nikolai Lenin died in 1924, the newspaper ran days of coverage of his illness, death, and funeral. The blame for

⁸¹¹ See, for example, "Nationalization of Children", editorial, *Daily News*, 2 July 1920.

⁸¹² "Tragic Days in Russia," headline and story, *Daily News*, 1 September 1921.

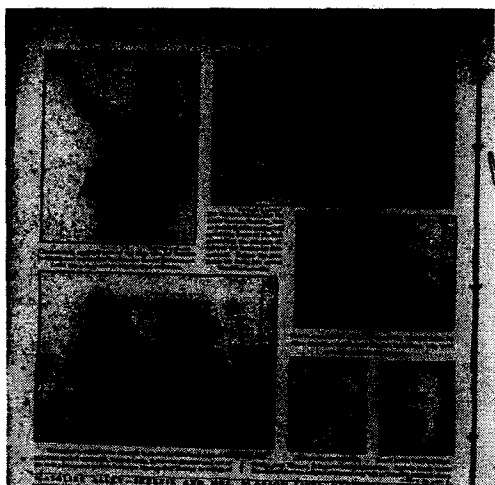
⁸¹³ Ibid.

international communism and distress in Russia was put on Lenin. In late January the *Daily*

News carried pages of Lenin death news:

Loses Fight – Nikolai Lenin, Premier and most colorful figure of Soviet Russia Monday lost a long fight with illness, it was learned yesterday. While death was regarded as inevitable, news stunned Russia⁸¹⁴

Inside, the newspaper continued its coverage with stories and a full page of photographs.



The photographs, under the headline “Lenin, Flaming Leader of Soviet Regime, Silenced by Death” include six images of the leader. The captions provide a commentary, noting that photographs represent a “characteristic speaking pose”, that he was an “indefatigable worker” who “spent hours at his desk controlling the complex affairs of the Bolshevist Government,” and that Lenin’s death “leaves Russian

affairs in a tangled state and may add to Russia’s political chaos.”⁸¹⁵ The next day, the editorial page weighed in:

Lenin was the great destroyer. He tried to destroy the society of private property and individual initiative and liberty. He destroyed Communism. He virtually destroyed Russia for a time. He made conservatives out of our own revolutionary doctrines. He applied the doctrines of social revolution, saw them wreck a nation, saw it revert to savagery and plunge into famine and plague, and then he killed the doctrine which had caused the bloodshed, disease and starvation ... He had no compunctions, emotions or passions. He was less human than one of the great Khans marching into Russia with Tartars ... He was supernatural, a demon in a laboratory treating mankind as if it were something which could be taken apart and reassembled ... The human consequences of this were the slaughter of the professional and middle classes and the starvation of the peasants ...

The newspaper does not mince words. Lenin is responsible for bloodshed and *Daily News* editors want to be sure Americans understand he was a monster. The language of the editorial is explicit

⁸¹⁴ “Loses Fight”, photograph, *Daily News*, 23 January 1924.

⁸¹⁵ “Lenin, Flaming Leader of Soviet Regime, Silenced By Death”, photographs, *Daily News*, 23 January 1924.

that Lenin's government represents the exact opposite of the United States government. He opposed "individual initiative" and "liberty" and his policies caused "savagery," "bloodshed," "disease and starvation." None of which played a part in Patterson's America. Patterson's paper did draw parallels between what he saw as the situation in Europe – the chaos, the war-mongering, and the debts – and Russia. In 1920, the newspaper ran a front page headline: "Soviet Gets Britain's Ear." The story explains meetings between the Soviet Union and Great Britain were underway to resume trade relations.⁸¹⁶ Patterson's personal feelings about keeping the United States from continued direct involvement in European affairs are evident both in the pages of the newspaper and his personal correspondence with his cousin Robert McCormick. Wrote McCormick in 1919:

Europe, of course, is in a frightful mess and one appreciates it more in London than one can at home. Everything east of Switzerland is in anarchy; France and Italy, so they say, in very desperate shape. This means a great deal more to England with her wide international ramifications than we can readily appreciate ... The domestic situation is like our own only many times multiplied. The country is swarming with profiteers who have put up the prices of everything and knocked out entirely the economic balance.⁸¹⁷

This was not the world in which Patterson and his cousin wanted the United States. Their noninterventionist, isolationist, America first philosophy was, they believed, designed to give Americans a chance at economic, social and cultural success without the cost and consequences associated with European conflicts, rivalries and involvement. They envisioned an America where hard work, diligence and thrift enabled anyone to succeed and led to U.S. prosperity and independence. In the *Daily News* coverage of international affairs and communism the newspaper reinforced this idea by demonstrating American superiority and civilization when placed in contrast to other nations, aloofness toward old European rivals, and a suspicion of political systems without freedom, personal liberty and economic independence at their core.

⁸¹⁶ "Soviet Gets Britain's Ear", headline, *Daily News*, 1 June 1920.

⁸¹⁷ Robert McCormick to JMP, November 15, 1919, Box 51, Folder 2, JMP Papers, LFC.

Joseph Medill Patterson was strictly against additional immigration into the United States. Unlike C.K. McClatchy, who supported continued immigration into the United States from Europe but wanted Asians excluded, Patterson claimed immigration hurt the country by taking jobs away from the working classes and by slowing down the assimilation of foreigners already in the country. However, in contrast to many of his peers, Patterson believed that all white foreigners had the capacity to become “good” Americans if they were willing to assimilate and accept American values and patriotism. Moreover, in contrast to how Paul Kellogg and *Charities and the Commons* portrayed immigrants in the first decade of the century by using “scientific” organization and “types” and relying on middle-class values and professional expertise, Patterson identified assimilated immigrants as American and took racialized ethnic difference out of the equation. This made him an early proponent in print of civic white nationalism and the melting pot. It is likely Patterson also recognized immigrants as a potential audience for his easy-to-read, visually friendly newspaper. Moreover, immigrants could learn how to be an American in the pages of the newspaper. The *Daily News* perpetuated this by claiming that in its pages could be found a true representation of American life and culture. By purchasing the newspaper, immigrants bought an identity, and signaled their belonging. Still, Patterson’s vision of a homogenized American did not include African Americans or Asian Americans. They were outside his vision of national belonging and he did not believe they could be assimilated. American Indians occupied a space in between, at once “authentic” Americans, but also a “dying race” no longer a threat to the homogeneous American type Patterson envisioned. African Americans, Asian Americans and American Indians, like communists and unassimilated Americans, are important in identifying Patterson’s American type. Patterson used these groups to identify what an American was not. Finally, Patterson’s views of U.S. foreign involvement allowed him to construct a national identity that was centered American “ideals” like freedom and patriotism and in opposition to old, corrupt European nations

that “tricked” the United States into a World War and gave birth to communist regimes. By appealing to the working classes and immigrants, Patterson established a large audience to which he disseminated his vision of nationhood and belonging.

Part III: California's America: C.K. McClatchy and the *Bee* in the Great Depression

Chapter 10: The *Bee* and the McClatchy Clan

..A representative citizen should be one who truly, earnestly, and honestly represents in himself the best there is in American citizenship; who ever stands for honesty in public life and for integrity in private dealings; who scorns sham and hypocrisy; and who would as soon think of picking a man's pockets as of doing any of the several dishonest acts which too many representative citizens excuse on the ground that it is business and financing.

C.K. McClatchy, November 11, 1905⁸¹⁸

Origins Story

There are various accounts of what drove James McClatchy to leave his New York newspapering job in 1849 and strike out on his own in the still relatively sparsely populated Sacramento as waves of people swept into the state on the heels of gold finds in California's Sierra-Nevada foothills. James McClatchy was born in Ireland in 1824 and immigrated to New York in 1840, after both his parents died. Once in New York, McClatchy took work on the editorial staff of various newspapers, including, importantly, Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. There is limited evidence, mostly anecdotal family tales, that McClatchy heeded Greeley's advice to "go West, young man, go West", and that is the story most often cited in McClatchy "official" histories.⁸¹⁹ Other accounts claim he was sent west by the *Tribune* as a correspondent. And still others claim he moved west to pursue riches in the gold mines.⁸²⁰ Regardless, James McClatchy arrived in California in 1849, the year gold was discovered along the banks of the American River. After an unsuccessful seven-week stint in the gold fields, McClatchy moved to Sacramento sometime in 1849, then at the crossroads of the California gold

⁸¹⁸ C.K. McClatchy, "Representative Citizen", reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks* (New York: Scribner Press, 1936)

⁸¹⁹ Greeley, of course, did not coin this phrase. His contribution, instead, was to promote the west.

⁸²⁰ Family members claim James McClatchy heeded Greeley's advice in the introduction to C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks By C.K.*, New York: Scribner Press, 1936), pp xiii-xv. In addition, both stories appear in McClatchy timelines are held in McClatchy Historical, Company History, 1867-1977, Box 25-26, McClatchy Newspapers and Broadcasting Collection, City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center (hereafter NMBC, SAMCC).

rush.⁸²¹ He found work on the *Placer Times*, a newspaper founded at Sutter's Fort in April 1848, reporting about California's first legislature. McClatchy family folklore casts James McClatchy as a fiery figure who dedicated his life's work to voicing the concerns and issues important to common Americans. For example, in 1850 James McClatchy was arrested after co-writing an article considered inflammatory about landless settlers amid the "Squatters Riots" of 1850. He was charged with conspiracy, though the charges were later dropped. The story is typical of James McClatchy, and later his son C.K. McClatchy, as he fashioned himself as an independent journalistic voice in support working people and people in need. During the next decade, James McClatchy found work with several newspapers and eventually became editor of the *Settlers and Minters Tribune*, then moved on to publish the *Democratic State Journal*, before starting the *Sacramento Daily Times* with Cornelius Cole (a man who would later become a U.S. senator).⁸²² Dozens of newspapers were founded and folded in Sacramento during the 1850s. In some ways McClatchy is representative of the upstart western press of the mid-19th century. Newspapers founded during this period were usually established for one of a few reasons: to encourage settlement in the area, to serve as the mouthpiece for political groups, to serve an influx of people due to a mining rush for gold or silver, to serve missionary purposes, or to serve an Army post in the region.⁸²³ At the same time, media and transportation innovations and legal benefits for

⁸²¹ For a discussion of Sacramento's role in California's gold rush see: Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento, Indomitable City* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 28-50; Mark Eifler, *Gold Rush Capitalists: Greed and Growth in Sacramento* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); J.S. Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: Random House, Modern Library, 2005); John A. Sutter (Allan R. Ottley, ed.), *The Sutter Family and the Origins of the Gold Rush, Sacramento* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943, 2002); and David Vaught, *After the Gold Rush: Tarnished Dreams in the Sacramento Valley* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

⁸²² Company History, *Sacramento Bee* Materials, McClatchy Historical, Company History, 1867-1977, Box 25, Folder 839, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸²³ For a discussion of the spread of west coast newspapers see, Michael Emery and Edwin Emry, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 8th ed.* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1954, 1996). In addition, for more on the establishment of western newspapers see: William G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927); Robert F. Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier* (Seattle:

publications changed newspapers. The invention of the telegraph and larger, faster presses like the Hoe power press, special discounted postal rates for newspapers and other publications, the increasing use of artist's sketches and engravings, increasing literacy, the invention of wire news services such as The Associated Press, and the rise of circulation altered the news business by expanding the audience, increasing the immediacy of news, and providing readers with a way to visualize each other, places, and events for the first time.⁸²⁴ Meanwhile, by the middle of the 19th century, Sacramento had a population of about 11,000 and was a trading center for both the miners in the Sierra foothills and the Central Valley hinterlands. It was into this journalistic whirlwind James McClatchy inserted himself in Sacramento in the mid-19th century.⁸²⁵

Contrary to popular belief, the *Sacramento Bee* was not founded by the McClatchy family, though it is to the McClatchys that it owes both its success and longevity. Instead, the newspaper was founded in 1857 as the *Daily Bee*, a morning newspaper, by businessmen Levi C. Chandler, Lyman P. Davis, John Church and W.H. Toby. James McClatchy was not among its initial owners, though he was the local editor. By the end of the first week, he was named editor; that fall, the *Bee* became an evening newspaper. After a brief stint as the sheriff of Sacramento,

Superior Publishing, 1965); William H. Lyon, ed., *Journalism in the West* (Manhattan, KS: Kansas State Press, 1980); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967, 1973); Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Mass Communications* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Mark W. Hall, "1831-49: The Pioneer Period for Newspapers in California", *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (1972): 648-55; Jerilyn McIntyre, "Communication on a Western Frontier – Some Questions About Context", *Journalism History* 3 (1976): 55-63; Jeffrey B Rutenbeck, "The Rhetoric of Independence and Boosterism in Late Nineteenth-Century California Journalism," *American Journalism*, 13:4 (1996), 456-74; and William David Sloan, ed., *The Media in America: A History*, 5th ed. (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2002).

⁸²⁴ Ibid. See also Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844-1897* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), Alfred D. Chandler, ed., *A Nation Transformed by Information: How Information Changed the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), and Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁸²⁵ The McClatchy Company, in celebration of the *Sacramento Bee*'s 150th anniversary in 2007, has a website that details much of the company and family history at <http://150th.mcclatchy.com/>. Information obtained from this website is footnoted with the website address and retrieval date. Retrieved, 18 November 2008.

McClatchy returned to the Bee as part owner; by 1872 he was the majority owner.⁸²⁶ The family did not take complete ownership of the newspaper until after James McClatchy's 1883 death when his widow Charlotte McClatchy bought out the remaining partner and turned the newspaper over to her sons, Charles Kenny (C.K.) and Valentine Stuart (V.S.) McClatchy.

From the beginning, James McClatchy left his imprint on the newspaper and its editorial policies and politics. He was known for his independence and fire, and for taking on injustice, particularly entrenched wealth, and government corruption.⁸²⁷ At the end of the newspaper's first week, reporters and editors broke a story about \$20,000 in tax money missing from the state treasury.⁸²⁸ This investigative piece aimed at currying favor with the common man instituted the type of story the newspaper pursued during the 19th and early 20th centuries. With the exception of his two-year hiatus as Sacramento County's sheriff, James McClatchy served as editor of the *Bee* until his death in 1883. And while the editorial page of the newspaper's first edition, written days before James McClatchy joined the staff, established a platform that guided the newspaper in the 19th and early 20th centuries -- "The object of this newspaper is not only independence, but permanence" -- it was the McClatchy family that would see it through.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁶ Details from Avella, *Sacramento*.

⁸²⁷ Company history, 1945-1958, McClatchy Historical: Company History, Box25, Folder 831, MNBC, SMACC.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ *Daily Bee*, February 3, 1857. There is only one book about the McClatchy family and its newspaper chain in circulation. Steve Wiegand's, *Papers of Permanence: The First 150 Years of the McClatchy Company* (Sacramento, CA: The McClatchy Company, 2007) was published by the company to mark its 150th anniversary in 2007. Wiegand is a *Sacramento Bee* columnist and journalist and while the book relies on the same archives and newspapers as this chapter, it offers little in the way of interpretation. It serves more as a reference of dates, names and company activity. An abbreviated form of the book, "Portraits in History: Meet the founder and pioneering heirs of The McClatchy Company" was published in *McClatchy: The Employee Magazine of the McClatchy Company*, Spring 2007, Vol. 4, issue 1. There are a few dissertations related to the McClatchy family and their newspapers, only one of which is explicitly about C.K. McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee*. That dissertation, Bernard A. Shepard, "C.K. McClatchy and the Sacramento Bee" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1960), is entirely focused on the editorial pages of the newspaper. Shepard sees C.K. McClatchy as a champion of the suffering and poor people of California, but also a leader among Californians who advocated exclusion of Asians. Shepard's work is dated, and he fails to deal with African Americans or Latino Americans in his dissertation. Other dissertations and thesis addressing some aspect of the McClatchy clan include Chris Steward Nielsen, "Whiteness Imperiled: Anti-Asian Sentiment in California, 1900-1930 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 2007) and Philip L. Wimer, "C.K. McClatchy and Upton Sinclair's Epic Campaign: The Power of the Press in 1934 California" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1995). Wimer uses the McClatchy

Charles Kenny "C.K." McClatchy and The Bee

Eighteen years before C.K. McClatchy's 1936 death, the California State Librarian requested McClatchy write an autobiographical sketch for the library's archive of notable Californians. McClatchy penned:

Thank you very much for the compliment. But I am not an author. I am a mere, ordinary, plain everyday newspaperman of the average garden variety. I am not even a journalist.

I never wrote a book in my life, nor a sketch, and years ago, by willpower, I converted myself from the awful crime of writing poetry and asked God to forgive me, and haven't done that for lo, these many years.

After I am dead, if the state library finds there is anything in me of consequence sufficient to fill out a card ... then those who are living have the consent of the dead to go to it.⁸³⁰

Modest though he may have been about his lasting legacy, C.K. McClatchy, much like Joseph Medill Patterson and Paul Kellogg, was a force. As with Patterson and Kellogg, his newspaper reflected his values, his opinions, and his beliefs. The photographs and opinions that appeared in the daily newspaper while C.K. McClatchy was alive crafted an inclusive vision of national belonging unless, of course, you were Asian or uncommitted to American values and beliefs. Much like Joseph Medill Patterson, McClatchy was in daily contact with editors at his newspapers – even when he was away. Like Patterson, he had final say in all editorial decisions and in all newspaper content. As C.K. McClatchy's estate was protested in the late 1930s, his personal nurse, who traveled with him and had daily contact with him throughout the 1930s, attested to McClatchy's work ethic and personal involvement at the *Bee*:

During my acquaintance with Mr. McClatchy it was his habit to keep in daily contact with his newspaper business and on the occasions when he was away from Sacramento to write articles for the newspaper and keep in telephonic contact with executives of his business by telephone or at about eight o'clock in the morning. It was his habit during my acquaintance with him to check up daily on the news articles appearing the *Sacramento Bee* and send in suggestions

newspapers to study the role of the mass media in politics and sees the 1934 election as the forerunner to modern political elections and their relationship with the mass media. Nielsen looks at Anti-Asian sentiment throughout California and spends a chapter looking at V.S. McClatchy, calling him one of the most vehement anti-Asian, whiteness promoters in California history.

⁸³⁰ Reprinted in Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, pp 173.

regarding articles appearing the *Bee* or which were to be published. Excepting occasions when Mr. McClatchy was confined to a hospital or when he was absent from Sacramento it was his practice to make daily visits to the offices of the *Sacramento Bee* and devote some time there in connection with its business.⁸³¹

At the same time, when C.K. McClatchy took one of his numerous, lengthy trips overseas, he continued to try to dictate editorial policy on almost a daily basis.⁸³²

Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, despite failing health and a cataclysmic economic depression, McClatchy kept his *Bee* true to his vision of America and Americans. This vision employed strict California boosterism, made explicit McClatchy's belief that California represented America, targeted Asian Americans, particularly the Japanese, for exclusion, advocated sympathy and help for those suffering as a consequence of the Great Depression, accepted European immigration and new immigrants, opposed President Herbert Hoover, and supported President Franklin Roosevelt and the projects of the New Deal while at the same time rejecting more radical elements of the emerging Popular Front in California. Unlike Joseph Medill Patterson, McClatchy believed that European immigration enriched America and California and was the foundation on which the nation was built. Unlike Paul Kellogg, McClatchy did not picture the less fortunate as victims and use their ethnic background to identify them. Instead, American identity in photographs, stories and editorials in the pages of the *Bee* was characterized as something more fluid; something that included a wider berth of people. Like both Patterson and Kellogg, McClatchy also struggled with race and racial inclusion. He wanted his newspaper to represent America and be fair and decent to all people, but he never came to terms with the way African Americans should be a part of this vision. The newspaper's

⁸³¹ Frances Bydeen (? Surname is smudged), Affidavit in Support of Protest, 24 February 1939, McClatchy Newspaper Administrative, Box 10, Folder 227, MNBC, SAMCC. The protest over the estate was part of an ongoing conflict between C.K. McClatchy and his wife about the community property of McClatchy Newspapers stocks. Mrs. McClatchy held that after their marriage, she had a right to half of the corporation's stocks. She eventually was given a substantial block of stock (before C.K.'s death). But, after his death, there was some controversy about the stock.

⁸³² See Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, Wiegand also speculates that C.K. McClatchy's lengthy overseas trips were designed to help him "dry out".

reach was significant, particularly when you consider that as the newspaper serving California's capital city, the *Bee* reached the policy-makers, businessmen and influential figures in the state. Moreover, McClatchy's close personal and professional friendship with U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson (California's one-time governor) gave him entree into national and international influence. By 1927, the newspaper's circulation numbers reached more than 48,000 a day and the newspaper, according to data filed with *Editor & Publisher*, identified itself as "independent" in political affiliation, something that had been the case since James McClatchy ran the newspaper in the mid-19th century.⁸³³ Despite this, of course, McClatchy's personal politics consistently appear in the news pages and photographs in the *Bee* whether through stories and images promoting Franklin Roosevelt's campaign for president or through early images of "Hoovervilles" meant to turn public opinion against Hoover and his policies. The Sacramento metropolitan area, at the time, had a population of more than 175,000 people, meaning the *Bee* had significant penetration into the region.⁸³⁴ By early 1928, circulation topped 50,000, giving C.K. McClatchy a large, and politically influential, audience on the eve of the Great Depression.⁸³⁵ And during the Depression the *Bee*'s circulation continued to grow, from more than 50,000 in 1930 to nearly 58,000 in 1936 to more than 67,000 in 1940.⁸³⁶ By the 1930s, the combined circulation of the three McClatchys' Central Valley newspapers – *Sacramento Bee*, *Fresno Bee*, and *Modesto Bee* – was in excess of 100,000.⁸³⁷ At the same time, McClatchy newspapers also purchased several radio stations in the valley, taking advantage of the new medium and expanding the reach and audience. The *Bee* was on the cutting edge of technology – ordering new, faster presses, the latest photography equipment, and anything that would give the

⁸³³ Information for *Editor & Publisher* 1927, International Year Book, 1927, Box 10, Folder 228, MNBC, SAMCC. C.K. McClatchy would argue that he, and the newspaper, were independent throughout his life, despite his vehement endorsement of politicians and policy.

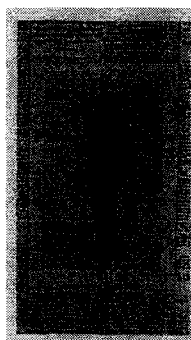
⁸³⁴ *Sacramento Bee* Circulation Statement, January 1928, McClatchy Newspaper Administrative: Financial, Box 14, Folder 355, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸³⁵ Each newspaper, of course, was likely read by more than one person.

⁸³⁶ Average Net Paid Circulation of the *Sacramento Bee*, 1899-1946, McClatchy Historical: Company History, Box 25, Folder 837, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸³⁷ Circulation Growth 1930-1958, McClatchy Historical: Company History, Box 25, Folder 837, MNBC, SAMCC.

newspaper staff and editors an advantage in reporting the news of what the paper called Superior California as quickly and efficiently as possible. C.K. McClatchy valued speed and understood the power of photography and images to tell a story. In fact, the newspaper was an early adopter of regularly publishing photographs. The first halftone reproduction appeared in the *Sacramento Bee* on April 5, 1898.



On that day, the newspaper carried a small halftone of Sacramento Police Chief Thomas Dwyer on page eight (above).⁸³⁸ The photograph shows Dwyer's entire body. He is in uniform, with his hands behind his back. This static image would quickly be replaced with images designed to more explicitly tell stories and convey messages. A few days after the Dwyer photograph ran, halftones appeared on the front page when the newspaper carried images of two local boxers before a fight. Within a month, the newspaper regularly carried halftones of international figures, including those involved in the Spanish American War.⁸³⁹

This audience received its daily helping of C.K.'s "Thinks" and photographs and stories promoting McClatchy's national vision of America, Americans, and Californians for nearly half a century. By the time of the 1929 stock market crash, C.K. McClatchy was an old man and in declining health. He was set in his ways and in his belief system, and, despite failing health, took an active, daily interest in his newspaper's content. The Depression gave McClatchy one last chance to disseminate his vision of America and Americans to a mass audience. McClatchy's early 20th century Progressive politics, racial indifference, pro-Asian exclusion, pro-European

⁸³⁸ Image from Wiegand, p. 90.

⁸³⁹ See, Wiegand, pp 89-91.

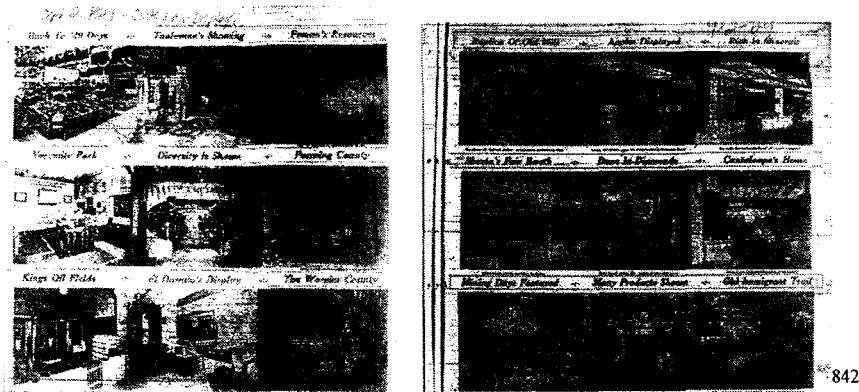
immigration, rabid anti-communism, and inclusive vision of who constituted an American found expression in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* throughout the Great Depression. Fueled by his beliefs, the newspaper challenged notions of national belonging like those published by *Charities and the Commons* and the *Daily News* by constructing an America in which national origin was irrelevant and in which the federal government and Californians had an obligation to ease the suffering of fellow Americans.⁸⁴⁰ For McClatchy, citizenship and national belonging went beyond mere acceptance of democratic ideals and values; you had to participate and be an active part of the government and society. Likewise, he expected the government to be active when its people were in need.⁸⁴¹ McClatchy remained dedicated to serving as a booster for “Superior” California. He challenged federal inactivity and increased his print attacks on long-time foe Herbert Hoover in the first years of the Depression. Finally, he lobbied hard for Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s election and programs of the New Deal during a period of increased federal activity in the state.

⁸⁴⁰ Some scholars, like Matthew Frye Jacobson, have noted that after immigration was slowed in 1924 it became easier for Americans to overlook constructions of “race” based on national origin and religion in favor of a white American identity. That said, McClatchy lobbied for continued European immigration and opposed legislation that restricted it. He constructed American identity not based on national origin, but on the desire to embrace and become American and argued that “American” was something composed of a variety of people and was consistently transformed.

⁸⁴¹ C.K. McClatchy manuscript, undated, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 178, MNBC, SAMCC.

Chapter 11: “Superior” California

In early September 1929, just weeks before the stock market crash plunged an already economically and agriculturally troubled nation into a spiraling depression, the *Sacramento Bee* carried dozens of photographs of the California State Fair, displaying the region’s success and national leadership.



Throughout the week, the newspaper ran photographs of California’s industrial, agricultural and financial innovations, images of a state capable of self-sufficiency in both industry and agriculture, and a state on the cutting edge of America’s social and economic structures.⁸⁴³

This was not an accident.

C.K. McClatchy’s blinding devotion to California and Californians cast the state at the center of national politics, importance, and influence throughout his tenure at the *Sacramento Bee*. The national importance with which McClatchy viewed California characterized the tone of editorials, opinion columns, stories, and photographs. There were several reasons for this. McClatchy saw California as representative of America. He believed that the Herbert Hoover-led government did not represent America or most Americans. California, on the other hand, did. In the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*, McClatchy and his editors spread this doctrine by explicitly highlighting the ways in which the state excelled – regional diversity, agriculture, banking,

⁸⁴² *Sacramento Bee*, 2 September 1929.

⁸⁴³ See, for example, *Sacramento Bee*, 2-5 September 1929.

climate, natural beauty – as well as McClatchy’s political agenda, centered on Asian exclusion, Progressive politics, and California boosterism. McClatchy’s long-standing personal and professional relationship with Hiram Johnson also positioned McClatchy to bring these issues to a national audience. Moreover, as owner and editor of the *Bee*, McClatchy had a platform.

This paper has held for many, many years and holds today that there are a number of journals in interior California much better edited than the great dailies of either San Francisco or Los Angeles.

The editorials are more thoughtful, more carefully written, more versatile, less pompous, and dull, and deadly. There is within them not only the result of research and reading, but as well a touch of human nature and the saving grace of humor ...⁸⁴⁴

It is no wonder then that when the McClatchy brothers were batting around ideas for the name of a new section dedicated to the greater Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys they settled on “Superior California.”⁸⁴⁵ The day the newspaper announced the name, C.K. McClatchy penned an editorial noting, “the section of this great state represented on that page is ‘Superior California’”.⁸⁴⁶ C.K. McClatchy was vehement in his belief – and public articulation – that California represented the best of America. Moreover, he believed that the state best represented the belief systems of the vast majority of Americans. This vision was articulated through photographs in concert with editorials, opinion columns, and news stories.

But, the story is not that simple. Because while C.K. McClatchy was a California booster and supported common working men and women of California, there were people that C.K. McClatchy, and his brother V.S. McClatchy, did not include when boasting about the Golden State: Asians. In letters, public writings and pamphlets, editorials, testimony before state and federal bodies, the brothers’ intolerance of Chinese and Japanese Americans was on display

⁸⁴⁴ C.K. McClatchy, “Journals of Interior California”, *Sacramento Bee*, November 20, 1911, reprinted in McClatchy, *Private Thinks*.

⁸⁴⁵ Superior California, according to Wiegand, was named after the brother’s rejected “Northern California” as inaccurate (as Sacramento and many of the counties they hoped to reach with regional news were actually in Central California). It also, of course, is a play on words given Sacramento’s position north of Southern California and the McClatchy’s belief that Sacramento was, in many ways, “superior” to areas such as San Francisco. The paper continues to use the section title to this day.

⁸⁴⁶ Editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 May 1904, reprinted in Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, p 102.

throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. There has been some debate about C.K. McClatchy's true feelings about Asian exclusion and his dedication to the issue.⁸⁴⁷ He was certainly not as vehement, active, or xenophobic as his brother V.S. McClatchy, though he absolutely supported restrictive legislation. In 1929, reacting to Viscount Shibusawa of Japan's claims the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 wounded Japan's national honor, the *Sacramento Bee* carried an editorial declaring the discussion closed and outlining how the United States' position had nothing to do with race, but was merely a question of assimilation.

The Japanese are but one of the many races so excluded. They are no more discriminated against than are the Chinese or the Hindus or the Siamese or the Malaya.

Nor is this law a proclamation of racial superiority on our part. Ineligible or inassimilable does not necessarily mean inferior; it means fundamentally different; refers to social and economic customs and standards, not to racial values.⁸⁴⁸

Throughout the first three decades of the 20th century, McClatchy's *Bees* regularly published editorials, columns, and stories that claimed Asians were unable to assimilate to the United States. The *Bee* and McClatchy were not unusual among newspapers and newspaper editors in California at the time. In fact, most newspapers supported exclusionary legislation aimed at first the Chinese and then the Japanese. Yet, C.K. McClatchy's unique position as editor and owner of Sacramento's newspaper, as well as his relationship with V.S. McClatchy and Senator Hiram Johnson gave his newspaper a unique position of power with state and federal policy makers. C.K. McClatchy and the *Bee* advocated ending Japanese immigration to the United States, making Japanese people already in the United States ineligible for citizenship, and against allowing Japanese and Japanese Americans to own land in California. And while claims that the Japanese were unable to assimilate stayed at the forefront of the newspaper's arguments it is difficult to believe that racism did not play a role, particularly when the newspaper carried

⁸⁴⁷ Some who have written on C.K. McClatchy and his brother claim that C.K. was a passive voice. See, for example, Weigand, *Papers of Permanence*,

⁸⁴⁸ "Japanese Immigration Question is Settled", editorial, 1 November 1929, *Sacramento Bee*.

editorials that asked that California “be allowed to keep her wonderful lands for the white race and the children’s children of the white race.”⁸⁴⁹

C.K. McClatchy’s correspondence with Senator Johnson also illustrates this point. In 1921, amid negotiations for additional Alien Land bills (Johnson, as governor, signed California’s into law in 1913), Johnson wrote that “I learned long ago there is just one way to deal with these people, and that is, to stand firmly on your right, talk of nothing else, and refuse to be diverted from the one issue.”⁸⁵⁰ McClatchy certainly agreed. “Why should California hesitate, and evade, and falter, and palter, and trim, and postpone upon this anti-alien land law issue?” C.K. wrote in a 1913 “Private Thinks” column.⁸⁵¹ McClatchy considered it common sense that California be kept in the hands of Californians, that is, white Americans, and that people he considered unassimilatable and “different” be prevented from owning America. This difference of Asians is apparent in the way Asian Americans and Asians were portrayed visually in the newspaper. For example, the newspaper often carried photographs of Asian Americans that marked their difference: in traditional clothing or kimonos or at ethnic and cultural celebrations; in Chinese schools where children learned foreign language and cultural traditions; or in photographs that defined them as unique visitors from abroad.⁸⁵² All of this was designed to send a visual message that people from Asian countries – even those who had been in California and the United States for a generation or more – were not like other Americans. They had different traditions, different dress, and different cultures that were incongruent with the vision of the Superior California C.K. McClatchy promoted in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*.

C.K. McClatchy’s views on Asians were made clear in the coverage his newspapers gave them, but his brother V.S. McClatchy was even more aggressive and public. V.S. was anything but understated. He testified before Congress, involved himself in numerous anti-Asian groups,

⁸⁴⁹ *Sacramento Bee*, 21 July 1921

⁸⁵⁰ Hiram Johnson to C.K. McClatchy, March 9, 1921, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 32, Folder 1138, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁵¹ C.K. McClatchy, “April 29, 1913, *Private Thinks*, pp 43-44.

⁸⁵² Specific examples are discussed later in this chapter.

including taking a national leadership role in the Japanese Exclusion League and active membership in the Citizen's Protective Association. V.S. McClatchy wrote regularly for a variety of publications about the issue.

There are three principle elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration to this country. They are:

1. The non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.
2. Their unusually large birth-rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 1 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.
3. The great advantages which they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction, and aid from the government.⁸⁵³

But more than public writings and briefs for the State Department, he also pushed C.K. McClatchy to carry anti-Japanese editorials and stories in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*. In what would become a matter of contention between the brothers, V.S. McClatchy departed from the business side of the newspaper chain to cross into the editorial realm, particularly when C.K. McClatchy was away.

The business and personal relationship between the McClatchy brothers, including on matters editorial, sheds some light on how they worked and made editorial decisions and how a specific vision of American national belonging came to be articulated in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*. It also helps explain the sometimes inconsistent way Asian exclusion and Asian Americans were treated in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* and other McClatchy newspapers. V.S. McClatchy was a penny-pinching, perfectionist who was set in his beliefs; C.K. was an alcoholic, bad with money, and sympathetic to those without money.

⁸⁵³ V.S. McClatchy, "Japanese in the Melting-Pot: Can They assimilate and Make Good Citizens?", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 93, Present-Day Immigration with Special Reference to the Japanese (January 1921), pp 29-34.

When James McClatchy died in 1883 his sons took over the newspaper, with V.S. handling the business side and C.K. overseeing the editorial department. V.S. was born in 1857 and C.K. in 1858, and both attended local Sacramento public schools. C.K. attended Santa Clara College (now Santa Clara University) in the mid 1870s, but did not stay long. The lure of the newspaper business – and failing grades, particularly in math, at Santa Clara – brought him back to Sacramento to join the *Bee* as a cub reporter in 1875 – at the age of 17. He covered state politics and government and wrote occasional editorial pieces, and his reputation grew quickly. By 1880 he was included in a collection listing important Sacramentans and state political figures. His profile included the following: “He will make you laugh when you least expect to do so, and so pungent sometimes is he, and sarcastic, if you will, that few imagine such deep reflections emanate from the brain of a young man of twenty-one summers.”⁸⁵⁴ C.K. McClatchy was considered the voice and the heart and the soul of the *Sacramento Bee* and McClatchy Newspapers.

V.S., on the other hand, attended Santa Clara and graduated with a degree in engineering. Following graduation he took a job as a bank clerk in Oakland, eventually moving on to work for the federal subtreasury in San Francisco. By the time of James McClatchy’s death, C.K. had worked in the newsroom of the *Bee* for nearly eight years, so it was natural that he assumed editorial responsibility for the newspaper. V.S. moved his family, including eight children, back to the Sacramento area from San Francisco following his father’s death to help run the newspaper. C.K. McClatchy had little aptitude for money and business; V.S. excelled at both.⁸⁵⁵ Under V.S. the *Sacramento Bee* grew and expanded from a small, city newspaper to a regional publication with statewide readers and influence in accordance with its position as the newspaper of the state capital in an increasingly influential region of the country. V.S. expanded the *Bee*’s office space; created innovative advertising techniques; collected demographic information about

⁸⁵⁴ Quoted in Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence: The First 150 Years of the McClatchy Company*. Wiegand does not list a proper citation.

⁸⁵⁵ Wiegand, “Portraits in History”, pp 19-22.

subscribers; insisted on the most up-to-date technology, including faster and larger presses; and generally helped broaden the audience of the newspaper. By 1907, with V.S.'s pushing, more than half of the newspaper's subscriptions were from outside the city of Sacramento.⁸⁵⁶ This partnership endured, with apparently few hiccups, for nearly 40 years.

But, it did not last.

The relationship between the brothers McClatchy cooled considerably by the summer of 1922 as quarrels about business practices, editorial control, and joint ownership of the newspapers and corporation erupted in a series of letters and disagreements. Each brother owned 50 percent of the business, and quarrels over how to run it, as well as inheritance disputes, spoiled the relationship. "I assume there is no question as to the main principle involved since I made it very clear in one of my letters from the East that I would not consent to the Fresno project unless there was joint control of editorial and business policies," V.S. McClatchy wrote to his brother in July.⁸⁵⁷ The "Fresno project" was a newspaper to be established in Fresno, now the *Fresno Bee*. When the newspaper was launched Carlos McClatchy, C.K.'s only son, was made editor. During the summer of 1922 and fall/winter of 1922-23 letters between the brothers grew more hostile. C.K. McClatchy, always in charge of the editorial side of the business, took issue with V.S.'s meddling in newspaper content and his demand for equal editorial control of the new Fresno newspaper. "With all due respect," C.K. wrote in August, "I must state that everything I have written to you in reference to *The Fresno Bee* was and is true. I had no idea of any such proposed dual editorship as you now insist upon until after it had been arranged."⁸⁵⁸ He clarified a few weeks later that "as my memory goes, it was understood that I was to be in charge of the editorial

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ V.S. McClatchy to C.K. McClatchy, 30 July 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁵⁸ C.K. McClatchy to V.S. McClatchy, 14 August 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

and the news, and you in charge of the business.”⁸⁵⁹ It’s also likely fraternal squabbling about the editorial stance of the *Bees* on Asian exclusion, immigration and federal policy played into this breakdown.⁸⁶⁰ Money and power, of course, were at the root of the family squabble, but there also was an additional issue: inheritance of the family business by the next generation of McClatchy men – C.K. and V.S.’s sons. “Beyond that, you could not fail to know that, much as I admire and love Carlos, I would not permit him (or anyone else) to dictate the editorial or business policies of a newspaper in which I am half owner,” V.S. wrote to his brother in early August.⁸⁶¹ V.S. attempted to explain it to C.K. McClatchy’s son Carlos in 1922: “I went carefully into the matter, explaining the understanding and relations between C.K. and myself, the plans outlined for having our sons represent our respective interest as we gradually withdrew from active work .”⁸⁶² V.S. had four sons and wanted each to share equally with Carlos McClatchy in the inheritance of the newspaper business. Within a week, C.K. McClatchy wrote that he could no longer be in business with his brother: “The unsurmountable [sic] differences between us, and the consideration of what you have written and said to me, compels the unchangeable conclusion that our further business association is impossible – that one of us must retire.”⁸⁶³ The brothers agreed to dissolve the partnership through a blind auction. By November, V.S.’s letters turn to the potential sale of his shares, and his desire to continue the “ruthless” tactics of the *Sacramento Bee* in the pages of all the corporation’s newspapers, including the *Fresno Bee*.

Even should I sell I am concerned in knowing that we hold similar views as to the policies which will make for success there, or in learning wherein I am mistaken ... Sacramento does not like our methods – at

⁸⁵⁹ C.K. McClatchy to V.S. McClatchy, 15 August 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶⁰ Immigration is discussed in detail later in this chapter. McClatchy was opposed to any immigration restrictions that prevented Europeans, including Eastern and Southern Europeans, from entering the United States. V.S. McClatchy, like Patterson, opposed all immigration into the United States with a xenophobic zeal.

⁸⁶¹ V.S. McClatchy to C.K. McClatchy, 2 August 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶² V.S. McClatchy to Carlos McClatchy, 12 August 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶³ C.K. McClatchy to V.S. McClatchy, 21 August 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

times ruthless – in presenting our editorial convictions; she tolerates them, because after a long acquaintance she has learned to appreciate many good, or excellent qualities in *The Bee*. If a Sacramentan pats us on the back for some of these methods, be sure it is because the other fellow was hit. Even our friends tire of continued iteration of sentiments which they approve.⁸⁶⁴

C.K. was quick to respond to his brother that “in the improbable event that I shall get the property, *The Sacramento Bee* will be conducted editorially in precisely the same ‘ruthless’ manner that has made its reputation and gained it general respect.”⁸⁶⁵ The blind auction was held and in September 1923 C.K. McClatchy, after outbidding his brother following a series of antagonistic legal maneuvers from both, took total control of the family company.⁸⁶⁶ The editorial and news control of the newspaper had always been in C.K.’s hands, now he also controlled the money and assured inheritance for his offspring. V.S. and C.K. never reconciled.⁸⁶⁷ Without a doubt, V.S. McClatchy was influential in establishing the early editorial positions of the newspaper in the 20th century, particularly those about Asian exclusion, and in establishing the McClatchy Newspapers as a viable and expanding company. However, it is C.K. McClatchy who would articulate a wider range of views and ultimately shape the broader vision of America and national belonging that came to characterize the *Bee* by the 1930s.

Even after the break, V.S. McClatchy continued his xenophobic and racist campaign against Asians, particularly the Japanese. He continued to write opinion pieces and pamphlets

⁸⁶⁴ V.S. McClatchy to C.K. McClatchy, 25 November 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶⁵ C.K. McClatchy to V.S. McClatchy, 30 November 1922, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 147, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶⁶ Both men tried to impair the purchasing power of the other in the lead-up to the silent auction by tying up corporation profits and ownership. There is a detailed account of this in the McClatchy Legal series, Box 9, Folder 148 and Folder 149, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁸⁶⁷ V.S. and several of his children opened a successful real estate company. But, hostility remained. When V.S. met C.K. by accident in San Francisco in 1924, he refused to shake his hand. Likewise, Eleanor McClatchy returned a wedding present to V.S. unopened with a note that read “As you refuse to have friendly relations with my father you can, of course, understand my not wishing to accept your gift, no matter how kindly offered.” V.S. died in 1938. The *Sacramento Bee* ran a front page obituary that limited his influence and contribution to the company’s success. Quoted in Wiegand, “Portraits in History”.

advocating a separation of races and outlining the “problems” created even by second-generation, American-born Japanese-Americans.

This result is the fault of neither race. It is due to the fact that each is marked by racial characteristics so strong and so different that assimilation, in the perfect biological sense, is not possible. Both are capable of cultural assimilation, but each resents absorption by the other, the real assimilation which makes for national homogeneity.”⁸⁶⁸

V.S. McClatchy continued, until his death, to argue that Asians, not just Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants, were a threat to white American culture and society. Editorials and stories in the *Bee* were less vehement after V.S McClatchy left, in part due to his departure, but also due to the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 that largely put an end to the debate. By the 1930s, the newspaper carried occasional photographs of Asian Americans and included stories and photographs of Japanese visitors to California, though McClatchy continued to oppose any law that would alter or modify the 1924 Asian Exclusion Act.⁸⁶⁹ Moreover, the photographs and stories in the *Sacramento Bee* after 1929 highlight the differences and incompatibility between visitors from Japan, Japanese Americans, Asian Americans – including Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans – and “white” Americans.

In 1930, just months after the stock market crash, the *Sacramento Bee* carried a front page story and photograph about the bombing of the Filipino Club in Stockton, a farming community of 48,000 people 45 miles south of Sacramento.

⁸⁶⁸ V.S. McClatchy, “Japanese-American Relations and the Second Generation”, *Pacific Affairs*, vol.2, no. 4 (April 1929), pp 200-203.

⁸⁶⁹ The Asian Exclusion Act was part of the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1924). It is important to note that McClatchy opposed the Johnson-Reed Act as it applied to immigrants from non-Asian countries. This is discussed later in this chapter.



The photograph showed the Stockton building with the entire front of the building blown off, giving the interior of the building a dollhouse effect. In concert with the accompanying story, under the headline “Club Bombed as Filipino Riots Flare in Stockton,” blame for the bombing is placed firmly within the Filipino community.⁸⁷¹ The lead paragraph of the story further illustrates this point: “Authorities investigating the bombing of the Filipino Federation Club here last night are not fully convinced it was the work of whites ...” The story goes on to say that Filipino “race riots” have swept through Northern California and recount recent incidents in nearby cities. In concert, the text and the visual emphasize the violence and unassimilated nature of Stockton’s Filipinos, according to the *Bee*. The text tells readers to see the destruction in a particular way – as a consequence of Filipino race riots and internal Filipino community tensions. By the time the *Bee* carried the story of the bombing and riots, the Filipino population in California was more than 30,470, up from 5,000 two decades earlier.⁸⁷² In many parts of California, particularly in Stockton, a gathering place for Filipinos as they arrived on the mainland, Filipinos competed with whites for jobs and were the targets of violence.⁸⁷³ But more than that, violence against Filipinos

⁸⁷⁰ “Bomb Wrecks Stockton Filipino Club”, photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 January 1930.

⁸⁷¹ “Bomb Wrecks Stockton Filipino Club”, photograph, and “Club Bombed As Filipino Riots Flare in Stockton”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 January 1930.

⁸⁷² Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988, 1998), p 315-316. See also, Kevin Starr, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California*, pp 61-64.1

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.* Filipinos in Stockton formed the Filipino Labor Union. The *Sacramento Bee* did have circulation penetration into Stockton, though the main daily newspaper in the community was (and is) the *Stockton*

was driven by fear of both economic rivalry and sexual jealousy – whites feared Filipino men dating and marrying white women. In fact, because more Filipino men arrived in the U.S. than women, they did marry outside their racial group: to Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, Eskimo and white women. Filipinos were not excluded from entering the United States by the Asian Exclusion Act or other restrictive legislation because the Philippines was a territory of the United States. That, however, would change in 1934 with the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which established the Philippines as a commonwealth and provided independence in ten years.⁸⁷⁴ The *Bee* photo and article casts Filipinos in the same way other Asian and Asian Americans were portrayed – they could not be assimilated, they were trouble-makers, and they were un-American. The visual destruction depicted does not evoke sympathy for Filipinos, instead when read in concert with the story, the image casts them as trouble-makers, out of line with California and American values. A few years later the newspaper carried a story about a prohibition on Filipino dances in Sacramento under charges that taxi dances were a “source of trouble” in the Filipino community.⁸⁷⁵ Again, the newspaper implies Filipinos cannot control themselves or their behavior; that they are somehow uncivilized, and, thus, un-American.

McClatchy and the *Bee* also highlighted celebrations, dress, and culture in the Chinese American and Japanese American communities that reinforced cultural difference. In early 1930, the newspaper carried a photograph in advance of a Chinese parade in Marysville, California, a Yuba County town north of Sacramento.

Record, run by Irving Martin and his family, rivals of the McClatchy family. The Martin family sold *The Record* to Speidel Newspapers Inc. in 1969. It has turned over several times since and is presently owned by Rupert Murdoch as a part of the Dow Jones/Wall Street Journal company.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid, 315-341.

⁸⁷⁵ “Filipino Dances to be Prohibited by New Measure”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 12 January 1934.



Pictured is a half-block long dragon under the headline, “Yubans Will See Dragon.” The caption notes that “Alcoholic gents in Marysville, if there be such, will probably seek the tail when Chinese bring out this dragon on parade next week.”⁸⁷⁶ Rather than explaining the cultural and historic significance of the dragon in Chinese culture or explaining the parade, the caption makes a joke of seeing a dragon on an American street. Likewise, photographs marking the opening of the Chinese School of Sacramento in 1931 include an exterior image of the new building and a close-up of a young pupil writing Chinese characters on the chalkboard. The caption explains the images are of the “new Chinese School of Sacramento, just completed, where approximately eighty America-born Chinese youngsters will be schooled in the culture of their ancestors ... William Chan, 9, is seen at the blackboard with Chinese symbols expressing the purpose of the school. He said they mean: Educate the Young.”⁸⁷⁹ Taken together the images and caption are used by the *Bee* and McClatchy to prove that the Chinese could not be assimilated. Even Chinese born in America hold on to customs and language of their homeland – something McClatchy considered a roadblock to full assimilation. Of course, Chinese American children were sent to American public schools, something many would not have had access to in China, and given an American education that dismissed Chinese ways and language and put them under the influence of American teachers, ideas and early 20th century patriotism. Chinese

⁸⁷⁶ “Yubans Will See Dragon”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 February 1930. Marysville is in Yuba County. Yuba City, across the river from Marysville, is in Sutter County.

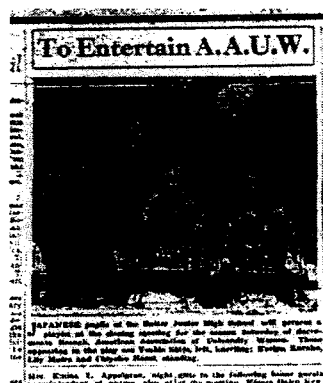
⁸⁷⁷ “Home of Chinese Culture”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 March 1931.

⁸⁷⁸ “Yubans Will See Dragon”, photo and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 February 1930. Marysville is in Yuba County. Yuba City, across the river from Marysville, is in Sutter County.

⁸⁷⁹ “Home of Chinese Culture”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 March 1931.

schools were introduced in America by Chinese parents who felt that while their children were American, they were also Chinese and needed to learn the language, the culture and the traditions of China.⁸⁸⁰

Writers were even more explicit about the entertainment value of Asian cultures when the newspaper carried a photograph of Japanese children in traditional dress under the headline “To Entertain A.A.U.W.”⁸⁸¹ In the photo, four girls in kimonos stand and kneel, surrounded by paper lanterns. The girls are being used as educational entertainment for university educated Sacramento women.



The caption explains that the girls are students at Sutter Junior High School and that the playlet is the entertainment for the AAUW’s closing meeting of the school year.

The *Bee* also carried photographs of visitors from Asian countries that highlight the difference between the visitors and the Californians. In the Spring of 1930, the paper ran a photograph under the headline “Bring Good Will From Orient” with Governor C.C. Young of California surrounded by Japanese women wearing kimonos. Behind the governor and the women stand other members of the Japanese delegation: the men. The caption says the visitors were a “good-will delegation”, but gives no additional details about their visit or political

⁸⁸⁰ Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore*, 257.

⁸⁸¹ “To Entertain A.A.U.W.”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 May 1931.

⁸⁸² “To Entertain A.A.U.W.”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 May 1931.

⁸⁸³ “Bring Good Will From Orient”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 April 1930.

⁸⁸⁴ “To Visit This Country”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 March 1931.

purpose.⁸⁸⁵ But that was not the point. Instead, the image sent to *Bee* readers is of Japanese women donning clothing that is foreign to American readers, rather than the suit-clad men visiting the region to meet with leaders. Likewise, when the King Prajadhipok of Siam planned a 1931 visit to the United States, it was front page news in the *Bee*. The newspaper carried a front page photograph of the king and queen with the caption: “Here is the latest picture of King Prajadhipok of Siam and his queen, who are coming to the United States in April. They are shown watching a recent championship tennis match at Bangkok, Siam’s capital, the queen holding the cup to be awarded to the winner. The king is wearing the panung, a garment that passes for trousers in his country.”⁸⁸⁶ In this caption the newspaper judges a cultural norm for another country – the word “passes” implies that it is abnormal and uncivilized, and, of course un-American and proves once again that people hailing from Asian countries have such different cultural experiences that they cannot be assimilated into mainstream American society.

Yet, despite C.K. McClatchy’s opposition to Asian immigration and citizenship, and his claims that his views were based merely on questions of assimilation and not race, McClatchy saw no contradiction between his position toward Asians and his general views of immigration. In fact, McClatchy remained a proponent of European immigrant and rights, and a harsh critic of the Johnson-Reed Act that set low quotas for Eastern and Southern European entry into the United States. McClatchy, himself the son of an immigrant from Ireland and a Catholic, blamed the Act for fanning racism: “It presents a comparatively generous invitation to the alleged Nordic races to become American citizens, while, also in comparison, shutting the gates in the faces of the peoples from the Mediterranean,” McClatchy wrote, adding that the *Bee*, “has fought against the spirit of this Johnson Immigration Law. It has battled against the law itself on the ground that it is unjust, unfair, discriminatingly un-American; at odds with the essential spirit of the

⁸⁸⁵ “Bring Good Will From Orient”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 April 1930.

⁸⁸⁶ “To Visit This Country”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 March 1931. It’s interesting to note that King Prajadhipok was the last absolute monarch and the first constitutional monarch of Siam, finally abdicating fully in 1935. After his abdication, the couple lived in England.

Declaration of Independence, and not in the best interest of the general citizenry.”⁸⁸⁷ Thus, in sharp contrast with Joseph Medill Patterson, McClatchy saw immigration as something that should be encouraged and accordingly cast those who came to California as Americans. For him, unlike for Kellogg who saw “new” immigrants as a social problem, immigrants made America stronger and benefited all citizens. Yet, this vision of a heterogeneous American composite never included Asians and McClatchy never saw the contradiction in his position.

The newspaper remained committed to opening the United States to future immigration, with the exception of Asians, throughout C.K. McClatchy’s tenure as editor. Days before the 1929 stock market crash, McClatchy took on the anti-immigration American Coalition in an editorial. In it he writes that the American Coalition’s stance against immigration and immigrant residents of the United States leaves nothing for them to do “but to adopt the night-gown in all its glory as its official paraphernalia ... the definition that it must be strongly suspected is the Siamese Twin of that of the Ku Klux Klan. In other words, to be American you must be like us.”⁸⁸⁸ McClatchy goes on, as he did in many editorials, to claim that “American” is far more complex than narrow definitions provided by groups like the American Coalition. “American life and civilization is not such a finished pattern. It is becoming a great and splendid structure, yet in the making: a garment of many textures, yet in the weaving.”⁸⁸⁹ McClatchy represents an evolution from the anti-immigration Joseph Medill Patterson, who wanted all immigration stopped. Indeed, McClatchy recognized even newcomers to the country as “American” and believed that the term American constantly evolved. McClatchy articulated his ideas about citizenship in a 1929 editorial about the Italian government claiming the right to draft American citizens of Italian birth, noting, “there is something abhorrent to American democratic feelings in the thought that an American citizen, no matter of what extraction, shall find himself forced into

⁸⁸⁷ C.K. McClatchy, “The Issue of Barring Aliens from the United States”, *Private Thinks*, p. 46-47.

⁸⁸⁸ “American Life is Not Static But Dynamic”, editorial, 24 October 1929, *Sacramento Bee*.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

the army of another country whose allegiance he has renounced.”⁸⁹⁰ Even more, once the Depression took hold, differences based on national origin, aside from Asian and Asian Americans, faded in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*. Stories focusing on charity, economic hardship, jobs, and politics rarely mention hyphenated Americans. Instead, the focus turned to Americans who were suffering – regardless of their national origin. The focus for McClatchy and the *Bee* was the suffering of all Sacramentans, Californians, and Americans.⁸⁹¹

Yet non-white Americans were absent from the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* – the paper did not cover African Americans, Mexican Americans, or Asian Americans on a day-to-day basis. Of course, in their absence racial groups were very much a presence in the pages of the newspaper, the “forgotten” race, as Matthew Frye Jacobson has suggested.⁸⁹² That said, race was of course an important issue in California during the 1920s and 1930s and McClatchy had complicated views on race. On the one hand, he forbid his staff from using certain words to describe race in print, took on organized hate groups and those who excluded African Americans in the name of “Christianity”, and other blatant hate groups and prejudice. On the other hand, the newspaper reinforced racial stereotypes in its use of language and images, and in the kinds of stories it did carry.

C.K. McClatchy published the *Bee*’s rules, including a section on race and ethnicity, which established rigorous standards for the newspaper. Among them: “Sneers at race or religion, or physical deformity will not be tolerated. ‘Dago,’ ‘Mick,’ ‘Sheeny,’ even ‘Chink’ or ‘Jap,’ these are absolutely forbidden. This rule of regard for the feelings of others must be observed in every avenue of the news, under any and all conditions.”⁸⁹³ And McClatchy and the *Bee* also took on organized racism. In the Spring of 1922 a group of six Ku Klux Klansmen interrupted a

⁸⁹⁰ “American Citizenship Should be Respected”, editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, 16 November 1929.

⁸⁹¹ Charity, Hooverilles, and the New Deal in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* are discussed in detail in the next two chapters.

⁸⁹² See, Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, esp. chapter eight.

⁸⁹³ “Bee Cardinal Rules”, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, pp 2-4.

Sacramento church service to give the minister a \$50 bill and a letter “commending his good work.” A few weeks later, more than 250 men showed up to be initiated into the Klan. The *Bee* carried a story on its front page, identifying dozens of prominent figures who showed up, including police officers. The newspaper was unrelenting, covering local figures who joined the Klan, taking and publishing the license plate numbers and names of those in attendance, and publishing scandalous stories involving the Klan.⁸⁹⁴ The Klan, McClatchy maintained, did not represent America or Californians. “Is the Ku Klux Klan Un-American?” is the title of a discussion going on in *The Forum*. An equally debatable problem might be suggested for the next argumentative controversy: ‘Is Murder a Crime?’⁸⁹⁵ Of course, it is significant that when California’s population was more than 5.6 million in 1930, there were just 81,000 African Americans living in the state – less than the number of Asian Americans.⁸⁹⁶ Yet, when churches barred African Americans from their services, C.K. McClatchy’s editorial page did not mince words:

A church is technically within its rights in taking such action. Technically, it or any church has the right to bar anybody it likes for any reason whatever or for no reason ... it remains to be asked whether such technical rights have any place in the deliberations of a body professing to exist for the propagation of the Christian gospel. And the answer to this question must be a negative ... And if anything at all is perfectly clear about the Gospels it is the fact that Jesus came to save all men irrespective of race, color or condition.⁸⁹⁷

Likewise, when Representative Clayton Allgood, D-Alabama, resigned from the Committee on Enrollment in the U.S. House of Representatives because he “did not consider it an honor to be on the committee” after the appointment of Rep. Oscar Stanton De Priest’s, R-Illinois, the first African American elected to Congress in the 20th century. C.K. McClatchy cried foul: “Representative Algood should resign also from the House of Representatives,” McClatchy

⁸⁹⁴ Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence: The First 150 Years of the McClatchy Company*, pp 131-132.

⁸⁹⁵ “Shorts” in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, p. 339.

⁸⁹⁶ U.S. Census statistics,

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/twps0056.html>, retrieved 21 March 2009.

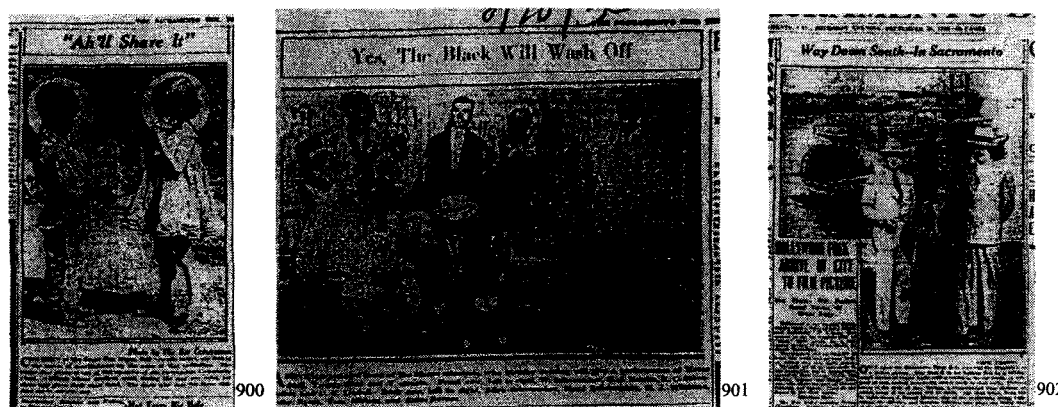
⁸⁹⁷ “Racial Discrimination in Churches is UnChristian”, editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, January 14, 1930.

wrote in his column, noting that De Priest “was seated in the House of Representatives by the sovereign People of Illinois, and is entitled to as much consideration there as is Representative Allgood, who was seated therein by the sovereign People of Alabama.”⁸⁹⁸ McClatchy abhorred any public action or behavior toward African Americans that seemed to align with institutionalized racism or organized bigotry. McClatchy cast aside these views as un-American. Moreover, he used such examples to prove how California should take a leadership role. Yet, McClatchy was not necessarily ready to welcome African Americans into his home or grant that they were entirely equal.

At times, the newspaper seemed to ignore race altogether even when depicting various racial groups. The newspaper carried a photograph in October 1929 of two small children, a black boy and a white girl, sharing food at a Catholic daycare center under the headline “‘Ah’ll Share It.’”⁸⁹⁹ The two children face each other and are holding hands, the girl eats with her other hand. The caption explains that the children are “taught the lesson of unselfishness by the nuns” and that the daycare center receives funds from Sacramento’s local charity support agency, the Community Chest. Although the caption suggests a Southern black dialect, no mention is made of either child’s race in the caption. However, the dialect immediately directs readers to focus on racial “difference.” Moreover, the heads of both children have a ring around them, highlighting the difference in skin color (below).

⁸⁹⁸ “Merely Some Private Thinks by C.K.”, *Sacramento Bee*, December 17, 1929. Interestingly, De Priest was sworn in with another first from Illinois – the first female Congresswoman, Ruth McCormick. And McCormick, of course, was part of the McCormick-Medill-Patterson clan that ran the *Chicago Tribune* and *Daily News*, a cousin by marriage to Joseph Medill Patterson, and Col. McCormick’s sister-in-law. Ruth McCormick was also a personal friend of the Speaker of the House’s wife and urged him to swear all the new representatives in at once so that new congressmen from the South could not block De Priest’s seating.

⁸⁹⁹ “Ah’ll Share It”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 11 October 1929.



At the same time, the newspaper did reinforce established racial stereotypes and paradigms. In February 1930 the newspaper carried a photograph of a minstrel group under the headline “Yes, The Black Will Wash Off.” In the photograph 10 people, most in blackface and wearing costumes, pose for the camera.⁹⁰³ Scholars have noted that blackface before the 1930s helped various groups, emphasize their whiteness.⁹⁰⁴ The headline captures this by directing readers to the blackface and the fact that it is removable. When African Americans did appear they were often cast as entertainment. In a September 1929 front page photograph a young African American boy stands with three white men in front of a river steamer on the Sacramento River. The headline, “Way Down South – In Sacramento” and caption explains that Hollywood is using the Sacramento River to substitute for the Mississippi River in a film version of *Cameo Kirby*. The white adult males are all dressed in suits and wearing hats while the young black boy is dressed in worn, ragged clothing and carries a musical instrument.⁹⁰⁵ To be a racist was explicitly un-American and beneath California and Californians, according to McClatchy, but this

⁹⁰⁰ “Ah’ll Share It”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 11 October 1929.

⁹⁰¹ “Yes, the Black Will Wash Off”, photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 20 February 1930.

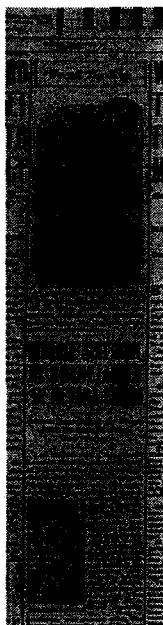
⁹⁰² “Way Down South – In Sacramento”, photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 September 1929.

⁹⁰³ “Yes, the Black Will Wash Off”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 20 February 1930. See also, *Sacramento Bee*, February 5, 1932.

⁹⁰⁴ See, for example, Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, pp. 119-122. For more, including details about the history of minstrelsy, see Michael Rogin, *Black Face, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race in the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso Press, 1990).

⁹⁰⁵ “Way Down South – In Sacramento”, photograph and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 September 1929. Interestingly, this 1930 version of *Cameo Kirby* is, according to Internet Movie Database, lost.

did not protect African Americans, or grant them equality, or prevent stereotyping.⁹⁰⁶ So while McClatchy openly defied hate-groups and eloquently wrote about equality under the law, his newspaper and personal beliefs fostered a complex vision of race and racial belonging in America centered on white national identity.



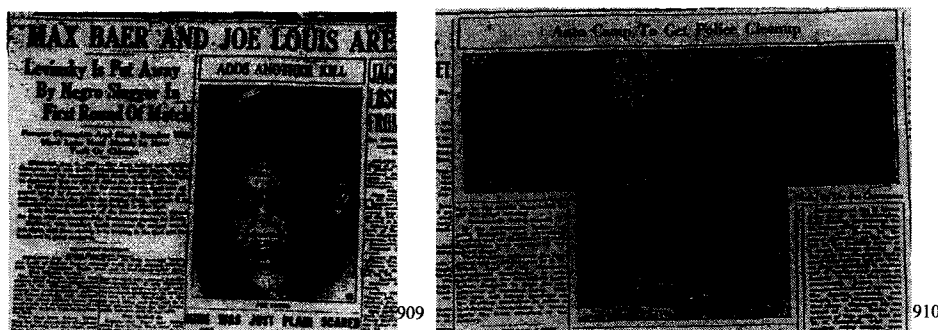
The newspaper didn't shy away from national stories featuring racial debates. In December 1929, years after the sensational Rhineland case made daily headlines in the pages of Patterson's *Daily News*, the *Sacramento Bee* carried a front-page story about Kip and Alice Rhineland finally getting divorced in Las Vegas. Atop the story is a photograph of Alice Rhineland and a young African American girl. The caption explains that, "Alice Kip Rhineland, whose husband, the scion of an old New York family, was granted a divorce decree yesterday in Las Vegas, Nev. She is shown with her colored niece."⁹⁰⁷ The newspaper casts Alice Rhineland as entirely African American, pointing out the race of her niece and thereby confirming her own place in a set racial group.

African American sports figures were also the subject of complicated depictions in the newspaper and were constructed as both hero and animal. When Joe Louis and Max Baer announced an agreement for a 1935 boxing match, the newspaper carried several stories about Louis and a photograph of him. The photograph is a head-shot of Louis, unsmiling, and staring directly into the camera under the headline "Adds Another Kill" (below). A sidebar story beneath the photograph explains that Louis took down King Levinsky. But the language used to describe Louis is telling: he is described as a "chocolate-colored Negro, cold and expressionless," his eyes are "unblinking as those of a snake," he is as "expressionless as a Buddha," and operates "with

⁹⁰⁶ In fact, McClatchy claimed his views on Asian exclusion were related to assimilation, not on race. But there is little doubt, McClatchy was a product of his time and a racist.

⁹⁰⁷ "Freed By Kip – Divorce Suit Won By Rhineland in Nevada Court", photo and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 28 December 1929. For a complete discussion of the Rhineland case see the chapters on Joseph Medill Patterson's *Daily News*.

the coldness of a sniper.”⁹⁰⁸ The newspaper is clear: he is dark; he is an animal; he is emotionless; and, by evoking Buddha, there is something foreign about him. Yet, the newspaper only pictured Louis, not Baer. And the stories both focus on Louis’ prowess in the ring and on his popularity in African American neighborhoods in New York, Chicago, and Detroit.



One group the newspaper is nearly silent about are Mexican-Americans and Mexicans. More than 450,000 Mexicans immigrated to the United States between 1921-1930, and accounted for a third of California’s agricultural labor force. In the San Joaquin Valley that number rose to 56 percent.⁹¹¹ Mexicans and Mexican Americans lived in segregated, defined areas of most cities and regions in California, creating a *de facto* segregation in many regions of California. Most children were sent to separate schools from white children, and wages were lower for Mexican and Mexican American workers.⁹¹² The *Sacramento Bee* rarely commented on Mexican Americans or featured them in stories and photographs.⁹¹³ In 1930 the newspaper carried several photographs of an auto camp in Yolo County (across the Sacramento River bridge from Sacramento) that authorities planned to “cleanup.” One of the photographs features a tent with

⁹⁰⁸ “Max Baer and Joe Louis are Matched”, stories and photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 August 1935 .

⁹⁰⁹ “Max Baer and Joe Louis are Matched” and “Adds Another Kill” stories and photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 August 1935.

⁹¹⁰ “Auto Camp to Get Police Cleanup”, photos and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 March 1930.

⁹¹¹ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, pp 64-66.

⁹¹² Ibid.

⁹¹³ Mexican Americans, of course, were a significant part of California’s population at the time of statehood. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo California incorporated more than 10,000 Mexican nationals as citizens of the United States. And since 1848, the flow of Mexican immigrants into California has never ceased. Mexican Americans now comprise more than 35 percent of Californians. From 1900-1930 many Mexicans fled the violence and economic consequences of revolutions in Mexico for work in California. See, Ramon Gutierrez and Patricia Zavella, eds., *Mexicans in California: Transformations and Challenges* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

several occupants and items strewn about. The caption explains that it “is the portable home of a large Mexican family.” The caption goes on to explain that it is not the occupants of the camp, but the proprietors authorities are targeting for maintaining “unsanitary premises.”⁹¹⁴ The paper acknowledged that Mexican laborers were victimized, but focused on the “cleanup” of their camp. Little attention was given to the human face of the story and the conditions that led to the camp’s degradation.

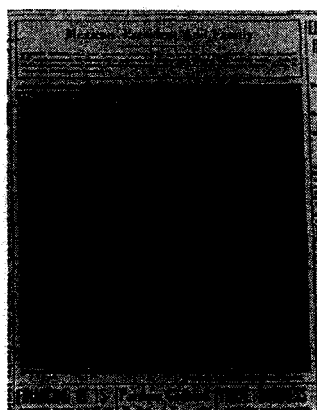
And in 1932 when white men complained that some farmers only hired Mexican laborers to pick fruit, the newspaper carried a story about changes in hiring to benefit whites. The story, however, ended by pointing out that the white workers quit at a rate far higher than the Mexican and Mexican American workers. “Nine-tenths of the ‘white’ men, who have been ‘living on’ charity quit without finishing their first day of work. One-fourth of the Mexicans are still working.”⁹¹⁵ The newspaper, then, makes the point that the work is low-paying and difficult and

⁹¹⁴ “Auto Camp to Get Police Cleanup”, photos and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 March 1930. For more on Mexican Americans during the 1920s and 1930s see: Robert R. Alvarez, *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Francisco E. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza, the Los Angeles Mexican Consulate, and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982); Francisco E. Balderrama, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California*, Golden State series (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Pub. Co., 1984); Ignacio M. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology & Identity, 1930-1960m*, Yale Western Americana series; 36 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Camille Guerin-Gonzalez, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams, Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994); David (David Gregory) Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), especially chapter 3; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans: Repatriation Pressures During the Great Depression* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973); Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport., Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and David J. Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973).

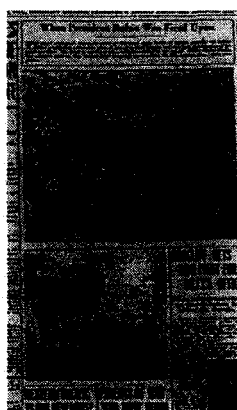
⁹¹⁵ “Men Bitter About Use of Mexicans, Refuse Same Job: Community Chest Dependents Protest Use of Foreigners; Quit Themselves”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 6 February 1932.

that white Americans are unwilling to do it – they would rather be on charity. Still, the newspaper did highlight it if a person accused in a crime was Mexican or Mexican American. In a 1932 story about the “cleanup” of a “Mexican colony” the newspaper noted that the police invasion took place after a fight and general disturbance left one man stabbed with a knife. The twelve resulting arrests were all of Mexican “itinerants” who were charged with various counts of alcohol possession, vagrancy, intoxication, and carrying a concealed weapon.⁹¹⁶ Rather than recounting the significantly lower wages Mexicans and Mexican Americans received, the story highlights the ways they are disruptive and in violation of American standards and law.

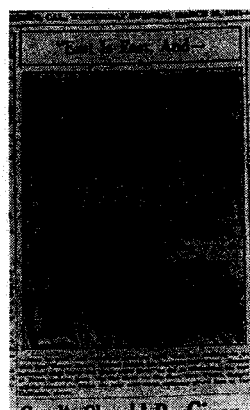
Likewise, coverage of Mexico in the newspaper was sparse. It was front page news in 1930 when new Mexican President Ortis Rubio was shot. The newspaper carried a photograph of the president and his family the day after the shooting. A day later the newspaper ran photographs of the presidential car moments after the shooting and an image of the youthful gunman.⁹¹⁷ Yet, this was one of only a handful of times that the paper focused attention on Mexico, Mexicans or Mexican Americans, despite a significant presence and impact in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, particularly during the Depression, they were held silent in the pages of the *Bee*.



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⁹¹⁶ “Mexican Colony Given Cleanup”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 April 1932.

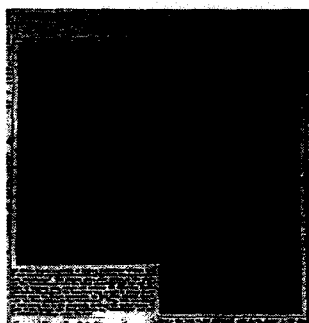
⁹¹⁷ “Mexican President and Family,” photo and story, and “When President Rubio Was Fired Upon”, photos and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 February 1930 and 5 February 1930.

⁹¹⁸ “Mexican President and Family,” photo, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 February 1930.

⁹¹⁹ “When President Rubio Was Fired Upon”, photos and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 February 1930.

⁹²⁰ “East Is East, And –”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 March 1931.

Like Patterson's *Daily News*, McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee* covered American Indians as "authentic" Americans.⁹²¹ And, like Patterson, "authentic" meant reinforcing stereotypes and mythologizing the Old West. In 1931 New York City Mayor James Walker vacationed in California. During his trip, the *Sacramento Bee* carried a front page photograph of the mayor seated next to a Native American in a wagon. Around them are men dressed in cowboy style dress, and men on horseback wearing cowboy hats. Walker wears a suit. The headline and caption explain: "'East Is East, And – west is west' and whatever goes on back east has nothing to do with how Mayor James Walker enjoys his vacation out West ... By the smile on his face, New York's dapper official seemed to enjoy the real wild West welcome given him at the



California resort."⁹²² The "real" Wild West consists of an Indian with a full feather headdress more typical of Plains Indians than local Cahuilla tribes, cowboys circling the wagon, and open, dusty areas populated by independent Americans, Indians, and horses. But, the caption holds additional meaning – California is different from the east and is a place where people from the east can relax and experience the "authentic" American frontier. Walker is able to leave scandal and the corrupt city behind and find solace among true Americans.

The newspaper also made a point of covering American Indians with sympathy and a certain amount of remorse. In a Superior California section in January 1932 the newspaper carried four photographs and a story about Placer County Indians who once ruled the area and now lived on a small reservation. Under the headline "Indian 'Reservation' is Nearby: Once

⁹²¹ See, Part II, Chapter III, and Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

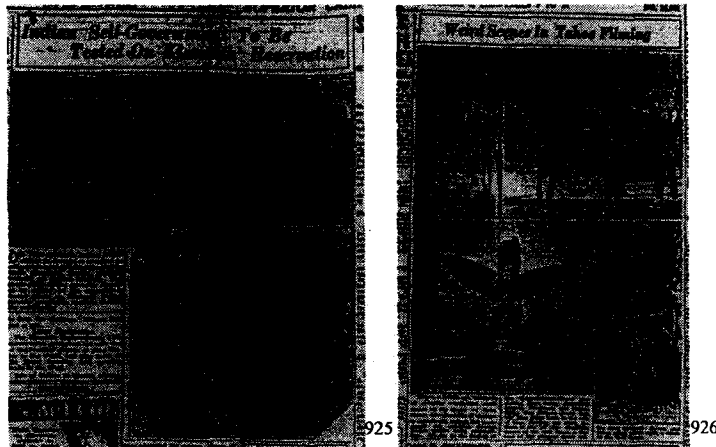
⁹²² "East Is East, And –", photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, March 18, 1931. Walker was quite the character, known as the "Night Mayor" during the 1920s for his penchant for nightclubs, and hanging out with celebrities. He was forced to resign in 1932 by Governor Franklin Roosevelt amid social unrest and charges of widespread corruption, including his own acceptance of hundreds of thousands of dollars from people with business ties to the city. For more, see http://www.nyc.gov/html/nyc100/html/classroom/hist_info/mayors.html#walker and Gene Flower, *Beau James: The Life and Times of Jimmy Walker* (New York: Viking, 1949).

Lords of Domain Live in Placer County,” the story details the poverty of the 58 Indians who remain on the land. It also describes their dwellings and explains that “the reservation ground is valueless for agricultural or gardening purposes ... the twenty acres are about as valueless as could be found by combing the Auburn district with great care.”⁹²³ The tone of the article is sympathetic, noting that the Indians have been hard hit by economic conditions and that the land they were given is useless.

Still, the newspaper reinforced prevailing ideas about the necessity of American Indians adapting to white America in order to achieve success. In a 1933 feature on self-government at one West coast reservation the point clear: “The Indians ... long have followed the white man’s ways as to dress, mode of living, education. Their intelligence, ability as farmers, stockmen, etc., rate these Indians as among the brightest.” In short, the story claims that because the Indians adapted to white America and accepted white America’s ways, they are successful. But the story takes this an additional step by equating such adaptation to intelligence. Photographs (below, left) show the new sawmill and show “American dressed” Indians employing new farming techniques.⁹²⁴ Civilized, true American Indians adapted to American ways and values in farming and education, according to the newspaper.

⁹²³ “Indian ‘Reservation’ Is Nearby: Once Lords of Domain Live in Placer County”, photos and story, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 January 1932.

⁹²⁴ “Indian Self-Government To Be Tested On Klamath Reservation”, story and photos, *Sacramento Bee*, 6 July 1933.



The newspaper also helped perpetuate myths and stereotypes about Indians, rituals, and customs and their relationships with the land and with whites seen by millions of Americans – indeed worldwide – on film screens. When Hollywood used Tahoe to film scenes for 1936’s *Rose Marie*, the *Sacramento Bee* carried photographs of the “Weird Scenes in Tahoe Filming” that included totem poles, Evil Spirit poles, and a “corn mother”. The images show Hollywood’s version of Canadian Indians – including headdresses, and scantily-clad Indians. The caption explains that “Indians and movie people are enacting strange dances amidst weird surroundings,” for the film.⁹²⁷ Ironically, one of the “Indians” featured, the corn mother, is actress and writer Mary Loos, a Stanford-educated daughter of one of the founders of the Ross-Loos Medical Clinic and a niece of well-known writer Anita Loos.⁹²⁸ The Indians of the big screen do “strange” dances, wear Plains Indians headdresses and represent stereotypes constructed by Hollywood for much of the 20th century.⁹²⁹

McClatchy, himself a Catholic, advocated religious toleration. In 1903 when the state Republican party nominated a Jewish man for mayor of Sacramento, McClatchy quickly came to

⁹²⁵ “Indian Self-Government To Be Tested On Klamath Reservation”, photos, *Sacramento Bee*, 6 July 1933.

⁹²⁶ “Weird Scenes In Tahoe Filming”, photos, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 October 1935.

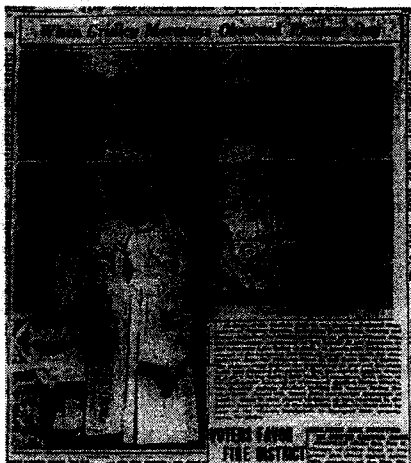
⁹²⁷ “Weird Scenes In Tahoe Filming”, photos and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 October 1935.

⁹²⁸ The family’s name, of course, was French. They were wealthy and well-connected. Anita Loos wrote fiction, including *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, screenplays, and Broadway Shows.

⁹²⁹ See, for example, essays in Peter C. Rollins, ed., *Hollywood’s Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005); and Angela Aleiss, *Making the White Man’s Indian: Native Americans and Hollywood Movies* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005).

his defense in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*: “He is a Jew. He is of that great stream of humanity which gave to mankind the lawgiver upon whose work in the wilderness is built all systems of modern jurisprudence ... He is of that great race which has given to the world the most majestic piece of literature ever born of human intellect, the basic principal of all that is best in English prose and poetry.” But more than that, McClatchy divorced Christianity from good citizenship: “Why a Christian citizenship? This nation was not founded on Christianity any more than on Judaism or Agnosticism. This government, particularly, most decidedly and officially has so declared Why this interminable insistence that only a good Christian can be a good citizen – fall all this cant amounts to just about that?” McClatchy wrote in a “Private Thinks” column in 1925.⁹³⁰ McClatchy dismissed the importance of religion in making good citizens and made sure that religious tolerance, acceptance, and understanding were preached in the pages of his newspapers.

Mormons were another group C.K. McClatchy included in his newspaper and, at times, lauded for what he saw as good values about family and children.⁹³¹ Mormons had a presence in California since the middle of the 19th century and by 1927 an estimated 20,000 lived in



California. By the 1920s and 1930s had established stakes (dioceses) in several parts of the Golden State.⁹³² In 1935 the newspaper carried three large photographs in the “Superior California” section of Mormons celebrating Pioneer Day. The caption explains, “Members of the Mormon faith to the number of several thousand from Gridley, Oroville, Yuba City, Nevada City, Corning, and

⁹³⁰ “Christian Citizenship”, Private Thinks, *Sacramento Bee*, June 17, 1925.

⁹³¹ See, for example, a “Private Thinks” column from C.K. McClatchy on Parenthood in which he offers accolades to the church for their stance that marriage should be about children and family, April 19, 1930.

⁹³² Claudia Lauper Bushman and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp 81-84.

Colusa assembled in Gridley yesterday to observe Pioneer Day, the eighty-eighth anniversary of the arrival of the Mormons in the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah.”⁹³³ Rather than highlighting how Mormon’s faith differed from other Christian denominations or rehashing controversies connected with Joseph Smith, plural marriage, and a religion that sparked fear, anger, and hostility in the United States for generations, the *Bee*’s stories and photographs instead weave Mormon’s into California history and emphasize the characteristic McClatchy found admirable: family.

Prohibition, naturally, infuriated C.K. McClatchy, both because he felt it was a matter of personal liberty and religion, and because he was fond of the bottle. In 1917, he expressed his concerns to Johnson: “It seems now that the national prohibition amendment will pass and become a part of the Constitution of the United States ... then this is but the beginning of the end, not alone of civil but religious liberty within these United States. But the national prohibition amendment will never be obeyed ... when the private rights of American citizens are subjected to the autocratic wills of others, even if those others be in a majority, you can scarcely expect free men to bow meekly in subjection.”⁹³⁴ He went on, to argue that the prohibition movement was also an attempt by Protestants to crush the Catholic Church in the United States by preventing priests from using wine as part of the Eucharist: “The prohibition crusade is a religious as well as a political crusade. In its inception, and by its organizers, and through its motive power it has for one of its purposes the crushing, insofar as possible, of the Catholic Church.”⁹³⁵ McClatchy, of course, was Irish Catholic. Johnson, who voted in favor of Prohibition, was quick to apologize to his old friend for his vote:

I had you in mind all day yesterday, and the one thing – and practically the only thing – that saddened me in my vote upon the Sheppard prohibition amendment was that I would disappoint you. I know how deeply you feel upon the subject, and there is nobody, anywhere, whose good opinion I cherish so highly or whose

⁹³³ “When Gridley Mormons Observed Pioneer Day”, photos and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 July 1935.

⁹³⁴ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, April 22, 1918, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 32, Folder 1134, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*

commendation I desire so much in my official acts I was really torn with conflicting emotions I am not very much of, or a very strong prohibitionist, as you know, but, when an issue points itself, as this issue did yesterday, and in the various debates that have been held since I have been here, I simply could not and cannot be a part of the Ponrose, Lodge, Weeks, and Wadsworth liquor machine ... Damn the liquor question, anyway. If yesterday's action will take it out of the domain of politics for a brief period, something will have been accomplished.⁹³⁶

McClatchy was quick to respond: "I agree with you thoroughly on one point: 'Damn the liquor question, anyhow' ... You voted, Hiram, according to your conscience; and that is all anybody should be expected to do." Then, in five paragraphs that follow, McClatchy outlines why the "liquor question" and vote go beyond the liquor lobby and trusts, thereby dismissing Johnson's arguments about his vote.⁹³⁷

It was a battle McClatchy continued to fight in columns, *Private Thinks*, and in *Bee* coverage until Prohibition was overturned in 1933. When the act was repealed McClatchy celebrated and wrote several scathing opinion pieces about Prohibition. "But it should be seen to also that officious, arrogant, and czar like servants of the people, 'clothed with a little brief authority,' shall not choke this new Magna Charta of American freedom; shall not, over the supposed dead body of prohibition, relight the campfires of the Anti-Saloon League ... shall be able to get liquor without harsh, unnecessary and picayunish obstructions, but also that said liquor shall not only be good but comparatively cheap."⁹³⁸

McClatchy remained convinced California was the best place in America to live and represented Americans at their best. "If America is the best place in which to live in 1930 from a material point of view, then California likewise is the best place in America," read an editorial published early in the Great Depression. The editorial goes on to cite the "favorable winter and

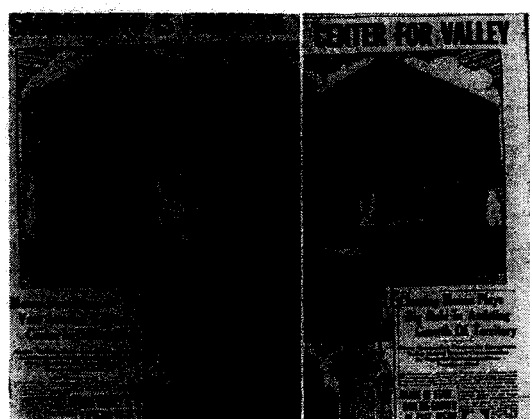
⁹³⁶ Hiram Johnson to C.K. McClatchy, August 2, 1917, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 32, Folder 1134, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁹³⁷ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, August 9, 1917, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 32, Folder 1134, MNBC, SAMCC.

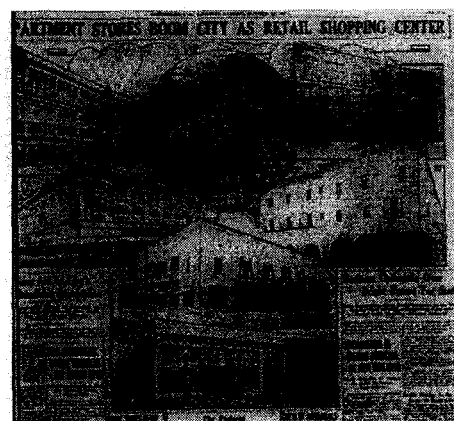
⁹³⁸ C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, *Sacramento Bee*, December 16, 1933,

summer weathering,” the “extensive highway system in the state,” and the “higher average of comfort of the individual family in this state” due to “income tax figures which show a larger per capita return in California than in any other state.”⁹³⁹ Thus, McClatchy was vehement in his belief, and public articulation, that California represented the best of America. It was a vision he was happy to see exported nationally and internationally. “Attention is drawn to the fact that American movies are doing immense advertising for this country throughout the world ... the world is being ‘Yankeed’ by them. In like manner American films are said to create a brisk demand abroad for a host of American inventions and manufactures, especially house furnishings, kitchen conveniences, etc. ...”⁹⁴⁰ But, at the heart of this vision, was McClatchy’s vision of California as America.

Significantly, even amid economic downturn and depression, McClatchy strove to promote California. Ironically, in the summer of 1929 the *Sacramento Bee* ran a special edition dedicated to financial institutions in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. The newspaper included large photographs of imposing buildings occupied by the state capital’s banking, building-loan association, insurance companies and security brokerage firms.



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⁹³⁹ “California Best Place in America to Live In”, editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, April 5, 1930.

⁹⁴⁰ “Hollywood Films Said to ‘Yankeelize’ the World”, editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, September 26, 1929.

⁹⁴¹ “Sacramento is Financial Center for Valley,” story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 June 1929.

⁹⁴² “Department Stores Boom City As Retail Shopping Center: Firms Aid To City’s Merchandising Importance”, photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 12 October 1929.

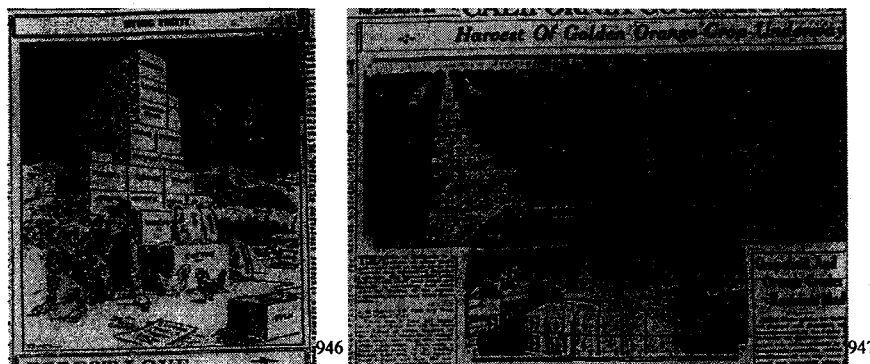
The photographs give an impression of regional stability and make the city seem like a financial center. The headline, “Sacramento is Financial Center for Valley,” atop a story about the financial security of the state and region, promotes the Central Valley’s economic leadership.⁹⁴³ Likewise, additional stories note that the state is growing – both economically and in population. In October, mere weeks before the crash, the *Bee* carried photographs of the regions shopping attractions. Under the headline “Department Stores Boom City As Retail Shopping Center,” the newspaper carried photographs of the buildings housing the Weinstock Lubin & Company, Hale Bros., Inc., Montgomery Ward & Company, Sears Roebuck & Company, John Breuner Company department stores as well as additional images of the “business district.”⁹⁴⁴ The images show a robust retail region. One of several accompanying stories outlines how real estate agents are “optimistic” about a bright future for the state. The state’s future was bright, but the next decade was one of the toughest the region faced in economic and human suffering.

Throughout the Depression, the *Sacramento Bee* regularly carried photographs of “Superior California,” highlighting the region’s natural and economic resources and setting an optimistic tone for the future, even amid labor unrest, economic collapse, homelessness and hardship. Even when times were tough, the *Bee* covered both the desperation and the hope and the belief in a better tomorrow for the region. A 1929 editorial cartoon - “Sitting Pretty” – highlights the wealth of California’s natural and economic resources just days before the market crashes. McClatchy and his editors thought everyone would want to live in California if they understood how wonderful it was. The cartoon highlights the agricultural wealth of the region with boxes of fruit, vegetables, cotton, rice, wheat and fish. A paper on the ground reads, “Climate Made To Order”, and the background shows California’s geographic diversity, highlighting mountains, valley and coast. A man with “California” written on his vest leads against the agricultural boxes of wealth and smokes a pipe, a picture of leisure and quality of life.

⁹⁴³ “Sacramento is Financial Center for Valley,” story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 29 June 1929.

⁹⁴⁴ “Department Stores Boom City As Retail Shopping Center: Firms Aid To City’s Merchandising Importance”, story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 12 October 1929.

In the background two figures representing the “East,” dressed in large overcoats and hats, note that “Must Be Wonderful Out There”.⁹⁴⁵



Little did editors know how prophetic the cartoon would prove to be within a few years when people flooded into California as part of the Dust Bowl Migration. Just a few weeks after the October 1929 market crash, the newspaper carried a page dedicated to “California Country Life.” Amid Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley farming news, stories about grapefruit and orange harvests, and bacterial gummosis, the newspaper carried three large photographs under the headline “Harvest of Golden Orange Crop Underway.” In addition to a photograph of orange orchards, the newspaper featured two images of people at work. In one, fruit factory workers box freshly picked fruit. In the other, a beautiful woman holds up an orange in front of an overflowing tree. Together, the photographs feature unique aspects of California life: the fruit harvest, the cannery workers, and, adding a touch of Hollywood glamour, a beautiful Californian displaying the literal fruit of the people’s labor.⁹⁴⁸

Beyond bountiful harvests, McClatchy saw Sacramento as an important destination in California, often claiming that it was every bit as beautiful and economically important as its neighbor 90 miles to the west, San Francisco. The newspaper carried a photograph-drawing blend

⁹⁴⁵ “Sitting Pretty”, editorial cartoon, *Sacramento Bee*, 17 October 1929.

⁹⁴⁶ “Sitting Pretty”, editorial cartoon, *Sacramento Bee*, 17 October 1929.

⁹⁴⁷ “Harvest of Golden Orange Crop Underway”, headline and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 November 1929.

⁹⁴⁸ “Harvest of Golden Orange Crop Underway”, headline and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 November 1929.

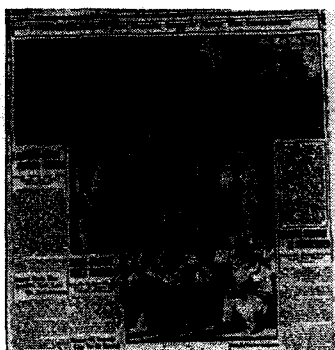
a few weeks before Christmas in 1929 to emphasize Sacramento's importance and attractiveness as a central shopping venue.



The half-page graphic includes a photograph of the business district of Sacramento bordered by a giant magnet held by Santa Claus. Around the photograph are drawings of all the cities encompassing "Superior California" and people from those cities lined up to enter Sacramento.⁹⁴⁹

Stories on the bottom half of the page emphasize the booming economy of the capital city and state, including stories on Sacramento's shopping visitors, Sacramento's place as seventh for new construction in California, the state's recent rise to eighth place in industrial production, and the attractiveness of the state's land to outsiders.⁹⁵⁰ For McClatchy, promoting Sacramento and Superior California was essential, even amid uncertain political and economic times.

More than the natural resources, McClatchy and his editors highlighted the work and daily lives of the people of California. In 1931, as the Depression started to reach ordinary



Californians, McClatchy's newspaper carried a series of photographs about steam boating lumberjacks. The images show productive, active men who work hard, but also know how to have a good time. Men are pictured at work on the steamboat – engineers and cooks and the captain. Men are also shown playing

guitar and relaxing. The accompanying text explains that the men are the crew of the US.

Government's snag boat, *The Yuba*, that keeps the San Joaquin, the Mokulumne, and the

"Sacramento is Magnet for Throngs of Holiday Shoppers", story and photographic graphic, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 December 1929.

⁹⁵⁰ "California Is Now Industrial Leader", "Sacramento In Seventh Place In Construction", "Outsiders' Buy Farm Land Here", etc., stories, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 December 1929

Sacramento rivers, and the straights of the delta clear for navigation. It highlights the contribution the Californians make to prosperity and economic movement in the state.⁹⁵¹ It also uses both labor and natural resources to highlight Sacramento's uniqueness. Yet, the caption does not acknowledge that some of the men pictured appear to be Asian and Mexican American.

Even as the Depression took hold in California in the 1930s, the newspaper continued to highlight economic successes in the region that it attributed to the state's natural resources, innovative people, and resilience. In July of 1933, the *Bee* ran several photographs of new home construction in Sacramento. The accompanying story and caption reveal optimism about the future. "A Quiet but substantial increase in Sacramento's home construction field has been going on for the last three months as Sacramentans, with renewed confidence, hurry to take advantage of the present low building costs."⁹⁵² The photographs show brand new, modern homes awaiting families. Even though by 1933 labor unrest, bank collapses, and homelessness had reached the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, McClatchy was a relentless booster, promoting the eventual return of prosperity even as harder times arrived in the region.

McClatchy was not alone in his California boosterism.

One of C.K. McClatchy's nemeses during his early days in charge of the *Sacramento Bee* was Grove Johnson, a local attorney and representative of the Southern Pacific Railroad who waged numerous libel battles against the newspaper during the late 19th century.⁹⁵³ It is ironic then Grove Johnson's son, Hiram Johnson, and C.K. McClatchy in 1910 established a personal and professional relationship that lasted until McClatchy's death, first bound, according to some

⁹⁵¹ "When Steamboat Men Become Loggers Along The Sacramento", story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 14 February 1931.

⁹⁵² "Home Building in City Takes Spurt in Last 30 Days", story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 July 1933.

⁹⁵³ See Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, pp. 91, 94, 99 for a full account of C.K. McClatchy's relationship with Grove Johnson. Johnson was a New Yorker who moved to California after being indicted for forgery. Grove worked for the railroads, whose power C.K. and the *Bee* often attacked. At one point Grove Johnson is reported to have started a rumor that the state capitol was to be moved from Sacramento because of unfavorable coverage in the *Bee*. Grove Johnson is also described well in Richard Lower, *A Bloc of One: The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).

accounts, by their mutual hatred of Grove Johnson.⁹⁵⁴ The correspondence between the two stretches more than two decades, so it was more than mutual dislike of Johnson's father bound the two together: they shared a dedication to the early Progressive movement and to a variety of issues designed to promote California. Hiram Johnson was born in Sacramento and served as California's governor from 1910-1917 and as a U.S. senator from California from 1917 until his 1945 death. The correspondence between the two is particularly prolific during Johnson's time in the Senate, when they sometimes exchanged daily letters. In addition to being personal friends, the relationship served another purpose. Johnson informed McClatchy about national politics and provided insider information about the players and issues; McClatchy kept Johnson informed about California politics and kept the *Sacramento Bee* as a Johnson cheerleader.⁹⁵⁵

So close was the relationship that when C.K. McClatchy's only son Carlos, an alcoholic who died in 1933, was on his final downward spiral, it was to Johnson that C.K. McClatchy turned for counsel. Carlos had repeated trips to sanitariums to dry out, but to little avail. Unlike his father, likely a functioning alcoholic whose drinking did not enter the newsroom, Carlos' drinking became a problem at work. In 1932, C.K. McClatchy wrote to Johnson. "Carlos is more than obstinate ... He ought to know that nobody would employ him if he continues as he is going ... He is getting so I do not know what to do."⁹⁵⁶ His desperation grew over the summer and he asked Johnson to speak with Carlos, confiding that "the doctors have all told him there is only one way out for him and that is to quit entirely; never to take a drink again; that one drink to him means another, and that drink means another still."⁹⁵⁷ Indeed, C.K. became so concerned that he eventually phoned Carlos McClatchy's wife Phoebe McClatchy to tell her that he was going to relieve Carlos of his work; and Carlos' sisters and mother insisted that he not be allowed full

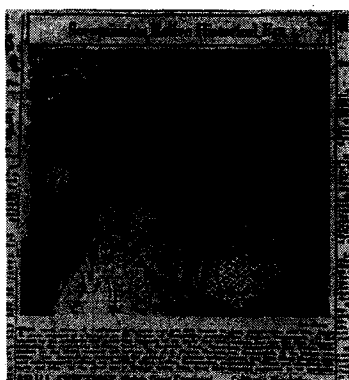
⁹⁵⁴ Ibid, 111.

⁹⁵⁵ For more on the relationship between McClatchy and Johnson see Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, pp 126-129.

⁹⁵⁶ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, July 27, 1932, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1149, MNBC, SAMCC

⁹⁵⁷ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, August 12, 1932, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1149, MNBC, SAMCC.

control of the business in C.K.'s will for fear that his alcoholism would devastate the family livelihood. It never became an issue. Following a New Years' binge, Carlos was put into a sanitarium in early 1933. He died shortly thereafter.⁹⁵⁸ Thus, the relationship between Johnson and C.K. McClatchy was more like family than mere friends and political compatriots.



Both Johnson and C.K. McClatchy saw California's history as an important part of the state's exceptionalism. California's history was separate from that of the eastern United States and McClatchy exploited this difference by highlighting myths of the Old West, the Gold Rush, Spanish Missions, and American Indians. In a 1932, the newspaper carried a photograph of the Soroptimists dressed in "historical" costume representing California's early history. In the image nine women pose for the camera dressed in a range of "period costumes". Among the costumes: "early day Chinese", "Spanish belle", "mission father", and an "Indian". The other women in the photograph are dressed in 1849 white Californian "costumes".⁹⁵⁹ The women's costumes draw attention to the diverse history of California and to the significance McClatchy and others attached to that separate development. Clearly, stereotypes are used in the Chinese and Indian costumes, but the emphasis on California as a frontier with a unique and separate development and history is clear. In 1931, the *Bee* carried photographs marking the opening of the 49th session of the Legislature and the inauguration of Governor James Rolph, Jr. The parade celebrated 75 years of California's history in the United States and the paper carried images reflecting the historical importance placed on the event by both state officials and McClatchy and his editors.

⁹⁵⁸ See Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, pp.162-165.

⁹⁵⁹ "Soroptimists Relive Historical Era", *Sacramento Bee*, 1 June 1932.



Among the parade participants pictured: a covered wagon, a group of “pioneers”, “Scotch bagpipers”, a stagecoach, fresh snow brought down from Lake Tahoe for the procession, a replica of the first state capitol, an Indian, and others representing California.⁹⁶¹ The main story notes that Californians who gathered for the parade saw an event that was “like turning back the calendar to pioneer days”, complete with stagecoaches, colorful Chinese floats, Visalia cowboys, and an “ancient” Central Pacific locomotive.⁹⁶² In short, the parade and inauguration celebrated much of what McClatchy argued made California best represent the United States: its vast regional and natural resources, its unique history and people, and its role as a national leader.

This emphasis on history extended to McClatchy’s own family and its role in creating California. C.K. McClatchy took the family history seriously and wanted to be sure that it endured, thus, he was protective of the McClatchy family’s hold on the newspapers and corporation. C.K. McClatchy and his wife Ella Kelly, a former schoolteacher he married in 1884, had three children: Charlotte McClatchy Maloney (1887-1954), Carlos Kelly McClatchy (1892-1933), and Eleanor McClatchy (1895-1980). C.K. McClatchy never fully recovered from the loss

⁹⁶⁰ “49th Session of the Legislature Convenes: Time Turns Back Over 75-Years in Mighty Inaugural Parade”, story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 January 1931.

⁹⁶¹ “49th Session of the Legislature Convenes: Time Turns Back Over 75-Years in Mighty Inaugural Parade”, story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 January 1931.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*

of his son, and in 1936 he died; still writing and dictating *Bee* policy from his sick bed days before he died. Attachments to McClatchy's will reinforce his protection of the business for his family: "It is my desire that some member of my family shall be president of the McClatchy newspapers, a corporation, and also all subsidiary corporations thereof, after my death."⁹⁶³ He also wanted to be sure that his grandsons had the opportunity to learn the family business. In another note to his trustees, McClatchy wrote:

It is also my request that any of my grandsons who desire to learn the newspaper business including radio shall be given employment in whatever department of such newspaper or radio enterprises for which they show the most aptitude, and they should be advanced from time to time in unison with their abilities, capabilities and interest taken in their work.⁹⁶⁴

Interestingly, while McClatchy seems to exclude females in his family from central roles in the company it was his daughter Eleanor McClatchy who took over McClatchy Newspapers when her father died in 1936. It was, following the death of C.K. McClatchy's son Carlos in 1933, his wish that she give up her career in the theatre to run the family company. "I, therefore, direct and request that said trustees and the board of directors of the various corporations above referred to elect my daughter, Eleanor McClatchy, in my stead as president and director of said corporation after my death."⁹⁶⁵ She remained in the position until her 1980 death, even once Carlos McClatchy's sons were of age and ready to take over. Finally, the codicil to C.K. McClatchy's will laid out how he expected the family newspapers to be run:

It is my hope ... it is my will and my last solemn direction to those whom I entrust with the newspapers to which I have devoted my life, that the McClatchy Newspapers continue in the future as they have always been in the past – real

⁹⁶³ C.K. McClatchy, Notice To Trustees Under My Will and Under the Voting Trust Dated the 27th day of February 1933, February 1936, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 155, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁹⁶⁴ C.K. McClatchy, Notice To Trustees Under My Will and Under the Voting Trust Dated the 27th day of February 1933, February 1936, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 155, MNBC, SAMCC.

⁹⁶⁵ C.K. McClatchy, Notice To Trustees Under My Will and Under the Voting Trust Dated the 27th day of February 1933, 21 February 1936, McClatchy Legal, Box 9, Folder 178, MNBC, SAMCC. Eleanor McClatchy was a playwright and producer in the theatre at the time of her father's death. She left that career to run the family company, though she remained a strong patron of the arts in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys until her death. Carlos McClatchy, who ran the *Fresno Bee*, urged expansion into radio and into a newspaper in Modesto (today's *Modesto Bee*), died suddenly in 1933 of pneumonia after an alcoholic binge. More information about the company history and acquisitions may be found at the McClatchy Company website: <http://www.mcclatchy.com/>

tributes of the people, always fighting for the right no matter how powerfully entrenched wrong may be ... My last injunction to those, who, after my passing, will be in charge of the policies of these newspapers is to ally themselves with no political party, to be fair to all, to decide questions by the light of principle, never under the slavery of petty or partisan politics.⁹⁶⁶

In short, McClatchy demanded his family members operate the newspapers as he had and emphasize the same principles as he and his father established. C.K. McClatchy was Sacramento and the newspapers he ran. By the time of his death in 1936, McClatchy had worked in the newspaper business for sixty years, fifty-three of them as editor, and through twelve United States presidential administrations and seventeen California governors' administrations. He was well-known throughout California and his regular columns brought him fame and attention. He was admitted to the American Society of Newspaper Editors even though the newspaper did not meet the organizations minimum circulation requirements. Still, C.K. McClatchy was reserved and likely battled alcoholism throughout his adult life, and he was reluctant to expand the company when V.S. and Carlos McClatchy urged the addition of newspapers, and, eventually radio stations.⁹⁶⁷

C.K. McClatchy supported campaigns that reinforced the *Bee*'s independence, established under James McClatchy. Among his editorial battles and positions: protect Sacramento's trees and natural resources, sustain civil liberties, particularly freedom of speech and the press, public ownership of public utilities (now the Sacramento Municipal Utility District), direct primaries for election, collective bargaining and compulsory arbitration, civil services, anti-monopoly, humanistic legislation, and more.⁹⁶⁸ McClatchy was not shy about sharing these opinions in both his personal column and editorials as well as in the news pages and news photographs in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*. They were all part of McClatchy's vision

⁹⁶⁶ Quoted in the History of the Sacramento Bee, McClatchy Historical: Company History, Box 25, Folder 839, MNBC, SAMCC

⁹⁶⁷ See, Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*.

⁹⁶⁸ McClatchy company editorial speech, undated, McClatchy Historical: Company History, Box 25, Box 828, MNBC, SAMCC.

of Superior California. But, Superior California, and those who inhabited it, faced one of its biggest challenges in the 1930s as the Great Depression gripped the nation, the state, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys.

Chapter 12: Transient California

C.K. McClatchy's newspapers acted with sympathy toward those in need during the Great Depression, particularly in the early years as labor unrest, unemployment, and homelessness gripped the greater Sacramento region. The pages of the newspaper tell the story of the Depression, from the drop of the stock market, to labor unrest and strikes, to stalled building, failing businesses and banks, to families and people without homes, to local charity, to demands for federal relief and aid, to the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The times were changing and so were the people and economic conditions of California, according to McClatchy and his *Bees*. It was not a time for the federal government to act slowly. It was a time for aggressive intervention to combat human suffering. And it was a time when transient workers, first men and later families, made their way into the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. McClatchy's newspapers flogged what McClatchy perceived as President Herbert Hoover's lackluster response to human suffering.

Sacramento Bee editors, writers, and photographers demanded sympathy and help for all Americans who were suffering, using Sacramento to represent widespread conditions. In the process, the paper articulated McClatchy's long-held personal beliefs about national belonging and reinforced a more inclusive vision of America than those voiced by Kellogg and Patterson in *Charities and the Commons* and the *Daily News*. McClatchy applied his version of "progressive" politics to the Great Depression, advocating programs and help for working Americans and those down on their luck.. As economic and social conditions in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys continued to deteriorate in the first few years of the decade McClatchy, through his newspaper, demanded federal help. In McClatchy's view there was little help for the now transient and transitioning population of Californians, including families, seeking assistance in Superior California.

In the first few years of the Great Depression – before Roosevelt’s 1933 inauguration – Sacramento felt the strain of declining prosperity.⁹⁶⁹ Labor unrest was on the rise, federal help was slow, transients made their way into the region, and local charity groups worked tirelessly to help those in need only to find their coffers emptied and the local population unwilling or unable to refill them. Initially, the gravity of the economic spiral was not apparent in the pages of the *Bee*. The market crashes of autumn 1929 were noted in the newspaper, on October 28 and October 29 with large front-page stories about the stock market, instead carrying a photo of a felled elm tree that disrupted traffic in Sacramento’s center city and a photo of Florida’s governor whose counterfeiting trial in Florida resulted in a mistrial. A few days later Hoover’s leadership was the subject of an editorial about tariffs and farmers. Already the newspaper was critical of Hoover’s perceived lack of interest in protecting America’s farmers.⁹⁷⁰ A few weeks later the newspaper carried an editorial cartoon under the headline “California Should Extend This Welcome” showing a man walking over the Sierra Nevadas toward an oversized, extended hand with “California” written on its shirt-cuff.



McClatchy, as previous outlined, was a proponent of immigration and migration. His dedication to California and the Sacramento region made it obvious that people should and would come to California. And those people, he believed, made California better.⁹⁷¹ Most American newspapers reacted to the stock market crashes with alarmist headlines and stories, followed by a week or two of

⁹⁶⁹ That said, the Depression didn’t take hold in Sacramento and most of California as quickly as it did in other parts of the country.

⁹⁷⁰ “Complaints of Hoover’s Lack of Leadership”, editorial, 6 November 1929, *Sacramento Bee*.

⁹⁷¹ “California Should Extend This Welcome”, editorial cartoon, 20 November 1929, *Sacramento Bee*. See, “Superior California” chapter.

positive stories that emphasized how quickly the stock market and economy were recovering. And, McClatchy aside, most newspapers that did not support Hoover also did not blame him for the stock market crash – at least at first.⁹⁷² Moreover, many U.S. newspapers from 1929-1930 deemphasized the seriousness of the economic downturn and unemployment because their own survival depended on it. Most media outlets were just as vulnerable as other businesses.⁹⁷³ McClatchy and the *Bees* were an exception.

C.K. McClatchy, Hiram Johnson ,and President Hoover

Once the Depression began to grip parts of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, McClatchy and his newspapers turned their full venom toward President Herbert Hoover. Then again, C.K. McClatchy was never a fan of Hoover, calling Alfred E. Smith, Hoover’s rival for the presidency in 1928, one of the “most forward-looking, and progressive, and honest of American citizens” more than a year after his electoral defeat.⁹⁷⁴ Indeed, both Hiram Johnson and McClatchy had a long-standing dislike of Hoover. In 1920, on the eve of Harding’s election as president, Johnson wrote to McClatchy complaining about former candidate Hoover.

What a complete scoundrel he is! He served with Wilson two years, pleaded with the country to stand by Wilson, and immediately after leaving his position denounced Wilson. He demanded the League without modification, amendments or reservations, and then when he became a candidate for office he was willing to accept any qualification. He was first non-partisan, then though he would be the Democratic candidate [,] and then switched and became a Republican ... Watch this man, C.K. Two years hence he will be a candidate again in this state and his hypocrisy and rotten politics are all for the purpose of showing what a ‘regal’ and ‘staunch’ Republican he has been.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷² Liebovich, 102-108.

⁹⁷³ Liebovich, 108.

⁹⁷⁴ “Regrets Over a Good Man God Wrong”, C.K. Private Thinks, December 30, 1929, reprinted in McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, p. 114.

⁹⁷⁵ Hiram Johnson to C.K. McClatchy, November 1, 1920, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 32, Folder 1137, MNBC, SAMCC.

Obviously the animosity Johnson and McClatchy felt toward Hoover was as much a product, at least in its earliest stages, of their anti-internationalist politics. Hoover, of course, served in public office overseas for Wilson and spent years trying to help Americans and Europeans during and after World War I.⁹⁷⁶ A few days before the 1928 election the *Sacramento Bee* carried a photograph of Hoover as he arrived in Sacramento by Southern Pacific Rail Road car.⁹⁷⁷ This was ironic, given McClatchy's claims during the 1920s and 1930s that Hoover maintained a close relationship with railroads and big business.

McClatchy's distrust of Hoover extended into his presidency and influenced the negative coverage of Hoover, particularly how Hoover handled the economic crisis, in the pages of the *Bees*. McClatchy was unique in his consistent dismissal of Hoover. Most newspapers in 1928 had Republican editorial policies and editors who were flattering of Hoover.⁹⁷⁸ By Spring 1929 Johnson and McClatchy had been writing nearly daily letters for nearly two decades. McClatchy, wrote from Vienna his thoughts about Hoover and the government:

I think the best way for the *Bee* and for its men to treat Hoover is for some time at least to treat him with respect and to present his statements and even his acts as fairly as possible and without undue criticism, unless he does things we consider outrageous. Then, having been so fair to him, if we find occasion hereafter to criticize him severely, our criticism will be received all the better by the general reader who has noticed how fairly we have been treating him I do not doubt an occasion, or occasions, will arise before very long, not only justifying, but demanding such criticism on our part ...⁹⁷⁹

Little did McClatchy know his chance would come within months with the onset of the Great Depression. But, even before the stock market crash of October 1929, McClatchy expressed disdain for entrenched wealth and power and the way that news reporters fell in line with what he considered prevailing attitudes. "The trend of the times is making everybody almost a 'ME TOO'

⁹⁷⁶ Louis W. Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair: Herbert Hoover, The Great Depression, and the U.S. News Media*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), xiii.

⁹⁷⁷ *Sacramento Bee*, 5 November 1928.

⁹⁷⁸ Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair*, p. xiv.

⁹⁷⁹ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, May 11, 1929, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1146, MNBC, SAMCC.

to wealth and power. I notice in your letter that you show how the erstwhile independent correspondents have joined the KNIGHTS O THE NAPKIN, and are guests at frequent dinners at the White House and have become the ‘servile mouthpieces of the administration,’ McClatchy wrote to Johnson from Paris in July 1929.⁹⁸⁰ McClatchy may not have been entirely wrong about the way White House correspondents dealt with Hoover, particularly early in his term. Hoover entered the presidency under a cloud of optimism. He had a long and fairly unblemished public life and record, a majority in both the House and Senate, and Americans seemed optimistic about the future.⁹⁸¹ Hoover was not adept at using pool reporters or fair in the way he addressed reporters. In general, he would read directly from a press release and not take questions when holding press conferences, and cameras, radio, and film crews were banned from regular White House press conferences. Instead, Hoover relied on “favored” journalists with whom he shared dinners, fishing trips, and other outings during the first few years of his presidency. This would come to haunt Hoover as the United States slid into the Great Depression.⁹⁸² At the same time, most newspapers were owned and run by Republicans, just one-third of newspapers endorsed FDR in 1932 and 1936.⁹⁸³

Still, McClatchy was a leader in his early, unbending criticism of Hoover, and remained disparaging of just about everything Hoover did through the rest of the summer and fall of 1929. “Hoover is undoubtedly very ‘tender eyed’ towards the private utilities groups that constitute the law breaking and law defying power trusts of the U.S.,” McClatchy wrote from London in August. He went on, “he seems to have hypnotized the majority of the American people ... But I feel sure that before Hoover’s dream is over, the people will ‘get on to him.’”⁹⁸⁴ McClatchy made

⁹⁸⁰ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, July 18, 1929, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1146, MNBC, SAMCC.

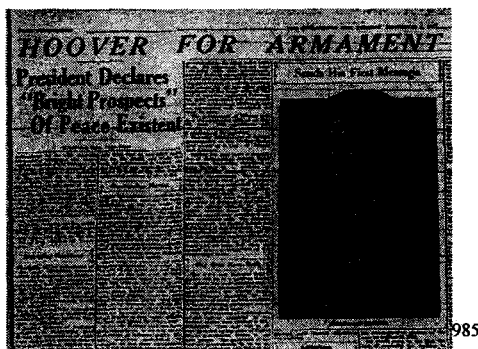
⁹⁸¹ See, Liebovich, p. 83.

⁹⁸² For a discussion of Hoover’s relations with the press during the first year of his presidency, see Liebovich, Chapter 5: The Crash, pp 99-125.

⁹⁸³ Emery and Emery, 303-305.

⁹⁸⁴ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, August 2, 1929, , C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1146, MNBC, SAMCC.

sure his newspapers did not waste any time getting on to Hoover. In early December 1929 the newspaper carried a lengthy report about Hoover's message to Congress as well as the entire text of the report, covering several full pages inside the newspaper.



It was Hoover's first message to Congress, and the paper also carried a photograph of the president.⁹⁸⁶ Two days later the newspaper weighed in on Hoover's report in an editorial that blasted the president's refusal to consider government ownership of public utilities, his foreign policy, the debt owed to the United States by the Allies, income taxes, and, of course, the economic panic.

The president writes at some length on the recent panic and the systematic measures of cooperative business institutions, to the end that fundamental business of the country shall continue as usual, etc., etc. ... But he makes no mention of the fact – the criminal fact – that \$150,000,000 practically was taken out of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to aid, abet and encourage the stock gamblers in that hysterical wild-cat speculation which brought on the greatest panic in the history of this nation.⁹⁸⁷

Though McClatchy didn't acknowledge this, Hoover – as commerce secretary – had warned President Calvin Coolidge about stock market speculation and urged him to slow down domestic speculation.⁹⁸⁸ Moreover, according to Hoover's memoirs, he sought the aid of influential newspaper editors in an effort to quell stock inflation and speculation. Many editors

⁹⁸⁵ "Hoover Tells Views to Congress", story, speech text, and photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 1 December 1929.

⁹⁸⁶ "Hoover Tells Views to Congress", story, speech text, and photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 1 December 1929.

⁹⁸⁷ "President Hoover Still Stands Against Government Ownership", editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 December 1929.

⁹⁸⁸ Byron Price Oral History Interview in Washington, D.C., March 21, 1969, Washington, D.C., p. 2., Oral History Files, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library. Quoted in Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair*, p. 101-102.

did respond through editorials and stories, but to no avail; stock values continued to climb.⁹⁸⁹ And Hoover was concerned enough about the market that he liquidated most of his personal holdings in the summer of 1929, and he tried to warn Wall Street executives that the market might crash.⁹⁹⁰ McClatchy was either unaware of this or ignored it in the pages of the *Bee* and in his personal correspondence.

The *Bees* and McClatchy were relentless about every move Hoover made – both foreign and domestic. When Hoover signed the London Navy Treaty in the summer of 1930, a treaty both McClatchy and Johnson opposed, McClatchy wrote to Johnson to express his gratitude for his attempts to defeat the measure: “And I believe you are today greater in the hearts of the mass of the American people than is Hoover in the executive chair. You always can have the satisfaction of knowing you fought a good fight for the right and for Americanism.”⁹⁹¹ To McClatchy, Hoover’s business practices were un-American and in direct contrast to real, traditional American values and the interests of the people. At the same time, other newspapers in the country began to turn on Hoover.⁹⁹² Newspapers campaigned against what editors felt was Hoover’s poor response to the crisis. Yet, historically, Hoover’s image has undergone a metamorphosis. In the 1920s Hoover was an active proponent of the federal government taking a role in the economy. Moreover, in response to the Depression, Hoover did implement a program of federal intervention; a program that was more active than any seen in the United States up to that point, including farm subsidies, public relief and works efforts, help for banks, railroads and small business, and other efforts.⁹⁹³ However, given the economic uncertainty and the fact that

⁹⁸⁹ Liebovich, p.101-102.

⁹⁹⁰ Liebovich, p. 101-102 and David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979) p. 247.

⁹⁹¹ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, July 22, 1930, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1147, MNBC, SAMCC. The agreement limited naval shipbuilding and submarine warfare.

⁹⁹² Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair*, xiv-xv.

⁹⁹³ For more about the historical revival of Hoover see, for example, David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979), Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1979), Ellis W. Hawley, ed., *Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce: Studies in New Wra Thought and Practice* (West Branch, Iowa: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, 1974), Joan Hoff Wilson,

conditions were not improving, many newspaper editors did not see Hoover's actions as enough, fast enough, or with enough concern for conditions plaguing ordinary Americans. By 1930, news writers began to turn on Hoover.⁹⁹⁴ McClatchy's voice became one among many.

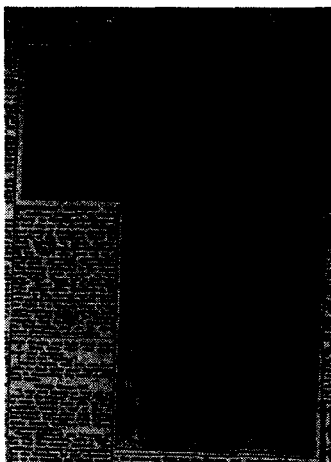
Charity, Hoovervilles, and Human Suffering

But it wasn't only newspapers and magazine writers that labeled Hoover ineffective and made his name synonymous with unemployed, down-on-their-luck homeless transients. Those most affected by job losses directly blamed Hoover for not forcing the federal government into direct, locally-based action. They called their communities Hoovervilles. And the images of these Americans living in shacks and tent cities cast their plight as something affecting all Americans.

McClatchy's newspaper regularly carried stories about Hoovervilles in the first half of the 1930s, showing great sympathy for the individuals and the families who resided there and demanding systemic action to change the squalor and poverty in which everyday, ordinary Americans were thrust into. Hoovervilles were established all over California's Central Valley

Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), Stuart James Olson, *Herbert Hoover and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 1931-1933* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1977). For books about the early years of Hoover's presidency and his time dealing with the Great Depression see, for example, Michael A. Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929-1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); John A. Garraty, *The Great Depression: An Inquiry into the Causes, Course, and Consequences of the Worldwide Depression of the Nineteen-Thirties, As Seen By Contemporaries and in Light of History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986); Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973); Gary Harlan Koerselman, "Herbert Hoover and the Farm Crisis of the Twenties: A Study of the Commerce Department's Efforts to Solve the Agricultural Depression, 1921-1928", PhD Dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1971; Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair*; and T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1993). For more on Hoover's response to the Great Depression see, for example, Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Janet Poppendieck, *Breadline Knee-Deep in Wheat" Food Assistance in the Great Depression* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); and Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, *As Rare as Rain: Federal Relief in the Great Southern Drought of 1930-1931* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). The Smoot-Hawley Tariff is treated in E.E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff: A Study of Free Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929-1930 Revision of the Tariff* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1935, 1963).

⁹⁹⁴ Liebovich notes that the White House took to floating stories to journalists, allowing them to report on them, and then recanting the information. This made the correspondents look inaccurate to their editors. The press pool struck back, according to Liebovich, beginning with H.L. Mencken in 1930, in a series of articles that attacked Hoover and his staff.



during the first half of the 1930s, including several communities in and around Sacramento. The first mention of Hoovervilles in the *Sacramento Bee* was on October 7, 1931 when the newspaper carried a story about locals living in squalor on the banks of the Sacramento River. Under the headline “Destitute ‘Folk’ From City Name It ‘Hooverville’”, the article explains that the men, women, and children living in the settlement started out camping with the permission of a local farmer who owned the land. The numbers grew and the community established a mayor and rules, and settled on the “Hooverville” name, according to a man quoted in the article, because “Republican prosperity was responsible for the founding of this community, so we thought we would make it a monument to President Hoover.”⁹⁹⁵ The article notes that all families are welcome in the community and that it’s ironic to note that “practically all of those in the camp come from old American stock. Their grandfathers and great-grandfathers were born in this country or came here as immigrants long before the days of the Civil War.”⁹⁹⁶ McClatchy’s newspaper points this out in order to evoke sympathy for the settlement’s inhabitants. The newspaper makes the experience of the “old American stock” in the article universal: it could happen to anyone. Moreover, according to the newspaper, these people are the victims of Hoover’s policies toward big business, his government’s lack of response, and, implied, lack of empathy.

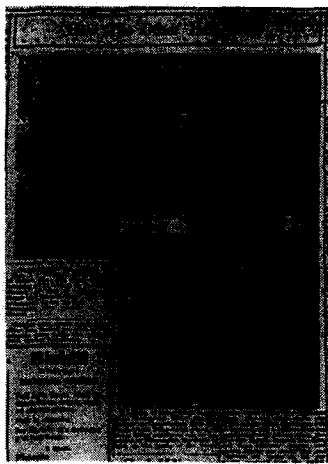
Accompanying the article indicting Hoover are three large photographs of the settlement with a lengthy explanatory caption. Under the headline, “The New City of Hooverville” the three pictures show different aspects of daily life in the tent city community, including the city hall, laundry, and work.⁹⁹⁷ Together these photographs portray a community that is down-on-its luck,

⁹⁹⁵ “Destitute Folk From City Name It Hooverville”, article and photographs, October 7, 1931, *Sacramento Bee*.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁷ “The New City of Hooverville”, photos and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 September 1931.

but still dedicated to the basic institutions of the United States. The community has a democratic government, is dedicated to hard work and bettering the situation of its inhabitants. The image featuring children washing clothing in a metal tub shows that this is a problem affecting families, not just single men. A few weeks later the community closed because “every one of the men in the community has secured work, the children have decent, warm clothing and hunger is a dim memory.”⁹⁹⁸ McClatchy considered one of his jobs to raise community awareness and spawn community action for those in need. He believed it a success that “old American stock” found work to support their families because of the generosity of Sacramentans. It was what Sacramento did, and increasingly, he believed, what the United States should do for all Americans. California, and particularly, Sacramento, was the model. However, the Great Depression was beyond McClatchy’s ability to solve and the 1931 Hooverville was not the city’s last.⁹⁹⁹



During the next five years tent communities, shacks, Hoovervilles, and other makeshift communities developed throughout the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys; McClatchy’s newspapers responded with sympathy for the community dwellers. They criticized local officials who tried to remove shanty towns without a plan for helping residents. Even after Roosevelt’s election the paper continued to carry photographs and stories about the communities and the struggle to improve conditions. In the pages of the *Bee* Hoover remained a devilish figure who was responsible for creating the situation; Roosevelt – and his New Deal – remained the person trying to resolve it. In 1935, when one of the Hoovervilles in the Sacramento had grown to house more than 1,500 people, the *Bee* carried a story and several photographs about conditions under the headline “‘How the Other Half Lives’ Hooverville Poor in Shacks,

⁹⁹⁸ “Hooverville Will be Ghost City To-morrow”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 17 September 1931.

⁹⁹⁹ Ironically, the 2008 economic downturn has spawned another Hooverville – this time called a “Bushville” along the banks of a Sacramento River. By March 2009 there were more than 125 people living in the tent city – exceeding the count of the first 1931 settlement by more than 50.

Dream of Brighter Days.”¹⁰⁰⁰ The headline, of course, is taken from Jacob Riis’ work on New York’s urban poor in the late 19th century. The conditions shown in the photographs are equally as disturbing as the urban squalor Riis chronicled decades earlier. The story explains that dwellings are made of “packing boxes and discarded tin material” that residents found in the region. Another image centers on children, one of whom holds a baby. The accompanying story explains that for the people residing in Hooverville, “their dreams are about things which are commonplace to thousands of parents in the neighboring city of Sacramento ... they do not desire wealth or luxury for their children. Their dreams concern food, warmth, and houses built sturdily to keep out the winter elements.”¹⁰⁰¹ However, the story does not blame the people for the conditions in which they live or for not having jobs and steady income. Instead, the story evokes sympathy for people down on their luck who are victims of circumstance – all of them Americans. But more than that, the story advocates local intervention on behalf of the residents. Rather than asking that they be cleared out of the Hooverville, the story asks that the State Emergency Relief Agency and the local Charity League of Sacramento step in to provide money for better shelters and food for the children. Finally, the story notes that photographs – again being used as evidence – are on their way to Washington, D.C. along with a request for federal aid for “sanitary, substantial dwellings”.¹⁰⁰² McClatchy used images as evidence and promoted their factual value by explaining how they were being used to spur federal action on behalf of Americans.

While C.K. McClatchy’s newspapers argued for humanity toward those in need during the Great Depression, his newspapers and radio holdings continued to make a profit for the McClatchy Newspaper Company. Unlike many newspapers during the era, net income was added

¹⁰⁰⁰ “How the Other Half Lives” Hooverville Poor in Shacks, Dream of Brighter Days”, story and photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 1 February 1935.

¹⁰⁰¹ “How the Other Half Lives: Hooverville Poor in Shacks, Dream of Brighter Days”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 1 February 1935.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.* The reaction of McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee* to federal programs, aid, and the New Deal are discussed at length in the next chapter, which centers on federal involvement in California and Sacramento.

to the company's surplus each year, except 1932, during the depression. During McClatchy's last years at the paper this amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars each year: in 1929, \$256,635 was added to the surplus and in 1930, \$281,333. The only year the company lost money was 1932 – a year in which the company purchased the *Fresno Morning Republican* and merged it with the *Fresno Bee* and started a morning newspaper, *The Fresno Tribune*, which failed within the year – when it lost \$4,631. In 1935 the company added more than \$380,000 to its surplus.¹⁰⁰³ McClatchy's burgeoning newspaper and radio empires in California's Central Valley appeared immune to the financial crisis. But they also provided an increasing audience and platform for McClatchy to explain his views and to display the facts of American suffering in images and words.

Despite personal financial stability and success during the Great Depression, McClatchy continued to advocate for those not as fortunate. McClatchy was frank in his assessment of California's unemployment. "I do not think it is a bit better than it was. I do not think it has improved at all. In fact, I think it is getting worse," McClatchy wrote in 1931, adding that Sacramento's primary charity organization, the Community Chest, as well as other groups were in trouble. "There trouble is not so much in feeding what might be called the poorer class of citizens ... the trouble is in trying to take care of 1,100 to 1,400 men and women who used to be receiving from \$200 to \$300 per month and who still are well clothed, etc., but who have been out of jobs so long that they haven't got a cent left. A great many of these people are too proud to beg, but are willing to go around and do any kind of work – painting fences, digging post holes, clearing up lawns, etc., etc."¹⁰⁰⁴ McClatchy again exhibits understanding for these Americans dedicated to earning an honest paycheck to provide for their families. They were images and words he put into the *Sacramento Bee* throughout the first half of the decade.

¹⁰⁰³ McClatchy Newspaper Company Profit and Loss Statements, 1929-1949, McClatchy Financial, 1910-1965, Box 23, Folder 728, MNBC, SAMCC.

¹⁰⁰⁴ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, February 19, 1931, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1148, MNBC, SAMCC

Though the Community Chest struggled, it still managed to serve a number of local needy during the Great Depression and provide funding for other charitable organizations. The Community Chest itself fed an average of 354 families a month during the first months of 1930, increasing to more than 1,500 a month in 1932.¹⁰⁰⁵ The Community Chest was a private charitable foundation and organization that also funded numerous other relief agencies and organizations in Sacramento throughout the 1920s and 1930s, including substantial donations to the Salvation Army, the Ann Land Memorial fund, the Isador Cohen Fund, the Catholic Ladies Relief Society, and other sectarian organizations. The Community Chest managed to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars during the more prosperous 1920s, but its funding was severely diminished during the high-need and financially tight 1930s. The Community Chest regularly fell short of fundraising goals during the Great Depression, including falling \$100,000 below goal in 1932 alone.¹⁰⁰⁶ By May 1932 the Community Chest was forced to turn its family caseload over to the city of Sacramento because it was out of money.¹⁰⁰⁷

The *Sacramento Bee* charted the Community Chest's struggles and programs through favorable stories, laudatory editorials, and explanatory, supportive photographs.¹⁰⁰⁸ But importantly, McClatchy and his editors did not believe the Community Chest alone could combat the effects of the Great Depression and advocated, sometimes within the coverage of the Community Chest, for increased federal intervention and aid. In late 1931, as Christmas approached, the newspaper carried a front page, center photograph of Community Chest volunteers working at the Sacramento Civic Auditorium to prepare Christmas dinner boxes for

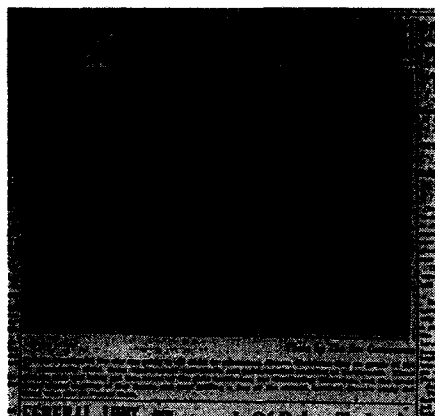
¹⁰⁰⁵ Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley, Vol. II* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1961).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento: Indomitable City*, The Making of America Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), pp 99-100.

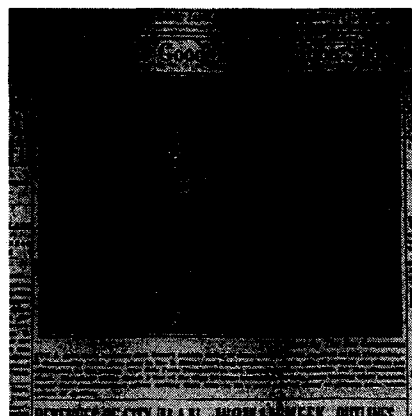
¹⁰⁰⁷ Though it did continue to operate as a non-profit organizer and fundraiser.

¹⁰⁰⁸ See, for example, *Sacramento Bee* editions from December 21, 1931, January 7 and 8, 1932, January 11, 1932, February 16, 1932, August 24 and 25, 1932, July 4, 1933, September 12, 1933, August 6, 1934, November 15, 1934, July 1, 1935, and November 2, 1935.

the region's needy. In the photograph, a troop of Boy Scouts are visible sorting items into boxes.¹⁰⁰⁹



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A nearby story pleads for aid to make sure poor Sacramento children are not missed by Santa Claus. The story notes that “Sacramentans must open hearts and see that poor children are not missed by St. Nickolas merely because their fathers cannot find work.”¹⁰¹² There is no judgment because any American father could be out of work, according to the newspaper. A few weeks later, the Community Chest’s shoe business was highlighted in a front page photograph and extended caption. The image shows several cobblers at work on shoes and another dozen or so men seated or standing nearby. The caption explains,

It is a poor day’s business that doesn’t include forty or more pair of shoes repaired at the Troubadour Community Chest shoe shop in the R Street receiving warehouse, where gifts of clothing and shoes are distributed to the needy. The Oak Park Troubadours are operating the warehouse for the community chest. The above photo shows a few of the shops patrons assembled for help, some waiting while cobblers repair their footwear and others waiting their turn to fit a good pair of shoes or procure some warm articles of clothing.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰⁰⁹ “Christmas Cheer for the Poor”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1931.

¹⁰¹⁰ “Christmas Cheer for the Poor”, photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1931

¹⁰¹¹ “Business is Good at Free Shoe Shop”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 January 1932.

¹⁰¹² “Thousands of babes To Look In Vain For Santa if Aid Fails”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1931.

¹⁰¹³ “Business is Good at Free Shoe Shop”, photo and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 7 January 1932.

The following day, the newspaper carried a story about the heavy distribution of shoes and clothing.¹⁰¹⁴ The stories and images place no blame and cast no judgment on those without jobs and those seeking aid. In fact, they actively encourage other Sacramentans to help their fellow Americans, fellow Californians, and fellow residents of Superior California. The photographs and stories classify those in need as part of the community, the state, and country without mention of background. This was something organizers of the Chest were conscious in 1933 when they chose a photograph to represent the 1933-1934 campaign. The image shows a woman holding an infant in one arm and sheltering her young daughter under the other arm. Organizers noted the significance of the chosen image in an accompanying story:

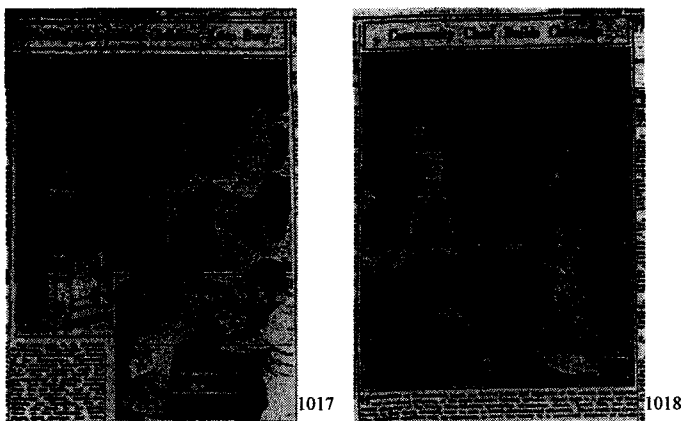
not only because of its human appeal, but because it tells as explicitly as any picture can, the objectives of Sacramento people in their organized effort to relieve physical want and to build morale during the coming year human recovery is decidedly an investment which will pay dividends in better citizenship, a safer and healthier city, an increased morale and a lowered cost of criminal and social supervision.¹⁰¹⁵

The newspaper and Chest campaigned for funding based on the idea that to do so was to show good citizenship to fellow Americans and to make recipients better citizens. Likewise, during a campaign to earn more money for a Chest-agency orphanage, the newspaper carried photographs of children at work and at play, noting that more than 65 children cared for at the St. Patrick's Orphanage during the last year were there on a temporary basis while their parents sought work. The children were trained in homemaking and other skills to give them the ability to help their families and prepare them for adulthood.¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹⁴ "Old Shoes, Clothes Repaired and Given to Needy By Chest", story, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 January 1932.

¹⁰¹⁵ "For Human Recovery: Chest Selects Drive Picture", story and photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1933. See also, 11 November 1934 photos and story of the Community Chest drive.

¹⁰¹⁶ "St. Patrick's Home Children Keep Busy: Local Orphanage Aids in Family Rehabilitation", story, photographs, and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 October 1934.



Again, these are American children in need and the newspaper's images show them diligently preparing to make a contribution as good American citizens, with the help of local adults. In 1932 the newspaper carried a photograph and caption about Community Chest activities explicitly contributing to building good American citizens. The three photographs show Sacramento youth in leisure activities sponsored by the Community Chest, including gymnastics, Scouting, and education. The caption notes that these Community Chest sponsored activities, impossible without local charitable giving, help children gain "health, character, and citizenship."¹⁰¹⁹ But the *Bee* implied that the only way America children could grow up to be good citizens was with help from the community.

Labor and Communists

Joblessness was a serious problem in Sacramento and the *Bee* responded with understanding, sympathy, and characteristic finger-pointing at big business. Big business, according to McClatchy, did not serve the best interests of the American people. By 1932 more than 27,000 people were unemployed in Sacramento, giving it the fourth highest rate in the state.¹⁰²⁰ By 1932 unemployment stood at 20 to 30 percent in many communities in the San

¹⁰¹⁷ "St. Patrick's Home Children Keep Busy: Local Orphanage Aids in Family Rehabilitation", story, photographs, and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 October 1934.

¹⁰¹⁸ "Community Chest Builds Character", photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 October 1932.

¹⁰¹⁹ "Community Chest Builds Character", photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 October 1932.

¹⁰²⁰ McGowan, 256-7.

Joaquin and Sacramento valleys and its continued rise seemed inevitable.¹⁰²¹ Strikes and labor unrest in industries, particularly agricultural industries and canneries, increased and, at times, became toxic during the 1920s and 1930s. Organized labor and unions in the region swelled during the 1930s, and while McClatchy supported organized labor, he opposed the use of strikes, particularly without compulsory arbitration, and felt, by the 1930s, that most labor unions were full of good, hard-working men and women being led astray by communists. Labor, strikes, and the plight of the ordinary, hard-working American appeared frequently in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* during the Great Depression. The newspaper encouraged its readers to “make a job today for a needy Sacramento citizen” in 1931 by hiring people for odd jobs in and around the house in order to “keep them going until Spring work opens.”¹⁰²² Unemployment and job openings also frequently made the pages of the *Bee*. When more than 200 men showed up to apply for twenty temporary waterfront jobs the newspaper noted that “penniless, desperate” men were fighting for “the privilege of filling twenty temporary jobs of the hardest kind of labor.” Even though a fight broke out at the waterfront between the men, the newspaper focused on the conditions causing competition. The newspaper highlighted that “Sacramento residents, fathers and mothers, husbands and wives are desperate for work,” and want to “earn an honest penny.”¹⁰²³ Likewise, the newspaper often carried stories that made clear job loss was not merely a problem of the poor or uneducated. In 1931, the *Bee* carried a darkly humorous story illustrating the point:

A stands for airplane mechanics and auctioneers
 B stands for bakers and butlers
 C stands for car washers, chemists and cooks, and
 D stands for doctor’s assistants
 Virtually every letter of the alphabet is represented in the catalog of nearly 150 professions and occupations of the jobless, penniless Sacramento family heads on the community chest’s free employment bureau lists.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰²¹ Ibid.

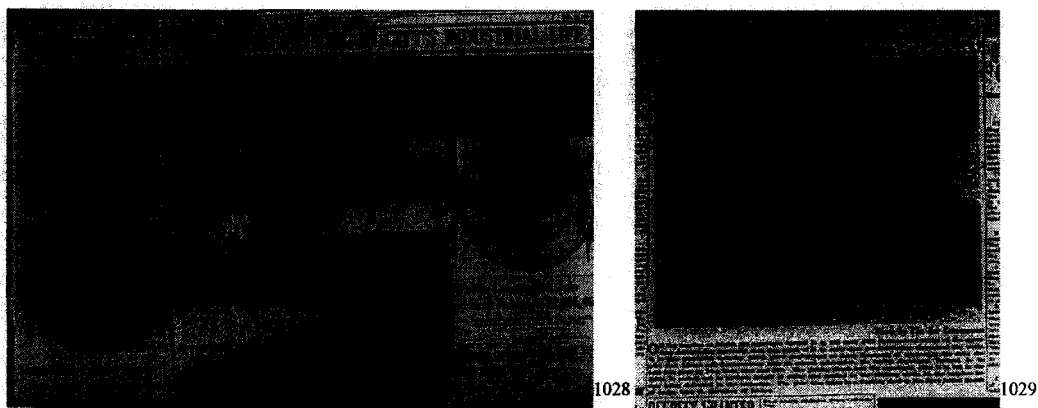
¹⁰²² “Make a Job Today for a Needy Sacramento Citizen”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 February 1931.

¹⁰²³ “200 jobless Fight for 20 Jobs on Waterfront,” story, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 February 1931.

¹⁰²⁴ “Jobless Citizens Here Represent All Professions: Hundreds of Well-Trained Men and Women Seek Any Work”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 28 February 1931.

Moreover, the farm wealth of California was concentrated in a few hands. By 1935, 2 percent of California's farmers held 25 percent of the state's total acreage and produced more than 30 percent of the value of the state's crops. The top 10 percent of California's farms produced more than 50 percent of the state's crops. The farms were also increasingly mechanized which meant fewer workers were needed each year to run them. Despite unemployment across job categories, California's agricultural industries were particularly hit hard by the Depression, leaving thousands unemployed, labor unions restless, and farm owners with declining profits.¹⁰²⁵

In fact, the first industries in the Central Valley to feel the effects of the Depression were the agricultural and the cannery industries. Prices for agricultural products like rice, peaches, prunes and other items plummeted after 1929 and farm income dropped 39 percent between 1929 and 1932.¹⁰²⁶ When the canneries opened their hiring season during the Depression, it was big news in the *Bee*. In 1931, the newspaper carried a story on the eve of the spring hiring season that claimed more than 3,000 would get jobs, pumping \$3.5 million in payroll into the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.¹⁰²⁷



¹⁰²⁵ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, 63-64. Starr's statistics rely heavily on the United States Agricultural Census for 1935.

¹⁰²⁶ McGowan, 256.

¹⁰²⁷ "Canning Season To Employ 3000", story, *Sacramento Bee*, 17 March 1931. See also, for example, stories from 2 April 1931, 19 March 1932, and 31 March 1933.

¹⁰²⁸ "Canneries Provide Important Cog in City's Industrial Life", story and photos, *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 1931.

To demonstrate just how important the canning industry was not just to Sacramento, but to the state and the nation, the *Bee* carried a series of photographs and stories later that month.¹⁰³⁰ The accompanying story notes that canning is the regions second biggest industrial employer with an output of more than \$14 million each season, and that by the end of the season more than 5,000 people work for the canneries.¹⁰³¹ Together the text and photographs depict a large, essential industry to the region. In the Spring of 1931, as the canning season was underway, McClatchy's newspaper carried a photograph of two women working on an Isleton asparagus ranch. The women are hosing off asparagus in preparation for canning.¹⁰³² The caption explains how asparagus moves from harvest, to cutting, to cleaning, to canning before being shipped worldwide. The article emphasizes that canneries and their workers feed the world. Despite these pleasant images, the canning industry was not healthy either financially or for its workers – something McClatchy's newspaper also highlighted. The industry was wrought with conflict, competition, and exploitation of workers. The workforce for canning was largely female and there were stark divisions between white, Portuguese, Italian and Mexican workers and their supervisors.¹⁰³³ By 1932, the newspaper carried stories warning people that despite Sacramento's status as the "canning capital of the nation" there were not extra jobs available in the canning industry.¹⁰³⁴ Low pay, back pay, working conditions, and a fluctuating market for produce made cannery work unreliable and helped spark early union protests and worker complaints during the Great Depression.

McClatchy and the *Bee* did show some support for the plight of labor and in the canneries of the region – to a degree. McClatchy's support for labor dated back decades. Writing in 1911,

¹⁰²⁹ "Preparing Isleton Asparagus", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 May 1931.

¹⁰³⁰ "Canneries Provide Important Cog in City's Industrial Life", story and photos, *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 1931. See also, story and photographs about the canning season opening, from 12 March 1932.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³² "Preparing Isleton Asparagus", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 May 1931.

¹⁰³³ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, p. 69.

¹⁰³⁴ "Cannery Workers are Warned Here" Families Planning to Come to Capital For Season Will Find All Jobs Taken", *Sacramento Bee*, 26 February 1932

McClatchy noted that without “the wonderful work done by labor unions in the United States the laboring classes still would be working nerve-killing hours at miserable pittance,” and that the United States – and all civilization – “owe a deep debt of gratitude to the labor unions.” For McClatchy, “the only weapon the laboring man has is unity” against the oppression of unified capitalists.¹⁰³⁵ McClatchy continued to support the right of labor to exist and to have a voice, even when he disagreed with its leaders. As Sacramentans pushed city authorities to remove a crowd of protesters in 1930, McClatchy came to their defense on the basis of free speech.

Democracy does not mean that only the majority – or sometimes, the throttling and entrenched minority – shall be heard. It means that all shall have the right of free speech ... It was Voltaire who declared to Rousseau he did not believe in anything the latter said, but he would defend to the death his right to say it. And that sentiment should be imbedded firmly in the heart of every true and loyal American.¹⁰³⁶

McClatchy’s journalistic instincts, a dedication to free speech and the press, made him unwilling to cast aside the right of any American, even those with communist beliefs, to protest and be heard. Unlike Joseph Medill Patterson who advocated anyone with communist beliefs be censured and, if possible, thrown out of the country. Still, while McClatchy and the *Bee* expressed sympathy for those suffering as a consequence of the Great Depression and for the plight of working men and women, and for the right of those workers to protest, he stopped short of endorsing strikes and organized labor’s leadership.¹⁰³⁷

Labor unrest at local canneries was covered by the *Sacramento Bee* and McClatchy with wariness seemingly tied to claims that organized labor was controlled by “communists.” As early as 1931, law enforcement was regularly on site at Sacramento and San Joaquin valley

¹⁰³⁵ “Trade Unionism”, “Private Thinks, *Sacramento Bee*, 27 May 1911, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks by C.K.*

¹⁰³⁶ “Free Speech”, “Private Thinks”, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 February 1930, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks by C.K.*

¹⁰³⁷ McClatchy, like Hiram Johnson and William Randolph Hearst, moved toward the right politically during the first decades of the 20th century. That said, both Johnson, by the 1930s a Republican, and McClatchy were big supporters of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the programs of the New Deal. Mere months before his 1936 death, McClatchy reiterated his support for Roosevelt in a *Bee* editorial, endorsing his 1936 presidential run.

canneries.¹⁰³⁸ There is little doubt that McClatchy and others watched with alarm as strikes and violence involving canneries and other industrial workers took place across Northern California. In July 1931 canneries in Santa Clara cut wages 20 percent and nearly 2,000 workers walked out. Under the new leadership of the Agricultural Workers Industrial league, some 16,000 workers at 16 canneries in the region eventually joined the protest.¹⁰³⁹ Violence between protesters and law enforcement officials led to more than 20 arrests and the use of tear gas, blackjacks, nightsticks, machine guns (on display only), and water cannonades against the strikers. The strike collapsed without any of the strikers' demands being met, but the union gained publicity, members, and strengthened its ties with the Communist Party. During the next four years, organizers from the party and union went into the field throughout the state, helping to lead prepared and impromptu strikes.¹⁰⁴⁰ By 1935, there were significant strikes in Vacaville, Yuba City/Marysville, Lodi, Ventura, Watsonville, Ceres, in Fresno, Merced, Santa Clara and Alameda counties, and elsewhere in the state. During 1933 alone there were more than 40 rural strikes, including the great 1933 cotton strike in the San Joaquin Valley, which extended more than 500 miles through California and involved thousands of workers.¹⁰⁴¹

It was against this backdrop of strikes, labor unrest, and violence that McClatchy affirmed his belief in labor unions, his opposition to strikes, and demand for compulsory arbitration. He framed the image of labor strikes and violence as directly to communism and "red" agitators. In 1934, McClatchy wrote of the San Francisco general strike that while he had always "been for the under dog," he now believed the under dog was "neither oppressed capital nor down-trodden labor." Instead, McClatchy argued, real sympathy should be with the citizens of San Francisco who are "deprived of their natural rights and robbed of their liberties" and are

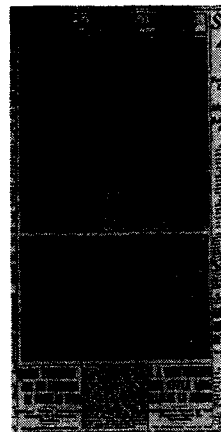
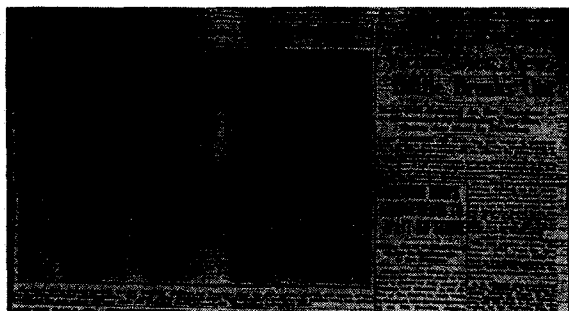
¹⁰³⁸ See, for example, story in *Sacramento Bee*, 15 May 1931.

¹⁰³⁹ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, pp 69-71.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, pp 70-71.

¹⁰⁴¹ Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, pp 77-80.

“enslaved” as a consequence of the strike that touched not only the waterfront, but public transportation and other essential services.¹⁰⁴²



Indeed, in July 1934, as general strikes raged across the country, the *Bee* carried a front page photograph and story about the ongoing San Francisco strike. In the image, dozens of people are running up a San Francisco street, surrounded by tall buildings and cars and smoke. The photograph’s headline, “Battle Rages as Dock Strikers Attack Warehouse,” places blame for the altercation on the strikers.¹⁰⁴³ The accompanying story tracks violence throughout San Francisco connected to the strike and highlights the first death related to strike violence. Under the large headline, “First Bay Rioting Victim Dies; New Battle Breaks Out,” the story details striker clashes with police officers and widespread violence throughout the city.¹⁰⁴⁴

Two weeks later the newspaper carried several front page photographs of local police and the national guard raiding “radical headquarters” in San Francisco in connection with the strike (above, right). Under the headline, “Red Roundup Is Started in Bay City,” the first photograph shows law enforcement destruction in the offices of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. Desks and file cabinets are overturned and files, papers and pamphlets cover the floors. A police officer

¹⁰⁴² “The San Francisco General Strike”, “Private Thinks”, *Sacramento Bee*, July 17, 1934, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks by C.K.*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁰⁴³ “Battle Rages as Dock Strikers Attack Warehouse”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 July 1934.

¹⁰⁴⁴ “Red Roundup Is Started in Bay City”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 July 1934.

¹⁰⁴⁵ “Battle Rages as Dock Strikers Attack Warehouse”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 July 1934.

¹⁰⁴⁶ “First Bay Rioting Victim Dies; New Battle Breaks Out”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 July 1934.

stands in the middle of the scene, reading a document. In the other photograph, a paddy-wagon is shown loaded with leaders of the various unions. The caption explains that police were “raiding radical headquarters and talking leaders of the extreme left wing of the labor movement to jail,” and that the police are “overworked” as a consequence of the strike and strife.¹⁰⁴⁷

The violence in San Francisco in July 1934 marks the beginning of the Popular Front social movement, in which the Communist party committed to working in coalitions with other labor and liberal groups.¹⁰⁴⁸ Nearby, the *Bee* carried several stories under the general headline “Strike Radicals Lose Out As Labor Presents Officer of Peace to Marine Employers” about the “red” roundup, new violence, arbitration resolutions, and union activity. Together the photographs and stories indicate that “communists” are responsible for the destruction and violence in the city and that they have co-opted the leadership of legitimate unions at the expense of common American working men and women. In fact, showing the arrest of “communist” leaders alongside a new arbitration resolution seems to indicate that if the “agitators” were out of the way, the union would peacefully negotiate with management.¹⁰⁴⁹ McClatchy’s newspaper explicitly tied violence and civil disturbances to communists. Without the influence of communism, McClatchy believed labor would peacefully work for the benefit of its membership and all American citizens.

Thus, while McClatchy did not deny the right of labor unions to exist and recruit members, he strongly preferred compulsory arbitration to strikes. “No man can deny that there is a certain class of employers who would not give decent wages if they could help it. But even they can be disciplined far better through American methods of arbitration than through un-American

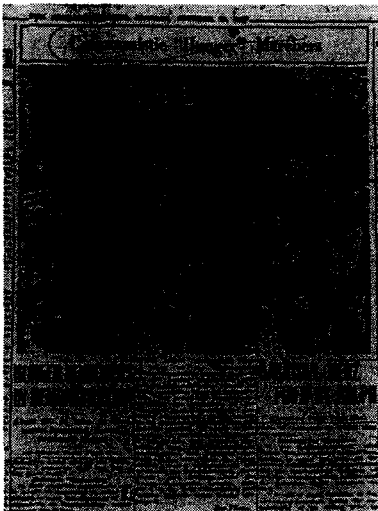
¹⁰⁴⁷ “Red Roundup Is Started in Bay City”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 July 1934.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Michael Denning opens *The Cultural Front* with a description of the violence associated with San Francisco’s General Strike in July 1934. The strike marked the beginning of a new social movement – the Popular Front – from the depths of the Depression. See, Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1996), p. xiii.

¹⁰⁴⁹ “Strike Radicals Lose Out As Labor Presents Officer of Peace To marine Employers”, stories, *Sacramento Bee*, 18 July 1934.

threats by un-American intellectual incendiaries who lure their poor blinded dupes to their own undoing.”¹⁰⁵⁰ The 1933 “incendiaries,” as far as McClatchy was concerned, were communists.

Communists did not meet McClatchy’s criteria for what an “American” should believe and how an “American” should behave. Particularly during the 1930s, McClatchy’s newspapers were critical of any suspected communist or “red” activities. This was not unusual for newspaper editors in the first half of the 20th century. Joseph Medill Patterson also waged a campaign against communists via the *New York Daily News*, and McClatchy certainly was not alone in his opposition in California during the 1930s. McClatchy’s discomfort with communists extended even toward those Americans who turned to it because they had lost hope and faith in capitalism.



In 1932 as hunger marchers led a parade toward the state courthouse, the *Sacramento Bee* was quick to highlight organizers ties to communism. In an October 10 story the newspaper the reporter noted that marchers were given mimeographed copies “listing the ‘yells’ they were to shout as they paraded.”¹⁰⁵¹ The tone of the article suggested the marchers had no say in what they protest. Inside, the newspaper carried a photograph of the marchers under the headline

“Communitic ‘Hunger’ Marchers.” The image showed hundreds of protestors winding their way through Sacramento streets carrying banners and signs. Many of the signs visible in the photograph are communist slogans, something the caption highlighted. “A study of the working on the banners displayed in the pictures will reveal a significant fact, that Communitic organizations and precepts were featured far more than the ‘starvation’ reason advanced as the

¹⁰⁵⁰ “Compulsory Arbitration a National Necessity”, “Private Thinks”, *Sacramento Bee*, October 18, 1933, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks by C.K.*

¹⁰⁵¹ “Hunger Marchers Parade with 250 Persons in Line: Communist-Sponsored Demonstration Has Courthouse as Objective”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 10 October 1932.

motive of the demonstration.”¹⁰⁵² The caption went on to note that organizers claimed thousands would participate in the march, but that, by the *Bee*'s count, fewer than 250 actually attended. In all aspects of the march, the *Bee* undermined its significance, its reach, and its dedication to hunger, starvation and bettering the situation of those Americans suffering. Instead the newspaper cast the entire march, and the marchers, as communists and dismisses their issues as secondary to a communist agenda. McClatchy's newspapers rallied against communism and communists throughout the decade.¹⁰⁵³ The newspaper closely followed trials of accused communists, highlighted the communist elements in May Day parades, and criticized university professors for advocating a “red” program of study for students.¹⁰⁵⁴

Still, despite the anti-communist rhetoric, McClatchy saw the communist threat as no greater than the threat of trusts, economic consolidation, and big business in the United States. Moreover, he publicly made statements to this effect during the Great Depression.

The Communists in the United States are not all of foreign birth, nor the result of foreign propaganda. Numbers of native-born Americans were made such – are being made such daily – through righteous indignation at things as they are in this country; as a protest, long in birth, at the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few.

Communism is a menace – although Yours Truly does not believe it to be so dangerous as some count it; for he has great faith in the sober judgment and the level-headed common sense of the vast majority of our American citizenry. But is Communism today any greater menace to the well-being, the prosperity, the perpetuity of a nation devoted to the principle that all men are equal, than are some of the great trust magnates who denounce them the loudest; who hold up their hands in holy horror at the very mention of Communism's tenets? Is there anything in Communism's program more at enmity with American ideals than the practice of the great trusts in endeavoring everywhere to take to themselves for their own profit, and for the squeezing of the taxpayers¹⁰⁵⁵

¹⁰⁵² “Communitic ‘Hunger’ Marchers”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, October 10, 1932.

¹⁰⁵³ For examples, see stories and photographs from 12 May 1933, 18 January 1934, 3 May 1934, 3 August 1934, 11 August 1934, 18 August 1934, 28 August 1934, 29 October 1934, 30 November 1934, 14-15 January 1935, 13-29 April 1935 and 1 May 1935.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁵ “Communism vs. Trusts”, “Private Thinks”, *Sacramento Bee*, 20 January 1931, reprinted in McClatchy, *Private Thinks By C.K.*, pp 118-119.

Yet McClatchy was caught as off-guard as many of his press peers in 1934 when writer Upton Sinclair reregistered as a Democrat and took the party's nomination for governor on the socialist, third-party platform of "End Poverty in California" (EPIC). Democratic party officials believed that support for Roosevelt in the state was so strong that they would put forward a New Deal candidate that would bring the relief programs to California and end years of Republican dominated state politics. They were "ambushed" during the primary by Sinclair and the EPIC programs.¹⁰⁵⁶ EPIC called for a state-financed system of farms and factories, higher taxes for the wealthy and old-age pensions. More than 400,000 California Democrats endorsed the plan with a vote for Sinclair in the primary, leaving the Democratic-leadership favored candidate George Creel out of the general election.¹⁰⁵⁷ Sinclair communicated with his followers through a series of pamphlets, including *I, Governor of California and How I Ended Poverty – A True Story of the Future* (1933), *EPIC Answers* (1934); *Immediate EPIC* (1934); *The Lie Factory Starts* (1934). The first of these opens in a future, 1938, in which Governor Sinclair recounts how he ended poverty in California. In reality, in the November 1934 election, Sinclair faced incumbent Republican Governor Frank Merriam and third party candidate Raymond L. Haight, running on a "centrist" platform of the Commonwealth-Progressive party. Sinclair won nearly 1 million votes in November, but he lacked the support of the national and state Democratic party, including Franklin Roosevelt, and was defeated by Merriam amid one of the most savage elections in California history.¹⁰⁵⁸ In fact, California Democrats did everything they could to stamp out

¹⁰⁵⁶ See James N. Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp 90-92.

¹⁰⁵⁷ For more on Sinclair and the EPIC campaign see (first and foremost), Upton Sinclair, *I, Candidate for Governor: And How I Got Licked* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935, 1994); Fay M. Blake and M. Morton Newman, "Upton Sinclair's EPIC Campaign", *California History*, Fall 1984; Leonard Leader, "Upton Sinclair's EPIC Switch: A Dilemma for American Socialists," *Southern California Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1980), 361-81; Charles F. McIntosh, "Upton Sinclair and the EPIC Movement, 1933-1936", PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1955; "EPIC Intentions: The Gubernatorial Campaign of 1934", in Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, pp 121-155; and Charles E. Larsen, "The EPIC Campaign of 1934," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (Fall 1958), 127-47.

¹⁰⁵⁸ David M. Kennedy, *The American People in the Great Depression, Freedom From Fear: Part I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp 225-227.

Sinclair's candidacy and EPIC; and Roosevelt advisors wrote editorials and publicly claimed the muckraking journalist lacked the experience to implement his plans and run California.¹⁰⁵⁹

Newspapers throughout the state, including McClatchy's *Bees*, waged a battle against Sinclair and his radical "red" proposals. During his long career, Sinclair offended many people and made enemies.¹⁰⁶⁰ Republicans hired two press agents to go through Sinclair's writings in search of statements that offended various interests and to distribute those statements to the press.¹⁰⁶¹ The newspaper and editors, including McClatchy and his *Bees*, George Cameron of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Joseph Knowland of the *Oakland Tribune*, William Randolph Hearst of the *San Francisco Examiner* and the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, and Harry Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times* carried statements sent by the Republican press agents and fanned anti-Sinclair sentiments throughout the state.¹⁰⁶² But, McClatchy's attack was different on one key point: he refused to endorse Merriam.

All this has been and is being done – God save the mark – to deliver California from the "menace of Sinclair." Is the menace of Sinclair any worse than the menace of Merriam? Here is one who does not think so.

On the one hand is an honest man who is a wild-eyed dreamer and who puts forth a political and a financial plan that could do vast damage to California if it were in any way feasible. But it is not. All Sinclair could do would be to continue to dream, and dream, and dream ... He would be marooned on his own desolate island of wind, irritating but harmless.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Michael E. Parrish, *Anxious Decades: America in Prosperity and Depression, 1920-1941* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), pp 320-323. Parrish notes that Roosevelt "hinted" to advisors that he did not personally believe there was anything particularly dangerous about what Sinclair advocated. Nonetheless, Roosevelt remained neutral throughout the campaign and his advisors actively campaigned against Sinclair.

¹⁰⁶⁰ In *Endangered Dreams*, Starr notes that Sinclair had been long outspoken and was rarely "guilty of an unpublished thought." In fact, Sinclair had taken on most established interests in the United States in his more than 40 books and other writings and had also taken on the clergy and religion, the press, the academy and other institutions. Starr, 142-43.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶² Starr, 143. Starr postulates that this campaign and the press agents represent the pioneering of the modern mass-media political campaign and its "emphasis on thought/sound bites and damning innuendo". Among other things, the press fabricated photographs and newsreels of the unemployed and poverty-stricken on the road to California because of Sinclair's EPIC proposals; they publicized the details of Sinclair's first marriage and divorce, including the fact that it was an open marriage; they delved into Sinclair's real estate holdings and accused him of being a speculator who was out of touch with the "people" in his new Beverly Hills mansion; and trashed him based on the views of religion he expressed in 1918's *The Profits of Religion*. Finally, and likely most importantly, the press directly tied Sinclair to communism either as a Communist or as an active sympathizer.

On the other hand, Merriam is a real menace to California – a threat to honesty in politics; an invitation to a public surrender of the people’s interests and rights to throttling trusts; a lowering of the flag of the sovereign citizenry, and a humble capitulation to the continued and strengthened reign of autocratic marplots ... We are told Haight cannot win ... Yours Truly may state that he has been the target for a perfect sea of protestations and appeals, including quite a number of threats, all pointing out that it is his duty to himself and to the state to throw Haight overboard and espouse the cause of Merriam ... And so – with kindest regards to all, and with thanks to friends and foes alike for their frequent suggestions – the McClatchy newspapers will continue to champion the cause of Raymond Haight until the sun goes down on election day.¹⁰⁶³

McClatchy used the Sinclair candidacy to campaign against private ownership of public utilities, trusts, big business, and concentrated power, both political and economic. McClatchy argued for policies that maintained American ideals, but did so with an eye toward championing for the people, those suffering as a consequence of the Great Depression, and those who were victims of big business and trusts. Of course, many of the policies that McClatchy ended up later endorsing, including many of the New Deal programs discussed in the next chapter, were similar to those proposed by Sinclair. The difference, it seems, is that Sinclair’s direct ties to communists and socialists made him untouchable. Moreover, the fact that mainstream Democrats, including Roosevelt, stayed away from Sinclair made it easier for someone like McClatchy to attack him. Finally, McClatchy clearly was influenced by the press agents and various statements and writings of Sinclair. There is little doubt that he published information given to him as part of Merriam’s smear campaign. At the same time, McClatchy kept his distance in an attempt to hold true to his “American” values and traditions.

Watching all of this, McClatchy concluded that the federal government had an obligation to come to the aid of the people of California. When Hoover proposed a \$500-million bank stabilization, McClatchy was incensed: “Why should the government always come to the rescue

¹⁰⁶³ “Upton Sinclair and Frank Merriam”, “Private Thinks”, *Sacramento Bee*, 27 September 1934, reprinted in C.K. McClatchy, *Private Thinks By C.K.*, pp 121-123.

of the banks and not to the rescue of the farmers, or the vineyardists, or the general toilers?"¹⁰⁶⁴

But, as Sacramento banks began to fail, McClatchy grew concerned. "I'm afraid the California National Bank will prove to be a serious blow to this community ... The worst thing I find so far which is provable is that the bank did accept deposits from poor unfortunate men and women after they must have known the bank was rottenly insolvent. It did not open its doors Saturday morning and it took these deposits up until the bank closed on Friday afternoon."¹⁰⁶⁵ He still blamed the banks, but he was also able to see that the failure of Sacramento's banks would mean increased suffering among ordinary residents of the state. Two Sacramento banks, the California National Bank and the California Trust and Savings Bank, did not open on January 21, 1933 following a bank run before closing the previous days. The reserves of both institutions fell below the legal limit, causing the closings.¹⁰⁶⁶

Federal Help and the Election of Franklin Roosevelt

Even early in the Depression, McClatchy understood the gravity of the situation and how it might affect national politics. "I note with much interest what you say about conditions over there in Washington and the probability that the present incumbent will not be re-elected. If not, I hope that the Democrats will put up some such man as Governor Roosevelt," McClatchy wrote to Johnson in 1931. He went on to note that Governor James Rolph, Jr. of California was doing nothing for the state and cared nothing but "to be in the limelight and go to balls and parties and receptions and banquets ... He appears to be paying attention to everything but the affairs of the

¹⁰⁶⁴ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, October 8, 1931, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1148, MNBC, SAMCC. It is interesting to note that many of McClatchy's writings from the early Depression are echoed in today's press, including the *Sacramento Bee*.

¹⁰⁶⁵ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, February 2, 1933, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1150, MNBC, SAMCC.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See also stories and images appearing on June 29, 1929, December 28, 1929, November 10, 1932, March 2, 1933, March 4, 1933, March 8, 1933, March 13-16, 1933, and May 20, 1933.

state.”¹⁰⁶⁷ Likewise, after Hoover attended a New York meeting in November 1932, C.K. McClatchy railed against how Theodore Roosevelt’s widow introduced the president in laudatory terms. “A sorry sight it must have been to see the widow of “Teddy” championing the man who opposes practically all American principles for which her husband fought,” McClatchy wrote in his column. He added that the “American System” Hoover championed “was and is a system to protect and advance those who have, and ignore those who have not.”¹⁰⁶⁸ Of course, there was more than outrage at Hoover and his proposals at work in McClatchy’s critique. Johnson and Hoover were old political rivals. Johnson, who was Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party running mate in 1912, and stood for the Republican nomination for President in 1920 and 1924. Hoover also stood for the nomination in 1920 and was beaten by Johnson in the state primary in California, Hoover’s adopted home.¹⁰⁶⁹

Despite McClatchy’s conversion from Progressive to Republican-leaning conservatism during the 1920s the *Bee* and McClatchy were strong supporters of Roosevelt and the New Deal.¹⁰⁷⁰ Before Roosevelt’s electoral victory became apparently inevitable in the fall of 1932, McClatchy endorsed the governor for the Democratic nomination in California in the pages of the *Bee*.¹⁰⁷¹ The newspaper was among 40 percent in the country that endorsed the New York governor. Fifty-two percent endorsed Hoover, though many of those endorsements were

¹⁰⁶⁷ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, January 16, 1931, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1148, MNBC, SAMCC

¹⁰⁶⁸ “Hoover’s Conception of the ‘American System’”, C.K. Private Thinks, November 3, 1932, reprinted in McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, p. 119-120.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hoover attended Stanford University as an undergraduate and returned to California periodically throughout his professional career. After losing the presidency in 1932 the Hoovers moved to Palo Alto, California.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In the early years of the Depression, McClatchy and his newspaper actively supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt. McClatchy, and through him, *The Bee*, supported Franklin Roosevelt long before he ran for the White House. In 1924, McClatchy penned an editorial from the Democratic National Convention in New York noting that were Roosevelt in excellent physical condition the convention would likely nominate him for president because “he is extremely popular and still a giant mentally, and he has incurred no enemy. But he gets around very slowly on crutches, being a victim of infantile paralysis.” See, McClatchy, “Franklin D. Roosevelt”, editorial, July 2, 1924, reprinted in McClatchy, *Private Thinks*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁷¹ See, McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley*, p. 258. Roosevelt did not win California’s vote in the May 3, 1932 primary election and Republicans outnumbered Democrats in the valley. Still, with the strong support of McClatchy’s newspaper and radio holdings in the valley, Roosevelt carried every county in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys in the primary, but still lost the state.

unenthusiastic.¹⁰⁷² These endorsements for Roosevelt's opponents – which continued, and increased, through each of Roosevelt's subsequent campaigns – demonstrate that most newspaper in the 1930s were owned by wealthy individuals inclined to support Republicans.¹⁰⁷³ McClatchy was in the minority in July 1932, when the newspaper endorsed Roosevelt in a searing editorial against Hoover:

The McClatchy newspapers will do all that may lie within their power, to the extent of their ability, to further the cause of Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York. They feel he far more nearly represents the cause of humanity, the cause of the poor, the cause of right and righteousness, the cause of truth and the cause of true Americanism than does the present executive. They hold that Herbert C. Hoover has been a voice for the trusts rather than a leader for The People. They believe his whole administration has been used in the interests of Wall Street and the International Bankers ...¹⁰⁷⁴

But McClatchy was not without his concerns about Roosevelt. Before FDR's election, he wrote to Johnson with a list of things he thought Roosevelt needed to address.

If Roosevelt does not come to the front fighting with two fists against these iniquitous institutions which are really the government of the United States, he will be defeated. He cannot molycoddle on international relations and the tariff and questions of that character and expect to get away with it. The American people are tired of Hoover for the reason they know Hoover does not represent them but represents the great financial and operative institutions. They are looking to Roosevelt for relief; but if Roosevelt straddles the fence they would just as soon have Hoover.¹⁰⁷⁵

McClatchy then was relieved with the vigor Roosevelt showed in the final months of the 1932 campaign. With the election rapidly approaching in September 1932, Governor Franklin Roosevelt visited Northern California, stopping in Sacramento for a rally, a speech, and tour of the city. The event was a triumph for the *Sacramento Bee* – both because McClatchy was an ardent supporter of Roosevelt's and also because it allowed the newspaper to laude its own advanced technological and news-gathering prowess. For two days the newspaper carried front

¹⁰⁷² Liebovich, 189.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Editorial, *Sacramento Bee*, July 2, 1932.

¹⁰⁷⁵ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, August 8, 1932, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1149, MNBC, SAMCC.

page stories and photographs of Roosevelt's visit, the president's entourage and the Sacramento and San Joaquin valley residents who turned out to glimpse the would-be president. On September 22, 1932 the newspaper carried a front page almost entirely dedicated to Roosevelt's visit to Northern California under the headline "Sacramento Welcomes Roosevelt", including two large photographs.



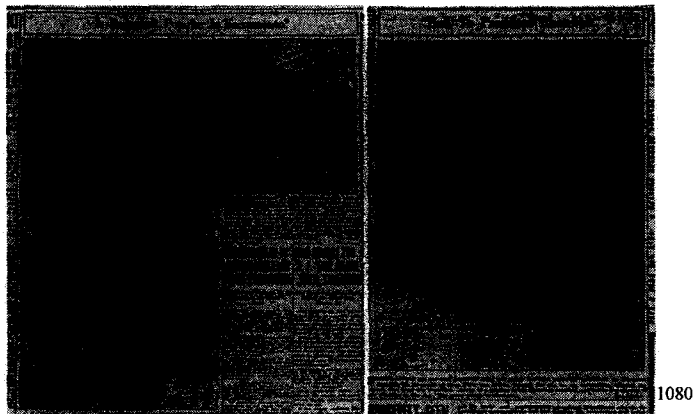
In the first photograph, crowds in Redding, California stretch around rail cars as far as the eye can see. In the second, Franklin Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, and others stand (FDR is holding on to the railings) on the back of a train car. The headline notes that "Redding Throng Applauds Governor Roosevelt". A caption explains that the photographs were taken that morning in Redding and sent down to Sacramento giving the newspaper the "first photographs of Governor Roosevelt and his party taken in California." A *Sacramento Bee* reporter, aboard Roosevelt's train, interviewed the candidate for a story about visiting California. By the time Roosevelt arrived in Sacramento, the *Bee* had hit the streets and Roosevelt was presented with a copy.¹⁰⁷⁷ The accompanying story quotes Roosevelt saying he is "indebted to the people of the great Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys" for their support and is "looking forward with

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Sacramento Welcomes Roosevelt: Redding Throng Applauds Governor Roosevelt", photographs, caption, and stories, *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1932.

¹⁰⁷⁷ "Sacramento Welcomes Roosevelt: Redding Throng Applauds Governor Roosevelt", photographs, caption, and stories, *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1932.

pleasure to meeting the people of Sacramento and surrounding communities this afternoon.” The newspaper goes on to note that “it is likely that Roosevelt will pay a compliment to Senator Hiram W. Johnson in Sacramento, in that Sacramento is the birthplace of Johnson, whom the New York governor, real and true Progressive that he is, admires greatly.”¹⁰⁷⁸ McClatchy, ever the Johnson supporter, could not resist tying his old friend closely to the president, despite the “R” behind Johnson’s name.¹⁰⁷⁹ Inside, the newspaper carried a full page transcription of a speech Roosevelt gave in Portland, Oregon, highlighting the national nature of economic problems, public ownership of utilities, and the role of government on behalf of the people.

But the veneration of Roosevelt in print did not end with one day of coverage. Because the *Bee* was an evening newspaper, photographs of the president’s late-afternoon arrival and tour of Sacramento had to be published the following day. On September 23, 1932, the paper ran equally comprehensive coverage of Roosevelt’s time in the city, including the entire text of a speech he gave and several photographs. Under the headline “Is Roosevelt Popular in Sacramento?” the newspaper carried two large photographs in an apparent response to the headline.



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¹⁰⁷⁸ “Sacramento Welcomes Roosevelt: Thousands Join in Greeting for Bourbon Leader”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1932.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Roosevelt himself highlighted the relationship in his speech at Redding, noting that Johnson was a native of Sacramento and a favorite in the valley, and a supporter of his candidacy. See, McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁸⁰ “Is Roosevelt Popular in Sacramento?” and “Hail to the President”, photographs, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 September 1932.

The first shows a train station depot even more packed – some 15,000 people turned out – than the previous day’s image from Redding. In the second, Roosevelt and his supporters stand on the platform of the governor’s private rail car as Roosevelt gives a speech and waves to the crowd. The caption notes that the visit was “a triumphant demonstration that warmed the heart of the Democratic presidential nominee”.¹⁰⁸¹ Inside, the newspaper carried two additional photographs and a caption that notes that the governor heard shouts of “‘you’re our next president’” as he drove through the city.¹⁰⁸² Stories that accompany the photographs, under the general headline “Thousands Here Give Roosevelt Royal Welcome”, claim Roosevelt will win all of Northern California and also give the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys importance in the national election. One story even quotes Roosevelt as approving of the *Bee*’s work in securing early photographs for the previous day’s edition. “‘They certainly know how to do things in a big way out here,’ he said.”¹⁰⁸³ McClatchy undoubtedly took it as a personal compliment and endorsement of the *Bee*.

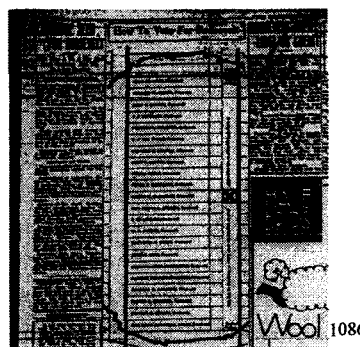
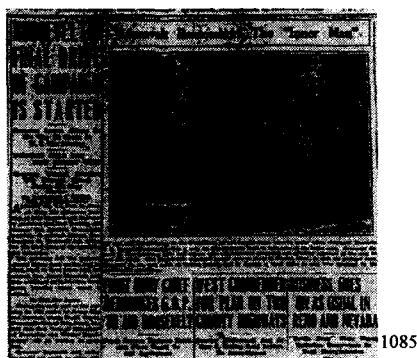
The endorsement of Roosevelt in the pages of the *Bee* did not end when FDR’s train pulled out of Sacramento. Instead, in the weeks that followed, the newspaper carried regular updates about Roosevelt’s campaigning, proposals, and movements across the country. The week before the election the newspaper carried a front page photograph of Roosevelt taking a big bite of a hot dog under the headline “Roosevelt Remembers The ‘Inner Man’”.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸¹ “Is Roosevelt Popular in Sacramento?” photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 September 1932.

¹⁰⁸² “Hail to the President”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 September 1932.

¹⁰⁸³ “Roosevelt Seen as Sure Winner Through North: Demonstrations in Valley and At Bay Stamp Democrat as Choice”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 23 September 1932.

¹⁰⁸⁴ “Roosevelt Remembers the ‘Inner Man’”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 November 1932.



The caption explains that “frankfurters were in order when Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt sandwiched in a stop on the Mohawk Trail to take care of the inner man.” A nearby story traces Roosevelt’s final push through New England and his expected landslide victory.¹⁰⁸⁷ A few days before the election the *Bee* even carried a “How To Vote For Roosevelt” graphic and story in the news pages (above, right).¹⁰⁸⁸ The graphic is a sample ballot that shows which members of the electoral college Sacramentans should vote for to be sure their vote is counted for the “Progressive Democratic nominee for president”. The paper ties Roosevelt to the older Progressive movement of Johnson and McClatchy, and made no effort to explain how voters go about voting for Hoover.¹⁰⁸⁹ Roosevelt was the only option as far as McClatchy and the *Bee* were concerned and it was made crystal clear through almost daily stories about how Roosevelt would help California and the foregone conclusion that he would win the general election. He was for the American people and all Sacramentans, good Americans that they were, would vote for him.

Hoover did not appear in the Sacramento area until the day before the election and coverage of his visit was not nearly as thorough. In fact, the photograph the *Bee* carried of Hoover was under a paper-wide headline “Roosevelt Trend In Early Returns”.

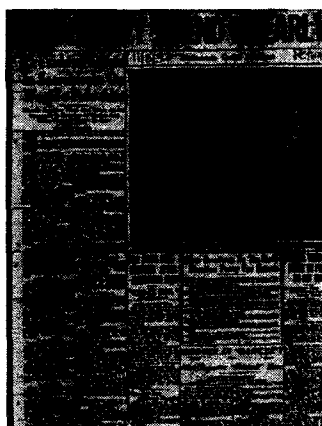
¹⁰⁸⁵ “Roosevelt Remembers the ‘Inner Man’”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 November 1932.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “How to Vote for Roosevelt”, graphic, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 November 1932.

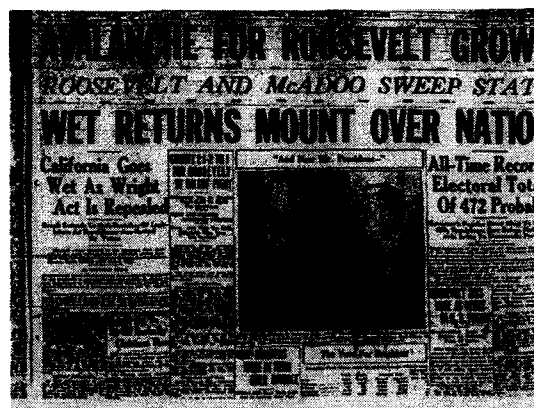
¹⁰⁸⁷ “Roosevelt’s Final Drive of Campaign is Started”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 November 1932.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “How to Vote for Roosevelt”, graphic, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 November 1932.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*



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While that was not actually the headline about Hoover's visit, it was hard to miss the implication – Hoover's visit to the Central Valley was a last-ditch effort of a desperate candidate. The photograph of Hoover shows the president grim-faced in front of a microphone.¹⁰⁹² No crowds are shown, no fanfare is reported, and no favorable coverage was given to the president. In fact, the story and headline explain that the president "appears tired and worn."¹⁰⁹³ And the newspaper did not go to an extra effort to ensure there would be photographs and stories in the newspaper the day of his visit. The story of Hoover's stop in Sacramento ran the following day, Election Day, amid early election results. In addition, the newspaper carried a story about a female high school reporter who was 'frisked' by members of Hoover's party when she arrived to interview the president for her high school newspaper.¹⁰⁹⁴ The story puts Hoover even further out of touch with common Americans. By the following day, the day after the election, coverage in the *Bee* was celebratory. Stacked, bold front-page headlines screamed that the "Avalanche for Roosevelt Grows" and that "Roosevelt and McAdoo Sweep State." A photograph shows Roosevelt smiling under the headline "And Now Mr. President ---."¹⁰⁹⁵ Adding to the celebration for McClatchy was the repeal of the Wright Act, overthrowing Prohibition in California. The

¹⁰⁹⁰ "Sacramento Greeted President", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 November 1932.

¹⁰⁹¹ "'And Now Mr. President ...'", photograph, *Sacramento Bee*, 9 November 1932.

¹⁰⁹² "Sacramento Greeted President", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 November 1932.

¹⁰⁹³ "President Stops in Sacramento On Way To Palo Alto: Hoover Appears Tired and Worn as he Responds to Greeting at Station and Rides Through Streets in Auto", story, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 November 1932.

¹⁰⁹⁴ "Hoover in 'Danger'? Girl Reporter 'Frisked' Here", story, *Sacramento Bee*, 8 November 1932.

¹⁰⁹⁵ "Avalanche For Roosevelt Grows", photograph, stories, captions, *Sacramento Bee*, 9 November 1932.

story quotes Hiram Johnson, “Progressive Republican” calling the election results a “political revolution by just the common people.”¹⁰⁹⁶

McClatchy believed Roosevelt would be a president for “all Americans.” As New Deal programs were introduced by Roosevelt and to Sacramentans in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*, a period of federal California emerged in the pages of the once fiercely California-centric newspaper. And while McClatchy would not survive through the end of the decade, his positive and “progressive” response to New Deal programs, his dedication to “Superior” California; and his white, heterogeneous vision of Americans shaped the way Americans saw each other and themselves in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* and McClatchy Newspapers throughout the decade. In 1932, with the election of Roosevelt, a federal California was born in the pages of the *Bee*. McClatchy and his staff worked tirelessly to promote New Deal programs and agencies in words and photographs as a return to true Americanness, for the benefit of all American citizens.

¹⁰⁹⁶ “California Goes Wet as Wright Act is Repealed: Revolt Extends to Both Branches of Legislature as Republicans are Routed by Voters”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 9 November 1932. Newspaper accounts of the primaries and elections included contradictory information and bias. For an account of how different newspapers reported the same “facts” during the primary and election season in 1931-1932 see Liebovich, pp183-189.

Chapter 13: Federal California

With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, C.K. McClatchy finally felt that California and America were on the road to recovery. As federal programs made their way into the Central Valley beginning in 1933, McClatchy's newspaper struck an optimistic tone designed to encourage the support of San Joaquin and Sacramento valley residents – the people of Superior California. The New Deal altered the role of the government in the daily lives of ordinary Americans, and it also altered the role of the government in California and Sacramento.¹⁰⁹⁷ After

¹⁰⁹⁷ There are hundreds of books about the New Deal and, in fact, Alan Brinkley in "Prosperity, Depression, and War", in Eric Foner, ed., *The New American History*, rev. ed (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), pp 133-158, argues that it has likely produced a larger literature than any other topic in twentieth century American history. One of the most important, though dated, works about the New Deal remains William Leuchtenburg's, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), who, while sympathetic to the aims of the programs and Roosevelt as a whole, views the New Deal as incomplete (the oft-quoted "halfway revolution") because it did not solve many problems and did not actually end the Great Depression. Leuchtenburg's analysis is still an accepted view of the New Deal among many historians. Other scholars, sometimes called the New Left, have focused on the limits of, and conservative nature of, the New Deal and the limits of reform efforts include: Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995); Barton J. Bernstein, "The New Deal" the Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform", in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, (New York: Knopf, 1968); Paul K. Conkin, *The New Deal* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM, 1967); Thomas Ferguson, "From Normalcy to New Deal: Industrial Structure, Party Competition, and American Public Policy in the Great Depression," *International Organization* 38 (1984), 41-94; Colin Gordon, *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935* (New York: Cambridge University press, 1994); Ronald Radosh, "The Myth of the New Deal" in Ronald Radosh and Murray Rothbard, eds., *A History of the Leviathan* (New York: Dutton, 1972; and Howard Zinn, ed., *New Deal Thought* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966). The classic traditional liberal account of the New Deal is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957-1960) who describes the New Deal era as the age of Roosevelt – dominated by the charismatic president who took from the rich and used the power of the federal government against corporate greed and out-of-control capitalism to take care of the common man. The collections by Steven Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, 1990) charts the successes within the New Deal, its legacy for the Democratic party and why and how it fell apart. Others, including Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the new Deal* (New York: Oxford University press, 1967) and Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), have argued that the New Deal's roots may be found in older, Progressive Era reform sentiments and for the importance of ongoing conversations across the Atlantic in shaping social policies in both Europe and the United States.

The New Deal and Franklin Roosevelt, however, are touchstones for contemporary politics and battles about ideology. The covers of magazines include *Time* and *Newsweek* and newspapers such as *The New York Times* have compared the economic conditions and need for a New Deal in 2009 to the 1930s. Yet, Roosevelt's image in popular memory, as Alan Brinkley explains in "The New Deal in American Scholarship" in Melvyn Stokes, ed., *The State of U.S. History* (London: Berg Publishers, 2003), has little to do with historian's work or views of him. While FDR was a controversial figure during his lifetime, popular perceptions of him today as an icon in American history are not terribly influenced by the work of scholars who see Roosevelt and the New Deal as bold politically, but with varying degrees of success and

years of *Bee*-reported federal inactivity, this new period of federal California was embraced by McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee*. Rather than resenting or resisting federal interference in state and local politics, the image of the federal government was transformed in the pages of the *Bee* beginning with Roosevelt's 1932 election.¹⁰⁹⁸ McClatchy's coverage of Roosevelt's administration, initiatives and programs was, on the whole, entirely favorable. The newspaper supported programs of the New Deal not just with approving editorials and columns, but by actively carrying photographs that allowed readers to see – to visualize – how the programs, agencies, and initiatives improved the lives of Californians and Americans. Moreover, the *Bee* encouraged the local government and local citizens to participate in New Deal programs and to welcome help. In short, *The Bee* provided a visual touchstone of the way New Deal programs worked in Superior California.

But more than that, the New Deal allowed McClatchy to use photographs to reinforce his long-held positions in favor of federal involvement in California. The programs of the New Deal appeared in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* as important programs that benefitted all Americans. They put America back to work and on the path toward prosperity. In the wake of the Depression and relief efforts, all Americans were in need and the newspaper promoted New Deal programs by visually demonstrating how they worked for Americans in California, without reference to immigration status or national origin or ethnicity, though, significantly, McClatchy's vision excluded Asian Americans and African Americans.

Not surprisingly, the New Deal and its programs were the subject of a heated public debate during the 1930s. Much of this debate took place in the mass media, including

still, generally, accept Leuchtenburg's basic arguments. Brinkley points out that there has never been an important scholarly critique of the New Deal from a conservative historian, but that conservative arguments have crept into liberal assessments of the New Deal including, David Kennedy's, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*, Oxford History of the United States (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001). Kennedy sees the New Deal as good, but tempers this by arguing that it also disrupted capitalist institutions, undermined business confidence, and discouraged investment. Moreover, Kennedy sees the New Deal as laying the groundwork for capitalist expansion and a reluctance to impose regulations on business, industry and trade in the post World War II period.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See previous chapter for a description of Roosevelt's campaign and election in the pages of the *Bee*.

newspapers. The role of the press and its relationship with Roosevelt, particularly newspapers and the Washington press corps, was complicated.¹⁰⁹⁹ The press engaged in the debate with a vigor that previously did not characterize its coverage of the national legislative agenda.¹¹⁰⁰ And while there was many in the press opposed Roosevelt and the New Deal, he was initially popular among Washington correspondents, particularly during the critical first years of his presidency. For DC reporters FDR's appeal was personal: he was more open with them, they didn't have to submit questions in writing before press conferences, and he established a rapport using humor and optimism.¹¹⁰¹ Yet, Roosevelt remained highly unpopular with newspaper owners, publishers, and

¹⁰⁹⁹ There are several works about the press and newspapers relationships with Franklin Roosevelt. See: Gary Dean Best, *The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press versus Presidential Power, 1933-1938* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993) describes the critical press – those that did not support the New Deal – as an important check on the expansion of government power and, at times, as more liberal than the reactionaries that they were painted as by New Dealers and liberals of the era; Margaret A. Blanchard, “Press Criticism and National Reform Movements: The Progressive Era and the New Deal”, *Journalism History*, V (Summer 1978), 33; Daniel Boorstin, “Selling the President to the People: The Direct Democracy of Public Relations”, *Commentary* 20 (1955), 421-7 argues that Roosevelt used public relations tactics with the Washington press corps; Daniel Boorstin, *The Image” A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1987, 1961) also argues that Roosevelt was a master of creating news and “pseudo-events” by highlighting the way he used the press in press conferences (elevating them to events of national importance), off the record comments, trial balloons of information, and created news; Linda Lotridge Levin, *The Making of FDR: The Story of Stephen T. Early, America's First Modern Press Secretary* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2008) argues that Early was an important figure in Roosevelt's White House and helped shape the way Roosevelt communicated with the American people, including how he was depicted to the people – as an optimistic, lively president; James R. McGovern, *And A Time for Hope: Americans in the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001, 2000) claims FDR was the first president to use “media-made psychological politics” and that the media and Roosevelt had a complicated and mutually beneficial relationship; Robert W. McChesney, “Franklin Roosevelt, His Administration and the Communications Act of 1934,” *American Journalism*, V (1988), 204; Richard W. Steele, *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933-1941* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) looks at FDR's obsession with the media and examines his tumultuous relationship with the print press as well as his close relationships with broadcast, radio and film media; Betty Houchin Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (New York: University of Illinois Press, 1994) examines how FDR's relationship with the media began as open and gradually became more secretive during his presidency. It also considers the ways Roosevelt managed the media; Betty Houchin Winfield, “FDR's Pictorial Image” Rules and Boundaries,” *Journalism History*, V (Winter 1978-9), 110; Betty Houchin Winfield, “The New Deal Publicity Operation,” *Journalism Quarterly*, LXI (Spring 1984), 40; and Graham J. White, *F.D.R. and the Press* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) traces Roosevelt's courting of the press and his claims that the printed press treated him unfairly, finding that Roosevelt's claims were not entirely true and were likely politically motivated in an effort to drum up support from the “common man”.

¹¹⁰⁰ For a discussion of this see, Sloan, *The Media in America*, pp 330-332.

¹¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

editors. McClatchy and McClatchy Newspapers were in the minority when they endorsed Roosevelt in 1932 and in 1936.¹¹⁰²

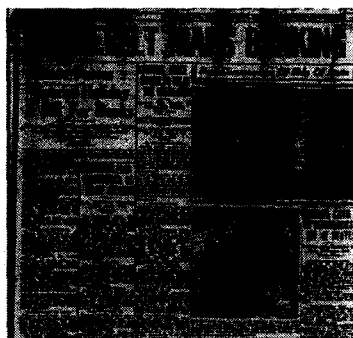
Despite McClatchy's obvious bias for Roosevelt and the policies of the New Deal, McClatchy prevented his employees from participating in political or fundraising causes because he wanted to maintain the appearance that the *Sacramento Bee* was an independent voice. McClatchy banned his employees from service on political committees and political campaigns, and prohibited them from serving as officers in any clubs which might be mentioned in the *Bee*. Even more, employees were not allowed to solicit funds from the public for any reason, including war efforts, the Red Cross, and other causes considered "good."¹¹⁰³ Yet these very same

¹¹⁰² For general works dealing with the press between the wars and the press and the Great Depression and New Deal, see: Benjamin L. Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s–1950s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); John F. Bauman and Thomas H. Coode, *In the Eye of the Great Depression: New Deal Reporters and the Agony of the American People* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1988); Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens, eds., *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918–1941* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984) collection looks at the relationship between the media and American culture between World War I and World War II; Robert W. Desmond, *Crisis and Conflict: World News Reporting Between Two Wars, 1920–1940* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1982); Lynn D. Gordon, "Why Dorothy Thompson Lost Her Job: Political Columnists and the Press Wars of the 1930s and 1940s." *History of Education Quarterly* 34:3 (Autumn 1994): 281–303; Susan Herbst, "Assessing Public Opinion in the 1930s–1940s: Retrospective Views of Journalists." *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (1990): 943–49; Lee A. Gray, "The Forgotten Man: The Rhetorical Construction of Class and Classlessness in Depression Era Media" (PhD dissertation, Ohio University, 2003); Gwenyth L. Jackaway, *Media at War: Radio's Challenge to the Newspapers, 1924–1939*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995); Bill Kirkpatrick, "Localism in American Media, 1920–1934" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2006); Kevin A. Kreiner, "The Age of Supermen: Fascism, Democracy, and the Perception of the Heroic in the Mass Media, 1914–1945." PhD dissertation, University of Dallas, 2003; Daniel J. Leab, *A Union of Individuals: The Formation of the American Newspaper Guild, 1933–1936* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); George E. Lott, "The Press-Radio War of the 1930s." *Journal of Broadcasting* 14 (Summer 1970): 275–286; Charles L. Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure: Human Interest Journalism and the Emergence of Celebrity in America, 1890–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); William David Sloan, "The Media in Trying Times: Propagandists, Patriots, or Professionals?" *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991); Leonard Ray Teel, *The Public Press, 1900–1945* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006); Wiley Lee Umphlett, *The Visual Focus of American Media: The Modern Era, 1893–1945* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2004); and David Welky, *Everything Was Better in America: Print Culture in the Great Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

¹¹⁰³ Employees on Committees, Eleanor McClatchy, October 15, 1943, McClatchy Historical: Corporate Policies, Box 26, Folder 866, MNBC, SAMCC. Eleanor McClatchy wrote the memo that reinforced the policy of her predecessors. She also writes in the introduction to the memo, "Here is the rule made long ago by C.K. and modeled on a former one of James McClatchy. It seems to have worked well through the years and helped keep the papers free from entanglement."

organizations, politicians, and causes received unilateral support in the news and editorial pages of the *Sacramento Bee*.

When Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, the *Bee* covered the event with understated optimism, dedicating more space to the Bank Holiday and reforms Roosevelt ordered than to the actually inaugural ceremony.



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In the evening edition on the day of the inauguration, the newspaper carried two front page photographs of Roosevelt, one with incoming vice-president John Nance Garner and one with Hoover. The portrait of Garner and Roosevelt is a close-up photograph of the two men, their faces marked by shadows. The second photograph shows Hoover and Roosevelt in the back of a car on their way to the inauguration. Roosevelt looks off to the side and smiles slightly, Hoover stares straight ahead with an unreadable expression on his face.¹¹⁰⁵ The accompanying story, under the headline “Leader To Seek Authority Equal to Time of War,” outlines how Roosevelt took the oath and explained his plans to meet the national emergency.¹¹⁰⁶ The photographs and stories reiterate that Roosevelt is a president for the common people and will be an activist president. This is underscored by the main story, and indeed the page-width headline, about Roosevelt’s banking reforms. Under the headline “Roosevelt Maps Banking Reforms”, the stories highlight how the bank holiday will work on both the national and local level, and ultimately

¹¹⁰⁴ “New Commanders of Ship and State”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 March 1933.

¹¹⁰⁵ “New Commanders of Ship and State”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 March 1933.

¹¹⁰⁶ “Leader To Seek Authority Equal to Time of War”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 March 1933.

improve conditions for common Americans.¹¹⁰⁷ During the next several days, the *Bee* carried articles explaining why the banking holiday was necessary and how the federal government was using the time. The paper covered a range of issues from banks that operated on a limited basis during the holiday to the federal legislation Roosevelt pushed through giving him increased authority to the controversy about legislation protecting consumer's bank deposits.¹¹⁰⁸ By the next week, the *Sacramento Bee* carried stories about how bank executives praised both Roosevelt and the *Bee* for reestablishing public confidence in the bank. Banks recorded more than \$500,000 in new deposits in the two days following the financial holiday, according to the *Bee*.¹¹⁰⁹ McClatchy was quick to highlight the newspaper's role in increasing public confidence and the stories carried by the newspaper promoted the welfare and financial stability of common Sacramentans, not wealth and business interests.

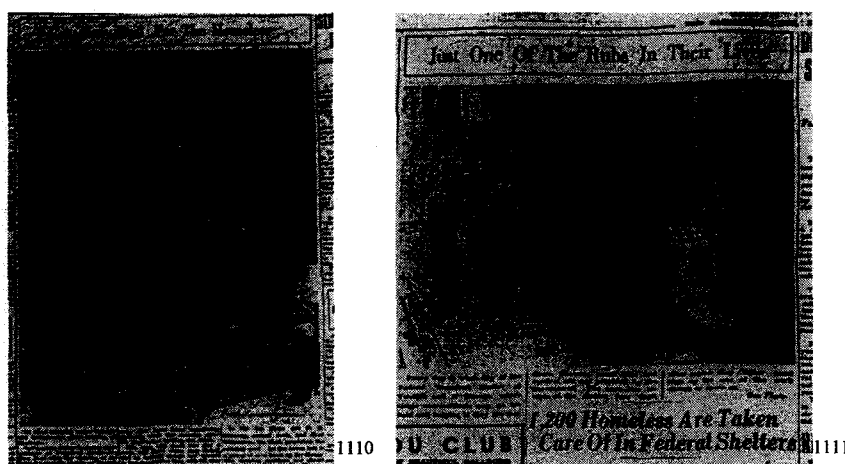
While the banks and the federal financial situation did make the pages of the *Bee*, most of the stories about the New Deal centered on programs on the ground in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys designed to provide aid to the common, hard-working Americans who McClatchy most concerned himself with in newsprint. Among the biggest issues for Superior California were joblessness and homelessness. McClatchy's newspaper continued to highlight labor issues and the conditions in which people worked and lived throughout the 1930s. But more than that, the newspaper chronicled the ways that federal programs made inroads toward improving circumstances for everyday Americans. McClatchy's newspaper did not highlight regional or ethnic origins, except in the case of Asians and Asian Americans, when drawing attention to these issues. Instead, the experiences of these people were the experiences of all Americans. McClatchy's newspapers visualized this by using photographs that universalized the experiences, showing both young and old, men and women, and people from a variety of backgrounds.

¹¹⁰⁷ "Roosevelt Maps Banking Reforms", stories, *Sacramento Bee*, 4 March 1933.

¹¹⁰⁸ See newspapers from March 6-10, 1933. Also see newspapers from 13-16 March 1933.

¹¹⁰⁹ "Deposits Break All Records in Banks of City", story, *Sacramento Bee*, 16 March 1933.

The *Sacramento Bee* hailed the arrival of federal shelters for men and for women and children in its pages by portraying the improved living conditions, cleanliness, and wholesome “Americanness” of the federally funded emergency housing. The shelters, according to the *Bee*, offered Americans a chance to get back on their feet and were not shameful or subject to ridicule. Everyone was vulnerable during the Depression, a point the *Sacramento Bee* made regularly in photographs of families, in editorials advocating New Deal programs, and in stories that slanted issues to favor success stories and hope.



In January 1934, as the first federal shelter for men opened at 12th and “B” streets in Sacramento, the newspaper carried three large photographs under the headline “A New Deal for the Homeless”. The photographs show images from the new shelter, including one of the cook and chef preparing an evening meal, one of a group of people lined up for the meal, and one of a few men in the sleeping quarters. The photographs show an orderly, clean place for people who are down on their luck to receive aid. Moreover, the images serve as evidence in the newspaper of McClatchy’s claims that federal aid was essential for helping the Sacramento region. These people once, according to the caption, resided under bridges and in Hoovervilles.¹¹¹² And, it is also significant that the images show men in line for a hot meal in January, one of the coldest

¹¹¹⁰ “A New Deal for the Homeless”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 January 1934.

¹¹¹¹ “Just One of the Rubs in Their Lives”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 July 1935.

¹¹¹² “A New Deal for the Homeless”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 January 1934.

months in Northern California's Central Valley. The photographs visualize for readers the success of the New Deal. The headline attunes readers to the New Deal and to Roosevelt's role in providing aid to Americans. Likewise, when the newspaper carried a photograph of the same shelter 18 months later, the tone was just as laudatory. In the photograph, men are shown washing and hanging clothing. Again, the shelter is clean and by showing the men cleaning their clothing the photograph serves as evidence that the men are clean and working hard. The caption explains that "showers, wash tubs, and medical aid are provided by the government" and indicates that the residents must take jobs in order to stay at the shelter.¹¹¹³ The text reinforces the idea that the federally-funded shelter provides the men with a place to live, encourages cleanliness and order, and makes sure that the men work in exchange for food and housing. McClatchy made clear in his editorials and columns that the men who were out of work were not lazy or unwilling, but instead were not given opportunities as a consequence of the Depression.¹¹¹⁴ McClatchy's personal views, that the federal government's help was needed and successful, played out in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* in flattering photographs and descriptive captions.¹¹¹⁵ In fact, the newspaper carried stories about the federally-funded transient shelter at 12th and "B" streets nearly monthly from its January 1934 opening through the end of 1935. Stories included items about food, voluntary fingerprinting, and Christmas celebrations at the shelter. The stories were in sharp contrast to stories carried before New Deal programs arrived in Sacramento. At that time, stories focused on the way the city, state, and federal government failed.¹¹¹⁶ Sacramento and its people were re-envisioned as an important part of the United States as they worked in federal

¹¹¹³ "Just One of the Rubs in Their Lives", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 5 July 1935.

¹¹¹⁴ See McClatchy's note to Hiram Johnson quoted on page 59: C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, February 19, 1931, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1148, MNBC, SAMCC

¹¹¹⁵ This is detailed in the "Transient California" chapter. For more coverage of the men's transient shelter, see also the *Sacramento Bees* from: 15 February 1934, 28-29 March 1934, 29 May 1934, 17 October 1934, 18 December 1934, 28 December 1934, 5 February 1935, 13 March 1935, 2 April 1935, 8 and 18 May 1935, 9 August 1935, and 13 December 1935.

¹¹¹⁶ See, for example, stories, editorials, and photographs that the *Sacramento Bee* carried on 9 and 20-22 January 1931, 21-28 February 1931, 7 and 17 October 1931, 4 November 1931, 7, 14, and January 1932, 29 February 1932, and 17 November 1932.

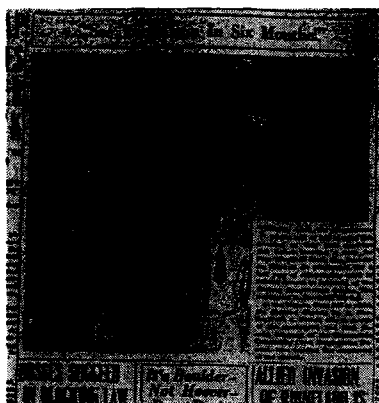
projects, supported the New Deal, and turned their attention toward building a more promising tomorrow for themselves and the country as a whole.

One of Roosevelt's early New Deal programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps, received high praise in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* for putting honest American boys to work in an effort to beautify and improve Superior California.¹¹¹⁷ The program was pushed through on March 12, 1933, and by May of that year Sacramento was already home to a CCC headquarters and local boys were already on their way to the high Sierras to work.¹¹¹⁸ The *Bee* carried two photographs in honor of the first batch of young men to leave the city on May 18, 1933 as part of the CCC. The headline is optimistic: "See You Again In Six Months!" and the men in the photograph appear happy and healthy. The caption explains that the headline is "what 116 Sacramento youths said or had in mind this morning as they bade good-bye just before boarding a train for Fort Wingfield Scott, San Francisco, there to be conditioned for a half year of reforestation work in Sierra forests ..."¹¹¹⁹

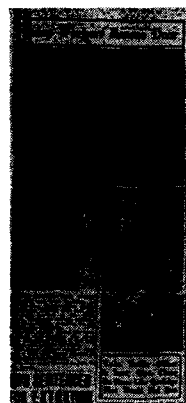
¹¹¹⁷ There are several books about the Civilian Conservation Corps: Most recently, Neil M. Maher's, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) argues that Roosevelt was deeply influenced by Progressive Era politics and that the CCC came out of this legacy of conservation concerns, but, more importantly, it also shaped the modern American environmental movement and state and national parks throughout the 20th century. Robert J. Pasquill, Jr.'s, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Alabama, 1933-1942* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008) traces the importance of the CCC in resurrecting parks in Alabama by looking at the daily lives and work of the men hired there. It is one of numerous state-focused studies that chronicle the impact of the CCC in specific regions. Olen Cole's *The African American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999) considers the role and importance of the more than 200,000 African American men who worked for the CCC.

¹¹¹⁸ At its peak in 1935 the CCC employed more than 500,000 young men between the ages of 17 and 27. FDR saw the program as a volunteer army that would work on federal lands for nine months at a time. The Civilian Conservation Corps was similar in terms of target group to today's California Conservation Corps.

¹¹¹⁹ "See You Again In Six Months", photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 May 1933. See also, *Sacramento Bee* from 18 May 1933, 27 May 1933, 30 May 1933, and 7 November 1933.



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These young Americans, down on their luck, were given the chance to enhance their own situation and, in the process, also improve the landscape of California. Within days, the newspaper reported the praise heaped on the Sacramento youth by officials of the CCC. The youth were called the “finest group of ‘recruits’ gathered thus far in California”, according to the article. The story also quotes extensively from letters written by Sacramento-area corps members explaining how they spend their days hiking, exercising, and swimming in preparation for work in the Sierras and how they are growing healthier with the exercise and work, and gaining weight as a consequence of the constant, filling diet.¹¹²² The lives of the men recruited to the camps were of great interest to McClatchy and his editors. They presented the training done by the young men as positive; the men gained weight and learned discipline and health. In the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*, the CCC was an agency that put young men to work improving both the national landscape, but also themselves. Moreover, those young men in training for CCC work from Sacramento were praised as being the “finest” in the state. This certainly reinforced McClatchy’s view of Sacramento and its people. The newspaper followed the men closely throughout 1933, and ran regular photographs of the camp where they lived in the Sierra Nevada and images of some of the work they did in the region.¹¹²³ In July CCC volunteers from

¹¹²⁰ “See You Again In Six Months”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 May 1933

¹¹²¹ “Camp Workers Rescue Deer”, photographs and caption, 15 July 1933, *Sacramento Bee*.

¹¹²² “Sacramento Youths Enlisted As Forest Workers Win Praise,” story, *Sacramento Bee*, 27 May 1933.

¹¹²³ See, for example, the photograph of the Nevada County Civilian Camp in the May 30, 1933 edition of the *Sacramento Bee* that show temporary tents in place for CCC workers.

Sacramento rescued an injured doe from a ravine. The *Bee* carried two large photographs that showed the young men rescuing the deer through teamwork and then posing with the animal.¹¹²⁴ The images show young, healthy men working together and paint a positive image of the work being done by the CCC. Again, the newspaper visualized the New Deal workers as true Americans, and by extension made the New Deal and Franklin Roosevelt's programs synonymous with Americanness.

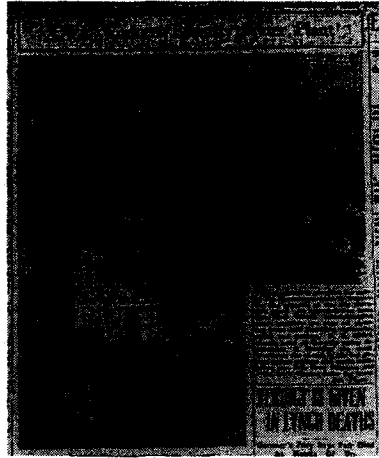
The CCC was not the only program centered on putting Americans back to work that the *Sacramento Bee* highlighted with laudatory editorials, stories and photographs. After the Civil Works Administration was established in November 1934, the *Sacramento Bee* dedicated numerous stories to the agency's work, employment of local Sacramento people, and, finally, demise.¹¹²⁵ The results of CWA work gave McClatchy and the *Sacramento Bee* the chance to draw attention to the agency's success, and by extension, the success of Roosevelt's administration and New Deal agencies. In early 1934 the newspaper carried photographs of CWA members working at Sacramento's water plant (below, left). In one photograph, lines of men with shovels work to shore up the grounds at the filtration plant. In another photograph, two men dig holes for trees. The caption explains that "employment is provided for nearly 100 Sacramento men in improving the grounds at the city filtration plant. An appropriation from the Civil Works Administration made possible the plan of planting trees and installing sidewalks, curbs and gutters."¹¹²⁶ This emphasis on work and improvement gave Americans a pride in their jobs and in working for the government, rather than being relief recipients and charity cases. CWA workers were a "work force" and categorized as federal employees rather than as recipients of "work

¹¹²⁴ "Camp Workers Rescue Deer", photographs and caption, July 15, 1933, *Sacramento Bee*.

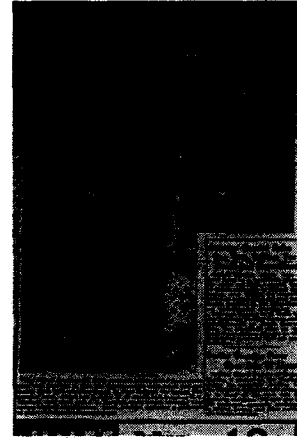
¹¹²⁵ Bonnie Fox Schwartz, *The Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934: The Business of Emergency Employment in the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) charts the rise and fall of the CWA. The agency was funded in the fall of 1933 when Roosevelt and his advisors came to the conclusion that work was needed to get the country through the winter of 1933-34 because public construction projects took time and planning to implement. Schwartz argues that the CWA was more than just a stop-gap, instead viewing it as a unique program designed to put Americans to work without the stigma of charity attached.

¹¹²⁶ "CWA Workers Beautify Water Plant", photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 27 January 1934. See also, *Sacramento Bee* editions from 1 January 1934 and 16 February 1934.

relief.”¹¹²⁷ The CWA was praised by workers, New Deal and local government officials, and retail merchants.¹¹²⁸



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But the CWA came under attack from both the left by people who felt it did not do enough and from the right by people who felt it was inefficient, under-mind business, and was too expensive. Social workers felt they were cast aside from their role as distributors of federal relief and the business community felt that work relief was competitive and hurting American businesses.¹¹³¹ Federal officials capitulated and began scaling back the CWA in late January 1934 and eliminated plans to make the agency permanent. The tension about the CWA played out in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee*, culminating with photographs on March 30, 1934 showing CWA workers turning in their tools. In one image three men survey hundreds of empty wheelbarrows. In the second image workers unload trucks of picks, shovels and other equipment. The caption explains that the “federal government’s CWA program, which netted Sacramento more than \$1,000,000 in jobs and improvements, came to an end yesterday when 1,400 workmen

¹¹²⁷ Schwartz argues that while the CWA pumped more than \$1 billion of purchasing power into the economy its most important and lasting legacy was the pride employees took in working for the government rather than being on relief. Schwartz also points out that the CWA fundamentally altered the role of social workers who claimed that proper case-work counseling was cast aside and their role as dispensers of federal aid was usurped.

¹¹²⁸ Nancy E. Rose, *Put to Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*, (New York: Cornerstone Books, 1994), pp.63-66.

¹¹²⁹ “CWA Workers Beautify Water Plant”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 27 January 1934

¹¹³⁰ “CWA Workers Turn in Their Tools”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 30 March 1934.

¹¹³¹ Schwartz, 215.

turned in their tools” (above, right).¹¹³² Together the caption and photographs make the *Bee*’s position clear: the money pumped into the region in jobs and improvements worked and empty wheelbarrows and unused tools are the true waste, not the CWA. Sacramento needed the relief to an astonishing degree, according to the *Bee*. Anti-New Deal feeling was strong among corporate leaders in the state and relief programs were constantly delayed because of political machinations. Relief allowances in Sacramento County were \$4 to \$5 a month for a family and were allocated by county supervisors on a patronage/political basis.¹¹³³ McClatchy knew this and continued to advocate for federal programs that bypassed corrupt regional leaders and government officials.

By the time the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established in 1935 the *Sacramento Bee* had supported New Deal work programs for two years and editors regularly advocated for a new jobs program to bring relief to California’s suffering Americans.¹¹³⁴ But the time between the CWA folding and WPA programs reaching Americans was devastating. In May of 1934, just as the CWA workers in Sacramento relinquished their tools, the worst of the dust storms that ravaged the Midwest from 1932-34 hit, sending more than 350 million tons of dirt into the sky. The jet stream carried the dust so far that it fell like snow in Chicago. In Washington, D.C. street lamps had to be turned on at noon. Following the May storm, a summer heat set in that knocked the already drought-ridden Midwest to its knees. The Federal Emergency Relief Act, founded in 1933 to provide immediate, emergency grants to states for relief projects, attempted to quell the situation with grants for irrigation projects, the purchase of starving farm animals, and other stopgap measures. But, these efforts were not enough and as 1934 went on former CWA director Harry Hopkins and his staff drafted new jobs programs and presented them

¹¹³² “CWA Workers Turn in Their Tools”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 30 March 1934.

¹¹³³ Bauman and Coode, *In the Eye of the Great Depression: New Deal Reporters and the Agony of the American People*, p. 180.

¹¹³⁴ See, for example, the *Sacramento Bee* from 31 January 1935 when the newspaper cited data showing that job placements in the state were down more than 89 percent from the year before. Likewise, by 1935 thousands of Midwestern emigrants flooded into California in search of jobs.

to Roosevelt.¹¹³⁵ In April 1935 the WPA was introduced to Americans and Harry Hopkins was put in charge of its operations. The *Bee* carried stories marking WPA's arrival federally and in California and regularly highlighted its move into the greater Sacramento area.¹¹³⁶ Before WPA-sponsored programs arrived in California, the newspaper carried regular features about the bureaucracy, the proposed regional projects, and who would be eligible for employment.¹¹³⁷ In August 1935, the *Bee* estimated that more than 4,500 people in Sacramento would immediately be eligible for relief work programs from the WPA.¹¹³⁸ Because many of the projects were long-term improvement and building sites many were not completed until the middle of 1936. As projects were completed, despite C.K. McClatchy's death, the newspaper stayed true to McClatchy's vision and carried celebratory photographs.

In mid-1936 the *Sacramento Bee* carried four photographs celebrating the work of older Americans on WPA projects, recasting them as important contributors to the bettering of America, rather than a burden on taxpayers and society.

¹¹³⁵ Nick Taylor, *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA: When FDR Put the Nation to Work* (New York: Bantam, 2008), pp 143-145.

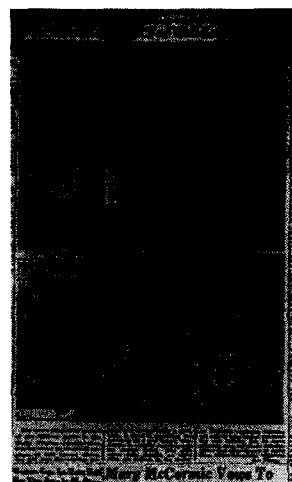
¹¹³⁶ The most recent work on the WPA, Nick Taylor, *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA: When FDR Put the Nation to Work* (New York: Bantam, 2008), takes the position that while the WPA was flawed in management and application, it overall was successful because it put the unemployed to work, gave people hope, and infused the nation with energy. Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA, emerges as the hero of Taylor's narrative and FDR is seen as somewhat oblivious to the ways that his court-packing scheme would spark anger and how his 1937 plan to cut spending sent the United States into another recession. Scholars have examined many aspects of the WPA's specific programs and impacts on particular regions of the country. See, for example, most recently works on the art, theatre and writer's projects of the WPA by: Susan Quinn, *Furious Improvisation: How the WPA and a Cast of Thousands Made High Art Out of Desperate Times* (New York: Walker and Company, 2008); David A. Taylor, *Soul of a People: The WPA Writer's Project Uncovers Depression America* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, 2009); and Victoria Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

¹¹³⁷ See *Sacramento Bee* editions from May-September 1935, including, 22 June 1935, 23 June 1935, 3-4, and 23 July 1935, 8 and 22 August 1935, 4-10, 23, and 30 September 1935, 10 October 1935, 12 and 24 November 1935, and 14 December 1935.

¹¹³⁸ *Sacramento Bee*, 8 August 1935.



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Under the headline, “Oldsters Build WPA Projects” the photographs capture men working outdoors on structures in Elk Grove, just south of Sacramento, for the State Department of Fish and Game and Forestry.¹¹⁴¹ The caption explains the men’s age has “not at any time proved an obstacle to the success of the projects”. The men are praised in the story for their “industry” and “efficiency”. Moreover, many of the men – drawn from the ranks of transients and homeless in the region – were skilled laborers, saving the government the cost of training them.¹¹⁴² The men, whose average age is over 50, are not decrepit elderly people who need to be taken care of by society. Instead, thanks to the New Deal opportunities, they are vigorous contributors visualized as hearty, healthy Americans in the pages of the *Bee*. Not bad when you consider life expectancy for men and women born in 1930 was about 60 years, an increase of nearly 15 years from 1900.¹¹⁴³ The men are part of an aging population the United States had never faced before. The photographs in the *Bee* show these men as belonging to America and as

¹¹³⁹ “Oldsters Build WPA Projects: Men Beyond 50 Erect Thirty WPA Buildings”, story, photographs, and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 June 1936.

¹¹⁴⁰ “Future Employes [sic] for Well-Kept Homes”, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 November 1936.

¹¹⁴¹ “Oldsters Build WPA Projects: Men Beyond 50 Erect Thirty WPA Buildings”, story, photographs, and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 June 1936.

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴³ National Center for Health Statistics, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, vol. 54, no. 19, June 28, 2006. Retrieved from :www.cdc.gov/nchs on June 29, 2009 and National Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 56, No. 9, December 28, 2007. Retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/hus08.pdf#026> on June 29, 2009.

having the capacity to contribute in positive ways.¹¹⁴⁴ A few months later the newspaper turned its attention to a WPA project targeting the other end of the age spectrum. Under the headline “Future Employes [sic] For Well-Kept Homes,” three photographs show students at the WPA training center for household employees. In the first image girls run a washing machine and iron shirts. In the other two photographs girls receive cooking lessons in a kitchen. All the students are dressed in neat aprons and have their hair tucked up under white caps. The caption explains that the girls are “taken from families on relief rolls, are trained, in the center, as domestic employes [sic], learning not only to take care of the cooking and laundry but to serve properly, care for floors and furniture ...”¹¹⁴⁵ Again, the newspaper expands the notion of who may contribute and help improve the economic situation. These children are willing to be trained in order to help their families escape from the relief rolls. And the WPA and other work programs, according to the *Bee* are what make this transition possible and build a stronger America.

In addition to support for job creation programs, the *Sacramento Bee* also supported the National Recovery Administration, part of June 1933’s National Industrial Recovery Act. McClatchy and his newspaper cast support for the NRA as patriotic and American. The programs of the National Recovery administration, including those in which business, labor, and government established voluntary prices, production levels, minimum wages, work hours, and the right of worker’s to join unions were in harmony with McClatchy’s views on how to stall the corruption of big business and protect ordinary American workers. In July 1933 the newspaper carried a reproduction of the eagle participating industries displayed.



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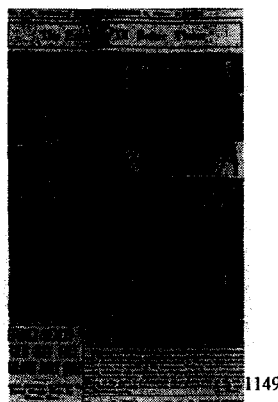
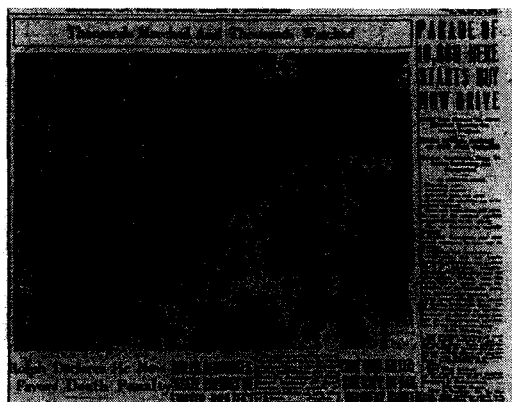
¹¹⁴⁴ See also photographs in the *Sacramento Bee* from 12 September 1936 showing state buildings constructed as part of a WPA project.

¹¹⁴⁵ “Future Employes [sic] for Well-Kept Homes”, *Sacramento Bee*, 26 November 1936.

¹¹⁴⁶ “Roosevelt’s Message Calls for Co-operation”, story and radio address text, and “Industry’s Honor Badge”, photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 July 1933.

The image ran alongside the text of one of Roosevelt's radio addresses that outlined the president's industrial recovery plan. The caption for the eagle graphic notes that "the American red, white, and blue is the coloring of the 'badge of honor' which employers cooperating in the national recovery movement will display in their windows and on their goods ... at the top in huge red blocks are the letters "NRA", which stand for national recovery administration. The word "member in blue comes directly under this, while at the bottom of the badge a brilliant red line says 'We Do Our Part'"¹¹⁴⁷.

The *Sacramento Bee* did its part as well with photographs and encouraging stories and editorials designed to boost and support the National Recovery Administration's programs and tie participation directly to patriotism and Americanness. In October 1933 the newspaper carried a large front page photograph of a parade designed to promote a "Buy Now" drive.



In the photograph, Sacramentans line the streets five and six people deep to watch the procession. National Guardsmen are shown marching between the hundreds of spectators along downtown Sacramento's streets.¹¹⁵⁰ Alongside the photograph the *Bee* carried a story about the 30,000 people who lined downtown streets to celebrate the "recovery progress." In addition, the

¹¹⁴⁷ "Roosevelt's Message Calls for Co-operation", story and radio address text, and "Industry's Honor Badge", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 July 1933.

¹¹⁴⁸ "Thousands Marched and Thousands Watched", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 October 1933.

¹¹⁴⁹ "The Evidence of Better Times", photographs and captions, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1933.

¹¹⁵⁰ "Thousands Marched and Thousands Watched", photograph and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 October 1933.

story notes that “marching men – marching women – marching boys and girls. A whole city marching – on to industrial recovery. That was Sacramento last night in one of the greatest patriotic demonstrations in history.”¹¹⁵¹ The parade is patriotic and to participate is to show your support for the recovery of the entire nation. For McClatchy and his staff, supporting the programs of the New Deal was a way to display your national belonging.¹¹⁵² And the newspaper visualized the belonging of Sacramentans by showing them lined up for the parade and working for a better America. The story gives the NRA parade as much importance as any Fourth of July celebration and casts support for industrial recovery as the most patriotic way Americans can exhibit their dedication to the country. The *Bee* visualized this belonging by devoting the front page of the newspaper to the people who participated in the parade. Likewise, the *Bee* carried several stories promoting shopping in Sacramento during the 1933 winter season. Participating in the economy – buying goods and patronizing NRA-participating merchants – signaled devotion to the United States’ recovery. It was a concrete way to express your belonging and the *Bee* did its part to promote it as such.¹¹⁵³

When businesses did not do its part, the *Sacramento Bee* was quick to point out the failure. In August 1934, the *Bee* carried a story about Pacific Gas & Electric Company, the state’s largest utility company, failing to abide by all parts of the National Recovery Administration programs. PG&E was found to have discharged three Sacramento-area workers in violation of the reemployment agreement they signed with the NRA. Moreover, the employees were discharged “because of their activities in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers” labor

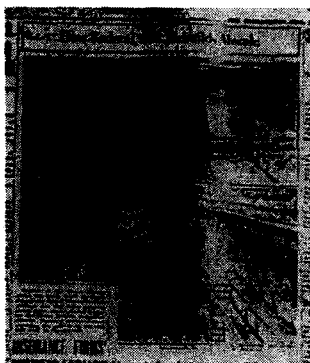
¹¹⁵¹ “Parade of 10,000 Here Starts Buy Now Drive: 30,000 Line Streets to Cheer Marchers Showing Recovery Progress”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 13 October 1933.

¹¹⁵² See also, *Sacramento Bee* editions from 10-12 October 1933

¹¹⁵³ See, “The Evidence of Better Times”, photographs and captions, *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1933. The photographs show shoppers, loaded up with packages in Sacramento’s downtown shopping district and patronizing stores in the area. See also, *Bee* editions from 3 March 1934 and 6 July 1935 and 3 October 1935.

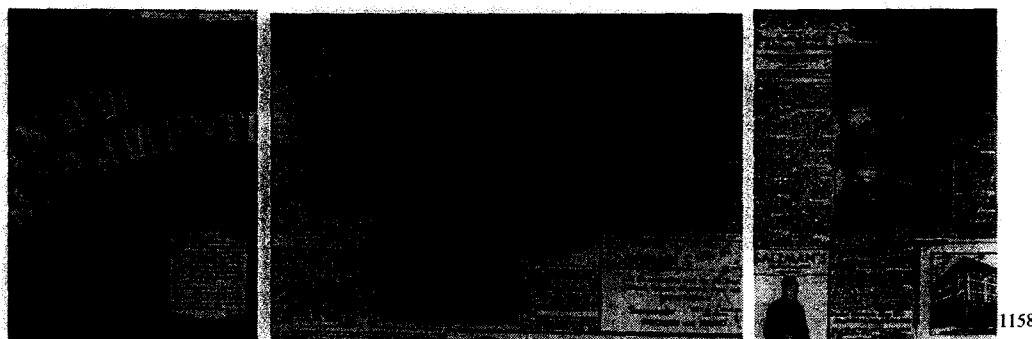
union.¹¹⁵⁴ Even two years in, by which time it was apparent that the programs of the NRA were not living up to hopes, the *Bee* carried stories applauding the efforts of area businesses that upheld the agreements.¹¹⁵⁵

The *Sacramento Bee* also supported federal building and projects and ongoing development in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys throughout the Great Depression, casting it as an optimistic investment in a better future for all Americans. In June 1935 the newspaper carried two photographs under the headline “How Federal Aid Rebuilds Morale”.



One of the photographs shows workers laying new pipe for the Citrus Heights Irrigation District. The other shows a man repairing the gutters on Sacramento’s City Hall.¹¹⁵⁶ The text and photographs together demonstrate that work projects both build morale, but also build California. The state benefits in a literal way from federal aid in the form of better public buildings and services.

The optimism in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* toward development, and the potential of the New Deal to help craft a better future for the people and region, was on full display in August 1935 when the newspaper carried a special section called “Know Sacramento”.¹¹⁵⁷



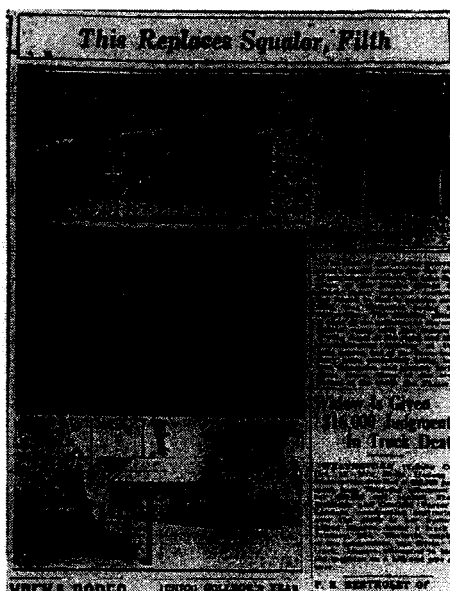
¹¹⁵⁴ “P.G. & E. Is Held To Have Violated Section of NRA”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 3 August 1934. See also, 19 October 1934, 12 April 1935, and 25 April 1935.

¹¹⁵⁵ “Local Merchants Praised for Upholding NRA”, story, *Sacramento Bee*, 6 July 1935.

¹¹⁵⁶ “How Federal Aid Rebuilds Morale”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, 25 June 1935. See also, *Sacramento Bee*, 8, 22, and 29 July 1933, 31 October 1934, 20 July 1935, 23 November 1935, 12 September 1936, 7 August 1937, and 24 April 1937.

¹¹⁵⁷ “Know Sacramento”, photos, stories, captions, *Sacramento Bee*, 30 August 1935.

The cover of the special section was a photograph of the city – with views of the foothills in the background. Superimposed on the photograph is the figure man, his back to the camera, with one arm raised as if in the middle of a sweeping motion. An inset caption explains that the city is at the center of California and is the “fountain head” of the state’s industry and agriculture and is a place of “culture, charm and rare scenic beauty”. Moreover, the caption notes that the people of Superior California should “know the men, the civic, business and cultural leaders who are guiding our city toward a future of glorious promise.” Inside photographs focus on California’s history, industry, and continuing political importance.¹¹⁵⁹ McClatchy steered his newspaper with the same optimism that he felt the New Deal and Roosevelt steered the nation. For the *Bee*, Sacramento was still a city of promise -- one that would meet its promise with the help of federal programs and funds. The Americans who dwelled in Sacramento were an important and rich part of the landscape.



Likewise, the structures that were constructed to replace the squalor of Hoovervilles were lauded in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* as an American solution to the conditions caused by the Great Depression. To McClatchy, the people forced into Hoovervilles were every bit as American and belonged to the United States just as much as those who lived on Nob Hill in San Francisco. In October 1935 the newspaper carried photographs of structures replacing Hooverville shanty homes. The images show clean, neat buildings and interiors where workers can live and work.¹¹⁶⁰ The caption explains that the camp will serve as a model for others around the nation and that it

¹¹⁵⁸ “Know Sacramento”, photos, stories, captions, *Sacramento Bee*, 30 August 1935.

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁰ “This Replaces Squalor, Filth”, photographs and caption, *Sacramento Bee*, October 12, 1935.

also houses an administration building, a sewing room, multiple sanitary units, and laundry facilities. A year later the newspaper carried photographs of state building projects, including a building to house the Department of Public Works and a building to house the Department of Motor Vehicles. The images show large, multi-story structures under construction on busy corners of Sacramento's downtown area. An accompanying story notes that schools and other public buildings are also being erected in the area. The buildings belong to the people and are a consequence of their support of New Deal programs.

The New Deal era also marked a high point journalistically for McClatchy and the staff of his newspaper. The *Sacramento Bee* was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1935 for meritorious service after it uncovered political corruption in Nevada. The award was the first won by a newspaper in California in the public service category and just the third Pulitzer ever awarded to a newspaper in the state.¹¹⁶¹ Like many of the crusades McClatchy, his father, and his editors engaged in at the *Sacramento Bee*, the prize-winning series dealt with the corruption of power, money, and the establishment. In this case the stories entered on Nevada's political machine, its boss, and two federal judges. The stories found that political boss George Wingfield and his cronies systematically looted banks controlled by Wingfield before they failed as a consequence of the Depression. This cost taxpayers millions of dollars in already tough economic times. Moreover, the stories indicated that a federal judge – recently nominated by President Roosevelt for the appeals court – aided Wingfield in his schemes from the bench. Roosevelt withdrew the nomination and the *Bee* received national attention and increased prominence.¹¹⁶²

McClatchy and his newspaper did not, of course, indict Roosevelt in the stories. And, in fact, McClatchy until his death in 1936 remained loyal to Roosevelt. Despite this devotion, McClatchy struggled with Roosevelt's international politics. "Roosevelt, to my opinion, is a wonderful man, but he is very, very confiding also – like Grant, he never thinks a friend can do

¹¹⁶¹ Wiegand, *Papers of Permanence*, p. 167.

¹¹⁶² *Ibid*, pp 167-168.

wrong ... I am sorry to say that I fear the *Bee* and Mr. Roosevelt will part company before long, for I believe he will not stand by the propagandists of America against the European countries ...”¹¹⁶³ McClatchy wrote to Hiram Johnson in 1934. But the break never came and McClatchy was able to look past his fears of Roosevelt as an internationalist to lend continued support to the New Deal and Roosevelt’s domestic agenda. Still, one of McClatchy’s goals during the Depression was to see that Americans were served by the federal government; he did not want to see those dollars and resources flowing into international entanglements and European affairs. In this, McClatchy was not alone. Isolationism and isolationists won support from many Americans during the first decades of the 20th century, including Joseph Medill Patterson and Paul Kellogg. Isolationists, including California’s Hiram Johnson, filled Congress and Roosevelt had to deal with them in order to push through his domestic policies.¹¹⁶⁴ In fact, just months before Roosevelt took office, Johnson stood on the floor of Congress and spoke for more than two hours without notes against cancelling war debts of European nations and against internationalists. Included in his denunciations were international bankers, the internationalist press, intellectuals and the entire Hoover administration.¹¹⁶⁵ McClatchy and Johnson were in concert on U.S. involvement in foreign affairs and McClatchy remained opposed to internationalism until the end. As he was dying in 1936 he wrote to Johnson in support of Roosevelt, but warning that president needed to “get rid of the ... British-Americans in and out of his cabinet.”¹¹⁶⁶ Months later and despite the differences in position from Roosevelt on foreign relations, McClatchy reiterated his personal, and the *Bee*’s, loyalty to the president:

¹¹⁶³ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, March 17, 1934, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1151, MNBC, SAMCC.

¹¹⁶⁴ Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 3. Cole makes the argument that FDR was an internationalist who had to align himself with isolationists during his first term in order to win support for New Deal programs and legislation. For more on this issue, see Brian McKercher’s historiographical essay, “Reaching for the Brass Ring”, in Michael J. Hogan, *Paths to Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁶⁵ Cole, 88.

¹¹⁶⁶ CK. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, January 7, 1936, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1153, MNBC, SAMCC.

I have been lying in bed most of the time lately and doing very little but thinking. I have been thinking a great deal about Roosevelt. My principal thought ... there is no Roosevelt fight being put up anywhere that I hear about ... His own papers publish what is said against him and do not get out with a club at the other fellow. The only exception I know of is *The Bee*.¹¹⁶⁷

McClatchy did not limit his position to private correspondence with Johnson. In a “Private Thinks” column a few weeks before his death McClatchy formally endorsed Roosevelt for president – eight months before the general election.

The Bee has no hesitation in declaring now that it will be wholeheartedly and unreservedly for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It has numerous and what it believes cogent reasons to support its own stand, all of which will be discussed in the days to come. A few, however, may be noted now. First, and possibly foremost, *The Bee* sees in the person and in the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt the national expression of the progressive ideas and ideals for which it has been battling during the past quarter of a century. President Roosevelt has championed a square deal¹¹⁶⁸ for all the people – the humble no less than the proud, the unprivileged as well as the privileged. He has been fearless in his refusal to permit the great bankers or monopolists in any form to dictate or influence administration policy ... keeping of his pledge to drive the money changers from the seat of authority. The nation demanded action; and it got action. The nation demanded positive leadership; it got positive leadership. And it has been blessed with a rebirth in faith, hope, and confidence.¹¹⁶⁹

Within a month, McClatchy was dead. The *Bee* endorsed Roosevelt in 1936. And in 1940. And in 1944. McClatchy’s legacy lived on in the pages of the *Bee*.

McClatchy’s newspaper still carries a section each day called “Superior California” that highlights regional news and events in Central California. The *Sacramento Bee* – and, in fact, much of Sacramento – still bear the imprint of the McClatchy name. But more than a name,

¹¹⁶⁷ C.K. McClatchy to Hiram Johnson, April 3, 1936, C.K. McClatchy Files, Box 33, Folder 1153, MNBC, SAMCC.

¹¹⁶⁸ McClatchy is here obviously tying Franklin Roosevelt directly to Progressive era President Theodore Roosevelt. McClatchy was also a supporter of TR’s and as a Progressive of that era, tended to be nostalgic for it and inflate its accomplishments.

¹¹⁶⁹ C.K. McClatchy, “A Bee Editorial”, *Sacramento Bee*, March 1936, reprinted in *Private Thinks By C.K.*, pp 110-112.

McClatchy's newspaper empire helped transform the region from an outpost of San Francisco into a modern state capital. McClatchy adopted halftone photograph reproductions in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* earlier than many of his contemporaries. During the first two decades of the twentieth century he worked to create "Superior California" through images of the region's agriculture, financial innovations, and industrious, hard-working and patriotic people. The *Bee* pictured the region as independent, self-sufficient, and representative of the true "America." Throughout the 1920s, McClatchy moved from being a Progressive to being a conservative-leaning Republican as he grappled with Asian exclusion, racism, ethnic identity and what it meant to be a Californian and an American. The Great Depression challenged McClatchy's vision of California by forcing him to face poverty and despair in his backyard and to reassess many of his ideas about national belonging and identity – though he never came to terms with the place of African Americans in American society or accepted Asian Americans as "American." In the wake of human suffering, McClatchy came to believe the national government had an obligation to intervene and help relieve the misery Americans experienced during the Depression. Moreover, his editorials and the photographs the *Bee* carried depicted people, once identified by ethnic or national origin in the pages of Patterson's *Daily News*, as "American". This identity, of course, was aligned with race, fueled by both McClatchy's idea of "American stock" and by his own experiences as the son of an Irish Catholic immigrant. McClatchy's waning years were spent as both an exclusionist and inclusionist; as a promoter of California and a proponent of national aid; and as a booster and reformer. Yet, despite the Great Depression, McClatchy remained optimistic about California and its place on the national stage.

Chapter 14: Conclusions

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, men and women influenced by the social and political impulses of the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, Jazz Age, and the Great Depression, embarked on visual storytelling with halftone photograph reproductions in the pages of newspapers, books, journals, and magazines. Editors moved away from the sketches, woodcuts, and steel engravings of the nineteenth century and embraced the seeming realism of photography in the pages of their publications. As Hearst and Pulitzer's yellow newspaper wars of the 1890s began to fade, these editors used the halftone technology as a means of visual storytelling – working to integrate the photographs into their publications in concert with editorials, stories, graphics, captions, and headlines to lend authenticity to their claims about events, people, and the nation. It was nothing short of an information revolution and marks an important moment not only in media history, but in studies of national identity, belonging, and cultural history in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

Visual storytelling, of course, was not new. Broadly, it dates back tens of thousands of years if you include the way people communicated through drawings. In newspapers, visual storytelling in illustrations, cartoons and other forms were an important part of journalism long before the photograph became the standard tool of the press. In the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century editors and the press in England, Germany, France, and the United States explored ways to politicize and shape stories and audiences were accustomed to reading and understanding visual elements in print.¹¹⁷⁰ Connected to words and other content in publications, visual elements were easily used to convey messages to an audience. With the introduction of halftones, and the claim that they represented truth and events and people as they actually were, visual storytelling became a standard practice of the publishing industry. Photographs in print

¹¹⁷⁰Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, p. 113. For more on the ways the visual form may be used to construct a story or narration see Will Eisner, *Graphic Storytelling and Visual Narrative: Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2008, 1996) and Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 1993).

helped Americans see each other in new ways – or see each other at all – for the first time on a regular, mass-circulating basis. At the same time, as photographic invention in the nineteenth century advanced, the United States engaged in a dialogue about nationhood and national identity.¹¹⁷¹ Visual representation of differences between people and places was one means by which people identified and validated their own belonging. Photographs were used as a device to communicate information, but they were infused with authority because they *seemed* to be truthful, to provide infallible evidence.¹¹⁷²

The new photojournalism was not considered art. The photographs were utilitarian, a part of the greater publication and used in concert with textual cues such as stories, headlines, and captions. Moreover, photographs were shaped by the individuals behind the scenes – the photographers, the editors, the writers, the production people – and were intended for mass consumption. These individuals, particularly in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century used halftone reproductions to represent the truth and evidence of assertions made about various events and people. Paul Kellogg, Joseph Medill Patterson, and C.K. McClatchy used images to define America and Americans in a period marked by sharp social, cultural, and political change. For each man, it was a negotiation of their personal belief system, a navigation of the unique social, cultural, and political environment of their era, and a blending together of technological elements with traditional methods of news gathering and storytelling. Still, while individuals shaped the message sent out in newspaper and periodical photography, the audience also had a role in the use of the images. Photographs helped people imagine themselves as belonging to various groups and to visualize others -and themselves – as part of a nation, allowing them to “see” an imagined national identity.¹¹⁷³

¹¹⁷¹ See Wexler, “Techniques of the Imaginary Nation” Engendering Family Photography”, in Cameron, *Looking for America*.

¹¹⁷² Obviously, photographs did lie and photo hoaxes were introduced nearly as soon as the technology was invented. For a lengthy discussion of early photography and its connection to evidence and truth see the Introduction.

¹¹⁷³ See, Anderson, *Imagined Communities* and Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

Paul Kellogg and his peers at *Charities and the Commons* reshaped the way immigrants, racial minorities, and workers were seen by reform-minded middle class Americans. In picturing the downtrodden, the working poor, and the immigrant in the pages of the journal and in the Pittsburgh Survey, these reformers reinforced the legitimacy of the expertise of the professional middle classes. While the photographs showed sympathy for their subjects; the images relied on constructing “types” of people for consumption by the middle class and with casting photo subjects as victims of the industrial capitalism Kellogg and other *Charities and the Commons* staffers hoped to reform.

These Progressives used scientific data collection and research methods to understand conditions in concert with gritty photographs as proof of their assertions and findings. They believed that most middle-class people, confronted with the reality of conditions, would be compelled – morally obligated – to advocate the research agenda of progressives. But in doing so, Kellogg and his cohort constructed a vision of national belonging that rested on the norms of white, middle class Protestants. Ultimately, they constructed a vision of national belonging that did not meet their claims of sympathy, understanding, and acceptance. Instead, the pages of the journal and sociological study are riddled with images that construct a sense of belonging for white, middle class Americans by explicitly identifying who does not belong and by categorizing Americans.

In the Pittsburgh Survey, and other studies done by the journal in the first two decades of the twentieth century, surveyors wanted to expose the true conditions in Pittsburgh in an effort to educate the public. The story of Pittsburgh, told in charts, graphs, photographs, and stories by experts, became symbolic of the greater injustice caused by unregulated industrial capitalism, rather than a story of human suffering and individual triumph. The studies were not aimed at those depicted. Instead, they were aimed at the middle and upper classes that reformers hoped would promote and fulfill reform efforts. In the process, *Charities and the Commons* staffers, led

by Kellogg, reinforced existing notions of immigrants, the working poor, and, especially, African Americans.

Joseph Medill Patterson, in stark opposition, to the work of the social justice progressives who helmed *Charities*, saw working class Americans as an audience and consumer for his newspapers. Patterson took a British idea for photograph-based newspapers aimed at the working class and reinvented it as the nation's first tabloid. In the pages of New York's *Daily News* Patterson constructed a vision of America based on 1920s New York City. Stories and splashy photography focused on crime, scandal, celebrity, politics, and world events. The formula worked and within a few years, Patterson's paper was the highest circulating newspaper in the United States.

Patterson's newspaper ultimately, like *Charities and the Commons*, reinforced the hegemony of white, upper and middle class Americans, but it did so with an acceptance of rapidly changing social and cultural values in the country and the recognition of the importance of the urban working class population. Patterson pictured sensational stories and popular culture to capture Jazz Age New York and appeal to a broad-based working class readership. To purchase and consume the *Daily News* was, in a way, to self-identify as an American, as someone who belonged. The working classes saw themselves literally reflected in the pages of the newspaper through stories and photographs that focused on sports heroes, working class political concerns like education and train fares, immigration, Prohibition, and other issues. Moreover Patterson, despite being anti-immigration, was willing to accept assimilated immigrants as American as long as they embraced the vision of America he circulated in the pages of the *Daily News* – one characterized by popular culture, patriotism, and “American” values.

Three thousand miles away from Patterson's New York, C.K. McClatchy envisioned California in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* as central to both the history and the future of the United States. McClatchy honestly believed California represented the best of America and its people. He, along with his long-time friend Hiram Johnson, California's one-time governor and a

U.S. Senator, helped advocate on behalf of California's people for three decades at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹¹⁷⁴ McClatchy's America was characterized by strong support of the region's natural resources, inhabitants, and agriculture. He supported labor, but was anti-communist. He accepted and encouraged European immigration and new immigrants, including those from Southern and Eastern European countries considered undesirable by so many Americans in the early twentieth century, believing that adding their "stock" to the melting pot contributed to both nation building and constructing a strong American "type". But McClatchy's vision was marked by Asian exclusion and an inability to see racially distinct groups as part of his American type.

After the disastrous 1929 stock market crash, McClatchy turned his attention to easing the suffering of Californians. The Great Depression stunned the one-time Progressive, and allowed him the chance to reevaluate his ideas about national identity and nationhood in his twilight years. Rather than turning inward, McClatchy used photographs and editorials to advocate for federal intervention, in the process remaking California as representative of the nation as a whole and recasting it as America. He advocated sympathy and help for those suffering, openly – and at times with venomous hostility – opposed President Herbert Hoover, supported Franklin Roosevelt for president years before he entered the race, and remained committed to the projects and reforms of the New Deal until his 1936 death. McClatchy adopted photographs in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* at the beginning of the twentieth century and used them to reinforce his vision – promoting California's resources and people. During the Depression, McClatchy used photographs to reinforce the suffering and make morally-loaded pleas for federal help. Once the New Deal was in full swing, the *Sacramento Bee* used photographs to demonstrate the success of New Deal programs like the CCC and the WPA. Still, McClatchy's vision is problematic: he remained fervently anti-communist, engaging in a war

¹¹⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that the legacy of these two men is still with California in a number of ways, most importantly with the ballot proposition form that the state still uses.

against Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial bid, and rejected the most radical elements of the emerging Popular Front in the state. He continued to believe Asian Americans, particularly Japanese Americans, could not be assimilated. And he virtually ignored the plight of Mexican Americans in the pages of the *Sacramento Bee* during the Great Depression, despite the fact that they were a significant part of the state's population.

In a world unrelentingly connected by the Internet, digital images and video, and instant information, it is nearly impossible to imagine a world not shaped by visual storytelling. As newspapers in print decline in the early twenty-first century in the wake of the Internet's rise to domination, it's easy to see how halftone photographic reproductions, now replaced with digital photography, capture a specific moment in American history. They imprinted newspapers, books, and periodicals from the late nineteenth through much of the twentieth century by telling stories about nationhood and belonging in a period when the United States was undergoing significant changes as a consequence of industrialization, immigration, urbanization and an increasing connection through communication tools like the telegraph, mass circulating newspapers, the telephone, radio, and film. In the twenty-first century as we struggle with globalization, we're once again negotiating how we envision ourselves and each other.

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Pittsburgh Gazette Times
Pittsburgh Post
Richmond Times
The Sacramento Bee
The Stockton Record
The Survey
The World

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