

Making of the Americans : Journalism in the Politically Organized Society (アメリカの国民形成：契約社会のジャーナリズム)

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SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 建国を一つの継続的なプロセスとしてとらえるなら、アメリカ合衆国はまさにその典型であろう。アメリカ人を特徴づけているもの、それは、さまざまな民族・人種に属する人々が自ら選んでこの国に移住し、一種の社会契約による国家共同体を政治的に築いている、という驚くべき事実である。「自由」を求める人々が存在するかぎり、アメリカは人類にとって希望の地であり、未来に開かれた人類共存の実験場である。独立宣言に示されたアメリカ政治の理想——個人の尊厳・人間の平等・人民主権——は、アメリカ国民が常にそれへの回帰を求められている生活の原点である。

本稿は、アメリカの国民形成に顕著な三つの要素として、移民・政治の理想・ジャーナリズムをとりあげ、その相互作用の中から「建国」をダイナミックに継続させている推進力を探り出そうと試みた。アメリカ・ジャーナリズムの機能を中心に (1) 初期定住者とプレスの自由、(2) 移民と大衆紙、(3) アメリカ化と移民新聞、(4) アメリカ政治の理想と革新的ジャーナリズム、の四項目について記述している。

独立戦争、ジャクソニアン・デモクラシー、進歩主義運動、ウォーターゲイト事件と、いずれの時代にも政治・企業・社会の不正を容赦なく暴露するアメリカ・ジャーナリズムは、建国の理想とかけ離れた現実を摘発し、アメリカ国民をその伝統的信条に立ち返らせる。「るつぽ」の中で画一化されることを嫌う移民たちは、それぞれの民族性を保ちながら、しかも全体として一つの社会、一つの国民を政治的に構成することを承諾している。こうしてアメリカ人は、「いかにしてアメ

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「リカ人になるか」という古くて新しい課題に今日も取り組んでいる。

Introduction

The focus of this essay is on American nation-building and the role of journalism in the making of the Americans. It seeks to explore interactive relationships among three elements which are assumed to be outstanding in the evolution of American life: the immigrants, political ideals, and journalism.

Nation-building is an ongoing process. This is particularly true of the United States of America for three reasons. First, it is a land of immigrants. From the 17th century on, waves of immigration reached the shores of the New World on many different occasions, each bringing with it some different culture and traditions new and challenging to the earlier settlers. Second, American national identity is defined in political and normative terms, rather than organic and existential terms.¹ The Founding Fathers committed themselves to a set of values such as the dignity of the individual, human equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, and the rule of law under the Constitution, which were succinctly written in the Declaration of Independence. These values are the American political ideals and standards to which the current practices are constantly urged to approximate.

Third, journalism in America is a powerful institution of communication which serves the purpose of national integration. The press holds a special position in the Constitution of the United States, given the First Amendment guarantee for its freedom.² One might safely say that journalism has revolutionized the American people and their institutions, particularly through its role of scrutiny over the realization of the political ideals.³ The three elements, closely inter-related to one another, have proven to be the propelling forces that keep American nation-building dynamic and durable.

In this study, four prominent features of the American press in the developmental history of the nation are covered under the headings of

(1) early settlers and the freedom of the press, (2) immigration and the press for the common man, (3) Americanization and the foreign-language press, and (4) political ideals and crusading journalism. Each of these is here considered to be a crucial factor in urging Americans to be ever-Revolutionary and experimental in the pursuit of their goals.

Early Settlers and the Freedom of the Press

American journalism was born in New England where, from the very beginning, there were printers among the Pilgrims who arrived in Plymouth in December 1620. A decade later came another group of religious exiles among whom were scholars and educators, and many were prosperous. They established the Massachusetts Bay Colony around Boston. By the end of the summer of 1630, about a thousand settlers had arrived, and in four years, Boston's population quadrupled.⁴

The Massachusetts Bay Colonists had a high degree of self-government. Concerned about the education of their children, they founded Harvard College in 1636 and grammar schools in large towns. The first press was set up in 1638, which produced religious texts for school and college use. The first book was the Bay Psalm Book published in 1640. Other presses established later also printed poetry, history and other cultural material. There in Boston were "all the ingredients for the development of a newspaper -- high literacy, interest in community matters, self-government, prosperity, and cultural leadership -- yet no successful newspaper appeared until the fourth generation."⁵

The lag may be explained by the fact that stretches of the uninhabited wilderness had absorbed the energies of the colonists and that their demand for news was fairly well satisfied by English papers which arrived on every ship from home. Without systems available for intercolonial transportation and communication, the colonists remained oriented toward the homeland, not toward their neighbors.

Throughout the colonial period, the post office was one of the few more or less enduring structures performing governmental functions.⁶

It was founded in 1692 when the British government authorized inter-colonial mail service. As in the cases of the early continental papers published by postmasters, the first American newspaper was produced by John Campbell who took over the Boston post office in 1700. In the form of a newsletter, Campbell sent out a hand-written report on commercial and governmental matters -- meetings, proclamations, complaints, legal notices, actions in court, available cargo space, and the arrivals of important persons. The demand for news was such that Campbell had his paper printed by Bartholomew Green, one of the pioneer printers in the Boston-Cambridge area. Thus, *the Boston News-Letter* appeared in 1704 as the first genuine American newspaper "published by authority," that is, approved by a government representative before publication. Campbell's policy of printing was "for a Publick Good, to give a true Account of all Foreign & Domestick Occurrences, and to prevent a great many false reports of the same,"⁷ and he continued the publication even after he was replaced by William Brooker in 1719. The new postmaster then began a rival paper, *the Boston Gazette*, which was continued by successive postmasters until 1741.

James Franklin who had been printer of *the Boston Gazette* when Brooker was postmaster, published in 1721 his own paper, *the New England Courant*, not "by authority" but in defiance of it. He sought editorial independence for a free press and developed a crusade type of journalism. Although his paper lasted only five years, he established for the American press the principle of printing "without authority."

Benjamin Franklin as a boy was put out to learn the printer's trade, but a few years later he ran away from his apprenticeship to his brother James and fled to Philadelphia, where he became a prosperous printer and publisher.⁸ At the age of 24, he was the sole proprietor of *the Pennsylvania Gazette*, the best newspaper in the American colonies.⁹ He helped establish the first foreign-language paper in a German town. He caused young men to start newspapers in other colonies -- Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia and Connecticut. After 1725, newspapers sprouted all over the colonies, and by 1750, most literate Americans had access to some journal of information. In 1753 when Franklin became deputy postmaster general for North America, he

employed postriders to carry newspapers between colonies; thus, the colonial post office system became an efficient and effective means of intercolonial communication. Franklin's greatest contribution to journalism was that he made it respectable by showing that a good journalist and businessperson could make money in the publishing field.¹⁰ Journalism came to attract intelligent and industrious youths for a promising career.

New Englanders were thriving in commerce, shipbuilding, lumbering and other industries and were ready to support publications that could advertise goods and spread information. With the glacial, rugged climate and Calvinism, they preferred to live in towns where they could attend church and meetings and exchange information at coffee-houses. In contrast, life in the South was more relaxed on the agrarian basis, where people lived spaciouly on the wide plantations. Although Virginia was settled 13 years before the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth, communications did not develop rapidly; its first newspaper, *the Virginia Gazette*, came into being as late as 1736. The middle colonies such as Delaware, New York, and Pennsylvania were settled from the early 17th century by the Swedish, Dutch, and German peoples who were either Catholics, Lutherans, Quakers, or Dutch Reformers.

New York, by 1733, was experiencing political tension which eventually culminated in the War of Independence. John Peter Zenger's trial was a case in point. Zenger was an immigrant from the German Palatinate. Starting as an apprentice printer, Zenger published *the New York Weekly Journal* in 1733, but it clashed with the colonial administration from the very beginning. Because he sided with the anti-government forces, he was arrested on charges of seditious libel in 1734.

Arguing on behalf of the accused was Andrew Hamilton, an 80-year-old lawyer from Philadelphia, whose plea in the 1735 Zenger trial became the cornerstone of the American freedom of the press. Hamilton went back to the Magna Carta and to the abolition of the Star Chamber to prove that freedom to express justifiable truth had long been accepted in the older courts. He said:

... the Question before the Court and you Gentlemen of the

Jury, is not of small nor private Concern. It is not the Cause of the poor Printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying; No! It may in its Consequence affect every Freeman that lives under the British Government on the main of America. It is the best Cause. It is the Cause of Liberty; . . . the Liberty -- both of exposing and opposing arbitrary Power (in these Parts of the World, at least) by speaking and writing -- Truth.¹¹

He argued that printing the truth was not criminally libelous and that the jury, not a governor, should decide whether a publication was libelous.¹²

The jury's verdict was "not guilty," and Zenger was acquitted. Later, the two principles -- truth as a defense and the jury power of decision -- were accepted and formalized into law by Pennsylvania in 1790 and by New York in 1805. The authors of *The Press and America* have remarked: "The right to criticize officials is one of the main pillars of press freedom; the others are: (1) the right to publish without official license, established in America by James Franklin, and (2) the right to report matters of public interest, which is still contested by reluctant public officials."¹³

The Stamp Act of 1765 was a key factor leading to the independence movement of the press. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) ended in Britain's victory over France, but the British were nearly bankrupt. The Empire imposed special taxes on the American colonists, as well as on the British themselves, so as to pay the cost of defending the frontiers. The act levied taxes on newsprint among other items, on the basis of each page regardless of the page size. The colonial publishers attacked it as an infringement on their freedom, and in less than a year, Parliament repealed that part of the act that applied to printers.¹⁴

When the Revolutionary War started in 1775, the press and journalists did much to prepare and maintain the public's will to fight. The Continental Congress on July 2, 1776, declared the united colonies free and independent of Great Britain. On July 4, 1776, Congress asked John Dunlap, the printer of *the Pennsylvania Packet or the*

General Advertiser, to print the Declaration of Independence, which was written by Thomas Jefferson and edited by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. The days following saw the full text of the document published in at least 29 newspapers one after another, including Dunlap's paper and Benjamin Towne's *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. The Declaration appealed to the "Supreme Judge of the world" as follows:

... We ... in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do ...¹⁵

The number of revolutionary newspapers fluctuated during the six years of fighting, but by the war's end in 1783, there were about 35 weeklies which went into about 40,000 homes.¹⁶

Turmoil marked the 11 years between the publication of the Declaration of Independence and the signing of the Constitution in 1787. One of the hallmarks of the American Constitution is the protection of the press. Already in 1776, the Virginia Bill of Rights specified in Article 12 "That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotick governments."¹⁷ Similar provisions were adopted by Massachusetts and several other states by 1787. A modification of the Virginia document was added to the Constitution as the first 10 amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, which were ratified in 1791. The first article of the Bill reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a

redress of grievances.”¹⁸ A historic test was awaiting this First Amendment principle 180 years later.

In 1971, the federal courts faced a case of prior restraint imposed by the government on publication. It was the Pentagon Papers case, one of the most dramatic institutional confrontations between the government and the press in the history of the United States. In June that year, the Nixon administration stopped *the New York Times* for 15 days from publishing articles on the Pentagon’s secret study of the Vietnam War. That was “the first effort by the Government to enjoin publication on the ground of national security.”¹⁹ It turned the clock back to 1534 when Henry VIII imposed prior restraint on the press. Prior restraint ended in England in 1694 and in the colonies in 1721. This time, it was temporarily revived exactly 250 years later.²⁰

The Supreme Court, however, came to the rescue of press freedom and upheld the First Amendment guarantee on June 30, 1971. The Supreme Court Decision on the Pentagon Papers says:

Our Government was launched in 1789 with the adoption of the Constitution. The Bill of Rights, including the First Amendment, followed in 1791. Now, for the first time in the 182 years since the founding of the Republic, the Federal Courts are asked to hold that the First Amendment does not mean what it says, but rather means that the Government can halt the publication of current news of vital importance to the people of this country.

In seeking injunctions against these newspapers and in its presentation to the court, the executive branch seems to have forgotten the essential purpose and history of the First Amendment.²¹

The decision recounts how the first 10 amendments came to be added to the Constitution, and refers to press freedom as follows:

In the First Amendment the Founding Fathers gave the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in our democracy. The press was to serve the governed, not the

governors. The Government's power to censor the press was abolished so that the press would remain forever free to censure the Government. The press was protected so that it could bare the secrets of government and inform the people. Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government. And paramount among the responsibilities of a free press is the duty to prevent any part of the Government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign shot and shell.²²

In conclusion, the Supreme Court verdict on the Pentagon Papers case commended *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post* and other newspapers for having served "the purpose that the Founding Fathers saw so clearly." That is, in "revealing the workings of government that led to the Vietnam War, the newspapers nobly did precisely that which the founders hoped and trusted they would do."²³

Thomas Jefferson, in France as American ambassador, could not join the Founding Fathers when they wrote the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787, but he frequently exchanged notes with James Madison and others on the contents of the Constitution and the need for a bill of rights. Jefferson believed that the press should be protected at any cost. "...Our liberty," he said, "depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost."²⁴

The freedom of the press has thus been established in the United States where democratic government requires the citizens to have a say in determining public decisions that vitally affect their lives. The purpose of the free press is, therefore, to serve the public's "right to know" by keeping the citizens informed. The press victory in the Pentagon Papers case triggered further exposure concerning the conduct of the Vietnam War, only to be followed by the beginnings of the Watergate case in 1972.

Immigration and the Press for the Common Man

No official records were made of immigration prior to 1820. However, if contemporary estimates can be relied upon, the number of immigrants between 1790 and 1820 was 250,000. Between 1820 and 1945 inclusive, a total of 38,461,395 immigrants came to the United States, according to the records of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. Of the 60 million persons who left Europe between 1820 and 1924, three-fifths settled in the United States.²⁵ A considerable influx of immigrants in the 1790s can be attributed to the French Revolution and the resulting wars and political events in Europe.

The tide of immigration from the German states was proportionately heavy among the earlier immigrants who arrived in America in the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of the immigrants of the 1780s were indentured servants or redemptioners.²⁶ Far from prohibiting white servitude, Pennsylvania and New York passed laws to encourage the institution. George Washington, in 1792, presented to the commissioners of the District of Columbia a detailed plan for the importation of German indentured labor for construction work in the new federal city on the Potomac.²⁷

Sympathy with the French Revolution led a number of British radicals to arrive in the United States. Among them was Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen and seven other gases, who was a British expatriate noted for his leftist views. Thomas Cooper was another vigorous critic of the established order. Besides, there were liberalists like the Du Ponts, then the aggressive backers of liberalism, who brought French ideas into the platform of the anti-Federalists. Albert Gallatin from Switzerland was destined to become a great secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson. Men like these were almost certain to be opposed to the administration. They were "threatening foreigners" for the Federalist administration.²⁸ Moreover, most foreigners, who numbered about 25,000 in the United States in 1798, were either refugees from stern authorities in their homelands or propertyless, poor people. They, too, tended to be anti-Federalist or on the side of the Jeffersonians.

It was against this background that the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed by Congress in 1798 under John Adams' presidency. The laws were to stand for two years. The Alien Acts provided that the naturalization period be extended from 5 to 14 years and that the president be empowered to deport aliens judged by him to be subversive.²⁹ The Sedition Act declared:

That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish ... any false, scandalous and malicious writing ... against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress ... or the said President ... or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States ... or to resist or oppose, or defeat any such law ... shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.³⁰

The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 failed to be effective. Anyone could see that the laws applied only to the enemies of the administration. Moreover, the individual states continued to enfranchise immigrants after one or two years' residence.³¹

Ironically, the Alien and Sedition Acts proved significant for two reasons. One is that they transformed the immigrant suspicions of the Federalists into firm opposition. The Pennsylvania Germans, who had been politically apathetic, now solidly turned in support of the Republicans. In New York, hundreds of Frenchmen, who had never troubled to vote before, cast their ballots for Jefferson in the 1800 election.³² The other significance of the Sedition Act is provided by a pair of safeguards by which the twin argument made by Andrew Hamilton in the Zenger trial was enacted into law: that truth could be offered as a defense and the jury could determine both the law and the fact.³³

According to immigration statistics, the number of arrivals in the United States increased markedly in the early decades of the 19th century. The mass immigration era opened. The first of these waves started after the close of the Napoleonic Wars. They came in a series of gigantic waves, each more powerful than the last and separated one

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from another by short periods of time. Immigration swelled in volume from the 1830s through 1910. After gathering momentum steadily during the 1830s and 1840s, the tide reached its crest in 1854. The ratio of immigration to population was highest at the census year 1850 (1845-1855), when it was 1.28 percent.³⁴ The year with the largest immigration was 1907 when 1,438,000 immigrants entered, accounting for 1.67 percent of the population. The percentage of immigration remained at about 1 percent or a little above until 1914 and then dropped sharply. In 1919, the percentage was 0.23. Even though immigration rose in volume considerably after 1870, it represented a minor segment of the total population, and the ratio remained little changed because of the increased size of the population in later decades.³⁵

AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION COMPARED WITH POPULATION BY DECADES*

(average of 10 years immigration centered at July 1st of census year)

Date of Census	POPULATION	AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION	
	Number (thousands)	Number (thousands)	Ratio to Population (per cent)
1830	12,866	34	.26
1840	17,069	77	.45
1850	23,192	296	1.28
1860	31,443	158	.50
1870	38,558	338	.88
1880	50,156	406	.81
1890	62,948	439	.70
1900	75,995	540	.71
1910	91,972	942	1.02
1920	105,711	389	.37
1930	122,775	169	.14
1940	131,669	48	.04

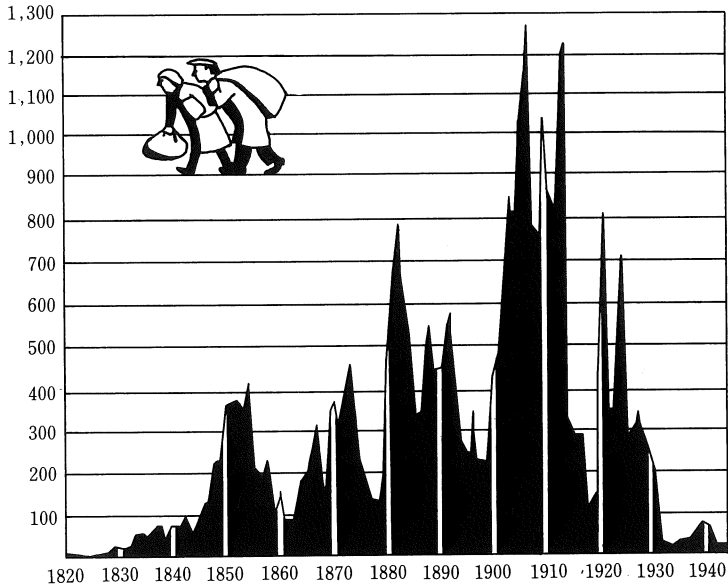
*Data for 1820 - 1920 in Jerome, Harry V., *Migration and Business Cycles*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926, New York, p. 49.

Data for 1930, 1940 based on United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report for 1945*.

Source : National Committee on Immigration Policy,
Immigration and Population Policy
(New York : Academy Press, 1947), p. 14.

TRENDS OF IMMIGRATION

THOUSANDS



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New York City, and taken from Pamphlet No. 111, *The Refugees Are
Now Americans*, by Maurice R. Davie and Samuel Koenig.

Source : National Committee on Immigration Policy,
Economic Aspects of Immigration
(New York : Academy Press, 1947), p. 42.

After Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory in 1803, settlers poured in from the East. Ten new states joined the Union during the 1790-1820 period.³⁶ America in the 1820s was still largely rural, but industry was beginning to exert influence. The Democratic Party found its supporters in the East among many workers, immigrants, some skilled workers, traders and merchants. The first labor paper, *the Journeyman Mechanic's Advocate*, appeared in 1827 in Philadelphia and the first labor party was organized in 1828, two months before

Andrew Jackson's election. In the era of Jacksonian democracy, suffrage was broadened to include all white males, except in the South where property restrictions persisted until the middle of the 19th century.³⁷ As the people moved westward, the press moved with them. The frontier printer-editors were usually among the first to set up shops and promote villages. They were leading businesspeople who brought civilization to remote areas.

Sensationalism in modern American journalism appeared in 1833 with the advent of *the New York Sun* by Benjamin H. Day, the first successful penny press for the masses. It was to tap the reservoir of the much-neglected common man, for whom the previous papers were too expensive.³⁸ Unlike the party press which carried editorials as forums for contending politicians to publicize their views in the fight between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists, the penny press put emphasis on "human-interest" news of happenings and violence which attracted sensation-hungry readers. Too often, however, the early penny papers lowered standards, as in the case of *the Sun*, which was ready even to sacrifice truth if that would bring in more customers.³⁹

A rival paper soon appeared. James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*, started in 1835, included crime reporting in an aggressive style. He innovated the pages by creating a "money page," a "letters" column, and sports news. His contributions were largely technical.

Another paper which sold for one cent was *the New York Tribune*, founded by Horace Greeley in 1841. With the belief that the masses could be attracted by reason as well as by emotionalism, Greeley sought to provide opinion leadership through serious discussion, interpretation and editorial argument of political and moral issues, in an effort to produce a better world and a better press. His topics included: opportunity, work, and education available to all people; the rights of women; labor organizations; capitalists' responsibility for better living standards; temperance; and abolition of slavery and imprisonment for debt. The paper, which was full of advertising, was universally read and highly respected. Many of its 200,000 subscribers were farmers in the Midwestern states, who read it "next to the Bible." He changed the press of the masses from the vulgar level of sensationalism to a promoter of culture and stimulating ideas.⁴⁰

Greeley's achievements and the maturing of the press for the masses prepared both readers and editors for higher standards of American journalism. In 1851, *the New York Times* was established by Henry J. Raymond, who had started out under Greeley. One of the *Times'* strong points was the interpreting of foreign news. With the objective reporting, the somber tone, and the thorough coverage, the *Times* became a newspaper of record -- "one of the world's most stable, durable, respected, and influential."⁴¹

The industrial revolution facilitated the production of less expensive newspapers. Moreover, the means of communication had progressed from carrier pigeons to the pony-express in 1835, to railroads in the 1830s and 1840s, and to steamships by 1845. In 1844, Samuel F. B. Morse transmitted messages by the telegraph. The Associated Press was established in 1849 for a large-scale telegraphic news service. By mid-century, penny papers with mass circulations of 10,000-20,000 were well established in the cities, and newspapers continued to grow in number, size, and profits. The printing press was further improved to produce 20,000 sheets an hour in 1855.⁴² The most numerous were weeklies, but by the time the Civil War started in 1861, there were about 400 dailies. War brought important technical changes to the press, including dependence on the telegraph and the use of photographs, maps, and other illustrations.

The concentration of industry matured between 1880 and 1900, giving rise to a spurt in population, education, urbanization, and mechanization. The result was an enormous change in American life. Into the cities came a great tide of immigration -- 5 million immigrants in the decade 1880-1890 alone, more than double the number for any preceding decade. In New York City, 80 percent of the residents were foreign-born or of foreign parentage.⁴³ To serve these people, the newspapers had to change in character. The time was ripe for another revolution in journalism.

Beginning about 1890 there was a shift from the "old" immigration to the "new" immigration. The distinction between the two was invented by nativists and was subsequently adopted by historians.⁴⁴ With the arrival of the "new" immigrants emerged the "new journalism," a creation of Joseph Pulitzer.

Pulitzer was one of many immigrants who helped to build the America of the post-Civil War period. He was born in Hungary in 1847 of an Austro-German mother and a Magyar-Jewish father. After receiving a good education, he ran away from home to join the army at the age of 17. Though rejected in Austria and France, he met an American agent who was seeking European volunteers for the Union Army in the Civil War. Pulitzer thus became a member of the Lincoln cavalry. After the war, he started out in New York and then moved to St. Louis where, in 1878, he founded *the St. Louis Post Dispatch*. He combined thorough news coverage, including some sensationalism for mass appeal, with a crusading editorial page. His policy was to have his paper "serve no party but the people; be no organ of Republicanism, but the organ of truth; . . . not support the 'Administration,' but criticize it . . ." ⁴⁵ His crusades were focused on the problems of the middle class and small businesspeople against the wealthy monopolists and corrupt government officials.

In 1883, Pulitzer purchased *the New York World*. There he continued to fight on behalf of immigrants, the poor, and the laboring class. His editorials and news stories tackled such subjects as the injustices of the sweatshops for immigrant women, the lack of educational opportunities, the inequity of the taxes, and violence against immigrants. He used sensationalism to win a large circulation and shape public opinion by leading readers into the editorial columns and news stories about public affairs. ⁴⁶ Even after he had become completely blind and retired from active editorship in 1890, Pulitzer was constantly in touch with *the World* and devoted himself to its progress. He was to live until 1911.

Then came the era of yellow journalism, brought about by William Randolph Hearst, who applied the Pulitzer formula to his father's paper, *the San Francisco Examiner*. In 1895, he bought the *New York Journal* and launched a frontal attack against *the World* by raiding Pulitzer's staff and developing a circulation race. His papers featured sensational pictures, exposure of corruption and scandals, and expanded use of comics, including the "Yellow Kid" from which the term "yellow journalism" is derived. The newspapers' sensationalism mixed with jingoism contributed to the outbreak of the Spanish-

American War. It so developed a war psychosis in the public that "America in the spring of 1898 was ripe for any war."⁴⁷

Americanization and the Foreign-Language Press

Who are Americans? What does it mean to become an American? Walter Lippmann in his celebrated work *Public Opinion* depicts the "melting pot" pageant a friend of his once attended on the Fourth of July in an automaking town where many foreign-born workers were employed. He writes:

In the center of the baseball park at second base stood a huge wooden and canvas pot. There were flights of steps up to the rim on two sides. After the audience had settled itself, and the band had played, a procession came through an opening at one side of the field. It was made up of men of all the foreign nationalities employed in the factories. They wore their native costumes, they were singing their national songs; they danced their folk dances, and carried the banners of all Europe. The master of ceremonies was the principal of the grade school dressed as Uncle Sam. He led them to the pot. He directed them up the steps to the rim, and inside. He called them out again on the other side. They came, dressed in derby hats, coats, pants, vest, stiff collar and polka dot tie, undoubtedly, said my friend, each with an Eversharp pencil in his pocket, and all singing the Star-Spangled Banner.⁴⁸

It was as if the promoters of the pageant had managed to express "the most intimate difficulty to friendly association between the older peoples of America and the newer." The lesson in Americanization is meant to teach the incoming Europeans, here represented by the actors and the audience of the pageant, to comply with the American standards. In Lippmann's account, "Americanization is superficially at least the substitution of American for European stereotypes."⁴⁹ For some people, it would mean a quick change of their costumes; for some

others, a change of their names as well, in order "to change themselves, and the attitude of strangers toward them." These people know, says Lippmann, that the contradiction of the stereotypes interferes with the full recognition of common humanity.⁵⁰

Some European peoples were strongly opposed to assimilation and Americanization. They could hardly accept the melting pot image of America as dramatized by Israel Zangwill. Robert E. Park observes that the Germans in America had striven "not merely to maintain their own racial characteristics, but to make the German language and the German speech as far as possible an integral part of the cultural life of the American people."⁵¹

Another example of protest against forced uniformity into the mold of a manufactured American folk type is a case of the Polish-Americans. Conversation with a Polish-American priest goes as follows:

There is no reason for the English to usurp the name of American. They should be called Yankees if anything. That is the name of English-Americans. There is no such thing as an American nation. Poles form a nation, but the United States is a country, under one government inhabited by representatives of different nations. As to the future, . . . I do not think that there will be amalgamation --one race composed of many. The Poles, Bohemians, and so forth, remain such, generation after generation. . . . For myself, I do favor one language for the United States -- either English or some other, to be used by everyone, but there is no reason why people should not have another language; that is advantage, for it opens more avenues to Europe and elsewhere.⁵²

The discord between the older peoples of America and the newer became crystallized into organized nativism or widespread hostility held by the "native" Americans toward certain classes of newcomers. The pre-Civil War nativism was prominently anti-Catholicism, whereas the revived nativism created distinctions between the "old" immigration and the "new," focusing its indiscriminate anti-foreignism

upon the "new" immigrants.

According to the Joint Commission on Immigration which Congress set up in 1907 to investigate the immigration system of the United States, the "new" immigration had begun about 1883 and brought to the United States a total of 15 million immigrants between 1890 and 1914 from the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe, such as Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey. In the commission's view, a higher percentage of the "new" immigrants were illiterate, unskilled male laborers, who avoided agriculture and flocked to the industrial centers of the East and Middle West and who tended to be transients, not permanent settlers. These immigrants, the commission reported, congregated together in sections apart from native Americans and the older immigrants to such an extent that assimilation had been slow.⁵³ On the other hand, the "old" immigrants, who had come in two great waves of mass immigration in the years 1815-1860 and 1860-1890, were "almost exclusively from the countries of Northern and Western Europe," such as the British Isles, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Holland, and were "largely a movement of families seeking a permanent home in the New World," said the commission. And despite the fact that a large proportion had been non-English-speaking, they had "mingled freely with . . . native Americans," and had therefore been quickly assimilated.⁵⁴

The Immigration Commission, which was chaired by Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont, completed its investigation in 1911 and published its report in 42 volumes, which became the basis of the subsequent laws, notably the Acts of 1917, 1921, 1924, and 1952, with the discriminatory national-origins quota system governing the American immigration policy until 1965. Abba P. Schwartz, assistant secretary of state in charge of immigration, refugee and travel control policies under the Kennedy administration, says that although the Dillingham report avoided any discussion of superior and inferior races and nationalities, and was not dominated by avowedly biological considerations, "nevertheless, its racist intent is clear."⁵⁵ Schwartz also points to the fact that the commission's staff of experts was headed by economist J. W. Jenks, a spirited supporter of the national-origins system, and that the Dillingham assumptions were later proven correct

by Dr. Harry N. Laughlin, a eugenics consultant to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, in a report he prepared in the early 1920s. The Laughlin report, which the committee issued as a public document, stresses that "Race . . . is and should be one of the uppermost items in our list of standards." It continues:

Racially the American people, if we are to remain American, and to purge our people of degeneracy, and to encourage a high rate of reproduction by the best endowed portions of our population, can successfully assimilate in the future many thousands of northern and western Europeans . . . But we can assimilate only a small fraction of this number of other white races, and of the colored races practically none.⁵⁶

The Dillingham commission's assessments were found biased in the economic aspects, too. Though admitting in 1911 that without the "new" immigration, the enormous industrial expansion of America during the years 1890-1910 would have been impossible, the commission charged that the "immigrants had lowered wages, intensified unemployment and displaced native workers from jobs."⁵⁷ These findings have been disproved by various studies. For example, Maurice R. Davie says, "The immigrants in the United States seek out those industries in which opportunities for employment are most numerous."⁵⁸ The immigrant with his foreign accent and his ignorance of American customs and business procedures was at a disadvantage in nearly all fields of work. Moreover, legal restrictions barred the entrance of immigrants, and hence the possibility of his competition.

SAMPLE OCCUPATIONS BARRED TO IMMIGRANT ALIENS
BY NUMBER OF STATES*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of States Requiring Citizenship</i>
Physicians	28 ¹
Attorneys	26 ²
Certified Public Accountants . . .	15
Pharmacists	14
Dentists	11
Optometrists	11
Teachers	10
Mine Inspectors, Foremen, etc. . .	10
Engineers or Land Surveyors . . .	8
Bank Directors	7
Architects	6
Pilots of Vessels	6
Barbers	5
Master Plumbers	4
Registered Nurse	4

¹*Physicians and Surgeons* ---As of 1945, 28 states have legal restrictions which prohibit aliens from practicing; the lack of such legislation does not necessarily mean that an alien may practice since no one who has not been certified by a State Board of Medical Examiners may be licensed. The rulings of various state boards take precedence over state laws and thus a state may permit an alien to practice but the state board may not. Various state boards take arbitrary action under this power so that under the ruling of the board an alien may not be allowed to practice.

²*Attorneys* ---26 states require an attorney to be a full citizen by state law. In 12 more, full citizenship is required by court ruling for admission to the bar. Only one state does not require an attorney to be a citizen or to have first papers.

*F. Kalnay and R. Collins, *The New American*, 1941.

Source: National Committee on Immigration Policy, *Economic Aspects of Immigration* (New York: Academy Press, 1947), p.27.

Making of the Americans

Immigration in the 19th century declined rapidly with the onset of every depression and remained low until business conditions improved.⁵⁹ The 20th century saw a substantial exodus of the foreign born back to their homelands during the period of depression beginning in 1929, and 1932-1936 inclusive.

ADMISSION AND DEPARTURES OF IMMIGRANTS 1931-1940*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Admissions</i>	<i>Departures</i>	<i>Net Increase or Decrease</i>
1931	97,139	61,882	+35,257
1932	35,576	103,295	-67,719
1933	23,068	80,081	-57,013
1934	29,470	39,771	-10,301
1935	34,956	38,834	- 3,878
1936	36,329	35,817	+ 512
1937	50,244	26,736	+23,508
1938	67,895	25,210	+42,685
1939	82,998	26,651	+56,347
1940	70,756	21,461	+49,295
1931-40	528,431	495,738	+68,693

*Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report for 1945*.

Source : National Committee on Immigration Policy,

Economic Aspects of Immigration

(New York : Academy Press, 1947), p. 45.

These figures indicate that the immigrant population acted as a "safety valve" by relieving the excess labor supply resulting from business contraction, and thus actually helped to ease the unemployment problem,⁶⁰ contrary to the charge that during the times of depression immigrants had kept flooding into the United States, displacing Americans from their jobs and adding to the rolls of the unemployed.

The federal immigration policy tightened the regulatory laws during the "new" immigration period and after. Starting with the modest legislation of 1875, which excluded criminals and prostitutes from admission, in 1882 the laws broadened the inadmissible classes and imposed a head tax of 50 cents on each arrival to the United

States.⁶¹

In 1885 and 1887, entry of contract labor was barred. Laws in 1888 introduced deportation of undesirable aliens. The prohibited classes were further enlarged to include "paupers, polygamists, and persons suffering from loathsome and contagious diseases" in 1891 and "epileptics, prostitutes, professional beggars, and . . . anarchists" in 1903.⁶² As a result of McKinley's assassination by an alien anarchist, the Act of 1903 for the first time declared inadmissible "persons who believe in, or advocate, the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials."⁶³ The Act of 1907, which established the Immigration Commission, again extended the excluded classes to include "imbeciles, sufferers from tuberculosis, and persons who had committed a crime involving moral turpitude."⁶⁴ The Act of 1907 also authorized the president to exclude from admission persons who would adversely affect labor conditions in the United States. This was aimed at Japanese and Korean laborers who entered the United States through Hawaii, Mexico or Canada and who were willing to accept low wages and substandard working conditions.⁶⁵ The president declared them inadmissible, and for the implementation of such a policy, the Gentlemen's Agreement was concluded between the United States and Japan. The agreement was reaffirmed in 1911.

The first of the so-called Chinese Exclusion Acts was passed in 1882, which in practice prohibited all Chinese immigration and made Chinese residents in the United States ineligible for naturalization and citizenship. This was the beginning of a racial exclusion policy. The Act of 1917, as a comprehensive measure, required the literacy test and other standards in addition to the broadening of the inadmissible classes of aliens to include "chronic alcoholics, vagrants, and persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority."⁶⁶ Another feature of the Act of 1917 was the prohibition from admission of "persons likely to become a public charge." This classification was used as the basis for excluding prospective immigrants during the depression period, while admitting only the most prosperous Europeans.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the act created the so-called Barred Zone which included India, Burma,

Siam, the Malay States, the East Indian Islands, Asiatic Russia, most of China, most of the Polynesian Islands, and parts of Arabia and Afghanistan. Thus, virtually all Asians were barred from admission.⁶⁸

In 1921, the so-called First Quota Law was enacted. It limited the number of immigrants of any quota nationality admitted annually to 3 percent of the number of foreign-born white persons of that nationality resident in the United States, as determined by the census of 1910. It also provided that "as a rule, aliens ineligible to citizenship shall not be admitted to the United States as immigrants."⁶⁹ This was aimed primarily at Japan which was not specified in the Barred Zone because of the Gentlemen's Agreement. No quotas were established for natives of independent countries in the Western Hemisphere. The Act of 1924 provided for the visa requirement for all immigrants. The Acts of 1917 and 1924 remained effective until 1952 when the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed to continue the discriminatory national-origins quota system for immigrants. The laws also applied to visitors a system of loyalty checks so complicated that, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr., remarked, "anyone seeking a visa felt himself regarded as a potential criminal."⁷⁰

Determined to put an end to this state of affairs, President John F. Kennedy sought to revise the Immigration and Nationality Act. During his administration, two laws were passed in 1961 and 1962, which facilitated the reunification of families on a non-quota basis. Kennedy's policy to abolish the national-origins quota system received the support of President Lyndon B. Johnson and was enacted into the Immigration Act of 1965. Talcott Parsons recalls it was in the 1964 *Daedalus* conferences that Daniel P. Moynihan strongly emphasized that "being of Chinese or Japanese origin was no longer considered to be a stigma for the most part in this country."⁷¹

The post-World War II period has seen thousands of non-quota immigrants, quota immigrants, and refugees admitted to the United States. Nearly two-thirds of the more than 3.5 million persons admitted in the 13 years following the Act of 1952 were outside the national-origins quota system.⁷² When unrest broke out in Hungary in 1956, nearly 40,000 Hungarians were allowed to enter the United States.

One of the strange and significant features of American life is its

communities of speakers of foreign languages. Robert E. Park notes that nearly every language group in the civilized world has established colonies in the United States, struggling to maintain traditions and a language of their own in the midst of an alien culture. He notes also that every foreign language group tends to make one city its ethnic capital: New York, for instance, is the Jewish, as Chicago is the Polish capital of America. In these two cities, however, are most of the other larger immigrant settlements, which can be located through the distribution of their foreign-language papers. Park has divided the immigrant populations outside New York and Chicago, on the basis of the location of their journals, into four categories: settlers, colonists, migrant industrials, and exotics.⁷³

"Settlers" are those immigrants who came to the United States to settle on the land and in doing so completely broke their connection with the home country. They are represented by Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemian farmers, and small groups of Hollanders, Belgian-Flemish and Welsh who settled on the Middle Western stretch of land from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and down to Central Texas. They are distinctly different from most later immigrants who came to the United States to earn money to buy land at home. "Colonists" include the Spanish-Mexicans and the French-Canadians who came into the United States as seasonal laborers, crossing the border from Mexico and from the Province of Quebec. The tide of immigration across the border moved deeper into the country every year and when it flowed back, it left behind some permanent settlers. These immigrants remain culturally isolated because they cannot completely break their ties of sentiment and tradition with the home country.

"Migrant industrials" are mainly the Italian and Slavic populations who compose the great drifting body of laborers. They did the heavy work in the mines, steel mills and factories in the industrial cities of the United States. These people moved back and forth across the Atlantic, responding to the changing demands of American industry. They have not quite settled in the United States. They are migrants rather than immigrants. "Exotics" are minor nationalities who live in large cities and engage in trade and light secondary industries. They are represented by those mobile, adventurous and trading peoples from the Near

East and Asia. They are completely isolated and furthest removed from participation in the political and social life of the United States and are thus distinguished from other immigrant peoples.

In Park's view, the Jews are in themselves another category. The Jews are "the only race who migrate en masse" and have, therefore, brought with them "a civilization."⁷⁴ Among Jewish immigrants all classes are represented: the village artisan, the city merchant, and the intellectual. Against the disintegrating effects of the American environment, the Jews have preserved a more distinctive culture and have been better able to adapt it to America than any other people, except for the Chinese and Japanese.⁷⁵

Immigrants who speak the same language find it convenient to live together. "They go to those whom they know, to those whose speech they can understand, to those from whose experience they may draw large drafts of suggestion and help."⁷⁶ The popularity in the United States of the immigrant press or a foreign-language press is attributable to its value to the immigrant in satisfying his human desire for expression in his mother tongue. In 1919, Park says, there were 43 or 44 languages and dialects spoken by the immigrants in the United States. Great cities like Chicago and New York are "mosaics of little language colonies, cultural enclaves, each maintaining its separate communal existence within the wider circle of the city's cosmopolitan life."⁷⁷ Each one of these little communities has almost without exception a press.

The foreign-language papers, which were nearly all in German or French before the Civil War, numbered 300 in 1860 and 800 in 1880. Park's table "Number of Papers in Foreign Languages in the United States for Each Year, 1884-1920,"⁷⁸ shows that there were in 1884 a total of 794 papers representing 10 foreign languages: 12 Bohemian, 46 French, 621 German, 11 Dutch, 1 Hungarian, 7 Italian, 3 Polish, 53 Scandinavian, 35 Spanish, and 5 Welsh papers. Both the number of languages and the number of papers reached a peak in 1917, marking 31 languages and 1,323 papers. The German press, which started in 1732 in Pennsylvania, peaked at 794 in 1892 and declined to the 600 level in 1906 and then to the 500 level in 1913. It was cut by the impact of war to 276 in 1920. In 1910, the most numerous papers besides the

German ones, by language, were Scandinavian (139 papers), Italian (73), Spanish (55), Polish (51), and Bohemian (51). Their ranking remains the same in the peak year 1917: Scandinavian (132), Italian (103), Spanish (84), Polish (77), and Bohemian (63).

Foreign-language dailies peaked at 160 with a total circulation of 2.6 million copies in 1914. They included 55 German dailies which circulated 823,000 copies and 10 Yiddish with 762,000. Others were French, Italian, and Polish dailies (12 each); Japanese (10); Spanish and Bohemian (8 each). *The New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, dating from 1845, was the largest foreign-language daily, with a top circulation of 250,000. Its owner, Herman Ridder, was elected a president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.⁷⁹

A definite relation has been found between the foreign-language press and immigration. During the period from 1884 to 1920, which saw the great tides of mass immigration, 3,444 new foreign-language papers were started and 3,186 went out of existence; a total net increase of 258 or 33 percent. The rate of deaths of the papers is higher among the older races -- the German, the French, the Dutch and the Scandinavian; while strikingly larger percentages of net increase are apparent in the Slovenian, Hungarian, and Polish press.⁸⁰ Much of the foreign-language press serves the incoming immigrants who have not yet learned the English language. They depend on their mother tongue for news. A very large proportion of the immigrants who did not read newspapers in their home country do read them in the United States. Especially for those immigrants who have settled in the cities, the effect of the city life is visible in their urban press. It destroys the provincialism among the immigrants; for example, Sicilians and Neapolitans cease to be such and become Italians through reading Italian papers in the United States. The foreign-language press then creates active interest in the politics of the home country and intensifies the sense of racial and national solidarity among the immigrants from the same country.

At this stage, the immigrants are not in the least American. Their national distinctions and solidarity are enhanced by their nationalist papers. Yet this is an important "first step in Americanization."⁸¹ The immigrants cease to be provincial foreigners and thereby avoid

remaining furthest removed from American life. They are exposed to news in the press of what is going on in America. Thus, the foreign-language press necessarily prepares them to become American citizens. Having acquired the newspaper habit from reading the immigrant press, the immigrants are eventually attracted to American newspapers, which lead them to look out into the larger world outside the immigrant community. This is a second step in Americanization. They will buy Sunday papers to look at the pictures and advertising, even if they can read no more than the headlines. The problem is how to bring the immigrants into the circle of American newspaper readership. An answer has come from yellow journalism which appeals to the fundamental passions of human beings. William Randolph Hearst's papers apparently got their readers mainly from immigrants.

Americanization can be attained not by subjugation or forced assimilation but by the individual immigrant's initiative to participate in the common life and to find a place in the American community while preserving his heritages from the old country. Instrumental in this process are the immigrant community and the foreign-language press. Then the immigrant moves on to sensational journalism which is another Americanizer. By the time he graduates from sensationalism, he will have acquired a taste for some of the soberer journals.

Political Ideals and Crusading Journalism

The crusading spirit of *the New York World* was a manifestation of Joseph Pulitzer's editorial-page philosophy. In the years following the Spanish-American War, Pulitzer and his *World* became vigorously opposed to the annexation of the Philippines and the imperialism of the Caribbean policy. In the "Panama Canal scandal" of 1908, the *World* outlined "a story of the needless purchase of the rights of the French company which had originally attempted to construct a canal" and charged that President Theodore Roosevelt had made "deliberate misstatements of fact." The president retaliated with a special message to Congress attacking Pulitzer by name and saying that the government would prosecute him for criminal libel. When indictments were sought

in federal court, judges ruled that the editors could not be forced into federal court, citing the Sixth Amendment. The Supreme Court agreed. Roosevelt then dropped the suit.⁸² Congress eventually compensated Colombia for the loss of the Panama area, and in 1979 the United States returned sovereignty to the Republic of Panama.

"Muckraking" was aimed at exposing corruption and other ills in society's institutions and at countering the power of big business while arguing for social justice. The term was coined by Roosevelt in a derogatory sense, comparing the more sensational writers to the Man with the Muckrake in *Pilgrim's Progress*. The reformers, however, came to accept the designation as a badge of honor.⁸³ Samuel P. Huntington says, "Long before Theodore Roosevelt gave it a label, muckraking had become a distinctive American style of politics." And he notes that "the media as the means of exposure have played a far more influential role in American politics than in the politics of any other society."⁸⁴

American history has had four periods of reform, which Huntington designates as "creedal passion periods." In these eras of reform, the American creed or the traditional American ideals were articulated, together with the basic political values and beliefs, and efforts were made to bring institutions and practices into accord with those ideals.⁸⁵ The four periods are: the Revolutionary period, 1760s-1770s; the Jacksonian period, 1820-1840; the Progressive period, 1890-1920; and the 1960s-1970s period. Each period is marked by a new media form arising and exerting influence in politics. The media act as guardians of the ultimate values of the liberal-democratic society.⁸⁶ They expose and denounce deviations from those values.⁸⁷

First, in the Revolutionary period when the united colonies fought against Great Britain for independence, a popular journalistic device was pamphleteering. Newspapers and pamphlets (often reprints of weekly journals) carried the passions and arguments of the revolutionaries. The American Revolution was a fight for freedom both internal and external: "The war was as much a class struggle -- a domestic rebellion, even -- as it was a struggle for political separation."⁸⁸ The role played by journalism of the time was important. The three leading journalists were James Rivington, John

Dickinson and Samuel Adams, each speaking for his own party.

Rivington represented the American Tories whose goal was to retain the basic structure of colonial society on the basis of their "aristocratic" attributes including the hereditary rights. Dickinson advocated for the Colonial Whigs who were rising capitalists opposed to the American Tory. Preoccupied with economic issues, the Whigs had no great interest in the rise of the common person. Samuel Adams was an "agitator" for the cause of the Patriots or Radicals who were seriously interested in social change. Adams and the Sons of Liberty spread the revolutionary ideas of the Boston Radicals through news items, an effort which was sustained for 20 years, 1763–1783.⁸⁹ Their intercolonial propaganda communications network was supported by fellow printers and proprietors, such as Benjamin Edes and John Gill of *the Boston Gazette* to which Adams was a regular contributor and which became the nerve center of the Boston Radicals by the end of 1764. Also active were: Isaiah Thomas of *the Massachusetts Spy*; John Holt of *the New York Journal*; Peter Timothy of *the South Carolina Gazette*; William Goddard of *the Pennsylvania Chronicle and the Maryland Journal*; and Solomon Southwick of *the Newport Mercury*.⁹⁰

Thomas Paine, an English immigrant, arrived in Philadelphia in 1774, just as the conflict with England was about to erupt. Unlike in England where he failed in a number of jobs he tried, Paine in America breathed the air of freedom, "being able to sit in the same coffeehouses with the 'gentry'."⁹¹ He became a Radical after the massacre at Lexington. In his 50-page pamphlet titled *Common Sense*, he wrote:

No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.⁹²

With a logic and persuasion, Paine appealed to the colonists for

unity and precipitated their break with England. *Common Sense* appeared in January 1776, and more than 120,000 copies were sold in the first three months. The pamphlet was also copied by many of the colonial newspapers of 1776. Paine's views were thus known to virtually every literate American.⁹³ Only six months later, the Declaration of Independence committed the United States of America to the "doctrine of separation and independence" he advocated.

Paine was a typical figure of the Enlightenment. He was "a remarkable popularizer whose gift for bold and graphic expression made him a natural pamphleteer."⁹⁴ His *Crisis* papers, another series of pamphlets, were published to sustain the morale of Washington's army and to bring the Patriots into the independence movement in the darkest days of the conflict. Paine, who embodied the spirit of the American Revolution, participated in the Revolution in France where he opposed terrorism at the risk of his life. He devoted himself to the cause of the rights of man, arguing against slavery and in favor of universal suffrage and education.

The second "creedal passion period" in American history was the Jacksonian period, in which the rise of self-supporting, mass-readership daily newspapers took place. The emerging papers replaced the party press which had served as a means whereby the politicians, whether Federalist or anti-Federalist, would debate the key issues of the new nation. The party press, which carried the Federalist Papers by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison in 1787 and 1788, was largely supported by political subsidies. In the Jacksonian era, however, the newspapers became a private business, severed from political patronage or control. Just as the political party system was built from the bottom up with the expansion of suffrage, so the penny press was created for the common man who could support a daily by paying a penny per copy and by patronizing merchants who advertised in its pages. This new journalism could reach out to workers who had won the right to vote and who were interested in news rather than in views.

The large circulations of the penny papers made it feasible to publicize articles for sale, while the advertising revenue made it possible for editors and publishers to expand and improve news gathering and

news coverage. Owners and publishers of the newspapers began to be businessmen. They sought better presses to obtain mass circulations; the new steam-driven Hoe cylinder press capable of producing 4,000 papers an hour was the most advanced printing equipment of the day.⁹⁵ Newspaper-making was transformed into a manufacturing industry, "producing newspapers from its factory," and this has been the trend in the United States since that time.⁹⁶

Reporting straight news meant a shift away from political partisanship. In the first issue of his *New York Herald* in 1835, James Gordon Bennett stated his policy and pattern, set for the penny press and newspapers of the future, as follows: "We shall support no party, be the organ of no faction or coterie, and care nothing for any election or any candidate from President down to constable. We shall endeavor to record facts, on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and coloring, with comments suitable, just, independent, fearless and good-tempered."⁹⁷ Bennett went to London to witness the coronation of Queen Victoria and reported the event for *the Herald*. He was the first to organize a foreign correspondent system in the United States at a time when most foreign news was reprinted from London papers.

As emphasis shifted from views to news, and in order to attract large circulations, the news required mass appeal which meant excitement, struggle, suspense, humor, pathos, horror, thrills -- elementary things reaching readers' emotions rather than their minds.⁹⁸ The penny papers also brought a new distribution method, street sales.

The Jacksonian period was also an age of moral reform. While democracy promised the complete fulfilment of individual aspirations, self-government was unavoidable in a frontier community where the isolated individual was responsible for ordering his life. Among the crusades were the temperance movement, the abolitionist campaign, and the feminine emancipation drive. The Americans "believed in their manifest destiny to people the New World with free men."⁹⁹ It was a universal reform campaign aimed at the "regeneration of mankind, beginning with North America."¹⁰⁰ A giant figure in the journalism of the period was Horace Greeley, who wrote editorials advocating New reform and providing political and moral leadership. William Lloyd

Garrison published a radical attack on slavery in his *Liberator* which was started in Boston on Jan. 1, 1831, and which reached hundreds of communities in the North and West. This voice of the abolitionist did not impress the people who lived in comfort in the general prosperity of the country. His message was bad for business, in particular. Garrison "caused the most violent public reaction since Tom Paine drew his red-hot plowshare through American history."¹⁰¹ What he started, however, created a national uproar in which Greeley and his weekly *New York Tribune* stood firm against slavery and helped bring Abraham Lincoln to the White House in 1860.

The third period of reform in American history was the Progressive period, which was characterized by reforms in municipal and state government. They were aimed at cleaning up politics and democratization, regulation of business in favor of public interests, and promotion of social welfare. Industrialization caused economic and social upheavals, and the gap was expanding between the "haves" and the "have-nots." New industries such as meat packing, steel manufacturing, telephone communication, and oil refining had changed the face of America and its citizens' lives. Many new opportunities to gain wealth, power, and fame attracted men from all walks of life, including Rockefeller, Harkness, Frick, Sage, Huntington, Stanford, Hill, Whitney, Morgan, Mellon, Ford, and Carnegie, to name only a few. Government at all levels was a full partner with business. The Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest appealed to men who felt that they had to deal, not with a market place, but a jungle.¹⁰²

There were, on the other hand, millions of Americans who did not share in the American dream. The fabulous prosperity of America was built upon a foundation of people living in city slums and enduring the horrors of sweatshops, hard manual work, poverty, disease, intolerance and injustice. The most recently arrived were always the most expendable.¹⁰³ New streams of immigration began to arrive from Southern and Eastern Europe, bringing little but unskilled labor which was the immigrant's "most heroic gift to his chosen land."¹⁰⁴ Not only the immigrants but many Americans were adversely affected by economic developments resulting from the great industrial expansion after the Civil War. Dissatisfied workers formed unions, while

discontented farmers joined the Grange to fight for the passage of laws regulating the rates charged by the railroads and by owners of grain elevators.¹⁰⁵ The American Federation of Labor and the Populist party were founded in 1886 and 1892, respectively.

The growing middle class was developing a taste for political reforms along the line of the Progressive reform doctrine. To meet their needs, the new media form that appeared was a variety of national opinion magazines, including *McClure's*, *Collier's*, *Everybody's*, *the Ladies' Home Journal*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's* and *the American Magazine*, which touched off the muckraking era covering the dozen years after 1900.¹⁰⁶ These magazines carried the literature of exposure written by such prominent writers as Lincoln Steffens, Ida M. Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and Samuel Hopkins Adams. They examined a wide variety of social problems, exposed scandals in government and business, and mounted a comprehensive campaign against corruption and exploitation. Maintaining their commitment to democracy, the muckrakers became important molders of public opinion.¹⁰⁷ Walter Lippmann commented that the muckrakers were the product of their era who supplied what the readers desired. "These charges and counter-charges arose because the world has been altered radically, not because Americans fell in love with honesty. If we condemn what we once honored, if we brand as criminal the conventional acts of twenty years ago, it's because we have developed new necessities and new expectations."¹⁰⁸ The crusading journalists were both creating and responding to an informed public.

The fourth period of upheaval and change in American history was the era of dynamic exposure in the 1960s-1970s, which saw the appearance of the "new muckrakers" against executive power, the presidency, the military-industrial complex, the CIA, the Pentagon, etc. The truths about the Vietnam War were brought to light for the first time through investigative reporting in 1971 by *the New York Times*, which obtained 47 volumes of the Pentagon's secret study of the war. This was conducive to the uncovering of the Watergate break-in and cover-up, "the most widespread political corruption in the nation's history."¹⁰⁹ It began in 1972 and resulted in the forced resignation of Richard Nixon from the presidency.

Investigative reporting has the primary purpose of discovering misbehavior, such as deceit and corruption, in public places. Its distinguishing characteristic is that the news-gatherer seeks information that sources, for obvious reasons, prefer to keep secret. It "demands more patience and perseverance and often imagination than everyday fact-gathering" and "the reporter is likely to meet resistance, road-blocks, and often threats or genuine danger."¹¹⁰ In the Watergate scandal, two *Washington Post* reporters, Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein, spent months in search of information about a break-in at the Democratic National Committee offices in the Watergate building in Washington and about the involvement of President Nixon in the cover-up. The story was highlighted by the media -- television, radio and print -- on the front page and on the evening news, day after day, as well as on early morning, late evening, and Sunday public affairs programs, until the coverage reached saturation levels.¹¹¹

Ever since it became the dominant force in the American political process during the 1952 presidential campaign, television has proved most effective in presenting dramatic and action-filled events. In the 1970s, an estimated 41 million Americans watched the 7 o'clock news on the three networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC), with TV sets in some 97 percent of American homes.¹¹² Although the press was the prime mover in the early phase of Watergate, television played a most active role in the controversy and confrontations that took place between the president and the media in their battle for public opinion.

Watergate set off a curious chain of reactions in the public, the press, and the establishment. First, opinion polls showed considerable public distrust of the media. Secondly, there was a genuine fear of, and anger at, the corporate magnates who ran news organizations such as *the Washington Post* and CBS. Thirdly, people in the establishment were forced to recognize the tremendous power of the media and probably welcomed the increased level of public suspicion toward the press.¹¹³ Strange types of criticism are here perceived: while the press sees itself as an adversary of the establishment, the public sees the press as part of the establishment. Criticism of the media comes largely from the establishment which is composed of government officials, politicians, and businessmen. These are the sectors from which come the

demands for curtailing the press's First Amendment freedoms.¹¹⁴ The public never was an active participant in the campaign against Nixon.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Watergate publicized the strength of the press, but at the same time, it revealed the weaknesses of journalism. Both the media and the establishment failed to win the public trust. As the Madisonian model of government is a system of institutionalized checks, so the "institutionalization of distrust"¹¹⁶ and disharmony, if not conflict, is an intrinsic quality of the American society. Distrust and disharmony are channeled into the articulation of demands which keep the political process going. Americans are constantly pursuing their Revolutionary ideals. Theirs is a "politically organized society" which is the nearest to a general social contract establishing a national community.¹¹⁷ Its members have voluntarily come together by virtue of free choice. There will be no end to migration to this chosen land, nor will there be a perfect attainment of the American ideals. Where there is a gap between the ideals and the institutions, there will be at work crusading journalism which will awaken the people to new standards and new expectations. That news media are crisis-oriented echoes back to *the Crisis* papers of 1776. And Americans will not cease to be "inventing what it is to be an American."¹¹⁸

Notes

- 1 Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 23, 30.
- 2 The first 10 amendments to the Constitution of the United States were passed by Congress on Sep. 25, 1789, and were ratified on Dec. 15, 1791. (Barbara A. Bardes, Mack G. Shelley, II, and Steffen W. Schmidt, *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials*; New York: West Publishing, 1986;

p. 540n.)

- 3 The term "journalism," "press," and "media" are used interchangeably, but strictly defined, they have different meanings. In this essay, the terms are used as defined by Donald H. Johnston, as follows: "Journalism" is the process of gathering, selecting, interpreting, and disseminating news. The "press" technically denotes the newspapers only, but its meaning has been stretched to cover any news operation in the print and broadcast media. The "media" are the means by which the journalistic process is carried out. The term "mass media" tends to be interpreted as including virtually any publication, broadcast program, book, or film, regardless of the size and type of audience for which it is intended. "Mass communications" covers all the mass media plus some other communications forms such as the telephone and telegraph, the postal service, and electronic financial transactions systems. (Donald H. Johnston, *Journalism and the Media* ; New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1979; pp. 2-3.)
- 4 Andre Maurois, *Amerika Shi* (Histoire des Etats-Unis), Vol.I, Suzuki Fukuichi (trans.) (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1953), p. 50.
- 5 Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 5th Edition (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984), p. 24.
- 6 Richard L. Merritt, "Nation-Building in America: The Colonial Years," in Karl W. Deutsch and William J. Foltz, eds., *Nation-Building* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), p. 58.
- 7 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 33.
- 8 In *Franklin's Autobiography*, Benjamin recalls the hardships he underwent at his brother's shop, as follows: "Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he demeaned me too much in some he required of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected." In a note to this statement, he adds, "I fancy his harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with that aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life." (Charles L. Sanford, ed., *Benjamin Franklin and the American Character*; Boston: Heath, 1955, p. 8.)
- 9 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 44.

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- 10 Ibid., p. 45.
- 11 Ibid., p. 57.
- 12 Donald H. Johnston, *Journalism and the Media* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1979), p. 47.
- 13 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 58 and p.58n (Note 7).
- 14 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, p. 46.
- 15 The Declaration of Independence (James Q. Wilson, *American Government: Institutions and Policies*, 3rd Edition; Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1986 ; A5).
- 16 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 82.
- 17 Makoto Saito, ed., *Amerika Seiji Gaiko Shi Kyozaï* (Teaching materials for a history of American politics and diplomacy) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1972), p. 21.
- 18 James Q. Wilson, *American Government: Institutions and Policies*, 3rd Edition (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1986), A17 (Amendment 1).
- 19 Fred P. Graham's report from Washington, June 30, 1971 (*New York Times*, July 1, 1971, p. 1).
- 20 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 597.
- 21 Saito, *Amerika Seiji Gaiko Shi Kyozaï*, p. 167.
- 22 Ibid., p. 168.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Saul K. Padover, ed., *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy* (New York: New American Library, 1946), p. 98 (To Dr. J. Currie, 1786).
- 25 National Committee on Immigration Policy, *Immigration and Population Policy* (New York: Academy Press, 1947), p. 11.
- 26 Unlike servants from Britain and Ireland, redemptioners brought no formal indentures but were bound by written agreements to pay fixed sums on arrival in the colonies. Being usually unable to do this, they were obliged to become servants in order to discharge the debt. By about 1720, the redemptioner trade had become highly systematized. Each spring Dutch merchants and ship-owners sent out agents to recruit cargoes of immigrants in German towns and villages and to transport them down the Rhine to Rotterdam and Amsterdam for embarkation. Many were induced to leave under false pretenses. In the year 1719 alone, there arrived at Philadelphia 6,000-7,000 Germans, and an average of some 2,000 Germans disembarked annually at ports on the Delaware. Benjamin Franklin told the House of Commons in 1766 that one-third of the population of Pennsylvania was German. (Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration*; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; pp. 28-29.)
- 27 Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 67.

- 28 Ibid., pp. 72-73. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 101.
- 29 Emery and Emery, Ibid. The Alien Acts were composed of the Alien Enemies Act and the Alien Friends Act, both passed in 1798. The former was never invoked by John Adams. (Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 86.)
- 30 Emery and Emery, Ibid.
- 31 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 88.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 102.
- 34 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 93. National Committee, *Immigration and Population Policy*, p. 14.
- 35 National Committee, Ibid., p. 15.
- 36 Added to the original thirteen states were: Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Maine (1820).
- 37 Wilson, *American Government*, p. 167. Property restrictions were not abolished in Louisiana until the 1840s and in Virginia until 1852. In many parts of the North as well as in the South, black males could not vote in many states, even if they were not slaves. Women could not vote in most states until the 20th century. Chinese-Americans were widely denied the vote. Aliens were often allowed to vote if they had begun the process of becoming a citizen. By 1880 an estimated 14 percent of all adult males in the United States could not vote, whereas in England in the same period, about 40 percent of adult males were disfranchised. (Wilson, Ibid.)
- 38 Before the appearance of the penny papers, publishers charged from \$6 to \$10 a year in advance for a newspaper subscription. That was more than most skilled workers earned in a week. In 1829, a smaller but cheaper daily was founded in Portland, Maine, costing \$4 a year, payable in advance. Similar papers were offered at the same price in Boston. A forerunner of the penny press was *the Cent* which appeared in Philadelphia in 1830, but it was short-lived. *The New York Morning Post* by Horace Greeley was a nearly successful attempt in 1833. Having watched these early attempts at Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, Benjamin H. Day thought that a penny press would be successful if it could be sold and financed on a per-issue basis. (Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, pp. 135, 140.)
- 39 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 142.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 147-151.
- 41 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, p. 55.
- 42 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 168.
- 43 Ibid., p. 230.
- 44 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 4.

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- 45 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 255.
- 46 Ibid., pp. 257-260.
- 47 John D. Hicks, *A Short History of American Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), p. 605.
- 48 Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 57-58.
- 49 Ibid., p. 57.
- 50 Ibid., p. 58.
- 51 Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York: Harper, 1922), p. 61.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
- 53 Jones, *American Immigration*, pp. 177-180.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Abba P. Schwartz, *The Open Society* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1968), p. 104.
- 56 Ibid., p. 105.
- 57 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 312.
- 58 National Committee on Immigration Policy, *Economic Aspects of Immigration* (New York: Academy Press, 1949), p. 39.
- 59 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 313.
- 60 National Committee, *Economic Aspects*, pp. 43-45.
- 61 The head tax was raised by stages from 50 cents in 1882 to \$4 in 1907, which was then doubled to \$8 by the Act of 1917. (Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 262.)
- 62 Jones, Ibid.
- 63 Schwartz, *Open Society*, p. 100.
- 64 Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 262.
- 65 Schwartz, *Open Society*, p. 100.
- 66 Jones, *American Immigration*, pp. 269-270.
- 67 Ibid., p. 280. National Committee, *Economic Aspects*, p. 44.
- 68 Schwartz, *Open Society*, p. 102.
- 69 Ibid., p. 103.
- 70 Ibid., p. ix.
- 71 Talcott Parsons, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change of Ethnicity," in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 73.
- 72 Schwartz, *Open Society*, p. 111.
- 73 Robert E. Park, *Society* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955), pp. 153-154.
- 74 Park, *Immigrant Press*, pp. 92-93.
- 75 Park, *Society*, p. 155.

- 76 Park, *Immigrant Press*, p. 6.
- 77 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 78 Ibid., p. 318.
- 79 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 306.
- 80 Park, *Immigrant Press*, pp. 313-314.
- 81 Park, *Society*, p. 157.
- 82 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 313.
- Amendment VI: In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have Assistance of Counsel for his defence. (Wilson, *American Government*, A17.)
- 83 Emery and Emery, Ibid., p. 322.
- 84 Huntington, *American Politics*, p. 102.
- 85 Ibid., pp. 85-86.
- 86 In his *Public Opinion in America*, Alan D. Monroe says that there is a distinct dichotomy between the attitudes of the American public expressed in the abstract and those expressed in terms of practical, often controversial, situations about, for example, political authority, individual rights, and race. When the political values and ideals are viewed in purely abstract terms, they will usually receive high support, but when more immediate concerns compete, support for the ideals must inevitably be reduced. Thus, he argues that any attempt to summarize the mass public's basic patterns of political belief without overly general speculation is extremely difficult. As one successful attempt, he gives that of Donald J. Devine who enumerated eleven key values in the traditional belief system -- popular rule and elections, legislative predominance, federalism, decentralized political parties, liberty, equality, property, emphasis on achievement, belief in God, religion, and altruism -- which follow "Lockean Liberalism." Devine used survey data over several decades and found that all these values received support from heavy majorities of the population and that, moreover, almost all social groups within the population gave at least majority support to almost all of them. (Chapters 4 and 5 in Donald J. Devine, *The Political Culture of the United States: the Influence of Member Values on Regime Maintenance*; Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.) (Alan D. Monroe, *Public Opinion in America*; New York: Harper & Row, 1975; pp. 155-177.)
- 87 Huntington, *American Politics*, p. 102.
- 88 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 62.

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- 89 Ibid., pp. 70–71. The Sons of Liberty chapters sprang into being during the spontaneous popular uprising over the Stamp Act of 1765.
- 90 Ibid. John Holt was the most important Radical printer outside Boston, playing as the major conduit for the Sons of Liberty activities.
- 91 Ibid., p. 80.
- 92 Thomas Paine, "Common Sense" in *The Essential Thomas Paine* (New York: New American Library, 1969), p. 44.
- 93 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 80.
- 94 Sidney Hook, "Introduction," in *The Essential Thomas Paine*, p. xii.
- 95 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, pp. 142–143.
- 96 Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1937), p. 373.
- 97 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, p. 50.
- 98 Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs*, p. 373.
- 99 Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Great Experiment: An Introduction to the History of the American People* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 131.
- 100 Ibid., p. 133.
- 101 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 178.
- 102 Thistlethwaite, *The Great Experiment*, p. 249.
- 103 Ibid., p. 224.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Albert C. Ganley, *The Progressive Movement: Traditional Reform* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), p. 16.
- 106 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, pp. 322–325. Each Magazine was founded in the year shown below: *The Ladies' Home Journal* (1883), *Cosmopolitan* (1886), *Collier's* (1888), *Munsey's* (1889), *McClure's* (1893), *Everybody's* (1899) and *the American Magazine* (1906, purchased by a group of McClure's writers).
- 107 Herbert Shapiro, "Introduction," in Herbert Shapiro, ed., *The Muckrakers and American Society* (Boston: Heath, 1968), pp. v–viii.
- 108 Walter Lippmann, "The Themes of Muckraking" in Shapiro, ed., *The Muckrakers and American Society*, p. 17.
- 109 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, p. 601.
- 110 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, p. 161. (Cited from Mettchell V. Chanley, *Reporting*; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966; p. 97.)
- 111 Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, "The Media and Watergate" in Doris A. Graber, ed., *Media Power in Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1984), p. 204.
- 112 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, p. 62.

- 113 Ronald Berkman and Laura W. Kitch, *Politics in the Media Age* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986), pp. 72-73.
- 114 Johnston, *Journalism and the Media*, pp. 123-124.
- 115 Lang and Lang, "The Media and Watergate," in Graber, ed., *Media Power in Politics*, p. 203.
- 116 Richard Rose, "Government against Sub-governments: A European Perspective on Washington" in Richard Rose and Ezra N. Suleiman, eds., *Presidents and Prime Ministers* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1980), p. 289. In the system of checks and balances, the balance is meant to result from these checks harmonizing in a more or less coherent whole. (Rose, Ibid.)
- 117 Parsons, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change of Ethnicity" in Glazer and Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity*, p. 57.
- 118 Thistlethwaite, *The Great Experiment*, p. 320.

