

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN

VOLUME 27, NUMBER 5

JOURNALISM SERIES, NO. 39

ROBERT S. MANN, *Editor*

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A Comparative Study of St. Louis Dailies
From 1875 to 1925

BY ORLAND KAY ARMSTRONG, B. J., A. M.



ISSUED FOUR TIMES MONTHLY; ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE
POSTOFFICE AT COLUMBIA, MISSOURI—2500

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Preface

A comparative study of the newspapers of any city or locality over a period of years should be of interest in mirroring the progress of the public press during that time. Especially is this true of the period of fifty years from 1875 to 1925. During that time the world's greatest progress in science, invention, transportation, commerce, education, and many other factors of civilization has been made. The newspaper has kept pace with these developments.

But of greater interest, perhaps, is the tracing out of the development of those factors that make up modern newspaper production: the make-up and arrangement of the paper as to content and departments, the presentation of news, advertising, headlines, diction, editorials, and the technique of news and feature writing. Each of these has been moulded and influenced by the five decades just past: some of them tremendously—others not so greatly, but all measurably.

It is to note these developments and the factors governing them, and to forecast, to whatever extent possible, future tendencies in newspaper production that this study is made.

In the preparation of this thesis, files of the following newspapers have been used for material reference:

The St. Louis Republican, 1875 to 1890.

The St. Louis Republic, 1890 to 1900.

The St. Louis Gazette, 1875.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1900 to 1925.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 1900 to 1925.

The St. Louis Star, 1925.

The St. Louis Times, 1925.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This bulletin was written as a thesis while Mr. Armstrong was a graduate student in journalism at the University of Missouri. It was submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Beginnings of the Modern Newspaper

The romantic story of the growth of newspapers from small 4-, 6- and 8-page sheets with news presented under subject headings, to the large 20- to 60-page dailies of the cities today with departments of news, features, opinion, and advertising covering the wide range of human interest, is found in a study of the St. Louis newspapers of 1875 and of 1925, with a briefer survey of these same papers during the intervening years.

This fifty-year period has seen the development of the modern newspaper. The first half of this period felt the strong, energetic influence of such men as George William Curtis, Charles Anderson Dana, Horace Greeley, "Marse" Henry Watterson, and Joseph Pulitzer in their respective sanctums. The influence of Pulitzer and Watterson extended into the latter half and was augmented by that of the great unnumbered army of editors and reporters who do not stand out as lonely figures against the background of American journalism but who blend into its upward sweep and onward progress, men who have made newspapers the great vehicle of intelligence and education they are today.

Outstanding among the changes that have come about in the fifty years in the editorial side of the newspaper are those concerned with the presentation of news, together with the development of present-day newspaper style, fairly uniform among daily papers of all the larger cities as the style of fifty years ago was common to them; newspaper diction; the growth of feature material; illustrations and cartoons; and the development of modern make-up, including headlines, front page arrangement and the placing of news.

On the business side of the newspaper the great outstanding change has been in the growth of advertising. Here is a subject worthy of many a separate study: how from the columns of small, closely crowded advertisements of fifty years ago, scarcely changed in size and appearance during the seventy-five years preceding 1875, there grew the vast advertising campaigns covering full pages in the papers today, the copy worked out with scientific study toward psychological effect, one edition of the St. Louis newspapers today carrying advertising worth more than the business managers of fifty years ago could have hoped to attain in weeks and months.

The study reveals that in all channels of newspaper growth there was rapid development from 1875 to 1880; more rapid development between 1880 and 1885; most rapid changes in news presentation, headlines and general make-up from 1885 to 1890; the beginnings of modern advertising in the period from 1890 to 1900; tremendous growth in this factor from that time on; rapid business expansion from 1900 to 1910, with resultant space to be filled and news and feature matter in abundance to fill it; few changes in the period from 1910 to 1925 except in volume and amount,—news, features, humor, illustration, advertisements,—and the expansion of newspaper departments.

The editorial page furnishes the field of fewest changes and smallest growth. The editorial page of the St. Louis Republican of 1875 carried almost the same amount of opinion matter as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch does

today. The editorial has become less violent, less personal; more constructive in tone, more public in nature. Had it expanded in proportion to advertising it would now cover four or five pages. It could not—and would not—be read; it has kept within its original bounds out of necessity.

The ancestry of the modern newspaper was gaining strength during those decades from 1800 to 1875. The modern newspaper was conceived in 1875; born in 1885; reached a lusty childhood in 1895; reached a hearty manhood in 1910, and has now expanded in the strength of maturity. Natural life begins to decline some decades after youth passes; the newspaper need not. There are undoubtedly limits to its expansion; it has reached some of them; it will reach others soon. But as long as the great economic factor of advertising furnishes the financial foundation for such tremendous business enterprise as the large-city newspaper has become there need be no old age to this crowning product of modern journalism.

This paper will set forth the growth of the modern newspaper over a period of fifty years as illustrated by the St. Louis newspapers of 1875 and 1925, and by the study also of the newspapers of this city (with occasional references to those of other cities) during the intervening years; with inferences which naturally result from the facts discovered, particularly those that point to tendencies of newspaper development in the future.

Make-Up

Make-up, the term used to describe the arrangement of all the matter in any one issue of a newspaper, was influenced in its changes since 1875 by all the other developments in newspaper production; principally by the change in size and style of headlines, the growth of illustrations, the grouping of news, feature matter, and advertisements in departments, and the size, style and arrangement of advertising.

The Republican of 1875 followed regularly the plan of devoting from one-third to one-half of the space on the front page to advertisements. The St. Louis papers of today reflect the general rule of the whole country in carrying no advertisements on the front page, except their own one-column advertisements about three inches long at the bottom of one of the middle columns telling of the merits of the paper's editorial or advertising services.

On the front page of the Republican of fifty years ago are found the principal columns of "grouped" news, under such headings as "Foreign," "Crime," "Washington," "The State Capital," "Casualties," and a few others. Additional news of special importance is set forth under subject or title headings, such as "The Illinois War," "River Disaster," and "Political" (August 19, 1875). The second page carries no advertisements as a rule, except one or two "reader" advertisements in the lower left-hand corner. This page contains general news, telegraphic brevities, and some business news. Classified ads begin on the third page, occupying usually five or six of the seven columns, with general or miscellaneous news in the remaining space.

The fourth page is the editorial page. It contains no ads. The most of its space is taken by the comment of the editorial writer, the remainder setting forth clipped editorials, some letters, short comment, filled in occasionally by small news.

Page 5 is the miscellaneous page, where the left-overs of news are placed, together with more comment and letters, weather reports, news with feature angles, and more local brevities. Page 6 is devoted to business and markets. Page 7 regularly carries from two to three columns of legal notices and two to three columns of ads; the remainder is shipping and business news, filled in with small items.

The back page contains the few inches devoted to sport, accounts of the city courts, municipal news, a scattering of crime, personals, locals, and miscellaneous.

The straight single column is used for all news and advertisements except on rare occasions when an advertisement extends over two columns. During most of 1875 the two-inch ad of the St. Louis Life Insurance Co. was placed in the first and second columns on page 1. The copy, as is true of most of the ads, was run day after day, perhaps for several weeks, without a change.

In the make-up of the paper generally, the scheme of "news prominence" which controls today had little weight. Items of news on page 2 or page 8 might be of as great importance as those on page 1. The grouping of news from many sources under one head served to give stability and regularity to columns with these and other familiar headings.

In contrast to the Republican of fifty years ago the Post-Dispatch of today may be studied as typical of the changes in newspaper make-up that these five decades have brought. The latter paper exemplifies the rule that large-city dailies, and to a less extent all newspapers today, follow a definite policy of arrangement of matter in the columns and pages.

The issue of the Post-Dispatch for June 11, 1925, is taken for illustration. There are four sections, which is true generally of each week-day issue of this paper during the baseball season. They are: (1) the news section, (2) the sport section, (3) the editorial section, and (4) the daily magazine.

NEWS SECTION: The news section contains the more important news, the front page presenting that which is considered most important. An exception should be noted for certain types of news, such as political news of an editorial nature, some foreign news, and stories in which the time element is not the outstanding factor. A certain amount of such news is saved for the first page of the editorial section.

Page 1 of the edition under consideration had the usual 4-inch advertisement of the Post-Dispatch, leaving 156 inches of news matter, divided as follows: politics 41, crime 47, foreign 20, personal 12, illustrations 6, business 4, and miscellaneous 25. Study of scores of current issues of this paper reveals that the first pages uniformly carry some political, crime, foreign, and personal news, with one or more small illustrations (usually of some persons figuring in the news) about half the time, and occasionally some news of a business nature. Rarely is news of society, sport, religious activities, the theater, or radio given. These have separate departments, or are considered so unimportant generally as rarely to gain the front page. A detailed survey of the front page today and fifty years ago is considered later under "content".

Page 2 is uniformly a continuation of page 1, the longer important stories being extended from the latter, with new matter to fill in. Usually about one-fourth to one-third of the space is given to ads.

Page 3 is a miscellaneous news page, with some continuations from the front page. Illustrations appear on both page 2 and page 3, with a total of

14 inches in the issue under consideration. Advertisements have increased to 58 inches.

On page 4 the large ads begin. Only 5 inches is reserved for news. This follows the general rule, although averages show that about 10 inches is usually reserved for news on this page.

Unless there are fewer full-page ads than usual, page 5 carries the first of them, as in the issue of June 11. Pages 7 and 9 also are taken by full-page displays, and the intervening pages, 6 and 8, lack only 13 and 4 inches respectively of being filled with ads,—placed “next to reading matter,” but decidedly small reading matter in quantity and news value.

Pages 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 carry 19, 20, 16, 17, and 18 inches respectively of reading matter, fairly well divided as to crime, personal, business, and miscellaneous, with only 1 inch of foreign news. Pages 15 and 16 contain full-page ads.

SPORT SECTION: The grouping of all sport news (except on special occasions, such as the Kentucky Derby) in the four-page sport section is a concession to followers of sport, who do not care to look through the whole paper to find results, forecasts, comments, and the like on baseball, racing, boxing, and the other forms of sport. Sport possesses such a value as news that there is a “sport final” and sometimes one or more extra finals later in the day.

The sport section usually carries about 215 to 260 inches of advertisements, about one-half on the back page; a comic strip of 30 inches (feature matter); and the remainder in sport news. Baseball occupies the chief space in the sport section of the issue of June 11, of which 395 is news, 30 features, and 215 ads, out of 640 total inches on the four pages.

EDITORIAL SECTION: The “editorial section” suggests that a large share of the 16 pages is devoted to editorial comment. Such is not the case. Regularly, with little variation in scores of editions examined, all of the editorial comment is in three of the six columns of the second page. A daily cartoon occupies the upper right-hand quarter of the page, and must be considered editorial in nature, for it reflects the editorial policy of the paper. One of the remaining three half-length columns is devoted to “The Mirror of Public Opinion,” letters from correspondents editorial in tone; and the remaining two are taken by the feature “Just a Minute”, which contains light verse, frivolous comment and humor. Uniformly then, about 133 inches must be classed as editorials, and the remaining 27 inches as feature matter on the editorial page.

Page 1 contains 20 inches of political news, 27 of crime, 47 of foreign, 9 of personal, 10 of miscellaneous, 11 of business, and 36 of illustrations, showing the predominance of foreign, even over crime, the latter class having been exhausted mainly in the news section.

Page 3 is the society page. A two-column head, “SOCIAL ACTIVITIES,” identifies 26 inches of society news, only about one-third of the total 71 inches of news on the page,—altogether less than the 89 inches of ads. The only strictly religious news appears on this page, with personal and local miscellaneous news making up most of the remainder.

Pages 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 carry only 2, 7, 9, 8, 14, and 25 inches respectively of news, miscellaneous and relatively unimportant, but furnishing “reading matter” for the large space given to ads on these pages.

Pages 9, 10, 11, 12 carry nothing but classified ads. The next page is the radio page, with programs and announcements, and some regularly appearing

feature matter under the heading "Answers to Inquiries." Pages 14 and 15 are devoted to business news, with corresponding ads: the markets, special news as to business conditions, trading in particular stocks and bonds, investments and the like. The back page (16) is devoted entirely to feature matter, mainly comic strips.

THE MAGAZINE: Section 4 is the four-page magazine. Page 1 contains a group of illustrations, with only space among them for short explanatory paragraphs. Pages 2, 3, and 4 contain 250 inches of ads, a sprinkling of news (16 inches in all), and the rest (214 inches) in feature matter, principally the "daily double page for women," on the inside pages.

MAKE-UP HISTORY

The study of newspaper make-up during the five decades under consideration shows clearly how the larger paper called for changed policies of make-up. During these fifty years the daily paper grew from the 8-page to the 28- to 48-page sheet; the Sunday edition grew from 12 pages to 128 and more.

The St. Louis Republican for 1880 shows little change from that of five years before. The paper was still in one section, with a four-page cover for the Sunday edition.

A period of rapid adjustment in make-up occurred between 1885 and 1890. Few sudden changes in newspaper production are discernible in the fifty years covered by this study; but the removing of advertisements from the front page seems to be an exception to this rule. During a few months in 1886 advertisements diminished on the front page from about three columns to one column in the Republican, and they disappeared altogether in the early months of 1887.

By 1890 special columns came to the fore. The right-hand column of the Republic was devoted to "The News in Brief," a news feature continued by many small dailies today. Special feature columns of comment and opinion are discernible in 1890. Ads were grouped for the most part in the latter half of the paper. The beginnings of the bulky Sunday edition are found. The Sunday editions of the Republic had thirty-two pages, really divided into four sections of eight pages each, although the sections were not identified as such. The first contained principally news; the second, "gossip," features, sport, editorials, theater and society news; the third more features, illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings, literary matter, a women's page, and fiction; the fourth containing classified ads, miscellaneous news and features. A mighty stride in the departmentalization of newspaper matter had been made.

Not so much change is apparent between 1890 and 1895. But between 1895 and 1900 another series of rapid changes took place, reflecting principally the increase in advertising and the corresponding increase in the size of the paper. Twelve to 14 pages became the regular size daily, with 46 pages on Sunday. The Sunday edition was divided into sections; the magazine was added.

A steady growth in size and a continued tendency to departmentalize all matter is noted from the beginning of the century until 1915. By the latter year the typical Sunday edition of the Post-Dispatch contained the following: a twelve-page news section, a twelve-page news and editorial section, two "third and fourth" eight-page news sections, a want ad section of sixteen

pages, a sixteen page magazine, a four-page rotogravure section and a four-page comic section.

In the decade since 1915 the growth has been principally in the size of the advertisements, the greater number of pages, the addition of automobile and real-estate sections and more feature matter, particularly syndicated matter and comics.

During all the fifty-year period these changes were being accompanied by changes in content, treatment of news, leads, headlines, and diction, each of which will be considered in order.

Content

1. IN GENERAL

A comparative study of the content of the newspaper of fifty years ago and the newspaper of today portrays as the chief differences the remarkable growth of advertising, the sharp decline in the percentage of space devoted to news, the substantial increase in feature matter, and a corresponding decrease in relative space devoted to editorials and other opinion matter.

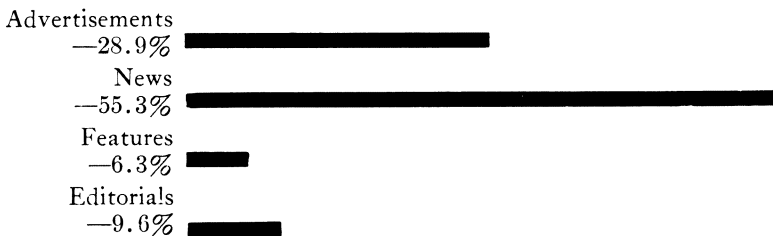
The comparison must be drawn in two ways: in the actual amount of space devoted to the various classifications of matter, and in the percentage of space in each of them. All newspaper matter has been divided into four classifications for purposes of this study, as follows: news, editorials, features, and advertisements.

Content of the Republican, 1875

(Ten week-day issues)

DATE	NEWS	EDITORIALS	FEATURES	ADS	TOTALS
8/9	690	77	73	336	1176
8/10	702	149	52	273	1176
8/11	639	133	58	346	1176
8/12	653	144	79	300	1176
8/13	638	129	48	361	1176
8/14	684	102	80	310	1176
6/12	689	83	57	347	1176
7/1	598	87	47	444	1176
7/13	644	100	121	311	1176
7/20	543	125	129	379	1176
TOTALS	6480	1129	744	3407	11760
AVERAGES	648.0	112.9	74.4	340.7	1176
PERCENTAGES	55.3%	9.6%	6.3%	28.9%	-----

Chart of Foregoing Percentages



From the standpoint of actual amount of space, the size of the present-day Post-Dispatch, averaging 5632 column inches of matter, and the size of the St. Louis Republican of 1875, with 1176 column inches of matter as the daily average, indicate that the large-city daily is about five times as large as it was a half a century ago.

In spite of this tremendous growth the amount of space devoted to news has but little more than doubled, 648 inches being the average for all news matter in the Republican and 1504.8 inches that of the Post-Dispatch. This indicates clearly that the growth of the newspaper has been chiefly along other lines than that of news presentation. And the advertising figures account for most of this growth; 340.7 inches for the Republican of 1875 and 3407.6, almost exactly ten times as great, for the Post-Dispatch of 1925. For one inch of advertising matter fifty years ago there are ten inches now. This does not take into consideration the Sunday papers, which are given separate consideration in all this study. Should the Sunday advertising matter be added and averaged, the present-day advertising space would be about twelve times as great as that of 1875.

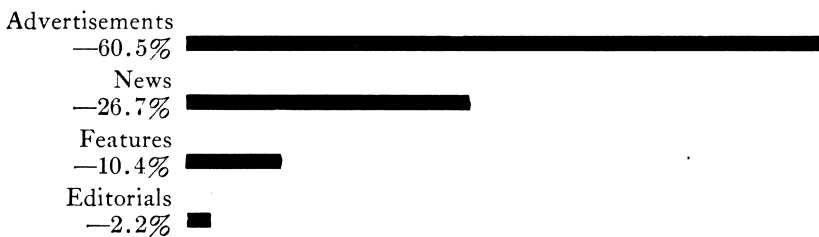
The amount of space devoted to editorials and other expressions of opinion has remained nearly constant; 133 inches today, and 112.9 inches in 1875. One page has sufficed to contain the opinion matter of newspapers during this period, with some space left over.

Content of the Post-Dispatch, 1925

(Ten week-day issues)

DATE	NEWS	EDITORIALS	FEATURES	ADS	TOTALS	(Pages)
Mon. 6/15	1434	133	550	3003	5120	(32)
Tue. 5/18	1488	133	451	2728	4800	(30)
Wed. 6/10	1552	133	621	4094	6400	(40)
Thu. 6/11	1465	133	604	4198	6400	(40)
Fri. 5/29	1587	133	598	1842	4160	(26)
Sat. 5/16	1768	133	414	5365	7680	(48)
Wed. 6/17	1531	133	739	3357	5760	(36)
Thu. 6/18	1529	133	601	4137	6400	(40)
Fri. 6/19	1672	133	632	4603	7040	(44)
Sat. 6/20	1022	133	656	749	2560	(16)
TOTALS	15,048	1330	5866	34,076	56,320	(352)
AVERAGES	1504.8	133	586.6	3407.6	5632	(35.2)
PERCENTAGES	26.7%	2.2%	10.4%	60.5%		-----

Chart of Foregoing Percentages



Feature matter has increased more than seven times, with 586.6 inches as the average today and 74.4 inches fifty years ago.

On the basis of percentages, which present a more accurate indication of emphasis in newspaper content, the accompanying diagrams (pages 8-9) portray the changes in the four classes of matter into which all newspaper substance has been divided for this study. Advertising now holds 60.5 per cent of the space; formerly but 28.9 per cent. More than six-tenths of the space in the columns of the modern newspapers studied is reserved for advertisements; less than three-tenths of those of 1875. Here is mirrored the marvelous industrial growth of the country, and its exploitation in paid-for newspaper space in modern advertising. This is the factor that has made possible the growth of the modern newspaper. Modern advertising is the most significant development in newspaper production during the entire fifty years.

News matter, which held 55.3 per cent, more than half the space of the St. Louis Republican of 1875, has fallen to 26.7 per cent, but little more than one-fourth, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch today. This cannot be taken to mean that news is not covered as efficiently and completely today as formerly. On the contrary there is the telegraph, the influence of which had barely begun to be felt fifty years ago, pouring in streams of foreign news, and connecting every large-city daily with one or more national or world-wide news agencies; there is the telephone, which was a recently invented novelty fifty years ago; and there is the radio. News is found and published, swiftly, clearly, efficiently, and fully. But so large has the newspaper grown to take care of the advertising that the news could not possibly have maintained the old proportions of almost twice the amount of advertising.

In spite of the tremendous increase in feature matter in point of space, the percentage of total space has increased only 4.1 per cent. However, feature matter today is quite different in content, tone, and presentation from that of fifty years ago, as will be noted in a later consideration.

Editorials and other opinion matter have shrunk to 2.2 per cent of the average total space of the Post-Dispatch, as compared to 9.6 per cent in the Republican of 1875.

2. NEWS

For purposes of this study all modern news matter is divided into the following classifications: politics, crime, foreign, personal, business, sport, society, religious, radio, theater, illustrations, and miscellaneous. The news columns of the Republican of fifty years ago contained no illustrations, and of course no radio news; hence these two classes are omitted from the tabulations of this paper. A classification for legal news must be added.

The following classes of news must be considered as departmentalized in the modern newspaper: business, sport, society; almost as generally, radio and theater news. By departmentalized is meant that these classes of news are grouped together in each issue of the paper, or nearly so. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch has regularly a four-page section, in which the sport news is grouped each day. Business news is for the most part grouped into two, three or four pages of the editorial section, with an occasional news item of business nature elsewhere. Social news is grouped upon one page, as is also radio news, and to a less extent theater news.

The remaining divisions are scattered generally throughout the paper, the greater share, of course, being arranged nearer the front page.

In this classification, foreign news is all that carries a foreign dateline, and news that, although bearing a domestic dateline, is obviously from a foreign source or about foreign affairs. Crime news includes arrests, trials, convictions, and the like, as well as news of criminal acts committed. Business news deals with the regularly appearing market quotations and departmentalized business transactions, as well as scattered news of railroads, building operations, and the like. Personal news concerns individuals as distinguished from news of a general nature, which, if it could not be identified otherwise, is grouped under miscellaneous; however, the distinction is sometimes arbitrary.

A summary shows the following averages in inches for the 1925 Post-Dispatch: sport 382.9, business 301.5, crime 161.3, personal 128.2, foreign 105.4, politics 101.5, illustrations 54.9, radio 33, society 20.9, religious 11.2, theater 10.6, and miscellaneous 193.6; making a total of 1504.8 inches as the average for news daily.

The averages for the St. Louis Republican of 1875 are as follows: business 174.3, legal 85.7, personal 82.4, crime 32, politics 26.3, foreign 19.7, sport 11.3, religious 9.4, and miscellaneous 106.7; a total of 340.7 inches daily.

SPORT: Sport news takes the lead in the Post-Dispatch today; and this is true also of the Globe-Democrat, the Times, and the Star, and reflects the situation generally except for papers that have no sport sections and hence have not so great an incentive to feature sport news in detail. It should be born in mind, however, that the sport section is larger in the baseball season. At other seasons sport news most likely falls below business news in amount of space, but certainly leads all other divisions.

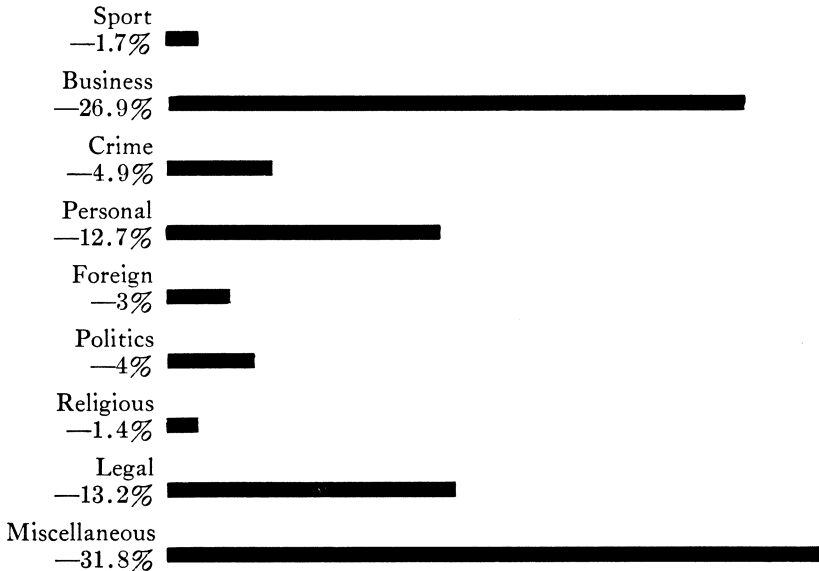
Sport news occupied just 1.7 per cent of the news space of the St. Louis Republican of fifty years ago. Contrasting the leadership of sport news today with this almost negligible amount five decades ago reveals how astonishingly popular sport has become as a source of news. There can be but one reason: a corresponding increase in interest in sport, for the news but reflects popular interest. More than one-fourth the total news space today is devoted to sport; less than one-fiftieth of the space fifty years ago. Today, several pages of baseball news, with each swing of the bat and each toss of the ball in detail (on the most important games); intricate accounts of boxing matches, blow by blow; auto and horse racing; seasonal sports,—football, racing swimming, hockey, basketball, and the like, with equal detail; profuse illustrations; slangy comment and expert “dope” on coming sporting contests: the whole is a panorama which must be eagerly sought after by the majority of readers, or 25.4 per cent of a modern daily newspaper would not be devoted to it. And fifty years ago, according to the St. Louis Republican, sport news consisted of brief mention of where the next ball game would be played and a few scattered items of racing and boxing; an average daily space of barely half a column!

The investigator searching for the period in which sport news climbed from its obscurity of fifty years ago to its place of high popularity today will be struck with the recency of that popularity. Sport has had the bulk of its growth in news importance during the last twenty years, and its most phenomenal growth in the last ten years.

Analysis of News, Republican, 1875

(Ten week-day issues)

Date	Politics	Crime	Foreign	Personal	Miscellaneous	Business	Sport	Legal	Religious	TOTALS
8/9	30	38	4	108	271	179	7	52	1	690
8/10	38	36	11	93	250	200	4	63	7	702
8/11	8	12	21	85	177	255	10	63	8	639
8/12	14	23	25	70	182	179	40	111	9	653
8/13	17	26	17	90	263	190	29	---	6	638
8/14	13	49	40	80	265	161	7	62	7	684
6/12	47	29	16	110	163	130	4	179	8	689
7/1	18	14	29	70	169	157	2	129	10	598
7/13	55	29	30	51	205	124	4	140	7	644
7/20	23	64	4	67	121	169	6	58	31	543
TOTALS	263	320	197	824	2066	1743	113	857	94	6480
AVERAGES	26.3	32.0	19.7	82.4	206.6	174.3	11.3	85.7	9.4	648
PERCENT- AGES	4	4.9	3	12.7	31.8	26.9	1.7	13.2	1.4	----

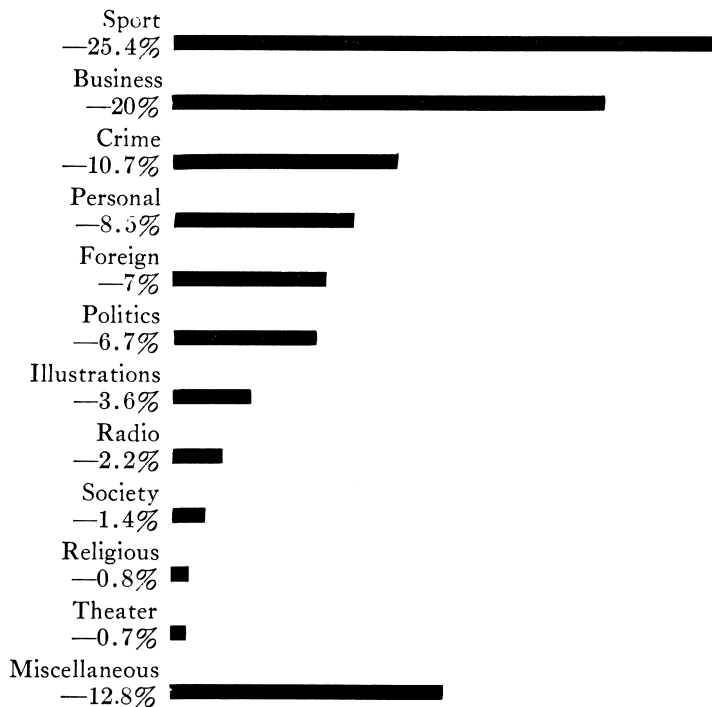
Chart of Foregoing Percentages

Analysis of News, Post-Dispatch, 1925

(Ten week-day issues)

Date	Politics	Crime	Foreign	Personal	Miscellaneous	Business	Sport	Society	Religious	Radio	Theater	Illustrations	TOTALS
Mon.	104	97	54	100	143	324	419	24	6	34	52	77	1434
Tue.	36	121	129	109	238	363	337	22	7	54	22	50	1488
Wed.	90	235	90	149	213	293	359	25	3	29	14	52	1552
Thur.	138	193	92	99	152	275	395	26	2	27	10	56	1465
Fri.	171	131	122	139	217	342	364	14	15	42	3	27	1587
Sat.	92	176	114	157	261	386	400	25	37	32	5	83	1768
Wed.	114	132	105	161	160	277	463	13	17	26	---	63	1531
Thur.	83	187	160	123	181	299	360	38	10	28	---	60	1529
Fri.	131	202	139	157	256	290	382	22	15	32	---	46	1672
Sat.	56	139	49	88	115	166	350	---	--	26	---	33	1022
TOTAL	1015	1613	1054	1282	1936	3015	3829	209	112	330	106	547	15048
AVER-	101.5	161.3	105.4	128.2	193.6	301.5	382.9	20.9	11.2	33.0	10.6	54.7	1504.8
AGES													
PER-	6.7	10.7	7	8.5	12.8	20	25.4	1.4	0.8	2.2	0.7	3.6	----
CENT-													
AGES													

Chart of Foregoing Percentages



From 1875 to 1890 the pages of the St. Louis Republican contained an average of only a few inches of sport news daily; and then mainly trite announcements of ball games. On many days sport news was omitted altogether.

During the summer of 1890 about a column was devoted to sport, telling of problems and their solutions in chess!

Then came a great interest in horse racing. This sport reached a high popularity in 1895. The Sunday editions of the Republican for the summer of 1895 contain each a page or more of sport news, most of it racing. Bicycling also reached a high state of popularity during that year, and claims as much as half a page in some of the Sunday editions. The issue of Sunday, Aug. 4, 1895, is typical. Page 10 is devoted mainly to horse-racing; page 11, to the bicycling parade of the day before; and on this page is also the baseball news—almost two columns of it. The sport page of the following Thursday may be taken as typical of the week-day issues. It contains a miscellaneous mixture of yachting, horse-racing, a chess tourney, bicycling, and forecasts. A racing "form chart" appears in this edition, and was a feature during the summer. Baseball still received decidedly inferior consideration.

Collegiate sports had come to the fore by 1900. The Post-Dispatch of Oct. 14, 1900, may be selected as typical. It presents nearly half a page of football, together with nearly half a page of baseball, and some boxing news. During the summer months, however, racing still held the most prominent place in sport news. The modern box score had come into use, as the issue of July 3, 1900, will show.

From 1900 to 1905 sport news, gathered together on one page, became the sport department, occupying daily a full page, and on Sunday from two to three pages. The Post-Dispatch shows the modern aspect which the sport page had assumed: a streamer head across the page, "All the News of Baseball and the Sport World."

During the five years until 1910 the sport department grew from one page to two pages daily, with three or four pages on Sunday. Since 1910 the Post-Dispatch and most large-city dailies have furnished a steadily increasing number of pages of sport matter, until today there is the sport section on Sunday of from eight to twenty pages with news and feature matter, and regularly a four-page sport section for the daily editions.

BUSINESS: Leaving out of consideration for the moment miscellaneous news, business took first place in the news of fifty years ago, and is second only to sport in the baseball season today. Then it was the market reports, stock quotations, bonds, and the regular trade news, with the arrival and departure of boats given daily. Today it is still market quotations, stocks and bonds, with an increased amount of real-estate and building news.

Reference to newspapers published decades before 1875 shows business news as of high importance, if not the highest, long before the telegraph, the telephone, or the general use of electricity. This importance of business made itself felt through the years when newspapers were largely political organs, when the great majority of readers were on the farms, and when news of the scandalous and grotesque was more eagerly sought after than at present. It is a tribute to the firm alliance between journalism and industry as reflected in the public press. With commerce, finance, real estate, building, transportation, markets, and the long list of industrial relations so vitally linked with

the progress of communities and nations today, the newspaper places almost the highest news value of all upon business news.

CRIME: Aside from the two departmentalized classes of news just considered, the item that stands forth as claiming a lion's share of prominence in news is crime. It holds more than one-tenth of all the space in the news columns. On the front page, as the study will show presently, crime holds even a higher proportion. Fifty years ago criminal matters occupied but 32 inches of the St. Louis Republican daily, or 4.9 per cent of the news. Today in the Post-Dispatch crime holds an average of 161.3 inches daily, or 10.7 per cent of the news. This indicates that the amount of crime news has quadrupled and the proportion of crime news has doubled in the five decades.

The last ten years have seen the most rapid growth in crime news, with the last five years the most rapid of all. Crime news of fifty years ago, and pretty generally until 1900, dealt principally with petty theft, drunkenness and other misdemeanors, with a fair proportion of major crime. Today banditry, or armed robbery of persons or business houses, takes first rank; second place goes to violations of the prohibition laws.

The automobile figures in nearly every major crime story, and may therefore account somewhat for the prevalence of crime; at least it has made banditry and prohibition-law violation easier to carry on.

Since the close of the World War crime news has increased in volume by about $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. The cause is left for sociology and criminology to determine. The fact is mirrored by the daily press.

PERSONAL: Personal news comes next in the modern newspaper as illustrated by the Post-Dispatch, with 128.2 inches daily, or 8.5 per cent of the news space, as compared to a greater proportion, 82.4 inches, or 12.7 per cent, in the Republican of 1875. An explanation for these figures is found in the large amount of personal news today that fell naturally under departments and hence is included in other classifications. It is not to be inferred that there is a smaller proportion of personal news today.

FOREIGN AND POLITICAL: Foreign news leads political news slightly in 1925 with 105.4 inches as a daily average to 101.5 inches for the latter. In 1875 political news led with 26.3 inches as compared to 19.7 inches of foreign news. Yet it cannot be said that interest in political news has declined. Rather have facilities for obtaining foreign news increased greatly. That interest in foreign news has grown with increased travel and the influence of the World War is beyond question.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Illustrations that are strictly news in character take the next rank in news space consumed. Their value as news is undoubtedly higher than the space they occupy indicates, but they are more expensive than the same amount of type, hence are used comparatively sparingly. However, 54.7 inches is the average for each Post-Dispatch today, and this represents more than a third of a page. This does not consider the full-page display of illustrations on the front page of the magazine section, which are really news in character, although to be consistent they must be classed as features in this study; nor does it consider the cartoon on the editorial page, which is editorial in nature; nor the comic strips, which are classed as features; nor the vast amount of space consumed by pictures and illustrations of all kinds in the Sunday editions, which will be considered separately.

Study of the papers of the years between 1875 and 1925 reveals that illustrations grew from rather crude pen-and-ink sketches, principally of persons figuring prominently in the news, to half-tone photos of persons and news happenings of all kinds, together with artistic feature matter and reproductions of paintings in colors.

The years from 1890 to 1895 mark what might be called the growth of modern news illustrations, according to the *St. Louis Republic*. By the latter year, nearly every issue of this paper has several pen-and-ink illustrations. The *Republic* for January 25, 1895, carries a steamer illustration across the front page, with nine separate drawings, entitled, "Leading Characters in the Duestrow Case, Now on Trial at Union, Mo." Four other illustrations are given on the same front page. The *Republic* of the next day, January 26, contains 63 inches of illustrations on the front page, including a map of Mexico and the South American republics, a strike scene in St. Louis, the Mexican president and his cabinet, Senator R. Q. Mills, and President Barrios of Guatemala. The news value of illustrations had become definitely known.

During the ten years between 1895 and 1905 newspaper illustrations made the most rapid strides. Society, sport, business—and in fact, all classes of news—were illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings or photo reproductions, more profusely, perhaps, than are the news columns today. The halftone became general in 1900; it was usually one column in width and only three or four inches long. By 1905 photo-illustrations had expanded to several columns in width.

No doubt the growth of illustrations in this period helped and strengthened the corresponding growth of feature matter.

After 1905 the magazine section gave a second impetus to illustrations; and finally, about 1915, the photogravure section, with its four pages practically full of feature illustrations, gave a third and even greater impetus.

RADIO: Radio follows with 33 inches, or nearly two columns daily, giving the radio programs from over the country, and some additional radio news.

SOCIETY: Society news now holds but about one column a day, being reserved mainly for the Sunday edition, when a special section presents it. Only 20.9 inches, or 1.4 per cent, of the news space in the *Post-Dispatch* is devoted strictly to society news. Of course there is some news social in nature, which must be grouped under personal or miscellaneous, because it was not handled as society news when it entered the columns. Fifty years ago there was no strictly society news.

It was about the year 1890 that society news received an impetus that raised it from the short mentions in miscellaneous places to a group position on a page under a special heading. By 1895 the *Republic* had reserved a whole page in the Sunday editions, and about half a page in daily editions. The Sunday society page carried a four-column head "IN SOCIETY," with an art cut four columns wide and about seven inches deep. The average of society news carried in 1895 was substantially higher than at present.

In 1900 the Sunday editions of the *Post-Dispatch* reserved a full page for the society news and two or three columns for the daily editions. Since that time the amount of Sunday society news has grown somewhat, while the daily amount has materially decreased.

RELIGIOUS: An average of about half a column of religious news is found in the modern Post-Dispatch daily, 11.2 inches being the amount and 0.8 per cent the proportion. In view of the increased value of church property over that of 1875 and the large social and educational programs undertaken by religious organizations during the last five decades, the growth of religious news from 9.4 inches in 1875, or a proportion of 0.7 per cent, does not duly reflect a presumable popular interest.

THEATER: The modern newspaper, as illustrated by the Post-Dispatch, carries about half a column of theatrical news daily. News of the theater varies greatly in different localities; the proportion of theater news in the New York City papers would undoubtedly be much higher than that indicated by the Post-Dispatch.

3. FRONT PAGE

No study of newspaper content is complete without an analysis of the front page. By the front page a newspaper is judged, and rightly so. The tone of the front page is a fairly accurate criterion of the whole paper.

The front page uniformly carries the news considered of greatest general interest. Business news is important, but it does not often hold the front page, because timely general news is of greater interest to a greater number of people. Besides, the person interested in business news can turn back to where it appears, regularly departmentalized, but he would not think of turning back to find among "casualties" an account of the assassination of the president.

Sport news, with all its volume in the newspaper today, has an average of only 1.3 per cent of the news on the front pages of the Post-Dispatches studied. Sport news, therefore, is not as important generally as political news, crime, or foreign news. It is specialized news, and does not get on the front pages of the papers that have sport sections, unless there occurs an outstanding sport event high in general news value, such as the Kentucky derby race.

Following are the average percentages of news on the front pages of the Post-Dispatch today: crime 22.8, politics 16.6, foreign 15.2, personal 11.5, business 6.1, sport 1.3, and religious 0.4; while illustrations, for the most part 1-column photos of persons figuring in the news, occupy 7.4 per cent, and the remaining 18.4 per cent is miscellaneous.

The average percentages of news on the front pages of the Republican for 1875 are: foreign 17.5, personal 16.6, crime 13.7, politics 10.3, religious 3.9, and business 3.2; the remaining 34.8 per cent is miscellaneous.

CRIME: Crime news leads on the front pages of the newspapers today. Crime news was considered high in news value fifty years ago, for it ranks a close third according to figures just quoted. But it must not be inferred that there was anything like as much crime news then as now; rather was crime news grouped for the most part on the front page. The 11.6-inch average was slightly more than one-third of the 32 inches total average for the whole paper in 1875, while the 22.8 inches of crime news on the front page of the newspaper today is only about one-eighth of the total 161.3 inches.

POLITICAL: Political news leads foreign news slightly on the front page today, due to importance attached by editors to proximity, which has more weight in news make-up today than formerly. Fifty years ago foreign news overshadowed political news on the front page.

FOREIGN: The fact that foreign news was given such a prominence on the front pages five decades ago may be accounted for in the fact that it was grouped under the general heading "foreign" whether of high news value or not, and placed uniformly on the front page as an important group of news. No such grouping prevails today.

PERSONAL: Personal news has maintained about the same proportion. It is a variable quantity and yet is consciously given a fairly even balance in make-up.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Illustrations, unknown fifty years ago, reached a high peak in front page content more than twenty-five years ago, as was noted previously. Today the 11.3-inch average of the strictly news illustrations on the front page, as compared to the 54.9-inch average for the entire paper, indicates a conservative use on the front page. In many big-city papers the percentage would be much smaller.

BUSINESS: Business news, the first to be departmentalized, rarely found its way on the front page in 1875. It was already given an inside-page grouping. This rule has been followed consistently, but some business news is of so great general value that an average of 6.1 inches finds its way to the front page now.

RELIGIOUS: Religious news has apparently decreased in value. In only two of the ten editions of the Post-Dispatch analyzed did religious news appear on the front page at all. The average of 3.3 inches for the Republican of 1875 indicates that religious news has never been considered high in front-page value.

SPORT: The average of 2 inches of sport news today is due to a full column (twenty inches) in one issue about a sporting event of general news interest.

ADVERTISEMENTS: Nearly one-half the space of the front page of the St. Louis Republican for 1875 was devoted to advertisements: 62.3 inches as an average or 42.2 per cent, while news matter held 84.7 inches, or 57.8 per cent. Only 4.5 inches on an average of advertisements are found on the front page of the Post-Dispatch today; and these are all advertisements of the paper itself—usually announcements of features appearing in coming editions. No other front-page advertising is allowed in any of the St. Louis papers today; and this reflects the general rule.

The year 1886 saw a sudden movement of ads off the front page of the Republican. Reference to other papers shows that by 1890 the rule had become general.

4. EDITORIALS

Editorial matter appears in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch today with formal regularity as to amount of space: 133 inches, with the remaining 27 inches devoted to feature matter. An editorial cartoon occupies one quarter of the page.

About two-thirds of the editorial space is occupied by original editorials, the rest by quoted editorials, usually from current newspapers.

The average number of inches of editorial matter in the St. Louis Republican for 1875 was 112.9, out of the 147 inches on each page. The space taken today by the cartoon was filled by a greater number of quoted editorials, and a greater amount of correspondence from readers than is published today.

The editorial page has changed little during the fifty years. It reflects perhaps the least change of any department of the newspaper. Inspection of editorial pages of the St. Louis papers during the five decades shows that only in tone and subject matter have editorials changed to any appreciable extent.

Editorials are not so violently partisan today as they were fifty years ago. A broad seriousness of tone is discernible, replacing the frequent flippancy of the editorial of 1875.

5. FEATURES

Feature matter has grown tremendously in volume during the five decades under consideration. But feature matter has changed more in tone and subject matter than in volume during this time.

Today the Post-Dispatch carries an average of 586.6 inches of features, or 10.4 per cent of the total space of the paper. This is more than one-third of the space devoted to news. The Republican of 1875 carried only 74.4 inches of features, or 6.3 per cent of the total space of the paper. But this space represented only about one-ninth of the 648 inches devoted to news. The increase in amount of feature matter is here clearly seen.

Feature matter of 1875 would rarely be recognized as such today. It dealt for the most part, with "curious events," as the accounts were sometimes labeled; the wierd, the fantastic, and sometimes the horrific; the "almanac" type of the unusual.

Feature matter today bears a closer relation to timely news; in fact, much feature matter today is as timely as news; and it bears the stamp of authenticity, as opposed to the "it is rumored" type of grotesque feature story of fifty years ago.

Illustrations have had a tremendous influence on feature matter. The rule apparently is: "Illustrate all feature matter possible." The magazine section of the daily papers is largely illustrations. In the Sunday editions the proportion is even greater.

Little progress toward the modern type of feature matter was made until about 1890. Between that year and 1900 feature writing, with pen-and-ink drawings and photo-illustrations, took rapid strides forward. The Sunday editions of the Post-Dispatch for 1900 carried a magazine section, with fiction, feature stories, fashions, and the like, as well as an eight-page comic section.

From 1900 to 1915 the growth of the illustrated feature story continued steadily. Then came into sudden popularity the comic strip, and in the last ten years the number of comic strips carried by the Post-Dispatch has increased from one to five and six.

The rotogravure, or photogravure, illustrated supplements, began about 1915. Although their matter possesses news value frequently, it must be classed generally as feature.

Syndicated matter has had its greatest growth in the last five years, and is an outstanding factor in the feature content of almost any large newspaper. Every conceivable subject, from politics to health, is attacked by the modern syndicate writer.

6. ADVERTISING

When the content of the newspaper of today is compared with that of the newspaper of 1875, the volume and nature of advertising are the most outstanding changes to be considered. Advertising was in its infancy in 1875.

Today it is the most powerful factor in journalism, at least from the standpoint of economics. It is the force that has made the modern newspaper a bulky library of departments and sections. It has made newspaper production a mighty commercial industry.

That advertising has increased ten times its amount since 1875 is significant of its power today. An average of 3407.6 inches is the daily amount of advertising in the Post-Dispatch, or 60.5 per cent of the paper, as compared to 340.7 inches, or 28.9 per cent of the Republican for 1875. The volume of advertising has increased ten times, and the percentage of space has more than doubled.

But equally remarkable has been the change in the content of advertising copy. Some advertisements in the St. Louis Republican for 1875 ran for days, weeks, and even months with no change of copy whatever. This advertisement in the Republican ran for several weeks during the summer of 1875 with no change of copy:

"Christian College, Columbia, Mo. A college for young ladies, with accommodations.(etc.)"

Another ad, headed "KNABE PIANOS," contained this additional copy: "Baltimore and New York. P. G. Anton, Sole Agent. 310 N. 5th Street, St. Louis, Mo." This would be classed as the poorest kind of ad copy today: it tells nothing about the merits of the goods advertised; it makes no appeal to the love of music, the desirability of owning a piano, or the reason why the Knabe is desirable above others; it takes valuable space to include "Baltimore and New York," as superfluous as a reference to Timbuctoo; and it ran with monotonous repetition for months. Yet this is typical of the lack of understanding of the power and purpose of advertising of fifty years ago, and sets forth the vast difference in this factor of newspaper production.

Another ad which ran for several months during the summer begins "CAUTION! On account of the popularity of the Wheeler and Wilson Sewing Machines, parties have largely been engaged in purchasing old second-hand machines of that make, and imposing them on the public. . . ." And this advertisement was supposed to sell Wheeler and Wilson sewing machines!

One cannot but remark how closely the growth of the modern newspaper, in every factor considered modern in newspaper production, came hand-in-hand with the growth of advertising copy in its present type of expression. For twenty-five years after 1875 advertising struggled to get beyond the small "card" type of announcement; for twenty-five years thereafter it grew by leaps and bounds to the present full-page displays, with an appeal striking out from the smallest to the largest of its expressions.

Little change can be noted in the five years from 1875 to 1880. The front page of the St. Louis Republican for the latter year still bears the small boxed ads, expressing little more than this example, which ran during July, August and for some time thereafter: "MACKENNON PENS—at manufacturers' prices; for sale by. . . ." A three-inch ad in the issue of May 5, 1880, contains the heading "J. H. CRANE," underneath which is the picture of a crane; beneath this cut is the one word "Furniture"; below that is the address. This was a standing ad, running indefinitely. It is hard to realize the lack of understanding of the most rudimentary of advertising principles displayed in this ad, typical of the great majority of them at that time.

Little progress was made in the next five years, except in the size of the displays. Several ads are a half-page in size, and many from an eighth to a quarter of a page size, in the *Republican* for 1885. But advertising appeal is still lacking. "RETAIL WAREHOUSE REOPENED," one ad in this paper for April 3 announces, continuing: "At the Old Stand. Mitchell Furniture Company."

The flood of medicine advertisements, prevalent in the last two decades of the last century, seems to have reached a high tide in 1885. The "before and after" illustrations, combined with much fine print discussing the merits of the alleged cures, blur the columns of the *Republican* for this year with weary monotony. These advertisements, of course, would not be accepted by any reputable paper today; but reference to papers of other cities and towns of this period show that they were the rule in that day, and account for a sizable proportion of the advertising. About 1900 the obviously "quack" ads of this nature were generally discontinued.

"IT TAKES ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE TO MAKE A WORLD!" begins a full-page ad in the *Republican* of April 3, 1885; "it takes all kinds of news, sense and nonsense, to make a newspaper." For half a page there is chatty comment and criticism as to the manner of advertising on the part of other firms; then—"D. Crawford has found the short way! The Quick Way! Keep in stock the kind of goods wanted and sell them cheaply! No charge for the above advice." Then follows notation of goods, with prices, etc. This attempt would be considered crude and wasteful today; but it illustrates through what struggles modern newspaper advertising has come.

Full-page ads, while not general, had made permanent appearance by 1890. The *St. Louis Republic* (successor to the *Republican*) for Dec. 4, 1890, carries on page 2 a full-page ad of the Mermod Jaccard jewelry sale, with display cuts of watches, diamonds, and the like. The ad copy shows a decided improvement over that of 1885, and reflects the general improvement in both large and small ads. "Streamer" ads, across the top of the page, 4 inches deep, had come into use.

White space was still unappreciated, except in rare instances. In the same edition mentioned above an ad may be selected as typical: "DR. OWEN'S ELECTRICAL BELT." This heading is followed by a mass of fine print so packed as to be hardly readable.

Ads were still of the "announcement" type. The merits of a product, with appeals to create a desire on the part of the reader to purchase, were practically unknown.

The ads in the *Republic* for 1895 display a strange mixture of the old and the new; the close-copy ads, packed with fine print, such as the announcement made by "Doctor Whittier," in a 3 by 2 ad in the issue for Jan. 26, 1895; and the display that shows some appreciation of space, arrangement and appeal, such as the 4 by 15 ad in the paper the next day, from the *Grand Leader*,—"SIX DAYS OF BARGAINING—Such as the people of St. Louis have never seen equaled. . ."

The advertisements for the year 1900 indicate how great progress was being made in both use of white space and development of appeal. "THE NEW SHAPES," begins a display ad in the *Post-Dispatch* for Oct. 14, 1900, which continues, "The soldier-like cut of the coat is the newest thing for

men and boys. . .” An understanding of the psychological appeal so essential to advertising today was becoming known.

The Globe Anniversary Sale ad in the same paper, a 6 by 10 display, is full of fine print. White space did not spring into use overnight.

By 1905 advertising had assumed the first definite marks of modern arrangement and appeal. “OUR SCHOOL SUITS—are exceptional in quality as well as price,” begins an ad of the Model Company in the Post-Dispatch for Sept. 11, 1905, typical of the display ads of that day. In the same issue Nugent’s announces “BIG SAVINGS ON BULKY GOODS!” Appeal was finding expression. Even the medical ads, of which many survived, were feeling its influence, as this ad in the issue of Sept. 11 shows: “You can feel young again. . .”

The size of ads increased but little on the average from 1905 to 1910. But the content matter changed greatly. Modern advertising had emerged from the embryonic stage to life in 1910. In contrast to the Knabe piano advertisement of thirty years before, this display advertisement of May, Stern & Company in the Post-Dispatch for March 18, 1910, is typical of the larger ads of the day: “If You Are Thinking of Buying a Piano—be sure to investigate the values this sale offers you. . .”

Appeals to price, durability, seasonableness, and the like were in evidence in 1910. “Exclusive designs for spring,” announces an ad of the Brandt Shoe Co., in this paper for March 20, 1910. Interest and instinct were beginning to be played upon. However, in the Post-Dispatch for March 17 this ad appears: “Our Spring Realty Catalogue Is in the Hands of the Printer,” which harks back in ineffectiveness to thirty years before.

The new-born infant had assumed lusty proportions by 1915. Progress in display arrangement, wording, balance, illustration, appeal, and the use of

Summary of Sunday Edition, Post-Dispatch

(June 7, 1925)

SECTION	PAGES	NEWS	EDITORIALS	FEATURES	ADS	TOTAL INCHES
1—News	8	821	----	----	459	1280
2—Sport	8	928	----	----	352	1280
3—Editorial	12	153	133	199	1453	1920
4—Society	18	354	----	----	2526	2880
5—Auto and Radio	10	444	----	111	1045	1600
6—“True Stories”	8	118	----	480	682	1280
7—Theater and Movie	4	237	----	----	403	640
8—Real Estate and Business	14	252	----	----	1988	2240
9—Classified Ads	14	134	----	----	2106	2240
10—Rotogravure	8	----	----	835	445	1280
11 and 12—Comics	8	----	----	1280	-----	1280
The Magazine	16	----	----	965	59	1024
TOTAL PAGES	128	----	----	----	-----	-----
TOTAL INCHES	----	3441	133	3870	11,500	18,944
PERCENTAGES	----	18.2%	0.7%	20.4%	60.7%	-----

white space had come by leaps and bounds. These advertisements are typical: "Social Tea Biscuit—so appropriate for so many different occasions that a few packages in the house prepare you to meet any demand at a moment's notice." (Post-Dispatch, March 17, 1915.) In the same issue this ad: "The Empress Model—\$4; a new short vamp last, designed to make all feet look small."

A still greater appreciation and use of white space had been reached by 1920. Balance of copy with illustrations had developed. Christmas ads in the Post-Dispatch for December, 1919, are typical, as is the full-page ad of the Aeolian Co. in the issue of Dec. 14. Cuts and reading matter are balanced and given a setting of white space typical of the ads of today.

Little change beyond an increase in the volume of display ads is discernible since 1920.

Classified advertisements have grown steadily during the fifty years from one page, which was never completely filled, in the Republican of 1875, to the three or four pages full of classified ads in the Post-Dispatch today. The subject matter has changed somewhat; new industries and business activities have changed the nature of classified ads. There is more brevity in the ads today. And there is better classification into groups according to nature and subject-matter.

7. THE SUNDAY EDITION

Nowhere is the astonishing growth of the modern big-city newspaper so clearly pointed out as in a comparison of the Sunday edition of the St. Louis Republican of fifty years ago with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of today. The table on page 22 is for Sunday, June 7, 1925. The total space in column inches for the entire paper is 18,944. That of the St. Louis Republican for August 15, 1875, was 1764, less than one-tenth of the present size.

The Republican was merely the regular eight-page paper, with a slightly higher percentage of feature, quoted matter and opinion, plus a four-page wrapper of pure feature matter (or what would correspond to feature matter today), mainly short stories, chatty gossip, and comment. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch for the date in question appeared in twelve sections and a magazine, 128 pages in all, a veritable library of news, fiction, feature matter, illustrations, and comment.

In the Republican the news content was 23.3 per cent, opinion 8.1 per cent, features 41.6 per cent, and advertisements 26 per cent. Feature matter, while entirely different in tone and presentation from that of the present, held the foreground. News and advertisements ran close together, with the latter but slightly in the lead; while opinion held 8.1 per cent of the space. In the modern Post-Dispatch 60.7 per cent of the space in the enormous bulk was given over to advertisements—nearly treble the percentage of half a century ago! The 11,500 inches of ads represent nearly twenty-five times that of the earlier paper. The income this advertising space represents for this one edition would most likely have gone far toward purchasing the plant and good will of the Republican of fifty years ago! It is a vigorous comment on the growth and power of advertising.

Although the present-day Sunday edition carries more features than news, the feature space is only one-third of that given to advertising. The 18.2 per cent devoted to news represents principally foreign news, "second" stories and news with the feature angle that has been prepared perhaps days in ad-

vance, for the Sunday edition, is of course, printed all along during the week, and finished finally Saturday. Hence it can have little of timely news except in its latest editions. No greater space was given opinion than ordinarily,—nearly a page, or only 0.7 per cent of the total Sunday edition space. The editorial page of the Sunday edition is the same in make-up and content as daily.

The Presentation of News

The most outstanding change in newspaper production in the fifty years since 1875 has been in the *presentation of news*. The difference in the way news was presented then and now furnishes a story of how the modern newspaper struggled through decades of astonishing satire, invective, ridicule, editorial coloring of nearly every item of news, flippant treatment of subjects that today merit serious mention or no mention at all, and columns of the grotesque and morbid in news offerings.

In 1875 the influence of the personal opinion of the editor, expressed so consistently and violently during the fifty years preceding 1875, was still felt. It was *his* newspaper—not the public's. The news came from his sanctum, rather than did his sanctum furnish a mirror to reflect the news as it happened.

The political-party press which made its influence felt so distinctly in American journalism from the administration of Andrew Jackson to the Civil War, still cast a retreating shadow. Especially was this true of the smaller newspapers. In St. Louis, as in other large cities, newspapers took every occasion to color political and governmental news with the tinge of party affiliation.

But newspapers today frequently give the news a political coloring. More apparent has been the change away from the injection of satire and editorial comment in news presentation. The very diction used by the editors and reporters lent itself readily to news coloring: A man was a "prominent and respected gentleman," whereas today he would be referred to as a man, and his prominence and respectability would not be introduced unless questioned. Every epithet occurring to the mind of the editor or reporter chronicling an account of a crime story is hurled at the accused in the columns of five decades ago. "The Tribune" was the popular name for a newspaper of that day. The press did not confine the trial of cases to the editorial page; the news columns served as prosecuting attorney and judge combined.

Examples setting forth typical news presentations are cited:

Example 1:

"A 'soiled dove' in Muncie, Indiana, having been sent to prison, has put a number of the nicest young men of that city on the ragged edge by exposing their connection with her. They have left the city numerous, and are dwelling elsewhere in caves of gloom." (St. Louis Republican, Aug. 8, 1875.)

Such a story could not find its way into a reputable newspaper today. It is not given as news, for no names are mentioned; its deliberate purpose is *scandal*.

Example 2:

"A mosquito bar on somebody's candle somewhere in the corner of Twelfth and Spruce streets caught fire last night and was instantly doused

with water and saved. Some weak individual with a disposition to exaggerate lost his head and thought the engines might as well be around in case the conflagration should break out again. Of course a Republican reporter was wrenching himself in the van. A crowd skipped around lively in the neighboring blocks, but could not find the house with the singed mosquito bar. Those who had wind enough left were free in mentioning the character of the _____ who called them there, but didn't care *who* he was. The reporter kept his mouth shut and watched around quietly in hopes of getting to pelt the party referred to with a brick. No insurance." (St. Louis Republican, Aug. 18, 1875.)

There are feature writers today who take liberties with humorous situations, but it is inconceivable that a story like this could get into the columns of any newspaper today.

Example 3:

"The Rev. Thomas M. Hughes, the Welsh clergyman, whose scandalous doings have excited so much talk in England, has at last met with his deserts. It will be remembered that this model shepherd was indicted for having knowingly and willfully. . ." (St. Louis Republican, Aug. 13, 1875.)

Here the opinion of the editor, reserved today for the editorial columns, is expressed plainly in his description of the Rev. Thomas M. Hughes.

Additional examples of editorial coloring of the news are the following (All from the St. Louis Republican, August, 1875):

1. "The venerable J. B. Woods of Woodville, a worthy citizen, 75 years old, was today taken before Judge Worchester and adjudged insane. . ."
2. "Hon. William Shepherd, one of our oldest, most prominent and popular citizens, breathed his last. . ."
3. "The Mephians don't seem to have wasted much time in preliminaries when they got hold of the corpus of Weddy Thompson."

Editorial coloring, trite expressions, and assumptions of fact not necessary to the presentation of the story are thus called on. Three quotations from the leads of front-page news stories of the same paper for Aug. 15, 1875, will illustrate the matter further:

1. "The Union Square brought out the sickliest band of barn performers ever seen. . ."
2. "Those nice, religious Yankees, who are forever swindling the widow and the orphans. . ."
3. "Speaking of dresses, a lady friend received from Europe some very beautiful ones. . ."

In contrast to these examples of news treatment the following are quoted from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 2, 1925:

1. "Dawn breaking over the San Bernardino Mountains found a devoted group of worshipers in the First Methodist Church of Yucaina, entering on the third day of their relay reading of the Bible, which began at midnight Saturday and was expected to end sometime tonight."
2. "The Norwegian government has decided to send two seaplanes to the Arctic preparatory to a search for the Amundsen-Ellsworth flying expedition to the North Pole, which started from Spitzbergen May 21."

3. "Stephen S. Holt, lawyer, of Smithfield, N. C., alleged to have been mistaken for a rum-runner, was shot and almost instantly killed by Jesse Wyatt, captain of the plain clothes department of the Raleigh police force, late yesterday, near here."

These typical news leads are not colored by any sort of comment or editorialization: the Bible is not called the sacred word; the loss of the fliers was not termed an unfortunate affair; the man who was shot was not described as to presumed or known character.

The comparison is obvious. Except in stories that are plainly feature in nature and style, all news matter today comes under the common rule of straightforward presentation without editorial comment of coloring, and with no satire, invective, or bias. The rule is occasionally disregarded in reputable papers, but examination of hundreds of columns of matter in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of 1925 fails to reveal examples worthy of mention, so complete has been the change in news presentation in fifty years.

The change came gradually, as did all changes in newspaper production during the period, and not as the result of immediate change in policy. Frequently a single page between 1880 and 1900 presented the "short-story" type of news presentation, opinionated and punctuated with comment, side by side with a straightforward account, uncolored, and to all intents modern in diction, showing that this latter type of news treatment came gradually. By 1905 the present style of presentation was thoroughly established.

About 1880 a style of writing characterized today as "fine writing" came prominently into use. This example from the Republican of June 10, 1875, is illustrative:

"A sunny-haired, bright-faced, brown-eyed girl, whose charming characteristics and winning disposition have given her a high place in our affections, I mean Miss Eleanor Sherman, who, early in May, before the blush is off the roses, will give her happiness into the keeping of Lieut. Thackara, U. S. N. He is a 'fine fellow,' everyone says, and well deserves the happiness he has won."

A detailed analysis of this news item on the basis of present-day treatment of news shows that hardly a phrase or clause could be retained in a similar news story today. The personal pronoun used by the reporter would be omitted. The trite expressions would be out of place; so would the description of the bridegroom as a "fine fellow," the "everyone says," the editorial comment on his deserving such happiness, and the assumption that either of them was going to be happy at all.

Little change in treatment of news is seen until 1895. The idea of the modern "lead," that of summarizing the story in the opening paragraph or telling its most important fact first, was taking hold and coming into rapid use. This seemed to influence straightforward, uncolored news presentation more than any other factor. However, not even the growth of the modern lead could shut out the coloring of news until several years after 1895.

This example, from the Republican of July 14, 1885, illustrates the "small-town" type of familiarity so often given to news items in that day:

"The annual ball of the Attuck Guards was given last night at Stoll's Hall, 14th and Biddle streets. The guards were drilled by Capt. Berzey and

presented a very creditable appearance. The colored aristocracy were largely represented, and a pleasant evening was spent."

Such patronizing familiarity on the part of newspapers has vanished.

During the next five years news presentation began to take on a more serious and straightforward tone. "Fine writing," however, died hard, as did also the coloring of the news to suit the opinion or disposition of the writer. Examination of political news shows that editors took liberties in stories of that type after the general rule of straightforward presentation went into effect. This headline, from the Republic of June 2, 1890, is expressive of the matter: "SORSBY'S REWARD; His Dirty Work to Be Paid For in a Fat Government Office."

Wedding news items came under the head of "Orange Blossoms." Society news shows very little progress in treatment from that of 1875. This example, from the Republic of Aug. 10, 1890, is illustrative:

"The sensation of the season here is the elopement of Mrs. Berry Rolfe with Andrew Bulson, a traveling salesman for a Chicago drug house. . . ." The woman is called a "fair Juliet" in the story, and descriptive terms of a similar nature are used. The wave of scandal news seems to have reached a high point in 1890. The following example from the Republic of Dec. 4, 1890, is typical of stories sought after at that time, but banned from the columns only five or ten years later:

"WILL NOT NAME HER BETRAYER. Miss Anne Huber, the young lady who claims to be from Highland, Ill., and who was delivered of a child some days ago at the city hospital, is doing well, as is also the child. She will make no statement whatever in regard to the identity of the person who took her to the Hotel Glenmore, and when questioned on the subject positively refuses to talk regarding the matter."

News presentation made rapid strides between 1890 and 1900. The first half of that decade saw a general modernization of newspaper production, and the presentation of news came in for a big share of influence. Editorial comment, however, still injected itself. Side by side with straightforward news stories will be found colored accounts of which the following from the Republic of Oct. 10, 1895, is an example:

"There has been a great deal of foolish talk during the last few days regarding the relation of President Cleveland and Senator Hill. . . ."

By 1900 a definite swing toward uncolored news, presented fairly and accurately, had been made. The policy of confining comment to the editorial page became general. A few society stories and political stories show signs of the old method of presentation in the Post-Dispatch for 1900 to 1905; but the rule had become fairly general.

Since 1905 straightforward news presentation has been practiced with a consistency that has made the newspaper a mirror instead of a commentary. News stories with a "feature slant," prevalent since 1910, have tended to modify the rule somewhat. But these feature news-stories are easily identified; they barely color the tone of the paper as a whole.

The Lead

The comparative study which this thesis outlines furnishes proof of the recent development of the news "lead." The lead has come definitely to mean the beginning paragraph or paragraphs of the story, and in the news stories follows the general rule of stating the outstanding ideas the story intends to convey. Thus "who, what, why, where and when?" are usually intended to be answered in the lead. The following examples from the Post-Dispatch of May 17, 1925, illustrate the typical news lead of today:

1. "Senator Selden P. Spencer, Republican, of Missouri, died suddenly here tonight at Walter Reed Hospital." (Who, what, when and where are answered.)

2. "Miss Eloise Frazier, a junior in the college department at Washington University, was crowned 'May Queen' at the annual spring festival of women students on the women's athletic field, yesterday afternoon." (Who, what, where and when are answered.)

3. "CLINTON, Mo., May 16.—J. B. McCutcheon, who was indicted by a grand jury here several weeks ago, following an investigation into the failure of the bank of Ladue, today appeared before Circuit Judge C. A. Calvird and gave bond of \$17,000." (This lead answers: who, why, when, what, where?)

To be sure, not all news leads of present-day papers follow the rule so steadfastly. Some expand the questions that naturally arise relative to any occurrence into several sentences; occasionally into several paragraphs.

"President Harding is dead," began the news story of the passing of that national leader recently, as given by the Associated Press. Following closely upon that lead came what is naturally a part of it instead of the body of the story proper, an account of time, place, and other detail.

Fifty years ago the opening of a news story was strikingly similar to the beginning of a short story, or even of the longer novel. The lead, if it may be called that for comparative purposes, did not summarize. It was not consciously intended to answer the questions who, what, why, where, and when, but rather to "introduce" the story, which developed gradually. Frequently—in fact, examination of hundreds of columns of matter shows that habitually—the most outstanding fact was hidden far down in the story, often at the very last.

Thus fatal accidents and other calamities were habitually introduced by such an expression as "a horrible accident occurred yesterday." What the horrible accident was would appear as the story-teller unwove the facts. A general sequence of *importance* of news fact was not followed, either in the lead, or in the body of the story. Such a sequence is generally followed today: lives at stake or in great danger; personal injury or danger; property loss or property rights; social relationships, and political relationships. News stories of fifty years ago might tell of the wreck of a train, giving circumstances in detail; continue with an account of the number injured, and conclude with the news of the number killed or fatally injured.

Modern speed has been acclaimed responsible for the present arrangement of news stories, requiring a summary lead and sequence from important to unimportant. But modern newspaper make-up has contributed as much to the adoption of the modern lead as has a desire to read the news hurriedly.

The newspaper is faced with the problem of presenting all the news current at the time of publication, with a proper balance of space for each story. The proportionate amount of space given each story must depend upon its importance, based upon timeliness, proximity, intensity, human interest, and other factors. Items of importance may occupy longer parts of a given column than may unimportant, in spite of the amount of matter available for each. Therefore unimportant stories that are longer than the editor feels is necessary must be "cut," the question being how much should be cut off to give the story its proper balance.

The place of cutting is from the bottom up. Many managing editors set up the dictum that any story should express the idea that the whole story is intended to present even if all but the lead is cut out. News writers therefore make sure that the lead will express as much of the story as possible.

Comparison of this example of lead, from the *Republican* of June 22, 1875, with the modern leads given previously will show the wide difference in style and method:

"In Portland, in Van Buren County, on Monday, the boiler on the steam sawmill of D. Arnold exploded with terrific force, blowing the mill to pieces and scalding the men. Mr. Arnold, the proprietor, was killed outright, receiving no warning of the sudden and awful death which overtook him. Phil Green, an employe, was so badly scalded that he cannot possibly survive."

This lead gives the place first, the time second, the event third and the fatality last,—a good example of lead inverted, back-side before.

The *Republican* for the next day (July 23) tells the story of a crime with the following lead:

"A horrible murder was committed about three miles from this place last evening. The particulars are as follows: . . ."

Another example from the same paper of July 20 is as follows:

"A shocking accident occurred in this city this evening. A German girl named Carrie Baseman, about 20 years old, attempted to start a fire with coal oil."

The girl was killed by the explosion, but the story retains this most important item until far beyond the lead.

This lead from the *Republican* of July 23, 1875, introduces a baseball story: "A very interesting game of baseball was played here today between the Quincy nine and the Pastimes of the city. . . ." Who won appears much later in the story. In contrast, the following sport-story lead from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* for June 18, 1925, is given: "The Cincinnati Reds this afternoon handed the New York Giants their sixth consecutive defeat. . . ."

Little change is observable in leads by 1880, as this example from the *Republican* of Aug. 11, 1880, will show: "On Friday afternoon Mr. J. W. Riddle, a highly respected farmer, living twelve miles north of Brunswick, while hauling a load of hay, fell from the wagon and broke his neck. . . ."

But in the same edition this lead appears: "Frederick Roetgen, for many years a prominent citizen of this place, died yesterday of inanition, aged 54 years." This is such an improvement over the usual lead of that day that one is led to wonder if in the gradual development of the modern lead its principles were stumbled upon accidentally. Certainly the rule governing leads today had not begun to be felt to any great extent in 1880. These two examples from the *Republican* illustrate the matter further:

"About half an hour before noon yesterday, in the Vandalia railroad yards, East St. Louis, a fatal accident occurred under unusually horrifying circumstances. . . ." (April 5, 1880.)

"Conductor Brunkhold's train No. 3, on the Bellaire and Southwestern Railroad, left Bellaire at 3:30 p. m., and when about 18 miles from that place the hind truck of the hind car jumped the trestle and the car went over, a distance of 15 feet. . ." After more description of the accident, the reader is informed that one person was killed and several severely injured.

By 1885 an improvement in leads is discernible. The principal idea of the story usually appeared somewhere near the first. But the time of the event narrated is mentioned first with interesting consistency; frequently followed by the place, and other less important matter. The transition to the modern lead had barely begun.

Under the heading "HALLELUJAH!", which indicated the joy of the Republican's editor at a Democratic victory in a mayoralty contest in which David R. Francis was elected, the story of the election is introduced:

"Yesterday was the third mayoralty contest since the adoption of the scheme and charter. The weather was favorable to a heavy vote. The day opened cool and cloudy with slight indications of rain. As the morning advanced, however, . . ." and several paragraphs of such chatter are given before the fact that Francis was elected is indicated.

But the decade from 1885 to 1895 marked a rapid stride in lead development. By 1890 a curious mixture of old and new is found on every page, with the summary or modern lead gaining the ascendancy.

"Old Mrs. Bailey Johnson was literally frightened to death," began a lead in the Republican of Nov. 9, 1895. "Her death occurred yesterday, and was thought due to foul play. The facts show, however, that a 'root doctor' visited her and told her she was full of lizards. . ." Thus the story unwinds like a detective yarn, instead of news. In the same issue occurs this lead, modern in every respect:

"Edward R. Carter of the National Bank of Commerce, who is charged with embezzling \$30,000 from that institution, today pleaded guilty before United States Commissioner Shields and was held for the action of the Grand Jury."

That the selection of the most important idea around which to build the lead had not become established in 1895 is evidenced by many leads, of which the following from the Republic of Jan. 24, 1895, is typical:

"The Montgomery Circuit Court convened here Monday morning. A grand jury, composed of the following leading citizens, was impaneled. . ." After an account of the organization of the grand jury the instructions of the judge are given; they are obviously the most important part of the story.

During the decade from 1895 to 1905 leads became more generally modern. By 1900 by far the greater number of stories were introduced by leads in which the questions "who, what, why, where and when?" were answered.

After 1905 the lead, established then practically as it is today, expanded somewhat into a larger introductory sentence by 1915; since then the tendency has been to maintain the sequence of importance, but to use shorter sentences. This is an improvement from the standpoint of clearness, for the important story generally gives rise to a long involved sentence in the introduction if an attempt is made to put the lead into one sentence.

Headlines

A factor of newspaper production quite indicative of the development of the news make-up and presentation is that of headlines. A comparison of headlines, or headings, of the St. Louis Republican of 1875 with those of a St. Louis newspaper today reveals these outstanding differences:

(1) Headings of fifty years ago were mere *subjects*, announcing the matter to follow, instead of summarizing the news in sentence form, as is the rule today.

(2) News items similar in character were grouped under general headings in 1875. Today the plan has been completely abandoned, except as to different dispatches on the same subject, which are sometimes grouped.

(3) Headings of fifty years ago were confined to one column. The St. Louis papers today use also heads covering two, three and four columns, and occasionally streamers across the entire page.

The following headlines (upper deck only) from the Republican of July 6, 1875, illustrate concisely the subject nature of headings of that day:

"THE SHADOW OF WAR" . . "THE SUMMER CAPITAL" . .
 "THE NEW CONSTITUTION" . . "AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP" . .
 "AFTER THE PLAY" . . "LOST IN THE BRUSH" . . "REPORT OF THE
 COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION FOR JOHNSON COUNTY"

In none of these, typical of all those of that day, is the content of the story more than introduced, or labeled. Contrasting this method with that of today we find examples from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Monday, June 8, 1925:

"BRITAIN AND FRANCE CONFER ON PEACE PACT" . . "CHI-
 NESE CIVIL WAR BEGINS AS TROOPS OF RIVAL FACTIONS
 CLASH" . . "GIRL, 20, BROODING BECAUSE SHE KILLED FATHER,
 ENDS LIFE" . . "ST. LOUIS CLUBMAN'S WIFE IN LEGAL FIGHT
 FOR FATHER'S MILLIONS" . . "EX-POLICEMAN AND TWO
 OTHERS CONFESS PAYROLL ROBBERY" . . "2 GIRLS BURNED TO
 DEATH WHEN PLANE CRASHES"

Each of these headings expresses a summary of the story in a sentence. Each contains a subject and a predicate. Examination of headings of all the St. Louis papers and comparison with papers from all over the country show that the summary of the news story in the headlines, with a subject and a predicate (part sometimes unexpressed for the sake of brevity but always understood) is the definite and fixed rule for newspapers of all sizes and kinds.

Additional headings from the Republican of the same date as the above illustrate the matter further: "The Orphans," "Clear Water," "From the Black Hills." Additional headlines, from the Post-Dispatch of Sunday, May 17, 1925: "Senator Spencer Dies Suddenly in Capital," "United States Calls on Nine Nations to Pay War Debts," "Flying Ebony Wins Derby and \$52,920 Purse on Slow Track Before Throng of 100,000."

The last headline illustrates the length of some headlines which introduce stories today. The top deck of the heading of fifty years ago was always compressed into one line, one column wide. The average large heading had six to eight decks; secondary headings, three and four decks; all others, one line to two decks, the latter with one or two lines in each deck. The rigidity with

which the one-column head was followed is seen in the heads of the Republican following the election of 1876. This event furnished the finest kind of news—national in scope, the highest office in the land at stake, and an element of uncertainty that extended unabated for nearly four months. So eager was the editor to set forth the progress of this contested race between Tilden and Hayes that he ran his headlines into fifteen and sometimes eighteen decks, more than halfway down the column; but he used no head wider than one column.

An example of a typical three-column two-line upper deck, followed by four one-column decks, is the following head from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 2, 1925:

“\$5,000 TAKEN IN HOLD-UP OF
INSURANCE COMPANY OFFICE”

The second deck read: “Robbery Half a Block From Grand and Olive”; the third deck, “Eight Persons Are Lined Up by Two Men in Branch of Metropolitan Life”; the fourth, “Loot Carried Out in a Pillow Slip”; and the fifth, “Two Revolvers Kept in Safe Also Taken by Pair, Whose Flight Is Seen by Pedestrians.”

This example illustrates the rule followed generally in headline production today: the top deck tells the story in summary, and each succeeding deck amplifies with as many facts as possible, arranged in order of importance.

An illustration of the “general” headline, introducing a number of unrelated news stories similar in nature, may be found in the Republican for July 21, 1875. “Casualties,” followed by six sub-decks, introduces stories of a fatal accident in Leavenworth, Kan., of a fire in which a number of firemen were fatally injured in Cincinnati, Ohio, of some lost balloonists from Chicago, and of two lives lost by drowning near Toledo, Ohio.

Foreign news, crime, and political news were almost always grouped thus in the Republican of 1875. Examination of papers of numbers of cities at this period shows that this rule was generally followed.

Examination shows that such grouping continued through the next ten years with little variation as to casualties, crime, foreign news, and the like. This heading from the Republican of March 10, 1885, is typical of those of that year: “CASUALTIES” is the top head, followed by four decks as follows: “Accidents of Many Kinds Reported From All Directions”; “Terrible Fate of an Aged Negress—Death From Starvation”; “Business Property Burned at Baltimore—Fires Elsewhere”; “Burned to Death.”

“THE CRIMINAL RECORD” is the heading for a group of crime stories, followed by four sub-decks thus: “A Death-Dealing Texan Surrenders to the Officers”; “A Forger Escapes Arrest by Blowing His Brains Out”; “Four Chicago Citizens Get Out of Jail Through the Roof”; “Trouble in Rowan County, Kentucky—Minor Criminal Matters.”

These sub-decks indicate clearly the turn toward putting the news in the headlines. After the news items were printed separately instead of grouped under common headings it was only a step to the expansion of the top head into a full sentence, expressing as much of the story as possible.

During the next five years the group head gradually disappeared. By 1890 the news stories formerly grouped under one head are all given separate heads, with the more important ones under a greater number of decks.

The development of the headline away from the one-word or subject type came more slowly. The year 1895, which marked a period of rapid changes in newspaper production, shows headlines but little improved over those of twenty years before. It is evident that by 1885 headlines were given greater significance in proclaiming the news. They usually were given verbs but they were far from the general rule of today that headlines must form complete sentences. "NOT DEAD YET" reads the top deck of a head over the story of President Grant's illness, in the Republican of Aug. 6, 1885, followed by these six decks: "Though He May Breathe His Last at Any Moment"; "Gen. Grant Takes Step Back From the Brink of the Grave"; "Hypodermic Administrations of Stimulants Prolong His Life"; "A Revival of Strength That Surprises All Who Witnessed It"; "Facing and Fighting Fate With the Will and Courage of a Hero"; "Incidents of the Day in and About the Grant Residence." The second and third of these decks would be acceptable for sub-decks in a large head today; the remainder are "subject" heads.

During the five years from 1885 to 1890 larger type came into general use for the top deck. The heading "SO HAPPY:" in an issue of the Republican for 1890 was followed by a second deck, "The Astonishing Harmony in the Republican League Clubs," and by a third, "A Revised Report of the Recent Executive Committee Meeting—The Attendance and Proceedings—a Glum Crowd." The second deck was broken into two lines, and the third into four. The make-up of the headline was, therefore, much as it is today, and has changed little except to expand into a greater number of lines for the larger heads and over a greater number of columns for the most important ones.

The headline last quoted illustrates another characteristic noticeable in a large percentage of the headlines of that year and for the next five to ten years. Satire, comment and editorial comment had invaded the headlines. Especially was this true when introducing political news, as illustrated further by this head from an issue of 1890: "BACKED UP BYNUM" . . . "An Underhand Attempt to Get Even by the Democrats" . . . "The Indianan Censured by a Vote of the House—a Decoration of Honor" . . . "The Leaders of His Party Cheer Him to the Echo" . . . "A Scene of Wild Confusion."

"AWOKE WITH A WIFE" is the startling heading of a story which could have hardly found its way into a reputable paper today. The second deck announces "Singular Experience of a Buffalo Master Mechanic"; the third, "He Retired a Single Man—Woke Up With a Wife by His Side—She Had a Marriage Certificate to Prove Her Right There and Is Nice Girl."

Five years later headings had become decidedly more specific. The larger ones had uniformly four decks: the top deck of one line, the second deck of two lines, the third of one, and the fourth deck of five lines, in decidedly smaller type. Still no definite policy as to subject and predicate is discernible, as the following head from the Republican of May 12, 1895, will illustrate:

"AT THE WHITE HOUSE" . . . "New Year's Reception by the President and Wife" . . . "National Official Function" . . . "Representatives of Foreign Nations, Supreme Judges, the Cabinet, Congressmen and Other Governmental Officials Received—Other Functions."

The period from 1895 to 1900 marks the rapid development of the "sentence" type of headline. The headlines of this period are still of one column, and the top deck has only one line, in contrast to the later development of

the top deck of three and four lines in general use in all the St. Louis newspapers today.

The following example is illustrative: (from the Post-Dispatch of Oct. 3, 1900.)

"GOEBEL IS NAMED" is the top deck: it is followed by "Nominated for the Senate's President Pro Tem"; "Alleged Bribery Expose Made to Make Votes for Goebelites"; and four other decks. These sub-decks show modern tendencies: they expand the story as begun by the top deck; and they are sentences. In the same edition these two heads occur: "Rangers Go to Groveton"; and "Missouri Teachers Bitter." Near these two modern heads are found these two old-type "subject" heads: "Clarksville Tobacco Inspectors"; and "Thirty-Two Knots an Hour."

Gradually, through the period from 1900 to 1910, the headline expanded from the one-column to the two-column deck, then quickly to three and four and to the streamer deck across the page (used more today in the St. Louis Times and the St. Louis Star than on the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat.) The two- and three-column headline is used frequently by all St. Louis newspapers, reflecting the tendency generally.

The leading headlines in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch for 1905 show uniformly the modern type of make-up, with three "drop lines" in the upper decks, the "inverted pyramid" type of sub-deck, and "hanging indentions." There are several two-column heads.

Headlines have changed little in make-up since 1910. The streamer across the page has come into greater use, and a variety of shapes and types of headlines have been introduced. Quite uniformly the rule, already in effect in 1910, that headlines should be sentences and tell in summary form the story, has been enforced.

Diction

Not the least of the changes in newspaper production in the last fifty years has been that factor of newspaper style known as *diction*, or the selection of words and expressions. The tendency has been away from the familiar, the trite, and the colorful diction of 1875 toward the straightforward, uncolored, simple, and definite.

The general rule, as exemplified by the St. Louis newspapers today, is that all expressions containing opinionated coloring should be omitted. For example: "Lately Hiram A. Reed was left the nice little sum of \$10,000," begins a news story in the Republican for June 10, 1875. The story today might be written "Hiram A. Reed received \$10,000"—followed by details as to circumstance, time, and place. "Lately", would be omitted on the ground of being too indefinite; "nice" is meaningless; "little" is trite and indefinite, and in this instance is inaccurate; while "the sum of" is superfluous.

Trite expressions were common—so common as to be almost a rule, apparently—in 1875. Their appearance of triteness may have increased during the years, but certainly general usage did not exclude hackneyed expressions as it does today.

Examples of trite expressions selected from the Republican of 1875 are as follows:

- "Bucksome young woman."
- "Nice little sum."
- "One of our foremost citizens."
- "A fine repast was spread."

Random examples of diction in the St. Louis Republican for 1875, contrasted with examples from the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat of 1925, follow:

1875	1925
colored	negro
officer	patrolman
evening	night
took a notion	decided
gentleman	man
lady	woman
obsequies	funeral
in the shortest time possible	quickly
a German woman	(nationality not mentioned)
party	person
happy couple	bride and groom
over (a dozen)	more than
a society event	a social event
theatrical folks	actors

During the fifty years since 1875 superlatives have come to be regarded with such suspicion that the rule has been established never to use them unless they are known to be accurate; to avoid superlatives used merely for effect. The following, selected from the Republican of 1875, would be discarded or modified today:

- “The greatest enthusiasm prevailed.”
- “The leading citizen.”
- “The greatest event of their lives.”

Editorial coloring, noted in the study of the presentation of news, was responsible for many descriptive words unwarranted by news facts. Gradually they were modified, and by 1900 practically eliminated. These examples from the Republican are illustrative:

- “A worthless fellow named Henry Hunter.”
- “An honest-looking fellow.”
- “That scoundrel, the defendant.”

Nationalities were mentioned apparently as the general rule where the subject of the story was other than American. “A German girl named Carrie Baseman,” is typical.

Additional examples of diction that would be considered faulty today are found in the Republican of Aug. 5, 1875:

- “FINE WEDDING AT SEDALIA—A brilliant wedding in high life took place this evening. . .”
- “Mr. Telzon, 64 years old, took a notion to drive his team around the field . . .”
- “Old Yankee Robinson’s circus busted wide open last week at St. Paul, and the sheriff sailed in for his rights . . .”
- “A brakeman named Thomas Stagg . . .”
- “A drunken man known as Jerry Deevan . . .”

The movement toward what is considered good diction today seems to have followed closely the improvements in news presentation, particularly during the decade between 1890 and 1900.

A Review of Modern Tendencies

The tendency in modern journalism is toward consolidation of newspapers and newspaper forces. Examples of this may be found in nearly every large city in the land. The last decade of the last century saw many newspapers combined into larger ones: the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat were created thus. During the first quarter of the present century this tendency has increased. The recent activities of Frank Munsey in the consolidation of New York City papers is illustrative of the tendency.

Combination and consolidation clearly forecast this result: the big-city newspaper has become—and will be increasingly—a gigantic business enterprise.

ADVERTISING: Modern advertising is at the foundation of the financial framework around which the newspapers today are built. And modern advertising is here to stay. It has been attacked time and again by economists as being a waste and an economic drain on the resources of the nation. When a soup company pays \$8500 for one page of display in a weekly magazine, it is the consumer who pays the bill, according to these economists. A full-page display advertisement of a clothing company in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch must be paid for by the persons who buy the goods, they argue. In other words, the advertiser raises the price of his products to recompense himself for his expenditure for advertising.

But the answer to this is the irrefutable fact that quantity sales, made possible by advertising, bring about—in fact make necessary—quantity production; and quantity production and quantity sales make possible a more narrow margin of profit on each item of product resulting in lower prices. The advertiser has the best of the argument today, and most likely will continue to have.

This study has pointed out that the most important growth in the business side of newspaper production during the last fifty years has been the development of advertising. How far—and how long—can further development progress? The last five years have seen little progress in the size of advertisements and the amount of money spent on them; the peak had practically been reached in 1920, shortly after the close of the World War. The slump in prices and the slowing up generally in buying may account for the lack of continued expansion of newspaper advertising since 1920. But the most logical conclusion is that newspaper advertising has had its greatest growth during the last twenty-five years, greater, perhaps, than it will have for half a century farther.

The make-up and subject matter of ads have become a fine art; the last ten years have seen the growth of a profession in which skill and artistic ability are at a premium. It is an important profession in business and industry—the profession of ad-writing. There is no doubt that much progress is yet to be made in the psychology of appeal in advertising. This may mark the greatest development in newspaper advertising during the next fifty years.

EDITORIALS: The tendency in editorials has been away from political partisanship, and toward a broader view of national problems. This seems to be the most outstanding development in this factor of newspaper production during the five decades. There is every indication that this trend will continue.

Newspapers are considering themselves less and less the champions of political creeds, and more and more the constructive critics of each and all in the public employment or in the public eye. Surely this is an indication of the healthy removal of the press from the rule of the demagogue, political or otherwise. The next half-century should see the tendency further exemplified.

Neutrality in politics has become the policy among all St. Louis newspapers, and generally among big-city newspapers the country over. Each is, according to its own announcement, "independent." However, that political party influence is still felt is apparent. The Post-Dispatch frequently takes up the cudgels for the Democratic party, as did Joseph Pulitzer, its founder; although, like him, its claim for independence is not a sham. Its independence of party control is evidenced by its opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Law, for example. The Globe-Democrat is Republican in its leanings generally; but it fought the present mayor, Victor Miller, a Republican, bitterly in his race for election. Newspapers today do not hesitate to attack the policies advocated by political leaders of any and all parties with whom they do not agree.

Constructive editorial tone has replaced a great deal of the distinctly critical in editorials of fifty years ago. Herein lies the great future of the editorial. Without doubt the editorial writers of the future who make themselves felt in more than a local sphere will be noted for the weight they can put behind policies and movements for the public good as opposed to party dictates, political or otherwise.

FEATURES: The tremendous growth in feature matter, noted in this study, cannot be taken to indicate that the peak of feature matter has been reached. Rather has the field been opened up.

Several modern inventions have made this field a fertile one. Photo-illustration is perhaps the most important, and will continue to play a leading role in the growth of feature writing. A poor feature well illustrated has a far better chance of reaching the print paper than a well-written feature not illustrated. Photography is not only the first servant of feature writing; the indications are that for a large share of features, photography will become the very vehicle.

Pen-and-ink drawings are used in cartoons and comics, but for straight illustrations in other branches of feature writing they have declined in favor of photography. Whether comic strips and cartoons, that now occupy about half a page of every edition of the St. Louis papers, have reached their peak, is a matter of speculation. Indications are that they have.

Syndicated matter on health, inspirational subjects, politics, biography, and all the wide range of human interests is but in its infancy. It should continue to grow through several decades.

The tendency away from the grotesque and horrific has been noted. The tone of feature writing today is entertainment; but this tone is being modified by the influence of feature matter that is instructive as well as entertaining. This influence will most likely pervade newspaper feature matter of the future.

NEWS: The presentation of news, which is the great reason for the existence of a newspaper, may seem to some extent to be all but overshadowed by the other factors of newspaper production. And the percentage of news as

shown by this study does not loom high in comparison with advertisements and feature matter. But the growth in volume of news indicates its importance. Modern make-up is a concession to the desires of readers of news, and not to the advertisers. A front page ad would draw a high premium in any St. Louis newspaper today; but the front page is reserved for news. News is the very heart of the newspaper.

The argument sometimes advanced that the editorial or news side of newspaper production generally is becoming subordinated to the business or advertising side cannot be proved. There may be cases of such, but they are exceptions to the rule. The editorial side of the paper has struggled out from under the control of political and sometimes social powers, and bids fair now to remain free from money control. In the first place, the editor knows that his readers will not stand for any but the strictest impartiality, fairness, and disinterestedness in news presentation; and in the second place the advertiser knows that advertising space honestly paid for brings returns commensurate, and that to go further in news subjugation for business purposes would react against him. In either case the reader—the public—holds the whip hand.

As to the manner of presenting news, there is every indication that the straightforward, accurate, uncolored type of news presentation, established during the last fifty years, has become permanent.

There are indications, however, that the rule will be varied in the future. The last five years have seen one variation—that of “constructive” news, which is steadily on the increase, as has been noted. But even in constructive news the plain distinction between news and editorial matter has been maintained, and will most likely be maintained.

News presented in feature style has brought about some variation from the rule of straightforward presentation. It is hard to surmise to what extent feature news will influence style; certainly not to the extent of the coloring and editorial comment of fifty years ago.

The tendency in leads is toward the shorter lead—the more “broken-up” type of lead. This is seen in the short, staccato sentences that frequently are employed to introduce news stories today. Often the rule of answering “who what, why, where, when?” is varied in modern leads, for emphasis and to introduce suspense. The indications are that this tendency will increase. But it can never surmount the demand of the reader for speedy information and for the presentation of the important part of the story first.

Headlines appear to have reached their maximum size, and indications are that they will become more conservative, in keeping with the undoubted tendency to keep news itself on the conservative plane. The streamer head is not used as frequently today as it was ten years ago. However, in both the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat, and in newspapers generally, the large 3- and 4-column upper-deck head is used more frequently than ever before. There is a greater variety of types of headlines, and many more may be introduced. No variation from the rule that heads should tell as much of the story as possible in sentence form can be detected.

Diction, that reflection of the tone of any newspaper, and of any period in which that newspaper is published, is being affected somewhat by the “jazz age” through which the nation is wriggling at the present time. Sport

stories of the St. Louis newspapers are written in a jargon hardly recognizable as English. The slang and lingual liberties of so much of the feature matter today threaten to seep into news stories. Advertising has felt the influence of painted diction. But jazz speech is temporary; pure English bids fair to remain and ultimately triumph in newspapers as elsewhere. Certainly the trite, the apologetic, the patronizing in newspaper diction has gone—apparently forever.

The newspaper has reached a hearty maturity. In those things that are material, as long as industry and education drive forward, its progress should continue. In spiritual attributes, the glow of those ideals that have lighted the way with each step of advancement should be felt so long as civilization looks upward.

THE
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
BULLETIN

JOURNALISM SERIES

Edited by

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