So might the moor mood be revived, and even amid the uproar of harsh city streets, the inward sense hear faint pipings of the snowy gulls as they dart like shuttles from their foam-selvaged blue of ocean across the uplands' fragrant green.

V. The Boon of Color.

The wide-bosomed calm of the sea before sunset, with direct light screened by clouds, becomes a palette of reflected hues.

Along the cliffs the smooth eddies mound in raw turquoise, the farther spaces shimmer in delicate greenish-gilt, and out beneath the superb eminences of purplish-rose cumulus that dominate the eastern sky, the burnished water realm is transformed to violet enamel.

(To be concluded.)

ELIOT WHITE.

A PLAN FOR AN ENDOWED JOURNAL.

A Paper Read August 1 at Madison, Wis., Before the First National Newspaper Conference,* by Hamilton Holt, Managing Editor of The Independent. Republished from The Independent of August 8, by Courteous Permission of the Editor.

The subject upon which I am invited to address you this morning is, "Can Commercial Journalism Make Good or Must We Look for the Endowed Paper?" As stated this seems to imply that endowed journalism is antagonistic to commercial journalism, and that one who favors the establishment of an endowed periodical must have a low opinion of the press as it exists.

Having served all my professional life on a periodical that some of our readers are kind enough to believe has ideas and ideals, but which notwithstanding is run for a profit, I hasten to say that commercial journalism not only can but often does make good. Nevertheless, I am here today to make a plea for the establishment of an endowed paper and to tell you why I think it is desirable and opportune at the present moment.

Journalism of the highest order—and this conference is concerned with no other—is really a part of public education, an extension of university extension. It has the same triple function as the university—research, teaching and public service; the discovery of truth, the dissemination of knowledge and the championship of worthy causes.

The parallel between the university and the journal as purveyors of civilization becomes closer the more it is studied. There are three main types of a university—private, endowed and public. Valparaiso University, at Valparaiso, Ind., is perhaps the best type of a privately owned university

*See Public of August 9, pages 747, 755, 758.

run for profit. The majority of the colleges and universities in the East come under the endowed class, though the students add to the income by tuition fees. The great State institutions here in the Middle West are the typical public universities. The private institutions are the oldest, the endowed naturally develop out of them, and last and best come the State universities. In the main the private universities devote themselves to teaching, the endowed universities to teaching and research, the public universities to teaching, research and public service. In journalism we have a somewhat similar situation. We are now living in the age of privately owned journals run for profit. But these have now almost reached perfection from a technical standpoint and it seems that we are on the threshold of the era of the endowed paper. If the university analogy holds good we may expect the endowed journals to be followed by the great municipal, State, national and even international journals, and that they will be the final and crowning products of printers' ink.

But although the commercial journals largely predominate today, there are already in existence a surprising number of endowed and public journals. There is no ground whatever for the common idea that journalism is necessarily commercial. My colleague, Dr. E. E. Slosson, has brought this fact out very clearly in an article in The Independent of February 15, 1912, and I am indebted to him for the following brief summary of the endowed and public papers, as well as for many other ideas embodied in this paper. The journals endowed or boosted by propaganda organizations are legion. Almost every association, whether political, religious, scientific, educational, or what not, has its special organ. The Socialist Call of New York, the Christian Register of Boston and the Monist of Chicago are examples of endowed or subsidized periodicals of propaganda.

The public papers are not so well known, but they are equally important. The National Government publishes thirty-nine varieties. The Congressional Record, The Crop Reporter, The Labor Bulletin, The Monthly Weather Bulletin, The Naval Medical Bulletin, Public Health Report, Consular and Trade Reports and The Experiment Station Record are the best known. Other examples of public journals are The Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, published at Washington by the twenty-one American republics, and The Canal Record, a weekly compendium of current events furnished free to all Government employes on the Isthmus. Among municipal organs, the colorless City Record of New York and the recently authorized Los Angeles Municipal News are perhaps most worthy of attention. It is only proper to add that on the authority of the President of the United States, every periodical in the land may be regarded as being subsidized by the Government because of inadequate payment for postal facilities. The country papers are carried entirely free within their counties, while, according to the Postmaster-General, the cent a pound rate far from compensates the Government for carrying second-class matter.



But the endowed paper needed at the present time is far different from any now in existence. What can it be expected to do that they cannot? The two most important services of the present

The two most important services of the press are:

First, to give reliable and complete information about any event at the time when such information is needed as a basis of opinion and action.

Second, to present to every reader competent discussion of pending questions from different

points of view.

The ordinary commercial press does not perform adequately either of these social functions and it never can, because it does not "pay" to be as thorough or impartial as the ideal paper should be. A self-supporting journal must be to some extent sensational; that is, it must give undue prominence to spectacular events and crowd out quieter but more important movements. It represents the point of view of some particular party, interest or individual, and does not give equal opportunity for the presentation of opposing views.

The editor of the commercial paper being obliged to make both ends meet, must ever be under the conscious or subconscious fear of subscribers and advertisers, for manifestly such a paper cannot be published without their support. The readers when offended stop their subscriptions, the advertisers their advertisements. No wonder the aim of some papers is to discuss only those things about which everybody agrees or nobody cares.

A glance at the newspaper and magazine field indicates furthermore that those journals which speak their minds sincerely and frankly and under a proper sense of responsibility are with some exceptions hardly more than paying expenses. Few can employ more than two or three high-priced men or pay their contributors properly. jority of the editorial staff are composed of young, inexperienced men or older hack writers, whose salaries approximate that of the average college professor. You have heard of the college professor about to go to Europe on his sabbatical year. When the bursar asked him how he would have his salary sent, he replied, "In postage stamps." These papers with a moral character are consequently estopped from carrying out many of their best And all the while their sensational rivals, being able to offer larger salaries, entice away their best editors, artists and contributors, whose talents are soon prostituted to the lower level of the new employment.

But if a journal is to have an eminent, enter-

prising and trustworthy staff, capable of finding out the facts about current events with accuracy and despatch, it cannot be expected to be selfsupporting any more than a university engaged in fostering all the arts and sciences and maintaining a faculty of nation-wide repute. If a journal is to perform the two essential duties of careful newsgathering and competent comment it must have an assured income of sufficient amount at the start to enable it to stand the stress of sensational and commercialized competitors and to demonstrate its usefulness to a large circle of readers all over the country. Once established and recognized as a truthful and impartial medium it would have an enormous educational value. Though it might not be read by the millions it would be indispensable to all libraries, journalists, preachers, teachers, the most intelligent professional and business men and the leaders at least of the wage-earning class. It would also exert a great influence for good on other papers by forcing them to raise their standards of accuracy and fairness. Some think, however, that the endowed paper would not be responsible to public opinion, that it would be in danger of falling into what is supposed to be the frame of mind of a judge who holds his office for life and feels independent of the popular will. Without arguing the point as to whether our Federal judiciary make better or worse public servants than judges elected for short periods, it seems to me that there would be no danger of the endowed journal becoming reactionary if the right type of men were chosen to manage it. The editors and publishers of the endowed journal should be recruited not from the sanctums and counting-rooms of the great commercial journals, but from the journals with ideals or even from the universities themselves. There is many a college president today who would conduct an endowed journal better than any fifteen-thousand dollar commercialized editor now at the head of some sensational success.

Another guarantee that the endowed paper would not settle down to otiose stagnation and self-complacency is the rivalry that would exist between it and its commercial competitors. The commercial press with its boundless enterprise would make life intolerable for a board of trustees of an endowed journal that did not live up to their very highest opportunities.



But how shall the endowed journal be organized? First, shall it be a daily, weekly or monthly? I can see no reason why all three types should not be endowed. But if some great capitalist, or some group of public-spirited citizens want to endow a paper that will have the greatest influence throughout the entire nation, it cannot be a daily. The country is too large. A daily will not be read

more than a few hundred miles from its seat of publication. No man in Chicago, for instance, will read a New York daily, no matter how good, if he can get substantially the same news twenty-four hours ahead in a Chicago paper. In a small country like England or Holland of course the case is different. Nor can a national paper in the United States be a monthly. The intervals at which a monthly comes out are too great to permit it to have much influence on pending events. The national American paper then must be a weekly. A weekly alone can circulate all over the land and exert a maximum influence on current events.

The money to endow such a great national weekly should be given outright to a board of trustees composed of the most eminent men of different political parties and social classes, whose duties should consist in supervising the finances and selecting the managing editor and seeing that the journal lives up to its principles. The functions of the board should correspond to those of the trustees of a university. Personally I am opposed to endowments in perpetuity and to self-perpetuating boards of trustees. Any vast endowment ought to be expended, both principal and interest within fifty or one hundred years. Conditions at the end of fifty years may or may not make the endowed journal desirable. If it is desirable, then that generation should be able to provide for its own endowment. A more permanent influence will be exerted on human civilization by the rapid expenditure of both principal and interest, even though at the end of the period in question nothing of the original gift remains. Instead of a self-perpetuating board of trustees, I should hope to see some plan adopted by which each year the subscribers of the journal, or some other appropriate body would select one or two members of a slowly changing board. This would obviate the improbable, though not impossible, danger of the endowed journal becoming in a few years a deterrent to social progress, a stronghold of conservation or, to imagine the worst possible outcome, a shelter for exploiting interests.

The real responsibility of running the endowed paper would of course fall upon the managing editor. In general his duties would be analogous to that of a university president, i. e., he would be the executive head of the institution, the connecting link between the trustees on the one hand and the editorial board or faculty on the other.

The managing editor should select, subject to ratification by the trustees a salaried staff of about half a dozen editors, of similar views but diverse talents, each to be in charge of a particular department, such as politics, finance, industry, literature, religion, science, art, education, etc.

The managing editor should also engage a large corps of regular editorial contributors, from various parts of the United States and foreign coun-

tries, specialists in their respective subjects to be paid at space rates.

The leading political parties, reform organizations, labor federations, religious denominations, etc., would be asked to designate authorized representatives who would be given a definite space in which to discuss the topics of the time and advocate their ideas.

In the advertising department I should like to see an innovation tried. Beside the ordinary commercial or display advertisements, space should be given to reading matter not published in the news columns of the journal, such as political platforms and pleas, personal views, poems and stories published at the author's expense, complaints and controversial communications. This department, edited by the people, would be lively, informing and profitable, for there are thousands of people who would be glad of a chance to bring opinions and literary efforts before the public in a periodical of wide circulation.

If this idea should prove popular it might conceivably happen that many propaganda societies would abandon their separate organs and take space each week in the endowed journal. In this way they would be sure to get their ideas before important people with less cost of time, effort and money.

As the board of trustees would be non-partisan, or rather poly-partisan, in character, so the journal should not be the organ of any party, sect or individual. It would have no policy of its own except to publish reliable news and competent discussion of the events and questions of the times. Its motto would be "Comprehensiveness, Impartiality and Accuracy." It would not, however, be a dry and colorless sheet, but more readable and interesting than any now published because of the diversity of views and the ability with which they are discussed. The editors would have it in their power by their choice of topics and authors to direct public attention to what they regard as most important, while at the same time they would afford an opportunity to any one to voice any view he wishes, provided it is done with due regard for the decorum of debate. Some may not agree to this neutral policy, but will hold that a paper to exert any influence must have a creed or platform. It must be, they say, progressive or conservative, partisan or independent, entertaining or instructive, yellow or gray. It cannot be all things to all men. But if the paper gave all sides an equal hearing it is difficult to see how any subscriber could find fault, inasmuch as he would get what he wanted, while on the other hand, such a policy would multiply the paper's appeal. The weakness of the objection is more clearly seen when it is remembered that the most important things in life and therefore the most important things to write about are not controversial in character. Ninetenths of the things that an endowed paper ought to present to its readers are non-controversial, and only when certain aspects of politics, economics, ethics and religion are treated would it be necessary that the champions of two or more sides be given a hearing.

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Assuming, then, the existence of such an endowed weekly, what are some of the things it might reasonably be expected to do? I mention only a few of many that will occur to you all.

It would present a more complete report than is now possible of the important happenings in all

It would not exaggerate the importance of violence and war by making them conspicuous and sensational. It would direct the attention of the people to the triumphs of peace by giving proper prominence to industrial and scientific progress which is generally ignored by the newspapers of today. Nothing contributes so much to the promotion of peace and good will, in international and industrial relations, as first-hand acquaintance with the views and feelings of other classes and parties.

Whenever there was a disturbance in any part of the country, such as a race riot, election outbreak or strike, it would send into the field a corps of trained investigators whose sole purpose would be to discover the truth and to tell it, not to foment discord or to create a sensation. For instance, instead of sending one man to tell the people about the Lawrence strike, the endowed journal could have afforded to send three, representing the employers, the employed and the public, and make them sign a joint report. I myself happen to be one of a board of three judges appointed to settle all disputes between employers and employed in the great garment trade in New York City, and I know by experience that the joint opinion of three men is more than three times as valuable as the individual opinion of any one. Now few publications can afford to send an expert commission to report facts, or even a special correspondent.

The endowed journal would secure opinions upon pending questions of the day, such as the tariff, high cost of living and patent laws, from the best informed authorities, sociologists, economists, financiers, statisticians, historians and business men.

It would not only have competent criticism of art and literature from diverse standpoints, but could also establish a new department much more valuable to the people which has hitherto been impossible because of fear of the advertisers, namely, criticism of commodities. In this department experts would treat other things in the same way as books and pictures are now treated. All the automobiles, typewriters, soaps, safety razors or pianoplayers on the market would be impartially com-

pared, pointing out frankly their comparative merits and specific defects. Being endowed it could afford to defend itself from the libel suits which might be expected to follow until the public got used to this novel kind of criticism.

To conduct such a journal as to make it of real value would be expensive because the endowed journal would set the highest standard of typography, literary style and pictorial illustration, and because it would be necessary to pay well for the gathering of authentic news and for articles by specialists. While it was winning its way and working out its methods and before its unique character and value became generally recognized, the expense would have to be largely borne by the endowment. After a few years there should be a large income from subscriptions and advertisements, and this could then be put either into the improvement of the journal or the reduction of subscription rates so as to in either case extend its influence. If the endowed journal did not in due time secure a wide circle of readers it would indicate that it was not succeeding in what it aimed to do.

An endowment of \$5,000,000 would provide sufficient funds to carry out this plan. Who will give it?



"SEARCH ME."

As Reprinted from the Atlanta Constitution in The Public of November 8, 1902.

The people by thousands were crowded about And the President spoke, with intent to give out His position on trusts—and the things that he said Caused every old codger to doddle his head

And remark:

"Well, whar does he stand? D'ye see?"

And I said:

"Search me!"

The newspaper fellows were writing like smoke, Shorthanding every darn'd word that he spoke, But when all the pothooks and curves were unspun I heard each a-asking the next other one

This remark:
"Where did he land? Could you see?"
And he said:
"Search me!"

The folks read the papers, all anxious to see
How dead right on trusts our Teddy must be,
But when they had scanned all thorough and clean
Each turned to his neighbor with questioning mien
And remarked:

"Well, whar in this d—d trust business is he?"
But t'other un said:
"Search me!"



Most of our politicians have the courage of other people's convictions.—Chicago Record-Herald.