

The History of Communication
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A list of books in the series appears at the end of this book.

E. W. SCRIPPS
and the
Business of Newspapers

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Introduction

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the emergence of the modern American newspaper. Political advocacy, so long the mainstay of the American press, gave way to an emphasis on neutrality, “facts” rather than opinion, and highly diversified content, including short stories, sports, recipes, and news about leisure activities. Newspapers became increasingly complex business organizations, and advertisers emerged as their major source of revenue.

The modern newspaper was the result of sweeping changes in American society; urbanization and industrialization in particular created new roles for the press.¹ Several entrepreneurs, including Joseph Pulitzer, William Randolph Hearst, and Edward Willis Scripps, did much to capitalize on these larger social trends. Like their counterparts in other businesses of that era (Rockefeller in oil, Armour in meatpacking, and Duke in tobacco), they revolutionized their industry’s organization, operations, and norms.

Pulitzer, Hearst, and Scripps had much in common. They enlarged the reach of daily journalism by courting the great masses. They relied on a reform-minded journalism that exposed corruption and injustice. All three were captains of their industry, running large, capital-intensive corporations. There were differences among them, too, and those are an important part of their imprint on modern journalism.

Pulitzer (1847–1911) pioneered in the development of the modern newspaper, a mass-circulation publication filled with a vast array of content (sports, fashion news, and cartoons as well as more traditional political and business news) presented in a lively and sometimes sensational manner. As George

Juergens writes, pre-Pulitzer newspapers were dowdy and gray, both in appearance and substance. Pulitzer enlivened the American newspaper with illustrations and photographs, multicolumn headlines, entertaining news, and a democratic spirit. His newspapers also reflected a deep commitment to public service and led crusades against corruption, fraud, and the injustices of urban life. Pulitzer “conferred a dignity of sorts on popular journalism, a *raison d’être* beyond profits and losses, that ultimately influenced all newspapers, and that is still reflected in the lip service the press renders to its role as servant of the people.”²

Hearst (1863–1951), Pulitzer’s chief rival during the 1890s, imitated many of Pulitzer’s journalistic innovations. He orchestrated the entertainment aspect of the mass-circulation newspaper. As his *New York Journal* proclaimed in 1896, “The public is even more fond of entertainment than it is of information.”³ Hearst’s newspapers were heavily involved in staging news events, whether hiring lawyers for accused criminals, lending support to Cuban rebels, or running soup kitchens. During the 1920s Hearst’s big-city tabloid newspapers opened their own murder investigations and challenged the accused to sue if they dared. As William Swanberg writes, “Hearst’s constant effort was to get the biggest, the best, the unexpected, the bizarre, in any kind of news coverage, regardless of expense.”⁴ Hearst also hoped that his expanding newspaper empire would provide the foundation for a political career—even the presidency. He failed in that pursuit because “the electorate had the good sense to turn him down and vindicate the essential soundness of the democratic system.”⁵

While Pulitzer and Hearst experimented with news and entertainment content, Scripps (1854–1926) experimented with the news business. Scripps was not ignorant of journalism; he had worked both as a reporter and editor as a young man, and his newspapers carried both news and entertainment content. But his passion, and lasting legacy to his industry, was the development of the modern newspaper as a business. Scripps was the prototype of the modern publisher, concentrating on long-range planning, performance goals, budgets, circulation methods, revenue sources, and a broad range of other business concerns. His career and legacy were shaped by creating a centrally managed and economically efficient chain of newspapers. Everything he did, including embracing working-class issues and concerns, revolved around the goal of creating a newspaper chain. He succeeded and pioneered the model of a modern newspaper organization.

Scripps aspired to more. Unlike Pulitzer and Hearst, he never was happy about the huge presence of advertising in modern American newspapers. In-

stead, he wanted to reform journalism by wresting it from its close ties to advertising and commercial elites. But such efforts never found industrywide support, and to this day advertisers remain the key patrons of the American press. Scripps succeeded in creating a string of small, cheap, working-class newspapers that were unusually independent in their dealings with advertisers. But, unlike the vast majority of American newspapers, the lack of advertising revenues limited the size and quality of Scripps enterprises. It is ironic that the newspaper chain, often derided now as the archetype of big-business journalism, was an element in Scripps’s scheme to resist commercialization.

Scripps’s business style differed greatly from those of Pulitzer and Hearst. While they waged their great circulation wars in New York City, Scripps concentrated on the nation’s smaller cities, such as Seattle, Dallas, and Denver. He disdained advertising while they embraced it. He published small (four- or eight-page) newspapers, whereas they issued much larger editions. Scripps also tried (somewhat unsuccessfully) to avoid direct (same-city) competition but recognized that Pulitzer and Hearst were his chief rivals.

Scripps was not the only chain-builder in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Eight other chains were established before 1900, although none had the size or breadth of Scripps’s.⁶ Pulitzer operated only two newspapers—one in New York and the other in St. Louis. Hearst, too, created a substantial newspaper chain in the early twentieth century, although his expansion began after Scripps and with much different goals. Hearst’s chain was as much a political organization to boost Hearst as it was a business entity. Unlike Scripps, Hearst was not a particularly astute business manager; by the 1930s he had racked up such enormous debts that he found himself on the brink of bankruptcy.⁷ Battling insolvency, he was forced to kill several newspapers and sell real estate and radio stations as well as a substantial part of his art collection. Swanberg writes, “He had proved himself fiscally the world’s worst executive.”⁸

Although Pulitzer and Hearst have attracted substantial attention from researchers, Scripps has drawn less interest. His relative obscurity derives from several factors. First, he avoided public attention during his lifetime, preferring to work behind the scenes in business and politics. Second, he never owned well-known, mass-circulation newspapers that would draw attention to him. Third, his substantial business correspondence has been available to researchers only since 1990. The low profile that characterized Scripps’s business practices has also characterized research about him.

This book seeks to raise that profile by detailing Scripps’s newspaper career, spanning from the early 1870s through his first official retirement in 1908.

During that period, he established or bought more than forty newspapers and created a telegraphic news service (United Press Associations) and an illustrated news features syndicate (the Newspaper Enterprise Association). This book focuses on three aspects of Scripps's business career. First, it details the three business strategies he developed to build his newspaper chain: low cost, market segmentation, and vertical integration. Those strategies were the key for the development of his chain and influenced the quantity, quality, subject, and format of newspaper content. Second, this book describes Scripps's efforts to create newspapers free from advertising and commercial influence. He viewed this process not only as healthy for democracy but also as a smart business move that would keep the press closer to most of its customers. Finally, this book describes the management structure Scripps developed to coordinate and control his far-flung media empire.

The Changing American Newspaper

Scripps's approach to the newspaper business was a response to the far-reaching changes that characterized American journalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly to competition, rising costs, organizational complexity, and the rise of advertising.

Competition

Competition among publishers and editors for readers and advertisers was intense in this era. During the roughly forty years straddling the turn of the century the number of daily newspapers in the United States nearly tripled, from 909 in 1880 to 2,461 in 1916.⁹ If Scripps's estimates were correct, at least 1,500 newspapers were started and died between 1880 and 1910. Newspaper circulation grew faster than the population itself; the average household consumption of newspapers rose from .36 in 1880 to 1.16 in 1920.¹⁰ Publishers of existing newspapers often worked to prevent the start of new newspapers or sabotage them in their infancy by organizing advertising boycotts, monopolizing national telegraphic news services, or disrupting circulation efforts.

Scripps's market segmentation strategy reflected his sense that the best way to start and operate newspapers was to seek new readers rather than compete with established newspapers directly. He believed that most U.S. newspapers either ignored or were hostile to the working class, thus leaving a sizable and lucrative audience ready for new—Scripps—ventures. He set out to manufacture a product that workers would buy. Scripps newspapers offered relevant news that emphasized labor issues in an easy-to-read format directed toward a less-educated audience. Home delivery efforts targeted working-class neigh-

borhoods. The business decision to target workers also led to extensive regulations on advertising to assure that the Scripps newspapers would not become too closely tied to business interests and forsake their chief readership.

Costs

Newspaper costs increased dramatically during the nineteenth century. Start-up costs, less than \$1,000 early in the century, had risen to well above \$500,000 by 1900 for many big-city newspapers. Operating costs were also high. *Printer's Ink*, an advertising trade journal, estimated in 1890 that most big-city newspapers had operating budgets exceeding \$400,000 annually.¹¹

Rising costs were not obstacles for wealthy publishers such as William Randolph Hearst. Scripps, however, had not begun his newspaper career with a huge personal fortune. Only through strict economy could he start newspapers and create a chain. His low-cost strategy was the chief characteristic of his newspaper operations, influencing all aspects of production and news-gathering. Start-up costs for Scripps newspapers ran a third or a fourth of the industry average of that era, allowing Scripps to conserve capital to establish more newspapers. Operating costs were kept low, too, through small staffs, relatively modest salaries, spartan offices, and a pinch-penny mentality.

The low-cost strategy also complemented Scripps's market segmentation strategy. He ran a low-cost operation not only to conserve capital but also to keep his newspapers within the reach of working-class readers. Scripps sold his newspapers for just a penny (both home delivery and street sales) at a time when most of his competitors' newspapers sold for 2 cents (home delivery) and 5 cents on the street.¹² The price made Scripps's newspapers highly affordable for workers but placed even greater emphasis on low cost by providing revenues far below those of an average newspaper of the era. The low-cost strategy also dictated the nature of expansion. Scripps avoided eastern cities, where costs were higher than in the Midwest or West.

Scripps's vertical integration strategy—represented by the United Press Associations and the Newspaper Enterprise Association—derived from concerns over competition and costs. The telegraph news service allowed Scripps to expand wherever he chose, circumventing the Associated Press's efforts to monopolize markets for its members. The NEA distributed illustrations and feature news throughout the chain, avoiding duplication and spreading costs among the ever-growing number of Scripps newspapers. In 1907 Scripps told a business associate, "Your [NEA] assessment is \$15 per week, or \$780 per annum. The present expenditure on the N.E.A. is about \$100,000 per year. Thus for \$780 your paper gets \$100,000 worth of editorial work."¹³

Organizational Complexity

Newspapers became more complex organizations during the late nineteenth century, placing greater emphasis on managerial coordination and control. In the 1830s most American newspapers were cottage industries, edited and produced by a staff of one or two people. By 1900, however, many metropolitan newspapers had hundreds of employees in separate departments that had different tasks: news-gathering, printing and production, circulation, advertising, and accounting. As in other industries, specialization, departmentalization, increasing capital and operational costs, and intense competition led to the advent of full-time business managers. In the newspaper industry, the publisher emerged as that manager, “a man of business, business over all. He conducts the paper that it shall yield a profit.”¹⁴

Scripps was emblematic of the modern publisher, “a man of business, business over all.” His ambitious plans for building a newspaper chain and his three business strategies (market segmentation, low cost, and vertical integration) required extensive coordination and control. Scripps and a few key lieutenants closely supervised each newspaper, controlling costs, enforcing reliance on the telegraph news and news features services, and monitoring all content. Control was centralized, and supervision was intense. Profits, a key to expansion and success, were mandatory. As Scripps said, “It is the duty of newspaper businessmen, as well as all businessmen, to make money.”¹⁵ Even his anti-advertising campaign reflected business concerns. He reasoned that too close a tie to social and business elites would destroy his newspapers’ ability to be true to their key market.

Advertising

By the late nineteenth century, advertising provided nearly two-thirds of the revenue for most urban newspapers. Advertising played a major role in many aspects of the modern newspaper. First, it took up a lot of space—one-half to two-thirds of each day’s edition. Second, advertisers helped shape the entire content of the American newspaper. Their emphasis on reaching consumers led publishers and editors to create content designed for large, upscale reading and consuming audiences. Divisive or potentially boring topics such as politics got short shrift, and reports on sports, fashion, theater, and—as the Pittsburgh *Leader* promised, “whatever you most like to read”—were featured.¹⁶

Some advertisers wanted extensive control over content and resorted to boycotts to force some publishers to back down from political views. Hearst’s New York *Journal* lost substantial revenues when advertisers deserted after it

endorsed William Jennings Bryan for president in 1896. But the wealthy Hearst was able to withstand the pressure, and by Christmas of that year the advertisers had returned.¹⁷

Scripps believed that extensive reliance on advertising was a bad business practice because it ceded autonomy to advertisers. He also believed that reliance on advertising would inevitably make newspapers the representative of elite business interests rather than institutions that served the people at large. So he restricted advertising in an effort to keep his newspapers independent of the rich and powerful and thus better able to reach and represent the working-class readers he sought.

Significance

E. W. Scripps is important because he was a major figure during a period that witnessed the rise of the modern American newspaper. He played a key role in that process, serving as a prototype of the modern publisher and building the first national newspaper chain. Scripps is important, too, because he was the first major publisher to confront one of the enduring issues in American mass media, the power of advertisers. He wanted modern newspapers to depend primarily on readers rather than on elite business interests for revenues, arguing that the latter led to censorship by business and timidity and self-censorship in the press. Scripps failed to reform American journalism, however, because few seemed to share his fear of commercialization of the media.

Scripps’s three business strategies (market segmentation, low cost, and vertical integration) merit scrutiny for several reasons. First, they influenced how news was gathered, processed, and distributed. The link between business strategies and content is not a new idea; the competition for readers between Pulitzer and Hearst in New York City in the late 1890s spawned a wave of sensationalism and fabrication. But content is also influenced by strategies that are far less obvious than struggles for street sales.

In the Scripps newspaper chain, market segmentation, low cost, and vertical integration all had an impact on content. Such business strategies also helped create a chain that was highly profitable to its owners, successful in competition, and accessible to readers. As such, they contributed to establishing a model of newspaper ownership that has become dominant in the late twentieth century. Conversely, the chain, in turn, sustained and extended the business strategies. It provided leverage for further growth (a major goal as long as E. W. Scripps was in charge), nurtured vertical integration, and sustained cost control and market segmentation. The chain itself allowed Scripps to achieve efficiencies that most other media organizations did not have.

Finally, market segmentation, low cost, and vertical integration represent the conscious use of marketing in the newspaper industry. As circulation became a zero-sum game in the twentieth century, competition increased the emphasis on marketing and market segmentation strategies. Much attention has been paid to newspaper marketing since the mid-1980s, but the issue dates at least from the turn of the century and deals with how a newspaper can survive in a changing environment.

Conclusions

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the emergence of the modern American newspaper. E. W. Scripps was a key figure in that process, pioneering a new model of operations—the newspaper chain—that would come to dominate the industry by the late twentieth century. Scripps also sought to limit the power of advertising in the press, arguing that the resultant commercialization undermined the press's ability to serve the public and democracy. Three strategies—market segmentation, low cost, and vertical integration—all contributed to the business success of his newspapers and influenced the nature of news and information.



The Struggle for Control

I remember your early disapproval of me, your doubt—almost a conviction, first that I was unfit for any part of the printing business, second that I could never be a writer, later an editor, and lastly . . . that I had any business qualities whatsoever.

—E. W. Scripps to James E. Scripps, March 18, 1892

In 1905, when the managers of the San Francisco *Daily News* proposed changing that newspaper contrary to E. W. Scripps's wishes, he reminded them that he was the "controlling stockholder": "There is no good kicking. There is no good evading. There is no good of arguing. . . . I am not going to mince words in writing or talking. The reasons why I always take 51 per cent of the stock of a newspaper should be evident."¹ On another occasion he sent an order to Milton McRae, his long-time partner: "Read carefully. This is important. This is not an argument. This is not a complaint. This is not a subject for discussion."² Another time, Scripps berated his Seattle editor for failing to obey orders: "I will excuse no more for failing to obey an order and keep an agreement about money matters. You must play this game fair and square, living up to the rules we have agreed upon or leave the table."³

ObeY orders, follow rules, no arguments. In the early twentieth century E. W. Scripps was the dominant voice in his newspaper empire. He was the majority stockholder and chief executive, setting policy and identifying goals. He demanded ready compliance from employees and fired those who balked.⁴ Scripps's chain reflected his personality, vision, and business strategies. He was in control.

Gaining control, however, had not been easy. Scripps spent nearly twenty years in pursuit of position and power. Only in his forties did he acquire the power and resources to create a newspaper empire unimpeded by others. By today's standards, such power by that age might seem a sign of great success, but to Scripps, never humble about his abilities, the wait had been far too long.



"Is It Interesting?"

A good newspaper is one that will sell.

—E. W. Scripps to George H. Scripps, January 18, 1888

Among men who manufacture anything for the public, or sell the public anything, none succeed, as far as I know, unless they find out what the people want and give it to them.

—E. F. Chase to R. F. Paine, March 27, 1908

IN LATE 1879 the *Cleveland Press* discontinued its daily short story. Reporters and editors were tired of the somewhat frivolous bits of fiction that had been a staple of the newspaper throughout its first year of operation and agreed that the space would be far better used for news. Before long, however, readers began to complain. Customers stopped by the newspaper's office—"a much grieved throng of subscribers, both male and female, who demanded the continuation of the short stories."¹ Regional circulation agents also wrote in to demand the return of short stories, calling them the most popular part of the newspaper. Many women also sent letters of complaint.

As the *Press* admitted, the protest caught reporters and editors by surprise: "All this was mortifying in the extreme to the editorial writers, reporters and paragraphers, and they failed not freely to express their contempt for the 'low order of minds' which preferred 'such slush' as they called it, to the superior scintillations, weighty opinions and graphic descriptions of local affairs, the original products of the brains of the aforesaid editors, reporters and paragraphers."² "Humiliating as the situation was," the newspaper's editor—E. W. Scripps—returned the short stories to daily publication. Paying attention to readers' interests was good business. Short stories—so popular with women readers—caused the *Press* "to find its way into households, where the ladies and young people of the family read them, and from there they go through the rest of the paper."³ High-brow material was worthless if no one read it.

The incident, and others like it at the *Cleveland Press*, shaped Scripps's notions of what constituted good newspapers. He told his sister Annie that readers "would rather have two columns of a sensational murder than a recipe

for a panacea which would cure them of every ailment bodily and mentally existing." Every article needed to be interesting. "I can't afford to publish matter for only a few to read. Sticking types cost money. So does printing papers, so does the mailing of the papers, so does everything connected with the work and I must make every line of space count."⁴ He told his older brother James that the *Cleveland* editorship had taught him the elements of success. "I learned that success did not so much lay in having everything in the paper as in having every thing that was in the paper good. I had rather my reader would feel certain before opening my paper that he was going to be *entertained* than that he was going to be *instructed*."⁵

Creating interesting news became one of Scripps's central goals. He criticized the early issues of the *St. Louis Chronicle* (which he started in July 1880), saying that the average person "is too apt to fall asleep before he has read through even the editorial column."⁶ Scripps attributed the great growth of the *Cincinnati Post* in 1883 to extensive and sometimes melodramatic coverage of a local boy evangelist—a story more dignified *Cincinnati* newspapers shunned. "Some of the editorials in the *Post* were prayers, some were sermons," he wrote—but all attracted readers.⁷ In later years he maintained that the true test of an editor was his ability to provide content that pleased readers, many of whom read newspapers "largely to pass time or to kill time."⁸

As his newspaper chain grew, Scripps's lieutenants echoed and enforced his views. In 1908 one manager told the editor of the chain's *Terre Haute Post* to "cover the things that the people want to read."⁹ B. H. Canfield, Scripps's western regional editor, maintained that "anything that was dull" had no place in a Scripps newspaper. Decisions about newsworthiness "should be based solely on the answer to the question, 'Is it interesting?'" Each article and picture "should be so bright, clever, and interesting that each editor would WANT to print it because it was good, live copy."¹⁰

That definition of newsworthiness was also widespread in the U.S. newspaper industry of the era. In 1897 the editor of the *Buffalo Times* argued that successful publications studied customers' tastes "with the same care that a successful merchant does," printing items that readers would enjoy.¹¹ Newspapers increasingly offered content to attract diverse readers: women's news (fashion, cooking, and society), history, short stories and serialized fiction, human-interest stories, and news of leisure activities (theater, sports, and music). As the *Pittsburgh Leader* bragged in 1898, "No matter in what you are interested, you will find the subject of your hobby duly exploited . . . in fact, whatever you most like to read, you will find the *Leader's* departments are the most carefully prepared, the most complete and the most interesting."¹²

Scripps refined this general notion of “whatever you most like to read” by focusing on one particular market segment: the working class. News and advocacy about working-class issues were part of that effort, but Scripps insisted that they should be presented in an appealing style. Moreover, readers would want other types of content to amuse or provoke them. To accomplish that, Scripps created small newspapers with many short articles. He also insisted on plain language and “sensational matter,” large doses of humor, graphics, illustrations, feature articles, a deemphasis on politics, and an emphasis on human interest and content specifically geared toward women. How readers read these newspapers is not known. It is doubtful that every reader read every line. Some kinds of content (such as cartoons, features, and human-interest editorials) seem to have attracted the most attention. It is clear, however, that Scripps’s market segmentation strategy directed both the subject matter and format of content in his newspapers.

Small Newspapers and Many Short Articles

The philosophy of Scripps newspapers was that a typical working-class reader, after a hard day’s work, wanted the news in a concise, easy-to-read format. Scripps said that his San Francisco *Daily News* had succeeded because it was “a little one such as tired men can read quickly and such as ease-loving women can get through without too great effort.” On another occasion, he said that workers wanted to get the news “with as little labor as possible.”¹³

Most Scripps newspapers began as small-sheet, four-page publications and went to eight pages only after they were well established. Even at eight pages they were smaller than the blanket-sheet ten- and twelve-page newspapers published by competitors. That small size was seen as a marketing advantage. As the Los Angeles *Record* proclaimed in 1896:

Little men sometimes
have much more in
them than big men.
The Record is small in
size but big with news.¹⁴

In 1879 many news items in the Cleveland *Press* were only one sentence long:

The Park Theater Company are at the Weddell.
Youngstown has sixty-six lawyers.
A new Mormon temple is building at Logan, Utah.
An extra session of Congress seems inevitable.¹⁵

On Monday, December 13, 1886, the *Press* called attention to its condensed version of the weekend’s news:

THE NEWS OF TWO DAYS
Where It Can Be Read at a
Glance
Without Wading Through Several
Columns of Padded Space. What
Happened in Ohio over Sunday
Told in a Few Words.

Condensing news received consistent attention from Scripps and his managers. Tired workers, he said, wanted just the key points in an article rather than extensive detail, and he urged editors and reporters to condense the news as much as possible. Good writing would “make it impossible to have a twenty-five word item in the paper where a twenty-four word item would cover the same ground.” He told one editor that readers expected long editorials to be dull and so ignored them. R. F. Paine, editorial superintendent of the Scripps newspapers in the early twentieth century, told the editor of the Tacoma *Times* that readers preferred short articles, and “I would condense more than ever.”¹⁶ Articles in Scripps newspapers were substantially shorter than those published by competitors. The average length of those on the front page was 30.5 column lines, whereas the average length of competitors’ front-page articles was 77.1 (table 6, appendix 1).

Coverage of a 1905 New York state investigation into the insurance industry demonstrates how Scripps publications condensed news. Sen. William W. Armstrong chaired the investigation, which spanned three months (October–December) and attracted considerable national attention.¹⁷ The nation’s leading telegraph news services covered the hearings, and most newspapers devoted a good deal of space to the sensational hearings that uncovered fraud, nepotism, and shoddy business operations in some of the country’s largest companies. Scripps’s newspapers took their coverage from the chain’s telegraph news service, the Scripps-McRae Press Association, which used a special correspondent.

Condensing characterized coverage of the Armstrong Committee hearings, too. Scripps’s Sacramento *Star* devoted an average of sixty-two lines each to the coverage of four witnesses at the hearings; its two competitors published an average of 149 lines per person (table 7, appendix 1). The coverage in all three newspapers basically provided the same key ingredients. The *Star* provided

only a bare overview of the testimony, whereas its rivals included more detail and quoted extensively from the actual testimony, sometimes in question-and-answer format. That same pattern also occurred in the Seattle and San Diego newspaper markets. In Seattle, for example, Scripps's *Star* covered the testimony of one insurance company employee in twenty lines and said that the employee had provided "all kinds of figures" but detailed none. In contrast, the other two Seattle newspapers did provide figures. The *Post-Intelligencer* used 88 lines and the *Times* 104.¹⁸

Simple Language

Small newspapers and short articles meant that working-class readers did not have to wade through a mountain of detail; simple language meant that they would easily grasp what they were reading. One Scripps editor said that short, simple words were best "not only to save space but also to make the meaning plainer to the man on the street, the man with the pail who quit school at twelve or thirteen. I would use 'pm' instead of 'afternoon' . . . ; 'aid' instead of 'assistance'; . . . 'wounds' instead of 'lacerations'; 'chances' instead of 'opportunities'; . . . 'taken' instead of 'transported.'"¹⁹ Scripps maintained that most common people cared little about "polished style." A short, plainly worded statement of the news—"no matter how incomplete or non grammatical or how badly worded"—was better than the "most elaborate, most complete and most elegant article that could be produced by the brightest minds." The best reporters were ones with minimal training or experience. "I have learned that a cub reporter is more valuable to a newspaper than a skillful well trained reporter," Scripps said, "not because he is cheaper but because his writing is more natural, and more easily understood."²⁰ Most Scripps newspapers had a higher proportion of cubs than their competitors, primarily because salaries were low.

Managers within the Scripps chain advised editors on how to maintain a working-class touch. J. C. Harper, the chain's chief attorney and superintendent of the *Denver Express*, told that newspaper's editor to spend some time soliciting new readers door to door to get a better sense of the interests of average people.²¹ He worried that the *Express* "at times . . . contains articles of a length and character that would interest chiefly the intellectual rather than the masses." In 1905 Paine ordered H. N. Rickey, editor of the *Cleveland Press*, to rely more extensively on the Newspaper Enterprise Association to sustain the working-class orientation of that publication. Paine worried that Rickey was "edging away from the masses, getting far above the level of the vast majority of readers." Paine specifically complained about "deep, literary and scientific editorials" and the "preference of high class serial stories over short love-sick ones."²²

Vivid Language

Scripps maintained that "sensational matter is absolutely necessary to a newspaper" and defined sensationalism as "that kind of matter which produces some sensation of humor, of indignation or gratified curiosity or any other sort of sensation."²³ Frequently headlines provided the kind of eye-catching phrases that may have created a sensation. In 1889, for example, a *Cleveland Press* headline introduced an article about a recent murder:

SCREAMS
That Quivered on the
Night Air
Were the Pitiful Appeals
of Pearl Crall
As She Struggled in the Grasp
of a Ravisher
The Heinous Crime Occurred
Near Franklin—av.
How the Brute Fled after
Leaving His Victim.²⁴

In its Armstrong investigation coverage, the *Sacramento Star* covered the same news events as its competitor, the *Sacramento Bee*, but in Scripps fashion featured far more vivid headlines. One detailed the testimony of an insurance executive:

PAYNE FROTHS
AT CHARGE
And Declares That He Is an Honest
Man in Every Particular
Gives Detail of His Virtue.²⁵

The *Bee*, however, had a far more prosaic headline for an article covering the same testimony:

Says the Statements
of Wells Are False.²⁶

Humor

Humor played a big role in capturing readers' attention. As Scripps said, "I have learned that men and women like to laugh better than they do to cry and that for steady appearance in a newspaper, humor is far more acceptable than heroics. I have learned that even a jolly rascal is a more acceptable companion to the average human being than a long faced stupidly honest man."²⁷ The

Newspaper Enterprise Association supplied humorous material to Scripps publications, and editors had orders to use it. Columns of jokes and witticisms appeared almost daily.²⁸ Jokes were short: "How do you think you're going to like the new cook?" asked Smithers. 'I like her immensely,' replied Mrs. Smithers. 'She knows her business.' 'Good. And I suppose that before the week is ended she'll know the whole neighborhood's business.'²⁹

Humorous cartoons were also staples of Scripps newspapers, particularly after NEA's establishment. One regular series was "Mr. Skygack from Mars," in which a Martian, observing earthlings, continually misunderstands simple things. Concerning a bride and groom at their wedding, Mr. Skygack reports, for example, "Saw Pair of Earth Beings (Male and Female) brought before high official of tribe—pair was probably guilty of some serious crime judging from emotions depicted on faces—attendant eager throng stood expectantly by listening to official's reprimand."³⁰

The NEA's prime cartoon character in its early years was the blustering misanthrope Everett True. In "Everett True Goes to the Market," a vendor tries to sell him "fine cantaloupes, fresh from the ranch," but Everett sees through him. Squashing the cantaloupes on the vendor, he shouts, "Try to fool me, and unload your lot of rotten cantaloupes! You brazen throat imposter!!! Fresh, are they? They look it!!!"³¹ Everett True was forever at war with those who walked too slowly, spoke to him on streetcars, and sang off-key, as well as with wailing children and other irritations. Unlike most polite or self-controlled persons, he routinely vented his rage on the source of his irritation. According to Paine, Everett True was the NEA's most popular feature.³²

The NEA also produced a large number of illustrated humorous columns. One, "Diana's Diary," a regular between 1906 and 1908, focused on the hapless Diana Dillpickles, a sweet but incredibly naive young woman who routinely became caught up in enthusiasms, whether belief in a guru-like preacher, physical culture, a get-rich-quick scheme for selling potato mashers, or romance. Diana would be on the verge of quitting her job as a clerk to pursue a new life (as the wife of a rich English nobleman or a Pittsburgh steel magnate) only to discover that she had been misled. The rich noblemen, physical culturalists, and gurus all turned out to be fakes who had duped the hapless Diana.³³ "Platonic Penelope" concerned another hapless young woman, always in search of platonic relationships with men but always disappointed by those who wanted much more.³⁴ Other illustrated humorous columns included "Bump Talks" by Professor Bumpatarara (a spoof of phrenology), "A Bit of Vaudeville" (the comic misadventures of Osgar and Adolf, who spoke in fractured German-English), and rural wisdom in "Jabberings of John Jimpsonweed."³⁵

MR. SKYGACK FROM MARS

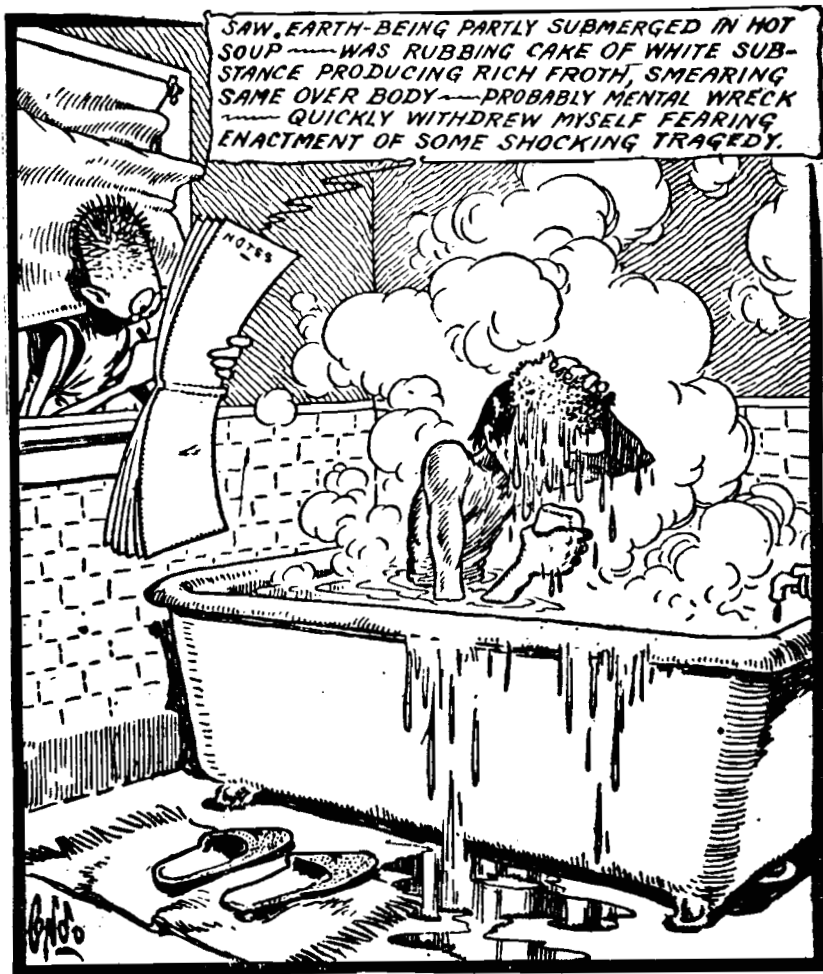
He Visits the Earth as a Special Correspondent and Makes Wireless Observations in His Notebook.



Mr. Skygack mistakes a wedding for a judicial hearing and assumes that the bride and groom have been summoned before a "high official of the tribe" for a reprimand. (*Seattle Star*, Feb. 29, 1908, 4)

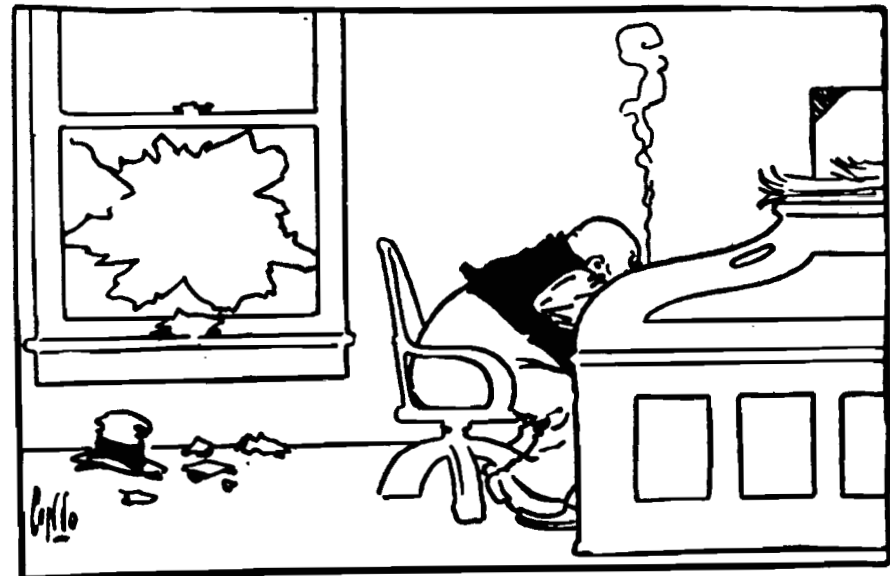
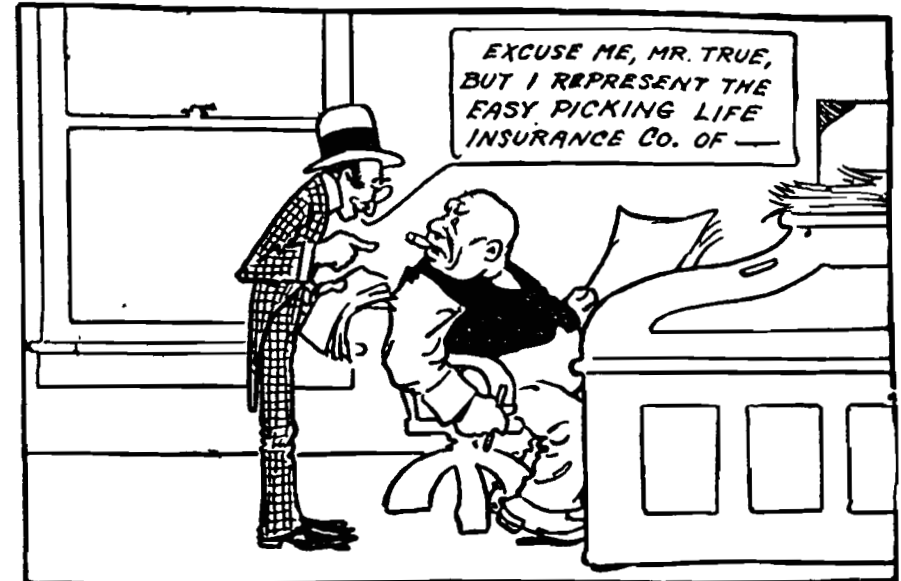
MR. SKYGACK FROM MARS

He Visits the Earth as a Special Correspondent and Makes Wireless Observations in His Notebook.



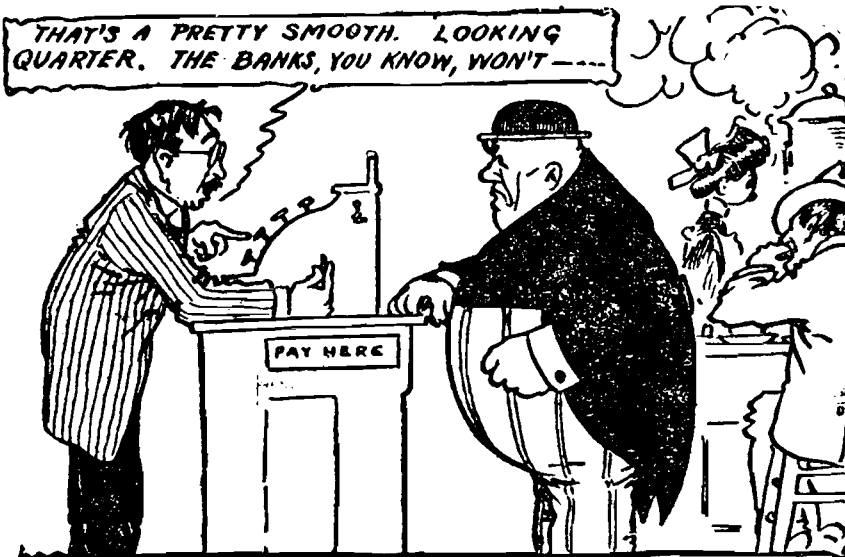
Mr. Skygack mistakes a man in a bath for a deranged person sitting in a tub of hot soup. He reports that he left quickly, "fearing enactment of some shocking tragedy." (Seattle Star, Jan. 25, 1908, 4; Sacramento Star, Jan. 25, 1908, 2)

The Outbursts of Everett True



Everett True, one of the NEA's most popular cartoon characters, reacts in typical fashion to a bothersome insurance salesman. (Seattle Star, Nov. 29, 1905, 5)

OUTBURSTS OF EVERETT TRUE



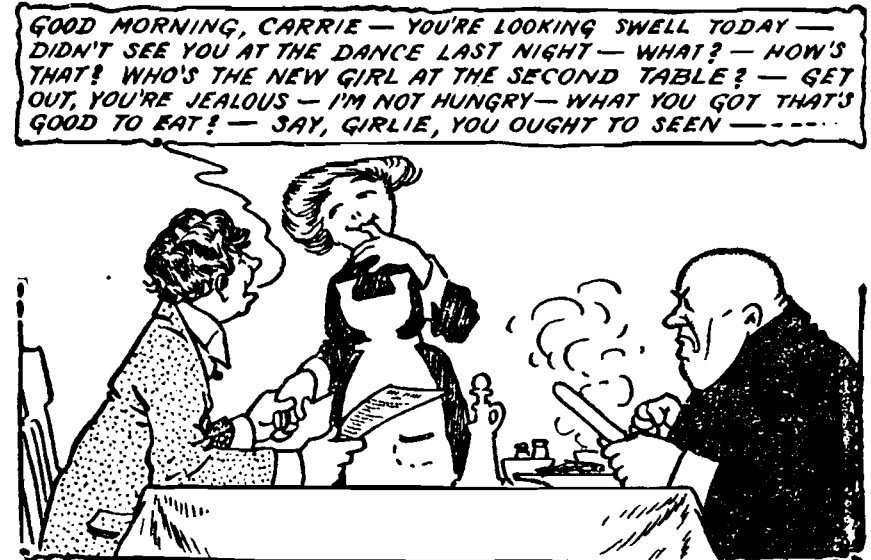
THAT'S A PRETTY SMOOTH. LOOKING QUARTER. THE BANKS, YOU KNOW, WON'T



OH, YOU DON'T LIKE TO TAKE IN SMOOTH COINS, EH?! THAT'S THE SAME QUARTER YOU GAVE ME YESTERDAY WHEN I PAID YOU FOR MY LUNCH, YOU FOUR-EYED MOUNTBANK !!!!!

When a cashier in a restaurant hesitates to accept a worn coin, Everett erupts, noting that the cashier had given him the same coin the day before. (Seattle Star, Feb. 3, 1908, 4)

OUTBURSTS OF EVERETT TRUE



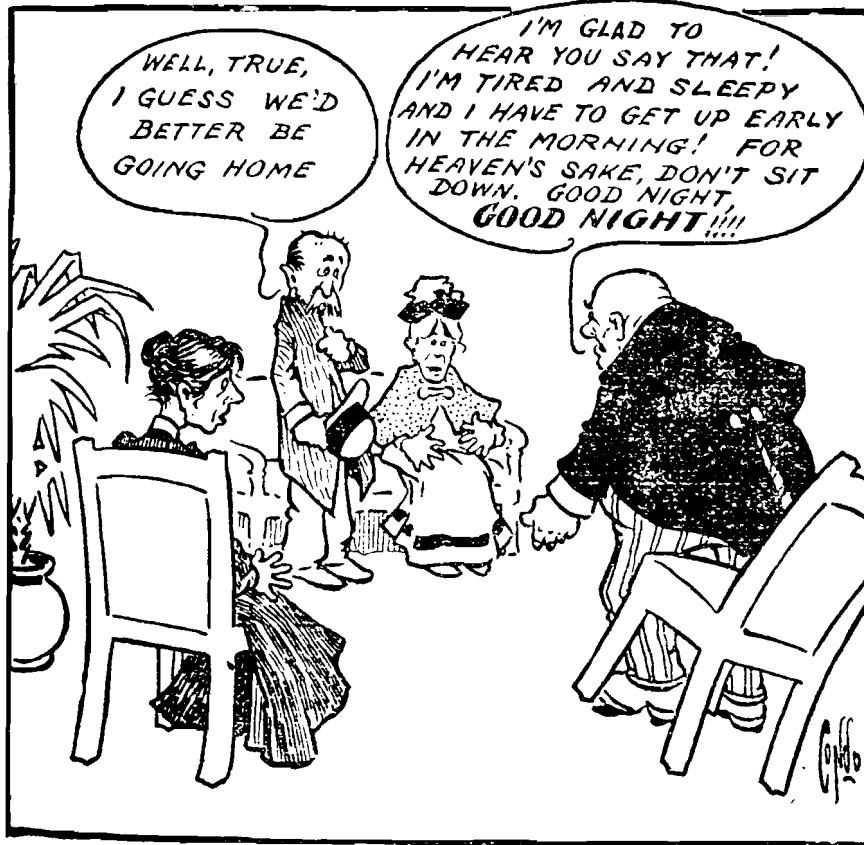
GOOD MORNING, CARRIE — YOU'RE LOOKING SWELL TODAY — DIDN'T SEE YOU AT THE DANCE LAST NIGHT — WHAT? — HOW'S THAT? WHO'S THE NEW GIRL AT THE SECOND TABLE? — GET OUT, YOU'RE JEALOUS — I'M NOT HUNGRY — WHAT YOU GOT THAT'S GOOD TO EAT? — SAY, GIRLIE, YOU OUGHT TO SEEN

COME HERE TO ME, CHAUNCEY!! A RESTAURANT IS A PLACE TO EAT, AND I DON'T PROPOSE TO SIT HERE AND LISTEN TO YOUR LINE OF SILLY DRIVEL TILL MY STOMACH TURNS!!! UNDERSTAND?!!!!!!



Easily irritated, Everett is outraged when another restaurant patron talks too much. (Seattle Star, Feb. 12, 1908, 4)

THE OUTBURSTS OF EVERETT TRUE



Everett takes the direct approach in getting rid of guests who have overstayed their welcome. (Seattle Star, Oct. 21, 1905, 3)

Illustrated News

Extensive use of graphics (photographs, cartoons, and drawings) was another way in which Scripps newspapers attempted to present news in a way that would interest working-class readers. As he said, "Pictures are more easily understood and read than words." A newspaper could "better afford to leave out of its columns, a half a dozen items covering the most important news of the day than it can afford to leave out one really good cartoon or other picture." On another occasion Scripps compared newspaper reading to travel and graphics to beautiful scenery, arguing that even a traveler who wanted a short cut ("a brief item of news") still wanted an scenic route (illustrated news).³⁶ Paine told the editor of the San Francisco *Daily News* that "art" (photographs, cartoons, or other illustrations) made newspapers "brighter looking when picked up for perusal at the fireside" and thus more popular with working-class readers. He also stressed that the art used was not decorative; it needed to convey information.³⁷ Milton McRae told the editor of the Dallas *Dispatch* to use smaller headlines and make room for more illustrations because "you will find them more profitable."³⁸

Scripps newspapers began to illustrate articles with drawings during the late 1880s, and line drawings appeared in the Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis publications throughout the 1890s. The use of photographs became common after 1900. During the late nineteenth century, Scripps publications relied upon an informal process of sharing illustrations. That ended in 1902, however, when Scripps established the Newspaper Enterprise Association, an "Illustrative and News Enterprise Bureau." Paine, the first manager of the NEA, announced that the service would produce "at least three first class [editorial] cartoons, on general events, per week," portraits of celebrities, and photographs to accompany non-local news (supplied by the wire services) and features (also supplied by the NEA). The NEA began with a \$400 per week budget in 1902, a year later the budget was running \$1,000 per week, and by 1907 it was nearly \$2,000 a week.³⁹

In 1905 Leroy Saunders, editor of the Tacoma *Times*, reported that he used NEA illustrations extensively. They were popular with readers and gave the *Times* "a metropolitan aspect which goes a long way towards their success."⁴⁰ W. H. Porterfield reported that NEA editorial cartoons were particularly popular with readers of the *San Diegan-Sun* and *Sacramento Star*.

Counting illustrated news, humorous cartoons, and illustrations accompanying serialized stories, Scripps newspapers devoted about a quarter of total non-advertising content to artwork, compared to an average 5 percent by competitors (fig. 6; table 8, appendix 1). Even though the competitors published

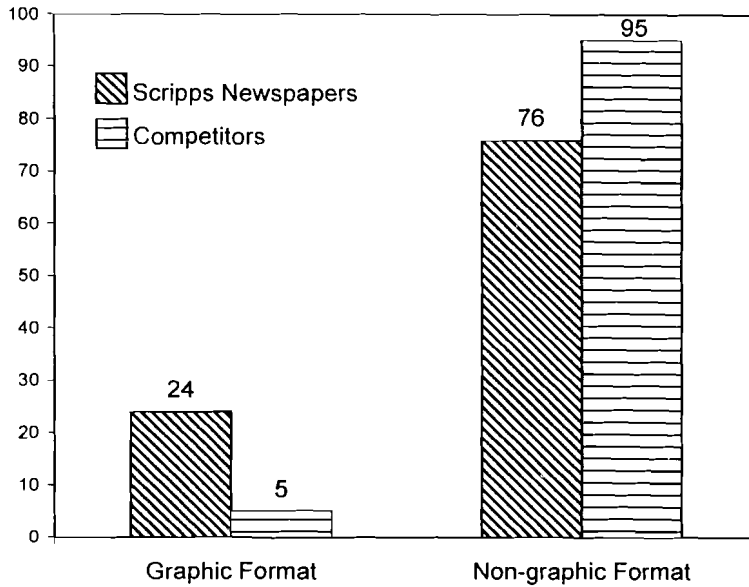


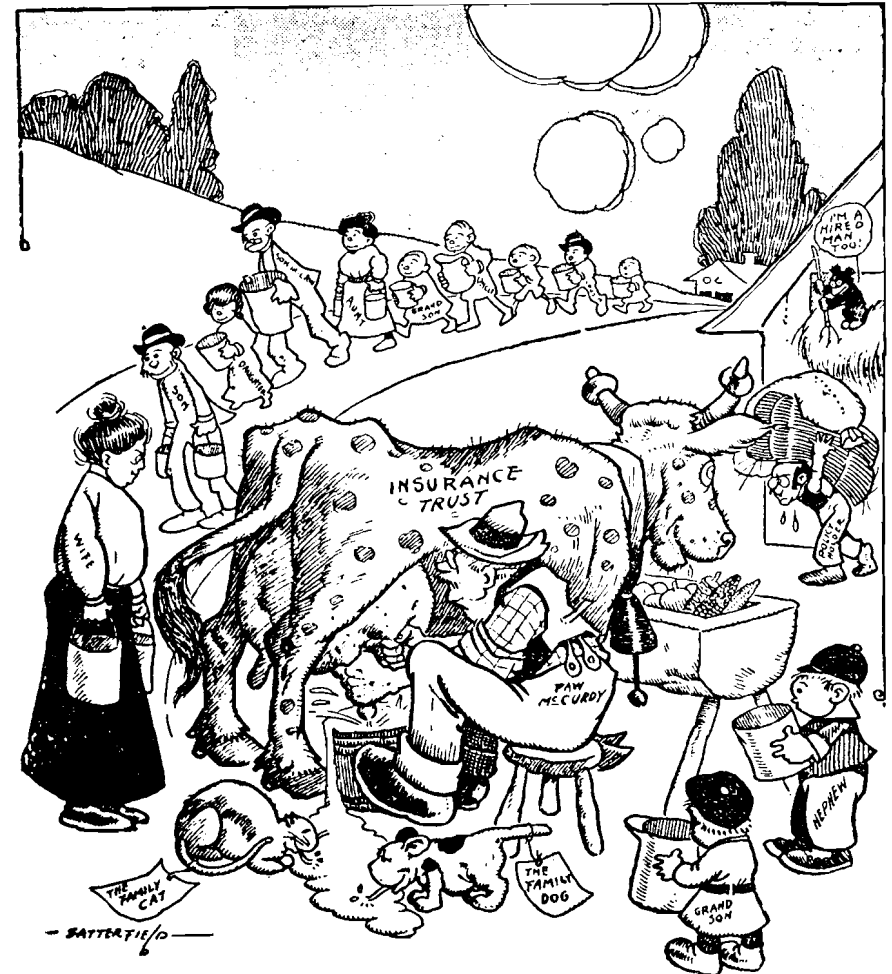
Figure 6. Use of Illustrations and Graphics, by Percentage

larger newspapers (eight, ten, or twelve pages daily), most produced fewer column inches of graphic material than did Scripps publications.

The NEA's illustrations allowed Scripps's newspapers to present much of their extensive coverage of the 1905 New York state investigation into the insurance industry in visual form—a typical use of graphics. In the last three months of 1905, for example, the *Los Angeles Record* published fifteen photographs or line drawings and ten editorial cartoons on the topic.⁴¹ The photographs depicted leading insurance company executives and committee members and staff (particularly chief counsel Charles Evans Hughes), and editorial cartoons illustrated some of the key points of the case. “And They’re Still Milking It” portrays one of the chief criticisms of the insurance industry: nepotism. “Thumbs Down!” simplifies the issues even further, with sympathetic figures of the Common People and Justice against the bloated Insurance Trust.

Illustrations—sometimes used with photographs, sometimes standing alone—drew attention to news. One article on U.S. Sen. John Dryden’s proposal for federal control of the life insurance industry was illustrated with three large sticks (“The Insurance Big Stick,” likely inspired by Theodore Roosevelt’s much-publicized nostrum). Another on the testimony of an insurance industry lobbyist before the Armstrong Committee included his picture surrounded by an oversized question mark.⁴²

AND THEY'RE STILL MILKING IT



Here, in a comment on nepotism in the insurance industry, “Paw McCurdy” (Richard McCurdy, president of Mutual Life Insurance Company) milks that industry for his family’s benefit. (*Seattle Star*, Nov. 17, 1905, 4)

Feature Articles

Attempts to print news first—getting a scoop on competitors—were a major characteristic of newspaper competition in the late nineteenth century. Editors could produce special editions of their newspapers (extras) and make money from the public's desire for news about a disaster such as the Johnstown Flood, a prizefight, or the death of a president. During the 1880s and 1890s Scripps newspapers engaged in the battle for scoops. By the turn of the century, however, they began to recognize that such a battle was expensive and never-ending. Readers seemed far more interested in whether the news was interesting than whether it was a scoop. "Ordinarily, a news scoop now-a-days means a scoop for only a few minutes," Paine noted in 1905. "You can steal news facts but *it is different to steal their treatment, and so editors have been paying more attention to the treatment, which means more feature matter.*"⁴³

Feature matter included articles that derived from current news events—the news behind the news. In the coverage of the Armstrong Committee's investigation, Scripps newspapers paid substantial attention to the news event itself—the cross-examination of insurance executives. In addition, they provided feature matter by giving readers a glimpse of key players. One feature, a character sketch of Charles Evans Hughes, was headed HUGHES—HE HAS FRENZIED INSURANCE FINANCIERS ON THE HIP and described the noted attorney as "a man of average height and build as New York well-groomed lawyers go, he would not be picked out on the street. . . . He seems five feet eight inches, straight, thin, boney. . . . When he speaks the crowd looks at his teeth. They look away to his deep set blue eyes, to his long sharp, quisitorial nose—a Greek nose without the wide, delicate, sensitive nostrils, to his high forehead—a splendid forehead, though not broad like Daniel Webster's."⁴⁴ "THE HOME OF A POOR MAN" examined one insurance company president's claim that he was poor by describing the luxury of his country home: "The country homes of few of the wealthiest men in the nation display more regal splendor than Mr. McCall's country place at West End, N.J. . . . The towering white mansion with its red tiled roof and green blinds stands upon a high eminence. From the far countryside it appears more like a big exposition building, or institution, than the home of one man, his wife and two sons. . . . It is said that the place cost \$1,000,000. The stable alone cost \$150,000."⁴⁵ The article, which carried three photographs, also noted the luxurious landscaping (done by "expert landscape artists") and a crew of forty servants, including "nine men who do nothing but work upon the lawns and flowering shrubbery."

Thumbs Down



"The Common People" tell Justice to slay the bloated Insurance Trust, evoking Roman gladiatorial contests. (Sacramento *Star*, Oct. 8, 1905, 1; *San Diegan-Sun*, Oct. 10, 1905, 1; Seattle *Star*, Oct. 13, 1905, 1)

Two other features focused on some of the larger issues related to insurance in the United States. The first was written by Henry George, Jr., son of the late reformer, and reflected the NEA's desire to produce "semi-news stories by famous people."⁴⁶ George's article covered the huge payments that insurance companies made to the Republican National Committee in 1896, 1900, and 1904. "If this whole business is not robbery," he asked, "what is it?"⁴⁷ Another article, by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentisost ("famous psychologist, author, political economist and criminal lawyer") was headlined "*thieves!*" and contained his contention that many insurance executives were "just plain ordinary thieves."⁴⁸

These "semi-news" stories written by well-known people were common throughout the year in Scripps newspapers. In 1906 Sen. Knute Nelson from Minnesota contributed "I Remember My First Fourth," and on July 4 of that year the Newspaper Enterprise Association produced an article in which famous men and women (Anthony Comstock, Marie Dressler, Lew Fields, and Rose Pastor Stokes) answered the question "What's the Best Thing to Do on the Fourth?" Other prominent Americans (Eugene V. Debs, Harry Thaw, Carrie Nation, Anthony Comstock, Adm. George Dewey, and others) were asked "Why Are You Thankful?" for Thanksgiving 1907.⁴⁹

Politics and Human-Interest Content

Scripps wanted his newspapers to focus on topics that would be interesting to readers. In practice, that meant placing less emphasis on more traditional definitions of news (government and politics, courts, accidents, and business) than their competitors did. Instead, they devoted proportionately more space to content dealing with leisure and entertainment. Five Scripps newspapers devoted an average of 49.4 percent of total space to traditional news (government, politics, and business); the average for competitors was 76.1 percent. Those same five newspapers devoted an average of 40.8 percent of their total space to content dealing with leisure activities (vaudeville, fiction, sports, comics, and jokes) and content for women. Competitors devoted an average of 19.9 percent of total space to such content (fig. 7; table 9, appendix 1).

The decision to deemphasize more traditional types of news (such as politics) came from Scripps's belief that the age of partisan journalism had ended and that readers had only a limited tolerance for news about politics.⁵⁰ In the first issue of the *Cleveland Press* on November 2, 1878, he proclaimed "We have no politics. . . . We are not republican, not democratic, not greenback and not prohibitionist. We simply intend to support good men and condemn bad ones, support good measures and condemn bad ones, no matter what party they

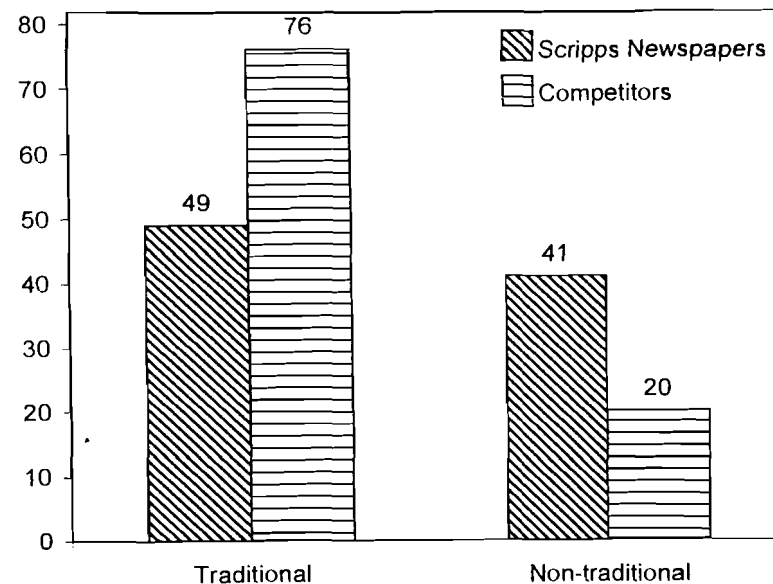


Figure 7. Types of News, by Percentage

belong to. We shall tell no lies about persons or policies for love, malice or money." Scripps claimed that political independence made his newspaper a better news medium. "No matter how honorable the editors of the partisan papers may be personally, they are forced to do the dirty editorial work dictated to them by party interests," he wrote in 1879. Such independence was good business because "we are in the newspaper business for the same purpose as that of most other people who go into business—to make money. The independent newspaper is always a more profitable concern than the party organ, no matter how successful the latter may be."⁵¹

Political independence suited the business needs of the growing chain by allowing individual newspapers to exploit local market conditions. In Spokane, where conservative Democrats had a strong tie to the older newspapers, the Scripps publication printed a weekly column from local Progressive Republicans. In Seattle, where political and press alliances differed, the Scripps *Star* gave space to local Democrats. In Nashville, where Democrats were the entrenched status quo, the Scripps newspaper gave space to local Republicans. Scripps's newspapers did not endorse these partisans but rather stated that the space had been donated to assure that independent voters had access to all political arguments. When H. B. Clark helped establish Scripps's San Francisco *Daily News* in 1903, he said it would be Democratic if one of its chief afternoon competi-

tors (the *Post*) remained Republican. In St. Louis, where Scripps's chief competitor, Joseph Pulitzer's *Post-Dispatch*, was an independent Democratic publication, the editors treated local Republicans "at least with great consideration."⁵²

Scripps newspapers did not avoid politics, however. They covered elections and ardently advocated a wide array of political causes but limited coverage following his dictum that "politics as a rule are not interesting."⁵³ In 1906 he told his Denver editor that people generally did not think or talk a great deal about politics, government, or crime, so it made no sense for a newspaper to devote a vast amount of space to such content.⁵⁴ "I have always thought that a newspaper should not fight all the time," Canfield wrote in 1908, "that there should be periods when, after it had accomplished certain things, it should turn its attention to other matters."⁵⁵ Instead of politics and other traditional types of news, Scripps newspapers emphasized content that would appeal to human interest—news about leisure activities such as plays and sports. One lieutenant advised that one "red hot story" was better than twenty other items.⁵⁶

Even editorials dealt with human-interest topics, with inspirational homilies on subjects such as the need to laugh, the "transforming power of kindness," or the "disease" of worrying. The NEA was the prime supplier of such editorials. Paine, who wrote many, said that they spoke to the heart rather than to the mind.⁵⁷ One, "Don't Apologize for Yourself," urged readers to be proud of themselves; still others praised the power of positive thinking. According to "A Science of Living," "bad tempers, unhealthy consciences, irritable natures and so on are the germs from which disease springs." "Mind and Health" argued that optimism is the foundation for good health:

Have you not noticed that the pessimist is always an invalid? He may be upon his feet and moving about, but he is never free from ailments and complainings. . . . Pessimism is as destructive a force in one's health as it is in one's purpose and performance. The pessimist seeks the shadows and wilfully deprives himself of the life-giving sunshine. The sun, the flowers, the trees and the green each smile at him in vain. . . . Can one thus out of harmony with the forces of life hope for health? Never. Health is harmony. Discord is ill health. Optimism—happy, buoyant, wholesome optimism—counts more for health than do all the rest of the laws of hygiene.⁵⁸

"Laugh and the World Laughs with You" maintained that "good humor is the saving grace of daily life," and "Only a Dog" examined the devotion of dogs to their owners: "The man who has the love of a dog is higher than a king. TO HIS DOG, MAN IS A GOD." The range of topics was broad—courage, health, values, human success, hobbies, the pursuit of happiness, and the appreciation of a pretty day.⁵⁹ Editorials did not ignore political issues but featured

politics less often and human-interest topics more than did competitors. Human-interest editorials represented an average of 53.2 percent of all editorial space in five Scripps newspapers, compared to an average of 3.6 percent for competitors (table 10, appendix 1).

Other human-interest stories included a series of articles on Alaska by a traveling Scripps reporter in 1889, pieces on how electricity and gravity operate, and "person-on-the-street" interviews, as well as pieces about pets and unusual local surnames in St. Louis (there were Bitters and Sweets, Highs and Lows, Longs and Shorts).⁶⁰ One article produced by the Newspaper Enterprise Association in 1905 attempted to explain "What a Billion Dollars Means" to illustrate the magnitude of the indemnity Japan was demanding from Russia following the Russo-Japanese War: "But suppose you decide to tackle the debt yourself. If your income is \$19,000 a year—and the great majority of incomes are much below that—it would take you a million years to pay it, to say nothing of the interest. And you'd have to go without eating besides. . . . It amounts to about \$20 for every square mile on the earth's surface. The receipts of the Louisiana Purchase exposition were about \$10,000,000. It would take then, one hundred expositions of that kind to earn such an indemnity."⁶¹

Scripps newspapers published many articles about odd events or unusual people. One described a young woman who disguised herself as a man and worked as a circus-wagon driver for six years before being discovered. A typical story in the "Interesting People" series of 1905 concerned "Twins, though Born in Separate Years" (one sister was born shortly before midnight on December 31, 1834, and the other after midnight on January 1, 1835). Another in the series described "a famous fat boy" in England, who weighed 312 pounds at age fourteen. Still others discussed a young waitress who wed a millionaire, a prosperous businessman who deserted his wife and six children for a seventeen-year-old stenographer, and a Lutheran church in Pennsylvania that paid one red rose for rent each year.⁶²

"The Woman's Angle"

Scripps and his managers maintained that news of interest to women was of particular importance because they were more loyal customers than men. Paine wrote that "the woman in a house who swears by a paper is worth five men who buy it on the street." On another occasion he informed an editor, "You had better have one woman in a home demanding your paper than ten men buying it on the street." He also told Scripps that "hardly an item of importance goes into the Cleveland Press without some thought as to whether it can not be given a twist or a side light to catch the women's interest."⁶³

W. D. Wasson, editor of the San Francisco *Daily News*, said that he had tried to interest women readers, "knowing that if women readers liked the paper they would have it whether their husbands wanted it or not."⁶⁴ When the *Daily News* sponsored a contest in 1905 on "Why I Read the Daily News," most respondents were women, further reinforcing the view that interesting content was necessary for them.⁶⁵ "I ran across a statement the other day to the effect that women are most interested in things that excite their imagination and credulity," Paine wrote in 1905. "Cannot you [an NEA editor] get something on this line out of fortune telling and the voodoo doctors of the south?" In 1906 he urged the new editor of the Kansas City *World* to provide "more matter of especial interest to women daily."⁶⁶

Scripps newspapers regularly published articles to interest women, for example, "Of Special Interest to Women," "What's a 'Model Husband'?" (Proper Conduct of a Man toward Woman in Married Life as Suggested by Women Writers), "Shall a Girl Marry Beneath Her?" ["No! Marry your equal and keep your step upward"], and "Symptoms of Insincerity—How Can Girls Tell True from False Men."⁶⁷ Some were attributed to the fictional Cynthia Grey, whose work appeared regularly. "Do you love?" her "Twelve Reasons for Love" began, "Are you going to marry? Then you must give twelve reasons for your love. A recent authority on love and matrimony says, 'Don't marry unless you can take a pencil in hand and write down twelve substantial reasons for loving that particular person.' Can you give twelve reasons?"⁶⁸

Scripps newspapers also sponsored contests that were designed to attract the attention of women. In 1903 women constituted virtually all of the respondents to "What Is a Kiss?" a Los Angeles *Record* contest. The Seattle *Star* ran a contest on "Do the Women Tell Bigger Lies Than the Men Do?" in 1905, which led to a flood of responses from women. A few months later, the *Star* ran another contest asking women if they would marry their husbands again, given the chance (most said they would), and in 1906 the *San Diegan-Sun* ran a contest on "The Ideal Woman."⁶⁹

Short stories were another staple geared toward women. Scripps told one editor that women "always read the short stories" even if they read nothing else in the paper. "It was on account of the short story that the women always complained to her husband for failing to bring the paper home." The NEA produced the column-long stories, and editors had orders to carry one daily.⁷⁰ During the week of November 15, 1905, for example, the NEA distributed nine: "The Watch That Grandfather Wore," "A Week with Cousin Helen," "His Duty as a Guardian," "Her Two Lovers," "Moonlight on the Mossy Graves," "Under the Old Apple Tree," "The Tattered Stocking," "And He Played the

Tambourine," and "The Two White Roses." The NEA also produced serialized stories and poetry.⁷¹

Such attention to women readers was not unusual; most U.S. newspapers of the era also ran articles on fashion and recipes. The rationale for doing so was primarily economic; it met the interests of advertisers who wanted to reach women consumers.⁷² But Scripps newspapers differed from competitors by making a particular effort at providing content of interest to working-class women. Articles about them and how to run a household on a limited income were common. Cynthia Grey's series "Home," for example, was a guide to penny-pinching ways. One article advised working-class women how to dress well without spending large sums of money on clothes.⁷³ In another article, she warned husbands "IT'S YOUR FAULT IF YOU SPOIL YOUR WIFE": "Young man, you have won her. Now don't spoil her. If you have been honest she has married you with her eyes open to the fact that you are poor. She is willing to make the best of your poverty; she is willing to skimp and pinch. Let her help." On another occasion Grey compared rich people with the poor and concluded, "Sometimes we poor folks are much happier." Other articles gave advice on how to cook cheaply and prepare Thanksgiving dinner for as little as \$2 or \$3 for a family of eight.⁷⁴

Unlike other newspapers of the era, Scripps publications acknowledged that many women worked. One NEA article reported that more than 20 percent of American women worked outside of the home.⁷⁵ Articles focused on women who worked as boilermakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, roofers, or brakemen; still others were telegraph operators, butchers, tailors, charwomen, stenographers, and clerks. An NEA series in 1903 described the jobs of women who worked as suspender makers and overall makers, and another series in the Portland *Daily News* was headlined "Talks with Women Who Work."⁷⁶

Other NEA editorials stressed that many women worked outside the home but few if any received adequate wages. One, "Workingwomen's Wages," reported that unmarried working women had a difficult time: "The woman who is alone and has no other means of support than the pay for her honest work walks thorough life on thin ice. Her's is a hard, cheerless and almost hopeless lot."⁷⁷ Another editorial attacked job discrimination and described a railroad that refused to promote any woman beyond the job of stenographer:

Nature has shut women out of certain occupations, but has given them as good brains as are possessed by men. With good brains and a fair show there is nothing to keep a woman stenographer from climbing. She can enter the pulpit and achieve success. She can become an employer of labor; a banker, a manufacturer, a farmer, florist, landscape gardener, painter, musician. She can so shape her af-

fairs and guide her ambition as to enter a thousand walks that pay better and contain more fame than the place at a typewriter. She can do these things for she has done them.

As yet another editorial argued, a woman deserved a good job, good pay, and the "right to do whatever work she chooses and to receive a salary commensurate with that work."⁷⁸

Catering to women's interests placed a premium on respectable newspaper content. E. F. Chase, supervisor of the Scripps Spokane *Press* in 1904, told its editor and manager to make it acceptable to women readers by running "only as much of the sayings and doings of the demi-monde and the tenderloin in general as is necessary to cover the news."⁷⁹ Scripps maintained that coverage of sexual vice was unprofitable because "these subjects should be avoided except in such cases as the editor feels that it is his duty to make an actual sacrifice on the part of the financial interests of his paper for the public good." It was Paine's opinion that 95 percent of women were highly moral, and thus newspapers needed to maintain a "tone of decency."⁸⁰

Conclusions

In 1901 the Seattle *Star* sent postal cards to more than a thousand readers, asking for suggestions on how to improve the newspaper: "If there is a scarcity of news of any particular kind in which you are interested, please make the fact known. If there is news published of a character that does not interest you, make that fact known, too." A synopsis of the 140 replies appeared in the *Sun*. Most readers seemed to like its format of short articles, illustrations, feature material, and editorials.⁸¹ The survey reflected E. W. Scripps's sense that his newspapers should work constantly to please readers. "It has always been a principle of mine that there was only one absolutely certain way of making a newspaper business succeed, and that was by making the most interesting paper possible," he told an editor in 1903.⁸²

Coupled with his market segmentation strategy, Scripps's demand for interesting newspapers led to certain kinds of content. Editors attempted to make their publications easy to read by offering short stories in simple language so tired workers could follow the day's events without great effort. They also sought to entertain with jokes and cartoons and to make news interesting and easy to understand by heavy reliance on illustrations (photographs, line drawings, and editorial cartoons) and features. Up-beat inspirational editorials were common. Traditional news topics, such as government and business, were covered but shared page space with large doses of short stories, jokes, and articles on such leisure activities as vaudeville and spectator sports.

Compared to their competitors, Scripps newspapers had shorter articles, more vivid headlines, more jokes and illustrations, and more types of nontraditional content. All of that derived from Scripps's definition of a target audience. Content was crafted to reach working-class readers.

Scripps newspapers did not neglect serious political and social issues, and their advocacy for working-class issues and reform generally was apparent to anyone who could read. But they dealt with politics and other critical issues with an eye toward the reading habits and interests of the working class. From Scripps's point of view, doing so constituted good journalism and good business. How readers responded is a matter of speculation; correspondence between Scripps and his editors and other managers indicates that they were selective and paid the most attention to feature articles, cartoons, and human-interest editorials.

- 28, 1906, 1; "Will Elect Laborites if It Is Necessary," *Evansville Press*, Sept. 3, 1906, 2; "Trade Unionists Going into Politics," *San Diegan-Sun*, July 23, 1906, 8; "Union Men Won't Wait in Party Prison for Rights, Says Gompers," *San Diegan-Sun*, Sept. 3, 1906, 5.
89. *Seattle Star*, June 20, 1902, 1; "Gompers to Hurl Labor's Broadside," *Evansville Press*, July 21, 1906, 1; "Union Men Won't Wait in Party Prison for Rights, Says Gompers," *Evansville Press*, Sept. 3, 1906, 2.
90. *San Diegan-Sun*, July 23, 1906, 8.
91. R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Oct. 23, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 14.
92. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Dec. 12, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 8, folder 5.
93. *Los Angeles Record*, Aug. 21, 1895, 2; *Seattle Star*, Aug. 27, 1901, 4; *Seattle Star*, Aug. 29, 1901, 1; *San Diegan-Sun*, Sept. 7, 1903, 1; *Sacramento Star*, Sept. 4, 1905, 1, 2; *San Diegan-Sun*, Sept. 4, 1905, 1; *Sacramento Star*, Sept. 3, 1906, 1; *Evansville Press*, Sept. 3, 1906, 3.
94. *Cincinnati Post*, Sept. 5, 1887, 2.
95. *St. Louis Chronicle*, Sept. 3, 1900, 1.
96. "Gompers, the Kind of Man Who Leads Two Million Workers," *Portland Eastside News*, Dec. 25, 1906, 4; *Evansville Press*, Dec. 28, 1906, 2; "Local Labor News Chinese Brickmakers Must Go," *Los Angeles Record*, Aug. 17, 1896, 1; "The Jap in the Department Store," *San Francisco Daily News*, Oct. 13, 1906, 4; "Local Labor to Fight Asiatics," *Portland Daily News*, Sept. 14, 1907, 1; "More Power to 'Em," Sept. 16, 1907, 2; "Japs Menacing American Labor," *Evansville Press*, Dec. 20, 1906, 1.
97. *San Diegan-Sun*, Jan. 27, 1903, 7, Jan. 28, 1903, 7, Jan. 29, 1903, 7, Jan. 31, 1903, 7, Feb. 2, 1903, 6.
98. *Seattle Star*, Feb. 23, 1906, 3, Feb. 24, 1906, 3, Feb. 26, 1906, 3; *San Diegan-Sun*, Feb. 22, 1906, 5, March 24, 1906, 3, March 26, 1906, 3; *Sacramento Star*, Feb. 20, 1906, 3, Feb. 21, 1906, 3, Feb. 22, 1906, 3.
99. *Cleveland Press*, Jan. 9, 1880, 1; *Los Angeles Record*, Aug. 21, 1895, 2; *San Diegan-Sun*, March 7, 1903, 2; *San Diegan-Sun*, July 27, 1903, 2; *Portland Daily News*, Jan. 26, 1907, 2; *Evansville Press*, Aug. 2, 1906, 1; H. B. Clark to J. P. Hamilton, Feb. [n.d.], 1903, subseries 3.1, box 12, folder 10 (regarding the Spokane Press).
100. E. W. Scripps to J. C. Lee, July 30, 1903, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 1; E. W. Scripps to E. F. Chase, Oct. 24, 1899, series 2, box 3, letterbook 4, 51.
101. M. A. McRae to Wm. M. Day, Aug. 14, 1899, subseries 3.1, box 5, folder 1.
102. J. C. Harper to B. F. Gurley, Dec. 7, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 10.
103. L. T. Atwood to E. S. Wright, June 13, 1899, subseries 3.1, box 4, folder 7; M. A. McRae to E. W. Scripps, April 12, 1900, subseries 1.1, box 16, folder 4.
104. Report of Managing Editor E. S. Wright, Dec. 31, 1894, subseries 3.1, box 2, folder 1; Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs*, 35-37.
105. H. N. Rickey to R. F. Paine, *Cleveland Press* Report for June 1899, subseries 3.1, box 4, folder 10.

106. E. H. Bagby to E. W. Scripps, July 15, 1901, subseries 1.1, box 16, folder 15.
107. Hyacinth Ford to E. W. Scripps, H. B. Clark, W. D. Wasson, and R. F. Paine, June 1, 1907, subseries 1.1, box 26, folder 11.
108. E. H. Wells to H. B. Clark, May 26, 1900, subseries 3.2, box 4, folder 4.
109. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 23, 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.
110. W. D. Wasson to B. H. Canfield, Nov. 19, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 8.
111. R. F. Paine to J. C. Harper, July 2, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 21, folder 8; E. H. Wells to E. W. Scripps, Feb. 14, 1901, series 1.1, box 18, folder 1.
112. E. H. Bagby to E. W. Scripps, July 15, 1901, subseries 1.1, box 16, folder 15.

Chapter 8: "Is It Interesting?"

1. *Cleveland Press*, Jan. 10, 1880, 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. E. W. Scripps to Annie Scripps, Nov. 23, 1878, subseries 1.2, box 1, folder 1.
5. E. W. Scripps to James E. Scripps, Sept. 9, 1880, subseries 1.2, box 1, folder 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Scripps, "Autobiography," series 4, box 11, 370.
8. E. W. Scripps to B. F. Gurley, Sept. 6, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 10.
9. Charles Mosher to W. F. Cronin, May 23, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 27, folder 4.
10. B. H. Canfield to John P. Scripps, Nov. 24, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 8.
11. Quoted in the *Newspaper Maker*, July 29, 1897, 4.
12. *Pittsburgh Leader*, Jan. 21, 1898, 8.
13. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Sept. 25, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 3; E. W. Scripps to George Gohen, Jan. 18, 1900, subseries 1.2, box 3, folder 11.
14. *Los Angeles Record*, March 14, 1896, 1.
15. *Cleveland Press*, Feb. 3, 1879, 1, March 1, 1879, 1, March 20, 1879, 1.
16. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 20, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 7; E. W. Scripps to John Vandercook, Sept. 5, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 1; R. F. Paine to Leroy Saunders, Jan. 8, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 20, folder 6; L. T. Atwood to George A. Shives, Jan. 28, 1901, subseries 3.1, box 7, folder 14.
17. Keller, *The Life Insurance Enterprise*.
18. The *Seattle Star's* article on testimony by Robert McCurdy, president of Mutual Life, covered eighty-nine column lines in mid-October 1905 (forty-five on October 17 and thirty-four on October 18). In contrast, the *Post Intelligencer* gave extensive coverage to the details of vouchers and lobbying by the company and filled 147 lines (195 on October 18 and fifty-two on October 20). The *Seattle Times* covered the same testimony in 175 lines (121 on October 17 and fifty-four on October 18). The *San Diegan-Sun's* coverage was much more condensed than that of the *San Diego Union*. It covered Senator Platt's testimony in fifty-nine lines as opposed to the *Union's* 140. Similarly, the *Sun* devoted forty-eight lines to Benjamin Odell's testimony, and the *Union* used 102.

19. Charles Mosher to E. W. Scripps, Feb. 8, 1907, subseries 1.1, box 27, folder 6.
20. E. W. Scripps to George Gohen, Jan. 18, 1900, subseries 1.2, box 3, folder 11; E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 28, 1906, subseries 6, folder 17.
21. J. C. Harper to B. F. Gurley, March 19, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 26, folder 10.
22. R. F. Paine to H. N. Rickey, Oct. 30, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 15.
23. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 28, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.
24. *Cleveland Press*, June 13, 1889, 3.
25. *Sacramento Star*, Dec. 28, 1905, 1.
26. *Sacramento Bee*, Dec. 28, 1905, 1.
27. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 28, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.
28. *Portland Daily News*, May 20, 1907, 2, June 4, 1907, 2; *Seattle Star* Dec. 13, 1906, 4, Jan. 10, 1907, 4, Jan. 11, 1907, 4, Oct. 8, 1907, 4; *Los Angeles Record*, Oct. 3, 1903, 4, Oct. 5, 1903, 2, Oct. 9, 1903, 4, Oct. 19, 1903, 4; *San Diegan-Sun*, Jan. 16, 1907, 8, Feb. 5, 1907, 8; *Denver Express*, Jan. 7, 1906, 2, Jan. 9, 1906, 2, Jan. 15, 1906, 2, Jan. 16, 1906, 19, April 15, 1907, 2; *Pueblo Sun*, Nov. 3, 1906, 2, Nov. 6, 1906, 2, Nov. 12, 1906, 2, Nov. 14, 1906, 2, Nov. 15, 1906, 2, Dec. 3, 1906, 2; *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 4, 1906, 2-3, Oct. 5, 1906, 4, Oct. 13, 1906, 2; *Evansville Press*, Oct. 18, 1906, 2.
29. *Evansville Press*, Oct. 18, 1906, 2.
30. *Portland Daily News*, Feb. 27, 1908, 4, see also Dec. 3, 1907, 8, and *San Diegan-Sun*, Dec. 21, 1907, 8, Dec. 11, 1907, 4, and Feb. 27, 1908, 4 (on the wedding); *Portland Daily News*, April 18, 1908, 4; *Seattle Star*, Oct. 18, 1907, 2, Oct. 21, 1907, 2, Oct. 22, 1907, 2, Oct. 26, 1907, 2, Oct. 28, 1907, 2, Oct. 30, 1907, 2, Nov. 2, 1907, 2.
31. Sept. 5, 1907, 1, *Seattle Star*.
32. R. F. Paine to A. M. Hopkins, Sept. 18, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 21, folder 7; see also *San Diegan-Sun*, Feb. 28, 1907, 8, June 1, 1907, 8 (he throws a yapping dog from a streetcar window), and June 6, 1907, 8 (he attacks a street baseball player whose ball hits him); *Seattle Star*, Oct. 13, 1905, 8, Nov. 8, 1905, 4, Feb. 15, 1906, 5, Jan. 1, 1907, 4, Feb. 27, 1906, 7; *Pueblo Sun*, Sept. 1, 1906, 2, Sept. 3, 1906, 2, Sept. 4, 1906, 2, Sept. 6, 1906, 2, Sept. 17, 1906, 2, Sept. 18, 1906, 2, Oct. 5, 1906, 2, Oct. 12, 1906, 2, Oct. 22, 1906, 2, May 18, 1907, 2; *Denver Express*, Jan. 5, 1907, 4, Jan. 10, 1907, 4, Jan. 15, 1907, 4, April 16, 1907, 4, April 19, 1907, 4; and *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 4, 1906, 4, Oct. 7, 1906, 4, Oct. 11, 1906, 4, Oct. 12, 1906, 4, April 12, 1907, 2.
33. *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 2, 1907, 2, Oct. 3, 1907, 2, Dec. 10, 1907, 2, Dec. 11, 1907, 2, May 12, 1908, 2, May 13, 1908, 2, May 18, 1908, 2; *Portland Daily News*, Jan. 24, 1907, 4, Oct. 8, 1907, 4, May 21, 1908, 4; *Seattle Star*, March 13, 1907, 8; *San Diegan-Sun*, Oct. 15, 1906, 2, Oct. 16, 1906, 2, Oct. 17, 1906, 2, Oct. 18, 1906, 2, Oct. 19, 1906, 2, Oct. 20, 1906, 2, Nov. 7, 1906, 2, Nov. 8, 1906, 2, Nov. 9, 1906, 2, Nov. 10, 1906, 2, Nov. 12, 1906, 2, Nov. 13, 1906, 2; *Pueblo Sun*, April 11, 1907, 2, April 12, 1907, 2, April 13, 1907, 2, April 15, 1907, 2; *Denver Express*, Oct. 13, 1906, 2, Oct. 15, 1906, 2, Oct. 17, 1906, 2.
34. *Los Angeles Record*, July 8, 1903, 6, July 20, 1903, 6, Aug. 1, 1903, 6.
35. "Bump Talks": *Portland Daily News*, Oct. 2, 1907, 2, *San Diegan-Sun*, Oct. 3, 1907,

- 8, Oct. 15, 1907, 8; "Osgar and Adolf": *Seattle Star*, Jan. 2, 1907, 4, Aug. 9, 1907, 4; *Portland Daily News*, June 4, 1907, 3, July 16, 1907, 2; *San Diegan-Sun*, Dec. 12, 1906, 8, Oct. 30, 1907, 8; *Denver Express*, Jan. 7, 1907, 2, Jan. 14, 1907, 2, April 16, 1907, 2, April 18, 1907, 2; "John Jimpsonweed": *Seattle Star*, Aug. 9, 1907, 4.
36. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 26, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.
37. R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 27, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 20, folder 8; R. F. Paine to Leroy Saunders, Oct. 19, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 14.
38. M. A. McRae to A. O. Andersson and H. J. Richmond, Oct. 3, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 22, folder 9.
39. R. F. Paine to "Dear Sir," [n.d.], and Newspaper Enterprise Association, July 3, 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5; R. F. Paine to Milton McRae, May 29, 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 1; R. F. Paine to E. W. Scripps, Oct. 31, 1903, subseries 1.1, box 5, folder 2; R. F. Paine to M. E. Pew, March 12, 1907, subseries 3.1, box 12, folder 10.
40. Leroy Saunders to R. F. Paine, Oct. 15, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 13.
41. Coverage also included forty-nine articles and nine editorials.
42. *Seattle Star*, Oct. 25, 1905, 7, Dec. 27, 1905, 1.
43. R. F. Paine to E. W. Scripps, Sept. 13, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 24, folder 7 (emphasis added).
44. *Seattle Star*, Oct. 3, 1905, 7.
45. *San Diegan-Sun*, Oct. 16, 1905, 1.
46. R. F. Paine to A. M. Hopkins, Dec. 6, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 20, folder 3.
47. *Seattle Star*, Oct. 7, 1905, 8.
48. *San Diego Sun*, Oct. 20, 1905, 1.
49. *San Diegan-Sun*, July 4, 1906, 3; *Portland Daily News*, July 4, 1906, 3; *Seattle Star*, Nov. 28, 1907, 1.
50. E. W. Scripps to George Shives, Nov. 11, 1895, subseries 1.2, box 3, folder 1.
51. *Cleveland Press*, Nov. 2, 1878, 1, April 12, 1879, 1.
52. C. F. Mosher to W. F. Cronin, March 19, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 26, folder 10; C. F. Mosher to W. F. Cronin, April 15, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 26, folder 14; Charles F. Mosher to J. A. Gove and R. G. Conant, May 30, 1907, subseries 3.1, box 24, folder 3; H. B. Clark to E. W. Scripps, Feb. 17, 1903, subseries 1.1, box 20, folder 6; M. A. McRae to E. W. Scripps, March 3, 1905, subseries 1.1, box 24, folder 1.
53. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Feb. 28, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.
54. E. W. Scripps to B. F. Gurley, Sept. 5, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 10.
55. B. H. Canfield to J. C. Harper, Oct. 8, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 11.
56. C. F. Mosher to W. C. Mayborn, June 30, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 27, folder 8.
57. R. F. Paine to A. M. Hopkins, Sept. 1, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 7.
58. "Don't Apologize," *Seattle Star*, June 15, 1907, 4; "A Science of Living," *Seattle Star*, Jan. 24, 1907, 4; "Mind and Health," *Seattle Star*, Dec. 1, 1906, 4.
59. "Laugh and the World Laughs with You," *Portland Daily News*, June 7, 1907, 2; "Only a Dog," *Los Angeles Record*, Aug. 25, 1903, 4. From the *Portland Daily News*: "Worry, the Disease of the Age," May 22, 1907, 2; "Three Blind Men at the Theatre,"

May 22, 1907, 2; "Laugh and the World Laughs with You" ("Good Humor Is the Saving Grace of Daily Life"), June 7, 1907, 2; and "The Value of a Smile," June 30, 1908, 2. From the *Seattle Star*: "The Courage of Women," June 13, 1904, 4; "Let's Think When We Talk" and "Worry Makes Disease," both July 17, 1906, 4; "The Transforming Power of Kindness," Sept. 17, 1906, 4; "Wealth or Health?" Nov. 2, 1906, 4; "Happiness," Sept. 27, 1906, 4; "Hobbies—Everybody Should Have at Least One Good One," June 19, 1907, 4; "The Man Who Kicks" [complains], Sept. 30, 1907, 4; and "Real Values," Oct. 8, 1907, 4. From the *Los Angeles Record*: "When a Man Is Ripe," Aug. 4, 1903, 4; "The Man with a Grouch," Aug. 4, 1903, 4; "Can Happiness Be Taught?" Aug. 29, 1903, 4; "The Human Spirit," Sept. 2, 1903, 4; "Some Good Rules for Success in Life," April 29, 1903, 2; and "How to Stay Young," Sept. 17, 1904, 4. From the *San Diegan-Sun*: "Good Manners Are Business Capital," Feb. 13, 1907, 8; "The Benefits of Walking," Oct. 30, 1907, 8; "Does Honesty Pay?" Aug. 21, 1906, 8; and "The Land We Love," Oct. 22, 1906, 8. From the *Oklahoma News*: "Real Values," Oct. 6, 1906, 4; "Sin Is Sexless," Oct. 10, 1906, 4; and "The Value of Time," Oct. 8, 1906, 4. From the *Denver Express*: "A Christmas Tree for Dogs," Jan. 7, 1907, 2; "How to Be Happy though Rich," April 15, 1907, 2; "The Foolish Rich," April 18, 1907, 2; and "Are You Ashamed?" April 19, 1907, 2. From the *Pueblo Sun*: "Happiness," Sept. 26, 1906, 2; "The Irresistible Magnet," Oct. 4, 1906, 2; and "The Tax on Fat," Oct. 10, 1906, 2.

60. *Cincinnati Post*, Feb. 20, 1889, 3, Feb. 27, 1889, 4, June 17, 1889, 3, July 8, 1889, 2, July 19, 1899, 2, Dec. 30, 1889, 3, Oct. 6, 1898, 4, Sept. 1, 1902, 6, Sept. 5, 1902, 4; *Cleveland Press*, Nov. 16, 1881, 2; *St. Louis Chronicle*, April 9, 1881, 1.

61. *Seattle Star*, Aug. 12, 1905, 3.

62. *San Diegan-Sun*, July 6, 1905, 7, July 13, 1905, 3, 7, Sept. 4, 1905, 7; *Seattle Star*, July 15, 1905, 7, July 17, 1905, 2.

63. R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 27, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 20, folder 8; R. F. Paine to W. D. Wheeler, June 15, 1907, subseries 3.1, box 24, folder 5; R. F. Paine to E. W. Scripps, Sept. 13, 1905, subseries 1.1, box 24, folder 7.

64. W. D. Wasson to B. H. Canfield, Nov. 19, 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 8.

65. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Sept. 25, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 3; R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 27, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 20, folder 8.

66. R. F. Paine to A. M. Hopkins, Sept. 1, 1905, subseries 3.1, box 19, folder 7; R. F. Paine to C. A. Branaman, Dec. 26, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 4.

67. "Of Special Interest to Women," *Seattle Star*, May 2, 1908, 5; "What's a 'Model Husband?'" *Seattle Star*, May 31, 1907, 4, June 5, 1907, 4, June 11, 1907, 4, June 15, 1907, 4, *Denver Express*, May 27, 29, 1907, 2, *Portland Daily News*, May 31, 1907, 2; "Shall a Girl Marry Beneath Her?" *Seattle Star*, Aug. 27, 1907, 4; "Symptoms of Insincerity—How Can Girls Tell True from False Men?" *Portland Daily News*, May 4, 1907. Other articles on fashion included: "An Azure Blue," *Portland Daily News*, Feb. 25, 1908, 2; "Crepe de Chene," *Portland Daily News*, March 4, 1908, 4; "New Spring Styles," *San Diegan-Sun*, March 21, 1906, 3; "Fall Hat," *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 4, 1906, 4; "Velvet Hat," *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 9, 1906, 4; "The Peek a Boo Waist Mania Is Dying," *Pueblo*

Sun, Oct. 8, 1906, 2; "Of Special Woman Interest," *Portland Daily News*, Feb. 28, 1908, 4, March 4, 1908, 4, March 9, 1908, 4; see also "Woman and Home," *Pueblo Sun*, Sept. 1, 1908, 2, Sept. 3, 1908, 2, Sept. 6, 1908, 2, Sept. 8, 1908, 2, Sept. 17, 1908, 2, Sept. 18, 1908, 2, and Oct. 5, 1906, 2.

68. "Twelve Reasons for Marriage," *Portland Daily News*, May 3, 1907, 3. Cynthia Grey's pieces appeared in many other Scripps newspapers as well. From the *Los Angeles Record*: "We 'Homely' Women," Aug. 22, 1904, 3; "The Living Flower Show," Sept. 24, 1904, 3; "What Some Men Fail to See," Sept. 28, 1904, 3; "The Nagging Woman," April 14, 1904, 2; "To Think About," April 21, 1904, 3; "The Man Not to Marry," May 2, 1904, 2; and "The Thanksgiving Turkey," Nov. 23, 1904, 3. From the *San Diegan-Sun*: "The Man Who Buys His Wife's Clothes—and the Wife," July 21, 1905, 7; "How to Dress Well on What We Can Get" (on economizing), Aug. 1, 1905, 8; "It's Your Fault if You Spoil Your Wife," Aug. 8, 1905, 6; and "How Should Man Propose?" June 8, 1907, 8. From the *Seattle Star*: "We Make Our Own Mouths," July 26, 1905, 4; "Home," Nov. 18, 1903, 2; and "The Call of Home," Dec. 13, 1906, 4. From the *Pueblo Sun*: "Woman's Circles and Man's Kicks," Oct. 9, 1906, 2; "The Luxury of a Husband," Nov. 28, 1906, 2; and "Love's Sharp Eyes," Feb. 2, 1907, 2. From the *Denver Express*: "Going Without," Jan. 15, 1907, 2; "Ten Commandments," Jan. 15, 1907, 2; "Hitting the Spots," Jan. 19, 1907, 2; and "Twelve Reasons for Love," April 18, 1907, 2. From the *Oklahoma News*: "A Man and a Frill," Oct. 4, 1906, 2; and from the *Toledo News Bee*: Jan. 4, 1904, 4, and Jan. 5, 1905, 4.

69. "What Is a Kiss?" *Los Angeles Record*, July 28, 1903, 4; "Do the Women Tell Bigger Lies Than the Men Do?" *Seattle Star*, Jan. 4, 1905, 7; "Women Rush in to Defend Their Sex," *Seattle Star*, Jan. 4, 1905, 7; "Would You Marry Him Again?" *Seattle Star*, Aug. 6, 1908, 1; *San Diegan-Sun*, April 3, 1906, 8, April 4, 1906, 8.

70. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 23, 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3; E. W. Scripps to W. H. Porterfield, Aug. 22, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 11; R. F. Paine to E. W. Scripps, Feb. 12, 1906, and R. F. Paine to E. W. Scripps, March 19, 1906, subseries 1.1, box 25, folder 16; E. F. Chase to E. W. Scripps, Aug. 8, 1906, subseries 1.1, box 24, folder 17; E. W. Scripps to W. F. Cronin, Oct. 23, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 22, folder 12; R. F. Paine to C. F. Branaman, Dec. 27, 1906, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 4; R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 29, 1907, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 6; R. F. Paine to W. D. Wasson, Feb. 8, 1907, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 7.

For examples of short stories, see *Portland Daily News*: "Which?" May 6, 1907, 2; "The Turning Point," May 20, 1907, 2; "Kin to the Lilies," June 4, 1907, 2; "Reward of Patience," June 6, 1907, 2; "The Green-Eyed Monster," July 12, 1907, 2; "A Western Lochinvar," July 15, 1907, 2; "What Would You Do?" Sept. 14, 1907, 2; and "A Lucky Accident," Sept. 17, 1907, 2. For the *San Diegan-Sun*, see "The Deception of Victor Dupont," Aug. 5, 1905, 7; "On Midsummer Day," Aug. 7, 1905, 7; "Between the Devil and the Deep," Aug. 12, 1905, 7; and "The Man Who Wouldn't Drink," Aug. 17, 1905, 7. See also *Oklahoma News*, Oct. 12, 1906, 4; *Denver Express*, Jan. 5, 1907, 2, Jan. 7, 1907, 2, Jan. 8, 1907, 2, Jan. 14, 1907, 2, Jan. 16, 1907, 2, Jan. 19, 1907, 2, April 15, 1907, 2, Jan. 16,

1907, 2, Jan. 17, 1907, 2, Jan. 18, 1907, 2; *Pueblo Sun*, Sept. 1, 1906, 2, Sept. 3, 1906, 2, Sept. 4, 1906, 2, Sept. 5, 1906, 2, Sept. 6, 1906, 2, Sept. 17, 1906, 2, Sept. 18, 1906, 2; *Cleveland Press*, Feb. 10, 1880, 4, Nov. 24, 1886, 2, Dec. 3, 1886, 2, July 19, 1888, 4, July 28, 1894, 2; *Cincinnati Post*, Oct. 4, 1892, 2, July 28, 1894, 2, Sept. 8, 1894, 3; and *St. Louis Chronicle*, July 31, 1880, 4, Aug. 2, 1880, 4, Oct. 12, 1880, 4, Dec. 10, 1880, 4, June 10, 1893, 7, June 16, 1893, 7.

71. "NEA Stories for Late 1905," n.d., 1905, subseries 3.1, box 17, folder 11. For serial stories, see the *Los Angeles Record*: George E. Walsh, "The Burglar and the Lady," May 25, 1903, 7, June 3, 1903, 6; "Adventures of Brigadier Gerard," July 29, 1903, 2; "A Legacy of Hate," Dec. 17, 1904, 5; A. Conan Doyle, "The White Company," April 14, 1904, 2; *Portland Daily News*: "The Treasured Trail," Dec. 7, 1907, 2; and *Oklahoma News*: "Strange Tales of a Nihilist," April 10, 1907, 2, April 11, 1907, 2. For poetry, see *Oklahoma News*: "Alice in Wonderland," Oct. 10, 1906, 3; "Following in Father's Footsteps," Oct. 11, 1906, 3; and *Pueblo Sun*: "Hallowe'en," Oct. 31, 1906, 3; "When Our Teddy Goes to Panama," Nov. 3, 1906, 2; "Memory," Nov. 7, 1906, 2; "The Messenger Boys," Nov. 19, 1906, 2.

72. Nathaniel J. Fowler, Jr., "Reaching the Men through the Women," *Printer's Ink*, July 22, 1891, 51; *Newspaperdom*, March 1892, 23; *Dry Goods Economist*, Jan. 30, 1897, 65; *Newspaper Maker*, May 16, 1895, 7, June 27, 1895, 4, April 9, 1896, 7, Nov. 5, 1896, 3, Nov. 19, 1896, 3.

73. "How to Dress Well on What We Can Get," *San Diegan-Sun*, Aug. 1, 1905, 8, April 3, 1906, 8.

74. "It's Your Fault if You Spoil Your Wife," *San Diegan-Sun*, Aug. 8, 1905, 6; "Our Uncounted Wealth," *San Diegan-Sun*, Aug. 2, 1906, 8; "Cooking Economy," *Denver Express*, Oct. 22, 1907, 2; "Cooking Economy," *San Diegan-Sun*, Nov. 2, 1907, 8, Nov. 4, 1907, 8; "A Thanksgiving Dinner for \$2," *Denver Express*, Nov. 16, 1907, 2; "A Thanksgiving Dinner for \$3," *Denver Express*, Nov. 19, 1907, 2; "A Thanksgiving Dinner for \$4," *Denver Express*, Nov. 20, 1907, 2; "A Thanksgiving Dinner for \$5," *Denver Express*, Nov. 21, 1907, 2; *Portland Daily News*, Nov. 23, 1907, 2.

75. "Hundreds of American Women Turn to Jobs Nature Made for Men," *Portland Daily News*, June 2, 1907, 2.

76. "Woman Operator Depicts Hard Life at the Key," *Portland Daily News*, Aug. 22, 1907, 1; "This Dainty Damsel a Whisky Drummer," *Los Angeles Record*, Oct. 3, 1903, 4; "Some Remarkable Working Women," *Los Angeles Record*, Sept. 24, 1904, 3; "Girls in the Army of Toilers," *San Diegan-Sun*, March 12, 19, 1903 (all page 3); *Portland Daily News*, March 4, 1908, 4, March 9, 1908, 4.

77. "Facts about Women Who Work," *Spokane Press*, Jan. 5, 1903, 2; "The Woman Who Works," *Spokane Press*, March 7, 1903, 2; "Workingwomen's Wages," *Spokane Press*, Dec. 6, 1902, 2.

78. "Woman's Wonderful Era in the World's Work," *Portland Daily News*, May 31, 1907, 2.

79. E. F. Chase to John C. Lee and H. Y. Saint, Oct. 19, 1904, subseries 3.1, box 17, folder 2.

80. E. W. Scripps to B. H. Canfield, Jan. 8, 1907, subseries 1.2, box 8, folder 7; R. F. Paine to Edwin A. Nye, Oct. 23, 1905, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 5.

81. *Seattle Star*, Dec. 25, 1901, 2.

82. E. W. Scripps to B. H. Canfield, May 20, 1903, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 1.

Chapter 9: The Legacy of E. W. Scripps

1. *Editor and Publisher*, March 20, 1926, 3.

2. *Ibid.*, 8.

3. *Literary Digest*, April 17, 1926, 42.

4. E. W. Scripps, "Non-Advertising Newspaper Scheme," Nov. 2, 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

5. E. W. Scripps to Robert F. Paine, Feb. 26, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.

6. E. W. Scripps to W. D. Wasson, Jan. 23, 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

7. E. W. Scripps to L. T. Atwood, April 14, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 3.

8. E. W. Scripps to L. T. Atwood, Aug. 29, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 9.

9. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Jan. 16, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 14.

10. E. W. Scripps to L. T. Atwood, Aug. 3, 1907, subseries 1.2, box 9, folder 6.

11. E. W. Scripps to Robert F. Paine, Feb. 26, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.

12. *Newspaper Maker*, April 12, 1900, p. 6.

Appendix 2

METHODS:

QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

A constructed week sample was created for 1907. All non-advertising content in the newspapers was coded according to subject and length. The original subject categories are below; the various tables and figures demonstrate collapsed versions of the categories.

Reliability: All categories had reliability above 93 percent.

Unit of measurement: The entire story (including headline), cartoon, or editorial.

Quantitative Content Analysis Codebook.

1. Subject

01. National politics: political issues (federal government, Congress, members of Congress, staff, bills, debates and proceedings, executive departments including cabinet, defense and armed forces, first family, national political parties), Supreme Court
02. U.S. foreign relations
03. Foreign politics: relations between and among foreign countries (where U.S. not clearly involved), wars, elections, governmental operations, heads of state
04. Foreign news (not political): general customs and culture
05. Foreign news: acts of nature (floods, earthquakes, disasters, famine), shipwrecks, accidents, deaths
06. Foreign news: society, art, culture, fashion, leisure (theater, books, sports, music)
07. Foreign news: disease (cholera, plagues)
08. Foreign news: business
09. Foreign news: crime, trials, police, arrests, jails
10. Foreign history
11. U.S. history: commemoration of U.S. historical events (Washington's Birthday, Civil War reminiscences, general U.S. history)

12. Natural history (U.S. or foreign): Ice Age, dinosaurs, etc.
13. State politics (other than home state of the newspaper): politics (legislatures, governors, state politicians); politics of cities outside home state (e.g., mayoralty election in a city outside home state)
14. Home-state politics (includes politics of cities in home state but not home city)
15. Local politics: home county, city, or suburbs (city council, mayor, agencies other than police, fire, hospital, and mental health)
16. General crime news: police, criminal court news not home county, home city, or suburbs, prisoners (current and past), jails, duels, police investigations, chases, arraignments, or trials in criminal cases, confessions, executions, general police news
17. Crime (home county, city, or suburbs): police and criminal court news, arrests
18. Civil court issues (lawsuits), not to include divorce cases, sanity hearings; general lawyers (unless concerning a crime), not home county, city, or suburbs
19. Civil court issues, home county, city, or suburbs
20. Accidents (fatal, not fatal) and hospitals: train wreck, explosion, boat sinking, carriage upset, injuries (not home county)
21. Accidents (fatal, not fatal) and hospitals: home county, city, or suburbs
22. Divorce, adultery, illicit love, romantic triangles, elopements, breach of promise, romance, etc.
23. Insanity, mental institutions
24. Suicides, attempted suicides
25. Fires, not home county, city, or suburbs
26. Fires, home county, city, or suburbs
27. Other local news, home county, city, or suburbs
28. General business and finance news, not home county, city, or suburbs: business, finance, railroads, mining, agriculture, real estate, general investment climate, shipping, trade, markets, crop news, fishing, ship and railroad schedules
29. Business and finance, home county, city, or suburbs (includes profiles of local businesses, business persons, bankruptcies)
30. Labor, not home county, city, or suburbs: working conditions, labor unions, labor talks, strikes
31. Labor (home county, city, or suburbs)
32. Science, education, technology, medicine: inventions, new technology, schools, school children, general health, drugs, general medical news, conventions or meetings in science, education, technology, or medicine
33. Disease, plagues, U.S.
34. Weather, U.S. (daily forecasts, weather reports, storms, etc.)
35. Religions, churches, charity, and philanthropy, denominational meetings, Vatican, philosophical or quasi-religious groups (e.g., Theosophical Society); charity
36. Deaths, serious illness: death from general causes (as opposed to accidents, crime), obituaries, wills, funerals, or reports on persons dying, not home county, city, or suburbs

37. Death, serious illness: Home county, city, or suburbs
38. Miscellany
39. Fashion, society news: parties, dances, reunions, general society, clothes, traveling
40. Recipes, cooking, news about the home: how to decorate, new homes, food
41. "Women's work": shopping, cleaning, cooking, volunteer work by women, women's groups, clubs, or auxiliaries
42. Women in unusual occupations (e.g., reporter, physician, minister)
43. Fraternal organizations (GAR, Masons, Odd Fellows)
44. General entertainment: theater, news, plays, reviews, interviews with actors, music (concerts, music festivals, music halls), lectures (Chautauqua, general lectures)
45. Reading and art: book reviews, news about books, writers, art, and artists
46. Other leisure activities (other than sports); vacations
47. Fiction, verse, news about fiction or verse
48. Hobbies, games (card games), pets, animals, zoos, circuses, animal protection groups
49. Sports and adventure: baseball, boats, boxing, golf, horse racing, walking, bicycling, tennis, hunting, misc., adventure (safaris, hunting, animal terror)
50. The newspaper itself: articles about the newspaper and general promotional articles
51. Newspaper coupons, premiums, contests, patterns, cut-out dolls, etc.
52. Indexes for the newspaper
53. Journalism in general (not this specific newspaper)
54. Editorials, editorial cartoons
55. Letters to the editor
56. Editorial page columns (but not editorials)
57. Articles for children (children's puzzles, literature)
58. Comics, jokes
59. Geek stories: Deformities, weird stories, two-headed people, mad-dogs, dwarfs, etc.
60. Miscellany
61. News of other states and cities, not home county, city, or suburbs and not political
62. Indians/Native Americans (traditions, culture); resettlement as part of national political news
63. Advice to the lovelorn

II. Business

(If the article, photograph, cartoon, etc., deals with business, what is presented?)

1. Excesses or corruption of business: evils of trusts, monopolies; need for regulation; investigations into business fraud or malfeasance; accusations of malfeasance
2. Honest business, explicit statement: business is good, honest
3. Routine business: ship arrivals, stock markets, etc.

4. Some combination of the above
5. Not applicable; no mention of business

III. Labor.

Does the article deal in any way with labor? labor unions?

1. Strike (pending, current, ending, ended; includes negotiations during a strike; any strike-related activities such as picketing, violence; profiles of workers during strikes)
2. Injunction against strike
3. Industrial accidents (e.g., worker hurt in accident on job)
4. Wages (not part of any of the above, e.g., wages low for workers; cost of living)
5. Labor political issues (labor union party, emphasis primarily on political activity; if other labor issues mentioned they are subsidiary to this point)
6. Other labor-related issues or events (e.g., union parade, meetings not strike related)
7. Not applicable; does not deal with labor

IV. Source of Article

1. Wire service (United Press Associations, Associated Press, etc.)
2. Newspaper Enterprise Association
3. Local
4. Other
5. Not clear, do not know

V. Photos, Illustrations

Is the article illustrated (photograph, line drawing)?

1. Yes—line drawing or cartoon
2. Yes—photograph
3. Yes, both line drawing, cartoon
4. Yes, other

VI. Length

Column inches of print: 000025 to 999999

VII. Length

Column inches of photograph: 000000 to 999999

VIII. Editorials: Subject

1. Local politics (city, suburbs)
2. Other politics (region, state, nation)
3. Human interest, moral uplift, inspirational message (work hard, save money, be wise)

4. Other
5. Not applicable (not an editorial)

IX. Origin of Article: Dateline.

If there is a dateline, what city?

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Cleveland | 2. Cincinnati | 3. Covington, Ky. |
| 4. St. Louis | 5. Memphis | 6. Nashville |
| 7. Terre Haute | 8. Evansville | 9. Denver |
| 10. Dallas | 11. Oklahoma City | 12. Pueblo |
| 13. Los Angeles | 14. San Diego | 15. San Francisco |
| 16. Fresno | 17. Sacramento | 18. Portland |
| 19. Tacoma | 20. Seattle | 21. Spokane |
| 22. Detroit | 23. Columbus | 24. Akron |
| 25. Toledo | 26. Berkeley | 27. Kansas City |
| 28. Des Moines | 29. Other (specify). | |

Notes

Introduction

1. The rise of a national economy required mass-marketing, so business came to rely on newspapers (through advertising) as a means of reaching consumers. The rise of cities created complex social settings where newspapers served as vital communications links.

2. Juergens, *Joseph Pulitzer*, xii.

3. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, 90.

4. *Ibid.*, 107.

5. *Ibid.*, 524.

6. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America*, 214-15.

7. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, 483-96.

8. *Ibid.*, 484.

9. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America*, 722-23.

10. Owen, *Economics of Freedom of Expression*, 46.

11. *Printer's Ink*, May 28, 1890, 869-71.

12. Such pricing was not static; many of Scripps's competitors eventually lowered their prices.

13. E. W. Scripps to Ward C. Mayborn, Dec. 18, 1907, subseries 1.2, box 10, folder 14. (Unless otherwise indicated, all E. W. Scripps correspondence and documents cited in the following notes are housed in the E. W. Scripps Correspondence Collection, Alden Library, Ohio University.)

14. *Newspaper Maker*, April 12, 1900, 6.

15. E. W. Scripps to R. F. Paine, Jan. 16, 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 14.

16. *Pittsburgh Leader*, Jan. 21, 1898, 8.

17. *The Newspaper Maker*, Dec. 3, 1896, 4.