

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NIXON AND
STEVENSON FUND STORIES IN FOUR
METROPOLITAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JUDITH B. WAGNER
1968



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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NIXON AND STEVENSON FUND STORIES IN FOUR METROPOLITAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

by Judith B. Wagner

On Thursday, September 18, 1952, a story in the New York Post cited a fund in California organized for Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, who was seeking the office of the vice president on the Republican ticket in the 1952 elections. The news was soon flashed throughout the country, and a political battle concerning the ethical implications of such a fund immediately ensued. On September 23, 1952, another fund, consisting of surplus campaign contributions, was uncovered for Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, the Democratic presidential nominee.

In this thesis project, I have analyzed the coverage of the Nixon-Stevenson fund stories in four metropolitan dailies--the Los Angeles Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the New York Times, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch--to determine the manner in which these papers reported the funds.

This analysis includes most sections of the newspaper--editorials, columns, photographs, stories, and headlines. Statistical evidence constitutes a part of the

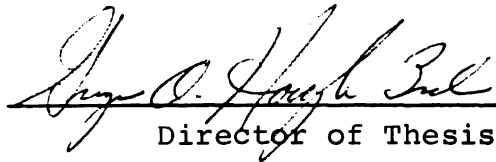
research and includes number of stories, column-inches of news space, number of headline columns, column-inches of headline space, point size of headlines, number of photographs, and column-inches of photographs.

Several other factors were considered in addition to statistical evidence including writing style, placement, word usage, and information sources.

It was found that imbalance existed in the coverage of the funds in all four newspapers analyzed. More editorials, columns, photographs, stories, and headlines pertained to the Nixon fund than to the Stevenson fund. Due to the increased newsworthiness of the Nixon fund, however, this imbalance of coverage was found to be insignificant.

In terms of style, word usage, and other criteria, it was concluded that the New York Times was the most objective of the four newspapers in reporting the fund stories. The Milwaukee Journal reflected some editorial support of the Democratic party in the coverage of the funds, but not to a great extent. The Los Angeles Times and the Post-Dispatch showed substantial bias in reporting the fund stories. The editorial policies of both papers were reflected in the reporting of the funds, particularly in those columns, stories and headlines concerning the Nixon fund.

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism,
College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of
Arts degree.


Director of Thesis

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1968

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is with extreme gratitude that I acknowledge my indebtedness to the many persons who contributed to my research project--too many to name. But at the very least, I must express my appreciation to the professors in the School of Journalism at Michigan State University who assisted me in my research and to my husband, whose encouragement and help made the completion of this project possible.

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INTRODUCTION

In June, 1952, five months before the American people set about their business of electing a President, a "nervous discontent" seemed to permeate the nation.¹ Americans were weary of the undeclared war in Korea, and of the high taxes even though business was good; they resented the military draft and government-imposed controls on a variety of activity.² Frustration, bitterness, anxiety, and fear seemed to characterize the mood of the citizenry. It was a "generation in search of its soul, . . . a generation looking for spiritual and intellectual anchorage at a time of uncertainty and upheaval, a people seeking a clearly defined national purpose."³

In Mississippi, a Nobel Prize-winning writer, whose short stories and novels examined the decline of the South, with its economic sterility, its moral disintegration, and its struggle to resist the progressive and materialistic

¹"Why People Are Worried," U.S. News & World Report, June 13, 1952, p. 21.

²"Why People Are Worried," p. 21.

³Norman Cousins, "Speech for a Presidential Candidate," Saturday Review, August 2, 1952, p. 23 and Cousins, "The Incomplete Power," Saturday Review, Dec. 1, 1951, p. 28.

civilization of the North, observed that man's lack of responsibility was the cause of his widespread frustration and bitterness. "When we talk of security," he said, "we . . . mean . . . only for so long as we ourselves can hold our place on a public relief roll or at a bureaucratic or political or any other organization's gravy trough."⁴ The national attitude, to others, was affected seriously "by the abundance of things in which the American seems to place his faith--by cars and television sets and milk shakes and juke boxes."⁵

Early in the fifties, the American people, not yet healed from the trauma of the Great Depression and the horrendous struggle of total war against the global forces of totalitarian aggression for four long years, bitterly began to comprehend that world peace was remote. The military forces of democracy, it appeared, always would have to be on guard; Soviet Russia seemed headed for world conquest.⁶ The uneasy truce in the Pacific was shattered when, in 1950, the armed forces of the Russian-dominated Korean People's

⁴William Faulkner, "Man's Responsibility to Fellow Man," Vital Speeches, Sept. 15, 1952, p. 729. The speech was delivered at the annual meeting of the Delta Council, Cleveland, Mississippi, on May 15, 1952.

⁵August Heckscher, "Free Souls and Slave," Saturday Review, May 26, 1951, p. 32.

⁶Frederick Lewis Allen, The Big Change, Chap. 11, "The Reluctant World Power" (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1952), p. 153 and Henry Bund, "Mobilizing Industry," Saturday Review, Jan 19, 1952, p. 42.

Republic crossed the thirty-eighth parallel boundary, invading the American dominated Republic of Korea. North Korean troops met little opposition as they slashed southward. By the end of June, they threatened the South Korean capital at Seoul. The Security Council of the United Nations called on North Korea to cease firing and to fall back beyond the thirty-eighth parallel. When the order was ignored, the United States introduced a resolution to the Council, urging members of the United Nations to furnish such assistance to the Republic of South Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security to the area. The resolution was passed by a vote of eight to two, with the Russian delegate not voting.⁷

President Truman ordered air and sea forces to aid the South Koreans, and at the same time he instructed the American fleet to prevent bay attack on Formosa and called on the Chinese Nationalists to cease air and sea operations against Communist China until their status had been determined by the United Nations; strengthened United States military forces in the Philippines, and accelerated aid for French Indo-China. Naval and air forces operating

⁷New York Times, June 26, 1950, p. 1.

from bases in Japan immediately began bombing North Korean supply depots and troop concentration.⁸

Although an overwhelming majority of the American people agreed that action in Korea was the only effective means of preventing World War III, and despite virtually unanimous support by the Congress for an extension of the military draft and for appropriations to increase aid to Korea, the undeclared war in the Pacific depressed the American spirit. Russia had announced a policy of non-intervention, although she continued to provide military and economic aid to North Korea. In mid-1952, the armed conflict still continued, and American war dead and injured were counted in the thousands.⁹

The American situation at home also caused discontent. In addition to higher taxes and inflation, the existence of Communists in the United States in the late forties and early fifties disturbed many Americans.

In August, 1948, an ex-Communist Whittaker Chambers testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee

⁸ New York Times, June 27, 1950, p. 1 and Arthur S. Link, American Epoch, A History of the United States Since the 1890's, Chap. 29, "The Korean War and the Election of 1952" (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965), pp. 717-737.

⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, Chap. 52, "Communism and the Korean Conflict" (New York: Meredith Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 823-825 and Julius W. Pratt, A History of United States Foreign Policy, Chap. 47, "The Struggle for Eastern Asia" (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), pp. 739-744.

that Alger Hiss, a former high official of the State Department, had been a member of the Communist party between 1934 and 1938. In December, 1948, Chambers charged that Hiss had been a Communist spy while working in the Department of State. Hiss sued Chambers for libel, and Chambers, in turn, produced documents that demonstrated Hiss's guilt. Hiss was prosecuted for perjury and was convicted in January, 1950.¹⁰

Then on February 3, 1950, the British government announced the confession of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, an atomic scientist. From 1943 until 1947, he had passed to Soviet agents all scientific secrets he could uncover while doing atomic research for the American and British governments.

How much more could Americans take? The time was ripe for one Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.

In February, 1950, the Senate Republican Campaign Committee assigned McCarthy to speak before the Ohio County Republican Women's Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9. Less than a month after Hiss had been convicted, less than a week after the Fuchs confession had been revealed, McCarthy announced in his Lincoln Day oration that the State Department was "thoroughly infested with Communists."¹¹

¹⁰Eric F. Goldman, The Crucial Decade--And After: America, 1945-1960, Chap. V, "Year of Shocks" (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 91-112.

¹¹Goldman, Chap. VII, "Dinner at the Colony," p. 142.

Thus began a vendetta that continued until 1954 when the United States Senate censured him.

Anyone with unorthodox ideas was suspected by McCarthy of holding subversive intentions. Yet McCarthy was able to continue for so long to damage the reputations of Americans, because they were in the right mood to be stirred by McCarthy's sensational disclosures. "The emotional aggressiveness of McCarthyism vicariously provided a ready psychological release" from the frustrations of the postwar years.¹²

When the time came for the nominating conventions in the summer of 1952, America was in an ugly mood. Popular discontent had been caused by a number of situations including the Korean War, Soviet Union aggression, Communist infiltration in the United States, McCarthyism, and the economic scene at home. Many Americans were not happy with the Truman administration and "desired a change of government by early 1952."¹³

The Republicans met in Chicago on July 7, 1952. The main contenders for the presidential nomination were Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio and General Dwight D. Eisenhower who had resigned his North Atlantic Treaty Organization command to enter the campaign. Eisenhower won the

¹²John B. Oakes, "Report on McCarthy and McCarthyism," New York Times Magazine, Nov. 2, 1952, p. 30.

¹³Link, American Epoch, p. 731.

nomination on the first ballot, and the convention delegates nominated Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as Eisenhower's running mate.¹⁴

The Governor of Illinois, Adlai E. Stevenson, welcomed delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on July 21. The delegates included a host of contenders for the presidential nomination. Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Vice President Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, W. Averell Harriman of New York, Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee all jockeyed for the position.

Stevenson was also a contender, at least for the members of the National Committee for Stevenson for President, a committee that had been formed in April to secure the nomination for Stevenson.¹⁵ Despite the unofficial standing of the Stevenson committee and the protestations of Stevenson until the very eve of the Democratic convention, Stevenson was nominated on the third ballot on July 25. Senator John J. Sparkman was nominated as Stevenson's running mate.¹⁶

¹⁴George L. Hart, Official Report of the Twenty-Fifth Republican National Convention (Washington, D.C.: Republican National Committee, 1953), pp. 405, 421.

¹⁵Walter Johnson, How We Drafted Adlai Stevenson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), pp. 49, 54.

¹⁶William J. Bray and Venice T. Spraggs, Official Report of the Democratic National Convention (Washington, D.C.: Democratic National Committee, 1953), p. 538.

Stevenson, once he won the nomination, plunged into the task of persuading Americans to keep the Democratic party in power. Eisenhower launched his campaign with a crusade for honest and efficient government at home and for freedom in the world. The discontent of Americans posed a major problem for the Democrats. Americans were tired of the Democratic administration and were ready for new persons and policies in the White House.

Stevenson also had other problems to contend with. At the beginning of the campaign, he was a relatively unknown political figure. Many voters knew nothing about him, his past record, or his political beliefs. Stevenson's personality also constituted a barrier during the campaign. He was basically an intellectual with a clever and penetrating wit. As a result, he drew many other intellectuals to his side. But the average voter did not understand many of Stevenson's concepts and did not appreciate his wit. It was during the campaign that the term egghead began to be used in a derogatory manner, and the intellectual was dismissed as an oddity.¹⁷

Eisenhower, on the other hand, had the ability to speak in broad generalities that appealed to most classes and interests. "Not by any stretch of the imagination

¹⁷ Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life, Chap. 1, "Anti-intellectualism in Our Time" (New York: Random House, Inc., 1966), p. 9.

could Eisenhower be called a highbrow or an 'intellectual,'" John Gunther wrote in his biography of Eisenhower.¹⁸ Eisenhower was the extrovert, the man of action who could relate to the average voter. He was the military hero who embodied for Americans the qualities of goodness, simplicity, and honesty.

While Stevenson's intellectual capabilities were great, this was not enough to combat the personal appeal of Eisenhower. Eisenhower's popularity coupled with the desire of Americans for a change had much to do with the Republican momentum in the campaign. On November 5, Americans cast their ballots and elected Eisenhower as the thirty-fourth President of the United States. The change the nation seemed to desire had come about.

¹⁸ John Gunther, Eisenhower: The Man and the Symbol, Chap. 1, "The Man" (New York: Har & Brothers, Publishers, 1952), p. 24.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

The Nixon and Stevenson Fund Stories

The Republican drive to victory faltered only once during the campaign. This setback occurred when a political fund for Nixon was exposed. On Thursday, September 18, 1952, a story in the New York Post reported a fund in California. The byline story by Leo Katcher, West Coast correspondent for the Post, described the contributors to the fund as Nixon's "millionaire club."

According to Editor & Publisher, a trade publication of the newspaper industry, information concerning the Nixon fund came from Dan Green, former night city editor of the Los Angeles Examiner.¹ Green relayed the news tip to Katcher of the Post, Ernest Brashear of the Los Angeles Daily News, and Richard Donovan of Reporter magazine, all collaborators in gathering material on Nixon. The reporters were directed to the custodian of the fund, Dana C. Smith, a Pasadena investment banker. Smith verified the existence of the fund and claimed the money was used for expenses

¹"Nixon Fund Revelation a Reportorial Chore," Editor & Publisher, Sept. 27, 1952, p. 13.

incurred by Nixon in representing the people of California in the Senate.

With the publication of the New York Post article, news of the fund was soon flashed throughout the country, and a political battle over the ethical implications of such a fund immediately ensued. Stephen A. Mitchell, Democratic National Chairman, called on General Eisenhower to ask for Nixon's withdrawal as the Republican vice presidential candidate.² Nixon confirmed the story of the \$18,000 fund but said it had been used entirely for political expenses and that he was being smeared by Communists and crooks.³ Eisenhower voiced confidence in Nixon and described his running mate as an honest man. Eisenhower, however, demanded an explanation and said Nixon must come out of the affair "clean as a hound's tooth--or else."⁴

Nixon interrupted his campaign on Tuesday, September 23, to fly to Los Angeles. That night he appeared in a national radio and television broadcast to present an explanation of the fund to the nation. "I come before you tonight," Nixon said, "as a man whose honesty and integrity have been questioned. The usual political thing to do when charges are made against you is to either ignore them or

²New York Times, Sept. 19, 1952, p. 11.

³New York Times, p. 11.

⁴New York Times, Sept. 20, 1952, p. 1.

deny them without giving details."⁵ Nixon did not ignore or deny the charges but instead outlined to the radio and television audience a financial history of his political career. He also refused to resign as the Republican vice presidential candidate. Instead he left the decision to the Republican National Committee and asked the public to help the national committee make such a judgment.

The calls and telegrams that poured in after the broadcast were overwhelmingly in favor of retaining Nixon as the Republican vice presidential candidate. Eisenhower reported the Republican National Committee had voted 107 to 0 in support of Nixon.⁶ On Wednesday, September 24, Eisenhower greeted Nixon in Wheeling, West Virginia, and announced that his running mate had been completely vindicated.⁷ On this note, the fund story ended, an incident that Nixon later described as "the hardest, the sharpest, and the briefest of my public life. . . ."⁸

Nixon, however, was not the only candidate to experience such a crisis during the 1952 campaign. A fund consisting of surplus campaign contributions was being

⁵"Text of Senator Nixon's Broadcast Explaining Supplementary Expense Fund," New York Times, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 22.

⁶New York Times, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 1.

⁷New York Times, p. 1.

⁸Richard M. Nixon, Six Crises, Sec. 2, "The Fund" (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 70.

used by Adlai Stevenson. On September 22, the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Tribune reported that funds left over from Stevenson's 1948 gubernatorial campaign were being used for his present presidential campaign. The Daily News also reported that Stevenson, as Illinois governor, had approved financial assistance for expenses to members of his administration that he had appointed. The money had come from a cash fund contributed by private individuals, according to the Daily News story.

Stevenson denied that the 1948 funds were being used to finance his campaign for the presidency but said extra compensation had been given to appointed Illinois state officials. "If it's a crime to help good people in government," Stevenson said, "then I'm guilty."⁹ He refused, however, to make public any details concerning the identity of the recipients or the donors of the money. Stevenson told aides that such a disclosure would be an invasion of these individuals' privacy.

Heeding mounting political criticism, Stevenson, on September 27, gave the names of eight state officials he had assisted with money remaining from his 1948 gubernatorial campaign fund. He also made public the names of 1,000 persons who had donated additional money to this fund.¹⁰

⁹New York Times, Sept. 23, 1952, p. 1.

¹⁰New York Times, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 1.

Two days later, in a nation-wide radio and television broadcast, Stevenson accounted for his personal income from 1942 to 1952 and presented his rationale for the assistance of the eight Illinois officials. "To attract and employ better people in state government is never easy," Stevenson said. "Government . . . must, if it is to be good government, pay salaries which are not an invitation to carelessness, indolence, or even worse, corruption."¹¹

This statement ended the publicity concerning Stevenson's efforts to assist those in positions appointed by the governor. By September 30, news of the Nixon and Stevenson funds had disappeared from most of the nation's newspapers. The impact of the stories, however, was felt throughout the rest of the campaign, particularly by the press, for great caution was necessary to report subsequent campaign stories objectively and impartially.

The 1952 Election and the Press

The press, during the 1952 presidential campaign, was subject to much scrutiny and criticism. During this period and throughout the following year, numerous persons attempted to define the role of the press in politics and to place it in proper perspective. What is the role of a

¹¹Major Campaign Speeches of Adlai E. Stevenson, 1952 (New York: Random House, Inc., 1953), p. 190.

newspaper in a campaign? Do newspapers aid the reader in his efforts to evaluate the candidate seeking public office and his platform? Are newspaper accounts of the day's events and issues objective? Questions such as these are, of course, often directed toward the press, especially during an election year. These questions, however, were particularly evident during the campaign of 1952 when political pressures and events were strong and vigorous. Cries of outrage concerning equal coverage in 1952 fell upon the newspapers from members of both political parties, and charges of political bias and distortion fell into two categories: editorial bias and news story bias.

The nation's press tends to be conservative, and, as a result, to lean editorially toward the Republican party. This is only natural in the newspaper field. A publisher, in order to make profits, must run his newspaper as any businessman would run his company. Any newspaper, made, produced, and sold like most products on the market, is a business. It is, therefore, not unusual that most publishers, as businessmen running their particular industry, hold conservative attitudes in keeping with the businesslike aspects of the newspaper profession.

According to a poll taken in 1952 by Editor & Publisher, a majority of newspapers since 1932 have always backed a Republican candidate editorially. The poll, covering 66.8 per cent of all dailies and 87 per cent of total circulation, resulted in the following figures:

Table 1.--Newspaper backing of presidential candidates,^a

Year	Republican Percentage	Democratic Percentage
1932	55.5	38.7
1936	60.4	34.5
1940	66.3	20.1
1944	60.1	22.0
1948	65.2	19.4

^aRobert U. Brown, "Shop Talk at Thirty," Editor & Publisher, August 2, 1952, p. 48.

But this leaning of newspapers editorially toward the Republican party need not be of major concern to the American public. For newspaper editors have the right to support whatever political candidate they wish on the editorial page. Freedom to interpret and to express one's own opinion responsibly is fundamental to the concept of United States democracy. This right has been incorporated into the American system through the First Amendment of the Constitution. To deny this editorial freedom "would be to deny the very principle of free will and democracy which sustain the freedom of the press," according to Malcolm W. Klein and Nathan Maccoby, then members of the Division of Research, School of Public Relations and Communications, Boston University.¹²

¹²Malcolm W. Klein and Nathan Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, XXXI, No. 3 (1954), 286.

The American public should instead concern itself with factual reporting in the news columns. If bias, distortion, suppression, or omission exist here, then criticism of the press is inevitable. A newspaper may not formulate a person's basic beliefs, but its news columns can have much to do with generating and influencing public attitudes. Studies by Bernard Berelson, then a member of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, demonstrated that news story content is generally more effective in converting opinion than the content of editorials.¹³ Berelson based his research on the premise that events tend to generate more opinion than words and issues. Since the news columns of the newspaper may influence the reader in this manner, truthful and comprehensive coverage of the day's events is necessary to an informed public.

During the 1952 presidential campaign, Adlai E. Stevenson, in a speech to the Oregon Press Association, accused the nation's newspapers of being a "one-party press." Stevenson told the newspapermen:

I am in favor of a two-party system in politics. And I think we have a pretty healthy two-party system at the moment. But I am in favor of a two-party system in our press, too. And I am, frankly, considerably concerned when I see the extent to which we are developing a one-party press in a two-party country.¹⁴

¹³Bernard Berelson, "Communications and Public Opinion," in Mass Communications, ed. by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 534.

¹⁴"Text of Stevenson's Speech to the Oregon Press Association," New York Times, Sept. 9, 1952, p. 19.

This particular criticism of the press was considered by many Americans. It was not that the newspaper industry had never been criticized before, for this was certainly not the case. It was, however, the source of the comment that captured the attention of many persons. For here was the intellectual Democratic presidential candidate making a caustic yet thought-provoking criticism of the newspaper industry. Those who were impressed by Stevenson's deep probes into the state of the nation listened to his comments on the press. And journalists listened, too, some agreeing, others disagreeing. Those who had already decided that Stevenson spoke far above their heads either turned aside or disagreed with his one-party press attack.

The decisive and coherent phrasing of Stevenson's accusation, however, was strong enough to direct many persons' attention to the American newspaper system. During the remainder of the campaign, many other charges of newspaper bias and distortion were put forth. Criticism pertained not only to the editorial policies of the newspaper but to the news columns as well. Many accused the press of distorting the news itself to favor the Republican party.

After the 1952 election, a variety of studies was conducted to determine the validity of Stevenson's charge in relation to the news columns of the press. Nathan B. Blumberg, then assistant professor of journalism at the University of Nebraska, in his study of thirty-five daily

newspapers during the final thirty days of the campaign, concluded that "there was slanting in the news columns during the 1952 election but it was not as widespread as some critics have maintained."¹⁵ Arthur Edward Rowse, copy editor for the Boston Evening Traveler and free lance writer of newspaper and magazine articles, after analyzing the manner in which thirty-one newspapers handled the Nixon fund story of the 1952 campaign on September 18 and 19, said that "with the possible exception of the New York Times, all papers--both Republican and Democratic--showed evidence of favoritism in their news columns in violation of their own accepted rules on conduct."¹⁶

The Associated Press, on November 3, 1952, released a study of the 1952 press coverage based on an analysis of 100 newspapers. The results of this study indicated that the campaign had been covered more completely than any political event in history.¹⁷ A number of American authors, who analyzed twenty-six newspapers in six states, issued a warning to the public during the campaign that "the press

¹⁵Nathan B. Blumberg, One-Party Press?: Coverage of the 1952 Presidential Campaign in 35 Daily Newspapers (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), p. 44.

¹⁶Arthur Edward Rowse, Stanted News: A Case Study of the Nixon and Stevenson Fund Stories (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 127.

¹⁷"Campaign Coverage," Newsweek, Nov. 3, 1952, p. 65.

is not giving a reliable picture of the campaign."¹⁸ Those individuals involved in this study included W. H. Auden, John Gunther, John Hersey, Katherine Ann Porter, Carl Sandberg, Upton Sinclair, and John Steinbeck.

The various degrees of newspaper distortion alluded to in these studies demonstrate the problem involved in detecting and analyzing newspaper bias related to the press as a whole. The analysis of each daily newspaper in the nation is not at all feasible, in terms of the amount of effort involved and the difficulty of obtaining such a vast number of newspaper issues. A representative sample of newspapers is also difficult to devise, since so many factors must be taken into consideration. One can not be at all certain that the papers that comprise a study do, in fact, adequately represent the American press.

This very problem was considered by Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalism fraternity, after the 1952 presidential campaign. At the fraternity's national convention in Denver, Colorado, at the end of November, 1952, a special committee was authorized to explore the possibilities of an impartial study of the news coverage of the Eisenhower-Stevenson presidential campaign. The survey was undertaken "because numerous and grave charges have been made that the media for the dissemination of information

¹⁸"Page 1 Display Contradicts Authors on Press Bias," Editor & Publisher, Oct. 25, 1952, p. 59.

were biased in their news coverage of the campaign," the fraternity's formal resolution read.¹⁹ In April of 1953, the committee, headed by J. D. Ferguson, editor of the Milwaukee Journal, reported that the proposed study was not feasible. "The committee knows of no formulae that would meet the magnitude and complexities of the problem of evaluating the fairness of public information media in their news coverage of the 1952 campaign," the committee members said.²⁰

One can, however, isolate certain newspapers and analyze the manner in which specific incidents were reported and covered. If a number of criteria are established, these can be used as a yardstick to judge the kind of reporting that was done. Biased reporting can be detected in this kind of analysis. The Nixon and Stevenson fund stories of the 1952 campaign, for example, provide particular incidents for analysis to determine the manner in which certain newspapers reported the news.

But it must be emphasized that conclusions drawn must be based upon the original criteria used as a basis for analysis. Findings drawn from a few newspapers cannot be applied to the newspaper industry as a whole. It would

¹⁹Robert U. Brown, "SDX Offers to Sponsor Study of Campaign News," Editor & Publisher, Nov. 29, 1952, p. 7.

²⁰"Study of Press in 1952 Campaign 'Not Feasible,'" Editor & Publisher, April 18, 1953, p. 136.

be highly unfair to direct charges of biased reporting at the entire American press when incomplete and biased coverage of an event was found in selected newspapers.

Content Analysis

A content analysis of a newspaper must include many factors and criteria in order to be complete. The column-inch, while a space unit common to all newspapers, cannot be used as the sole criterion by which to judge newspaper coverage of an event. The assumption that a longer article is more effective than a shorter one is not necessarily true. Only when the column-inch space unit is considered in relation to other aspects of newspaper coverage and comment can a complete and accurate analysis be made.

Photographs constitute an important aspect of news coverage. In The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading, an analysis of 138 daily papers from 1939 to 1950 conducted by the Advertising Research Foundation in cooperation with the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, it was found that the size of pictures is important in news presentation.²¹ Figures indicated that reader interest tends to increase as the size of pictures increases, with the sharpest rise in reader interest occurring between one and two-column cuts. This study also

²¹The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading--138 Study Summary (New York: Advertising Research Foundation, 1951), p. 8.

indicated that men show greatest interest in pictures related to events, while women prefer photographs of people.

The use of picture captions is also important in an analysis of news coverage. A study concerning the influence of captions on picture interpretation by Miss Jean S. Kerrick, then associate professor in journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, revealed that a caption may cause a significant modification of judgment regarding the picture it accompanies. Miss Kerrick concluded that "it is possible for a caption to cause a complete change in interpretation, so that, for example, a picture which is usually judged a 'happy' picture, will be judged a 'sad' one."²² In a similar study, Miss Kerrick demonstrated that picture and caption combinations can be different in meaning than pictures alone or captions alone. If a picture and its caption are similar in original meaning, a more extreme judgment is produced than when they are not. In the latter case, element and meanings compete for dominance.²³

Sources of news too must be considered in a content analysis of newspapers. Does a story originate with a press association, a staff correspondent, a special wire service,

²²Jean S. Kerrick, "The Influence of Captions on Picture Interpretation," Journalism Quarterly, XXXII, No. 2 (1955), 182.

²³Kerrick, "News Pictures, Captions, and the Point of Resolution," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVI, No. 2 (1959), 188.

a special correspondent, or a local reporter? This question should be answered, for the source of information may have an effect on the reader's interpretation of a story. In a study of initial attitudes toward a source, Percy H. Tannenbaum, then assistant professor in the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois, demonstrated that the attitude of a reader toward the source of an article is a significant determinant of attitude change.²⁴ This area was further explored in a study by Carl I. Hovland and Walter Weiss, then professors of psychology at Yale University, concerning the influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness. Hovland and Weiss found that opinions are changed to a significantly greater degree in the direction advocated by the communicator when the material is presented by a trustworthy source.²⁵ The sheer presence of a byline, regardless of the source, may influence the reader's interpretation of a story. Bradley S. Greenberg, postdoctoral research fellow and lecturer at the time of the study at the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism and Mass Communications Research, and Tannenbaum, in an analysis of the

²⁴Percy H. Tannenbaum, "Initial Attitude toward Source and Concept as Factors in Attitude Change through Communication," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX, No. 2 (1956), 425.

²⁵Carl I. Hovland and Walter Weiss, "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV, No. 4 (1951), 650.

effects of bylines on attitude change, demonstrated that a story with a byline at or near the beginning of a message produces greater attitude change in the direction advocated by the communicator than a story with no byline.²⁶ Thus, information sources are an important factor to be considered.

Another important factor in a content analysis of newspapers is the headlines of stories. A headline establishes the frame of reference within which the news story is read. As Tannenbaum noted in his study on the effect of headlines on the interpretation of news stories, a headline "provides a lens through which the remainder of the story or article is perceived."²⁷ Thus, the type size, number of column-inches, and style of headlines cannot be overlooked.

Numerous other aspects of news presentation may also have an effect upon the reader and his interpretation of a story. An analysis of an editorial, for example, must take into account its position on the page and special treatment it might receive. As Dean C. Baker, then associate professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, and James C. MacDonald, then associate editor of the Toledo

²⁶Bradley S. Greenberg and Tannenbaum, "The Effects of Bylines on Attitude Change," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVIII, No. 4 (1961), 536.

²⁷Tannenbaum, "The Effect of Headlines on the Interpretation of News Stories," Journalism Quarterly, XXX, No. 2 (1953), 197.

Blade, revealed in their study of editorial readership, more readers are drawn to an editorial that occupies the lead position on the page or which is given special typographical treatment. Baker and MacDonald also showed that a long editorial does not necessarily draw more readers than a shorter one. Editorial readers are inclined to disregard length and difficulty of the material.²⁸

Placement is an important factor in a content analysis. The front page of a newspaper, of course, attracts the greatest number of readers because the eyes of the reader naturally fall upon this page first. It is interesting to note, however, that readership figures for inside pages do not drop progressively, a factor revealed by The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading.²⁹ One cannot assume that a story on page twelve of a paper will receive more attention than one on page twenty-five. This study also indicated that little difference is given by readers to left and right-hand pages. Only a slight difference exists in favor of the left-hand page.³⁰ No rigid rule concerning position on a page is used by researchers. Columns one and eight, however, are considered to be the preferred positions

²⁸Dean C. Baker and James C. MacDonald, "Newspaper Editorial Readership and Length of Editorials," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVIII, No. 4 (1961), 479.

²⁹The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading, p. 8.

³⁰The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading, p. 7.

on a page, a criterion used by Klein and Maccoby in their study of eight newspapers during the 1952 campaign.³¹

Sidney Kobre, then professor of journalism at Florida State University, Tallahassee, in his analysis of the Florida dailies' coverage of the 1952 campaign, divided each front page into four placement zones, with the upper right established as the "best front page position for attention."³² In general, preferred display value is usually given to the front page, the top half of the page above the fold, and columns one and eight.

Klein and Maccoby also included as a part of their 1952 newspaper study the factor of "newsworthiness," the utilization of news of primary reader interest.³³ The visit of a campaign principal to a city, for example, would result in heavier coverage of that candidate in the newspapers of that area. Special local interests are also related to the factor of "newsworthiness." The statements and actions of Nixon would clearly be of greater interest to the people in California than to the inhabitants of Missouri. Public familiarity also affects news value. Klein and Maccoby noted that the fact Eisenhower was better

³¹Klein and Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," p. 291.

³²Sidney Kobre, "How Florida Dailies Handled the 1952 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, XXX, No. 2 (1953), 165.

³³Klein and Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," p. 288.

known than Stevenson at the onset of the campaign was probably one of the reasons Eisenhower received more newspaper coverage at first. As the campaign progressed, however, and the public grew more familiar with the Democratic presidential candidate, Stevenson received an increasing amount of coverage.³⁴

Robert Batlin noted in his analysis of the San Francisco newspapers' campaign coverage in 1896 and 1952 that "imbalance toward the party editorially supported does not necessarily represent bias on the part of the newspapers." Batlin, writing this article as part of his Master's thesis at Stanford University, 'cited the size of a paper's news-hole, the amount of space available for news, and the relative efficiency of the political parties' publicity apparatus as important factors that affect the presentation of news.³⁵

Another content measure involving the number of direct quotes found in a story was used by Klein and Maccoby in their objectivity study. These quotes, taken from the candidate's speeches by the newspaper, were classified as favorable to the speaker or unfavorable to his opponent.³⁶

³⁴Klein and Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," p. 288.

³⁵Robert Batlin, "San Francisco Newspapers' Campaign Coverage: 1896, 1952," Journalism Quarterly, XXXI, No. 3 (1954), 300.

³⁶Klein and Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," p. 292.

Such a factor could prove useful in an analysis of word usage. Consideration of the types of leads in stories can also be used in the analysis of words and style. Charles E. Higbie, then assistant professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, included such a measure in his analysis of Wisconsin dailies during the 1952 campaign. Higbie classified leads in three categories: summary, situation, and direct quote leads, and used these as aids in the detection of biased reporting.³⁷ A dictionary can also be used in the analysis of word bias. The standard definition of a word can be most useful when studying reporting style.

Many factors such as these should be utilized in order to analyze newspaper coverage fairly and accurately. Statistical and quantitative evidence cannot be overlooked, but such evidence should not constitute the sole criterion from which conclusions are drawn. Numerous other aspects of news presentation are important when a content analysis of a newspaper is made.

Procedure

In this thesis, I will analyze the coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories in four metropolitan daily newspapers--the Los Angeles Times, the Milwaukee Journal,

³⁷Charles E. Higbie, "Wisconsin Dailies in the 1952 Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, XXXI, No. 1 (1954), 59.

the New York Times, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The study will extend from the day the Nixon fund was announced, September 18, 1952, to September 30, 1952, the last day Stevenson's fund was reported by these four newspapers.

These four newspapers were selected for a number of reasons. In 1952, each was a metropolitan paper, published seven times a week, with a daily circulation over 300,000. Circulation figures in 1952 for each of the papers in their respective cities were as follows:

Table 2. Circulation figures in 1952.^a

Newspapers	Monday-Friday	Saturday	Sunday
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	400,218	327,037	440,357
Milwaukee Journal	327,944 ^b		446,307
New York Times	507,281	406,627	1,075,270
Los Angeles Times	399,393 ^b		770,054

^aJ. Percy H. Johnson, ed., N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1952 (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc., 1952), pp. 95, 550, 710, 1057.

^bThis figure includes Saturday's circulation.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, established in 1878, is published six evenings a week and on Sunday morning. Editorially, this Missouri paper is classified as Independent Democrat. It is published by the Pulitzer Publishing Company. The Post-Dispatch is a standard size, eight-column

newspaper and supported Stevenson during the 1952 campaign.³⁸ No other evening dailies competed with the Post Dispatch in 1952; the Globe-Democrat, with a daily circulation of 304,623, was published in the morning.³⁹

The Milwaukee Journal, a daily Wisconsin published in Milwaukee, was founded in 1882. Classified as an Independent paper, the Journal supported Stevenson in the 1952 campaign. The Journal is published six evenings a week and on Sunday morning and is the sole evening paper in Milwaukee. The Journal is an eight-column newspaper, published by the Journal Company.⁴⁰ The Milwaukee Sentinel, with a circulation of 180,287 in 1952, is the city's morning paper.⁴¹

The New York Times, a morning paper, is classified editorially as Independent Democrat. The Times supported Eisenhower during the 1952 campaign. Established in 1851, the Times is published by the New York Times Company. It is a standard size, eight-column newspaper, and its slogan is, "All the News That's Fit to Print."⁴² The Times

³⁸ J. Percy H. Johnson, ed., N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1952 (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc., 1952), p. 550.

³⁹ Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 549.

⁴⁰ Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 1057.

⁴¹ Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 1059.

⁴² Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 710.

competed with several other daily morning papers in New York in 1952: the Herald Tribune, circulation, 343,289; the Mirror, 992,720; and the Daily News, 2,251,430. Three evening newspapers also were competitors of the Times: the Post, circulation, 372,583; the World-Telegram, 555,017; and the Journal-American, 692,509.⁴³

The Los Angeles Times, classified as Independent Republican, supported Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign. The Times, established in 1881, is published every morning. It is a standard size, eight-column newspaper, with the slogan, "All the News All the Time." Published by the Times-Mirror Company, the Times was one of two daily morning papers in Los Angeles in 1952.⁴⁴ The other morning paper was the Los Angeles Examiner, with a circulation of 349,320.⁴⁵

Several factors appear among these newspapers to provide a foundation upon which many comparisons and contrasts can be made. Two of the papers are morning dailies and two are published in the evening. Two supported Stevenson editorially in 1952, and two, Eisenhower. Two are Midwestern papers, and two are published on the coast, one Eastern, and the other, Western. The two morning papers

⁴³Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, pp. 681, 685, 690, 695, 700, 709, 715.

⁴⁴Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 95.

⁴⁵Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, p. 91.

are in competitive situations with other papers published in the city in the morning; the other two are the only evening papers published in their respective cities. The four newspapers are all old and established, founded between 1851 and 1882. All are eight-column, standard size newspapers.

Statistical evidence will constitute a part of my analysis with computations included for the front pages and the inside pages of each newspaper. Headlines, stories, and photographs will be divided in two categories: Nixon and Stevenson. A Nixon classification will include photographs, stories, and headlines on the Nixon fund, originating with the Republican and Democratic parties, or non-partisan sources. The Stevenson classification will include photographs, headlines, and stories that pertain to the Stevenson fund. For each of these classifications, the following figures will be computed for each newspaper.

Headlines:

Total number of columns
Total column inches

Stories:

Total number of stories
Total column inches

Photographs:

Total number of photographs
Total column inches

These statistics will represent the total coverage of the fund stories by each newspaper from September 18 through September 30. The averages for each of the above classifications will also be computed. With headlines, for example, the average number of columns and column inches will be presented for the thirteen-day period. The average headline type size will also be included.

Each of the Nixon and Stevenson classifications will be further divided into three categories: Republican, Democratic, and Neutral. Under the Nixon fund category, for example, a story concerning the Nixon fund classified as Republican will be one that originates with the Republican party. A Nixon fund story placed under the Democratic category will be one that originates with the Democratic party. A story, for example, concerning Stevenson's advocacy of fairness toward Nixon and his fund will be placed in this category. The neutral classification will include those stories, headlines, and photographs that originate with neither party. For example, divided press editorial comments on Nixon's fund, both negative and positive in tone, will be included in the neutral category. Thus, the statistical evidence for the fund stories will be further divided as follows: .

Headlines:	Republican	Democratic	Neutral
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Total number of columns			
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Total column inches			
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Stories:

Total number of stories			
-------------------------	--	--	--

Total column inches			
---------------------	--	--	--

Photographs:

Total number of photo-			
graphs			

Total column inches			
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This type of classification will also be used for the Stevenson fund category. A Republican classification here will pertain to a comment on the Stevenson fund from the Republican party; a Democratic one, from the Democrats; and a neutral category, a non-partisan source.

This kind of classification, in statistical form, will enable the reader to analyze the general sources utilized by the newspapers in the fund stories, headlines, and photographs. These figures will not show the reader specific sources of information, such as a press association or a correspondent, but they will indicate the general orientation of the stories, headlines, and photographs.

Several other factors will be considered in addition to statistical evidence. News stories, particularly those on the front page of each newspaper, will be analyzed in terms of a number of criteria: page placement, sources of information, types of leads, word usage, and writing style.

Headlines will be studied in a similar manner with the following factors being considered. Where is the headline placed on the page? Is the source of information attributed in the headline? Is the style clear and concise?

A number of criteria will also be used to judge photographs. Size and placement on a page are important when reader interest is under consideration. In addition, each picture will be studied with the following questions in mind. Is this a picture of persons or of objects? If individuals are pictured, what kinds of facial expressions appear? Is an event the central element in the photograph? What kind of action is portrayed? Picture captions too will be studied, both separately and in conjunction with the picture they accompany. Is the caption worded clearly and concisely? Does it specifically describe the picture it accompanies? Is the caption needed to understand the picture? Are the picture and its caption similar in original meaning?

The editorial pages of each newspaper will also be studied to ascertain the attitudes of the editors toward the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. Statistical evidence will not be taken into account in this aspect of the analysis. The main purpose in the study of this section of the papers will be to analyze the editors' comments on the fund stories in order that the other sections of the newspapers might be more thoroughly understood.

In addition, the analysis will include local and nationally syndicated columnists. The views and attitudes of columnists will be studied to determine whether diverse opinions were represented in the columns used by the newspapers.

Subjective judgments will have to be made in the case of each newspaper, with the exception of the statistical evidence. The extensive coverage of my study, however, will justify such judgments. A day-by-day analysis will enable me to arrive at conclusions that could not be obtained by looking only at total coverage.

In general, the purpose of this study will be to analyze the coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories in four selected newspapers. Studies have already been conducted concerning newspaper coverage of the 1952 campaign in general and of the Nixon fund story in particular. Nathan B. Blumberg, for example, analyzed the coverage of the final thirty days of the campaign by thirty-five daily newspapers. Arthur Edward Rowse studied the manner in which thirty-one newspapers handled the Nixon fund story. The scope and magnitude of studies such as these, however, did not enable the researchers to analyze all aspects of newspaper coverage.

In this study, all aspects of newspaper coverage will be analyzed including news stories, headlines, photographs, editorials, and columns. In addition, the methodology

will include more than just statistical evidence. The column-inch space unit will be considered in relation to other aspects of newspaper coverage and comment. Word style, in particular, will be analyzed to detect the presence or absence of bias in the coverage of the fund stories.

Such an analysis indicates how a number of aspects of news presentation can be used in the detection of newspaper bias. The use of other factors in conjunction with statistical evidence serves to present a more complete picture of newspaper coverage of an event. Such a method of analysis is clearer and more comprehensive than methodology that includes only quantitative evidence.

CHAPTER II

EDITORIALS

Editorials concerning the funds must be analyzed in order to understand the attitude of the editors of each of the four metropolitan dailies toward the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. Balanced coverage of the candidates will not be a factor in this analysis, for editors and publishers have the right on the editorial page to express their opinions on the events or issues that concern them. When Stevenson made his charges of a "one-party press," the New York Times made the following comment regarding a newspaper's editorial page:

It is the business of publishers and editors to say what they think. The essential safeguard against what Mr. Stevenson describes as a "one-party press" does not consist of an artificially balanced division of editorial opinion but rather of fair reporting of dissenting news and a free market for the publication of organs of dissenting opinion.¹

In a democratic society such as ours, one should not expect to find balanced coverage of two political candidates, for example, on the editorial page. Such a right is undeniable, guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

¹"Mr. Stevenson and the Press," New York Times, September 9, 1952, p. 30.

All editorials concerning the fund stories will be analyzed only in terms of content.² Such an analysis will indicate the opinions and attitudes of the editors toward the Nixon and Stevenson funds. No editorials will be measured in terms of column inches or studied in terms of fair and balanced coverage. These two aspects of analysis should not be applied to the editorial pages of a newspaper.

Two editorials concerning the fund stories appeared in the Los Angeles Times during the thirteen-day period that the editorial pages were studied. Both of these editorials pertained to Nixon's fund and both appeared on page one of the paper.

The first editorial, "We Stand by Nixon," appeared on the front page on Tuesday, September 23. The comment was labeled as an editorial and was placed in columns two and three next to a story announcing Nixon's radio-television speech. The Times supported Nixon wholeheartedly and pointed out to readers his "record of courageous, honorable military service in World War II," "his concepts of personal integrity and public probity," and "his code of ethics and . . . his genuine devotion to the public welfare." The Times believed Nixon had "exercised some deficiency of political

² Editorials were analyzed in the following issues: Los Angeles Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952; Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 18-30, 1952; New York Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 18-30, 1952.

sagacity" in accepting private financial assistance. This support, however, according to the Times, could be "misrepresented as personal support" only by "professional political lairs and experienced political smear experts."

The editors stated further that Nixon's critics were "attempting to raise the molehill of his possible political shortsightedness into a veritable Himalaya of misdoing."

Two days later, an editorial occupying columns three through six appeared on the front page of the Times beneath a photograph of Nixon and Eisenhower. The article, "Dick Nixon, Vindicated, Carries On," was labeled as editorial comment. In this editorial, those who had "attacked" the Republican vice presidential nominee were described as "a band of political jackals." The Democratic party itself was characterized as a group "beset by a record of infamy and incapacity that can be neither denied nor dismissed."

According to the Times, Nixon in his national broadcast speech, had completely vindicated himself.

Nixon's manly and candid submission direct to the people . . . was the only recourse he had under the bitter circumstances. . . . He did not accuse . . . he supplied the certified facts. . . . The truth, simple and unadorned, shows Dick Nixon to be the man, the official of government, the citizen, whom his friends know and the public accepts--an adversary of evil and a champion of the right.

"The knavish politician, the venal radio and television commentator, the disreputable columnist and the unscrupulous editor . . . will endeavor to continue their campaign of lies and slander," the editorial said. But the American people have responded "in a spontaneous expression of confidence and encouragement--an expression unprecedented in our history for volume and vigor," the Times said. "The case is in and the verdict rendered. Dick Nixon, who says he has just begun to fight, will carry on."

Four editorials concerning the fund stories appeared in the New York Times. Two of the editorials pertained specifically to Nixon's fund, and two to both the Nixon and Stevenson funds. All appeared in the editorial section of the paper.

On September 20 in an editorial, "The Nixon Fund," the Times wrote that "there is no evidence that any graft or corruption is involved" in Nixon's fund. "With the facts we have before us," the editorial read, "there is also no evidence that any favors were sought by contributors to the fund." Furthermore, the Times saw no reason to question Nixon's statement that the funds had been used for postage, travel, printing, and clerical expenses in the course of his duties as California senator.

But the Times did not condone Nixon's action or judgment regarding the acceptance of private money.

There is no doubt that both the Senator and his benefactors have indulged in a bad practice that could lead to vicious abuses. Mr. Nixon must realize that this practice is not to be condoned, particularly on the part of a Republican Vice-Presidential nominee whose campaign is based in large part on raising the moral level of government.

The following day, in an editorial, "Mr. Nixon's Explanation," the Times accepted Nixon's list of the names of the contributors to his fund and his accounting of the manner in which the fund was spent. Further criticism, however, was directed at Nixon for his use of private funds for public duties. The Times did believe that members of Congress were inadequately staffed and paid for the duties they must perform.

If this is true, the proper remedy is the appropriation of additional funds from the public treasury. . . . It is not sound policy that private individuals should pay private contributions for the public services of their representatives in Congress.

After Nixon's national radio and television broadcast, an editorial, "Two Funds," appeared in the Times on September 25. Again the Times saw no reason to doubt the accuracy of the figures Nixon presented concerning his financial status. But the newspaper did criticize Nixon's belief that his acceptance of private financial assistance was proper. "We think he is wrong," the Times said. "Senator Nixon does not have to feel guilty of any purposeful wrongdoing for him to understand that the practice he and his friends engaged in is full of evil potentialities."

The Times applied the same line of reasoning to Stevenson's use of private funds to supplement the salaries of state administrators.

We have not the slightest reason to think that the donors to this fund sought or received any favor whatsoever from Governor Stevenson. . . . But . . . we find it hard to see that the evil potentialities of the Stevenson fund are much different or much less than the evil potentialities of the Nixon fund.

And the Times recommendation to Stevenson? "We think Governor Stevenson should make public the list of contributors," the Times said.

The furor over the funds, however, was considered "a healthy one" by the Times, for it brought to the attention of the American people the extent to which public servants were underpaid.

It is a reflection on the State of Illinois that . . . the Governor had to appeal for private funds to supplement state salaries. It is a reflection on all of us that Senators and members of Congress must seek outside sources of revenue to remain solvent.

On September 28, this belief was expanded further in an editorial, "Private Pay for Public Jobs." According to the Times, the blame for both funds lay with the people themselves. "We do not pay enough to those of our public servants--local, state and national--whom we have a right to expect to devote all of their time to the public business," the Times said.

The Times emphasized that increased pay would not necessarily make legislators and administrators more effective.

It would, however, free them from financial worries and from the necessity of accepting private money for public duties. "If the ethical standards of public life have to be raised," the Times concluded, "one way to start is to lessen the more obvious temptations to public servants."

Seven editorials concerning the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories appeared in the Milwaukee Journal. Four of these editorials pertained specifically to Nixon's fund, one to Stevenson's fund, one to the problem of the subsidization of government officials, and one to the need for Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin to publicize his financial affairs.

The first fund editorial, "Private Senator of the Rich?," appeared in the Journal on September 19. The Journal explained the background of Nixon's "extra income" and Dana Smith's relationship to the fund. According to Smith, the Journal said, only he knew the identity of the contributors. Even if this were the case, the Journal believed that such a situation enabled Smith "to have undue influence over his senators." However, "so astute a senator as Nixon" would surely "insist on knowing who his benefactors are, to be sure that no racketeers, gamblers, Communists or other persons of ill repute are among the contributors."

In general, the Journal believed that "the deplorable practice . . . of giving rich families their own private

senators" must be eliminated in the United States. "A senator who is on someone's pay roll is certainly in danger of being 'captive.' . . . It is not good practice and creates the occasion for corruption whether corruption exists or not." The discovery of this fund constituted "another argument for opening federal tax returns to public inspection. . . ."

The next day, in an editorial, "Nixon, Too, Cries Smear," the Journal criticized Nixon and Eisenhower for their reactions to the fund exposure.

Nixon's defense against his action is to shout that he is the victim of "left wing smear" by the "Alger Hiss crowd." He doesn't deny the charge--he just attempts to smear those who uncovered it. This is too much like the age old trick of a culprit seeking to avert attention from himself by yelling "stop thief." Nixon, who calls exposure of Democratic corruption a "public service," is trying the hoax of calling exposure of Republican misdeeds "subversion."

The Journal described Eisenhower's support of "Senator Nixon's American faith" as "camouflage, pure and simple." The Journal believed there was no relationship between Nixon's role in the Hiss trial and "the admitted fact that he accepted \$16,000 to \$17,000 from a group of wealthy Californians."

The Journal also believed that Nixon's acceptance of private funds was not ethical.

It was contrary to every moral obligation of a public servant. . . . It is a charge serious enough to raise the question of the qualifications of a man who did such a thing to sit in the United States senate. . . .

Surely there are some things--and this is one--which cannot be shrugged off by the cries of "smear" and "communism" that have succeeded too well and too often, in other cases, in covering up even fraud and deceit.

On September 23, in an editorial, "Watchdogs for Decency," the Journal explored three ways to handle borderline cases such as Nixon's. One solution suggested by President Truman and Senator Wayne Morse, a Republican from Oregon, required financial reports from all elected and appointed Representatives and Senators whose incomes exceeded \$10,000 a year. Such a plan would not work, the Journal said, because it "would intrude upon what Congressmen consider the sacred precincts and privileges of their 'club.'"

Another proposal to open federal income tax records was also considered. "But Congress shows no interest in that, either," the Journal commented.

The Journal believed the best suggestion originated with Professor H. H. Wilson of Princeton University. Wilson's plan involved a basic study of national ethics, government morality and wrongdoing by a foundation such as Ford, Rockefeller, or Carnegie. "We've come to a sad state," the Journal said, "when such a plan seems necessary. . . . Perhaps it's time to let nonpartisan nongovernmental people have a crack at it."

The next day, the Journal commented on Nixon's national radio and television broadcast in an editorial,

"Senator Nixon Explains." In general, the Journal believed Nixon had made an "effective and emotional presentation" and had "successfully refuted claims that this was another case of 'corruption' on the scale so frequently revealed in Washington in recent years." The Nixon case, however, the Journal said, "may hamper the Republican party's use of the corruption issue against the Democrats."

If the existence of Nixon's fund had been known, the Journal said, "Nixon would probably not have been given the vice presidential nomination." Furthermore, the Nixon case and its repercussions might have been prevented if the American public had insisted on "keeping the financial affairs of the public official and the politician in the open."

On September 26, in an editorial, "Stevenson Should Give Facts," the Journal commented on Stevenson's refusal to make public the names of donors to his fund and the names of Illinois officials to whom gifts from the fund were given. The Journal recognized the need of adequate compensation for government officials in order to attract "able and honest men into important positions." Subsidization of government officials, however, could lead "to many abuses, to many possibilities of evil, to much suspicion," the Journal said. As a result, "Governor Stevenson should clear up any and all suspicions about his 'private fund' and its uses by giving the public all the details. Nothing less will serve to clear the air."

The Journal on September 28 commented on the problems of government compensation for public officials in an editorial, "Private Funds for Public Men." The Journal believed the fund cases had raised three major questions concerning government officials. "How can good men be attracted to public service? How can they be compensated adequately? What are the proprieties and ethics which must govern their economic and other relationships with persons and organizations outside government?"

Ideally, an elected or appointed government official is obligated to no one. "Practically, this is impossible," the Journal said. The backgrounds of officials shape and influence their approaches to problems. In addition, public salaries are generally not adequate.

Within this area of public concern, the Journal believed two things were evident. "Officials elected or appointed must avoid even the occasion of suspicion. Wise officials will keep personal finances in the open and it would be most wise to require all top officials to make public their income sources." Study and discussion of these problems must also be carried out, the Journal said. "If the fund cases lead to such studies, they will have contributed a real public service."

The next day, in an editorial, "Follow Nixon's Example," the Journal encouraged Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin to follow Nixon's example of publicly revealing his financial affairs.

McCarthy can do the state a service by giving Wisconsin voters a more complete accounting of his obscure and involved financial transactions, the sources of the funds he uses to hire personal investigators and what he calls "researchers," his various speculation accounts, his loans, the contributors who finance him, his income tax history.

In the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, seven editorials appeared concerning the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. Six of these editorials pertained to the Nixon fund, and one to the Stevenson fund.

The first editorial concerning the fund stories, "The Charge against Senator Nixon," appeared in the Post-Dispatch on September 19. In this editorial, the Post-Dispatch criticized Nixon's explanation of his acceptance of cash gifts and termed it as "not good enough." "It does not explain," the Post-Dispatch said. "It confirms . . . that while the people of the United States have been paying Mr. Nixon to represent them in the Senate, a small group of private individuals has also been paying him to represent them instead." The Post-Dispatch also commented on Nixon's vehement criticism of members of the Truman administration who accepted gifts and favors and "very properly condemned those practices as corrupt." Nixon thus stood "as one who is guilty of practices which he himself has condemned in others in the very strongest terms," the Post-Dispatch concluded.

The next day, in an editorial, "Crisis for Eisenhower," the Post-Dispatch presented what it considered to

be the crucial issue of the Nixon "trust fund." The Post-Dispatch did not consider what Nixon did with the fund money to be the important aspect of the case. If all the funds had been used for postage stamps, the Post-Dispatch said, this would not affect the basic moral principle involved. "That principle is the old and simple one," the newspaper said. "Is it right for a United States Senator (or any other public official) to work for two paymasters, the people who pay his salary and a private group which supplements his official compensation with money of its own?" Such double compensation was the main issue and could not be concealed by "all the agonized twisting and turning" of Nixon's apologists, according to the Post-Dispatch. "The plain fact is that the Nixon affair is a dirty business."

The Post-Dispatch also praised Stevenson in this editorial for his "commendable restraint in withholding final judgment until more facts are in." In addition, the Post-Dispatch questioned whether Eisenhower would "rise above the muck of partisanship to give the daring demonstration of fearless independence which is expected of him."

The Post-Dispatch on September 21 criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon case in an editorial, "Eisenhower in Missouri." The Post-Dispatch believed Eisenhower had lost a "sense of greatness, a sense of dedication to

the awesome and enormously complex issues" and had become "a standard party politician, doing and saying what standard politicians say and do. . . ." The Nixon fund case and the issue of double compensation had brought out this change in Eisenhower, according to the Post-Dispatch. "So far," the Post-Dispatch concluded, "General Eisenhower has not faced that issue. His initial reactions are uniformly interpreted as condoning in Senator Nixon the same sort of acts which he so roundly condemns in Democratic wrongdoers."

On September 22, in an editorial, "No Questions Asked," the Post-Dispatch explored another aspect of the Nixon fund case. "Did neither the General nor anyone who advised him," the newspaper asked, "check into Senator Nixon's record before they put the young Californian in line for possible advancement to the presidency?" The record of the second ranking leader in Eisenhower's campaign certainly should have been looked into, the Post-Dispatch believed. "Questions should have been asked, questions that would have brought out the facts."

Was this "a sample of the care by which the General would make his appointments were he to become President?" The Post-Dispatch posed still another question, suggested by Eisenhower's decision "to do nothing about the Nixon dirty business" until Nixon's national radio and television broadcast. "Is the bold and decisive

leader of the 'crusade' waiting on what he thinks is popular reaction," the Post-Dispatch asked, "before deciding what to do?"

On September 24, in an editorial, "Mr. Nixon's Performance," the Post-Dispatch commented on Nixon's radio and television broadcast.

Senator Nixon's television performance had many of the elements of a carefully contrived soap opera. It is not surprising that he should have tugged some heartstrings. Poor boy struggling against adversity, devoted wife and kiddies, the family pet, hero traduced by mean enemies, and beneath it all the hint of sinister Red plots--these are always good. They always bring in the box tops.

The Post-Dispatch complimented Nixon on one aspect of his speech--"his colossal nerve." The paper believed Nixon's efforts to transform his fund into an asset by saying he used it to save the taxpayers' money was an "amazing defense." The Post-Dispatch again pointed out that the main issue involved in this case was not the way in which the money had been spent but the morality of taking the money for any purpose. Such a practice, the Post-Dispatch said, "permits certain constituents to buy a piece of him, just as promoters buy pieces of prize fighters." The worst part of the issue, however, according to the paper, was not the operation of the fund itself "but the brazen way in which Nixon had his defenders try to make a virtue of it."

The next day in an editorial, "General Eisenhower's Decision," the Post-Dispatch discussed Eisenhower's

decision to keep Nixon on the Republican ticket. The Post-Dispatch believed Eisenhower's decision regarding the Nixon fund was predetermined. In order to retain the loyalty of the right wing Republicans, headed by Senator Taft, such a move concerning Nixon was necessary. Taft's comment that Nixon had done no wrong dictated to Eisenhower "just what . . . he could and could not do if he valued the sentiments of the right wing."

Furthermore, the Post-Dispatch said, that Eisenhower's decision to wait for public reaction to the fund indicated "that the rightness or wrongness of his running mate's record is a matter to be determined by the votes of a popularity contest. Is that how he would handle the case of an official wrongdoer if he became President?"

The Post-Dispatch then quoted from the editorials of three other metropolitan dailies. In a New York Times editorial, Nixon was described as having shown "poor judgment." The New York Herald-Tribune said Nixon should offer to resign, and the Washington Post believed that Nixon's "transgression is a major one." "These judgments by three able and highly respected newspaper supporters of General Eisenhower are just as valid now as they were before Nixon's national broadcast," the Post-Dispatch held. "The Republican nominee rejected them. His decision and the way he reached it now go before the people for review."

In an editorial, "A Splendid Precedent," on September 29, the Post-Dispatch complimented Stevenson for the publication of his income tax returns for the past ten years. "Governor Stevenson has taken a daring initiative which ought to become a precedent for presidential and congressional candidates." Income figures alone do not indicate a man's qualifications for a public office, the Post-Dispatch said. But "a courageous willingness" to publish them "does demonstrate a candidate's willingness to expose his whole life to public view."

The Post-Dispatch challenged Nixon "to match the Governor's initiative on income tax returns." Nixon's financial account to the public was incomplete, the Post-Dispatch said, and his refusal to answer further questions concerning the fund came "with ill grace from one who so loudly demanded that others make a full disclosure." "The public now knows the whole story of the Stevenson campaign contributions," the Post-Dispatch concluded. "Similar information must be presented in its entirety to the public by Nixon."

The New York Times appeared to be the most cautious in its editorial coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. The Times believed the two politicians had shown poor judgment in accepting private funds, but saw no evidence of favoritism shown toward donors by Nixon or Stevenson. The Times did not describe the character or

personality of either man or reiterate the events that followed the announcement of each fund.

Much of the content of the four fund editorials concerned the implications of private funds used by public officials. The Times described the furor over the funds as "healthy," for it had brought to the attention of Americans the extent to which public officials were underpaid. It was emphasized that additional money needed by public servants such as Nixon and Stevenson should come from the public treasury.

Two front-page editorials, both pertaining to Nixon, appeared in the Los Angeles Times. No mention of Stevenson and his fund was made by the editors. In general, the Times praised Nixon highly and severely chastized his critics. Nixon was described as "an adversary of evil and a champion of the right" with a sense of "personal integrity and public probity." Those who criticized him were "professional political liars and experienced political smear experts" and "a band of political and journalistic jackals." Only one criticism of Nixon was made when the Times said that he had "exercised some deficiency of political sagacity." No mention was made of the implications of such a fund or of methods of eliminating the need for private funds by public officials.

The Milwaukee Journal, on the other hand, criticized Nixon quite openly. The Journal termed Nixon's

fund "an extra income" and said his acceptance of such money "was not ethical." Nixon's cry of smear against his critics was described as a "lame reaction." The Journal was the only paper of the four analyzed that criticized Eisenhower's support of Nixon, calling it "camouflage, pure and simple." Little mention was made of Stevenson, except for a demand that he make public the names of donors to his fund.

The Journal, like the New York Times, thoroughly explored the implications of the funds. The Journal issued a plea for public inspection of federal tax returns and demanded additional compensation for public officials. A study of national ethics and corruption in government by nongovernmental persons was also advocated. In addition, the Journal related the fund stories to Wisconsin politics and demanded that Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin follow Nixon's example and publicly reveal his finances.

The Post-Dispatch criticized Nixon more severely than the Journal did. The Post-Dispatch termed the Nixon fund "a dirty business" and "double compensation" and charged the fund donors with paying Nixon to represent them. Nixon's radio and television broadcast was described as "a carefully contrived soap opera" that brought "in the box tops." The Post-Dispatch charged Nixon with attempting to "hoodwink the public" by defending his fund. Eisenhower too drew the wrath of the Post-Dispatch and was accused of "losing his sense of greatness."

Stevenson, on the other hand, was praised highly by the Post-Dispatch. The paper complimented Stevenson for his restraint in withholding judgment on the Nixon fund and for taking such "a daring initiative" in publicizing his income tax returns.

No attempt was made by the Post-Dispatch to explore the implications of the funds or to suggest ways to halt the use of such funds by other public officials.

In conclusion, two newspapers, the Los Angeles Times and the New York Times, supported Nixon during the thirteen-day period that the editorials were analyzed. The Los Angeles Times praised Nixon highly, but made no mention of the Stevenson fund. The New York Times believed both Nixon and Stevenson had shown poor judgment in accepting private funds but saw no adverse implications of the private funds. The Milwaukee Journal and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, supporters of Stevenson, criticized Nixon for his acceptance of private funds. The Journal made little reference to the Stevenson fund except for a demand that Stevenson make public the names of donors to his fund. The Post-Dispatch praised Stevenson highly and did not criticize him for accepting private funds.

CHAPTER III

COLUMNISTS

Columnists should also be considered in an analysis of newspaper coverage of an event. A study of columnists can give some indication of the type of coverage that a newspaper gave to an event. If a newspaper, for example, used only columnists who favored the Republican party, this would indicate an unwillingness to expose readers to both sides of the major political issues and questions at hand. A paper that drew upon columnists with differing interpretations of an issue would present readers with a more balanced coverage of an event as far as columns are concerned.

In this section, an analysis will be made of the columns, both nationally syndicated and local, that appeared in the Los Angeles Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the New York Times, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch from September 18 through September 30. Only those columns pertaining to political candidates or issues will be considered, with particular emphasis placed on those columns pertaining to the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. No measurement of column inches will be made. Content alone will be considered

in order that the reader might see what columnists appeared and what their interpretation of the issues were.

The Los Angeles Times relied on local and national columnists during this twelve-day period: Kyle Palmer, Bill Henry, local columnists, and Raymond Moley, Holmes Alexander, and Frank R. Kent, national columnists.¹

On Friday, September 19, two columns, both negative in tone toward Stevenson, appeared in the Times. In a column, "A Party's Guilt," Raymond Moley discussed Stevenson's comment that guilt is personal and knows no party. Stevenson's statement had been made in reference to Charles Evans Hughes' famous alibi for the inefficient and unscrupulous men in the Harding administration. "If a party is willing to accept serious trust of filling offices," Moley retorted, "it should be willing to take the blame if its appointees do poorly."

In the other column, "Stevenson's Angelic Host of Socialists," Holmes Alexander criticized the Americans for Democratic Action and described the organization as a group that "promotes socialism." Alexander cited a book by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., The Vital Center, as the ADA's Bible. He then connected Stevenson with this group because of Schlesinger's position on Stevenson's campaign staff.

¹Los Angeles Times, September 18-30, 1952.

On September 21, Kyle Palmer discussed the perplexities of a presidential campaign in his column, "Weather Cools as Campaign Warms." Palmer also analyzed the effect of the Nixon fund on the campaign and stated that "comfort" from the disclosure of Nixon's fund "will now be sought vociferously, sanctimoniously and pharisaically by the Democratic top brass." In Palmer's opinion, however, this political battle would be fought to the end by Nixon, "a fighting Quaker and not a quaking fighter . . . whose integrity is not of the substance to be smirched by political campaign attacks."

On September 22, the Times carried another of Holmes Alexander's columns, "They Want 'Action,'" criticizing the ADA. Alexander again characterized the organization as socialistic, a group "whose political hero of the moment is Adlai Stevenson." "There's no doubt," Alexander said, that "Stevenson reciprocates the esteem in which he is held by ADA." Alexander assured readers there was "no question about ADA's right to back Stevenson . . . or about America's duty to examine with care both the candidate and the program."

In a column, "A Strange Campaign," Raymond Moley described the 1952 campaign "as the strangest of all." Moley believed that both political parties, in nominating Eisenhower and Stevenson, had tried "to escape responsibility for their own records." "Almost anything can

happen," Moley said, "but the most likely is that Taft and Truman rather than the candidates will now become the centers of public interest."

In the column, "By the Way . . . with Bill Henry," on September 24, Henry, writing from Washington, D. C., assessed the attitude of Washington observers toward Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon fund.

Back here in Washington the feeling now is that:
 (1) Eisenhower's reaction has been excellent, personally and politically. . . . (2) The decision to wait and let Nixon himself clear the atmosphere was very smart politically, in addition to being realistic and fair.

Henry also analyzed the attitude of Washington "experts" toward Nixon. "Reports in Washington," Henry said, "indicate that Nixon has carried himself very well under trying circumstances and that audience reaction to his public appearances following the disclosure was sympathetic and encouraging."

Another column, "Anti and Anti-Anti," by Holmes Alexander, appeared in the September 24 edition of the Times. Alexander again discussed Stevenson's affiliation with the ADA and pointed out that most home town Volunteers for Stevenson groups were "organized and launched" by ADA members. "Unless you come from one of the dozen-or-so States where ADA doesn't exist," Alexander said, "it's practically certain that actioneers got the volunteers to rolling, after which the actioneers moved back

among the shadows. . . . This time next year . . . ADA may be the elite guard of the Democratic party."

Another column by Bill Henry, writing from Wheeling, West Virginia, appeared in the Times on September 25. Henry assessed the impact of Nixon's radio and television speech upon the nation and said that Nixon's "soul-searching statement" was successful not only "as his own personal vindication" but also as a reversal of "the whole political trend of things." Henry emphasized the high regard that television "professionals" held for the speech.

Professionals . . . couldn't get over the fact that . . . he had put together an extraordinarily lucid and effective combination of defense, explanation, exposition, appeal and challenge. In short, . . . it was extremely effective politically and, as was pointed out by some of the people who claim to be expert on such subjects, Nixon seemed almost to reach out from the TV screen and seize the heartstrings of the viewers.

Henry also criticized Stevenson for failing to explain "his own mysterious fund" and said that Stevenson's "failure to openly criticize Nixon might have been inspired less by lofty nobility than by the knowledge that he might, himself, have some explaining to do."

In a column, "Stevenson's Design for Government by Unions," on September 27, Raymond Moley summarized Stevenson's speech to the American Federation of Labor. Moley severely criticized Stevenson's "radical convictions" and "his strategy as a campaigner."

To get at the meat of his speeches you must first push through a heavy coating of clever and sweet-sounding phrases, wisecracks and double meanings. Then, carefully embedded in the context, you find propositions that reveal his complete agreement with the boys on the left.

On September 28, in a column, "And Now, Back to the Issues," Kyle Palmer criticized Republicans who questioned the personal integrity of Adlai Stevenson and his political fund. "The Eisenhower-Nixon cause is not assisted" by such comment, Palmer said. "Stevenson . . . privately or publicly . . . measures up to the requirements of a good citizen and an honest public official." Palmer then assessed the campaign and stated that Eisenhower's margin over Stevenson was so slight that no reliable basis was afforded for forecasting the probable outcome of the election.

On September 29, Bill Henry, in his column, discussed the reaction of the reporters to the individual candidates. Henry described the reporters as generally a "pretty unhappy lot" due to the candidates' lack of "personal contact with the reporters" and "the amateurish management of both campaigns." He criticized Eisenhower's aloofness from the reporters and Stevenson's habit of "writing and rewriting his speeches and never giving them (the reporters) any information." Henry concluded, however, that the reporters regarded Stevenson's speeches as "masterpieces of literature and of logic" and that Stevenson was "personally a little more popular."

In a column, "What Republicans May Be Thinking," on September 29, Holmes Alexander criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon case. Alexander described the case as the "going-down point in Ike's reputation as a peerless leader" and Republicans are saying "that Ike's Army career never taught him to stand on his own feet . . . to get them quickly and clearly out of a bad fix." "If the G. O. P. fails," Alexander concluded, "that won't be because the infidels were too strong. It'll be because the Republican leadership proved to be something less than lion-hearted."

The following day in a syndicated column, "You Never Can Tell How Political Events Will Turn," Frank R. Kent praised Nixon for his performance during the furor over his political fund. Kent believed the Nixon disclosure had become "a political asset instead of the devastating liability for the Republican ticket they seemed." "Nixon's remarkably moving speech," Kent said, "eliminated from the minds of the people all questions of his personal integrity. Almost no one who listened to that speech could cherish a doubt of the complete sincerity of the man."

Kent then criticized Stephen A. Mitchell, Stevenson's "handpicked chairman" of the Democratic National Committee, for his "vicious attack" on Nixon. "It is incredible," Kent said, "that Governor Stevenson did not

know what Mr. Mitchell was going to say." While Stevenson did not condemn Nixon, "there is more than a mere suspicion of double talk," Kent said.

That same day, two adjacent columns appeared in the Times; one, "In This Corner," by Walter Lippmann, and the other, "And Over Here," by Raymond Moley. Lippmann criticized Eisenhower for calling on the general public to judge the Nixon case. "The evidence, the law and the moral principles at issue are none of them single or obvious. . . . They have to do with the matters which can be decided only by some sort of judicial process." Lippmann believed Nixon's radio and television speech was "the magnification of modern electronics, simply mob law," and should have included "General Eisenhower's decision, backed up by a full and objective account of the facts and the points of the law and of morals . . . involved."

Moley, in his column, charged Lippmann with describing "his own disturbed state of mind after witnessing Senator Nixon's appeal to the American people." Nixon's speech was not mob law, Moley said, but the attack upon Nixon instead was "a species of mob violence." Moley described the mob that Lippmann had mentioned as a "great a representative of the American people as ever witnessed or heard a broadcast. . . . The American public . . . the ultimate source of sovereignty."

One column pertaining to the campaign and the fund stories was used in the Milwaukee Journal during the period analyzed.² On September 28, a column, "Nixon Case Makes the ADA Target for New G. O. P. Attack," concerned the ADA, by Lawrence Friend of the Journal Washington Bureau. Friend criticized the Republicans for their attacks on ADA, particularly their inclination to blame the organization for the smear of Nixon. "Stevenson himself is not a member of this anti-Communist, liberal organization," Friend said. Furthermore, Friend noted, while ADA members seemed mostly to be Democrats, "ADA has always maintained some links with the Republicans." Friend cited several past officers of ADA who had been Republicans, including one of the organization's founders and its first national director. Friend concluded with a reiteration of ADA's disenchantment with Eisenhower and their belief that "General Eisenhower has apparently turned his back on his own magnificent service of the war and postwar years."

Eleven columns pertaining to the campaign and to the fund stories appeared in the New York Times from September 18 to September 30.³ All were written by members of the Times staff.

²Milwaukee Journal, September 18-30, 1952.

³New York Times, September 18-30, 1952.

On September 21, four columns pertained to the campaign and the political candidates. In a column, "Fund Raised for Nixon Has Boomerang Effect," Arthur Krock discussed the early effects of the disclosure of the Nixon fund on the campaign.

The revelation . . . that Senator Nixon . . . is endowed by private persons out of a continuing fund . . . is a bombshell and a boomerang. It is a bombshell because . . . the arrangement reflects a dull sense of ethics on Nixon's part. . . . It is a boomerang because General Eisenhower and his running mate have been concentrating on the low ethical and moral climate of the Truman administration as a principal reason why there must be a "change."

Krock praised Stevenson, on the other hand, for his withholding of judgment on the Nixon case until all the facts had been presented. Krock added:

Whether the damage to Eisenhower's major campaign strategy is temporary or permanent, small or irreparable, cannot be estimated until the itemized accounting of the fund has been thoroughly inspected, the pressure on Nixon to withdraw has ended one way or the other, and all the attacks and defenses are in the record. But the exposure has hurt Eisenhower and his chances of election.

Cabell Phillips' column, "Issue of 'Corruption' Takes on a New Aspect," also appeared on September 21. Phillips discussed the corruption issue as a main point in the Republican campaign and the effect the "Nixon affair" would have upon this issue. The Republicans have been hammering away at corruption in government, Phillips pointed out, but now that the Nixon fund has been closed, "they are making a dogged fight to neutralize the issue."

And the effect of the Nixon fund on the issue of corruption? "Only time will tell," Phillips concluded. "But the concensus among Democrats . . . was that the Nixon case might very well turn out to be the big break they have been hoping for."

In another column on September 21, "Candidates on Tour: The Appeal," James Reston contrasted the campaigns of Eisenhower and Stevenson. "Everything in the Eisenhower operation is on a larger scale," Reston said. "The general's train is longer; his crowds are bigger and noisier, and so is his bank account." Reston also contrasted the campaign tactics of the two candidates.

Stevenson is the planner and the general the improviser. The Governor takes plenty of chances with his subject matter, his speeches are imaginative, original, often extremely bold, but all these things are planned in advance. . . . The general, on the other hand, relies on . . . the personal touch. His appeal is not to the mind so much as to the heart.

According to Reston, reporters were naturally attracted to Stevenson's "good writing and his sense of humor" and were weary of "General Eisenhower's little pep talks." But the voters were drawn to Eisenhower, Reston said.

They believe him. . . . You see this in their faces which are always friendly and smiling in anticipation before they ever see him. . . . And when he utters the most obvious platitude, they look at that serious face as if they had heard something that ought to be graven in stone and passed on to the third and fourth generation.

Another series of contrasts between Eisenhower and Stevenson were drawn on September 21 by W. H. Lawrence in

his column, "Candidates on Tour: The Contrast." "Governor Stevenson's weapon is the rapier," Lawrence said. "His keen and cutting wit comes quip after quip at Republican expense. . . . General Eisenhower's weapon is more like a blunderbuss. He is on the attack constantly, with little reference to his own positive program. . . ."

Lawrence, like Reston, believed that Eisenhower drew the larger and more responsive crowds. "The crowds 'like Ike' before they have ever seen him," Lawrence said. "It is not impossible . . . that they may like him more before they see him and hear him than they do afterwards." Lawrence did not think highly of Eisenhower's speeches. They "have contributed nothing new to the American political scene," he said, and his messages leave little for the crowds "to ponder over after he has moved on to the next stop."

Like many reporters, Lawrence admired Stevenson's speeches but believed Stevenson was "too literate and too learned for the average crowd that turns out for a political meeting at midday." Stevenson "is anything but glamorous," Lawrence said.

On the stump, he is more of the professorial type. . . . A considerable portion of what the Illinois Governor has to say is so deadly serious that the crowds' response is much more restrained when he talks than it is when General Eisenhower lets fly another round of heavy artillery aimed at the "Truman gang."

On September 23, in a column, "Are Some Democrats Shaking in Their Shoes?," Arthur Krock discussed the low moral climate of American politics, as exemplified by Nixon's fund and the possibility of prominent Democrats accepting the same kind of assistance. Eisenhower has promised to raise the ethical standards of government, Krock said. "But the disclosure about his running mate has, at least temporarily, softened the impact of Eisenhower's attack." The Nixon fund made many voters more aware of the qualifications of the presidential candidates' running mates, Krock said. Even if voters conclude that Nixon merely displayed poor judgment, "many may decide they don't want to take a chance on Nixon becoming President."

Arthur Krock, on September 25, discussed the implications of political funds in a column, "If Political 'Relief Funds' Are To Be a Fixture." Krock dismissed the "emotional wave of great intensity" that Nixon's radio and television broadcast evoked as merely "skillful use of the techniques of the theatre." "Not until this emotional wave has subsided, and the episode is reviewed in an atmosphere of calm appraisal," Krock commented, "can there be any reliable estimate of its effect on the chances of the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket to carry the national election."

Many problems remain unsolved, Krock said. Americans do not want to be represented only by citizens of means. The Congressional payroll, furthermore, does not

take into consideration the differences in state area and population. California and Illinois are vastly more expensive to serve than Vermont and Delaware. "Until the problem comes nearer to being solved," Krock said, a monthly accounting of all officials receiving private financial aid might be the answer. "That would bring the practice into the open," Krock concluded. "And any failure to account would, when disclosed, close the door to a national debate about ethics."

On September 28, four columns concerning the funds appeared in the Times. In a column, "G. O. P. Turns Nixon Case to Its Own Advantage," Arthur Krock discussed the effects of the Nixon fund on the campaign. The Democrats erred by demanding that Eisenhower drop Nixon from the Republican ticket, Krock said, instead of being content "with the public spectacle of Eisenhower in political travail and indecision." The result of this, Krock added, "was to put Nixon in a spotlight where his combative nature and a theatrical technique reminiscent of 'East Lynne' (the sobbingest of the old-fashioned melodrama) enabled him to put on a performance that drenched the soil of the United States with tears."

"But the episode is not ended. . . . For their part, the Democrats are not through with Nixon," Krock said. Krock warned, however, that the Democrats must proceed with caution or the emotional wave of feeling for Nixon

might be renewed. "The Democrats will have to be sure of their ground in further attacks on Nixon," Krock concluded, "or they will be very sorry, indeed."

Cabell Phillips' column, "Many in Congress Have Trouble Living on Pay," also appeared on September 28. In this column, Phillips discussed the financial problems of Congressmen that were highlighted by the Nixon and Stevenson funds. He explored the results of a questionnaire he had sent to members of Congress including congressmen's obligations, income, and budget.

The obligations of a Congressman, Phillips pointed out, included: (1) the necessity of maintaining two homes--one in Washington and one back home, (2) social demands, (3) traveling, (4) political costs--the costs of getting elected and staying in office.

As far as income was concerned, Phillips found that the average Congressman spent each year about \$3,000 more than his Congressional salary provided. Members of Congress bridged this gap in several ways, according to Phillips. "Something over three-fourths of them still have a stake in some sort of business or professional enterprise back home," Phillips said. Others lecture, write magazine articles or appear on paid radio and television programs. The only answer for some, Phillips said, "is just to go a little deeper into debt each year." Phillips concluded with a remedy for the problem.

Most students of the question agree that members of Congress ought to receive salaries of at least \$25,000. . . . Such a salary . . . undoubtedly would attract abler men to public life. It would force those already so engaged from many of the financial vicissitudes that now sap the time and vitality that should be devoted to more important tasks. . . . Congress, however, has skirted the issue with rabbit-like timidity. It fears an unfavorable reaction of public opinion to voting itself more money.

In a column, "Stevenson Camp Counts Nixon Affair An Asset," W. H. Lawrence assessed the feelings of Democrats toward the Nixon fund. According to Lawrence, Democrats felt that General Eisenhower had let "a wonderful opportunity pass by" in his failure to force Nixon off the Republican ticket. Democrats admitted, however, that, for the moment, Nixon "had rescued himself from political oblivion with a very effective, if 'corny' personal report to the nation . . . a tribute to the genius of American advertising agencies." It was the hope of the Democrats, Lawrence said, "that the boom for Senator Nixon would turn out to be highly temporary."

Regarding the Stevenson fund, Democrats believed Stevenson's announcement that he would make public his personal income tax returns for the past ten years "had put him on the offensive in the 'battle of finances.'" Democrats were also pleased with the American Federation of Labor endorsement of Stevenson, the first AFL formal backing of any presidential candidate, Lawrence said. "There was also jubilation," Lawrence pointed out, "over

the reaction of a Virginia audience in particular and the South in general" to a talk by Stevenson in Richmond.

In a column, "Reaction to the Nixon Case Mainly Follows Party Lines," Allan Taylor assessed public opinion of the Nixon fund based on reports from regional Times correspondents. "Much of the immediate reaction was divided along party lines," Taylor said. Taylor, however, qualified this statement with reports from various parts of the nation.

By carrying his case to the people, Senator Nixon won the respect of a large segment of the electorate. Seemingly those who objected to the manner of his presentation were greatly outnumbered by those who sympathized with him and applauded his "courage." This response bolstered the G. O. P. campaign, turned the Nixon affair from a handicap into a possible asset.

As matters stand, Taylor concluded, Democrats "hope the emotional impact of the Nixon affair will be short-lived and have small effect at the ballot box."

Of the four papers analyzed, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch used the greatest number of columns pertaining to the political candidates and the fund stories.⁴ Most of the columns appearing in the Post-Dispatch were nationally syndicated, including those of Eleanor Roosevelt, Samuel Lubell, Drew Pearson, Walter Lippmann, Marquis Childs, Stewart Alsop, and Joseph Alsop.

⁴ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, September 18-30, 1952.

On September 18, four columns in the Post-Dispatch pertained to the political candidates. In a column, "Worries about Ike's Pact with Taft," Marquis Childs discussed the relationship between Eisenhower and Senator Taft. Childs' main question concerned who was running--Eisenhower or Taft.

Thomas L. Stokes, in his September 18 column, "Truman to Answer Eisenhower," analyzed the efforts of Truman to assist Stevenson in the campaign. "The Truman campaigning will be a threat to Eisenhower," Stokes concluded.

In a column, "Eisenhower Tested as Leader of His Party on Tour of Midwest," Doris Fleeson described Eisenhower's campaigning through the Midwest as a supreme test. "He will end it either with his shield or on it," Miss Fleeson said. Miss Fleeson also discussed Eisenhower's recent pact with Taft. "No fault can be found with this as a matter of generosity and practical politics," she said. However, Miss Fleeson warned, Eisenhower might win votes from the Taft people of the Midwest at the risk of alienating other sections of the country.

In a column, "Eisenhower Turning Out To Be Shrewd Investment by G. O. P.," Joseph Alsop discussed "the shrewdness of the Republican investment in Eisenhower." Alsop described Eisenhower as "a nationally advertised product, well known to all" and "held in warm affection by all classes and groups." Americans "are anxious to like

him and to vote for him as a candidate," Alsop said. Alsop described Stevenson's campaign, on the other hand, as being "more successful with live audiences than in the press. His agile barbs do not make good headlines," Alsop said. "Here in the Midwest, people have largely formed their impression of Stevenson from the newspapers. . . ." And Alsop's final conclusion? "The race is far from over," he said, "but at this moment Eisenhower looks to be in the lead."

On September 18, five columns concerning the political candidates appeared in the Post-Dispatch. In a column, "Crowds Look on Eisenhower as Sincere," Miss Fleeson described Eisenhower's campaign in the Midwest as successful. Miss Fleeson appeared surprised by the "astonishing large crowds General Eisenhower has been consistently drawing on his Midwest tour." She then discussed Stevenson's campaign and cited Stevenson's greatest drawback as the fact that he was "almost unknown compared to the Allied commander."

In Drew Pearson's "Washington Merry-Go-Round," this columnist analyzed certain statistics pertaining to the campaign. According to a G. O. P. survey, Pearson said, in twelve key states, 1 or 2 per cent shift of the vote could swing the election to either the Democrats or the Republicans. "In these states, there are forty-nine

strongly Democratic areas," Pearson said. "If these can be shifted, the victory will be Ike's."

Walter Lippmann, in a column, "The Korean War and the Campaign," criticized both Eisenhower and Stevenson for avoiding the issue of the Korean War in their campaign speeches. "Both parties were involved in every mistake dealing with the war," Lippmann said. "Neither are really discussing the war."

In Eleanor Roosevelt's column, "My Day," Mrs. Roosevelt expressed her opinion concerning the presidential candidates, the Democratic party, with Stevenson remaining her choice for the election. "I grow more enthusiastic about Governor Stevenson each day," she said.

Two political columns appeared on September 21, both written by Post-Dispatch columnists Donald Grant and Richard L. Neuberger. In Grant's column, "Stevenson Humor," Stevenson's sense of humor was compared to that of Abraham Lincoln. "During the last week Adlai Stevenson's sense of humor has become an issue in the campaign," Grant said. "Whether the Stevenson wit turns out to be a political asset or a liability cannot be known until November 4; meanwhile . . . Adlai-isms . . . threaten to become a part of the American language." Grant then turned to the first Republican President and showed how Stevenson's humor was similar to Lincoln's. What these two men have in common, Grant said, "is an irresistible urge to laugh, and to

make others laugh--and the criticism leveled at Stevenson now is startlingly similar to the things said of Lincoln just about 90 years ago."

An Oregon Republican supporting Stevenson was the topic of Richard L. Neuberger's column, "Why Oregon Young Republican Jumped Off General Eisenhower's Bandwagon--For Stevenson." Steven William Anderson, an Oregon lawyer, had been a Young Republican state chairman in Oregon and a vice president of the Young Republicans. Anderson resigned from these positions, Neuberger said, because of "Adlai E. Stevenson's refusal to banter for the support of Governor Shiver's of Texas on the issue of tideland oil." Neuberger described Anderson as saying that "this courageous position of Governor Stevenson's seemed in such contrast to the way General Eisenhower has been surrendering to all sorts of pressures that I made up my mind then and there to vote for Stevenson on November 4." Anderson believes, Neuberger said, "that Adlai Stevenson is 'the finest man nominated for President by any party since Abraham Lincoln.'"

Five columns concerning the campaign appeared in the Post-Dispatch on September 22. In a column, "The People Urged to Think," Marquis Childs discussed the presidential candidates as he traveled with Stevenson's campaign group. Eisenhower's advantage, Childs said, is the "built-in reception and response that automatically are accorded" him. Stevenson, however, makes people think,

Childs pointed out. Regardless of Eisenhower's advantage, "there will be a determined individual striving with a curious stubbornness to say what he believes and to say it in his own way."

In a column, "Well Supplied with Jokes," Thomas Stokes presented a favorable discussion of Stevenson's humor.

Stewart Alsop discussed Stevenson's campaign strategy in a column, "Roles Reversed by Stevenson's Clever Tactics." According to Alsop, the Stevenson campaign strategy "reflects certain outstanding characteristics of the Illinois Governor: Intelligence, political boldness, and perhaps most notably, tough-minded and even rather wily calculations." Even though Stevenson suffers from anonymity, Alsop said, "his reputation as a humorist is . . . beginning to draw the crowds." Eisenhower's reputation as a world leader has always been his greatest asset, but now "Stevenson, the little known politician, is somehow managing to sound like a great world leader, while Eisenhower, the authentic great world leader, is often made to sound like a politician. . . . Stevenson's original campaign formula . . . seems . . . something which Eisenhower and his campaign managers should reckon with seriously."

In a column, "Truman, Taft Tactics Risky for Nominees," Doris Fleeson discussed the entrance into the

campaign of Truman and Taft, "two impulsive, bullheaded men who are not the candidates for President this year." According to Miss Fleeson, "the situation is fraught with interest." While both Taft and Truman are "talking sound politics," their campaigning will effect some hazards. "The hazards would be greatly lessened," Miss Fleeson commented, "if Gov. Stevenson were better known and if Gen. Eisenhower had been able to stamp his own clear brand on his campaign."

Samuel Lubell revealed the findings of his "intensive grassroots survey" of voter opinion in a column, "Fairly Strong Shift to Eisenhower of Former Truman and Roosevelt Voters Reported in Most of U. S." In the farm belt, Lubell pointed out, the trend is away from the Democrats, while in the cities this trend is weaker. "Most of these defections," Lubell said, "are being caused by resentment against the draft, the Korean War and inflation--rising living costs, higher taxes and 'too much spending.'" According to Lubell, the strongest Democratic asset "is the haunting memory of the last depression. If Gen. Eisenhower is defeated, it will be by this dread of a possible return to 'them Hoover times.'" Lubell's general conclusions were:

Neither candidate is setting the voter on fire. . . . Eisenhower's personality is winning over fair members of Democrats, more women than men, but the "I like Ike" enthusiasm runs smack up against two main obstacles--the fear that "a military man" in the White

House may increase the risks of war and the alarm, even among those who want some change, that too abrupt a halt in government spending might throw the economy into a tailspin. . . . Even among Democratic voters, the prevailing temper is markedly conservative.

Three columns concerning the political candidates appeared in the Post-Dispatch on September 23. Samuel Lubell presented more of his survey results in a column, "Draft, Rising Prices and Taxes Appear to Shake Allegiance of Long-Time Democratic Voters." According to Lubell, the issues of the draft and the rise in prices and taxes "are breaking the party allegiance of even persons who have never voted for a Republican President before." After interviewing American workers, Lubell found some were shifting their vote to the Republicans. While the "overwhelming bulk of workers are sticking with the Democrats," Lubell said, "the Democratic solidarity on economic lines is weaker today than four years ago."

Doris Fleeson discussed the difficulties of predicting the outcome of the presidential election in her column, "Polls as Risky as in '48 Race, Experts Wary." Miss Fleeson described the experts as being "in a mood for unwanted humility." Some of the difficulties involved in presidential predictions were cited in the column. Due to the television, Miss Fleeson said, "even the most active reporters never see a large part of the Eisenhower-Stevenson audiences. . . . Another difficulty for the experts is the growing bloc of independent voters."

Miss Fleeson also believed the hesitancy of voters to express their opinions publicly constituted a problem. "People are more reluctant than heretofore," she said, "to say how they will vote."

Drew Pearson, in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, discussed a number of items related to the Republican campaign. Pearson first described the Nixon fund as taking "most of the campaign wind out of Ike's sails." He also mentioned the large numbers of Republicans who were "flocking aboard the train . . . to ride with Ike." When a candidate's coattail riders increase," Pearson said, that is "a sure sign that a candidate is ringing the bell." Pearson then discussed the absence of some key Republicans from Eisenhower's campaign. "Strangely absent from the Eisenhower train are some of his original boosters," Pearson said.

Six columns concerning the candidates appeared in the Post-Dispatch on September 24. In a column, "G. O. P. Hunt with Delay in Nixon Affair," Stewart Alsop criticized Republicans for their handling of the Nixon fund. Nixon was the "first and worst offender," Alsop said. "Instead of responding calmly and factually to the first published reports of the fund, Nixon began shouting that he had been 'smeared' by 'crooks and Communists.'" According to Alsop, this helped "to put the whole story on page one, and keep it there." Alsop also criticized Eisenhower for his

indecision and his inability to either call for Nixon's resignation or defend him "flatly and unequivocally."

In Samuel Lubell's column, "Drafting Youths for Korean War Reacting Hard against Democrats," the issue of the draft was discussed. Lubell said:

Of all the current election issues, the one that stirs the harshest expressions of anger against the Administration is the drafting of youngsters for the Korean War. It is causing more of a defection among traditional Democratic voters than any other issue, except inflation. Certainly, it is causing deeper emotional anguish among voters than any other campaign factor.

According to Lubell, the November 4 choice for many voters seemed to be between war or depression, the last two wars having been fought under Democratic presidents, and the depression being linked with the Republicans. Eisenhower's nomination has also "sharpened the political anguish of families with drafted sons," Lubell pointed out. These persons fear a military man in the White House, he said. "As a result, sizable numbers of Democrats who were ready to swing Republican, now feel frustrated, torn between anger against the Administration and fear of a 'military man' in the White House."

In a column, "How Nixon Got No. 2 Spot on G. O. P. Ticket," Drew Pearson discussed the selection of Nixon as the Republican vice presidential candidate. "The story," Pearson said, "is one of an astute and opportunistic young man plus the hit-and-miss habits of a political convention in picking its candidates, especially the Vice President."

According to Pearson, Nixon knew Paul Hoffman, a Californian who became president of Studebaker and headed the Marshall Plan. Hoffman then became one of three top advisors to General Eisenhower. As head of the Citizens for Eisenhower Committee, Hoffman was concerned about how "to wean the powerful California delegation away from Gov. Warren and over to Ike." Senator Nixon agreed to help Hoffman, and, as a result, won the vice presidential nomination, according to Pearson.

The selection of vice presidential candidates was discussed by Thomas L. Stokes in his column, "How Vice Presidents Are Chosen." According to Stokes, the process is haphazard. Delegates are called to the convention hall to ratify the choice of the party bosses. "Customarily, the delegates, like sheep, accept the decision," Stokes said, "and ratify it, usually in a weary anti-climax." According to Stokes, vice presidential candidates are selected for various reasons.

In the case of Senator Nixon, Stokes said, Nixon was selected "to symbolize and dramatize an issue. . . . A factor in his nomination was to emphasize the party's anti-Communism crusade through his part in the Alger Hiss conviction. He also happened to be from a big key state." In conclusion, Stokes pointed out that "the usual haphazard, after-thought way of picking vice presidential candidates . . . hardly can be the proper way to choose the man who may become President." Stokes also criticized the selection of Nixon and said that previously the selection of the

Republican and Democratic vice presidential candidates had gone "to an older man than Senator Nixon and, with but few exceptions, to one of much greater political experience."

A discussion of the Nixon case appeared in Marquis Childs' column, "Why Ike Finds It Hard to Decide." According to Childs, Eisenhower's political advisors accompanying him on his campaign tour have many different viewpoints concerning how the Nixon case should be handled. In addition, Childs said, "they are of limited usefulness in supplying what Eisenhower needs most--information on which he can rely about how the campaign is going, what people are thinking and how they are reacting." Also, Eisenhower's military experience did not prepare him for politics, Childs believed. "All this is so different" from the military chain of command, he said. "The rules are written down in a book. If you violate them, you pay the penalty without any ands, ifs, or buts; that is, you do if you get caught in public." As a result, Childs concluded, "a great many people are beginning to feel deep sympathy for Eisenhower, caught in the center of a division which he could not possibly have anticipated from the remoteness of his NATO assignment in Paris."

Eleanor Roosevelt in the column, "My Day," presented her opinion concerning Nixon's acceptance of private funds. According to Mrs. Roosevelt, Nixon's itemizing his personal expenditures and resources was a mistake and was "not proper."

The Nixon fund, she said, "points up . . . the need that we must pay higher salaries" to men in state and federal positions. This suggestion "is the only one . . . that would make it more possible for a man in public life to carry on his work efficiently and feel utterly free to any outside pressures," she said.

On September 25, two columns appeared in the Post-Dispatch, one concerning the Nixon fund, and the other, Stevenson's campaign. In a column, "Mob Law in the Nixon Affair," Walter Lippmann said he believed watching Nixon fight for his political life was participation in mob law. This same column appeared in the Los Angeles Times on September 30.

Thomas L. Stokes discussed the campaign techniques of Stevenson in his column, "Stevenson Winning by Radio." According to Stokes, Stevenson's skillful use of the media--radio, television, and newspapers--had caught on with the voters. Voters "have found out," Stokes said, "that he is a topranking performer on radio and television, with a style all his own, and unique for a politician. Beyond that, his speeches are just as entertaining to read." As a result, Stokes pointed out, interest in Stevenson has developed in the nation's homes. "Maybe there is a 'silent war' in the living rooms that pollsters overlook," he concluded.

On September 26, four columns concerning the candidates appeared in the Post-Dispatch. Stewart Alsop discussed Stevenson's intellectual appeal in a column, "Stevenson Intellectual Campaign Raises Doubts among His Aids, in Light of Nixon's Performance." "The Stevenson campaign," Alsop said, "quite aside from the merits of the issues, is obviously the most intellectual and literate of any waged since the days of Woodrow Wilson. This raises the question: Is intellect good politics?" According to Alsop, Democrats were concerned about the number of people that "would vote for such an obvious 'egg-head' as Stevenson." This anxiety was increased by Nixon's national radio and television broadcast, "hardly complimentary to the intelligence of his audience," but "a brilliant performance of its kind." Democrats were also worried by the large affectionate crowds that greeted Eisenhower, Alsop said.

In a column, "Eisenhower Getting Inept Staff Work," Doris Fleeson criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon fund case. "The Eisenhower party was slow to grasp the Nixon situation and get on top of it," she said. "An opportunity for boldness was missed altogether." Eisenhower blamed poor staff work for problems such as this, Miss Fleeson said. "Certainly he seems to lack geniuses. . . . But it is only his own lack of political intuition that the public will notice."

Drew Pearson, in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, also discussed the way Eisenhower handled the Nixon case. "General Eisenhower's period of indecision regarding his vice presidential running-mate," Pearson said, "was due largely to the fact that he was torn between a cross-fire of advice from two groups of backers." According to Pearson, the professional politicians urged Eisenhower to keep Nixon on the ticket, while amateurs and Milton Eisenhower, the general's brother, were in favor of dropping Nixon.

In a column, "Nixon Paid to Sell 'Free Enterprise,'" Thomas L. Stokes analyzed Nixon's radio and television broadcast and its effect on the campaign. "The bizarre sideshow over Dick Nixon's \$18,000 expense account . . . ," Stokes said, "was the zaniest melodrama put on by a politician since William Jennings Bryan, back in the middle twenties, prosecuted a callow Tennessee mountain high school teacher for telling his pupils that man ascended--or descended--from a monkey." Stokes believed that Nixon, "assuming the roles of producer, director and principal actor" and outdoing "Hollywood with a modern Horatio Alger saga," temporarily turned a political liability into an asset. However, Stokes said, while "Senator Nixon has bared his breast, he still . . . is left . . . with the same facts that provoked him to explain."

On September 27, two columns pertaining to the candidates appeared in the Post-Dispatch. In a column, "Reaction to Nixon Case Indicates He Will Both Hurt and Help Party," Samuel Lubell analyzed the effect of the Nixon fund on voters. According to Lubell, the voters reactions had been mixed and relatively mild. However, Lubell said, Nixon still constitutes a strong symbol in the conflict over McCarthyism. "Vehement expression of both praise and condemnation of Nixon for his past," Lubell pointed out, has been expressed "in what might be labeled the 'McCarthyism versus Communism' controversy."

In Eleanor Roosevelt's "My Day" column, Mrs. Roosevelt characterized funds, such as those used by Nixon and Stevenson, as wrong. She did not believe the mistake could be rectified by accusing either political party of dishonesty. The fact must be faced, she said, "that we do not pay sufficiently large salaries in state and federal government positions to attract the kind of men who are needed to do the job well."

On September 28, two columns, both concerning Nixon, appeared in the Post-Dispatch. In a column, "How Lightning Struck Nixon," Herbert A. Trask described the way Nixon had been selected as the Republican vice presidential candidate. "The Eisenhower leaders followed the same haphazard system" Trask said, "by which the major parties traditionally

select their candidates. . . . No attention was given to the possibility that the man they picked might some day be called on to take over the full powers and responsibilities of the presidency."

A discussion of Nixon's radio and television broadcast was presented by James A. Kearns, Jr., in a column, "Soap Opera Veterans Called in to Produce 'Nixon Show' on TV--Emotional Appeal Calculated." Kearns pointed out that "the spectacle" had been "stage-managed by Hollywood soap opera experts" and had included a director, props, assistants, and a producer. Kearns also cited the following advertising appeals that were a part of Nixon's speech: love of pets, mother love, Horatio Alger, fear of communism, friend of the working girl, struggle against adversity, flattery, dishpan hands, patriotism, stiff upper lip, and undaunted crusader.

On September 29, four columns appeared in the Post-Dispatch. Roscoe Drummond discussed Eisenhower's campaign techniques in a column, "Eisenhower Is Using Plain Talk, Plus Bounce and Gusto to Win Crowds that Gather at Train." According to Drummond, Eisenhower "employs none of the arts of oratory and most of the arts of plain speech, infectious friendliness, and a sincerity which seems to rise above the copybook maxims and platitudes which would sound hollow from most anyone else." Eisenhower often addresses himself to youth, Drummond said. "He speaks to youth as

father to son; he speaks to women as to men; he speaks to voters as if they were his nextdoor neighbors."

In a column, "Propriety Issue in Nixon Not Passed On," Doris Fleeson discussed the need for Eisenhower and the G. O. P. campaign experts "to rechart their course." The emotional appeal used by Nixon and Eisenhower "would not attract the independent vote," Miss Fleeson believed. In addition, "the American people have not passed on the propriety or impropriety" of the Nixon and Stevenson funds. "Eisenhower would do well to be prudent," she concluded.

Marquis Childs discussed the effects of the Nixon fund on the campaign in a column, "What Nixon Did Not Explain." Childs described Nixon's radio and television broadcast as "a production in every sense of that word. He put into it all the devices of dramatic appeal. . . . As the center of this drama, Nixon was a star performer." Childs, however, believed Nixon passed over many points that had been raised by critics.

In a column, "The Old Guard Takes Over with Nixon," Thomas L. Stokes criticized the emotionalism of the Republican campaign. Stokes described the Republican issues as "the Korean war, communism, and corruption . . . exploited skillfully in gory and ghastly and fear-curdling strokes to divert attention from other issues." It might be well for Eisenhower to change his tactics, Stokes concluded, and "to discuss the issues which thus far he had

done very skimpily, relying mostly on the 'whistle-stop' emotional appeal as contrasted with detailed and specific discussion by Gov. Adlai Stevenson of virtually every major issue already."

The columnists whose articles appeared in the Los Angeles Times concentrated primarily on the positive aspects of the Republican party and the negative qualities of the Democratic party. Many of these columns were written by local columnists, and they seemed to represent the Times editorial support of Eisenhower and Nixon. Both these Republican candidates were described in highly complimentary language in most of the columns.

Kyle Palmer, on September 21, for example, described Nixon as "a fighting Quaker and not a quaking fighter," a play on words that could not be considered of the highest literary merit. Palmer did, however, on September 28, criticize Republicans who had questioned the integrity of Stevenson and his use of a political fund.

Bill Henry's attitude toward Eisenhower and Nixon was always positive during the period analyzed. On September 24, he described Eisenhower as "a man of judgment and loyalty;" the following day, he assessed Nixon's radio and television speech as "a soul-searching statement" that seized "the heartstrings of the viewers." Henry, on September 29, discussed "the amateurish management of both

campaigns" but concluded that Stevenson was "personally a little more popular" with the reporters.

For three days, Holmes Alexander discussed the ADA and Stevenson's connection with the group. Each column was similar and concerned primarily the socialistic leanings of the organization. Alexander also criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon case in a column on September 29. He believed the case represented "the going-down point in Eisenhower's reputation as a peerless leader."

Raymond Moley also expressed a negative attitude toward Stevenson in two Times columns. On September 19, Moley criticized Stevenson's comment that guilt is personal and knows no party. A criticism of Stevenson's campaign strategy appeared on September 27. Moley described Stevenson's speeches as having "a heavy coating of clever and sweet-sounding phrases, wisecracks and double meanings." On September 22, Moley criticized both parties for nominating Eisenhower and Stevenson, in an effort, Moley believed, "to escape responsibility for their own records."

Only one attempt was made to balance contrasting opinions of columnists in the Times. On September 30, two adjacent columns appeared; one, by Walter Lippmann, the other, by Raymond Moley. Lippmann criticized Nixon for utilizing "mob law" techniques in his radio and television broadcast, while Moley charged Lippmann with describing "his own disturbed state of mind."

Thus, the majority of comment in the Times columns centered on praise of the Republicans. The columnists seemed to quickly arrive at conclusions and to concentrate on descriptions of the personal qualities of Eisenhower, Stevenson, and Nixon. No attempt was made by any of the columnists to describe the feelings of voters or to delve into the issues of the campaign. In reference to the fund stories, only personal opinion of the fund, Nixon's speech, and Eisenhower's handling of the case were expressed. None of the columnists discussed the backgrounds of the funds or proposed solutions to the problems.

In the New York Times, on the other hand, most of the columnists attempted to analyze the issues, their effect on the campaign, and the feelings of voters toward the candidates and issues. The columnists were hesitant to arrive at sweeping generalizations and conclusions.

On September 21, for example, Arthur Krock described the Nixon fund as "a bombshell and a boomerang" and Nixon's acceptance of the private funds as a reflection of "a dull sense of ethics." Krock believed the revelation of the fund had hurt Eisenhower's campaign but would not conclusively estimate the effect of the fund until it had been thoroughly analyzed.

That same day, Cabell Phillips arrived at a similar conclusion. While Democrats hope the fund might be "the

big break they have been hoping for," Phillips said, "only time will tell."

On September 23, Krock discussed the low moral climate of American politics as demonstrated by the Nixon fund. The fund has made voters more aware of the qualifications of the vice presidential candidates, Krock concluded. The next day he discussed the emotional wave that followed Nixon's radio and television speech. Again he was hesitant to draw any immediate conclusions concerning the effect of the speech on the campaign. No reliable estimate can be made, he said, "until this emotional wave has subsided, and the episode is reviewed in an atmosphere of calm appraisal." Krock also proposed that a monthly accounting be required of all officials receiving private financial aid in order to alleviate some of the debate over political ethics.

On September 28, Krock discussed the Democratic demand that Nixon be dropped from the Republican ticket. Krock believed this had been a mistake, putting Nixon in the spotlight and enabling him "to put on a performance that drenched the soil of the United States with tears." Krock warned Democrats that the emotional feeling for Nixon could be renewed if they did not proceed with caution.

Efforts were made by some of the Times columnists to survey the opinions and feelings of Americans concerning the fund issues. Cabell Phillips, for example, had sent

a questionnaire to Congressmen regarding their obligations, income, and budget. Phillips revealed the findings of this survey in a column on September 28.

In the same issue of the Times, Allan Taylor assessed public opinion of the Nixon fund. His discussion, based on reports from regional Times correspondents, revealed that much of the immediate reaction had been divided along party lines.

Many contrasts between the campaign tactics of Eisenhower and Stevenson were drawn by the columnists, with an attraction existing on their part for Stevenson's original and erudite oratory.

James Reston, on September 21, said, "Everything in the Eisenhower operation is on a larger scale." He then compared Stevenson and Eisenhower's speeches, concluding that Stevenson appealed to the mind while Eisenhower relied on a personal appeal. The voters are drawn to Eisenhower, Reston said. Reporters, however, he wrote, are attracted to Stevenson's erudite presentations and are wary of Eisenhower's "pep talks."

W. H. Lawrence agreed with Reston on September 21. He too did not think highly of Eisenhower's speeches, although he admitted Eisenhower drew the largest crowds. Eisenhower's messages leave little for the crowds "to ponder over," he said, while Stevenson's speeches are comprised of "keen and cutting wit." Lawrence feared, however, that

Stevenson was "too literate and too learned for the average crowd."

In general, the political columns that appeared in the New York Times were in sharp contrast to those that appeared in the Los Angeles Times. Little or no analysis appeared in the Los Angeles Times columns. Only the personal opinion of the columnists was presented, with an emphasis on the personal qualities of the candidates. The New York Times columnists, on the other hand, always more analytical, presented many analyses of campaign issues, strategies of candidates, and opinions of the voters. While personal opinion constituted a part of the columns, each columnist was hesitant to draw sweeping conclusions. Most conclusions were qualified by particular issues and situations that needed to be more fully analyzed before generalizations could be made.

The columns that appeared in the Post-Dispatch encompassed a wide array of material, ranging from personal description, like that in the Los Angeles Times, to analytical selections as found in the New York Times.

A number of columnists presented their opinion of the qualities of the political candidates, using descriptive language similar to that of the Los Angeles Times columnists. Unlike the Los Angeles Times columns, however, the material in the Post-Dispatch columns was largely pro-Stevenson and anti-Eisenhower. Of the four papers analyzed,

the Post-Dispatch columns contained the most material concerning Stevenson.

On September 19, Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, praised Stevenson and expressed her growing enthusiasm for him.

Donald Grant, on September 21, compared Stevenson's humor to that of Abraham Lincoln. What these two men have in common, Grant said, "is an irresistible urge to laugh, and to make others laugh." He believed "Adlai-isms" would become a part of the American language, but he hesitated to state whether Stevenson's humor constituted as asset or a liability.

That same day, Richard L. Neuberger discussed the decision of a prominent Oregon Republican, Steven Anderson, to support Stevenson. "Anderson believes," Neuberger said, "that Adlai Stevenson is 'the finest man nominated for President by any party since Abraham Lincoln.'"

Stewart Alsop, on September 22, discussed what he believed to be "the outstanding characteristics of Stevenson: Intelligence, political boldness . . . tough-minded and even rather wily calculations." Alsop also praised Stevenson's humor and said Stevenson's reputation as a humorist was beginning to draw the crowds.

Drew Pearson, on September 23, discussed the large number of Republicans who were flocking aboard the Eisenhower train. Pearson believed this was a sure sign that Eisenhower's campaign was gaining momentum.

On September 25, two columns appeared, one anti-Nixon and the other, pro-Stevenson. Walter Lippmann criticized Nixon's radio and television speech, and Thomas L. Stokes praised Stevenson for his skillful use of the media.

Many columnists criticized Nixon and Eisenhower's handling of the fund case. Stewart Alsop, on September 24, criticized Nixon for saying that he had been smeared by crooks and Communists. He also criticized Eisenhower for his indecision regarding the fund case.

Three columnists criticized the Republican selection of Nixon as the vice presidential candidate. On September 24, Drew Pearson and Thomas L. Stokes discussed the motivation behind Nixon's nomination. Both believed a more qualified man should have been selected. On September 28, Herbert A. Trask described "the haphazard system" that was used to select Nixon. No attention was given to the possibility that Nixon "might some day be called on to take over . . . the presidency," Trask said.

Other criticisms of the Republicans also appeared in the Post-Dispatch columns. Doris Fleeson and Drew Pearson, on September 26, criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon case. Both believed Eisenhower had displayed a lack of political intuition and insight.

Columnists also criticized Nixon's radio and television speech. Thomas L. Stokes, on September 26, called the presentation a "bizarre sideshow" and a "zany melodrama."

James A. Kearns, on September 28, described the broadcast as a "spectacle . . . stage-managed by Hollywood soap opera experts." The following day, Marquis Childs characterized the broadcast as "a production in every sense of the word" with Nixon as the "star performer."

As in the New York Times, some of the Post-Dispatch columnists contrasted the campaign tactics of Eisenhower and Stevenson. Joseph Alsop, on September 18, described Eisenhower as being "held in warm affection by all classes and groups." Stevenson, he said, was "more successful with live audiences than in the press. His agile barbs do not make good headlines."

The next day, Doris Fleeson described the large crowds Eisenhower had been drawing in the Midwest. She believed Stevenson, on the other hand, was "almost unknown compared to the Allied commander."

Marquis Childs, on September 22, described Eisenhower's "built-in reception and response" automatically according him. While this response did not occur for Stevenson, Childs said, he made people think.

On September 26, Stewart Alsop contrasted Stevenson's intellectual appeal with Eisenhower's personal appeal. Alsop was impressed with Stevenson's highly literate speeches but was worried by the large crowds attracted to "Eisenhower's little whistle-stop homilies."

On September 29, Thomas L. Stokes criticized Eisenhower for avoiding the campaign issues and for "relying mostly on the 'whistle-stop' emotional appeal." Stokes contrasted this approach with Stevenson's "detailed and specific presentation . . . of virtually every major issue."

Analyses of campaign issues and voter opinion also appeared in the Post-Dispatch columns. Thomas L. Stokes, for example, on September 18, analyzed the entrance of Truman in the campaign. The same day, Doris Fleeson discussed the effect on the campaign on Eisenhower's pact with Taft. On September 22, she pursued the same topic, with the inclusion of Truman's effect on the campaign.

On September 19, Drew Pearson analyzed voting statistics in twelve key states and predicted a 1 or 2 per cent shift of the vote in these states could determine the outcome of the election.

Samuel Lubell, in four Post-Dispatch columns, discussed political surveys he had made and explored the opinions of voters on a number of topics. He discussed gains made by the candidates in certain areas of the country, voter reactions to specific campaign issues, voter opinion of the candidates, and the effect of the Nixon fund on the voting public.

Eleanor Roosevelt was the only columnist to propose a solution to the problem of public officials' acceptance of private financial aid. She believed higher salaries

was the only answer to the problem and constituted the only way that public officials could work efficiently and be freed from outside pressures.

Thus, a variety of material was presented in the Post-Dispatch columns. While some analysis was included, more than in the Los Angeles Times, it did not equal the quality and depth of the New York Times columns. Much subject matter paralleled that of the Los Angeles Times, with descriptive personal opinion of the political candidates being expressed.

It is difficult to include the Milwaukee Journal in this analysis, for only one column concerning the campaign appeared in the paper during the period analyzed. Laurence Friend, in the column, criticized Republicans for their attacks on the ADA. Friend noted that while ADA members were usually Democrats, links had always been maintained with Republicans.

The Journal rarely uses columns and never uses syndicated material. Most of the paper's political copy consists of interpretative features, news stories, and editorials. As a result, discussion of the fund stories appeared in these sections of the Journal rather than in regular columns that were used by the other three newspapers analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photographic coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories must be analyzed in a study such as this. Statistical evidence constitutes a part of this photographic analysis, as can be seen by Table 3. Photographs appearing in the New York Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and the Los Angeles Times have been divided into two categories: those pertaining to the Nixon fund, and those pertaining to the Stevenson fund.

Each of these classifications has been further divided into three categories: Republican, Democratic, and Neutral. Under the Nixon fund category, for example, a photograph concerning the Nixon fund classified as Democratic would be one that pictured a Democrat referring to Nixon's fund. A Nixon fund photograph placed under the Republican category would picture Republicans in connection with the Nixon fund. The neutral classification would include those photographs that do not originate with either party.

This classification also holds true for the Stevenson fund photographs. Thus, a Stevenson fund photograph

Table 3.--Photographs.

		New York Times		Los Angeles Times		Milwaukee Journal		St. Louis Post-Dispatch	
		Page one	Inside	Page one	Inside	Page one	Inside	Page one	Inside
R	No. Size	3	5	3	19	1	9	6	5
		40.00	65.75	72.00	439.25	16.50	83.00	80.25	79.75
D	No. Size	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	22.50	0	0
N	No. Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Nixon Fund	No. Size	8	22			12		11	
		105.75	511.25			122		160	
D*	No. Size	0	2	0	10	0	1	2	5
		0	5.25	0	51.00	0	18.00	24.50	15.00
R*	No. Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N*	No. Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Stev. Fund	No. Size	2	10			1		7	
		5.25	51.00			18.00		39.50	
Fund	No. Size	10	32			13		18	
Totals		111.00	562.25			140.00		199.50	

all figures in the size category represent total column inches.

classified as Republican, for example, would picture a Republican commenting on the Stevenson fund.

While no table appears for the cutlines, the number and classification of the cutlines corresponds with the photographs. Table 3 indicates, for example, that the New York Times used eight Nixon fund photographs all classified as Republican and two Stevenson fund photographs classified as Democratic. These same figures hold true for the cutlines. Thus, eight Nixon fund cutlines from a Republican source and two Stevenson fund cutlines from a Democratic source appeared in the Times.

The appearance of cartoons will also be cited in the discussion, although cartoons are not included in Table 3.

As can be seen by Table 3, the Los Angeles Times used the most photographic space for the fund stories. thirty-two pictures occupying 562.25 column inches.¹ Twenty-two of these pictures pertained to the Nixon fund, 511.25 column inches, and ten to the Stevenson fund, 51 column inches. Three Nixon photographs, 72 column inches, appeared on page one of the Times.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch used 199.50 column inches for the funds, with a total of eighteen photographs. One hundred and sixty column inches, or eleven pictures, pertained to the Nixon fund, and 39.50 column inches, or seven photographs, pertained to the Stevenson fund.²

¹Los Angeles Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952.

²St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 18-30, 1952.

Six of the Nixon photographs, 80.25 column inches, appeared on the front page.

In the Milwaukee Journal, thirteen photographs with a total of 140 column inches, were used for the fund stories.³ Twelve of these, 122 column inches, concerned the Nixon fund, and one photograph, 18 column inches, pertained to Stevenson. The Stevenson photograph did not appear on page one; one Nixon photograph, 16.50 column inches, was used on the front page.

Ten photographs pertaining to the funds appeared in the New York Times, occupying 111 column inches.⁴ Eight of these pertained to the Nixon fund with 106 column inches, and two, 5.25 column inches, to the Stevenson fund. Three photographs, 40 column inches, concerning the Nixon fund appeared on page one of the Times.

Table 3 shows that the Nixon fund received more photographic coverage than the Stevenson fund in all four of the newspapers analyzed. Statistically, this would seem to indicate some bias on the part of these papers. One must remember, however, that the Nixon fund events generated greater public interest than the Stevenson fund events. Because of the action and drama involved in the Nixon fund, this fund became more newsworthy photographically.

³ Milwaukee Journal, September 18-30, 1952.

⁴ New York Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952.

Nixon's national radio and television broadcast and his subsequent vindication by Eisenhower added drama to the Nixon fund. Stevenson's fund was not accompanied by such drama. In addition, the disclosure of Stevenson's fund after Nixon's gave the Stevenson fund an anti-climactic note and gave the Nixon fund increased importance and interest in the eyes of the public.

While photographic coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson funds in terms of percentages of total fund photographs varied, with some papers being more balanced than others, statistical evidence should not be considered of great significance. Because of the diverse circumstances and events connected with the two funds, one cannot expect an equal number of photographs on the funds in each newspaper. Conclusions regarding objectivity, however, can be drawn from the types of photographs used and from the manner in which the cutlines were written.

The twenty-two Nixon fund photographs that appeared in the Los Angeles Times were primarily action shots that did not express concern or anxiety among the Republicans pictured. The September 21 issue of the Times, for example, carried a Times photograph on page twenty-one that showed the smiling face of a hospitalized young veteran in his twenties, with a \$100 check to be sent to Nixon.

On September 24, a front page Times photograph, 3 columns by 8 inches, showed Nixon and his wife on television,

with a look of determination on the face of the vice presidential candidate. Page three contained four Nixon fund photographs. These included Nixon emphasizing a point in his speech, Eisenhower and Mamie waiting for Nixon's speech by their television set, Nixon on top of a car talking to crowds, and Los Angeles Western Union operators swamped by messages for Nixon.

On September 25, a 4 column by 8 inch photograph on page one showed Eisenhower and Nixon waving to a crowd from a plane in Wheeling, West Virginia. A page two photograph pictured the directors of the California State Apartment Conference, with arms waving in support of Nixon.

Five photographs on page three also concerned Nixon fund events. Two photographs from Wheeling, West Virginia, showed Nixon weeping on Senator William F. Knowland's shoulder, and Eisenhower and Nixon conversing in a car. The other photographs included Wayne Hood, G. O. P. National Committeeman, hidden behind mounds of Nixon telegrams; Mamie Eisenhower and Pat Nixon listening to Eisenhower's vindication of Nixon; and Nixon's children playing with their dog Checkers.

The ten Stevenson fund photographs in the Times pictured primarily the fund donors and recipients. One photograph appeared of Stevenson in connection with his fund. This 3 column by 5 inch Associated Press photo on page eighteen on September 25 showed Stevenson with a worried and concerned expression on his face.

The next day, two Stevenson fund photographs, each 1 column by 4 inches, appeared on page eight of the Times. These pictured two Chicago men, Herman D. Smith and Walter V. Schaefer, who had received gifts from Stevenson.

Four similar photos, each 1 column by 4 inches, appeared at the top of page twenty-one in the September 28 issue of the Times. This Associated Press composite included pictures of two Stevenson fund donors and two fund recipients. Photographs of three additional recipients were included on page twenty-two. These photographs concluded the photographic coverage of the Stevenson fund.

With the exception of a few isolated cases, the cutlines that appeared in the Times were objective and clearly descriptive of the fund photographs they accompanied.

The cutline accompanying the photograph of Stevenson contained a certain amount of negativism. The caption read, "Quizzical--Governor Stevenson wears harried look tinged with obvious careful thought as he answers barrage of questions put to him by newsmen upon arrival at Springfield."

The other Stevenson fund photograph cutlines merely identified the names of the fund recipients and donors who were pictured, with captions such as "Herman D. Smith," and "Justice Walter V. Schaefer."

The Nixon fund cutlines were clearly and objectively descriptive of the photographs they accompanied. The photograph of Nixon and Pat arriving in Los Angeles was accompanied by the caption, "Welcomed Back--Sen. Nixon accompanied by his wife, Patricia, waves to crowd at airport as he steps from plane en return here for a nationwide speech today."

Other cutlines read, "Eisenhower and Mamie awaiting Nixon's speech by their television set," "Western Union operators swamped by messages in Los Angeles," and "Nixon emphasizes a point in speech."

The photograph of Eisenhower and Nixon at the airport in Wheeling, West Virginia, was accompanied by the cutline, "Eisenhower Greets Nixon--Gen. Eisenhower and his running mate on Republican national ticket, Sen. Nixon, wave to crowd as they leave Nixon's plane at Wheeling (W. Va.) airport, where the General greeted the Senator arriving from Missoula, Montana." The cutline of the photograph of the young veteran with his donation to Nixon read, "\$100 More--Walter A. Miller, Jr., hospitalized Navy veteran, writes \$100 check to be sent to Sen. Nixon's Washington office as token of faith in candidate."

Only one cutline described the mood of the Nixon's, a cutline that sharply differed from the one that described Stevenson's thoughts and feelings. The cutline, accompanying a photograph of the Nixons on their way to the broadcasting

station, read, "Confident--With carefree smiles, Sen. Nixon and his wife Patricia leave Ambassador Hotel for broadcasting station, where the Senator gave the nation an accounting of fund raised by Southern California constituents to further his official work."

No cartoons appeared in the Times that specifically concerned the Nixon and Stevenson funds.

As can be seen by Table 3, the New York Times used fewer fund photographs than the Los Angeles Times. This can be explained by the fact that the New York Times uses a small number of photographs in its issues. In addition, the Times does not use many action photographs. As a result, neither the Nixon or Stevenson fund photographs portrayed a great deal of action. A few Nixon fund action photos were used, but none for the Stevenson fund. This again can be explained by the very nature of the Nixon fund which involved more dramatic activity than the Stevenson fund did.

Like the Los Angeles Times, three photographs pertaining to the Nixon fund appeared on the front pages of the New York Times. On September 20, a one-column cut of Nixon appeared with the first Times story concerning the Nixon fund disclosure. In the September 24 issue, the day after Nixon's national radio and television broadcast, a Times photo, 3 columns by 6.50 inches, showed Nixon speaking on television. The following day, an Associated Press

photograph, 2 columns by 7 inches, of Eisenhower and Nixon smiling and waving at the Wheeling, West Virginia, airport appeared on page one. This photo was similar to the one used by the Los Angeles Times.

Inside page photographs of the Nixon fund pictured Nixon declaring he had been smeared, Nixon and Pat inside a plane bound for Los Angeles, Arthur E. Summerfield, G. O. P. Chairman, announcing "his stand for retention of Senator Richard M. Nixon's candidacy," and Nixon breaking down on the shoulder of Senator Knowland in Wheeling.

Two photos concerning the Stevenson fund appeared in the Times on page fifteen on September 26. The two pictures, one of Schaefer and the other of Smith, both linked with the Stevenson fund, had been used by the Los Angeles Times on the same day.

The cutlines that accompanied the fund photographs were clearly written and were more concise than those used by the Los Angeles Times. Very few descriptive words and phrases appeared in the New York Times cutlines.

The first photograph of Nixon that appeared in the Times was accompanied by the cutline, "Senator Richard M. Nixon." The caption of the photo of Nixon on television read, "Explains Special Expense Fund: Senator Richard M. Nixon, Republican Vice Presidential nominee, as seen on television screens here." The photograph of Eisenhower and Nixon at the Wheeling airport was accompanied by the cutline,

"They Stand Together: General Dwight D. Eisenhower and his running mate, Senator Richard M. Nixon, respond to cheers of crowd that greeted them after they met last night in Senator Nixon's plane at airport in Wheeling, West Virginia."

The cutline of the photograph of Nixon declaring he had been smeared consisted of a quotation from Nixon's speech. The caption read, "Nixon: 'This whole issue [is] a deliberate smear attempt by persons intent on perpetuating the present Administration in power.'"

Other cutlines read, "Nixon and Pat on plane, bound for Los Angeles," "Arthur E. Summerfield during press conference in Washington yesterday when he announced his stand for retention of Senator Richard M. Nixon's candidacy," and "Overwhelmed . . . Nixon breaking down on shoulder of Senator William F. Knowland in Wheeling, West Virginia."

The cutline of the two Stevenson fund photos used on September 26 read, "Linked with Stevenson fund."

The Times used no cartoons of its own concerning the funds. Six cartoons, however, appeared in the Times on September 28 from other newspapers throughout the country. All of the cartoons ridiculed the funds, as is the very nature of the art of cartooning. A cartoon from the Buffalo Courier-Express showed an elephant and a donkey boiling in a pot over a fire labeled, "Private Expense Funds." The caption read, "Stewing in their own broth."

In a Chicago Daily News cartoon, Stevenson is shown gaping at a glass house that is being shattered by a cannon ball, termed, "Adlai's Fund." The caption read, "Dweller in a glass house."

Another cartoon from the Philadelphia Bulletin pictured an elephant and a donkey both pointing at rings in a bathtub. The bathtub was labeled, "Political Contributions," and the caption read, "Both: But you left that ring yourself." Another cartoon from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch pictured the G. O. P. elephant and Nixon standing in the heavens with Nixon holding a bag of money. A "Crusade for Purity" banner hangs in the sky, and the elephant is asking Nixon, "Why, where have you been, Dickey boy?"

As can be seen by Table 3, one Stevenson fund photograph and twelve Nixon fund photographs appeared in the Milwaukee Journal. The 3 column by 6 inch Stevenson fund photo, a composite of the eight men who had received gifts from Stevenson, appeared on page two of the Journal on September 28.

Two of the twelve Nixon fund photographs that appeared in the Journal were not particularly complimentary to Nixon. One photo, 2 columns by 5.75 inches, on page two of the Journal on September 21 showed a young college student carrying a sign that read, "Give Nickels for Nixon." Another, appearing on page two of the Journal on September 23, pictured Nixon and his father in Los Angeles, with grim looks on their faces.

The other Nixon fund photographs were similar to those used by the other three newspapers. An Associated Press photo of Nixon at the Los Angeles airport appeared on the front page of the Journal on September 24. Page three included an Associated Press photo of Wayne Hood, Wisconsin Republican chairman and executive director of the Republican national committee headquarters in Washington, seated behind a mass of telegrams.

On September 25, an Associated Press photo on page two showed Eisenhower and Nixon at the Wheeling airport. Another Associated Press photo on page eight pictured Dana C. Smith seated behind a desk that was piled with letters in response to the Nixon funds.

Photographs of Nixon's two homes also appeared in the Journal. The two United Press photos on page three of the Journal on September 23 showed Nixon's home in Spring Valley, Maryland, and in Whittier, California.

As indicated by Table 3, the Journal was the only paper to use any photographs picturing Democrats referring to the Nixon fund. One Associated Press photograph, appearing on page twelve of the Journal on September 24, showed Senator Estes Kefauver, a Democrat from Tennessee, making a comment on Nixon's fund. The other photo in this category was the one of the young college student, who was a member of the Young Democrats.

The cutlines that accompanied the fund photographs in the Journal were clear and concise. The cutline of the Stevenson fund photograph simply named the eight men who appeared in the composite. The photograph of the college student with the sign was accompanied by the caption, "Carrying a tin cup and a sign, Clark Colby, president of a Portland College Young Democrat club, was at the train station to greet Senator Richard Nixon." The caption of the photograph of Nixon and his father read, "Nixon greeted by his father Francis A. as he arrived in Los Angeles."

Other captions included, "Nixons greeted by crowd at Los Angeles airport after speech," and "Wayne Hood: state Republican chairman, who is executive director of Republican committee's headquarters in Washington--seated behind a mass of telegrams." The cutline of the Kefauver photograph consisted of a quotation from Kefauver's statement on the Nixon fund. The caption read, "Would be surprised if Nixon did anything intentionally wrong." The photograph of Eisenhower and Nixon was accompanied by the cutline, "Shoulder to shoulder, Eisenhower and Nixon on airplane ramp."

Two front-page cartoons concerning the Nixon fund appeared in the Journal. One, on September 20, pictured Nixon grinning widely at the door of a building on which was written, "Foundlings Taken In, No Questions Asked."

Nixon is reaching into a box filled with \$16,000 and labeled, "California Sun-Ripened Cash." Another cartoon, three days later, pictured an old man seated behind a desk with "The Nixon Fund" and a warped ruler in front of him. The man is labeled "Nixon Defenders in Congress" and the ruler, "Warped Washington Ethics." "By my yardstick, it's O.K.," the man is saying.

As Table 3 indicates, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch used eleven Nixon fund photographs and seven Stevenson fund photographs. Three of the eleven Nixon fund photographs showed Nixon with facial expressions that were not complimentary to him. A front-page United Press photo on September 22 pictured newsmen with Nixon, who looked very serious and gloomy. The next day, an Associated Press photo on page one showed Nixon and Pat arriving in Los Angeles, with a twisted and contorted expression on Nixon's face. On September 24, a front-page Associated Press photograph showed Nixon and his wife during the national radio and television broadcast. A very forced kind of smile was pictured on Nixon's face.

The other Nixon fund photographs that appeared in the Post-Dispatch did not picture Nixon with such negative facial expressions as those just described. On September 19, an Associated Press photograph, 2 columns by 6-1/2 inches, of Dana C. Smith appeared on the front page of the Post-Dispatch. The next day, an Associated Press photograph on

page one showed Nixon delivering a speech from the back of a train at Marysville, California.

Other photographs included one from United Press on page two on September 24 that showed Eisenhower watching Nixon's speech on television. A page two photograph on September 25 showed the Eisenhower and Nixon meeting at the Wheeling airport. Two photographs on page six pictured the cover and inside page of Nixon's Christmas card that had been mailed to his constituents the previous Christmas. The front-page photograph on September 25 showed Nixon weeping on the shoulder of Senator William F. Knowland.

The Stevenson fund photographs were similar to those used by the other newspapers analyzed. On September 26, five photographs, appearing on page six of the Post-Dispatch, pictured five Illinois men who were connected with the Stevenson fund.

The two front-page Stevenson fund photographs indicated in Table 3 appeared on September 29. One showed a page from Stevenson's United States tax report, and the other pictured Stevenson working at his desk.

The cutlines that accompanied the fund photographs in the Post-Dispatch were clear and objective, with the exception of those that described three of the Nixon fund photographs. In the photograph of Nixon and the newsmen, Nixon was described as "serious-faced" as he told newsmen of his intention to give an "explanation of his 'expense

fund.'" The cutline of the photo of Nixon and Pat arriving in Los Angeles read, "Senator Richard Nixon makes wry face as he and his wife, Pat, greet welcomers at Los Angeles airport." The photograph of the national broadcast was accompanied by the caption, "Nixon's face set in frozen smile, boyish grin missing as he talks."

The other cutlines were more objectively written. The cutline of the photograph of Dana C. Smith read, "Dana C. Smith." The photo of Nixon speaking from the train was accompanied by the caption, "Nixon replies to 'expense fund' charges." The cutline of the photograph of Eisenhower watching Nixon's speech on television read, "Listening to Nixon Speech."

The cutline describing the photograph of Nixon and Knowland read, "Putting hand to face, Sen. Richard Nixon breaks down and sobs on shoulder of Sen. William Knowland of California after concluding speech before Wheeling rally." The photograph of Eisenhower and Nixon was accompanied by the caption, "G. O. P. nominees in 'exoneration reunion.'"

The cutline for the five men connected with Stevenson's fund identified the names of the persons who were pictured. The photograph of Stevenson's tax report was described as "Page from Stevenson's U.S. Tax Report." The cutline of the photograph of Stevenson at his desk read, "Gov. Stevenson lists 10-year income and taxes."

Thus, one can see that the photographic coverage of the fund stories was similar in each of the four newspapers analyzed. As Table 3 indicates, the Nixon and Stevenson fund photographs were not balanced in any of the newspapers in this study. One, however, cannot expect an equal number of photographs on the funds because the Nixon fund events involved more drama and action than the Stevenson fund events and thus generated greater public interest.

With the exception of the New York Times, each of the paper's editorial policies was occasionally reflected in the fund photographs and cutlines. The Los Angeles Times, a supporter of Eisenhower and Nixon, at one point described the Nixons as "confident, with carefree smiles," yet described Stevenson as "quizzical," wearing a "harried look."

The Milwaukee Journal, a supporter of Stevenson, used two photographs that were negative in tone toward Nixon. One photograph showed a college student with a sign that read, "Give Nickels for Nixon," and another photograph pictured Nixon and his father with grim looks on their faces.

The Post-Dispatch, also a Stevenson supporter, used three fund photographs that showed Nixon with unhappy expressions on his face.

The New York Times carried the most objective photographs with the clearest and most concise cutlines. None of

the Times photographs and cutlines seemed to reflect the Times support of Eisenhower and Nixon in the campaign.

While editorial political attitudes were reflected in certain instances, this reflection was not significant to a degree where one could charge any of the four newspapers with bias in the photographic coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson fund stories.

CHAPTER V

STORIES AND HEADLINES

The analysis of stories and headlines concerning the Nixon and Stevenson funds will involve a number of criteria. As can be seen by Tables 4, 5, and 6, statistical evidence constitutes a part of this analysis.¹

The fund stories have been divided into two categories: Nixon fund and Stevenson fund. Each of these classifications has been further divided into three categories: Republican, Democratic, and Neutral. Under the Nixon fund category, for example, a story concerning the Nixon fund classified as Republican will be one that originates with the Republican party. A Nixon fund story placed under the Democratic category will be one that originates with the Democratic party. The neutral classification will include stories and headlines that do not originate with either party. Divided press editorial comments, for example, will be included in the neutral category.

This type of classification will also be used for the Stevenson fund category. A Republican classification

¹ Stories and headlines were analyzed in the following issues: Los Angeles Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952; Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 18-30, 1952; New York Times, Sept. 18-30, 1952; St. Louis Post Dispatch, Sept. 18-30, 1952.

Table 4.--News Stories.

	New York Times			Los Angeles Times			Milwaukee Journal			St. Louis Post-Dispatch		
	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside
R	Number	15	15	11	47	17	13	22	21			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	--	15	--	11	--	10	--	12			
	Column Inches	153.00	685.00	101.25	1046.00	192.00	305.25	242.75	831.50			
D	Number	6	8	0	5	2	6	2	13			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	-	5	-	0	-	0	-	2			
	Column Inches	47.25	179.00	0	49.50	18.00	53.25	20.00	160.00			
N	Number	2	7	0	5	1	9	4	9			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	-	2	-	0	-	0	-	1			
	Column Inches	18.50	127.25	0	71.75	1.75	184.25	31.00	262.00			
Total	Number		53		68		47		72			
Nixon	Cont. from Fr. Page		23		11		20		28			
Fund	Column Inches		1201.50		1281.25		750.75		1508.50			
D*	Number	5	3	6	5	6	2	6	8			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	-	5	-	5	-	2	-	4			
	Column Inches	59.00	238.00	57.50	165.75	70.00	80.00	82.00	282.75			
R*	Number	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	4			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	-	0	-	2	-	0	-	0			
	Column Inches	0	6.75	14.00	40.00	0	21.25	0	33.00			
N*	Number	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0			
	Cont. from Fr. Page	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0			
	Column Inches	0	46.00	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Total	Number		10		15		10		17			
Stev.	Cont. from Fr. Page		5		8		6		6			
Fund	Column Inches		317.25		264.00		171.25		378.25			

Table 5.--Headlines.

	New York Times			Los Angeles Times			Milwaukee Journal			St. Louis Post-Dispatch		
	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside
R	Total # Headlines	19	31	14	67	23	23	23	27	33		
	Total # Column Inches	49.25	34.25	23.25	81.00	43.50	43.50	24.50	65.50	57.25		
	Total # Columns	35	42	39	117	46	46	25	50	49		
	Mean # Columns	1.84	1.35	2.79	1.75	2.00	2.00	1.09	1.85	1.48		
	Mean # Column Inches	2.59	1.10	1.66	1.21	1.89	1.89	1.06	2.43	1.73		
	Mean Type Size	29.68	22.65	37.71	29.37	31.83	31.83	23.74	30.00	26.00		
D	Total # Headlines	7	14	0	5	3	3	6	2	15		
	Total # Column Inches	16.75	15.25	0	6.75	5.25	5.25	6.00	5.00	25.00		
	Total # Columns	8	14	0	8	7	7	6	3	20		
	Mean # Columns	1.14	1.00	0	1.60	2.33	2.33	1.00	1.50	1.33		
	Mean # Column Inches	2.39	1.09	0	1.35	1.75	1.75	1.00	2.50	1.66		
	Mean Type Size	28.29	21.00	0	27.60	34.00	34.00	21.00	33.00	24.80		
N	Total # Headlines	2	9	0	6	1	1	9	4	10		
	Total # Column Inches	3.25	10.00	0	6.50	.50	.50	13.50	8.50	15.50		
	Total # Columns	3	9	0	10	1	1	12	4	19		
	Mean # Columns	1.50	1.00	0	1.67	1.00	1.00	1.33	1.00	1.90		
	Mean # Column Inches	1.63	1.11	0	1.21	.50	.50	1.50	2.25	1.55		
	Mean Type Size	27.00	21.33	0	28.50	18.00	18.00	24.00	27.00	25.80		

Table 5.--(Continued).

	New York Times		Los Angeles Times		Milwaukee Journal		St. Louis Post-Dispatch	
	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One
	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page	One	Inside	Page
Total # Headlines	6	8	8	11	8	5	7	12
Total # Column Inches	19.25	11.25	13.25	9.00	16.00	7.50	22.75	19.00
Total # Columns	10	12	20	19	17	5	11	16
Mean # Columns	1.67	1.50	2.50	1.73	2.13	1.00	1.57	1.33
Mean # Column Inches	3.21	1.41	1.66	.82	2.00	1.50	3.17	1.58
Mean Type Size	27.00	27.00	38.25	27.82	32.25	24.00	36.86	24.50
Total # Headlines	0	2	2	41	0	2	0	4
Total # Column Inches	0	1.00	2.00	3.75	0	2.50	0	9.00
Total # Columns	0	2	4	6	0	2	0	5
Mean # Columns	0	1.00	2.00	1.50	0	1.00	0	1.25
Mean # Column Inches	0	.50	1.00	.94	0	1.25	0	2.25
Mean Type Size	0	15.00	30.00	27.00	0	24.00	0	28.50
Total # Headlines	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total # Column Inches	0	1.75	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total # Columns	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean # Columns	0	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean # Column Inches	0	1.75	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean Type Size	0	24.00	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6.--Headline Totals.

		New York Times	Los Angeles Times	Milwaukee Journal	St. Louis Post- Dispatch
Total Nixon Fund	Total # Headlines	82	92	65	91
	Total # Column Inches	128.75	117.50	93.25	176.00
	Total # Columns	110	174	96	124
	Mean # Columns	1.36	1.89	1.55	1.43
	Mean # Column Inches	1.57	1.28	1.43	1.93
	Mean Type Size	24.44	30.52	26.77	27.16
Total Stev. Fund	Total # Headlines	17	25	15	23
	Total # Column Inches	33.25	28.00	26.00	50.75
	Total # Columns	25	43	19	27
	Mean # Columns	1.47	1.95	1.36	1.23
	Mean # Column Inches	1.96	1.12	1.73	2.21
	Mean Type Size	25.41	31.20	28.40	28.96
Grand Total	Total # Headlines	99	117	80	114
	Total # Column Inches	162.00	145.50	119.25	226.75
	Total # Columns	135	217	115	151
	Mean # Columns	1.36	1.90	1.44	1.32
	Mean # Column Inches	1.64	1.24	1.49	1.99
	Mean Type Size	24.61	30.67	27.08	27.53

here will pertain to a comment on the Stevenson fund from the Republicans; a Democratic one, from the Democrats; and a neutral category, a non-partisan source or divided opinion from both parties.

Headlines have been classified in a similar manner. However, as can be seen by Tables 5 and 6, additional statistical information appears, including the average number of columns, column inches, and type size for the headlines in each of the newspapers analyzed.

One will note in Tables 4 and 6 that more headlines appeared under any single category than did stories in the same category. In the New York Times, for example, fifty-five Nixon fund stories were used, according to Table 4. Eighty-two Nixon fund headlines, however, appeared in the Times, according to Table 6. This happens because banner and front-page main headlines were tabulated in addition to those accompanying the stories. Also, stories often appeared with multiple headlines. In a case such as this, one story may have been tabulated with two or three headlines.

As can be seen by Tables 4, 5, and 6, more Nixon fund stories and headlines appeared in all of the newspapers analyzed than Stevenson fund stories and headlines. As was noted in Chapter IV on photographs, this lack of balance can be explained by the fact that the Nixon fund events involved more drama and action than the Stevenson

fund events and thus generated greater public interest. In addition, the disclosure of Nixon's fund before Stevenson's added to the increased interest of the public in the Nixon fund. Thus, on the basis of statistics alone, one cannot comment on the objectivity of any of the four papers in covering the fund stories. Conclusions regarding the stories and headlines, however, can be drawn on the basis of page placement, types of leads, word usage, and writing style.

Table 6 indicates that the Los Angeles Times used more Nixon and Stevenson fund headlines than any of the other newspapers analyzed, and Table 4 shows the use of more fund stories by the Times than by the Milwaukee Journal and the New York Times. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that California was Nixon's home state and that Nixon's national radio and television speech was broadcast from Los Angeles. In addition, Nixon's fund had been sponsored by Californians. Thus, the Nixon fund held much local interest for the people of California.

A large number of the sixty-eight Nixon fund stories that appeared in the Los Angeles Times reflected the support of the Republican party by the Times. This Republican support by the Times appeared not in the number of Nixon fund stories and headlines used but in the manner in which the stories and headlines were written.

Placement was also a factor during the first two days that the Nixon fund stories appeared in the Times. Despite the local interest in the disclosure of Nixon's fund, the first Nixon fund story, appearing in the Times on September 19, was placed on page four. In the lead of the story, written by Kyle Palmer of the Times, Palmer said the fund revelation "drew fire from Democratic sources and prompted an equally sharp retort from Nixon." The headline, written from a Republican point of view, read, "Expense Fund for Nixon Explained by Friends, Democratic Attempt to Attach Corrupt Motives to Contribution Refuted."

On September 20, the Nixon fund stories also appeared on the inside pages of the Times. A story on page two, written by a Times reporter, reflected the Times Republican point of view. The headline, defending Nixon, read, "Attacks Levelled at Nixon Denounced, Eisenhower Defends Running Mate, Sen. Mundt Charges Red Smear." The lead of the story, also in support of Nixon, read, "The furor over Senator Richard M. Nixon's expense fund . . . brought forth statements by General Eisenhower backing up his running mate as an honest man, by Senator Taft, by Senator Mundt labeling Nixon's attackers as left wingers guilty of a 'smear' maneuver, by Senator Knowland, and by Nixon himself." Several politicians' reactions to the fund were used in the story; all supported Nixon and his acceptance of the fund money.

Many other Nixon fund headlines and stories that appeared in the Times were written in a similar manner. Support of the Republicans was often expressed in glowing terms with numerous adjectives used.

A front page story by Chester Hanson on September 21 reflected the Times support of Nixon. The headline of the story read, "Nixon Blasts 'Big Lie' on Expense Fund." The first two paragraphs of the story were set in larger and bolder type than the rest of the story and read:

Senator Richard Nixon nailed what he characterized as "the big lie" as he opened his Oregon campaign at Eugene today.

In a vigorous speech to an enthusiastic crowd of 2,000 persons at the Eugene depot and in a formal statement later, the G. O. P. Vice presidential candidate expressed confidence that when all the facts are known honest critics of the situation will be satisfied that the fund . . . involves no taint to his integrity.

Hanson concluded the story by saying that "Nixon's people recognize that the best procedure is to show the books and put an end to it on the theory that if you let them get away with repeating 'the big lie' often enough the people might begin to believe it."

In a front page story on September 22, Hanson, writing from Portland, Oregon, discussed Nixon's plans to return to Los Angeles to give a national radio and television broadcast. Hanson also described the reception received by Nixon in Portland. "Saturday night at the giant high school here the place was jammed," Hanson said. "He got a fine reception and they flocked to the platform

after his talk to shake him by the hand, wish him well and urge him on."

After Nixon's national broadcast, several stories appeared in the Times that praised Nixon highly. On September 24, a front page Times story was headed, "Nixon Explains All Finances to U.S.," with the accompanying headline, "Democratic Plea Stirs Nation, Senator Rests His Case with People; Will Confer with General." Nixon was described in the story as having spoken "calmly, sincerely." His "obvious sincerity," the story said, "loosed a rising flood of response from all America."

Other front page stories on September 24 also described Nixon in favorable terms. This support of Nixon was evident in the headlines that accompanied these stories. An Associated Press story, describing the favorable telegrams for Nixon "that poured into Washington," was headed, "Wire Deluge Follows Nixon Radio-TV Plea, Facilities Swamped with Messages Favoring Nominee." Another Associated Press story, concerning a law firm's investigation of Nixon's fund, was headed, "Documents Show Nixon Blameless." Two other front page headlines read, "Eisenhower Lauds Nixon as Brave Man," and "'Just Begun to Fight,' Says Nixon as He Leaves."

All of page two on September 24 contained stories concerning the Nixon fund. All of these stories were favorable to Nixon, with headlines appearing such as "Avalanche

of Commendation Follows Nixon's Broadcast," and "Nixon Speaks with Wife as Only 'Live' Audience; Broadcast Originates in Simple TV Studio, but Technicians Declare It a Huge Success."

The text of Nixon's speech appearing on pages six and eight of the Times on September 24 was headed, "Text of Nixon's Radio-TV Speech, Senator Goes to People as Man Whose Integrity Has Been Injustly Questioned."

It is interesting to note that a scoop on the Nixon case, rather negative in tone to Nixon, appeared on an inside page of the Times on September 24. The Associated Press story on page four reported that Smith, the trustee of Nixon's fund, had enlisted the aid of an employee in Nixon's Washington office in connection with a tax refund claim of between \$500,000 and \$600,000.

A front page story on September 25, written by Warren B. Francis of the Times, was headed, "General Declares Senator Subjected to Vicious Attack." Francis wrote in the lead of the story:

Declaring his colleague had been "completely vindicated," General Eisenhower tonight told a breathless crowd that had waited for nearly four hours for his verdict that California Senator Richard Nixon will go forward with him in the Republican crusade to restore honest government to America.

Page two of the September 25 issue of the Times, like that on September 24, was made up entirely of stories expressing confidence in Nixon and Eisenhower.

Headlines included, "Hoover Praises Senator Nixon," "Women Voters Form Brigade for Eisenhower," "Flood of Telegrams to Washington Favors Nixon," and "Eisenhower's Lead Holds in State Poll."

A story on page twenty-five concerning money sent to Nixon after his fund disclosure was headed, "Dollars for Nixon Sent In by Friends, Campaign Contributions Pile Up after Nominee's Dramatic Address to Nation."

Thus, one can see that many of the Times stories and headlines concerning the Nixon fund reflected the Times editorial support of the Republican party. A few of the Nixon headlines and stories, however, were written more concisely and objectively.

On September 19, a story on page three described a group of Southern California Republicans who had launched a new fund, "Crusading Dollars," for Nixon. The story stated expressly this, and the headline read, "Crusading Dollars New Fund for Nixon Launched."

The other stories on September 19 were concisely and objectively written. One concerned a Los Angeles hospitalized Navy veteran who sent \$100 to Nixon, and another discussed Senator Robert A. Taft's belief that to demand Nixon's withdrawal as the Republican vice presidential nominee was ridiculous.

It should be noted that the Los Angeles Times used the fewest number of Nixon fund stories that originated

with a Democratic source. As can be seen by Table 4 five Nixon fund stories appeared under the Democratic category. The five that appeared in the Times concerned Democratic criticism of the fund. All of the five stories were placed on the inside pages of the Times.

As can be seen by Tables 4 and 6, the Los Angeles Times used the greatest number of headlines for the Stevenson fund and more Stevenson fund stories than the Milwaukee Journal and the New York Times. Generally, the Stevenson fund stories and headlines that appeared in the Times were more objectively written than the Nixon fund headlines and stories.

There were a few stories, however, that reflected the editorial policies of the Times. While many of the Nixon fund stories and headlines reflected support of the Republican party, an element of negativism appeared in some of the Stevenson fund headlines and stories.

A story, appearing on page one of the Times on September 24, seemed to emphasize the withdrawing of Stevenson from the campaign. The headline of the story read, "Quit Race, Demand on Governor Stevenson; Former Illinois Senator Flays Aids Fund; Congressional Probe of Collections Urged." The lead of the story read, "Governor Adlai E. Stevenson's withdrawal from the Presidential campaign was demanded today because of his using a special cash fund to augment State salaries of some of his aides."

On September 25, an Associated Press story appeared on the front page concerning Stevenson's refusal to name recipients of fund money. "Stevenson Won't Say Who Got Paid," the headline read.

On September 28, an Associated Press story appeared on page twenty-one of the Times that concerned a Washington lawyer who had contributed to Stevenson's fund in 1948. The story was headed, "Stevenson Donor Aids Eisenhower," and emphasized the point that this donor "now supports Eisenhower."

The other Stevenson fund stories and headlines that appeared in the Times were objectively written and did not reflect the editorial policies of the Times. The first story concerning the fund appeared on the front page of the Times on September 23. The Associated Press story concerned details of the fund that had been disclosed, and the headline read, "Stevenson Illinois Fund under Fire."

A front page story on September 26 concerned two Illinois men who had received money from Stevenson, while working in positions appointed by Stevenson. The Associated Press story was headed, "Two Illinois Officials Admit Gifts from Stevenson Fund."

When Stevenson announced he would reveal fund donors, an Associated Press story appeared on page four of the Times on September 27 with the headline, "Stevenson Promises to Reveal Fund Donors, Governor Declares Sources of Revenue

So Numerous List Required Considerable Time." The lead of the story read, "Snowballing political charges growing from Governor Stevenson's special expense fund drew a promise from the Democratic Presidential nominee today to name contributors."

On September 28, a story on page twenty-one containing names of fund donors and recipients was headed, "Stevenson Lists Donors to Fund and Officials Who Got Gifts." Below this story on page twenty-one, a United Press story noted that Stevenson's list of donors would be "scanned closely" by Eisenhower aides for persons doing business with the state of Illinois. This story was headed, "General's Aides to Scan List of Stevenson Donors."

As can be seen by Table 4, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch used the most Nixon and Stevenson fund stories. Table 6 shows that the Post-Dispatch used more fund headlines than the Milwaukee Journal and the New York Times.

The Post-Dispatch and the Los Angeles Times both devoted several stories to the Nixon fund; seventy-two and sixty-eight stories, respectively. In both cases, the editorial policies of the papers were reflected in the manner in which the Nixon fund stories were written. The Post-Dispatch supported Stevenson during the campaign, and this support of Stevenson was evident in the Nixon fund stories that appeared in the Post-Dispatch. It is interesting to note the contrast that exists between the Post-Dispatch

coverage and the Times coverage of the Nixon fund. In many of the Times stories, very positive attitudes were reflected toward Nixon. This was not the case in the Post-Dispatch Nixon fund stories. The use of certain words and phrases reflected the Post-Dispatch support of Stevenson and the paper's negative attitude toward Nixon.

The contributors to Nixon's fund, for example, were often referred to as "angels" and "wealthy Californians." The first Nixon fund story to appear in the Post-Dispatch, a front page United Press story on September 18, was headed, "'Angels' Paid Nixon \$16,000 to 'Sell Free Enterprise,' Paper Is Told, Disburser Says Wealthy Men Set Up Trust Fund because Senate Salary Was 'Inadequate.'" In the lead of the story, it was noted that "a group of wealthy Californians had paid . . . Richard Nixon between \$16,000 and \$17,000 since his election to the Senate two years ago." The term "millionaires' club" was also used several times throughout the story.

On September 19, an Associated Press story on page eleven said Nixon "had admitted that he accepted \$16,000 from wealthy supporters. . . ." The story was headed, "Calls Attack 'Typical Leftist Smear'--Democrats Demand He Quit as Ike's Running Mate."

On September 20, an Associated Press story on page nine concerned new fund developments. The headline of this story read, "Son of Hoover among Wealthy Californians Who

Gave \$500 Each, Political Controversy Boils across Nation-- Demands He Quit Race Countered with Smear Charges."

A list of Nixon fund contributors appeared on page two of the Post-Dispatch on September 21 with the headline, "List of Wealthy Californians Who Contributed to Nixon Fund."

Other Nixon fund stories and headlines that appeared in the Post-Dispatch also seemed to reflect a negative attitude toward Nixon. A front page story on September 19 was headed, "Hasty Huddle by Ike's Staff." Written by a Post-Dispatch correspondent, the story noted that the Nixon fund had created "a furor in the campaign staff quarters" of Eisenhower. "For the Democrats," the story said, "this was a windfall far richer than anything they had hoped for."

A front page story by Edward F. Woods of the Post-Dispatch on September 21 seemed to emphasize the possibility of Nixon being dropped from the Republican ticket. The headline of the story read, "Eisenhower Insists Nixon Explain Gifts Completely, If Report Is Satisfactory Senator Can Stay on Ticket, If Not He Will Be Dropped." In the lead of the story, Woods wrote that Nixon "will have to supply Dwight D. Eisenhower with a completely satisfactory set of facts . . . or the vice presidential candidate will be dropped from the Republican ticket. . . ."

Another story, appearing on page twenty-one on September 21, was headed, "National Committee Would Fill Vacancy if Nixon Quit G. O. P. Ticket."

On September 22 in a story on page two written by Post-Dispatch Washington correspondent George H. Hall, it was noted that Stevenson's top advisers considered "Poor Richard's Fund" to be a decisive event in the presidential campaign. According to "seasoned political reporters," Hall said, "the opinion is unanimous that the Republicans have dealt themselves a serious blow." The story was headed, "Democrats Think Eisenhower Missed Boat by Defending Nixon, Stevenson Advisers Were Fearful General Would Kick Senator Off Ticket--Believe Case May Decide Election."

A front page story on September 23 concerned the financial status of the Republican and Democratic parties. "Republicans Have Twice as Much Cash as Democrats," the headline read.

In a front page story on September 23, Edward A. Harris, Post-Dispatch Washington correspondent, described the mood of Washington politicians, as the time for Nixon's national radio and television broadcast approached. In the lead of the story, Harris said that "as the zero hour neared for Senator Richard M. Nixon to make a clean breast of his finances, the conviction grew in political circles here that he will be unable to withstand the gale of controversy over his . . . fund." The headline of the story read, "Capital Hears Nixon May Offer to Quit Ticket, Belief Grows He Will Be Unable to Withstand Storm--Eisenhower 'Crusade' at Stake."

While the Los Angeles Times coverage of Nixon's speech was quite complimentary, the Post-Dispatch seemed critical of the broadcast in some of the stories that appeared. On September 24, James A. Kearns, Post-Dispatch reporter, assessed Nixon's speech in a story on page two. The story was headed, "Wife, Too, Is Somber as He Makes Most Important Speech of Career in Empty Theater." According to Kearns, Nixon received "a mixed reaction . . . to his defense of an \$18,000 fund put up by wealthy Californians for his benefit." Kearns also described Nixon's appearance as he arrived at the theater to deliver his speech. "His boyish grin and backslapping manner were conspicuously absent," Kearns said. "His face was set in a frozen smile."

Another story on page two concerning the audit of Nixon's fund was headed, "Nixon Fund Audit Shows \$11,000 Remains to Be Accounted For."

It is also interesting to note that most of the press comments on the Nixon fund that appeared in the Post-Dispatch were critical of Nixon. The headlines that accompanied two of these press comment stories also reflected a negative attitude. On September 20, one headline read, "Press Comment on Gifts to Nixon, Some Papers Urge His Withdrawal, Others Ask for All the Facts; Question whether Candidate's Usefulness Hasn't Been Fatally Impaired, Says New York Times--Herald Tribune Proposes He Offer to Get Out of Race." A similar headline, appearing in the Post-

Dispatch on September 21, read, "Varied Press Reaction on Nixon, Most of Papers Demand Facts, Some Ask for His Withdrawal; Usefulness May Have Been Fatally Impaired, Says New York Times--Chicago Sun Times Urges He Make 'Clean Breast of the Transaction.'"

The Post-Dispatch also included remarks concerning the Nixon fund in the upper left hand corner of the front page of the paper during the period analyzed. These statements were headed, "Weatherbird Comments." No such comments concerned the Stevenson fund. The satirical Nixon fund comments that appeared in the Post-Dispatch were: (1) September 19--"Nixon Enterprise Not So Free," (2) September 21--"\$18,235 Question Up to Ike," (3) September 23--"True Confessions on TV," (4) September 24--"Pure Richard's Almanac," (5) September 25--"Just Good, Clean Fund," (6) September 26--"Gen. Ike Indorses Gen. Overhaul."

It must be noted, however, that not all of the seventy-two Nixon fund stories in the Post Dispatch reflected the negative tone that appeared in the fund stories just discussed. Some of the Nixon fund stories were written objectively and did not reflect the Democratic leanings of the Post-Dispatch.

A front page story on September 19 described the reaction of Eisenhower to the fund disclosure and contained primarily comments that Eisenhower had made regarding the fund. The story's headline read, "Eisenhower Says 'I

Believe Nixon Is Honest Man,' Long Admired Him, 'Confident' Running Mate Can Explain Gifts--Disclosure Creates Furor on General's Train." In the lead of the story, it was noted that Eisenhower had said he believed Nixon "to be an honest man who could explain 'fairly and squarely' the unofficial expense account provided for him."

Another story on page nine also contained primarily statements made by Eisenhower. In the story, Raymond P. Brandt, chief Washington correspondent of the Post-Dispatch, wrote that "Dwight D. Eisenhower last night accepted as 'an honest statement' the explanation of Senator Richard Nixon, the vice presidential candidate, that the 'public spirited citizens' had contributed \$16,000 to the California Senator for 'legitimate political purposes.'"

On September 21, an Associated Press story on page one contained the names of contributors to Nixon's fund and an itemization of how the fund money was spent. This story was headed, "Oil, Realty Men, Manufacturers among Those Who Donated \$18,235, Major Disbursements for Office Supplies, Travel--All Spent before Vice Presidential Nomination."

A concisely written story on page two concerned comments made by Nixon about his fund. The story was headed, "Nixon Says Facts Will End Doubts on \$18,235 Fund--He Asserts Money Was for Strictly 'Political Activities.'"

On September 23, several Nixon fund stories were clearly and objectively written. In a front page story, Robert H. Collins, Post-Dispatch staff correspondent, informed readers that a Los Angeles law firm had been retained "by the Eisenhower forces 'to determine whether any laws were violated in the collection and use of the \$18,235 expense fund given to Senator Richard M. Nixon.'"

An Associated Press story on page one described the costs of the national radio and television broadcast. Another story on page one concerned how Dana C. Smith enlisted Nixon's aid in connection with a tax refund claim. The story, a Post-Dispatch scoop, was headed, "Senator's Office Helped Lawyer Expedite Action on Tax Refund, 'Some Progress' Made on \$500,000 Claim since He Was Introduced to Justice Department Official."

A front page story on September 24 described Eisenhower's reaction to Nixon's speech and referred primarily to statements made by Eisenhower about the broadcast. The story was headed, "All Indications Eisenhower Will Keep Californian as Running Mate, General Says Made 'Error in Judgment' in Accepting \$18,000 but Praises His Courage Highly."

In an Associated Press story on page five, a summary of Nixon's speech appeared. Details of Nixon's financial background were also given. The headline of the story read, "Senator Appeals to Listeners to Help Party Heads

Make Decision, Flying to Talk with General--Release Audit of Funds and Law Firm's Opinion on Legal Aspects."

The Stevenson fund stories that appeared in the Post-Dispatch did not reflect the paper's support of Stevenson in the campaign. The seventeen Stevenson fund stories indicated by Table 4 were objectively and concisely written with few adjectives and other descriptive phrases used.

The first Stevenson fund story that appeared in the Post-Dispatch contained details from a Chicago Daily News story concerning Stevenson's fund. This front page story on September 22 was headed, "Democrats Listed Suppliers; Gifts Sought in Illinois, Ex-Employee Quoted as Saying He Named 1,000 Firms--Shifting of Stevenson Fund Denied."

A story on page two of the Post-Dispatch the next day concerned Stevenson's defense of his fund. The story, written by a Post-Dispatch special correspondent, contained primarily quotations from Stevenson's fund statement. The headline of the story read, "Gov. Stevenson Admits Using Gift Funds to Assist State Employees, 'Never Any Secret I Have Tried to Reduce Financial Sacrifice of Men Induced to Leave Private Employment.'"

On September 24, another story, consisting mostly of comments made by Stevenson, appeared on page three of the Post-Dispatch. The story by George H. Hall, Post-Dispatch Washington correspondent, concerned Stevenson's refusal to reveal the names of fund donors and recipients.

The story's headline read, "Gov. Stevenson Refuses to Name Gift Fund Donors or the Recipients, Asserts It Would Be Breach of Faith--Salary Supplements Paid Officials in Form of Christmas Presents."

Another Stevenson fund story appeared on the front page of the Post-Dispatch on September 25. This United Press story reported that Herman Donlap Smith, national chairman of the Volunteers for Stevenson, revealed that two or three Chicago businessmen had donated money to Stevenson's fund. The story was headed, "Chicagoan Tells of Turning Over '\$500 to \$1,000' to Stevenson's Fund, Backer of Nominee Says 'Two or Three' Businessmen, One a Republican, Donated Voluntarily through Him."

On page two, a story from the Chicago Daily News revealed that Justice Walter V. Schaefer had received a gift from Stevenson at Christmas in 1950 while serving as chairman of the Illinois Little Hoover Committee.

The text of Stevenson's defense of his fund appeared on page twenty-two on September 25. The associated Press story was headed, "Stevenson Text; 'I Used Fund to East Key Aids Sacrifice.'"

On September 26, a front page United Press story announced that Stevenson would make public a list of fund donors and recipients. Again the story contained primarily comments from Stevenson's public statement concerning his decision to reveal the fund donors and recipients. The headline

of the story read, "Gov. Stevenson to Name Illinois Gift Fund Donors and Recipients, Announces He Will Make Statement Today or Tomorrow--Says '8 or 9' Officials Got Money to Supplement Pay."

After Stevenson revealed the fund donors and recipients, the front page headline of the Post-Dispatch on September 28 read, "Stevenson Reveals \$18,150 in Gifts to 8 Key Officials, Lists Donors." A story on page one identified the fund donors and recipients and disclosed the amounts of money that had been received by them. It was also reported that Stevenson and Sparkman would make public their income tax returns. The headline of the story read, "Will Make Public His Tax Returns, Says Sparkman Will Do Likewise, Governor Explains Money Paid to Illinois Employees Came from 1948 Campaign Balance and Later Donations."

All of page ten on September 28 was devoted to details of Stevenson's fund. A banner headline appeared on the page, reading, "List of Donors to Fund from Which Stevenson Paid Officials." A boxed story, revealing Illinois employee recipients, was headed, "State Employees Who Received Gifts from Gov. Stevenson."

Only one Stevenson fund story seemed to reflect the Post-Dispatch support of Stevenson in the campaign. The front page story on September 29 by George H. Hall concerned Stevenson's disclosure of his financial background. In the story, Hall criticized Nixon's financial account and praised Stevenson's.

The difference between the Stevenson and Nixon accounting is that the public has only Nixon's word for the accuracy of what he said, and what he said was far from complete. Stevenson's statement is complete and was made under the equivalent of an oath; it is a serious violation of federal law to falsify an income tax return.

The Milwaukee Journal, like the Post-Dispatch, supported Stevenson during the 1952 campaign. Unlike the Post-Dispatch, however, the Journal did not incorporate its editorial policies into the fund stories and headlines to the extent that the Post-Dispatch did. The Nixon fund stories, in particular, were written much more objectively than those that appeared in the Post-Dispatch. Only a few of the Journal Nixon fund stories seemed unnecessarily negative in tone toward Nixon.

The first Nixon fund story that appeared in the Journal was similar to some of the Post-Dispatch stories in which the fund donors were described as wealthy angels. The disclosure of the Nixon fund appeared on the front page of the Journal on September 18. The story by Peter Edson, Washington correspondent for Newspaper Enterprise Association, was headed, "Rich 'Angels' Aiding Nixon, Anonymous to Senator, They Help Pay for His Office Costs." In the lead of the story, Edson wrote that "Republican vice presidential candidate Richard Milhous Nixon has been receiving an extra expense allowance from between 50 and 100 well-to-do southern California political angels. . . ."

Another story, not particularly complimentary to Nixon, appeared on page two of the Journal on September 21. The Associated Press story concerned Nixon's campaign in Oregon and was headed, "Nixon Irked by Placards, 'No Mink Coats, Just Cold Cash,' Sign at Whistle Stop." The story noted that "Senator Richard Nixon angrily defended his acceptance of an \$18,235 expense fund Saturday as taunting placards and signs appeared in his whistle stop campaign crowds. A near riot broke out at Eugene, Oregon, as his train pulled away, and the crowd tore a placard to bits."

The headline of another story on page two concerning newspaper opinions of the Nixon fund seemed to emphasize the negative aspects of Nixon's fund. "What Press Is Saying of Donations to Nixon, Comments on 'Gifts' Keep On; Even Ike's Friends See Episode as Handicap," the headline read.

On September 23, an Associated Press story on page three concerned Nixon's return to Los Angeles to deliver his national radio and television broadcast. The headline of the story read, "Crowd Greet a 'Sick' Nixon, Senator Flies Back to California for His Talk Tonight." In the story, Nixon was described as looking tired and feeling sick over the fund furor.

The rest of the Nixon fund stories and headlines that appeared in the Journal were objectively written and did not reflect a negative attitude toward Nixon.

A story on page five of the Journal on September 20 contained various opinions of the Nixon fund from newspapers throughout the country. The story was headed, "What They Say about Nixon."

An Associated Press story on September 21 concerned Eisenhower's reaction to the Nixon fund. The headline read, "Must Come Out 'Clean,' His Feeling, Expression 'Clean as a Hound's Tooth' Used; Has Not Yet Studied Detailed Report."

In the Journal on September 22, four stories and the main headline pertained to the Nixon fund on the front page. The main headline read, "Nixon Sets Radio, TV Talk Tuesday to Explain Finances." Two stories pertained to the Nixon fund. One concerned the demand of Wilbur Renk, chairman of the Eisenhower-Nixon Committee for Wisconsin, that Nixon resign. "Renk Urges Candidate to Leave Race, Leader of Campaign Force in Wisconsin Has Made 'Calls' on Situation," the headline read. The other story, an Associated Press story, concerned a statement made by Arthur E. Summerfield, Republican national chairman, that the bill for Nixon's speech would be paid by the Republican National Committee. The story was headed, "Nixon's TV Talk Will Cost \$75,000."

In a story from the New York Times News Service, James Reston discussed Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon case. The story on page two was headed, "Ike Making up Mind Whether to Keep Nixon, General Spent Sunday Going over

Fund List; Gets Little Help from Divided Advisers." In the lead of the story, Reston described Eisenhower's indecision regarding the case and said he "remained alone in his railroad car . . . most of Sunday trying to decide whether to keep Senator Nixon as the vice presidential nominee or recommend his withdrawal."

After Nixon's national radio and television speech, several stories appeared in the Journal on September 24. The main headline on the front page read, "Nixon Places Case before People; Signs Grow He'll Remain on Ticket." A front page Associated Press story contained comments from G. O. P. committee members concerning the fund. This story was headed, "Summerfield 'Certain' Ike to Keep Him, G. O. P. Chairman Says Democrats Probably 'Sorry They Brought Matter Up.'"

Another front page Associated Press story summarized Nixon's broadcast and contained primarily quotations from the speech. "Senator Tells Why \$18,000 Was Accepted, Candidate Lists His Assets, Debts, Urges Stevenson, Sparkman To Do Same," the headline read.

Several inside stories in the Journal also concerned Nixon's speech and person's reactions to it. A story on page two said that "in political circles reactions to Senator Nixon's broadcast generally followed party lines." The story was headed, "Views at Odds over Speech, G. O. P. Hails Nixon Talk; 'Didn't Give Answers,' Democrats Say."

An Associated Press story on page three concerning Eisenhower's reaction to Nixon's speech was made up primarily of comments that Eisenhower had made. The headline of the story read, "Ike Applauds Nixon Speech, 'Example of Courage,' He Tells Cleveland Crowd after Talk."

The main headline of the Journal on the front page on September 25 read, "Nixon Vindicated, Ike Says after Reunion with Senator." The Associated Press story with the main headline contained details on the Nixon and Eisenhower meeting at Wheeling. This story was headed, "Party Powers Vote 107-0 to Keep Him, Californian Acted as a 'Man of Honor,' His Running Mate Tells Cheering Crowd."

The Stevenson fund stories that appeared in the Journal were objectively written. 'The Journal's support of Stevenson was not reflected in these stories in most cases.

The first Stevenson fund story to appear in the Journal on September 22 was not placed on the front page as was the first Nixon fund story. The Associated Press story on page three of the Journal gave details of Stevenson's fund that had been reported by the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Daily News. "'No Fund Shift for Stevenson,' Chicago Newspapers' Stories Denied by Illinois Democrat," the headline read. This headline and story did reflect to a certain extent the support of Stevenson by the Journal as it was written from a defensive point of view. In the

lead of the story, it was reported that W. Donald Forsyth, former Illinois manager of Stevenson's campaign for governor, had said that "no part of a fund raised for Stevenson's campaign for re-election as Governor has been or will be used for his presidential campaign."

The other Stevenson fund stories, however, that appeared in the Journal were objectively written. On September 23, a front page Associated Press story concerned Stevenson's acknowledgement of his fund. The story, containing primarily statements made by Stevenson, was headed, "Fund to Help Officials OK'd by Stevenson, He Acknowledges Use of Private Donations to Retain 'Good Men' at Springfield." The lead of the story read, "An Eisenhower supporter's assertion that Governor Stevenson promoted a cash fund from private individuals to augment salaries of some state officials was acknowledged by the Illinois governor Monday night."

Another story, made up primarily of comments made by Stevenson, appeared on the front page of the Journal on September 24. The United Press story reported that Stevenson had rejected "Senator Nixon's demand that he disclose the names of Illinois state officials whose salaries he augmented with cash gifts." The story was headed, "My Fund OK, Is Stevenson's Reply to Foes, But Nominee Refuses to Reveal Names of the Recipients in His Illinois Staff."

Another story on September 24 on page twelve concerned Wisconsin Governor Kohler's demand that a disclosure be made by Stevenson. The story's headline read, "Kohler Pokes at Stevenson, Asks for Accounting."

On the front page of the September 25 issue of the Journal, an Associated Press story reported that Justice Walter V. Schaefer had received a \$500 gift from Stevenson while serving as his aide. "Former Aide to Stevenson Got \$500 Gift, Illinois Supreme Court Justice Says Fund Given while He Had Nonpaying Post," the headline read.

On September 26, the main headline and one story on the front page pertained to the Stevenson fund. "Stevenson Contacts Donors, May Reveal Names to Public," the main headline read. The Associated Press story, concerning Stevenson's agreement to reveal the fund donors, was headed, "Nominee Says 'Great Many' Gave Funds, 'Eight or Nine' Illinois Officials Benefited, He Says; Promises Statement 'Later On.'"

On the front page of the Journal on September 27, an Associated Press story reported that Stevenson had given newsmen in Indianapolis a list of fund donors but had ordered the list withheld from publication until the night of the 27th. The story was headed, "Fund Donors To Be Named, Stevenson Gives OK to Disclosure; List in Reporters' Hands."

On September 28, the main headline and one story on the front page pertained to Stevenson's release of

information concerning fund donors and recipients. The main headline read, "Stevenson Lists Eight Officials Who Got \$18,150 from His Fund." An Associated Press story summarized the information Stevenson had disclosed. This story was headed, "1,000 Names of Campaign Donors Given; Governor, in Defending Money's Use, Says He Will Disclose His 10 Year Income.'"

In a New York Times News Service story on page two, details were given concerning those who had contributed to Stevenson's fund. The story's headline read, "Illinois Donor List Is Varied, Socialites, Businessmen among Contributors to Stevenson." The contributors were described as being "persons high and low in business, social and political life . . . from racketeers to socialites."

The fund stories that appeared in the New York Times were carefully and objectively written. The fifty-three Nixon fund stories shown by Table 4 did not reflect the Times support of Eisenhower and Nixon in the campaign.

The first Nixon fund story in the Times appeared on the front page on September 19. The story, written by Gladwin Hill of the Times, was headed, "Nixon Affirms Getting Fund of \$16,000 from Backers." Hill wrote in the lead of the story that "Senator Richard M. Nixon, Republican nominee for Vice President, today confirmed reports that since his election to the Senate he had accepted about \$16,000 in contributions from supporters."

On page eleven, an Associated Press story reported that Stephen A. Mitchell had called on Eisenhower to demand Nixon's resignation. "Asks Nixon Be Told to Quit," the headline read. Directly below this story, another Associated Press story concerned Nixon's rejection of Mitchell's suggestion as "a political smear." This story was headed, "Nixon Retorts to Mitchell."

On September 20, three stories and the main headline on the front page concerned the Nixon fund. The main headline read, "Eisenhower Defends Nixon; Report on Fund Is Promised; Senator Charges 'Smears.'" In column six, Lawrence E. Davies, a Times reporter, described Nixon's reaction to the disclosure of the fund. The story was headed, "Vice Presidential Nominee Says 'Crooks' Attack Him, He Also Delays His Train on Coast to Reply to Query on \$16,000 Aid."

An Associated Press story in column seven containing Stevenson's comments on the Nixon fund was headed, "Stevenson Urges Fairness to Nixon, Says 'Condemnation without All Evidence' about \$16,000 Fund 'Would Be Wrong.'"

A story by James Reston was headed, "Backed as Honest, Possibility of Getting Him to Quit Race Weighed but Is Not Pushed, General Attacks Rival, Asserts in Kansas City that 'Bosses' Blocked Kefauver to Boost Stevenson." In the lead of the story, Reston said, "General Dwight D. Eisenhower announced that a completed accounting would be

made of the \$16,000 given to his running mate, Senator Richard M. Nixon, by some of the Senator's political supporters. It is known that the possibility that Senator Nixon might have to be asked to withdraw from the race was discussed."

On September 21, several stories appeared on the front page of the Times concerning the Nixon fund. The main headline, referring to both Nixon and Stevenson, read, "Nixon's Fund \$18,235, Donated by 76; He Indicates He Will Not Withdraw; Stevenson, in South, for Rights Plank."

Laurence Davies, Times reporter, who was traveling with Nixon, discussed Nixon's intention of remaining on the Republican ticket in a front page story. The headline of the story read, "Nixon Not Quitting, His Tone Indicates; Senator Defends Expense Fund as Legitimate--He Campaigns in Oregon."

Another front page story by Gladwin Hill was headed, "Hoover Son on List, Many Prominent Men Helped Senator Meet Expense in Office, Accounting Is Rendered, Pasadena Attorney Itemized Outlay, Says Nixon Never Handled Any Money." The story discussed primarily the seventy-six persons who had contributed to Nixon's fund.

On the front page of the Times on September 23, a story by Gladwin Hill reported that Nixon would appear on a national radio and television broadcast to discuss his fund. The headline of the story read, "Senator Cuts Trip,

Interrupts His Campaign in Portland, Ore., and Flies to Los Angeles, Will Give an 'Accounting,' Summerfield Says
Republican Committee Will Pay \$75,000 for Radio-TV Broadcast."

On September 24, James Reston described Eisenhower's reaction to Nixon's speech in a front page story headed, "Praise by General, He Commends Senator for 'Magnificent' Talk on His Finances, Stumps Ohio with Taft, Then Discards Cleveland Text to Laud Running Mate as a Courageous Person." The story contained primarily comments from Eisenhower's speech. In the lead of the story, Reston said that "General Dwight D. Eisenhower listened to Senator Richard M. Nixon's explanation of his defense tonight and immediately indicated that he would retain the Senator as his Vice Presidential running mate."

Gladwin Hill described Nixon's radio and television broadcast in another front page story on September 24. The story also contained mainly quotations from Nixon's speech. In the lead of the story, Hill wrote that Nixon "defended his \$18,235 'supplementary expenditures' fund as legally and morally beyond reproach." Hill described Nixon as having delivered his address "with composure and assurance." The story was headed, "I'm Not a Quitter, Senator Says He'll Let Republican National Committee Decide, He Reviews His Finances, Accepts Bid to Meet General--Cites Legal Opinions on Use of \$18,235 Fund."

In a story on page twenty-one, the general reactions to Nixon's speech were described as favorable, "at least from those on the Republican side of the fence." The story was headed, "Nixon Replies Tax Phone Wire Lines, Most G. O. P. Leaders Voice Approval, But Gabriels Is Critical, Lodge Silent."

On September 25, the front page headline referred to both funds with, "Eisenhower Calls Nixon Vindicated; Committee Votes to Retain Nominee; Stevenson Bars Data on Illinois Fund." In a front page story, James Reston discussed the meeting of Eisenhower and Nixon and described the greeting as warm. Containing primarily comments from Eisenhower and Nixon, the story was headed, "Candidates Meet, Airport Greeting Warm--General Calls Senator a 'Man of Honor,' Ticket Harmony Assured, Californian Now 'Stands Higher than Ever,' Eisenhower Says of His Explanation."

On September 26, a front page story by Clayton Knowles reported that the formal approval of Nixon by the Republican National Committee "marked an official end to the controversy." The headline of the story read, "G. O. P. Officially Closes Book on Nixon Expense Fund Case, Summerfield Goes through Formality of Notifying Senator He Will Stay on Ticket--Messages Still Pour In."

The Times also conducted three surveys concerning the attitude of persons throughout the nation toward the Nixon fund. One survey, appearing on the front page of

the Times on September 22, was described as "the first of a series of surveys to be printed Monday mornings, of the progress of the campaign based on reports of New York Times regional and state correspondents in all 48 states."

James A. Hagerty, writer of the story, compiled statements from Times reporters throughout the country and concluded that reaction to the Nixon fund "was distinctly unfavorable, and regarded as likely to hurt the chances of election of both General Eisenhower and Senator Nixon if the latter continued on the Republican ticket."

A survey conducted by Times reporter William M. Blair appeared on page twenty-six of the Times on September 25. Blair surveyed the reactions of Mid-Westerners to the Nixon fund and concluded that "farmers and townsfolk appeared to be split in party lines over the right or wrong of Nixon's fund."

On September 29, another Times political survey appeared on the front page and concerned reactions to Nixon's speech. The report concluded that Nixon's speech generally "gave impetus to the Republican campaign." The survey was headed, "Nixon's Speech 'Shot in Arm' to the G. O. P., Survey Finds."

As Table 4 indicates, ten Stevenson fund stories appeared in the Times. Like the Nixon fund stories that appeared in the Times, the Stevenson fund stories and headlines were written objectively.

The first Stevenson fund story appeared on the front page of the Times on September 23. The story, written by Richard J. H. Johnston of the Times staff, was headed, "Subsidy for Illinois Aides Charged; Eases 'Sacrifice,' Stevenson Says." In the lead of the story, Johnston wrote, "Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, the Democratic Presidential nominee, was challenged today to 'acknowledge publicly' that he had approved financial assistance to appointed members of his administration in Springfield during the last four years."

In a front page story on September 25, W. H. Laurence discussed Stevenson's refusal to name the fund donors and recipients. The story, containing primarily comments made by Stevenson, was headed, "Gift Plan Backed, Governor Says Program Lessened Sacrifice of Low-Paid Key Aides, Recipients' Names Secret, Nominee Undecided on Listing the Identities of Donors, He Tells Baltimore Backers."

W. H. Laurence discussed in a front page story on September 26 Stevenson's decision to publicize details of his fund. In the lead of the story, Laurence wrote, "Heeding mounting political criticism, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois changed his mind today and decided to speak out in greater detail about the funds he used to supplement salaries of key state employes and for his own political expenditures." Laurence's story was headed, "Stevenson Decides to Break Silence on Illinois Funds, Wyatt Says

Governor Will Give Further Details on Sums Received by His Aides, \$100,000 Donation Cited, Ex-Purchasing Agent Reports Collection from Concerns Serving State in 1949-1950."

A story on the front page of the Times on September 27 revealed persons who had received gifts from Stevenson. The story was headed, "More 'Gifts' Revealed, Two Illinois Officers Assert They Got Christmas Cash from the Governor."

On September 28, the main headline and one story on the front page concerned Stevenson's revealed fund donors and recipients. The main headline read, "Stevenson to Bare Own Tax Files; Lists 8 He Aided and 1,000 Donors; Says Rival Twists Korea Policy." The front page story reported the details of Stevenson's fund and noted that Stevenson and Sparkman would make public their personal income tax returns. The headline of the story read, "Cited Fund Details, Disburses \$18,150 Total to Key Workers from '48 Campaign Surplus, Challenges His Rivals, Implicitly Bids Them Join Him and Sparkman in Listing Income Data for 10 Years."

Details concerning the eight Stevenson fund recipients appeared in a story on page fifty-nine. The text of Stevenson's statement of his fund appeared on page sixty-two. A list of contributors and the sums of money to Stevenson's fund also appeared on this page.

On September 29, a survey by Times correspondents concerned nationwide interest in the two fund stories. The survey was headed, "Man in Street Is More Interested in Nixon's Fund than in Stevenson's, Nation-Wide Survey Indicates."

It is evident that all four newspapers used more Nixon fund stories and headlines than Stevenson fund stories and headlines. This imbalance, however, cannot be described as bias on the part of the newspapers, because, as was previously discussed, the Nixon fund events generated greater public interest than the Stevenson fund events.

Bias in the fund stories and headlines, however, can be analyzed on the basis of writing style, placement, and types of leads that appeared in the newspapers. Of the four papers analyzed, the Los Angeles Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch were the most biased in stories and headlines concerning the funds. While the Stevenson fund stories and headlines that appeared in these two papers were objective, the Nixon fund stories and headlines reflected the editorial policies of these two papers.

The Los Angeles Times supported the Republican party during the 1952 campaign, and this support was evident in the Nixon fund stories and headlines that appeared in the Times. Despite a great deal of local and state interest in the fund, the Nixon fund stories were placed on the inside pages of the Times during the first two days of the

paper's coverage of the fund. This seemed to be an attempt by the Times to deemphasize the impact of the fund disclosure.

Many of the Nixon fund stories and headlines were written from a Republican point of view and defended Nixon and his fund. Other stories and headlines described Nixon and Eisenhower in glowing terms and praised the two men highly.

The Post-Dispatch, a supporter of Stevenson, was also biased in stories and headlines concerning the Nixon fund. While the Los Angeles Times stories and headlines reflected a very positive attitude toward Nixon, the Post-Dispatch stories and headlines reflected a negative attitude toward him.

The contributors to Nixon's fund, for example, were often referred to as "angels" and "wealthy Californians." Many Nixon fund stories and headlines seemed to emphasize the possibility of Nixon being dropped from the Republican ticket. Most of the newspaper comments on the Nixon fund that appeared in the Post-Dispatch were critical of Nixon, and the headlines accompanying these stories also reflected a negative attitude. In addition, the satirical "Weather-bird Comments" were critical of Nixon and his fund.

The Milwaukee Journal also supported Stevenson during the 1952 campaign. The Journal stories and headlines,

however, did not reflect as negative an attitude toward Nixon as the Post-Dispatch stories and headlines.

Only a few of the Journal Nixon fund stories reflected a negative tone. The first Nixon fund story that appeared in the Journal described the Nixon fund donors as rich political angels. Another story described Nixon as feeling "sick" over the fund furor. Most of the Nixon fund stories and headlines, however, were objective. Few biased phrases were used, and many of the stories and headlines consisted primarily of quotations from Nixon and Eisenhower.

The New York Times, a supporter of the Republican party during the 1952 campaign, was the most objective of the four newspapers in stories and headlines concerning the funds. The fund stories were objectively and concisely written.

In the first Nixon fund story that appeared in the Times, for example, Nixon was cautiously described as having "confirmed reports that . . . he had accepted about \$16,000 from supporters." Rather than ignore or emphasize the possible withdrawal of Nixon from the campaign, the Times reported that "the possibility" of Nixon's "withdrawal from the race was discussed." Headlines, particularly those on the front page, often referred to both funds. The Times also conducted surveys on the funds to assess the attitude of Americans toward the funds.

All four newspapers reported the Stevenson fund objectively. Only in a few cases were the editorial policies of any of the papers reflected in the Stevenson fund stories and headlines. Since the Stevenson fund lacked the dramatic impact of the Nixon fund, it appears that the Nixon fund events that were of greater public interest were more susceptible to distortion, omission, and bias in the four newspapers analyzed. Thus, bias in the news coverage of the funds was reflected in the Nixon fund stories and headlines. Such bias was most evident in the Los Angeles Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, with some appearing in the Milwaukee Journal. The New York Times was most objective in stories and headlines concerning the Nixon and Stevenson funds.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It must be emphasized that statistical evidence regarding the coverage of the funds is insignificant as far as the detection of bias is concerned. In all of the four newspapers analyzed, more editorials, columns, photographs, stories, and headlines pertained to the Nixon fund than to the Stevenson fund. Yet, such imbalance cannot be described as bias on the part of the newspapers because the Nixon fund events generated more public interest than the Stevenson fund events. The Nixon fund events involved much action and drama, including Nixon's national radio and television broadcast and his vindication by Eisenhower in Wheeling, West Virginia. Stevenson's fund did not involve such dramatic activity. The disclosure of Nixon's fund prior to Stevenson's also gave the Nixon fund greater impact. Thus, one cannot expect to find statistical balance concerning the funds in any of the newspapers analyzed. This holds true regardless of the fact that in certain instances significant statistical differences were found in the coverage of the funds, as indicated by the statistical material in the Appendix.

Of the four newspapers analyzed, the New York Times covered the Nixon and Stevenson funds most objectively. In all aspects of newspaper coverage that were considered, including editorials, columns, photographs, stories and headlines, the Times reported the funds concisely and cautiously.

In the fund editorials the Times said that Stevenson and Nixon had shown poor judgment in accepting private funds but saw no evidence of favoritism shown toward donors by Nixon or Stevenson. Much of the editorial content concerned the implications of the use of private funds by public officials.

The columns concerning the funds were also written carefully and cautiously. Most of the columnists attempted to analyze the fund issues, their effect on the campaign, and the feelings of voters toward the candidates and issues. Sweeping generalizations and conclusions were rarely arrived at in the Times columns.

None of the Nixon and Stevenson photographs and cutlines reflected the editorial policies of the Times. The photographs were objective with clear and concise cutlines.

The Times was also the most objective of the four newspapers in stories and headlines concerning the funds. Events were described objectively in a style that was generally free from numerous adjectives and biased word usage. Caution was used in the reporting of the funds, particularly the Nixon fund.

The Los Angeles Times, on the other hand, did not report the fund stories as objectively as the New York Times. Many of the fund columns, stories, and headlines reflected the Los Angeles Times support of Eisenhower and Nixon in the 1952 campaign.

The fund editorials that appeared in the Los Angeles Times indicate the attitude of the paper toward the Nixon and Stevenson funds. Two editorials concerning the Nixon fund appeared in the Los Angeles Times, both on the front page. No Stevenson fund editorials appeared in the paper. In the Nixon fund editorials, the Los Angeles Times praised Nixon highly and described him as "an adversary of evil and a champion of the right." Critics of the Nixon fund were severely chastized and termed "professional political liars and experienced political smear experts."

The fund columns that appeared in the Los Angeles Times concentrated primarily on the positive aspects of the Republican party and the negative qualities of the Democratic party. The Los Angeles Times editorial support of Eisenhower and Nixon was reflected in the highly complimentary style used to describe the two men.

The fund photographs and cutlines concerning the funds were, in most cases, objective. Two photographs and cutlines, however, seemed to reflect the Los Angeles Times support of the Republican party. One photograph, rather negative in tone toward Stevenson, showed the Democratic

presidential candidate with a worried and concerned expression on his face. The cutline described Stevenson as wearing a "harried look tinged with obvious careful thought." In sharp contrast to this cutline was another accompanying a photograph of the Nixons on their way to the broadcasting station. The pair was described as "confident with care-free smiles."

The fund stories and headlines in the Los Angeles Times reflected support of the Republican party, particularly in those stories concerning the Nixon fund. Many adjectives were used in praise of Eisenhower and Nixon, with a defensive point of view reflected in many of the Nixon fund stories and headlines.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch also lacked objectivity in the reporting of the funds. The Post-Dispatch support of the Democratic party was often reflected in the coverage of the funds.

In the fund editorials, the Post-Dispatch praised Stevenson highly and criticized Nixon severely. The Post-Dispatch complimented Stevenson for his restraint in withholding judgment on the Nixon fund and for taking such "a daring initiative" in publicizing his income tax returns. Nixon, on the other hand, was charged with attempting to "hoodwink the public" in the defense of his fund. The Nixon fund was described as "a dirty business," and Nixon's national radio and television broadcast was termed a "carefully contrived soap opera."

Many of the fund columns reflected the Post-Dispatch support of Stevenson, expressing enthusiasm for him and praising his erudite wit and humor. Criticism of Nixon and Eisenhower's handling of the fund, of the Republican selection of Nixon as the vice presidential candidate, and of Nixon's radio and television speech appeared in several of the columns. Unlike the Los Angeles Times, however, the Post-Dispatch did make an effort to analyze campaign issues and voter opinion.

The fund photographs and cutlines were fairly objective. Three Nixon fund photographs, however, showed Nixon with uncomplimentary facial expressions. Cutlines accompanying these photographs described Nixon as looking "serious-faced," making a "wry face," and wearing a "frozen smile, boyish grin missing."

The Stevenson fund headlines and stories in the Post-Dispatch were objective. Those concerning the Nixon fund, however, reflected a negative attitude toward Nixon. The contributors to Nixon's fund were often described as "angels" and "wealthy Californians." The possibility of Nixon being dropped from the Republican ticket was emphasized. The use of the satirical "Weatherbird Comments" served as additional criticism of Nixon and his fund.

The reporting of the funds by the Milwaukee Journal, while not as objective as the New York Times, did not

reflect the editorial policies of the paper to the extent of the Los Angeles Times and the Post-Dispatch.

The editorials indicate the Journal's support of Stevenson in the 1952 campaign. Here Nixon was openly criticized. The Journal described Nixon's acceptance of private funds as unethical and called Eisenhower's support of Nixon "camouflage, pure and simple." Little mention of Stevenson was made except for a demand that he make public the names of fund donors. The Journal, like the New York Times, thoroughly explored the implications of the funds and also related the funds to Wisconsin politics by demanding that Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin follow Nixon's example and publicly reveal his finances.

An assessment of the Journal columns cannot be made since the Journal does not carry any syndicated columns. Most of the paper's political copy consists of interpretative features, news stories, and editorials. Regular columns with standing headlines did not appear in the Journal.

The Journal fund photographs and cutlines were generally objective. Two photographs did appear, however, that were negative in tone toward Nixon. One photograph showed a young college student with a sign that read, "Give Nickels for Nixon," and the other pictured Nixon and his father with grim and sour facial expressions.

The fund stories and headlines in the Journal were, in most cases, concise and objective. Very few of the Nixon fund stories reflected a negative attitude toward Eisenhower and Nixon. In the first Nixon fund story that appeared in the Journal, the fund donors were described as rich political angels. Another story said Nixon was "sick" over the fund furor. Other stories and headlines concerning both funds did not reflect the editorial policies of the Journal.

As indicated by the material in the Appendix, several statistically significant differences were found in the coverage of the funds by the four newspapers analyzed.

The Los Angeles Times devoted significantly more mean column inches of photographs to the Nixon fund than any of the other newspapers. The Times also used a significantly larger mean headline type size for the Nixon fund than the other papers.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch used significantly more mean column inches of photographs for the Nixon fund than the Milwaukee Journal and a significantly larger mean headline type size for the Nixon fund than the New York Times. The Post-Dispatch also used significantly more mean column inches for Nixon fund headlines than any of the other newspapers and significantly more mean column inches for Stevenson fund headlines than the Los Angeles Times.

There were no statistically significant differences among any of the newspapers concerning the mean headline type size of Stevenson fund headlines.

The New York Times used significantly more mean column inches for Nixon and Stevenson fund headlines than the Los Angeles Times. The New York Times also used significantly more mean column inches of Nixon fund stories than the Milwaukee Journal and significantly more mean column inches of Stevenson fund stories than the Milwaukee Journal and the Los Angeles Times.

The Milwaukee Journal used significantly more mean column inches for Stevenson fund headlines than the Los Angeles Times.

As was previously pointed out, statistical evidence alone is not sufficient to detect bias in newspaper coverage. The significant differences that were found in the coverage of the Nixon and Stevenson funds, however, do substantiate the point made that among the four newspapers analyzed, varying amounts of space were devoted to the fund stories.

Thus it can be concluded that imbalance was evident in the coverage of the funds with the Nixon fund receiving greater coverage than the Stevenson fund. Due to the dramatic impact of the Nixon fund and the increased public interest created, however, this imbalance cannot be characterized as biased coverage.

In terms of word style and other criteria, however, the New York Times was the most objective in reporting the fund stories. The Milwaukee Journal reflected some editorial support of the Democratic party in the coverage of the funds, but not to a great extent. The Los Angeles Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, however, showed substantial bias in reporting the fund stories. The editorial policies of both papers were reflected in the coverage of the funds, particularly in those columns, stories and headlines concerning the Nixon fund.

The findings of this study are similar to those of Blumberg and Rowse in that evidence of bias was detected in the coverage of the 1952 campaign. It must be emphasized, however, that the conclusions reached in this study are based upon both quantitative and qualitative evidence, including statistical material, word style, and placement in all aspects of newspaper coverage. By analyzing news stories, headlines, photographs, columns, and editorials, a comprehensive analysis of the four newspapers was made.

In assessing the objectivity of the press at any time, researchers are often prone to rely strictly on statistical information. Such methodology is not complete. Conclusions based solely on the column-inch space unit are incomplete and misleading, for equal coverage of an event or issue cannot necessarily be equated with balanced coverage. The reverse may also be true. Unequal coverage

does not always indicate bias on the part of the newspapers. Other aspects of newspaper coverage must be considered in relation to the column-inch space unit in order to fairly and comprehensively assess newspaper coverage.

Further research, in fact, needs to be done regarding those qualitative areas used in an assessment of newspaper coverage of an event. The study of word style, in particular, should be more thoroughly explored in order that varying degrees of word bias can be determined. Such research would enable others to more completely analyze newspaper coverage and to more adequately assess newspaper accounts of the day's events and issues. Only through continued research in the various methods of measuring and detecting bias can newspaper coverage be fairly and comprehensively assessed and be placed in a proper perspective.

APPENDIX

It is evident from Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6, found in the main body of this paper, that differences exist among the newspapers in the amount of space devoted to photographs, headlines, and stories, but the tables do not indicate whether these differences are significant.

By using the appropriate statistical tests, one can determine whether the observed differences are due to pure chance or if the differences are statistically significant.

All of the tests used to determine statistical differences among the four newspapers followed the same procedure, although mathematical formulas varied in order to correct for small samples. The mean and the variance were first found for all newspapers on the variable being measured. These measurements were then used in a statistical test to find the difference of the means. To determine whether the difference between the means was significant, a t-test or critical ratio was computed. This is a ratio comparing the difference found between the means in the experiment and the difference that could be expected due to chance. If the difference between the means obtained in the experiment were larger than the difference expected to occur by chance, it was reported that the difference was

statistically significant. The minimum level of significance used in all tests was the standard .05 level.

One test was run on the mean difference of column inches devoted to photographs among the four newspapers analyzed. This test concerned the mean column inches used in the Nixon fund photographs. It was not possible to run a separate statistical test on the differences of column inches used in Stevenson fund photographs because of the limited number of such photographs used by the Milwaukee Journal and the New York Times.

The mean column inches of Nixon fund photographs used by the Los Angeles Times was 23.24; the Post-Dispatch, 14.55; the New York Times, 13.22; and the Milwaukee Journal, 10.17. Table 7 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of Nixon fund photographic space.

Table 7.--T-values for Nixon fund photographs.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	.53	1.08	2.78 ^b
Los Angeles Times	3.45 ^b	4.83 ^b	----
Milwaukee Journal	2.73 ^b	----	----

^aFor the differences of column inches.

^bSignificant beyond .01 level.

It was found that the Los Angeles Times devoted significantly more mean column inches of photographs to the Nixon fund than did any of the other newspapers analyzed. It was also found that the Post-Dispatch devoted significantly more mean column inches of photographs to the Nixon fund than did the Milwaukee Journal.

Four tests were run on the mean differences of column inches and type size devoted to headlines among the four newspapers analyzed. Two of the tests concerned the mean differences of type size used in the headlines pertaining to the Nixon and Stevenson funds. The other two tests concerned the mean differences of column inches used in the headlines of the two funds.

The mean type size of headlines used in reporting the Nixon fund by the Los Angeles Times was 30.52; the Post-Dispatch, 27.16; the Milwaukee Journal, 26.77; and the New York Times, 24.44. Table 8 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of type size in Nixon fund headlines.

It was found that the Los Angeles Times used a significantly larger mean type size in reporting the Nixon fund than did any of the other newspapers analyzed. The Post-Dispatch used a significantly larger mean type size in reporting the Nixon fund than did the New York Times.

The mean type size of headlines used in reporting the Stevenson fund by the Los Angeles Times was 31.20; the Post-Dispatch, 28.96; the Milwaukee Journal, 28.40; and

the New York Times, 25.41. Table 9 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of type size in Stevenson fund headlines.

Table 8.--T-values for Nixon fund headlines.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	2.37 ^b	1.50	5.33 ^c
Los Angeles Times	2.73 ^b	2.33 ^b	----
Milwaukee Journal	.24	----	----

^aFor the differences of type size.

^bSignificant beyond .05 level.

^cSignificant beyond .01 level.

Table 9.--T-values for Stevenson fund headlines.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	1.34	.78	1.97
Los Angeles Times	.77	.70	----
Milwaukee Journal	.15	---	----

^aFor the differences of type size.

There were no significant differences among any of the newspapers concerning the mean type size of Stevenson fund headlines.

The mean column inches of Nixon fund headlines used by the Post-Dispatch was 1.93; the New York Times, 1.57; the Milwaukee Journal, 1.43; and the Los Angeles Times, 1.28. Table 10 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of column inches of Nixon fund headlines.

Table 10.--T-values for Nixon fund headlines.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	2.12 ^b	1.08	2.23 ^b
Los Angeles Times	4.64 ^c	1.50	----
Milwaukee Journal	3.57 ^c	----	----

^aFor the differences of column inches.

^bSignificant beyond .05 level.

^cSignificant beyond .01 level.

The Post-Dispatch used significantly more mean column inches in headlines of the Nixon fund than did any of the other newspapers analyzed. It was also found that the New York Times used significantly more mean column inches in its headlines of the Nixon fund than did the Los Angeles Times.

The mean column inches of Stevenson fund headlines used by the Post-Dispatch was 2.21; the New York Times, 1.96; the Milwaukee Journal, 1.73; and the Los Angeles Times, 1.12. Table 11 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of column inches of Stevenson fund headlines.

Table 11.--T-values for Stevenson fund headlines.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	.56	.64	2.33 ^b
Los Angeles Times	3.52 ^c	3.59 ^c	----
Milwaukee Journal	1.55	----	----

^aFor the differences of column inches.

^bSignificant beyond .05 level.

^cSignificant beyond .01 level.

It was found that the Post-Dispatch, the Milwaukee Journal, and the New York Times used significantly more mean column inches of Stevenson fund headlines than did the Los Angeles Times.

Two tests were run on the mean differences of column inches devoted to stories among the four newspapers analyzed. One test concerned the mean differences of column inches in the Nixon fund stories, and the other concerned

the mean differences of column inches used in the Stevenson fund stories.

The mean column inches of stories used in reporting the Nixon fund by the New York Times was 22.67; the Post-Dispatch, 20.95; the Los Angeles Times, 18.84; and the Milwaukee Journal, 15.97. Table 12 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of column inches of Nixon fund stories.

Table 12.--T-values for Nixon fund stories^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	.51	2.31 ^b	1.15
Los Angeles Times	.63	1.01	----
Milwaukee Journal	1.75	----	----

^aFor the differences of column inches.

^bSignificant beyond .05 level.

It was found that the New York Times used significantly more mean column inches of Nixon fund stories than did the Milwaukee Journal.

The mean column inches of stories used in reporting the Stevenson fund by the New York Times was 31.73; the Post-Dispatch, 22.25; the Los Angeles Times, 17.60; and the

Milwaukee Journal, 17.13. Table 13 contains the obtained t-values for the differences of column inches of Stevenson fund stories.

Table 13.--T-values for Stevenson fund stories.^a

	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Milwaukee Journal	Los Angeles Times
New York Times	1.31	2.29 ^b	2.34 ^b
Los Angeles Times	1.26	.09	----
Milwaukee Journal	.79	----	----

^aFor the differences of column inches.

^bSignificant beyond .05 level.

It was found that the New York Times used significantly more mean column inches of Stevenson fund stories than did the Milwaukee Journal or the Los Angeles Times.

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