growing dark, and the lady began to feel a little chilly about the shoulders.

"Mr. Lodloe," she asked, "what did you do with that bunch of sweet peas you picked this afternoon?"

"They are in my room," he said eagerly. "I have put them in water. They are as fresh as when I gathered them."

"Well," she said, speaking rather slowly, "if to-morrow, or next day, or any time when it may be convenient, you will bring them to me, I think I will take them."

In about half an hour Mrs. Cristie went into the house, feeling that she had stayed out entirely too late. In her room she found Ida reading by a shaded lamp, and the baby sleeping soundly. The nurse-maid looked up with a smile, and then turned her face again to her book. Mrs. Cristie stepped quietly to the mantelpiece, on which she had set the little jar from Florence, but to her surprise there was nothing in it. The sweet-pea blossom was gone. After looking here and there upon the floor, she went over to Ida, and in a low voice asked her if she had seen anything of a little flower that had been in that jar.

"Oh, yes," said the girl, putting down her book; "I gave it to baby to amuse him, and the instant he took it he stopped crying, and very soon went to sleep. There it is; I declare, he is holding it yet."

Mrs. Cristie went softly to the bedside of the child and, bending over him, gently drew the sweet-pea blossom from his chubby little fist.

(To be concluded in the next number.) *Frank R. Stockton.*

THE PRESS AS A NEWS GATHERER.

BY THE MANAGER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

IS it true, as recently declared by a British writer, that "every respectable American is heartily ashamed of at least two things in his country — the press and the politicians"? and that "he shows it by openly despising both — for he does not believe a word on the authority of the newspaper, and has no faith in the honesty of a politician"? Or is this merely a new outburst of British dislike of Americans so noticeable in the early part of the century?[1] However that may be, let us prefer to regard this opinion as an example of that hyperbolism which the writer condemns in American newspapers, rather than as a correct expression of the British sentiment of to-day. It would be extraordinary indeed if the free intercourse of a century had not increased the respect for one another of the two branches of the English-speaking race. And yet the words just quoted are quite as censorious as earlier opinions from British sources, even when the moral tone and intelligence of the American press were at the lowest. The author of "Cyril Thornton" said in 1830 that he found American newspapers "utterly contemptible in point of talent, and dealing in abuse so virulent as to excite a feeling of disgust not only with the writers, but with the public which offered them support." Tried by this standard he concluded that the moral feeling of this people must be low indeed. Tried by a different standard (Could it be literary — the "uncouth alliterative verses of Joel Barlow"?) the charming Miss Berry in 1809 reached the same conclusion, that America then was, "perhaps, the lowest in the scale of moral education, the farthest from that intellectual character and perfection which such a system supposes."

If it shall be shown that the newspapers of to-day are as licentious and depraved as charged will not the opinions of Mr. Hamilton and Miss Berry be confirmed and the responsibility for the character of the press be placed at the door of the American citizen? If we are to believe the author of "Cyril Thornton," we have retrograded as a people from the beginning of the century. "Men here," said he, "are judged by a lower standard than in England; and this standard, both in regard to knowledge and manners, is becoming lower every generation."

However, it is some satisfaction to know that, as regards the press, British censure has, after all, been pretty impartial, and that the newspapers of the United Kingdom have come in for their share. "There is not only no person so important or exalted," said Mr. Brougham in 1811, "but no person so humble, harmless, and retired as to escape the defamation which is daily and hourly poured forth by the venal crew, to gratify the idle curiosity, or still less excusable malignity; to mark out for the indulgence of that propensity individuals re-

[1] MS. State Department. Richard Rush, United States Minister, in a letter to President Monroe in 1818, said that the influential circles were not well disposed to Americans — believed them degenerate English. Lord Holland was an exception.

tiring into the privacy of domestic life, to hunt them down and drag them forth as a laughing-stock to the vulgar, has become in our days, with some men, the road even to popularity; but with multitudes the means of earning a base subsistence." And Cobbett, the greatest polemic writer of his day, declared that the London editors spared characters neither public nor private. We find that Christopher North, while conceding that the "Times," "Chronicle," and "Globe" might be defended by a good devil's advocate in a gown, given him by a patent of precedency, denounced "the shameful yet shameless slave, the apostatizing 'Courier,' whose unnatural love of tergiversation is so deep, and black-grained, and intense, that once a quarter he is seen turning his back upon himself."

Less than sixty years ago the London "Times" denounced members of the House of Commons as "public enemies — usurpers of the people's franchises — cutpurses, robbers, plunderers, hired lackeys of public delinquents." Which is pretty good evidence that there was a time when at least the press of England had no faith in the honesty of a politician sitting in Parliament. Perhaps the severest arraignment of the head of a government that ever appeared in a responsible journal was the warning of the "Times" to the Duke of Wellington to look to the consequences, if he forced through coercive and obnoxious laws. "Oppressive and revolting laws," said the "Times," "must be enforced by violence; there is no other method. It is not, then, the people's bill, but the people's butchery. This is to be our prospect, is it? If so, may the right hand of every free Englishman perish from his body if he do not himself, his children and country, right upon the head of the murderer."

More clearly seditious, certainly, than anything that appeared at an earlier period in our own press. But the fact is that the British and American newspapers have moved on parallel lines, whether in the abuse of privileges, mistaking license for liberty, or whether as the honest publishers of news, the defenders of their own rights or the rights of the people. "We have lived to hear the strange doctrine that to expose the measures of rulers is treason," indignantly exclaimed Channing. "Sae it 's actionable to despise the government!" said the Ettrick Shepherd with an air of humorous contempt.

And at every stage in the progress of journalism since 1776, we shall find the same obstacles to be overcome, the same mistakes in yielding to corrupt influences, or in becoming the brutal instrument of party rancor, the same heroic and obstinate defense of the freedom of the press and of speech to the extent of the loss of property and the endurance of imprisonment, the same fearlessness in facing death in the presence of brutal mobs, the same democratic tendency in the discussion of social and political questions, and the employment of the same aids in promoting the influence and circulation of newspapers, on one side of the Atlantic as on the other.

At least one Englishman appreciated the partizan character of the American newspapers early in the century, and expressed the hope that the British government might have the benefit of such extrinsic aid in molding public opinion.[1] He said, in the publication of truth

[1] MS. British Archives. Phineas Bond (Consul at Philadelphia) to George Hammond, August, 1808. The strictures in the "United States Gazette," said he, on the British Orders in Council and French Decrees, "have had so good an effect that I heartily wish we had under our influence some *good* press, through which truth might be detailed and mischievous falsehood constantly exposed. Is there no way of managing this?"

Mr. Bond was not in the secrets of his own government. The following copy of a confidential paper, found by the writer among the "Vansitart Papers" in the British Museum, will show that the British Government had not failed to enlist in its support the powerful aid of the press:

Secret and Confidential.

GENERAL POST OFFICE, February 15, 1806.

DEAR SIR: The hint in your secret note of Wednesday induces me to explain in writing some of the circumstances which have attached to me in regard to the newspapers.

During Mr. Addington's administration and for some years previous thereto, many of the respectable country papers received a small encouragement at the expense of Government, viz.: two daily papers, a three-day paper, occasional gazettes, etc., etc. This originated in the year 1792 with Mr. Charles Long, and was placed under my management. The condition with the proprietors was that they should from time to time *insert any articles having for their object a refutation of the dangerous principles disseminated by Paine and others for the subversion of every established principle and order.*

I have the heartfelt pleasure to recollect that in my earnest, active, and laborious attention to this important service, I rendered considerable benefit to my country, and that the good effects of my proceedings were particularly evident at Norwich, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and various other places where seditious meetings and practices were openly convened and carried on.

In the course of time this agency assumed more of a political shape, and was occasionally, though not often, directed to calling the attention of the printers to the objects of a less general nature, but of sufficient importance to the Government. I always expressed a disinclination to be thus identified with the politics of the day, and frequently desired to be relieved from so unpleasant a service. This was, however constantly refused, both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, from each of whom I experienced many personal kindnesses.

I can appeal to Mr. Hely Addington as to the difficulties I encountered during his brother's administration. He knew them well, and the goodness of his heart led him to enter fully into all my views upon it.

When Mr. Pitt resumed the government I was called upon to continue the papers, but the printers *were not required to insert any one article whatever.* The papers were merely forwarded to the printers, who pursued their own line, certainly not hostile to his measures. But so

and the exposure of falsehood; but truth from his standpoint was British administration, right or wrong. Its exposition was not in the publication of all of the facts — the news — for the information of the people, but in an *ex-parte* editorial statement to support the view of his party. That was an American method.

Where does this history lead us? Few, perhaps, have thought of the tremendous significance of the press in its relations to the most advanced civilization of the nineteenth century; and that it flourishes only within the limits of the smallest portion of the human race. How insignificant are the Anglo-Saxon peoples in number when compared with the millions upon millions of the eastern lands, whose present is only a repetition of the life of past centuries — a superstitious adherence to the manners, customs, and religions of their ancestors! With these hope of amelioration is dead. In striking contrast is the restless energy of the exceptional civilization — of the progressive races — of which the press is typical, which constantly develops new conditions in political and social life, in harmony with moral law. In estimating all of the grand human agencies let us not forget that (as Talleyrand finely said) the press is the chief instrument of representative government. That is, a free press, for without freedom of discussion the truth cannot prevail, and government will be a tyranny as it was in England after the close of the war with France. Her press had been enslaved, and "the masses of her population had been reduced to a state of degradation and a state of want which were enough to compromise all the fame that all her triumphs, whether in field of battle or upon the field of political liberty, had been able to secure for her." It was through the press reform came, and there was formed a public opinion of greater moral force and authority, which ministers were unable to subdue, and to which statesmen of all parties learned more and more to defer. But not only in the domain of politics is its usefulness felt. It fosters the spirit of inquiry in other fields, while in return its own influence is extended and its power for good augmented by the products of science and the mechanic arts. "The discovery of yesterday is only a means to arrive at a fresh discovery to-morrow."

If the activity of the press is typical of the restless forces observable among enlightened peoples, it is greater in America than in any other country, because of the greater freedom and the more general diffusion of education. The American is vigorous, active, and dexterous, and the journalist preëminently represents the national character.

The brutality of the American press, which embittered the life of Jefferson and drew from the gentle Channing the remark that the influence of the press was exceedingly diminished by its gross and frequent misrepresentations, was even less offensive and virulent than the warfare of public men, conducted in correspondence or pamphlets. And if we study the sources of political information we shall find that the violence and unfairness of the press have been but the expression of party feeling, in which the most intelligent have shared. Parties have existed for centuries; the educational influence of the learned professions has meliorated social life and molded governments for ages, but the press, the mightiest influence for good or evil to-day, is the growth of only about one hundred years. In the answer to the question, Is it better in 1891 than in 1791? as it may be yea or nay, lies the hope for good or the fear of evil of every patriotic citizen.

WARFARE OF POLITICAL BEES AND WASPS.

THE newspapers of the close of the eighteenth century bear slight resemblance to the newspapers of to-day. A historical writer has said that the "Aurora" down to 1800 was the "nearest approach to a modern newspaper to be found in the country." This statement set down in the pages of history is as open to the charge of inaccuracy as a statement hurriedly made in a daily paper. There were several other newspapers quite equal to the "Aurora"; and notably one, the "Herald," of Augusta, Georgia, more nearly approached the better class of modern newspapers. But as a rule the

strongly did I feel what I have already described, that the day after Mr. Pitt's decease I wrote to Mr. T. Bourne that "nothing could induce me to continue an agency so troublesome in itself, so liable to misconstruction and invidious comment, an agency for which no adequate recompense ever was or ever could be made," and I declined it from that day.

Before I proceed any further I must acquaint you that I never lent myself to the circulation of anything personal or offensive to any individual whatever.

My object in troubling you with this detail is to discharge a duty which I conceive I owe to the Government by pointing out how the country press has been influenced. You will best judge whether the engine should again be resorted to; in such case all the information in my power ought to be afforded to any person to whom it may be entrusted. My own motives for declining have been fully stated; they are such as you must approve, especially, too, as there was a time in which I was severely arraigned. I was contemned as a worm, a busy partizan, when I never meant to do more than obey the commands of Government with that zeal and fidelity which have characterized me in all instances in life. I was threatened also (in the year 1796 or 7), with a motion in the House of Commons, but (as I was told) the intervention of a friend prevented that proceeding. It was in the recollection of all these circumstances that I wrote my letter to Mr. T. Bourne, but it does not follow that Government should be deprived of what they may consider to be essential to their support, by any nice feelings or scrupulous objections of an individual anxious to discharge his full duty by all without becoming a political object of resentment to any. I have the honor to be, etc.,

F. FRECHING.

news given related chiefly to foreign affairs, with brief space to such accidents, calamities, and other domestic events as were publicly known. The paper was the exponent primarily of a party or of the selfish views of a party chief. A single illustration may not be out of place:

Connecticut was an inhospitable State for Democrats, and after a brief and disastrous career at New London, the "Bee" in 1802 went in search of a new field in Columbia County, New York. The day after Holt, the proprietor, issued his prospectus, in which he promised to begin the publication of the "Bee" as soon as he obtained three hundred and fifty subscribers, the following *jeu d'esprit* appeared in the same place:

> If there perchance should come a BEE,
> A WASP will come as soon as he.
>
> MYSELF.

PROPOSALS

For *Publishing in the City of Hudson* a *new* paper, to be *entitled*

THE WASP,

BY ROBERT RUSTICOAT, ESQ.

This paper will be issued occasionally as may best suit the editor, at the moderate price of two cents a number. It will be printed with a legible type, on good paper, and will make its appearance as soon after Holt's "Bee" is commenced as possible, whether three hundred and fifty subscribers are obtained or not.

The editor will make but few promises. Wasps produce but little honey: they are chiefly known by their *stings;* and the one here proposed will not materially differ from others. The "Wasp" is declared to be at enmity with the "Bee." Wherever the "Bee" ranges the "Wasp" will follow — over the same field, and on the same flowers. Without attempting to please his friends, the "Wasp" will only strive to displease, vex, and torment his enemies. With his sting always sharpened for war, he will never accept of peace. He will never accede to the philosophical doctrine, that

> We are all Wasps — we are all Bees.

This stinging reference to the President's "We are all Republicans — we are all Federalists," cost the editor of the "Wasp" dear. When he reproduced the Callendar calumny, Mr. Jefferson's district attorney, Ambrose Spencer, who induced the "Bee" to locate at Hudson, prosecuted him for libel. It was a famous case, in which defendant offered the truth in evidence in justification, as had been permitted under the sedition law, but the court ruled that this could not be done under the common law, under which the prosecution was had.

The period of activity from the close of the second administration of Washington to the close of the second war with England was followed by a period of impotency, as deadening in its influence as the era of good feeling on the moral sense of the community. When at last the pent-up passions burst forth, and party divisions were formed on the lines of personal ambitions and antipathies, the newspapers were swept into the whirlpool of personal strife, their legitimate functions were sacrificed, and they reached a greater depth of degradation than ever before or since. This may be best described as the Dark Age of journalism. Daniel Webster was seeking contributions to end the neutrality of newspapers or to set up new ones to counteract the aggressive audacity of Jackson-Clinton prints.[1] At a later day a deserter from the army of Jackson journalists, a man who had won some distinction as a member of the American Philosophical Society, offered his pen for hire to Clay, and on being spurned threatened to revenge himself on the great party leader through the press.[2] There was no longer a distinct newspaper press. In journalism the rule obtained that governed in personal warfare —

> . . . he wha 's seeking
> To sway the mob
> Maun often do, against his liking,
> A dirty job.

If there was preserved a semblance of dignity in the Crawford-Calhoun controversy, it was altogether abandoned in the newspaper correspondence between Major Eaton, Secretary of War, and Mr. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury. The decent courtesies of life were thrown aside; the coarsest epithets were employed by both parties; the most atrocious charges were advanced, and even female character was not spared in this ferocious controversy. There were not lacking protests from good citizens against such blackguardism in political life; and in the columns of a few decent newspapers in Richmond and Washington there was evidence of ability and a disposition to discuss public questions on their merits. But it was from the West that the most powerful influence for reform was to emanate. Charles Hammond, when not discussing legal questions in court, amused himself in shaping the course of the old Cincinnati "Gazette," and infused a new spirit into journalism, the spirit of manly independence and a love of the truth. One who knew him well, and in the next generation himself won distinction, said that "as a writer of great ability, and a man of large acquirements and singular integrity, Hammond was scarcely equaled by any man of his time." No other writer of his day could express an idea so clearly and so briefly. This protest against the brutalism of

1 MS. 1827, Clay Correspondence.
2 MS. Clay Correspondence.

partizanship, this gleam of light, gave promise of better things. Obviously the time had come for a revolution, a breaking away from old methods.[1]

The modern American newspaper, however, had its beginning in New York. It was here that it was first clearly demonstrated that newspaper publishing could be divorced from the fortunes of a public character or of a party, and made a profitable business. No hand of writer to-day could draw so vivid a picture of the new journal, or so well describe the manner of its production, as the following from the files of a famous paper. The year is 1836:

We published yesterday the principal items of the foreign news, received by the *Sheffield*, being eight days later than our previous arrivals. Neither the "Sun" nor "Transcript" had a single item on the subject. The "Sun" did not even know of its existence. The large papers in Wall street had also the news, but as the editors are lazy, ignorant, indolent, blustering blockheads, one and all, they did not pick out the cream and serve it out as we did. The "Herald" alone knows how to dish up the foreign news, or indeed domestic events, in a readable style. Every reader, numbering *between thirty and forty thousand daily*, acknowledges this merit in the management of our paper. We do not, as the Wall street lazy editors do, come down to our office about ten or twelve o'clock, pull out a Spanish cigar, take up a pair of scissors, puff and cut, cut and puff for a couple of hours, and then adjourn to Delmonico's to eat, drink, gormandize, and blow up our contemporaries. We rise in the morning at five o'clock, write our leading editorials, squibs, sketches, etc., before breakfast. From nine till one we read all our papers and original communications, the latter being more numerous than those of any other office in New York. From these we pick out facts, thoughts, hints, and incidents, sufficient to make up a column of original spicy articles. We also give audience to visitors, gentlemen on business, and some of the loveliest ladies in New York, who call to subscribe — Heaven bless them! At one we sally out among the gentlemen and *loafers* of Wall street — find out the state of the money market, return, finish the next day's paper — close every piece of business requiring thought, sentiment, feeling, or philosophy, before four o'clock. We then dine moderately and temperately — read our proofs — take in cash and advertisements, which are increasing like smoke — and close the day by going to bed always at ten o'clock, seldom later. That's the way to conduct a paper with spirit and success.

There is a piquant flavor in the above that one misses in his morning paper now, calculated "to freshen even a town-bought egg," — a flavor, however, that is in this more cultivated age better omitted, even at the expense of one's digestion.

We have put behind us the past — a partizan, unscrupulous, dependent, frequently an inane journalism — and have begun a new era. What though the beginning be crude, it is a beginning nevertheless in the right direction, promising better things. We have left behind us the pronounced individuality of the conductor of the newspaper, and have taken on a new character that has challenged criticism quite as severe as that employed against the older journalism.

The fact most notable during this transition period is the demonstrable value of news. In England the London "Times" made the departure from the traditions of the past; in America the New York "Herald," which dates from 1835, inaugurated the new system of journalism. In every issue the "Herald" gave evidence of the energy, enterprise, courage, and practical common sense of its proprietor. He was in touch with the people of New York, studied their peculiarities, and every day gave them the news written up in an attractive style. The views and personal characteristics of the proprietor were predominant, but as one who seeks to please. All of the practical affairs of life were touched upon as the news of the day: markets, sanitary conditions, banking, commerce, the mechanic arts, labor, politics, religious affairs, etc., etc. The proprietor broke away from old forms in his Wall-street reports, and began what he was pleased to call a new era in commercial intelligence. It simply gave the spirit prevailing on the street and in the exchange, and causes of transactions, as determining values. "This," said he, "is my new philosophy in commerce, and this philosophy is one of the most pleasing and enchanting studies that the mind can dwell upon."

When the crash came in 1837, the "Herald" exercised a powerful influence for good. It covered the news features of the day with great thoroughness. It exposed the mistakes of political leaders and the rottenness of the banking system intrepidly and with fairness. When there was danger of disturbances of the peace, the "Herald" counseled calmness, forbearance.

[1] Personal journalism still held its preëminence, but the following from the pen of Hammond is in a different spirit from the daily utterances of contemporaries:

"I am afraid my quondam crony, Mr. Shadrach Penn, of the Louisville 'Public Advertiser,' has kept a great deal of bad company since the days of our political intimacy. He seems to mistake vulgarity for wit and misrepresentation for argument; errors from which, in days of yore, he was as free as most men. I am sometimes constrained, upon better acquaintance, to think and speak well of men whom I once reprobated. I have never yet felt disposed to vituperate a man that I once esteemed and commended. If such sink into vicious courses, I leave their exposure to others. I should as soon think of assassination as attacking a friend because he differed from me in politics."

On the 18th of May this was the most conspicuous editorial:

If the merchants cannot pay their debts in the legal standard, that itself is quite calamity enough, without adding insurrection or revolution to it. The country at heart is right. A tenth part of the great trading class cannot overturn the government. Let it be changed in due course of law — by the free suffrages at the polls. Let there be no public meetings in this crisis. Public meetings are foolish and dangerous things. They produce no effect on sense or justice — they settle no principles — furnish no argument. If other cities run into riot and confusion — if the outrageous conduct of the fraudulent banks, that stop paying specie, with specie in their vaults, drive Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore to madness, *let the people of New York show to the whole civilized world of Europe and America an example of* MORAL DIGNITY — *of* INTELLECTUAL ELEVATION — *of* PURE PATRIOTISM — *of* LOVE FOR PUBLIC ORDER — that will prove them to possess at least some of the fire, of the purity, of the honesty, of the integrity of the sacred Revolutionary age of 1776. Let us have no public meeting — no assemblages of an excited people. But let us refuse the irredeemable rags in every and all payments — let us return to gold and silver — let us deal in specie alone, or paper currency founded on personal integrity. But, above all, let us wait patiently till the day of election comes round — and then speak in a voice of thunder from the ballot boxes. We have "worn and eaten and drank too much" — let us get sober, eat in moderation, and cast away our purple and fine linen.

And when election day approached, the people were advised to demand of the new Legislature:

1. A repeal of the atrocious Suspension Law.
2. A repeal of the unjust Mortgage Law.
3. A repeal of the Usury Law.
4. A repeal of the ridiculous Restraining Law.
5. A repeal of the bank charters that will not resume specie payments instantly.
6. A repeal of all laws that unite the privilege of banking with the political powers of the State.
7. A repeal of all the corporation meat laws which cause the high prices of provisions.

ORIGIN OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

FROM this time on until 1849 the individual papers continued to collect news without coöperation. A news-boat system had been introduced by the "Courier and Enquirer," but as this was a temptation to collusion, it failed to receive public confidence. During this year a "Harbor News Association" was formed, the leading members of which were the "Journal of Commerce" and the "Herald," and subsequently telegraphic and general news associations were organized for the purpose of covering a wider field. These undoubtedly had their origin in the success of the "Herald" and the "Sun" in getting through from Texas, and Mexico, during the progress of the war, despatches by pony express in advance of the Government's advices. It was manifest to the conductors of other newspapers that if they were to compete successfully with the new system inaugurated by Mr. Bennett they must adopt new methods. Negotiations were entered into and in 1851 the present "New York Associated Press" was organized under the following agreement:

It is mutually agreed between G. Hallock of the "Journal of Commerce," J. and E. Brooks of the "Express," J. G. Bennett of the "Herald," Beach Brothers of the "Sun," Greeley and McElrath of the "Tribune," and J. W. Webb of the "Courier," to associate for the purpose of collecting and receiving telegraphic and other intelligence.

The "Times" and "World" came in later — the latter under the "Courier" franchise — and since their accession there has been no change in the membership of the "New York Associated Press."

Even at this time, the electric telegraph, which had introduced a new element in the making of newspapers, was used sparingly because the facilities were inadequate to a large business, and because the income of the best papers did not yet justify incurring extraordinary expenses. The mail, the express, and carrier pigeons were still the principal means for collecting news. The people had not yet acquired the intense habit that exacts uninterrupted service. That came with the great war.

As the telegraph has become the most serviceable of all agencies in the gathering of news, we may properly devote brief space to its development. In 1838, Morse and his associate Alfred Vail, who were endeavoring to enlist the aid of the national legislature, gave an exhibition of the working of the electric telegraph in Washington. In an invitation to a senator to be present the confident prediction was expressed that it would be practicable to get quotations of the New Orleans cotton market every day.[1] And when Henry O'Rielly's lines (known as the "Atlantic, Lake, and Mississippi Telegraph") reached St. Louis in 1849, a national telegraph and railroad convention was held in that city, which adopted an elaborate report recommending the immediate construction of a telegraph line to the Pacific Coast. The gold fever was at its height, and the Western people were impatient on account of the slow method of communication across the plains, or via Panama. Mr. O'Rielly's plan was not brought to the attention of Congress until the session of 1851–2.

[1] MS. Clay correspondence.

It proposed that Congress should pass a law providing that instead of establishing forts, with hundreds of men at long intervals apart (as suggested by the War Department), the troops designed for protecting the route should be distributed in a manner better calculated to promote that and other important objects on the principal route through the public domain; namely, by stationing parties of twenty dragoons at stockades twenty miles apart. It provided also, that two or three soldiers should ride daily, each way, from each stockade, so as to transport a daily express letter-mail across the continent, protect emigrants, and incidentally the construction of a telegraph to California. At this time the line had been carried into New Orleans, and the O'Rielly system included 7000 miles of wire. This was scarcely forty years ago, and yet to-day the system of the Western Union Telegraph Company embraces 680,000 miles of wire, and all American companies combined, more than enough to girdle the world 27 times. At the close of the war this great company controlled 75,686 miles of wire, and distributed business through 2250 offices. In 1876 the system had been extended to 183,832 miles of wire and 7072 offices; in 1881 to 327,171 miles of wire and 10,737 offices, and in the last ten years the mileage and offices have been doubled. For many years the use of the wires in the collection of news scarcely kept pace with the growth of facilities. As I have said above, the business of the newspapers hardly justified lavish expenditures, and telegraphic rates continued to be high. Therefore the wires were employed only for brief mention of the most notable events of domestic news within a radius of a few hundred miles. The readers of newspapers had not yet outgrown the deliberate movements of the Post Office Department.

GOVERNOR SEWARD AIDS A JOURNALIST.

Hon. Charles A. Dana relates an incident in his journalistic career that most happily illustrates the old ways of making a paper, when the steamship brought the news of Europe, and the mail the news correspondence of the United States.

There was to be a celebration of the opening of the Rochester and Niagara Railroad as a through line, at which Mr. Seward was to speak, and Mr. Dana went to represent the "Tribune." There was a large attendance at Niagara Falls, of members of the legislature and other dignitaries of the State, and of local municipal bodies, as the event was of more than usual importance. Mr. Dana knew it had been Mr. Seward's habit carefully to write out his speeches before delivery, and to supply the "Tribune" with an advance copy. Mr. Seward had not done so in this case, and in order to have an adequate report Mr. Dana took full notes of his remarks. At the conclusion of the ceremonies he called upon the orator at the Cataract House, and asked him if he had prepared his speech on this occasion. Mr. Seward said that he had started to do so, but was prevented by other engagements. He had a half-dozen pages—the introductory part—roughly written out. With this and his notes Mr. Dana wrote out the speech for publication and submitted his manuscript to Mr. Seward, who made extensive corrections, until finally the report was satisfactory. An hour or two later he sent for Mr. Dana to say that a reporter from another paper had called upon him for his speech, and he suggested that Mr. Dana should permit him to make a copy of his report. "Governor Seward," said Mr. Dana, "I cannot do that. I attended the meeting and have made a report for my paper, and it would not be fair for me now to give to another, who was not in attendance through indifference or idleness, the benefit of my labors." Governor Seward admitted that Mr. Dana was right, and good-naturedly dictated a report, which from necessity was much briefer, to the other newspaper man. The next day Mr. Dana started for home by train, and in due time the report of Mr. Seward's speech appeared in the "Tribune," which of course had it in much better form than any competitor. There was no necessity for telegraphing, as no other reporter had the speech, and the exigencies of journalism in that day did not require the immediate and unrestricted use of the telegraph in all cases.

The telegraph companies were the pioneers in the news collecting and distributing business west and south. In 1860 the telegraphic reports scarcely exceeded fifteen hundred words a day for such cities as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. The files of the Charleston "Mercury" show even less for the South. The cotton markets of New Orleans and New York, brief mention of the latest European dates by steamship, and briefer even of Congress made up the variety.

All of this changed with the breaking out of the war. The "Associated Press" supplemented its reports of routine business with accounts of the movements of troops, of the transactions of departments, and with patriotic appeals; while the great journals of the principal cities inaugurated special correspondence from the fields of battle which increased their popularity and made the reputation of many able writers. People acquired the habit of reading daily papers, and new and improved machinery was constructed to meet the increasing circulation.

NEW METHODS TO MEET CHANGED SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

We have now reached the latest stage in the development of the newspaper. The demand is as wide as the continent. How shall it be met? Very high authority says: "The first thing which an editor must look for is news. If the newspaper has not the news, it may have everything else, yet it will be comparatively unsuccessful; and by news I mean everything that occurs, everything which is of human interest, and which is of sufficient importance to arrest and absorb the attention of the public, or of any considerable part of it." These are the conditions which, once fulfilled, make the newspaper the most wonderful production of the times. What energy, what alertness, what intelligence, what comprehensiveness in its pages! All arts and inventions and subtle forces are called into play in its creation: The shorthand characters that preserve the spoken words of the statesman, the minister, the philosopher, or the man of business; the telegraph that transmits; the typewriter that puts copy into form; the linotype that sets the copy and casts the bars from which the impression is made; the electric motor that supplies power and light, and the steam press that throws off tens of thousands of sheets — representing the discoveries of science, the inventive genius and mechanical skill contemporaneous with the development of the newspaper. Then look at the contents. Every human interest touched upon, local and general domestic affairs with photographic minuteness, while from the four corners of the earth have been gathered in clear and comprehensive accounts of the achievements and accidents attending human activity during every twelve hours. From Melbourne to Montreal — from St. Petersburg to San Francisco — from Valparaiso to Halifax — all are within the magic circle. Space is obliterated. Time may be said in a sense to anticipate the sun. This activity tends not only to the increase of wealth, but to the promotion of a higher civilization. From the two great centers, London and New York, radiate influences that are rapidly revolutionizing governments and promoting a higher social order. The bloody past gives place to a humane policy. Man is the most important factor.

A further reference to the telegraph and the Associated Press, as agencies in the production of a newspaper, will make our story clearer. Not only has been realized the sanguine prophecy uttered in 1846, that it would be possible to transact commercial business between New York and New Orleans through telegraphic advices exchanged daily, but the commercial business of the leading cities of the world is transacted by telegraph through almost momentary exchange. And what the telegraph is to the commercial world it is to the press. The New York Associated Press, whose organization has been described above, is the center of a combination of nearly all of the leading newspapers of the United States and Canada, known as "The Associated Press." Soon after the close of the war, on account of the meagerness of the service supplied by New York, the great papers of the chief western cities organized "The Western Associated Press," which made more favorable contracts with the Eastern organization and the Western Union Telegraph Company. In January, 1883, still closer relations were formed with the New York Associated Press, by which the management of the two organizations was consolidated for more effective work. Included in "The Associated Press" are the New England, the New York State, the Philadelphia, the Baltimore, the Southern, the Texas, the Kansas and Missouri, the Northwestern, the Trans-Mississippi, and the Colorado Associations. The basis of the Associated Press is coöperation. The papers have associated together for the convenient and economical conduct of one branch of their business. In this manner they have brought the collection of news to a state of great efficiency. The entire world is covered. For convenience in handling reports, despatches are sent to central points, such as Washington, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Toronto, Chicago, St. Paul, St. Louis, New Orleans, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco, and Portland, and there edited and such news as is of interest to other sections of the country retransmitted. Only the largest cities receive the bulk of the news; to the smaller places are sent reports carefully condensed. Only an extensive telegraph system, such as that of the Western Union Telegraph Company, would meet the requirements of the Associated Press. It renders a service incomparably the best in the world, and, considering the extent of country and population to the square mile, the cheapest. The facts given below will substantiate this statement.

In the Associated Press system New York is the principal center. From it extend to the east, to the west, to the northwest, to the south, and to the southwest, its leased wires exceeding 10,000 miles in length, which are operated under its own direction, and over which an enormous amount of report is received each day. It is thus practicable for the management to have as direct and prompt intercourse with agents in all of the great cities as with persons in the same office; or with the papers of Boston, Minneapolis, Denver, New Orleans, and other intermediate cities, as quickly as with the

papers of New York City itself. Here is first received the foreign news, except such as comes from China, Japan, and the Samoan Islands, through San Francisco; reports of the commercial transactions of Europe, India, and Australia; of debates in Parliament, in Reichstag, in National Assembly, or Cortes; of industrial and social movements; of the achievements of science, etc., etc. At its office in London, Berlin, or Paris is delivered for its use, as may be most convenient, the news collected by the great news agencies of Europe — Reuter, Wolff, and Havas, and their allies, with which the Associated Press has exclusive contracts. In addition to these, the resources of the Central News of London and the English Press Association are at the service of the Associated Press, which also employs special correspondents in the principal capitals of Europe to collect intelligence of distinctively American interest. These despatches are clearly and concisely expressed, except on occasions of unusual interest, when they are treated as elaborately as domestic reports. Market quotations are always transmitted by cable in an elaborate cipher, to insure accuracy and economy. These are promptly interpreted, verified, and sent out to the press and the various commercial exchanges.

THE WORK OF A SINGLE DAY.

FIGURES will give a clearer idea of the extent of the work performed daily by the Associated Press than any other form of description. The New York office handles daily from 75,000 to 100,000 words, equal to from fifty to seventy columns of matter. On January 13, 1891 (a date taken at random), this news amounted to 95,000 words. Of course, of this mass of material no paper prints the whole; but most of it finds a place somewhere. To meet the requirements of the service, the Associated Press adapted the type-writer to receiving directly from the Morse instrument, and a special paper was made which facilitates the handling of reports. These details may seem of small moment, but they go to show the pains taken to insure perfect work. The agents of the Associated Press, who are selected for character and ability, are instructed to get all of the news, but if need be to sacrifice the "story" to the facts — in a word, to tell the truth.[1] They are required to treat all political and religious events with judicial fairness, and to omit social happenings having an immoral tendency. We do not find that anything is lost to thorough journalism by such limitation, but on the contrary much influence is gained thereby. The Associated Press enjoys the public confidence in its reliability to a degree unapproached by any other organization, and this enhances the value of the franchises of the papers supplied by it. This confidence is based upon an experience of forty years.

The enterprise of the Associated Press has been equal to every emergency. It began to make verbatim reports of the great national conventions of the political parties in 1872. Its descriptions of the scenes occurring in the halls during the sessions of the various conventions were made with such photographic accuracy as to give to the readers of the newspapers in distant cities a clearer idea of what was said and done than was possible to most persons who were actually present. The stenographers, type-writers, and operators followed the speeches and transactions with such rapidity and precision, that within fifteen minutes after the close of each session of 1880, 1884, and 1888, the last sentence was delivered to the papers in the various cities. When Mr. Cleveland was nominated in St. Louis, the Associated Press bulletin announcing the fact was put upon the Western Union wires, and was on the bulletin boards of the newspapers of San Francisco, and other cities, in less than two minutes. And, as a rule, announcements of this kind are generally displayed on the bulletin boards of the newspapers before the fact is known in the convention; the Press reporters keeping tally of the vote do it more quickly than the secretaries of the convention, and generally have the result on the wires before the footing is handed to the reading clerk.

The dynamite explosions of Westminster Hall and London Tower, in the winter of 1885, occurred between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. By ten o'clock New York time the forenoon of the same day, a bulletin reached the Associated Press announcing the explo-

[1] Within the pale of truth, said Jefferson; the press is "a noble institution, equally the friend of science and of civil liberty." In this connection we cite, as affording a curious and striking illustration that inaccuracy of statement is not peculiar to journalists, but may be alleged against many who write books, even historians, who are expected to verify their facts, the use made of the best known of Mr. Jefferson's utterances upon the press. We give below two instances of misquotations, 'followed by the text' from Jefferson's works:

When Jefferson declared, that if he had to choose between a government without a free press, or a free press without a government, he would prefer the latter, he begged the question twice, etc.— "*A Critical Review of American Politics.*"

I would rather live in a country with newspapers and without a government, than in a country with a government but without newspapers.—*Introduction to Hudson's "Journalism in the United States."*

What Jefferson did say was:

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and *were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.* But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.— *Works. Jefferson to Col. Carrington, Paris, Jan. 16, 1877.*

sion. That was hardly written and sent to the papers before the details began to follow in frequent despatches. So quick was the service, that one New York afternoon paper before noon had an "extra" on the street with a half-column report of the outrage, while the last editions had accounts filling several columns.

Extraordinary time has been made in transmitting the result of the Oxford-Cambridge boat race to the Associated Press. The despatch must first be sent by the government lines to connect with the cable, thence across the ocean to the American land lines, and thence to New York. Yet this has been done in ten seconds.

Mr. Gladstone made his great speech in Parliament in support of his famous Irish bill on the evening of June 7, 1886. The Associated Press cabled from London 13,000 words of this speech, giving large parts of it verbatim. It was doubtless the largest single cable despatch ever sent across the Atlantic. The orator finished speaking soon after ten o'clock London time. By the same hour New York time, ten columns of his speech and of description of scenes and incidents were in every important newspaper office in the United States.

The reader will recall the graphic account of the destruction of ships in the harbor of Apia by Mr. John P. Dunning, a staff correspondent of the Associated Press, who had been sent to investigate the political complications in Samoa; the reports of the great flood in the Conemaugh Valley; the report of the destruction of a part of Louisville, and more recently the accounts supplied of the Liberal dissensions in Great Britain, and of the Indian troubles in Dakota.

We have thus far considered only what is known as the "regular" service. The special service of the great newspapers of the principal cities is very large and expensive, and the editor of each is justly proud of what he has accomplished in this field. This spirit of enterprise gives an individuality to the journal which, in a notable case such as Mr. Bennett's sending Stanley to Africa, endures for many years. The "Tribune," the "Times," the "World," and the "Sun" of New York have scored their memorable "beats," and so have the newspapers of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, and San Francisco. But aside from notable occasions this special service has been, and continues to be, widely extended, covering not only political correspondence from the national capital, but also a great variety of social, business and political events in the States and Territories. Money is not spared to meet the demand of the reading public. A great journal will spend for this class of news between $8000 and $9000 a month, or $100,000 a year in round numbers.

THE WORK OF A GREAT TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

THE records of the Western Union Telegraph Company may be consulted to show the extent of the expenditures by the individual newspapers and the Associated Press, for telegraphic tolls alone, on this the largest telegraph system.

During the year ending June 30, 1890, the Western Union Telegraph Company delivered at all stations 322,088,438 words of "regular" or Associated Press report. This was delivered to an average of two newspapers in each place, at an average cost of fifteen cents per one hundred words for each place.[1] During the same period the company handled 206,025,094 words of specials, at an average cost of fifty-one cents per hundred words. These figures do not include reports transmitted by the Associated Press over its leased wires, or special correspondence sent on individual newspapers' leased wires. Estimating these two classes and the reports of the outside press, there was delivered to the newspapers during that year an aggregate amount of 1,500,000,000 words of telegraph news. On the regular service a little more than twenty-two per cent. is handled by the telegraph company in the day-time, while on the special service only about five per cent. of the volume is handled in the day-time. The day rate is twice the night rate. On the Associated Press leased wires, the proportions are thirty-four per cent. of day report to sixty-six per cent. of night report, and the difference in cost the same as by Western Union lines. The total press receipts by the telegraph company for the year ending June 30, 1890, including regular, special, and leased wires, were $1,848,247.23.

It should be borne in mind that these figures do not include tolls on other lines, or cable tolls, or the wages of correspondents and operators, or miscellaneous expenses, or the sums paid for news by both individual newspapers and the Associated Press, which would aggregate a very large sum.

One very interesting feature of the news service, of which the public has no knowledge, is telegraphing in cases of storms and interruptions. It is on such occasions that the utility of a vast system is made manifest. During the blizzard of March, 1888, for instance, the Washington report was sent to Philadelphia via New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Pittsburgh; while New York City received it from Albany, it having reached Albany via New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo. A more extraordinary case is that of Boston, which received a condensed report

[1] This is rendered possible only by the great number of places served on a circuit — from thirty to forty being supplied in some cases at the same time.

from New York, via London, it being sent by one cable from New York to London, and thence back by another cable which lands in New Hampshire. Boston is frequently served with New York news via Montreal, and Albany via Pittsburgh and Buffalo, the route being via the Pennsylvania Railroad to Pittsburgh, thence across via Cleveland to Buffalo, and thence down the New York Central to Albany.

PUBLIC CRITICISM CONSIDERED.

WHILE the extravagant opinion cited in the opening paragraph of this article is not shared by the general American public, a good deal of well-founded criticism is indulged in. With such vast resources at command, why are newspapers so unreliable? Has the objector ever taken into account the satisfaction he derives daily from the perusal of pages of carefully prepared and entirely trustworthy news matter, touching home and foreign affairs, in his paper? The one or two objectionable articles — untruthful or personally offensive — are the dead flies in the ointment, and the whole is condemned. Editors as a rule are painstaking, and, while aiming to excite interest, hope to inspire confidence. But there is a sensational journalism, as there was formerly a personal and a brutal partizan journalism, that offends the more intelligent members of the community, which will have its day as did the other. Three or four years ago the papers contained despatches of a startling character from the mining regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia and the oil regions of Ohio. Their frequency led to an investigation, and it was found that two or three unscrupulous young men had adopted a system of invention for a livelihood, and had deceived the editors for a time. And within a few months the newspaper market has been flooded with cable fables — piquant and readable, but fables none the less. Even several conservative English papers became eager patrons. They call it the "Americanizing" method of making papers. January 14, the London "Times" devoted one of its ponderous editorials to demolishing the American State Department, which had its inspiration in a faked cable despatch sent from this side. "We are even warned," said the "Times," "that the American Minister here is to be specially instructed to tell Lord Salisbury what President Harrison thinks of his conduct." After this astounding statement is revealed the *motif* of the fable: "At the same time, these rumors of agitation are not easy to reconcile with Mr. Blaine's eagerness to inform an opportune interviewer that 'the Department of State has not been taken unawares,' that he had known for some time that judicial proceedings of some sort were contemplated by the Canadian authorities, and that the present step has not been a *coup* on the part of the British Government in the least." All of which would be interesting if true. But the Secretary of State says he saw no interviewer, and of course did not unseal his lips on the subject to any one. Therefore his "eagerness" was evolved from the imagination of the "opportune interviewer." To such *baseness* has the Thunderer descended.[1]

A good "story" always finds a ready market, and doubtless this fact is usher to much that is objectionable and injurious. Again, lack of experience or faulty judgment may admit what ought to be excluded. Youth is impulsive, opinionated, and venturesome, and the staff of a newspaper is largely made up of young men. The possession of power is a great temptation to exercise it regardless of the effect produced. Since the days when Pendennis and his friends wrote for the newspapers and became popular, other young men have assumed impertinent airs and have tied up victims to their posts for the amusement of the public. This may be a defect of the system, but as long as readers of newspapers laugh, the comedy is pretty sure to be played. It is when wrong is intentionally done that one loses patience with the press. But even here "the antidote to the press is to be found in the press itself."

The whole responsibility for misinformation should not be charged upon the press, but partly upon those who, having a knowledge of the facts, when the public is concerned, refuse to divulge them. At such times it is the duty of the press to make public the information, even rumors, obtained in order to develop the truth through agitation. For instance, it is in the power of railroad officials to work a reform in this regard, by promptly communicating the truth to representatives of the press in cases of railroad accidents resulting in loss of life. The real facts are pretty sure to be known eventually, and, if given immediately, would prevent the publication of rumors calculated to excite the people unduly. This remark will apply to other interests of a public or semi-public character.

HOW SHALL THE PRESS BE REFORMED.

IN the discussions that have been had recently a wide diversity of opinion is noticeable as to the responsibility of the press and its re-

[1] Another instance showing the tendency of the "Times" towards sensational journalism was recently afforded in the publication of a romantic story describing Prince Bismarck at the feet of the Empress Frederick, praying her interposition to prevent his dismissal from office.

lations to society. Judicial authority has declared in favor of requiring every article to be signed with the name or initials of the writer. A senator has expressed the opinion that regulation through legislative enactment might be had without impairing the freedom of the press; and a writer[1] of some distinction would use the power of the government through the press for the education of the people. His object is not the same as the senator's. He says:

> Society may indeed, through its members, withdraw its support from an obnoxious press; but such action involves a trial of social force in which the respective press has all the advantage, even if it is not the medium of a sect, or party, or class, or the hampered tool of a clique, as most of them are. If, therefore, there is to be fair play, the vantage-ground must not be with the one or the other; but there must be an organic authority somewhere that sees to it that neither society nor the press exercises its power arbitrarily and oppressively. Neither should have an unlimited monopoly; but neither should, on the other hand, be bound down to unlimited submission; and this free status we get, when we are just as much on our guard against men and things when they call themselves "the press," as when they are mere citizens, and at the same time give them their rights equally in both conditions.
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> And the conclusion lies near, that there are things which somebody ought to compose and which somebody ought to publish; and with it goes the opposite perception, viz., that there are things which nobody should either write or publish. And these observations raise the question: Who is to be the authority to determine the issues raised by these social and political necessities? Who else but society, by the same organs which make, enforce, and execute all our laws?
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> We are, of course, aware that there is a public sentiment which denies the existence of these necessities, and asserts that no public authority ought to exercise such a power; but we beg simply to say, that it will be time enough to argue this proposition when somebody shall show us a human society that has not done to some extent these two things. We need only instance public notices, the town crier, public documents, the reports of public debates. We repeat, therefore, the only issue is: How shall these public wants be supplied?
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> The most formidable, because most plausible, proposition in contravention of this view is the one that the press can be this authority to itself; and that it does not need even to be organized and subjected to self-regulation for this. We might simply answer by asking: Why, then, has it not done it? But we prefer to point to the historic fact, that no institution which has to look for support, honor, or wealth to its public will tell to that public the truths which it needs, to be truly ethical. Each party organ abuses the other party, but does not expose the vices of its own. Where, then, is the disinterested action, the virtue, and the wisdom to come from that is to give the press its higher tone? The press associations and conventions display inclinations in that direction; but their leading motive is the desire to make money and to rule. They embrace, moreover, only the press in the narrow newspaper sense, and cannot have full ethical interaction. Hear the press and all connected with it, give them full liberty to pursue their class as well as personal interest, but do not allow it to be the sole master-authority in the land.

[1] Hon. Charles Reemelin.

He would, if the press failed to do its own proper *assaying*, have the government supply deficiencies by the criterion that its work shall be beneficial to all. "The reports of our consuls from abroad, the bulletins of foreign and domestic markets, the telegrams of the 'Associated Press,' all these have one object, viz: to place society *au fait* on the subjects vital to their private and public conduct. In brief, do everything that shall relieve the republic of those most abject, as well as most dangerous, individuals that form their opinions by reading their party press and then vote a party ticket."

This opens up a wide field for speculation, and naturally leads us to consider, as having a part in that speculation, the capacity of the newspapers. It is doubtful if a dozen years ago any one dreamed that the next revolution in journalism would be to double the size of the papers, double the quantity and variety of matter printed, and reduce their price one-half at the same time. Have these changes really responded to a public demand? It is doubtful. Rather, a sharp competition and the ample facilities at the command of the press have brought about this result. A great variety of subjects are treated elaborately. There is such a bewildering diffuseness that the mind grows weary, and one recalls with regret the satisfaction with which the Scottish humorist, in the halcyon days of early journalism, scanned the advertisements of his newspaper —" models o' composition, for every word 's pay'd for, and that gies the adverteeser a habit o' conceese thocht and expression, better than a logic class." The frivolous character of much that is printed is calculated to create a distaste for more weighty subjects that would have an educating value. To this extent society is injured.

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY DIVIDED.

WE have thus traced the development of the press as a news-gatherer. We have noted its small beginning; its use as an instrument of party; its degradation as the mere representative of the personal ambition of a party chief; its still deeper degradation in suppressing the news, or stifling all discussion of the news. We have described also the remarkable changes that

have been made in the methods of producing a newspaper, growing out of changed conditions. Something has been gained and something lost. A greater degree of independence has certainly been gained, and in character corresponding with the advance of civilization.

On the other hand, on account of the change in the conditions of proprietorship, the work of the employees lacks something in feeling as they conform to the ideas of the directing head. Something of respect for and confidence in others has been lost. The "great man" has disappeared forever. The confidences reposed in the editor, the egotism and selfishness laid bare in his sanctum by statesmen and politicians, the revelations that reach him from the domain of society have taught him that all men have their weaknesses and frequently incline him to the unhappy belief that real greatness is a delusion. The first revelation of this is a shock, and its frequent recurrence deadens and too often makes the editor a cynic. This leads us to certain moral considerations which are of the highest importance because of the rapidity of the growth of the press. We have seen that it is identified with all of the interests of man, and that it daily photographs, so to speak, the acts of the individual and of every people. In other words nothing is kept from public view. Nothing is kept from view save the real motive of human action, and in the absence of knowledge the ingenious reporter can, and too often does, supply a motive which may or may not be right. To the patron nothing seems to be omitted from the picture; but to us who are gravely discussing the subject this defect shows that the picture is not perfect, and gives rise to the painful reflection that it may be the means of gross injustice. If this ceases to be ephemeral and becomes a part of history the wrong is deepened. A distinguished divine, eminent in theology and brilliant in speech, once said that "the newspaper hauls the rough marble out of which the historian may build eternal temples." The figure is appropriated from Lucian without credit, and adapted to this modern social force. It is of a kind to please, but is superficial. We ask, if the historian fail to discover the interior defects, will his work endure? If he do not separate the good and true from the wicked and false, will virtue be promoted?

Good is sure to come out of the extended discussion of the relations of newspapers to society, if the public conscience be quickened thereby to respond when the press exposes wrongs committed against the public. Let journalists be held to a strict accountability; let them be reminded that their profession is one with high responsibilities which ought never to be lost sight of; but let those who sit in judgment upon the press impartially condemn other evils incident to modern social life, likewise having far-reaching effects. We might name several which have been exposed in the newspapers, but name only one; we refer to that legal practice that abets crime — that corrupts legislative bodies and counsels evasions of law enacted to promote the general welfare of society. If we despise the low arts of the political demagogue and the harmful work of the newsmonger, shall we not be brave and virtuous enough openly to condemn those who poison the morals of a community and bring the laws into contempt? Not the members of these two influential professions only, but men of all callings will find it to be as true to-day as in the time of Jeremy Taylor, that "a prosperous iniquity is the most unprosperous condition in the whole world."

William Henry Smith.

THE ELEVENTH-HOUR LABORER.

IDLERS all day about the market-place
They name us, and our dumb lips answer not,
Bearing the bitter while our sloth's disgrace,
And our dark tasking whereof none may wot.

Oh, the fair slopes where the grape-gatherers go!—
Not they the day's fierce heat and burden bear,
But we who on the market-stones drop slow
Our barren tears, while all the bright hours wear.

Lord of the vineyard, whose dear word declares
Our one hour's labor as the day's shall be,
What coin divine can make our wage as theirs
Who had the morning joy of work for thee?

L. Gray Noble.