

EDWIN EMERY
MICHAEL EMERY

THE PRESS AND AMERICA



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YORK, MONDAY, JUNE

new record that he estimated the number at one thousand two hundred.

The names of misery and suffering and agony and despair was hardly be chronicled. One man, a stark named Woodruff, was reading along intentionally. Suddenly, with a frantic shout, he threw himself over the bank into the flood and would have been carried to his death had he not been caught by some persons below.

"Let me die," he exclaimed, when they reached him. "My wife and children are dead. I have no use for my life." An hour later I saw Woodruff lying on the ground entirely overcome by liquor. Intemperance was a powerful boon to his race. Persons who know him said that he had never before been before.

THE FLOOD

Several of the whiskey were washed Johanssons, and some men were lying in the world sought for liquid. So it was that at last night the streets and were intermingled with drunken persons. What was worse than the fact that incoming brought hundreds of with the Shave and Bohemian, sending furniture, endeavoring to maintain some part that tried to the bushes and in the it was so one in authority, and of even a citizen's presence organized. A police man and this narrow neck of land that they approach to the city of Johanssons.

Some take watches from dead men's usually four finger-rings from the women. The ruffians also climbed into street houses and ransacked the rooms. Whatever they thought valuable. No one was in the work, and no one was to be seen.

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\$2,000,000. One million will not make the Cambridge Works whole.

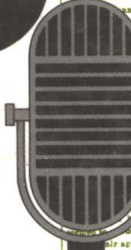
THE FLOOD

Black and poor were served with the terrible disaster. I saw a girl standing in her new fur on the river's bank dead in a loose petticoat and with a shawl over her head. At first I thought she was an Italian woman, but her face showed that I was mistaken. She was the wife of the town's daughter of a wealthy Johanssons banker—and this single petticoat and shawl were not only all that was left her, but all that was saved from the magnificent residence of her father. She had jumped to the hills not an instant too soon.

The collector of Johanssons, Mr. George Martin, said to me to-day:

"All my money went away in the flood. My house is gone. So are all my clothes, but thank God, my family is safe."

O. H. W.



PUNDAI AMONG THE DEAD.

A second visit to the Starbuck City of the Cenemagth.

(Continued from page 1.)

Johanssons, Pa., June 2.—How for to-day's story. All night long 500 laborers toiled at the railroad tracks, and at 6 o'clock this morning the first train passed over the road for the first time in Johanssons. I was out along the line with shovel and shovel of joy from the hundreds of workers who were waiting beside the track to obtain the supplies contained in the manifest. There were laid in long Shave all night waiting to get through. The first train to pass over the reconstructed track was that set out by the citizens of Philadelphia and named by the American Club. The train brought food, news and much needed relief to hundreds of starving women and children. The "God thank you's" would have been heard on the line of the railroad.

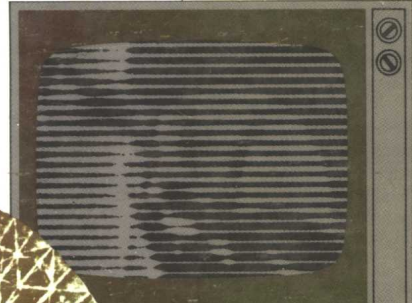
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AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY OF THE MASS MEDIA

FIFTH EDITION



love this afternoon. He says that when the dam of Cenemagth Lake broke the water seemed to leap, scarcely touching the ground. It bounded over the valley, crashing and roaring, carrying everything before it. For a mile in front seemed like a solid wall twenty feet high. The warning given the station city was sent from several Park Village by Freight Agent Dunbar. When the great wall that held the body of water began to crumble at the top he sent a message begging the people of Johanssons

THE PRESS AND AMERICA

An Interpretive History of the Mass Media

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Foreword

Journalism history is the story of humanity's long struggle to communicate with each other—to dig out and interpret news and to offer intelligent opinion and entertaining thoughts in the marketplace of ideas. Part of the story has as its theme the continuing efforts by men and women to break down the barriers that have been erected to prevent the flow of information and ideas, upon which public opinion is so largely dependent. Another aspect of the story is concerned with the means, or media, by which essential news, opinion, and other desired information reached the public, from the days of the handwritten "newes letter" to the printed page, radio, and television. Just as important to this story are the heroes and villains, as well as the bit actors, who made the world of communication what it is today. Finally, all of this becomes truly meaningful when the development of America's journalistic tradition is related to the progress of its people.

The title, *The Press and America*, was conceived in 1949, when the newspaper industry was dominant, there was only a smattering of interest in the history of radio, and television was in its infancy. There have been many changes in media roles and communications technologies since then, as demonstrated by the extensive revisions of this book through five editions. For reasons of tradition and continuity, our title remains the same, reflecting as always the emphasis placed upon

the correlation of journalism history with political, social, economic, and cultural trends. The same interpretation is offered when dealing with other media industries and the emerging technologies. In this interaction, the media have had their influence upon the course taken by the United States. Conversely, the conditions and influences present in each historical era have cumulatively determined the shape and character of the media. Within this framework emerges the special story of the men and women of journalism and of the institutions and traditions they created. Thus, the story ranges from newspaper editor James Franklin to television reporter Dan Rather; from newspaper publisher Mary Katherine Goddard to Katharine Graham; from opinion-molder Horace Greeley to Edward R. Murrow; from radical publicist Sam Adams to I.F. Stone; from talented writer Tom Paine to Tom Wolfe.

In the opening pages there is a greatly expanded treatment of the ancient roots of communications history. This leads to the traditional account of European beginnings and English influences and also to the first of several new sections relating the Spanish contribution to American journalism. When discussing the long time-span ending with the Civil War, the primary concern is with an exposition of the principles upon which the American Fourth Estate was founded.

The entire second half of the book has been rewritten and reorganized to

continue the story—decade by decade—and to include extensive examinations of media other than newspapers: magazines, book publishing, advertising, public relations, photojournalism's documentaries, newsreels, motion pictures, radio, and television. Thus in the 1920s, the stories of radio's David Sarnoff and Amos 'n' Andy, of Hollywood's David Wark Griffith and Charlie Chaplin, of the newspapers' Adolph Ochs and the *New York Daily News*, of the *Reader's Digest* and the *New Yorker*, and of the rise of advertising agencies and public relations counsels become interrelated. With words and pictures the book surveys landmark events in communications history, probing significant issues, personalities, and media organizations, all the while tracing how major events in American history were covered by reporters, editors, and broadcasters and how other writers, advertisers, and advocates influenced American life.

The electronic media have been given broadened emphasis in this edition, reflecting the impact of first radio and then television on news and politics, but also the entertainment area. A hard look is given to television's performance during the Vietnam War and the Watergate era and to its controversial social role from the 1960s to the 1980s. There is expanded coverage of women journalists, minorities, alternative journalism, investigative reporting, and media law. Closing chapters review in detail the character and impact of the "new technology" for print and electronic media, the economic power of major media organizations, the internationalizing of both media impact and media technologies, and pressures from the Third World for changes in the international news flow. Chapter bibliographies have been expanded and updated. Many illustrations have been added, reflecting in particular the substantial changes and expanded coverage of this edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to many persons who have aided in this venture during four decades. For this edition, criticisms and suggestions for change were elicited from Professors William H. Taft of the University of Missouri, Sam Kuczun of the University of Colorado, Ted C. Smythe of California State University, Fullerton, Maurine Beasley of the University of Maryland, and Calder M. Pickett of the University of Kansas. Making information available generously were journalism professors Félix Gutiérrez of the University of Southern California, Betty Winfield of Washington State University, and Nancy Roberts of the University of Minnesota. Of great assistance was research compiled by Professor Emeritus Robert W. Desmond of the University of California and research findings organized and edited for *Journalism History* by Professor Tom Reilly, California State University, Northridge. Others whose research or comments were of special aid included journalism professors David Nord, Indiana; Marion Marzolf, Michigan; Paul Peterson, Ohio State; Sharon and James Murphy, Southern Illinois; Warren Francke, Nebraska at Omaha; and Robert Drechsel, Wisconsin. Our special thanks go to Steve Dalphin, journalism/mass communication editor, and Virginia McCarthy, production editor, of Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The debts for aid with earlier editions can be acknowledged here only in part. A very substantial acknowledgment is due Henry Ladd Smith, then at Wisconsin, co-author of the first edition, particularly for the graceful writing in the early chapters. Co-author Michael Emery began his association with the book during the third edition revision. Manuscript critics have been Professors Ralph D. Casey, Minnesota; Frederick B. Marbut, Pennsylvania State; Kenneth E. Olson and Richard A. Schwarzlose, Northwestern; William H.

Taft, Missouri; and Bruce H. Westley, Kentucky. Professor Harold L. Nelson of Wisconsin has given many suggestions for text revisions, particularly in the colonial period, and gave invaluable assistance during the preparation of the original index. Journalism bibliographers upon whom we have most depended are Warren C. Price, Oregon; Calder M. Pickett, Kansas; Eleanor Blum, Illinois; and Christopher H. Sterling, editor of *Communication Booknotes*, George Washington University.

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Finally, we acknowledge our debt to the many scholars and writers whose contributions to media history are listed in the footnotes and bibliographies.

EDWIN EMERY
MICHAEL EMERY
December 1983

The first edition of *The Press and America* won the coveted Sigma Delta Chi national research award, the highest in the field of journalism.

Edwin Emery, Ph.D., is Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota. He has been president of the Association for Education in Journalism and editor of its research journal, *Journalism Quarterly*. Author or editor of ten books, Professor Emery also won the Sigma Delta Chi national award for his *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association*, the AEJ Bleyer award for historical research, and a Guggenheim Fellowship. He is a former United Press bureau manager.

Michael Emery, Ph.D., is Professor of Journalism at California State University, Northridge. He is coeditor of *Readings in Mass Communication*, which won a Kappa Tau Alpha special research award, and of *America's Front Page News, 1690-1970*. He has been associate editor of *Journalism History*, chair of the West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, and consultant to the Newspapers in America exhibit at Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry. He was a United Press International correspondent.

The Daily Courant.

Wednesday, March 11. 1702.

From the *Holland Courant*, Dated March 11. N. S.

Naples, Febr. 22.
On Wednesday last, our New Viceroy, the Duke of Ecalona, arriv'd here with a Squadron of the Gallies of Sicily. He made his Entrance dress'd in a French habit; and to give us the greater Hopes of the King's coming hither, went to Lodge in one of the little Palaces, leaving the Royal one for his Majesty. The Marquis of Grigni is also arriv'd here with a Regiment of French.

Rome, Febr. 25. In a Military Congregation of States that was held here, it was Resolv'd to draw a Line from Alcoli to the Borders of the Ecclesiastical State, thereby to hinder the Incursions of the Transalpine Troops. Orders are sent to Civita Vecchia to fit out the Gallies, and to strengthen the Garrison of that Place. Signior Casali is made Governor of Perugia. The Marquis del Vasto, and the Prince de Calerna continue still in the Imperial Embassadors Palace; where his Excellency has a Guard of 50 Men every Night in Arms. The King of Portugal has desir'd the Arch-Bishoprick of Lisbon, vacant by the Death of Cardinal Soarez, for the Infante his second Son, who is about 11 Years old.

Vienne, Mar. 4. Orders are sent to the 4 Regiments of Foot, the 3 of Cuirassiers, and to that of Dragoons, which are broke up from Hungary, and are on their way to Italy, and which consist of about 24 or 15000 Men, to hasten their March thither with all Expedition. The 6 new Regiments of Hussars that are now raising, are in so great a forwardness, that they will be compleat, and in a Condition to march by the middle of May. Prince Lewis of Baden has written to Court, to excuse himself from coming thither, his Presence being so very necessary, and so much desir'd on the Upper-Rhine.

Frankfort, Mar. 12. The Marquis d'Uxelles is come to Strasburg, and is to draw together a Body of some Regiments of Horse and Foot from the Garrisons of Alsace; but will not lessen those of Strasburg and Landau, which are already very weak. On the other hand, the Troops of His Imperial Majesty, and his Allies, are going to form a Body near Germersheim in the Palatinate, of which Place, as well as of the Lines at Spire, Prince Lewis of Baden is expected to take a View, in three or four days. The English and Dutch Ministers, the Count of Frise, and the Baron Vander Meer; and likewise the Imperial Envoy Count Lowenstein, are gone to Nordlingen, and it is hop'd that in a short time we shall hear from thence of some favourable Resolutions for the Security of the Empire.

Lige, Mar. 14. The French have taken the Cannon de Longie, who was Secretary to the Dean de Mean, out of our Castle, where he has been for some time a Prisoner, and have deliver'd him to the Provost of Maubeuge, who has carry'd him from hence, but we do not know whither.

Paris, Mar. 17. Our Letters from Italy say, That most of our Reinforcements were Landed there; that the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Troops seem to live very peaceably with one another in the Country of Parma, and that the Duke of Vendome, as he was visiting several Posts, was within 100 Paces of falling into the Hands of the Germans. The Duke of Chartres, the Prince of Conti, and several other Princes of the Blood, are to make the Campaign in

Flanders under the Duke of Burgundy; and the Duke of Maine is to Command upon the Rhine.

From the *Amsterdam Courant*, Dated Mar. 5. 6.

Rome, Febr. 25. We are taking here all possible Precautions for the Security of the Ecclesiastical State in this present Conjunction, and have desir'd to raise 3000 Men in the Cantons of Switzerland. The Pope has appointed the Duke of Berwick to be his Lieutenant-General, and he is to Command 6000 Men on the Frontiers of Naples: He has also settled upon him a Pension of 6000 Crowns a Year during Life.

From the *Paris Gazette*, Dated Mar. 10. 1702.

Naples, Febr. 19. 600 French Soldiers are arriv'd here, and are expected to be follow'd by 3400 more. A Courier that came hither on the 14th. has brought Letters by which we are assur'd that the King of Spain designs to be here towards the end of March; and accordingly Orders are given to make the necessary Preparations against his Arrival. The two Troops of Horse that were Commanded to the Abruzzo are posted at Pescara with a Body of Spanish Foot, and others in the Fort of Monroio.

Paris, March. 18. We have Advice from Toulon of the 5th instant, that the Wind having long stood favourable, 23000 Men were already sail'd for Italy; that 2500 more were Embarking, and that by the 15th it was hoped they might all get thither. The Count d'Estres arriv'd there on the Third instant, and set all hands at work to fit out the Squadron of 9 Men of War and some Fregats, that are appointed to carry the King of Spain to Naples. His Catholick Majesty will go on Board the *Thunderer*, of 110 Guns.

We have Advice by an Express from Rome of the 18th of February, That notwithstanding the pressing Instances of the Imperial Embassadors, the Pope had Condemn'd the Marquis del Vasto to lose his Head and his Estate to be confiscated, for not appearing to Answer the Charge against him of Publickly Scandalizing Cardinal Janson.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT will be found from the Foreign Prints, which from time to time, as Occasion offers, will be mention'd in this Paper, that the Author has taken Care to be duly furnish'd with all that comes from Abroad in any Language. And for an Assurance that he will not, under Pretence of having Private Intelligence, unpose any Additions of seiz'd Circumstances to an Action, but give his Extracts fairly and Impartially; at the beginning of each Article he will quote the Foreign Paper from whence 'tis taken, that the Publick, seeing from what Country a piece of News comes with the Allowance of that Government, may be better able to Judge of the Credibility and Faucts of the Relation: Nor will he take upon him to give any Comments or Conjectures of his own, but will relate only Matter of Fact, supposing other People to have Sense enough to make Reflections for themselves.

The Courant (as the Title shews) will be Publish'd Daily; being design'd to give all the Material News as soon as every Post arrives: and to confin'd to half the Compass, so save the Publick at least half the Impertinencies, of ordinary News-Papers.

LONDON. Sold by E. Mallet, next Door to the King's Arms Tavern at Fleet-Brige.

Facsimile of the first daily newspaper in the English language.

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1

The Heritage of the American Press

Give me but the liberty of the press and I will give to the minister a venal House of Peers ... and servile House of Commons ... I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance—And yet, armed with liberty of the press ... I will attack the mighty fabric he has reared ... and bury it amidst the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter.

—Richard Brinsley Sheridan

The modern press system is the gift of no one nation. It is only the current stage in the evolution of communications efforts, spanning all continents and at least 10,000 years. A series of developments in printing and writing, beginning in the Middle East and Asia, slowly spreading to Europe and finally to America, led to today's marvelous linkage of reporting talent, computers, high-speed color presses, and satellites. Each historic breakthrough was motivated by the need to keep track of trading records, communicate to far-flung empires, spread religious ideas, or leave behind artistic records of accomplishments. The story of American journalism would not be complete without tracing a number of these notable achievements.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING

The first systematic attempt to collect and distribute information was *Acta Diurna*, the hand-lettered "daily gazette" posted regularly in the Roman Forum between 59 B.C. and A.D. 222. Prepared by *actuarii*, the earliest known news writers, the reports told of both senate votes and popular events. These were in turn copied by scribes and carried throughout the empire. This enlightened program, enjoyed by Romans who learned of government decrees, legal notices,

and even the latest gladiatorial results, had been preceded by many attempts to make the storage and distribution of information convenient. Around 3500 B.C. the Sumerians of the Middle East devised a system of preserving records by inscribing signs and symbols in wet clay tablets using cylinder seals and then baking them in the sun. They also devised a cuneiform system of writing, using bones to mark signs in wet clay. Stamp seals, engraved objects used to denote ownership, had been common 1000 years earlier. Pictographs or ideographs—drawings of animals, commonly recognized objects, and humans—were popular in the Mediterranean area, China, India, what is now Mexico, and Egypt, where they became known as hieroglyphs. There is evidence that a system of movable type was devised in Asia Minor prior to 1700 B.C., the date of a flat clay disk found in Crete. The disk contained forty-five different signs that had been carved on individual pieces of type and then pressed onto the clay.

Elaborate carvings in stone and wood became common in the eastern Mediterranean around 1500 B.C., roughly the same time that the Phoenicians, successful traders and bankers for 1000 years, introduced symbols for sounds and created an alphabet. Colored fluids were used to outline the “letters” of the alphabet and to produce the pictographs. Around 500 B.C. the Egyptians used reeds found along the Nile River to make papyrus. Scribes using brushes or quills could then “write” their hieroglyphics and sheets of papyrus could be joined to make a scroll. For several hundred years the scroll collections were housed at the centers of learning. Whereas the clay and stone tablets were heavy and difficult to store or carry any distance, the papyrus sheets and scrolls allowed information to be shared easily.

Vellum was used as another writing surface beginning about A.D. 100. The parchment, made from animal skins, was used in the Greek and Roman empires for special manuscripts or scrolls. At this same time the Chinese invented a smooth, white paper from wood pulp and fibres and also discovered a way to transfer an ideograph from stone to paper after inking the surface. These “rubbings” were joined together to produce beautifully colored scrolls.

Wang Chieh published what is considered the world’s oldest preserved book from wood blocks in A.D. 868. Large blocks could be carved so that one sheet of paper, printed on both sides, could be folded into thirty-two pages of booksize. Feng Tao printed the Confucian classics between 932 and 953 and in about 1045 the artisan Pi Sheng was inspired to devise a set of movable clay carvings—a sort of earthenware “type”—that could be reused. This process was also used in Persia and Egypt. Wood-block printing was introduced to Europe when Marco Polo returned from China in 1295. It is difficult to establish Chinese influence, but block printing became popular in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its most striking use came in the production of illustrated books. Meanwhile, in Asia, the innovations continued; movable type cast in copper or bronze was used in Korea in 1241.

Johann Gutenberg of Mainz and Strasbourg is credited with introducing printing from movable type in Europe. Beginning about 1450, with the help of his partner Johann Fust, Gutenberg used a mixture of lead and other metals to cast individual letters in reverse and high relief. Apparently he did not realize this was being done in China. After printing several books, he began to reproduce the Bible in 1456. However, unable to pay his loans to Fust, Gutenberg lost his shop the following year and Fust finished the printing of the Bible in 1460.

William Caxton imported the first printing press into England in 1476 and by 1490 at least one printing press was operating in every major European city.

EARLY WRITINGS

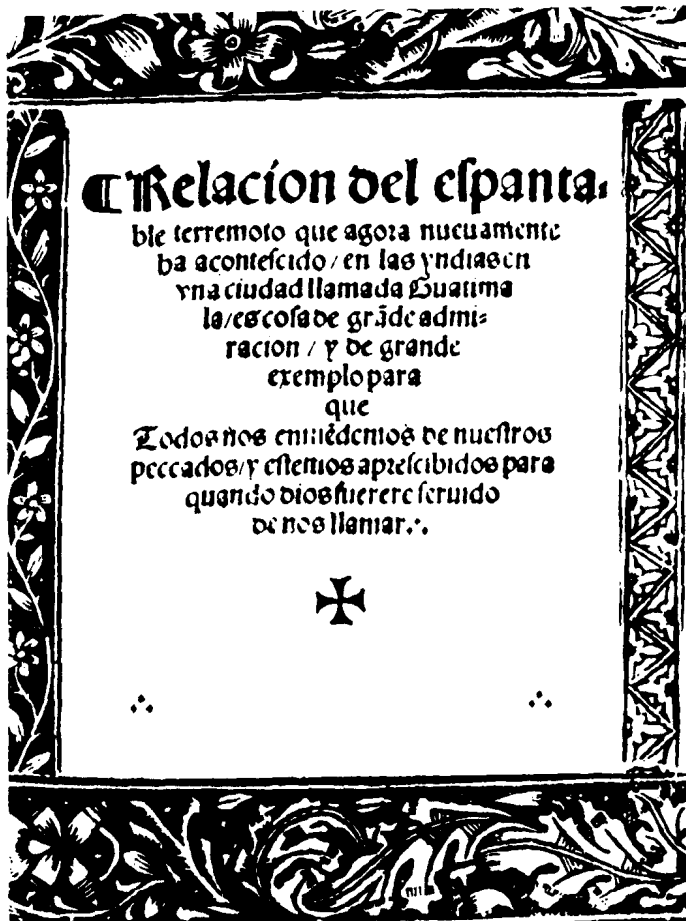
The longest continuing information program on record was in China, where, beginning about A.D. 750, the imperial court published semiannual reports on the condition of the people, in addition to monthly bulletins and calendars. Known as *Tching-pao*, these bulletins were printed weekly beginning around 1360; by 1830 they had become daily publications. Known later as the *Peking Gazette*, the reports lasted until the end of the empire in 1911. Another publication for provincial governors appeared in about 950 and also lasted until 1911.

The preservation of history was a goal of writers from the earliest of times. In the opening pages of his monumental five-volume history of world news reporting, the press historian Dr. Robert W. Desmond suggests that the first writers were performing functions "akin to those performed later by literary men and by journalists of the printed media. They were writing of their own times and people; they were gathering and recording information. . . ."¹ Desmond included here the Greek epic poet Homer and his *Illiad* and *Odyssey*, the "father of history" Herodotus, who traveled throughout the Middle East, and Demosthenes of Athens, who often wrote speeches for others and was something of a public relations expert. Confucius dealt with his times and contemporaries in China, Thucydides wrote eight volumes on the history of the war between Athens and Sparta, Julius Caesar reported the Roman wars in his *Commentaries*, and Plutarch turned out numerous "profiles" of prominent leaders. The reports on the life of Jesus Christ, the *New Testament*, and the letters of the traveling Paul have influenced untold millions. Copies of the *Acta Diurna* were kept for the public in a special building, just as scrolls were preserved in many lands.

Marco Polo's detailed, hand-written accounts of his two trips to China, totaling 33 years, were recopied and distributed for more than 250 years. Finally *The Travels of Marco Polo* was one of the first books to appear in Europe, in 1559. A history of the entire world was written by Mongol historian Rashid al-Din in the early fourteenth century. At least three volumes appeared in Arabic, dealing with the conquests of Genghis Khan, the prophet Muhammad, the history of China, the history of India including the life of Buddha, Old Testament history, and reflections on other peoples whom Mongols encountered during their thirteenth century invasions. A lavishly illustrated partial manuscript of the second volume was sold in London for \$2 million in 1980, after having been lost for nearly 500 years.²

THE SPANISH INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM

The oldest known preserved report of a current event describes a 1541 storm and earthquake in Guatemala. Written by a notary public named Juan Rodríguez, the eight-page booklet was printed in Mexico City by Juan Pablos, an Italian who was the representative in New Spain of Juan Cromberger, the owner



Oldest known preserved news report, printed in 1541 in Mexico City.
 Journalism History

of a well-known Seville printing house. Entering the world of the highly developed Aztecs, Incas, and Mayans, the Spanish brought the first press to the Americas in 1534. Bishop Juan de Zumárraga delivered the press to Mexico City, and Esteban Martín was said to have done the first printing. But surviving examples are of Pablos' work, dating from 1539 when he, pressman Gil Barbero, and a black slave turned out their first pages.³ A translation of the "headline" on the cover sheet of the storm report of 1541 reads:

Report of the Terrifying Earthquake Which Has Reoccurred In the Indies in a City Called Guatemala.

It is an event of great astonishment and great example so that we all repent from our sins and so that we will be ready when God call us.

Summary of what happened in Guatemala:

This first printing was of high quality. Elaborate woodcuts and ornate borders and initial letters were used almost from the beginning.

A second center for printing in the Americas was Lima, where a press was established in 1583. The first printer there was Antonio Ricardo, who printed a catechism in Indian languages the following year. Much of the early work was the bilingual printing of religious materials, many of them colorfully decorated. By 1600 at least 174 books, possibly more, had been published. Primitive newsheets called *hojas volantes* (flying pages or bulletins) or *noticias, relaciones, sucesos, relatos* also appeared in Spain. Some were printed in the Americas in the late sixteenth century; one, printed by Ricardo in Lima in 1594, was preserved. It gave an account of the capture of the English pirate "John of Aquines," son of John Hawkins, off the coast of Peru.⁴

Although the development of a regular periodical press was delayed in the Americas by Spanish censorship and the high cost of printing news for a small group of literate persons, publications of approximately monthly frequency began to appear in Lima in 1618. These *noticiarios* reflected the excitement over European news, and some of them were copies of European newsheets. Scholars have not determined that any real periodicals came into being during the seventeenth century, although a *Gaceta de Mexico* was published irregularly in 1667 and four volumes of *Mercurio Volante* were published by Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora in 1693, detailing the military campaigns in Mexico. It appears that the first regular periodical was Mexico's *Gaceta de Mexico*, which began carrying both local and foreign news in 1722. It was published monthly by a church official, Juan Ignacio Castorena Ursua y Goyeneche, who included items from California, Manila, Havana, Guatemala, Acapulco, and other cities of New Spain. In his first issue Castorena asked governors and church officials in other cities to send him items "worthy of the public light and for good example."⁵ Castorena's paper lasted 6 months because he was transferred, but it was revived in 1728 and lasted until about 1739. The second periodical appeared in Guatemala in 1729, *Gazeta de Goatemala*, and the third in Lima, *Gaceta de Lima* in 1744. Although all three publications were short-lived, they provided the foundation for the strong Spanish-language press of the future.

EUROPEAN NEWS REPORTING

The oldest known and preserved copies of a titled, regularly published news-sheet were produced in Germany in 1609, but the existing copies do not indicate the city of publication, the printer, or the publisher. From an analysis of paper, type, printing technique, political content, and religious coloring, experts deduced that the site of this earliest known newspaper had to be in northern Germany. According to Dr. Ralph O. Nafziger, who made a lengthy study of the evidence produced by German researchers, the 1609 *Aviso* appeared in Wolfenbüttel rather than in nearby Bremen as was thought earlier. This was a weekly publication, as were the *Relation of Strasbourg* and the *Avisa Relation oder Zeitung* of Augsburg. Both of these publications also date from 1609.⁶

Between 1610 and 1661, titled newsheets appeared in Switzerland, England, Spain, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Poland, and elsewhere.

Amsterdam printers issued untitled *corantos* for readers in both Holland and England as early as 1603. From around 1620 to 1631 a French version was sent to Paris. This ended when the first titled weekly appeared in Paris in that year. Desmond's research indicates that European printers produced untitled, small "flysheets" from wood blocks as early as 1415. These sheets, printed on one side only, were sold to the public in the Germanic states and Central Europe. Reportedly an account of the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and a letter from Christopher Columbus in 1493 were published.⁷ Newsletters were also common, the most famous being the Fugger newsletters from the Fugger banking house in Augsburg. Between 1568 and 1604 a general readership learned of such historic events as the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and early voyages of Sir Francis Drake. A court newspaper begun in Stockholm in 1645 still appears and is the world's oldest known continuously published newspaper.⁸ A German newspaper begun in 1616, the *Frankfurter Oberpostamtzeitung* (renamed the *Postzeitung*), later became the first daily newspaper in the world.⁹ It continued until 1866, when it merged with the famed *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Minute-by-minute reports of the English Parliament were published daily for four consecutive weeks in 1660 by Oliver Williams in his *Perfect Diurnal*, a small booklet.

THE PRESS DEVELOPS IN ENGLAND

The point to all this is that England had no special claim as the home of the modern press, even though it advanced beyond all other countries journalistically. In England, as in other lands, news was exchanged long before there was even the most primitive form of newspaper. One of the great attractions at the country fairs of the Middle Ages was the opportunity to exchange gossip and information. Country folk and gentry traveled annually to Bartholomew, Donnybrook, or Stourbridge as much to swap news as to buy yearly supplies of staples. Newspapers did not create news; news created newspapers.

It has been said that a true newspaper must meet the following qualifications:

- (1) it must be published at least once a week; (2) it must be produced by mechanical means (to distinguish it from the handwritten "newes letters"); (3) it must be available to anyone willing to pay the price, regardless of class or special interests; (4) it must print anything of interest to a general public, as contrasted with some of the religious and business publications; (5) it must have an appeal to a public of ordinary literary skill; (6) it must be timely, or at least relatively so in light of technical development; and (7) it must have stability.¹⁰

To produce a publication of this type, there was some incentive for gathering and processing information of interest to the general public—news. News thereupon became a commodity, like food or merchandise, produced for profit to meet a demand. Up to about 1500, the world *Tydings* usually described reports of current events. The word *news* was coined to differentiate between the casual dissemination of information and the deliberate attempt to gather and process the latest intelligence.

It is significant that the newspaper first flourished in areas where authority was weak, as in Germany, which at that time was divided into a patchwork of small principalities; or where rulers were more tolerant, as in the low countries. This explains why the development of the press lagged in England. True, William Caxton set up the first press in England in 1476, but nearly two centuries elapsed before the country had a genuine newspaper.

Caxton learned about printing on the continent, where it had been a craft since the middle of the fifteenth century. He had been governor of a chartered association of "adventurers," or merchants interested in foreign enterprise. Caxton was a learned man, the author and translator of several volumes, and a collector of fine books. He believed that it was his mission to bring the culture of the continent to his compatriots. His king, Edward IV, encouraged these ideas. Edward had just come to power, following a long civil war that had split the country. Not until 1471 was he safely in control of his government.¹¹ At once he began to repair the ravages of the internal conflict. Edward was responsible for progress in law, industry, and culture. It was under such circumstances that Caxton set up his tiny press "at the Sign of the Red Pale" in the almonry of the abbey at Westminster in 1476.¹²

THE TUDOR REIGN: LICENSING

The Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485 brought a new dynasty into being. Henry Tudor, the victor, ended the long feud between the royal houses of York and Lancaster, thereby bringing the country back to the stability it so desperately needed. A Lancastrian by blood and a Yorkist by marriage, Henry emerged from the Wars of the Roses, as the civil strife was called, with powers that were eventually to make the Tudors as nearly absolute in power as English monarchs could be. The nobility, which had previously restrained the powers of the English kings, was decimated by the long years of fighting. The Tudor monarchs took full advantage of the situation. Most of them were brilliant and able administrators. Under Tudor leadership England experienced a golden age. It was not, however, conducive to the progress of the press.

Caxton enjoyed relative freedom from royal interference, mostly because he never tried to test his status. Printing was not a social force for about 50 years after its establishment in England. Under the Tudors, however, the press became a matter of kingly concern, for that strong dynasty was noted for its attempts to grasp all possible power. Henry VIII started the control of the press in 1529 with a list of prohibited books. His purpose was to set up a bulwark against the rising tide of Protestantism. The first licensing system under government control was established a year later, and by a proclamation on Christmas day 1534, Henry VIII required printers to have royal permission before setting up shop. Thus the concept of "prior restraint" became law. †

During this period the powers of the Privy Council were also increased, at the expense of Parliament and the older courts but to the advantage of the crown. The Council supervised the administration of laws, regulated trade, kept an eye on the courts, and controlled the press. Beginning in 1542 the records of the Council show a continuous report of proceedings against individuals for

“unfitting worddes,” seditious utterances, and the like. As early as 1540 the Council made arrests for the printing of street ballads about political matters. The proclamation (ordinance) was the tool employed by the king or his Council to give legality and force to the regulation of the press. By later standards there was no legality to such royal ordinances, but they were enforced as law by the strong Tudors.¹³

Despite these repressive measures, a kind of literary black market supplied the forbidden information and entertainment. We know, for example, that Henry VIII was angered in the thirty-sixth year of his reign by accounts of a battle in Scotland. The news was peddled by London “broadsheet” vendors (a broadsheet was a paper printed specifically to describe a certain event). The king’s complaint was not so much that the reports were false but that the news had been printed without his permission. Apparently, even the absolute powers of the king could not throttle the press, but the climate was not healthy for the steady growth of journalism.

THE STATIONERS COMPANY

One way to control an industry is to make it a monopoly and then to hold the directors of it responsible for abuses. The Tudors did that with the printing industry in 1557 when Queen Mary established the Stationers Company. This organization had existed since 1357 as a society of court and text writers, to which the “limners,” or illustrators, were admitted after 1404. By 1500 the printers had also been admitted, but by Mary’s time the word “stationer” was applied to the publishers and dealers in books, as distinct from the printers.¹⁴ The Stationers Company was a kind of printing trust, and it made it easier for authorities to run down rebel printers not members of the elite group or sanctioned by it. Queen Elizabeth supplemented this control by her “Injunctions,” which gave the religious hierarchy a measure of control over printing. Until the upheavals of the midseventeenth century the Stationers Company exerted powerful controls over the press. In 1576, for example, the Stationers adopted an order for weekly searches of London printing houses (where almost all printing was concentrated). Pairs of searchers reported on work in progress, the number of orders on hand, identity of customers, number of employees, and wages paid. This constituted an effective check on extensive bootleg printing.

THE STAR CHAMBER

The infamous Star Chamber court, originally set up to protect the public but later the symbol of repression, was another barrier to free expression during the long period preceding the appearance of the English newspaper. By edicts of the Privy Council in 1566 and the Star Chamber in 1586, the pattern of restrictions for the next hundred years was outlined. Severe penalties were prescribed for printers foolish enough to defy the authorities. Strange as it may seem, there were printers willing to run that risk. One was William Carter, who was hanged for printing pamphlets favorable to the Catholic cause. Arrested and tortured in 1580, Carter was executed in 1584.¹⁵ Puritan rebels against the Established