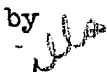


SOCIAL CHANGE IN A RURAL COMMUNITY AS REFLECTED
IN A RURAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

by 
Ernest M. Banzet

*
* *
*

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied
Science in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology
East Lansing, Michigan

1941

ProQuest Number: 10008255

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10008255

Published by ProQuest LLC (2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the many persons who have aided him in the preparation of this manuscript. He desires to thank especially the members of his committee, Professors Ernest B. Harper, Harald S. Patton, Charles R. Hoffer, and Eben Mumford (now retired), for reading the manuscript and giving many helpful suggestions. Professors John F. Thaden and Duane L. Gibson also read and criticized the manuscript and gave valuable assistance. Special gratitude is due the writer's wife, Ellen Carey Banzet, who has assisted with the innumerable calculations that had to be made and in the preparation of the manuscript. The author is also indebted to Schuyler Marshall, editor of the Clinton County Republican-News, for his generosity in making available the complete files of his paper and for his patience and cooperation in answering many questions and offering suggestions. And finally, thanks is due to Erna Love, Martha Marshall, and Jeanne Marshall, who aided in the collection of the data.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE RURAL WEEKLY AS A SOURCE OF DATA FOR STUDYING SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY.....	1
The community defined; types of communities; importance of the rural primary community; problems of the rural community; the need for studying the problems of the rural community; the rural weekly as an interpreter of the life of the rural community; purpose of the study; application of the study.	
II. METHODOLOGY.....	16
Early attempts at newspaper analysis; the growth of an objective methodology; the development of specialization in newspaper analysis; early analysis of rural papers; further development in the analysis of the rural weekly; point of departure in the present study; delimiting the study; the method of classifying newspaper content; method of determining the intimacy of the community's common interests; advertising.	
III. FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION OF A PAPER.....	38
Selecting a paper; the community to be portrayed; Clinton County's newspaper history; history of the Republican-News; position of the Clinton County Republican-News among Michigan weeklies in 1929.	
IV. WHAT THE PAPER PRINTS.....	55
NEWS: news space analyzed on the basis of column inches; news space analyzed on the basis of percentages. ADVERTISING: total advertising. Summary.	
V. COUNTY NEWS AND ADVERTISING MATTER.....	76
NEWS: county news space analyzed on the basis of column inches; county news space analyzed on the basis of percentages; local or county seat news in terms of column inches in the Clinton County seat weekly; local news in terms of percentages of all county news.	

Analysis of minor categories: economic news; family news; religious news; governmental news; educational news; recreational news; health news; personal items.

ADVERTISING: county advertising; display advertising; non-display advertising.

Summary.

VI. EXTRA-COUNTY NEWS AND ADVERTISING..... 130

Distribution of extra-county news space; distribution of state news; national news; foreign news; stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter.

Extra-county advertising.

VII. EDITORIAL SPACE..... 156

Analysis of editorial space; editorial space given to government; qualitative analysis of editorials on politics; editorial space given to Clinton County; extra-county editorial space.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS..... 188

Community life in the pre-nineteen hundred period as reflected in the Republican-News; social change in the 1900 to 1919 period as reflected in the Republican-News; social change in the post-war decade as reflected in the Republican-News.

APPENDIX..... 198

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 207

TABLES

Page

I.	Number and percentage of incorporated places, classified according to population, in the United States, 1930	4
II.	Population of Clinton County, Michigan and population of St. Johns, the county seat of Clinton County, by census years 1880-1930	43
III.	Principal newspapers of Clinton County, Michigan from 1842 to 1932.....	47
IV.	Weekly mean number of pages, columns per page, inches per column, and column inches per issue of the Clinton County Republican-News in the twelve selected issues at five year intervals from 1881 to 1926 and for 1929.....	51
V.	Distribution of Michigan weekly newspapers in 1929 according to their circulations and to the populations of the towns in which they were published.....	52
VI.	Weekly mean number of column inches given to total news and to each of the twelve major categories, in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881-1930.....	57
VII.	Weekly mean percentages that news is of total paper space and that each of the twelve major categories is of the news space in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881-1930.....	63
VIII.	Weekly mean number of column inches given to total advertising and to each of the major types of advertising, and weekly mean percentage that advertising is of total paper space and that each major type is of all advertising, in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881-1930.....	71
IX.	Weekly mean number of column inches in the twelve selected issues for each year, given to Clinton County news and its distribution in terms of weekly mean number of column inches among ten of the major categories, 1881-1930.....	78
X.	Weekly mean percentage that county news is of total news and that each of the ten major categories is of total county news in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881-1930.....	83
XI.	Weekly mean number of column inches in the twelve selected issues for each year given to local news and its distribution in terms of weekly mean number of column inches among ten of the major categories, 1881-1930.....	88

XII.	Weekly mean percentage that local news is of total news and that each of ten of the major categories is of total local news in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881-1930.....	92
XIII.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to economics and its subcategories.....	98
XIV.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to family and its subcategories.....	101
XV.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to religion and its subcategories.....	104
XVI.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to government and its subcategories.....	106
XVII.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to education and its subcategories.....	108
XVIII.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to recreation and its subcategories.....	111
XIX.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to health and its subcategories.....	113
XX.	Distribution of county news space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to personal items and its subcategories.....	115
XXI.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to county advertising and its major categories.....	118
XXII.	Distribution of county display advertising space exclusive of St. Johns and of county non-display advertising including St. Johns by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to advertising and its major categories...	120
XXIII.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to county display advertising and its subcategories.....	123
XXIV.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to county non-display advertising and its subcategories.....	127

XXV.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to extra-county news and to its four major subdivisions.....	132
XXVI.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average number of column inches to state news and its subcategories.....	135
XXVII.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average percentages to state news and its subcategories.....	139
XXVIII.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average number of column inches to national news and its subcategories.....	141
XXIX.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average percentages to national news and its subcategories.....	142
XXX.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average number of column inches and percentages to foreign news and its subcategories.....	145
XXXI.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly average number of column inches and percentages to stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter.....	148
XXXII.	Distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of weekly averages to extra-county advertising....	152
XXXIII.	Weekly average amount of total editorial space in column inches and the percentages of the total allotted to the various major categories by designated periods.....	158
XXXIV.	Weekly average amount of total editorial space in column inches given to government and the percentages of the total given to the various minor categories by designated periods.....	165
XXXV.	Weekly average amount of editorial space in column inches given to Clinton County, its percentage of all editorial space, and its percentage distribution to the various major categories by selected periods.....	174
XXXVI.	Weekly average amount of editorial space in column inches given to extra-county, its percentage of all editorial space, and its percentage distribution to the various major categories by selected periods.....	182

CHAPTER I

THE RURAL WEEKLY AS A SOURCE OF DATA FOR STUDYING SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

THE COMMUNITY DEFINED. The term, community, is primarily a "regional concept".¹ It is used to designate a group of people occupying a relatively definite geographic area within a larger society. The area of the community has a common center around which its various population units tend to converge and a circumference which roughly defines its area and separates it from other communities.² The community's circumference, however, is rarely, if ever, a fixed line. It tends to oscillate back and forth between adjacent communities over a marginal area which for certain services may lie within one or another of contiguous community territories. The community center, on the other hand, is always quite definite. Its position is generally determined by factors of communication and transportation. The location usually chosen is the one most easily reached from various points of the surrounding area.³ From the outlying area come the raw materials for local use or trans-shipment while at the center are located stores, banks, hotels, restaurants, theaters, lodge halls, libraries, churches, schools, news-

¹E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY, p. 129.

²Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, THE CITY, p. 115.
Jesse Frederick Steiner, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, pp. 18-21.

³Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, OP. CIT. p. 69.

paper offices, telephone offices, hospitals, post offices, railroad and bus stations, and factories which supply essential services to the territory enscribed within the community.⁴ Defined broadly, then, the community is a group of people occupying a given territory tributary to and including a common service center. It is people communicating and associating with each other in all the ways that are necessary for the carrying on of a common life.⁵ It is a constellation of institutions.⁶ In short, then, the community is the unity through communication of a group of people living in a more or less well defined area in the participation of common interests and common objectives in such institutions and institutional relationships as homes, and schools, and churches, and in economic, governmental, recreational, health, and art aims and ideals.

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES. Various qualifying uses of the term, community, have been made. These apply to groups and areas of varying sizes and characteristics. For instance, regional community is the term used to denote the large urban complex with all of the surrounding politically independent towns and cities that are closely related to it, while the subcenters themselves are referred to as suburban communities.⁷ Numerous other restrictive uses of the concept, community,

⁴

Kimball Young, AN INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY, p. 5.

⁵

Charles A. Ellwood, PSYCHOLOGY OF HUMAN SOCIETY, pp. 12-13.

⁶

Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, OP. CIT., p. 115.

⁷

Roderick D. McKenzie, THE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY, p. 6.

Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas, THE CITY A STUDY IN URBANISM IN THE UNITED STATES, ch. 14.

have also been made, such as commercial, industrial, and special, depending upon its prevailing characteristics.⁸ The simplest type of community, however, is the primary community so designated because of its relatively small area and the intimacy and informality of its contacts.⁹

IMPORTANCE OF THE RURAL PRIMARY COMMUNITY. The primary community predominates in the rural sections of the United States. It is the small town with its surrounding geographic area. It lacks complexity; consequently the inter-relationship of its institutions and the service function of its center are generally more readily observed. Furthermore, the extension of the services of its center into the countryside can be easily plotted and the relatively definite geographic area included within its boundaries determined.¹⁰

The importance of the rural primary community will be made more evident by a glance at Table I which shows the number of incorporated places, classified according to population, in the United States for 1930.

It will be observed from this table that there were 16,598 incorporated places in the United States in 1930. While some of these places are too small to be considered community centers and others are either suburban to a regional center¹¹ or are too large to be included among the rural primary type, yet the vast majority of those below five thousand or even ten thousand in population may be considered as belonging to the latter class, that is the rural type, of community centers. Fourteen thousand seven hundred sixty-five, or 88.9 per cent, of the total number

⁸Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, OP. CIT., pp. 65-67.

⁹Kimball Young, OP. CIT., p. 5.

¹⁰Thaden, John F., "The Lansing Region and its Tributary Town-Country Communities," Bulletin 302, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, April, 1940.

¹¹R. D. McKenzie, OP. CIT., p. 6.

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF INCORPORATED PLACES CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO POPULATION, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930*

Population of places	Number of places	Cumulative number of places	Percentage of total number of places	Cumulative per- centage of total number of places
Under 100.....	437	437	2.6	2.6
100-249.....	2,546	2,983	15.3	17.9
250-499.....	3,874	6,854	23.4	41.3
500-749.....	2,151	9,005	12.9	54.2
750-999.....	1,341	10,346	8.0	62.2
1,000-1,499.....	1,611	11,957	9.7	71.9
1,500-2,499.....	1,476	13,433	9.0	80.9
2,500-4,999.....	1,332	14,765	8.0	88.9
5,000-9,999.....	851	15,616	5.1	94.0
10,000-24,999...	606	16,222	3.7	97.7
25,000-99,999...	283	16,505	1.7	99.4
100,000 and over	93	16,598	.6	100.0

*Data compiled by John F. Thaden from Fifteenth United States Census, Vol. I, "Population," 1930.

of incorporated places, it will be noted from Table I, have populations of less than five thousand and 15,616, or 94.1 per cent, show populations below the ten thousand figure. These various incorporated towns with populations below ten thousand, according to the United States census, had a combined population of 19,798,199.¹² If the population of the tributary areas of these incorporated places approximated that of their centers, a condition which John F. Thaden found to be true of community centers within the Lansing trade area,¹³ then the total population of incor-

¹²Fifteenth United States Census, Vol. I, Population, p. 17.

¹³John F. Thaden, THE GREATER LANSING AREA, p. 26, Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Mich., Bulletin 302, April 1940.

porated places in the United States with populations in 1930 of less than ten thousand plus their tributary areas approached forty million, most of which was rural in character. These data lend support to the conclusion that the rural primary community bulks large in the total social life of the nation.

PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY. The rural community is faced with many problems; and while they are quite different from those of the urban community, they are, doubtless, even more vital to the welfare of the nation than those of the latter. Unlike the urban center, expansion and overcrowding have seldom been a part of the rural community's more serious problems but rather the opposite. From early pioneer times, with few exceptions, until the beginning of the present century the average small agricultural community was characterized by a continuous increase in population.¹⁴ Its various institutions were geared to constantly increasing demands for service. Moreover, there were few services rendered by the larger community center that were not also supplied by the smaller one; and, in addition, life in the smaller center was more intimate and personal and crime and pauperism, probably, less prevalent and less acute than in the city. But with the passing of the frontier, the development of a credit economy, the growth of large scale industry, the cheapening of transportation, and the widening of the market the larger cities began an expansion which has continued until the present time.¹⁵ In contrast, the small rural community began a decline which, as yet, shows no signs of abatement. Incorporated towns with less than 2500 population, for instance,

¹⁴ Jesse Frederick Steiner, OP. CIT., p. 8.

¹⁵ Roderick D. McKenzie, OP. CIT., pp. 28-29.

have shown an increasing tendency to decline during successive decades from 1890 to 1930. The percentages of such places showing declines for the decennial periods ending in 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 are in order 25.2, 31.4, 36.5, and 45.3.¹⁶ Moreover, the data show not only an increasing percentage of incorporated centers declining in population but also a tendency for the percentage of incorporated centers declining in population to increase after 1900 in inverse ratio with the size of the centers. Thus it would seem that in the pre-nineteen hundred period rural life was concentrated around the small towns and villages more than at present. When the accompanying decline which took place from 1890 to 1930 in the rural population surrounding the small centers is also considered, it is quite apparent that the small community is faced with a situation which represents a reversal of earlier trends. Furthermore, its predicament is doubly perplexing since the drainage of population to the larger centers has taken many of the youth and much of the aggressive leadership from the smaller center leaving the latter less well equipped to meet the demands thrust upon it.¹⁷ In such a dilemma many small communities, doubtless, tend to become seats of conservatism and to fall farther and farther behind in the struggle to meet the changing needs of the times. Moreover, rural communities are not isolated. They are interrelated with the life of the larger communities. They supply foodstuffs and labor to the larger centers and furnish a market for much of the latter's finished

¹⁶ Figures for the census periods, 1900, 1910, and 1920, were compiled from John M. Gillette's *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* (revised edition) pp. 433-440. Figures for the census period ending in 1930 are taken from unpublished data supplied by John F. Thaden. See also R. D. McKenzie, *OP. CIT.*, p. 30.

¹⁷ Niles Carpenter, *THE SOCIOLOGY OF CITY LIFE*, pp. 329-332.

products; consequently any change in the functional or structural make-up of the smaller community is likely to modify the socializing process for the whole society.

THE NEED FOR STUDYING THE PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY. Numerous grave and perplexing problems which are an outgrowth of changed conditions, it has been pointed out, beset the rural community. These problems have led many individuals and organizations, both public and private, within the last quarter of a century, to attempt a reweaving of the rural community's institutions, an interest which has expressed itself in numerous surveys and analyses undertaken for the purpose of better understanding and directing community life. Most of the earlier surveys were confined to diagnoses of the ills of the larger urban centers where sources of data and resources in wealth and leadership are more adequate. More recently, however, a greater appreciation of the vital importance of the rural community to the national life has been recognized and more attention is being paid to its interests and its problems.¹⁸ In addition to the

¹⁸Jesse Frederick Steiner, OP. CIT., pp. 3-4.

The Purnell Act passed by Congress in 1926 is an illustration of the recent recognition of the importance to the nation of the rural community's problems. This act provided for an increasing scale of payment from \$20,000 for the year 1926 to \$60,000 for the year 1930 and each succeeding year thereafter to be paid to the agricultural experiment stations of the various states and territories for the purpose of "conducting investigations or making experiments bearing directly on the production, manufacture, preparation, use, distribution, and marketing of agricultural products and including such scientific researches as have for their purpose the establishment and maintenance of a permanent and efficient agricultural industry, and such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life, and for printing and disseminating the results of said researches." "Federal Legislation Regulations, and Rulings Affecting Land Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations," p. 20, United States Department of Agriculture, Department circular 251, Feb. 1930.

cross sectional study of the rural community's immediate problems, it should be noted further, an understanding of the past conditions that produced them is being more and more emphasized in the later surveys. But the rural community is often handicapped by a lack of adequate and objective data for taking a survey of the development of its community life. Sources of data, such as the records kept by labor unions, charity and welfare organizations, public health boards, recreational boards, boards of education, library boards, chambers of commerce and other business organizations, lodges, and women's clubs, are likely to be less complete than those of the urban center. Such data as do exist are generally not easily accessible and not readily comparable for they are seldom brought together in a central recording agency as is the case in the city. Likewise, state biennial reports, year books, census records, and historical material carry little or no detail about the smaller communities. Thus, handicapped, the rural community must look to other sources for data upon which to base a study of its changing life and to project reforms.

THE RURAL WEEKLY AS AN INTERPRETER OF THE LIFE OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY.

Edwar Bulwer-Lytton, commenting in 1855 on the London Times as an index of British civilization said:

If I desired to leave to remote posterity some memorial of existing British civilization, I would prefer, not our docks, not our railways, not our public buildings, not even the palace in which we hold our sittings; I would prefer a file of the Times newspaper.¹⁹

If it could be said in the middle of the last century that the daily newspaper was an accurate index of social life, such a claim should have more validity now. In the intervening years, numerous inventions and the

¹⁹Quoted by Lucy Maynard Salmon, THE NEWSPAPER AND THE HISTORIAN, p. 468.

perfections of older ones have added to its efficiency in portraying the life of its time. The various press associations, such as the Associated Press, The United Press, Havas, Reuters, and others, have speeded the collection of news. Other inventions like the telegraph, cable, telephone, wireless, and radio have greatly facilitated news reception, while stenography and the typewriter have reduced the number of errors and increased the speed of transmitting news into copy. Of equal or greater importance are the linotype, perfecting presses, color printing, and rotogravure processes which have expedited the transmission of copy and the photograph into print.²⁰ At the same time the railway, automobile, concrete highway, and urban and rural free delivery service have been responsible for the widespread diffusion of the daily newspaper to all classes of people.

But in spite of its somewhat greater technological perfection and facility in disseminating the news, the modern daily newspaper, when compared with the rural weekly as an index of the life of its community, has some limitations. It is confined, for the most part, to the larger cities where life is less intimate and more impersonal than in the small towns. It must attempt to serve a clientele which is often characterized by vast differences in wealth and income and in political, religious, intellectual, and artistic interests and ideals. Furthermore, because of the large number of people it serves, it cannot hope to include much detail about the incidents, the interests, and the lives of its constituents. And, finally, a considerable amount of the daily paper's space does not pertain to its own community but to the world at large, for national and

²⁰Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, MAIN CURRENTS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM, pp. 393-405.

Lucy Maynard Salmon, OP. CIT., pp. 15-16.

international news have become an important part of its field.

By way of contrast, the rural weekly is essentially the paper of the small community. Its readers are, for the most part, engaged in or largely dependent upon farming and seldom, perhaps, do they number more than a few thousand or occupy a territory much larger than a county. Furthermore, their dependence largely upon a single industry, namely farming, precludes extremes in wealth and promotes a unity and a sense of democracy not so generally common in the territory of the daily; moreover, the close proximity and essential homogeneity of the residents of the small community enable them in the process of carrying on a common life to meet frequently in face to face relations which when recorded in the columns of the rural weekly makes possible an intimacy that is, as a rule, conspicuously lacking among those who peruse the more pretentious paper. Likewise, the editor of the rural weekly is more or less personally acquainted with those who read his paper; consequently he cannot hide behind the anonymity which is often prevalent in the news and editorials emanating from the more complex organization of the large city daily; hence he is compelled to guard the accuracy of his statements more carefully than the city editor.²¹ In short, the rural weekly is limited to a comparatively small intimate homogeneous group. Its articles pertain to people that are relatively well acquainted with each other and with the editor. Its interests and the problems with which it deals are more likely to be the concern of the whole community. It is, doubtless, these facts that have lead Bing to say:

²¹Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, THE PROFESSION OF JOURNALISM, pp. 149-150.

There is little doubt that in some ways the country weekly is the best paper printed. It comes nearer to fulfilling the purpose for which it was established--that of telling the news about its own community and of neighboring communities--than any other paper can possibly come. It has no other field to cover and can deal intensively with local and county news.²²

Recording, as it does, the more significant news, incidents, and events that occur day by day and week by week within its community, the rural weekly becomes the most effective interpreter of its own community life. Family pleasures and sorrows, economic successes and failures, religious joys and tribulations, political achievements and disappointments, recreational victories and defeats, and health conquests and perils are all portrayed in more or less intimate detail in the local paper. Its function as a mirror of the life of its community has been more clearly expressed by America's foremost country editor, William Allen White, in the following terms:

When you see its array of countryside items; its interminable local stories; its tiresome editorials on the waterworks, the schools, the street railroad, the crops and the city printing, don't throw down the contemptible little rag with the verdict that there is nothing in it. But know this, and know it well: if you could take the clay from your eyes and read the paper as it is written, you would find all of God's beautiful, sorrowing, struggling, aspiring world in it, and what you saw would make you touch the little paper with reverend hands.²³

There are other institutions, such as lodges, schools, churches, and local governmental organizations, which keep brief accounts of specialized phases of community life; but no other institution chronicles the life of the whole community in all of its institutional aspects as effectively as the rural weekly. It is true, of course, that many rural weeklies, part-

²²Phil. C. Bing, *THE COUNTRY WEEKLY*, p. 7.

²³"The Country Newspaper," *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1916, 132: p. 891.

icularly the smaller ones, fail to mirror their communities adequately;²⁴ but considering the paucity and insufficiency of other records, the rural weekly, despite its many faults, furnishes the most accurate and permanent historical record of the continuous life of the small community.²⁵

This generalization is supported by John W. Riley's study of the leisure time activities of a Maine community of about seven thousand. In this investigation the social gatherings recorded in three complete diaries, the first of which was for the year 1857, were compared with the newspaper's accounts of these gatherings. In no case had the newspaper failed to mention a social gathering, outside of family groups, recorded in the diaries. The author also compared the newspaper's accounts covering a number of years with the activity records of thirty-five clubs. Activity curves based on the number of gatherings of the thirty-five clubs were plotted from the records of these organizations and compared with activity curves plotted from accounts of the activities of these organizations in the newspaper. In each case the peaks of the curves occurred during the same period of time. Furthermore, the newspaper's record when compared with the questionnaire method proved far more accurate and dependable than the latter. Of ninety-one questionnaire reports from the clubs' leading members only six checked completely with newspaper accounts and the clubs' own records.²⁶

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY. If the rural weekly portrays the sorrows, the struggles, and the aspirations of its community, as students of rural

²⁴Malcolm M. Willey, THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER, Ch. IV.

²⁵M. V. Atwood, THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER, p. 67.

²⁶John Winchell Riley, Jr., "The Country Weekly as a Sociological Source," AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 39-46.

journalism, rural editors, and rural sociologists have indicated, its analysis over a period of years should show a sort of moving picture of the changing interests and the changing character of the local life. This study undertakes to make such an analysis. It attempts to analyze, classify, and quantify the space of a rural weekly newspaper over a period of time sufficiently long to make possible a comparison of changes from year to year and from decade to decade in the amount of space given to various types of news and advertising matter. Such a comparison involves several purposes. It makes it possible to show: first, the rise of new community problems and the decline of old ones; second, the changing character of community interests; third, the expansion or decline of the community area and its function; fourth, the more important influences which have affected both the newspaper and the community. An increasing amount of news space given to such items as the farm bureau, home demonstration, county agent, 4-H Club, the need of hospital facilities, consolidated schools, boy and girl scout organizations, and good roads indicate the rise of new problems and of new methods of dealing with them, while a decrease in the amount of space given to such matters as patent medicine advertising and political and religious fundamentalism give evidence of the disappearance of old ones. Likewise, if baseball, golf links, moving pictures, parks, playgrounds, tourists trade, women's clubs and organizations, women's styles, children, and children's wearing apparel come in for a greater amount of emphasis in later issues, they reveal the existence of new and different community interests.²⁷ Furthermore, if literature, magazine material, and national and international affairs are stressed more in the

²⁷Lucy Maynard Salmon, OP. CIT., Ch. 17.

earlier issues, while the local community and geographic areas formerly adjacent to it receive more space in the later ones, a condition of a relative lack of local libraries, magazines, and daily papers would seem to be indicated. On the other hand, an expansion of the local community and the presence of these various media of communication would seem to be reflected if the local community and its formerly contiguous geographic areas receive more space in the later issues. Moreover, if the newspaper mirrors the life of its community, it should reflect the impact on both itself and the other institutions of the community of such important influencing factors as the linotype machine, rural free delivery mail service, and the automobile. The hypothesis of this study, then, is that an analysis of the consecutive issues of a rural newspaper over a period of years will reflect social change within its community.

APPLICATION OF THE STUDY. In the following chapter the development of the technique and methodology of newspaper analysis are reviewed and a method by which the rural weekly may be used as an index of change in its community is set forth. This method has a number of useful applications. In the first place, it provides the editor with a sort of measuring stick for comparing the effectiveness of his paper in mirroring the life of his community from year to year. Secondly, it may enable him to compare the efficiency of his paper in portraying the life of his community with that of other papers, or it may enable him to compare his paper with some scientific norm that may be set up. Furthermore, it enables all of those individuals and organizations concerned with rural community problems, such as community organization, the reorganization and consolidation of the services of local governmental units, county home rule, and the county

manager plan, or those concerned with more specialized problems, such as the rural church, the consolidation of rural schools, the county unit system of education, county health and the county hospital, and the county unit welfare plan, to use the rural weekly as a source of data upon which a study of the changing problems, changing interests, and changing character of the rural community may be made and plans for its reorganization initiated.

In succeeding chapters the methodology devised is applied to a rural weekly and the practicability of this methodology in reflecting social change in a community is demonstrated.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS. The scientific approach to the analysis of newspaper content like the application of science to other fields of knowledge has been a growth. The earlier investigations are confined to a study of the daily paper. Many of them are characterized by a vague methodology, too few categories for classifying newspaper content accurately, a desire to prove an hypothesis, or a period of investigation too limited in time to throw any light on the problem of the rural weekly as an index of change in the rural community.

One of the earliest of the studies was that of J. G. Speed whose purpose was to show that the subject matter of the newspaper had degenerated between the years 1881 and 1893.¹ His analysis was limited to Sunday editions of four New York dailies. Only thirteen categories were used, and these he does not define. When his purpose and limited classifying scheme are considered, the making of separate categories for "gossip," "scandal," and "crime" and criminals" seems a bit confusing.

Another of the earlier studies which reveals a lack of scientific methodology in newspaper analysis is that of B. C. Mathews.² He analyzed each issue of one New York daily for a period of three months in 1909 and classified the greater portion of the news under four major headings which

¹"Do Newspapers Now Give the News?" THE FORUM, Vol. XV, pp. 705-711.

²"A Study of a New York Daily," THE INDEPENDENT, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 82-86.

are as follows: Demoralizing, Unwholesome, Trivial, and Worth While. These were further subdivided into 173 minor classes. The extreme subjectivity of this study may be illustrated by the definitions of two of his major headings. These are: "Trivial" which he defines as "the light inconsequential matter such as is a loss of time for one to read if he has something to do that is worth doing" and "Demoralizing" which, according to the author, "is used to embrace all such items as when read will leave one's character not quite as clean as it was before reading."³ He admits that his classification may be perplexing but thinks that "among men of like habits of thought and of like standards of conduct and character these differences would be unimportant."⁴

THE GROWTH OF AN OBJECTIVE METHODOLOGY. Not all early newspaper studies are characterized by the same inadequacy of method as those just mentioned. Some progress in the direction of an objective methodology was achieved as early as 1900. In that year, Delos F. Wilcox brought out a study in which he carefully analyzed the news and advertising in one issue each of 240 dailies.⁵ His classification consisted of four major headings with eight subdivisions for news and allied matter and one major heading with six subdivisions for advertising. While the time covered by the study and the number of categories included are too limited for any but tentative conclusions, the care with which the various categories were defined characterizes it as one of the first attempts at the scientific analysis of newspaper content.

³IBID., p. 84.

⁴IBID., p. 84.

⁵"The American Newspaper, A Study in Social Psychology," ANNALS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, Vol. XVI, 1900, pp. 56-92.

Objectivity in methodology is further exemplified in the work of Miss Frances Fenton in 1911.⁶ Her study marks the first scientific investigation of a specialized phase of newspaper subject matter. Her purpose was to discover whether or not the newspaper in its portrayal of crime and other anti-social news supplied the offender, consciously or unconsciously, with both the impulse and the method for committing an offense. Her method consisted, first, of collecting from prison officials, judges, probation officers, and others direct evidence of the influence of the newspaper on criminals in the commission of crime, and secondly, an analysis of newspaper matter in order to compare the amounts of what she called "anti-social material" in various papers and its socially constructive treatment in their editorials. Two hundred three issues of 57 American newspapers published at certain specified intervals during the fall of 1909 and the winter of 1910 were analyzed. The proportional amount of "anti-social" news was classified under seven headings as follows: Regular news, Critical including book reviews "et cetera," Literary and illustrations, Editorial, Sporting News, Marketing and financial news, and Notices, Weather reports "et cetera." She cites numerous cases of crime, the commission of which was definitely influenced by the newspaper. The unit of measurement was the column inch. The care with which she defined her terms and the accuracy with which her method is executed marks it a creditable piece of scientific work.

In the same year that Miss Fenton's study came out, Professor Tenney in cooperation with a group of graduate students at Columbia University

⁶"The Influence of Newspapers on Crime," JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. XVI, pp. 342-371 and 538 to 564.

was carrying on a careful and extended analysis of a number of New York dailies.⁷ News items in these papers were measured in linear column inches and classified under the headings: Political, Economic, Cultural, Amusements, Crime and Accidents, and Personal and Social with numerous sub-headings under each. The classification used contained sufficient detail for completeness, and objectivity in methodology was attained by having students recheck each others work until a basis of mutual agreement in definition and classification of items was reached.

Glenn R. Johnson, one of Tenney's group of students, in a master's essay introduced some refinements in Tenney's scheme of classification.⁸ For instance, he used seven major headings instead of six and subdivided them into 46 minor categories. It is doubtful, however, if his method of measuring news items, which consisted of a count of items on the assumption that by the law of averages the number of items included would approximate the result that would be achieved by measurement in terms of column inches, added anything to the accuracy of Tenney's method.⁹

Without the knowledge of the work being done at Columbia University, T. R. Garth evolved a method of measuring and classifying newspaper content closely paralleling that of the Columbia group.¹⁰ His study included 138 issues of various newspapers, 111 of which were issues of the Richmond Times Dispatch and the New York Times. The study of these two papers extended over a period of approximately twenty months, from July, 1913 to February, 1915. The analysis of the remaining papers covered a shorter period of time. Garth measured items, excluding headlines, in

⁷"The Scientific Analysis of the Press," THE INDEPENDENT, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 894-898.

⁸Malcolm MacDonald Willey, THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER, p. 28.

⁹IBID., p. 46.

¹⁰"A Statistical Study of the Content of Newspapers," SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, Vol. III, pp. 140-144.

linear column inches and classified them under 32 categories, more than half of which were essentially the same as a like number found in Johnson's list of 46 minor headings. The high correlation between the Garth and the Columbia methods, which were developed independently, is evidence of the growth of a scientific methodology in newspaper analysis.

Further use of the method of measuring news in terms of column inches has been made by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd in connection with their study of "Middletown."¹¹ They analyzed newspaper content as an aid in determining changes in the cultural attitudes of the community folk of "Middletown."¹² In their study of newspapers, every issue of a morning and an evening paper for the years 1890 and 1923 was read, and finally the daily issues of the two papers for the first week of March in both periods were analyzed. Checks for a second week in 1890 and in one week in 1924 were also made. The various news items were carefully defined and classified under 28 headings.¹³ Of these 28, twenty are either identical or quite similar to those of Johnson and Garth.

While the Lynds caution the reader that the brevity of their newspaper study makes it "suggestive only,"¹⁴ the method used was accepted as sufficiently accurate for the conclusion that "Middletown's" newspapers of 1890 were more "chatty and informal"¹⁵ than those of the later period.

¹¹Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, MIDDLETOWN, A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE.

¹²IBID., Ch. 27.

¹³IBID., Appendix, pp. 533-534.

¹⁴IBID., Appendix, p. 533.

¹⁵IBID., p. 474.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIALIZATION IN NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS. Following the Columbia studies and that of Garth, the method of measuring newspaper content in terms of linear column inches and classifying the various items measured under carefully defined headings has come into rather general use. Succeeding studies have also, perhaps, become somewhat more specialized. In the main, investigations seem to have proceeded along three lines: they include special phases of newspaper subject matter, special types of newspapers, and the rural weekly. A good example of the first type is Frank Harris's study, "Presentation of Crime in Newspapers."¹⁶ Harris classified various types of crime news in three Minneapolis daily papers at fifteen year intervals, 1890, 1905, and 1920, and compared the number of local arrests for each crime category with the number of times each was mentioned in the three papers. A comparison between the number of arrests for each category and the amount of space given to each was also made. An analysis of the special type of newspaper is exemplified in the following study: "Danish Assimilation in the United States as Manifested by the Change in Content of Danish Foreign Language Newspapers, 1913-1929" by C. A. Stub.¹⁷

EARLY ANALYSIS OF RURAL PAPERS.¹⁸ One of the first published studies of strictly rural newspapers was made by C. C. Taylor in 1921.¹⁹ In this

¹⁶Frank Harris, PRESENTATION OF CRIME IN NEWSPAPERS, pp. 11-27.

¹⁷"Student Dissertations in Sociology," THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. XXXVII, July, 1931.

¹⁸Perhaps the first study of a rural weekly was made by L. L. Bernard in 1916. This study, which included five hundred Missouri weeklies, was not published. See Jesse Frederick Steiner, "The Rural Press," THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, November 1927, footnote p. 412.

¹⁹C. C. Taylor, "The Country Newspaper as a Town-Country Agency," PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL COUNTRY LIFE CONFERENCE, 1921.

study, 243 Missouri weeklies for the single week of February 5, 1919 were analyzed. These papers were classified from three points of view: first, according to the size of the towns in which they were circulated; second, according to the percentages of their country circulation; and third, according to the population of the counties in which they were located. The subject matter of the papers was classified under the heads: News, Editorials, and Advertising, and the percentages of each devoted to the local community determined. Local space was further analyzed for percentages given to town and country. The object of the study was to determine the extent to which country weeklies were serving the communities in which they were published and circulated.

In a second study, made in 1922, Taylor applied the method of measuring column inches to the subject matter of agricultural journals.²⁰ His purpose in this study was to compare the agricultural journal with the agricultural college, through an analysis of the latter's curricula, as agencies of education in agricultural communities. A number of agricultural journals, representing various sections of the country, extending over a period of forty years, from 1880 to 1920, were analyzed and the subject matter classified according to the following scheme: NEWS: Technical Production, Fiction and Nature Study, Marketing, Home and Family, Cooperation other than Marketing, Citizenship and Politics, Education and School, Social News and Social Contacts, Agricultural Engineering, Health and Sanitation, Transportation and Communication, Recreation, Labor, Religion and Church, and Total News Space. ADVERTISING: County to Country

²⁰C. C. Taylor, "The Rural Press as an Educational Agency," PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL COUNTRY LIFE CONFERENCE, 1922, pp. 60-67.

Advertising, Town to Country Advertising, County to Town Advertising, Self Advertising, and Total Advertising space. This classification, it will be observed, is much more detailed than that of his previous study. He concluded from his findings that the agricultural journal, as an agency of education in agricultural communities, leads the agricultural college by five to fifteen years.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE RURAL WEEKLY. Probably the most thorough and complete study of the rural weekly or of any newspaper up to the present time was made by M. M. Willey in 1926.²¹ Drawing on the previous studies and particularly those made at Columbia University, which, perhaps, have lead the field in newspaper analysis, he introduced a more scientific methodology, broadened and refined the categories of classification, and selected a time range more representative of seasonal variations in newspaper content. Thirty-five Connecticut weeklies published in towns with populations ranging from 426 to 22,123 and with circulations from 475 to 4,290 were included in his study. In order to obtain a representation of seasonal variations in newspaper content, the first four issues of each paper for each alternate month, beginning with February and ending with December, for the year 1922 were analyzed. News and magazine material--advertising was not included--were measured in terms of column inches, each item being measured to the nearest half inch. The gist of an item or what it was about, "the what" as Willey calls it, was the basis for its classification. Forty-nine different categories under ten major headings were used.²² These categories are as follows:

²¹OP. CIT. pp. 32-40.

²²IBID., pp. 35-37.

Civic and Political News.

Domestic Political News, Foreign Political News, Diplomatic Correspondence and International Relations, Administrative, Judicial and Legislative News, "Home Town Helps," and Community Development, and Other Political News.

Economic News.

Labor News, Industrial, Commercial, Financial News, Price and Supply of Necessities, and Other Economic News.

Cultural News.

Science, Invention and Discovery, Art Notes and Criticism, Amusement Notes and Announcements, Literary Criticism, Books and Publishers' Notes, Educational News, Religious News, Social Service and Philanthropic News, Health, Sanitation, and Safety, Other Cultural News.

Sensational News.

Crime and Criminal Procedure, Accidents, Public Welfare Investigations, Civil Suits, Suicide, Divorce, Other Crime and Catastrophies.

Sport News.

Sports, Outings and Celebrations, and Other Sports.

Personal News.

Biography, Interest in Persons, Interest in Things, Society and Fraternal News, Holidays and Commemorative Exercises, and Other Personal News.

Opinion.

Original Editorials, Reprinted Editorials, Communications to the Editor, and Cartoons.

Human Interest Stories.

Magazine Material.

Stories and Magazine Material, the Men's page, the Women's page, and Photographs.

Miscellaneous Matter.

Filler, Routine Notices, the Weather, and Unclassifiable material.

Willey also subdivided both news and magazine material into shop set and syndicated, and indicated in addition the amount of space given to local, county, state, national, and foreign news. His purpose was to show the extent to which the rural weekly is serving its community as an agency

of socialization by publishing the local news and "interpreting the local significance of wider events."²³ He concluded that the Connecticut weeklies are lacking in both local and socially significant news and that they are also inconsistent in the kind of news printed.²⁴

A more recent study of the rural weekly has been made by Irene Barnes.²⁵ She introduces some refinements in the methodology of Professor Willey but in general follows him closely. For instance, the headline of an item was measured separately and divided by its body length. This gave an index of change in news play-up. Her purpose was to show the changes that have taken place over a period of years in the content of Minnesota rural weeklies. One hundred mile zones extending out from the Twin Cities were laid out on the assumption that the country weekly had been influenced by the metropolitan press. The first established and still existing papers in each zone were selected. In pursuance of her purpose four issues of each paper for each decennial year from 1860 to 1920 and for 1929 were analyzed. The issues chosen were those of the first week in February, the second in May, and the third in August, and the fourth in November. The number of papers included in each ten year period was as follows: 4 for 1860, 6 for 1870, 14 for 1880, 19 for 1890, and 29 for each of the succeeding decennial years. She concludes that country weeklies in Minnesota, by including more and more local news in their columns, are becoming local papers, non-competitive with the city daily, but are following the latter's lead in news play-up.

²³IBID., p. 14.

²⁴IBID., p. 111.

²⁵Irene Barnes "Changes in the Content of Minnesota Newspapers," PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Vol. XXV, No. 2, pp. 16-162.

Another recent analysis of the rural weekly is a study of the "Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers" by C. R. Hoffer.²⁶ It was his purpose in this survey to discover the nature and types of interests, as they are reflected in the rural weekly, of rural people in their local community affairs. He selected 35 Michigan weeklies distributed rather uniformly over the state and analyzed and classified the news and advertising in one issue for each of the 12 months from June 1930 to July 1931. He also selected the papers with reference to the size of the towns in which they were published, the modal number 16 being found in towns ranging in size from 1000 to 2000 in population. The space was measured in terms of column inches and classified under seven major headings consisting of General News, State News, County News, Local News, Editorial material, Advertising, and Serial and Short Stories. Numerous sub-headings also were set up particularly for local news and for advertising. His analysis according to the methodology employed showed that approximately 80 per cent of the news space of the 35 Michigan weeklies studied was given to personal and to neighborhood and other primary group affairs.

This brief survey of some of the more important newspaper studies represents in general the history of the development of newspaper analysis. It shows a steady refinement in methodology from the vague subjective approach of the earlier studies to the careful definition and classification of newspaper content in terms of column inches by Professor Willey. Furthermore, this survey shows that the scheme of classifying newspaper content varies according to the purpose of the study and the type of paper

²⁶C. R. Hoffer, "Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers," Special Bulletin 298, Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station.

studied. This is evident from the studies of Taylor and Harris. Perhaps another fact indicated by the survey is that with increased precision in methodology an increased interest in the newspaper as a source of data for the studying of social problems and processes has come about. However, previous studies have, as a rule, considered the newspaper as a stimulating force in community life and have analyzed it from that point of view.

POINT OF DEPARTURE IN THE PRESENT STUDY. Since no intensive study of the newspaper has as yet been made for the purpose of analyzing in historical perspective its role in the portrayal of changes in community life, it is proposed in the present study to carry the interest in newspaper analysis somewhat further and apply the methodology developed previously to the study of a single newspaper for the purpose of showing the extent to which it reflects the changes that have taken place in a community over a period of years. The point of departure in this study has been to consider the newspaper as a medium reflecting community life, that is to say, the emphasis is on the community, while the newspaper, like a bulletin board, is scanned for its reflection of the changes that have taken place within the community.

DELIMITING THE STUDY. In attempting to analyze from the files of its newspaper the continuous readjustments of the community to a more industrialized era, it has been necessary to mark off certain delimitations. In the first place, as it has been pointed out previously, the term, community, is a relative concept; it may be applied to geographic areas and their populations of varying sizes and maintaining social organizations of varying degrees of complexity. In general, as the community grows larger, its social organization becomes more complex; consequently, its social life is

less likely to be intimately portrayed in the newspaper. In order, therefore, to secure a more accurate picture of changes in community life, as they are reflected in the newspaper, a relatively small community represented by a rural weekly has been selected.

A second conditioning factor to be considered has been the length of time that should be included in such a study. Certainly, if the study is to be of any value, the time covered should be of sufficient length to include the introduction of most of the more modern inventions and discoveries which are so largely responsible for the revolutionary changes in the social thought and social organization of recent times. A length of time adequate to meet these requirements should reach back into the pioneer period before the advent or extensive use of gas, electricity, water mains, telephones, movies, automobiles, and radios, to mention only a few of the more modern conveniences and appliances. A period of forty-nine years, which seems to satisfy these conditions, has been chosen. The exact years included are 1881-1929. This period represents, perhaps, the full sweep of the more modern achievements contributed by the industrial revolution to American life.

Another problem to be considered is the amount of newspaper content to be included. In other words, in order to secure with some degree of accuracy a measure of the newspaper's reflection of the changes taking place within the community, it was necessary on the basis of the methodology employed to determine how much of the total space in the newspaper should be analyzed. Obviously, the community news should be most important, but news of more distant places should also give some clue to the common life of the community. Such news might indicate a desire to learn of incidents and events which take place beyond the county or it might

signify an alert interest in the relationships of wider events to local conditions. Even the amount of fiction, cartoons, jokes, and other matter might suggest a greater or lesser degree of apathy in the locality served by the paper. Likewise, the amount and type of advertising might reflect certain aspects of change within the community. A scarcity of local advertising, for instance, might suggest that buyers and sellers had not been made aware of the value of advertising or that the integration of differentiated labor and the exchange of goods had not proceeded far. By way of contrast, much local advertising might indicate a rather general recognition of the local paper as a common medium of communication and thus imply a growth in specialization of function, extensive interaction, and confidence on the part of the members of the community. Such advertising matter if analyzed over a period of years should show the appearance of new and the disappearance of old varieties of goods and services and reflect certain types of changes in the habits and attitudes of the people of the community. Thus it would seem that every type of subject matter in the newspaper reflects in some measure the common life of the community; consequently, in the interest of completeness, it has seemed advisable to include the total newspaper content in the analysis.

With the problem of content decided, the further problem of the number and distribution of issues to be analyzed arises. Scientific generalization, as a rule, rests on a few facts selected in such a way as to be representative of a much larger number of similar facts.²⁷ The question in the present study is: what yearly intervals and how many issues in each should be selected in order to give an accurate representation of the

²⁷A. Wolf, ESSENTIALS OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD, pp. 112-115.

total newspaper content throughout the forty-nine year period? In order to avoid seasonal variations and also variations in political and economic as well as other conditions which do not occur with yearly regularity, the first issue of each month²⁸ for each year of the entire period was analyzed. This sample includes 23 per cent of all issues in each year and would seem to be sufficiently adequate, both in the percentage of issues selected and the range of their selection, to give a fair representation of the total newspaper content for the period under consideration. The next step was to work out a system of categories suitable to the purpose of the study.

THE METHOD OF CLASSIFYING NEWSPAPER CONTENT. A community, it has been pointed out, is a local grouping of people interacting and associating according to well established ways of living together. Notwithstanding many complexities, these various ways of living together seem to fall into a few general patterns of behavior. As the Lynds have expressed it, "There are after all, despite infinite variations in detail, not so many major kind of things that people do. Whether in an Arunta village in Central Australia or in our own seemingly intricate institutional life of corporations, dividends, coming-out parties, prayer meetings, freshmen, and Congress, human behavior appears to consist in variations upon a few major lines of activity."²⁹ Perhaps the various standardized ways of living together that people engage in, in the process of carrying on a common life, tend to group themselves around the following general types: making use of leisure time, achieving esthetic satisfactions, and making

²⁸ The first issue of each month was selected arbitrarily. An other issue in the month would in all probability have given similar results.

²⁹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrel Lynd, MIDDLETOWN, p. 4.

adjustments to the unknown powers of the universe. In proceeding with a classification of the news,³⁰ it has been assumed that these institutional relationships cover the major activities of community life. On this assumption an attempt has been made to classify the longer items of the news under the following specific institutional headings: Economics, Family, Religion, Government, Education, Recreation, Health, and Art. This is the classification into which human behavior seems to fall.³¹ In order to take care of items such as county correspondence and local, state, and national brevities which were generally one-half an inch or less in length, and also to take care of serial and other stories, pictures and cartoons, and items difficult to classify, four additional major headings were added. These headings are: Personal items, Stories and fiction, Pictures and cartoons, and Miscellaneous. These twelve major categories, then, form the basis for the classification of all the space in the paper excepting advertising.

The next problem after determining the major headings was to devise a number of minor headings sufficiently inclusive and at the same time sufficiently objective to give a fairly complete picture, comparable from year to year throughout the forty-nine year period, of some of the more important secondary activities in the institutional life of the community. In working out such a system of categories the method employed by Professor Willey of classifying news matter according to the gist of an item was followed. This method consists of analyzing an item in order to determine what it is about and then allocating it to the proper category.

³⁰A. Wolf, ESSENTIALS OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD, Ch. III.

³¹Clark Wissler, MAN AND CULTURE, p. 74.
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Ch. II.

Usually the gist or "the What," to use Willey's terminology, appears in the headlines of an item.³² Where this is true, and it generally is true of papers of recent years, classification becomes an easy matter as the following brief headings will illustrate: "Fill Churches Easter Sunday," "forecasters are the Bunk," "Plans for Health Week Under Way," and "Judge Puts Two on Probation."³³ It is readily apparent that the items represented by these headings would fall quite objectively under the four major categories, Religion, Economics, Health, and Government, out-lined in the above scheme of classification. In earlier papers the problem of determining the gist of an item was somewhat more difficult because headlines were lacking. This was also true of occasional short items in more recent papers. In such cases it was often necessary to read an article in some detail before determining its proper classification.

In order to determine a number of minor categories that would be more or less representative of some of the more important secondary activities in the life of the community throughout the forty-nine year period, a preliminary study was necessary. For this purpose four issues, one representing each season in each ten year period, were selected for analysis. For instance, one represented the winter season of 1882, another represented the spring season of 1884, another, the fall of 1886 and so on for each decennial period. The various items of these twenty issues were analyzed; the gist or "what" of an item determined and its entry made under the proper one of the fore-going twelve major headings. Finally, a list of sub-headings was constructed. Then as the study proper proceeded, by adopting

³²Malcolm MacDonald Willey, THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER, p. 33.

³³CLINTON COUNTY REPUBLICAN-NEWS, Sec. 1, p. 1, April 9, 1931.

the method of analyzing each paper in part, twice or more, some further refinements in the list were made possible. For instance, the more easily classifiable items in each paper throughout the forty-nine year period were analyzed and classified first. To avoid duplication, the items thus analyzed were checked with a red pencil. Thus the more difficult items were left to be classified later after greater facility in classification had been gained through experience. This procedure made it possible to determine the items which occurred with more or less frequency than was at first anticipated and to add some new headings or to group others as needed. In this way the minor categories were determined. The final list of major and minor categories, which are defined at some length in the Appendix, is as follows:

I. Economics

1. Agriculture
2. Real Estate
3. Merchandising
4. Industry
5. Commerce and Transportation
6. Prices of Products
7. Finance and Insurance
8. Miscellaneous

II. Family

9. Family Reunions
10. Births
11. Weddings
12. Divorce
13. Deaths and Suicides

III. Religion

14. Church
15. Sermons and Sunday School
16. Miscellaneous

IV. Government

17. Administrative Functioning
18. Politics
19. Legal News and Civil Suits
20. Crime and Graft
21. War and Military

- 22. Civic Activities and Philanthropy³⁴
- 23. Taxation
- 24. Miscellaneous
- V. Education
 - 25. Formal
 - 26. Non-formal
 - 27. Agriculture
 - 28. Science, Invention, and Discovery
 - 29. Historical Incidents and Events
 - 30. Travelogue
 - 31. Domestic Hints
- VI. Recreation
 - 32. Sports
 - 33. Community Festivities
 - 34. Amusements and Entertainments
 - 35. Social Events
 - 36. Fraternal Orders
 - 37. Miscellaneous
- VII. Health
 - 38. Health and Safety Campaigns
 - 39. Accidents and Injuries
 - 40. Miscellaneous
- VIII. Art
 - 41. Music
 - 42. Drama
 - 43. Poetry
 - 44. Miscellaneous
- IX. Personal Items
 - 45. County Seat Personals
 - 46. County Correspondence
 - 47. State Personals
 - 48. National Personals
- X. Stories and Fiction
 - 49. Serial Stories, Short Stories,
Jokes, and Bits of Wisdom
- XI. Miscellaneous
 - 50. Filler, Weather, Calamities,
and unclassifiable items
- XII. Pictures and Cartoons
 - 51. Comics and Cartoons
 - 52. Photographs
 - 53. Miscellaneous

³⁴Civic Activities and Philanthropy do not properly belong under "Government" but because such activities which are initiated by private interests are often taken over by governmental agencies after a general need for them has been demonstrated they have been arbitrarily included here under that heading.

Fifty-three subheadings, it will be observed, are included in the above list. These have been selected and defined with sufficient care to insure their objectivity. Furthermore, this number should be large enough to show rather completely the breadth of common interests that comes within the range of a community's thinking over a period of years. The system of categories thus adopted, it will be noted, emphasizes the major institutional relationships of community life. It brings out in greater detail than previous studies have the activities of the institutions of the Family, Religion, Education, Recreation, Health, and Art. Moreover, it makes possible a more concise comparison from year to year of changes in the interests, both within and between different major institutional relationships and also between the different types of relationships of the other major categories.

METHOD OF DETERMINING THE INTIMACY OF THE COMMUNITY'S COMMON INTERESTS. There remains, however, the problem of determining the intimacy of the community's common interests. In order to bring out this point, some further refinements in methodology were necessary.³⁵

Community life, it has been pointed out, is characterized by varying degrees of intimacy of common interests. Closeness of contact and association at the center compels an alert attention to the problems of mutual adjustment. But with increasing distance, the number of contacts and common interests tend to diminish; hence the number of problems which require continuous mutual adjustment also tend to decline. In order, therefore, to show varying degrees of the things held in common as they radiate from the community center, it has been necessary to distinguish in the

³⁵Cf. Willey, OP. CIT., Ch. IV.

newspaper content the local from the more remote news. This was accomplished by a system of cross classification on the tabulation sheets. That is to say, an item was analyzed not only with reference to its institutional content but also with reference to its place of origin. In order to accomplish this purpose the following divisions of newspaper content according to place of origin--with the exception of Stories, Magazine, and Miscellaneous Matter which has no geographic reference--were used: Local, County, State, Nationa, Foreign, and Stories, Magazine, and Miscellaneous Matter. Thus finally the tabulation sheets especially prepared for classifying the news were completed.

ADVERTISING. Advertising presented some difficulties. As it is concerned largely with the sale of goods and services and is economic in character, it could not be classified in the same manner as the news; consequently, it seemed most logical and expedient, considering the purpose of the study, to classify such newspaper matter according to its type and nature of content. This arrangement portrays in some measure the life of the community by indicating changes in local habits in such matters as the type of food consumed, styles of wearing apparel, and forms of transportation used and by reflecting a change in local attitudes from the acceptance of such products as patented health remedies to scientific medicine.

In working out a system of categories for advertising, the same methodology employed in devising subheadings for news was followed. The system of categories thus evolved is outlined below:

- I. Display
 1. Patent Medicine and Appliance
 2. Wearing Apparel
 3. Food

4. Household Furnishings
5. Drug and Department Stores
6. Building Material and Equipment
7. Transportation
8. Rural Advertising
9. Banking, Insurance, and Real Estate
10. Amusements
11. "House Copy"
12. Miscellaneous

II. Non-Display

13. Legal Notices
14. Business and Professional Cards
15. Business Locals
16. Patent Medicine and Appliances
17. Miscellaneous

These categories are defined in detail in the Appendix.

Like the news the classification of advertising was made with reference both to the nature of an item and to its source of origin.³⁶

In the process of classification, all items, both news and advertising, were measured in terms of column inches. Each item was measured to the nearest half inch. News headlines were included as part of an item. Short items of half an inch or less in length used to end a column were not classified. BREVITIES and COUNTY CORRESPONDENCE, which usually consisted of a series of short items of approximately one-half an inch or less in length,³⁷ were measured as a unit without detailed analysis.

The next problem is the selection of a newspaper that fulfills the requirements of the purpose set forth above. The solution of this problem is the subject matter of the following chapter.

³⁶The terms, "Foreign" and "General," were not included for the obvious reason that they do not occur as sources of origin for advertising.

³⁷Although some items, particularly in the later issues, occurring under "Local Personals" and "County Correspondence" were more than an inch in length, they were included with the shorter unanalyzed items of the same material. This was necessary if consistency were to be adhered to and the unity of the "Local Personals" and "County Correspondence" matter preserved.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION OF A PAPER

SELECTING A PAPER. In selecting a paper for study, several facts have had to be kept in mind. In the first place the rural weekly, though essentially the paper of the small community, shows some extreme variations in the number of its subscribers and in the size of the area it covers. For example, the Kansas City Weekly Star circulates throughout several mid-western states and has a subscription list of 493,157 while at the other extreme are papers like the Reporter of Hatch, New Mexico with a circulation of 185.¹ Obviously, neither of these extremes is suitable to the purpose of this study. The former is not strictly representative of what is commonly considered the country newspaper. It is too large and too specialized to express all phases of the life of an intimately unified rural group; and the latter, because it generally lacks sufficient financial remuneration to enlarge its service, is likely to be an ephemeral community institution or inadequate in its portrayal of community life.

The bulk of country weeklies lies somewhere between the limits set by these two papers, and it is within this bulk that a paper fairly representative of rural community life must be looked for. Atwood states in this regard that the great majority of country weeklies are published in towns of less than ten thousand population with the modal number being

¹See N. W. Ayer and Son OP. CIT., pp. 521 and 633.

published in towns of less than three thousand population,² and he shows that 86 per cent of the rural weeklies in New York in 1920 were published in towns with populations not exceeding the ten thousand figure. He also shows from figures compiled by Hopkins in 1922 that 96 per cent of Wisconsin's country weeklies were published in towns of less than ten thousand population and 89 per cent in towns of less than five thousand population.³ Wisconsin is probably representative of other midwest agricultural states. If this be true, it would seem from these data that a country weekly published in a town with a population near the upper limit of the Wisconsin modal number would give a fair portrayal of the life of the average rural community. Furthermore, if the paper thus selected be located in a county seat town, its opportunities for portraying all phases of the changing life of the community are increased: first, because it has the advantage of securing county advertising, the extra income from which enhances its possibilities of serving the community more adequately and reflecting community life, and secondly, because the county seat renders a greater number of services and usually to a larger community unit than does any other town in the county. It is the center from which the county Farm Bureau unit, county agricultural agent, county health nurse, county board of education, county superintendent of schools, county commissioners, county assessor, county court officials, and other county officials carry on county business and disseminate information about the county's problems and progress. Moreover, with the expansion of goods and transportation facilities, there is a tendency for the county seat,

²M. V. Atwood, OP. CIT., p. 4.

³IBID., OP. CIT., p. 3.

because of the greater number of services it renders, to become more important as a county community center and, perhaps, the most attractive and stable center for the country weekly.⁴ Bing says:

The best place for a country weekly is in a town which does not stand by itself; a town where interurban and railroad connections with smaller towns are adequate and service frequent. Usually the county seat offers the most advantages. It is generally centrally located, it is the seat of the county government, and the court house news and general county news may be had with less effort than at other places in the county. Such a town, lying in the midst of a rich highly developed farming community where roads are good and the population stable, is the best field for a country weekly. ...⁵

But after the type of community to be analyzed through the medium of its press has been delimited, some other factors must be considered if the purpose of the study is to be met. First, the paper which is to represent the community, obviously, must have been in existence sufficiently long to include some of the more important technological and social inventions which have been most effective in influencing community life; secondly, the community chosen must have remained essentially rural throughout this period. That is to say that if the survey is to be limited to a study of the role of the rural newspaper in reflecting the changing life of its community, the population of the community and the population of its center must have remained fairly constant for the period studied. A community that has become highly urbanized would not suffice.

A further consideration which merits consideration is the availability of the community and the availability of the files of its newspaper to

⁴Willey, quoting figures from Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory for 1922, emphasized the fact that even though the total number of country weeklies declined to the extent of 2868 from 1915 to 1922, the number of county seats in which papers were published increased by 50. Willey, OP. CIT., p. 7.

⁵Bing, OP. CIT., pp. 10-11.

the investigator. In other words, the files of its newspaper must be intact, and the location of the community it represents should be such that it may be reached without undue expense to the investigator, for as a rule the files of a newspaper cannot be taken from its office.

THE COMMUNITY TO BE PORTRAYED. A Community which meets adequately all of the requirements set forth above is the Clinton County seat community, Clinton County, Michigan. Its county seat is St. Johns and its leading newspaper, which is published at the county seat, is the Clinton County Republican-News.

Clinton County is located in the center of the southern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. Its exact position is shown in the map, Figure 1, page 42. It is twenty-four miles square and contains within its borders nine towns and villages of which St. Johns, the county seat, with a population of 3929 according to the 1930 census is the largest.⁶ The total population of Clinton County in 1930 was 24,174.⁷ Of this number more than two-thirds lived on farms and slightly less than one-third in the nine towns and villages. No very marked change from the 1930 population figures either for the county as a whole or for the county seat has occurred during the previous half-century. This fact is borne out by Table II below which shows the population of Clinton County and the population of St. Johns by census years since 1880.

It will be observed from Table II that the total population of Clinton County was decreased within the forty-nine year period by approximately four thousand. This loss is, probably, not greatly different from

⁶ See Fifteenth Census, Vol. I, p. 520.

⁷ IBID., p. 520.

Figure I. Location of Clinton County
Michigan



TABLE II

POPULATION OF CLINTON COUNTY, MICHIGAN AND POPULATION
OF ST. JOHNS, THE COUNTY SEAT OF CLINTON COUNTY,
BY CENSUS YEARS 1880-1930⁸

Census Years	Population of Clinton County	Population of St. Johns
1880	28,100	2,370
1890	26,509	3,127
1900	25,136	3,388
1910	23,129	3,154
1920	23,110	3,925
1930	24,174	3,929

what other rural counties have experienced. At the same time, it will be noted that St. Johns, the county seat, has gained 1,559 in population during the period covered by the study. These changes are minor and do not affect the essential rurality of the community. Further facts from the census reports substantiate this conclusion. For instance, Clinton County has generally ranked high among Michigan's eighty-three counties in the value of strictly agricultural products. In 1880 and 1890 it stood 11th and 13th respectively in the estimated value of farm products. In 1900 it stood 7th in corn, 9th in oats, and 11th in wheat, and in 1910, 12th in the value of all three of these cereals.⁹ In 1920 and 1930 it ranked 8th and 9th respectively in the value of cereals, other grains and seeds, and hay and forage.¹⁰

At the present time, three main transportation lines, all of which

⁸ Tenth Census, Vol. I, p. 214; Eleventh Census, Vol. I, Part I, p. 184; Twelfth Census, Vol. I, pp. 24 and 204; and Fifteenth Census, Vol. I, pp. 525 and 520.

⁹ The agricultural statistics are not entirely comparable for each census period.

¹⁰ See agricultural statistics for 10th Census, pp. 120-121; 11th Census, pp. 213-214; 12th Census, pp. 168-169; 13th Census, pp. 752-753; 14th Census, pp. 438-445; and 15th Census, Second Series, pp. 24-27.

pass through St. Johns, serve the county. They are the Grand Trunk Railway and two paved highways, U.S. 27 and M. 21. Two hundred and fifty miles of graveled roads connect every township in the county with these highways. The Grand Trunk crosses the north-central section of the county from east to west, U.S. 27, centrally north and south, and M. 21, north-centrally east and west. U.S. highway 26 and the Pere Marquette and Michigan Central railway also touch the southern corners and the Toledo, Ann Arbor and Northern Michigan Railway, the north-eastern corner of the country; but these, perhaps, are of little importance to the county as a whole¹¹ as a media of transportation and communication.

A more detailed picture of the county is presented in the map, Figure 2, page 45. In this figure is shown not only the county's transportation lines but also the location of its various towns and villages together with their populations in 1930.

CLINTON COUNTY'S NEWSPAPER HISTORY.¹² The first settler to take up permanent residence in Clinton County was George Campau. He located at Maple Rapids in the northern part of the county in 1832 and carried on a trading business with the Indians for a number of years. The second settler, Captain David Scott, a veteran of the War of 1812, arrived in 1833. He had come first from New York to Ann Arbor where he resided for a few years before coming to Clinton County. After several days of hardships and privations, so it is recorded, he made his way by ox team through the wilderness and arrived in Dewitt township on October 4, 1833. He brought

¹¹The Michigan Central Electric Railway also connected St. Johns, the county seat, with Lansing, the state capitol, twenty-two miles south from 1904 to 1928.

¹²See History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, Michigan, pp. 336, 406, and 349-351.

CLINTON COUNTY

Population of towns
and villages, 1930:

Incorporated ○
Unincorporated □

Township
boundaries ———
Highways - - - - -
Railroads + + + + +

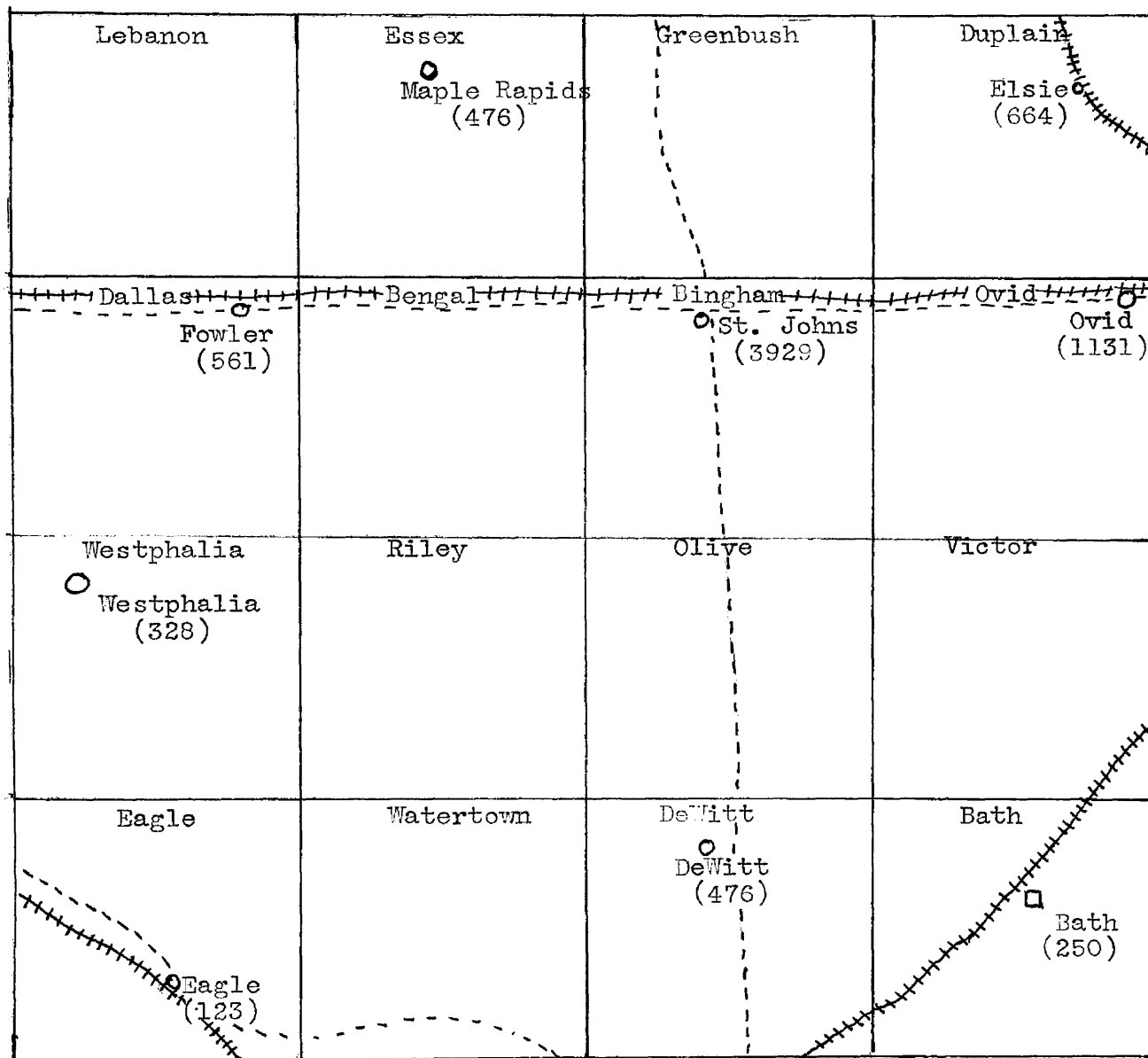


Figure 2. Clinton County, Michigan, its townships, highways, railroads, and incorporated and unincorporated towns and villages with their 1930 populations.

his family, one horse, and seventeen cattle and located on a fourteen hundred acre tract of land in the northwest part of the township. Except for a few Indian visitors the family spent the first winter alone. Soon afterwards, however, other settlers came and by 1839 Captain Scott had built a store and two years later platted a village called Dewitt on a part of his land. This same site having been selected the year previous for the county seat gave added impetus to the growth of the new village and by 1842, nine years after the arrival of the first settler, Dewitt found itself not only holding court and otherwise conducting the county's business but also in possession of the county's first newspaper. This paper was called the Clintonian. It was a four column weekly earning most of its revenue during its early years, according to historical records, from the printing of tax sales. After numerous transfers in ownership and changes in name it finally expired in 1864 as the St. Johns Democrat in St. Johns whither it had moved following the removal of the county seat in 1857. The vicissitudes of its career as well as those of other papers published in the county since 1842 are shown in Table III.

The second paper to be established in the county was also first published at Dewitt. It was called the Dewitt Republican and made its first appearance on April 9, 1856. Like the Clintonian, it followed the county seat in December, 1857 to the latter's new location near the center of the county. At St. Johns the name Dewitt was replaced by Clinton, the paper becoming the Clinton Republican, a name to which it adhered for sixty-seven years, or until 1924. At this time the Clinton Republican combined with the St. Johns News, a paper which had previously absorbed the Clinton Democrat, originally the Clinton Independent, which was first published in 1866. After their combination Clinton County Republican-News

TABLE III

PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS OF CLINTON COUNTY, MICHIGAN FROM 1842 to 1932*

Name of Paper	Original Name or Names	Place of Publication	Years Published
Clintonian.....	Clintonian	Dewitt	1842-1849
Clinton Express.....	Clintonian	Dewitt	1850-1856
North Side Democrat.....	Clinton Express	St. Johns	1856-1859
St. Johns Democrat.....	North Side Democrat	St. Johns	1859-1864
Dewitt Republican.....	Dewitt Republican	Dewitt	1856-1857
Clinton Republican.....	Dewitt Republican	St. Johns	1857-1924
Clinton County Republican-News.....	Clinton Republican and St. Johns News	St. Johns	1924-
Clinton Independent.....	Clinton Independent	St. Johns	1866-1906
Clinton Democrat.....	Clinton Independent	St. Johns	1906-1911
St. Johns News.....	St. Johns News	St. Johns	1889-1911
St. Johns News.....	Clinton Democrat and St. Johns News	St. Johns	1911-1924
Ovid Register.....	Ovid Register	Ovid	1866-1886
Clinton and Shiawassee Union.....	Clinton and Shiawassee Union	Ovid	1879-1886
Ovid Register Union.....	Ovid Register and Clinton and Shiawassee Union	Ovid	1886-
Home Chronicle.....	Home Chronicle	Ovid	1878-1879
Maple Rapids Messenger..	Maple Rapids Messenger	Maple Rapids	1874-1878
Maple Rapids Dispatch...	Maple Rapids Dispatch	Maple Rapids	1878-1912
Maple Rapids American...	Maple Rapids American	Maple Rapids	1923-1928
Maple Rapids Press.....	Maple Rapids Press	Maple Rapids	1930-
Elsie Sun.....	Elsie Sun	Elsie	1880-

*IBID., pp. 349-351 for history of Clinton County press up to 1880, and N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals since 1880.

was the appellation selected to replace the names, Clinton Republican and St. Johns News.

Numerous other papers, it will be observed from Table III, have been published in the county since 1856. The second, from the point of view of age and one that is still in existence, is the Ovid Register-Union first published as the Ovid Register in 1866 and twenty years later combined with the Clinton and Shiawassee Union also of Ovid under its present name. Following the Register-Union is the Elsie Sun established in 1885, a paper which is still published under the same name. Both the Register-Union and the Sun, while they have been published for many years, are small papers generally averaging about eight pages per issue, and each has a small circulation. Moreover, their circulations have shown a marked tendency to decline. For instance, the Clinton and Shiawassee Union which was absorbed by the Register in 1886 had 2,500 subscribers in 1880, and both the Register-Union and the Sun had 1,200 each during the first few years of the present century,¹³ but by 1928¹⁴ each had less than one thousand, the figure for the Register-Union being 910 and that for the Sun, 800.¹⁵ One other paper completes the list of papers now published in Clinton County. It is the Maple Rapids Press established in 1930 and, perhaps, of little influence in reflecting changes in community life because of the recency of its establishment.

¹³See Clinton County Republican-News (75th anniversary edition), Thursday, April 9, 1931, and Ayer and Son's OP. CIT., Vol. 1902, pp. 396 and 410, and Vol. 1905, pp. 397 and 410.

¹⁴No figures for the Register-Union are given by Ayer and Son for a later date, but the figure for the Elsie Sun is the same for the years 1929 and 1930.

¹⁵Ayer and Son, OP. CIT., Vol. 1928, pp. 491 and 508.

HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN NEWS.¹⁶ The Clinton County Republican-News is the oldest paper now published in Clinton County. It was established in 1856 by Hascol and Hilton and made its first appearance on April 9th of that year as the Dewitt Republican at Dewitt, Michigan which was then the county seat. It espoused the principles of the recently organized Republican party, a position to which it held steadfastly for more than two-thirds of a century. It changed ownership a number of times before 1881, the date which marked the beginning of the period covered by this study. At that time it was in the possession of Fuller and Rose. The latter withdrew from the business in 1882 and the former transferred his ownership on July 1, 1889 to Coleman C. Vaughn whose proprietorship continued until 1923, a period of thirty-four years. This is not only the longest period of proprietorship for the Clinton Republican, but it is the longest period that any paper in Clinton County has been under the administration of the same publisher. On April 1, 1923, Mr. Vaughn sold the Clinton Republican to Schuyler Marshall; and thirteen months later the Clinton Republican and the St. Johns News, both of St. Johns, were combined to form the Clinton County Republican-News under the editorship of Schuyler Marshall and C. S. Clark, Jr. At the same time the paper withdrew from partisan politics and became independent.

It is only the forty-nine year period from 1881 to 1930 that we are concerned with here. During this period the Clinton Republican, now, of course, the Clinton County Republican-News has been under but three different proprietorships: Fuller and Rose, Vaughn, and Marshall and Clark. Under

¹⁶See History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, Michigan, p. 350; and Clinton County Republican-News (75th anniversary edition) Thursday, April 9, 1931, pp. 15, 18, and 21.

Mr. Fuller the paper consisted of eight pages, the four inside pages of which were made up of what has been called "patent insides." It employed three people and carried an annual pay roll of fifteen hundred dollars. When Mr. Vaughn took over the editorship, the patent inside feature was considerably lessened and after the installation of the first linotype machine, discontinued entirely. The County Campbell Press used by Mr. Fuller also gave way to a two revolution Scott Press and this was replaced later by a Goss Perfecting Press which is still in use and will print three thousand eight page papers per hour. A second linotype machine was brought in from the St. Johns News office and added to the equipment when the two papers were combined in 1924. In 1929, the last year covered by this study, eight persons besides the editors were employed by the Republican-News, and the annual pay roll amounted to approximately sixteen thousand dollars. Table IV will illustrate more accurately, perhaps, the growth of this paper during the period studied.

From this table it will be noted that the weekly mean number of pages in the twelve selected issues for each year have increased from 8 in 1881 to 8.9 in 1901, 11.33 in 1911, 15.8 in 1921, and 19.33 in 1929. Furthermore, the weekly mean number of columns per page have been expanded from 6 to approximately 8 and the weekly mean number of column inches per issue from 960 to more than 3,000. Thus the average number of pages per issue more than doubled and the average number of column inches per issue more than trebled during the forty-nine years. The paper's circulation, too, has shown a marked increase within the period studied. For instance, it was 1,100 in 1880, 2,600 in 1901,¹⁷ and 4,392 in 1929.¹⁸

¹⁷See History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, Michigan, p. 350.

¹⁸Ayer and Son, OP. CIT., Vol. 1902, p. 413, and Vol. 1929, p. 472.

TABLE IV

WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF PAGES, COLUMN PER PAGE, INCHES PER COLUMN, AND COLUMN INCHES PER ISSUE OF THE CLINTON COUNTY REPUBLICAN-NEWS IN THE TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES AT FIVE YEAR INTERVALS FROM 1881 to 1926 AND FOR 1929

Years	Pages per Paper	Columns per Page	Inches per Column	Column Inches per Paper
1881	8	6	20	960
1886	8	6	20	960
1891	8.25	6	20	990
1896	8.67	6	20	1040.4
1901	8.92	6.75	20	1204.2
1906	10.67	7	21	1568.5
1911	11.33	7	21	1665.5
1916	14.17	7	21	2083
1921	15.83	7.58	21	2519.8
1926	18	8	20	2880
1929	19.33	7.93	20	3065.7

POSITION OF THE CLINTON COUNTY REPUBLICAN-NEWS AMONG MICHIGAN WEEK-LIES IN 1929. The position of the Clinton County Republican-News among the weekly newspapers of the state in 1929 will be made more clear by a glance at Table V which shows the distribution of Michigan weekly newspapers according to their circulations and the population of the towns in which they are published.

The Republican-News, which is indicated by three asterisks in the table, is found, it will be observed, within the circulation range 4,000-4,999 and to the right of the population range 3,500 to 4,999. Its exact circulation in 1929 was 4,392. Two hundred twenty-four, or 94.9

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF MICHIGAN WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS IN 1929 ACCORDING
TO THEIR CIRCULATION AND TO THE POPULATIONS OF THE TOWNS
IN WHICH THEY WERE PUBLISHED*

Population of towns in which weeklies were published	Circulation not reported	Number and distribution of weeklies according to circulation								
		Under 500	500 to 999	1,000 to 1,499	1,500 to 1,999	2,000 to 2,999	3,000 to 3,999	4,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 7,000	Total reporting
Under 500.....	20	18	24	3						45
500-999.....	23	7	45	16		1				69
1,000-1,499...	8	2	20	19	8	2				51
1,500-1,999...	8		6	5	8	2		1**		22
2,000-2,499...	3	2	2	2	3	1	1			11
2,500-3,499...	5		2	3	4	4	1			14
3,500-4,999...	2			3	1	2	2	1***		19
5,000-9,999...	5		1	2	2	2		4	2	13
10,000-24,999.	5				1	1				2
Total.....	79	29	100	53	27	15	4	6	2	236

per cent, of the 236 Michigan weeklies reporting circulations to the Ayers, it will be noted from Table V, had circulations in 1929 or less than 3,000 and 209, or 88.5 per cent, were even below 2,000 in the number of their subscribers. Two hundred nine, or 88.5 per cent, of these weeklies, it will be observed further, appear in towns with populations of

*Weekly newspapers representing ethnic and trade groups and weekly newspapers published in towns with populations of more than 25,000 are not included. Such papers are quite obviously not rural in character. Data compiled from Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Vol. 1930, pp. 445 to 477.

**The paper indicated here is the Ithaca Herald whose estimated circulation in 1929 was 4,000.

***This paper is the Clinton County Republican-News whose sworn circulation in 1929 was 4,392.

less than 3,500. No other town with a population of less than 5,000 in the state of Michigan reported a weekly paper with a circulation as large as that of the Clinton County Republican-News in 1929. Thus it is evident from these data that the Republican-News holds a leading place among the rural weeklies of the state.

Further evidence of the important position held by the Republican-News is indicated by the numerous honors and awards conferred upon it and its editors for distinguished community service. For instance, Fuller, Vaughn, and Marshall, its editors during the period covered by this study, have each served as president of the Michigan Press Association. And in 1926, under the editorship of Marshall and Clark, first honors for the achievement of "The Greatest Community Service" were awarded the Republican-News by the National Editorial Association on the completion at St. Johns of a county community hospital which it had sponsored. Again in 1927 for "The Best All Around Rural Weekly" it was awarded third honors by the same association. "Distinguished Rating," another compliment paid Clinton County's oldest existing weekly, was conferred in 1928 by the National Community Newspaper Contest sponsored by the University of Illinois' Department of Journalism. Further recognition of its leadership, too, is evinced by numerous invitations extended to its editor-in-chief, Schuyler Marshall, to give special lectures before the Department of Journalism at the University of Michigan and his election in 1932 and 1933 to the presidency of the University Press Club of Michigan. These instances of honors bestowed upon the Clinton County Republican-News are added evidence of the distinguished position it holds among the better rural weeklies not only of the state but also of the nation.

This briefly is the history of the paper selected for study. Its analysis according to the method set forth in Chapter II will be made in the following pages.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT THE PAPER PRINTS

The mind grasps complex objects or situations as wholes. Details are not apparent at first. The forest, for instance, is seen before the trees, or the flower garden before the flowers. Likewise, in matters of science, problems are perceived more or less in their composite forms before details are observed. Likenesses and differences of the attributes of the phenomena under consideration are apprehended only after careful analysis and comparison.¹ Following this principle, it has seemed more logical in studying social change in the Clinton County seat community, as it is portrayed in the files of its newspaper over a period of years, to consider first the entire content of the paper. This procedure gives a picture of the whole range of interest without reference to its place of origin. It shows in detail, only the various types of behavior toward which the Clinton County Republican-News has directed the community's attention from year to year. It brings out the changing emphasis in the community's interests as they are portrayed in the files of its paper but does not, of course, distinguish the local from the more remote news. These phases of the problem will be taken up in later chapters as the analysis proceeds.

NEWS

NEWS SPACE ANALYZED ON THE BASIS OF COLUMN INCHES. Perhaps, the

¹A. Wolf, ESSENTIALS OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, Ch. 11.

changing emphasis in the range of thought that enters into the common life of the Clinton County seat community over the forty-nine year period can be most clearly illustrated by comparing first, the absolute amounts of space given to total news and that given to each of the twelve major categories for each year. These data are presented in Table VI.

It will be observed from Table VI that the amount of total news space has more than doubled in the forty-nine year period. The average weekly range in column inches is from 474.8 in 1893 to 1210.7 in 1923. No marked change for the various years occurs before 1901. After this date the trend is steadily upwards.

In the relative proportion of the total news allotted to the various categories, several facts stand out. Economics, government, and education for instance, are the institutional relationships most often brought by the newspaper to the attention of the people of the community. The mean for these three categories are: 73.6, 93.4, and 79.6 respectively. The average amount of space given weekly to economic interests increases from slightly more than two columns in the earlier years to a little more than four in the later ones.² No very definite similar trends for "government" and for "education" are apparent. There is, however, a marked tendency toward an increase in the amount of space given to the former type of institutional relationship every fourth year. These years coincide with the national presidential campaigns and indicate, as it will be shown later, the important role played by politics in agitating the common life of the community.

Next in order on the basis of the amount of space received are the

² It will be recalled from Ch. III, p. 51 that the length of a column was generally twenty inches.

TABLE VI

WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES GIVEN TO TOTAL NEWS AND TO EACH OF THE TWELVE MAJOR CATEGORIES, IN THE TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES
FOR EACH YEAR, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean number of column inches given to total news space	Weekly mean number of column inches given to each of the twelve major categories											
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Stories and Fiction	Miscellaneous	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	514.2	55.9	9.7	15.5	63.5	102.1	13.5	28.0	11.9	125.5	84.1	4.5	
1882	540.0	42.5	6.3	2.0	151.4	89.1	5.3	6.4	8.5	114.7	97.0	17.6	
1883	530.0	40.1	10.7	14.1	70.7	87.0	10.8	9.6	9.9	131.1	127.5	18.5	
1884	519.4	46.9	10.6	12.6	115.5	58.2	5.8	8.4	10.1	153.6	86.0	11.8	
1885	543.5	45.1	16.1	6.8	99.2	69.8	7.2	8.5	11.7	165.6	102.1	10.6	.8
1886	561.8	47.4	12.0	12.9	80.9	63.0	13.8	7.2	10.4	179.0	121.0	13.5	.6
1887	548.2	66.4	9.8	8.2	71.5	91.8	13.2	17.9	9.2	161.3	80.3	16.5	2.3
1888	571.9	49.3	9.8	9.3	120.7	77.1	11.0	6.1	10.7	161.9	104.6	10.3	1.1
1889	524.1	43.1	15.9	4.7	84.8	81.0	23.8	9.1	12.8	131.6	94.7	14.7	7.9
1890	490.8	49.3	8.9	10.9	78.1	56.3	21.4	6.1	9.5	151.4	81.5	14.9	2.5
1891	560.1	60.2	11.8	15.7	70.2	96.5	14.0	11.3	7.1	147.6	104.3	20.5	.8
1892	512.3	42.7	10.7	10.7	103.4	76.7	16.7	11.6	3.1	128.0	83.6	22.0	3.3
1893	474.8	41.3	9.9	5.5	91.3	40.5	28.3	7.4	8.9	103.9	110.1	16.3	11.3
1894	539.1	45.3	8.4	5.7	125.0	62.5	14.3	4.3	12.1	116.7	119.4	19.8	5.7
1895	546.6	47.3	12.8	8.8	101.7	54.2	24.9	3.3	7.2	145.4	109.5	17.4	13.9
1896	595.7	47.3	16.6	13.7	87.0	124.4	27.3	2.1	14.0	137.5	81.2	15.2	29.1
1897	541.2	34.9	17.7	33.8	64.8	62.3	23.9	4.1	6.1	183.1	86.9	9.6	5.8
1898	534.7	48.0	17.6	24.7	93.0	70.8	16.8	11.5	4.2	158.6	65.7	11.1	12.4
1899	510.3	36.7	14.3	10.1	82.5	50.0	19.8	8.0	2.3	189.1	66.4	17.7	13.5

1900	584.7	37.3	11.9	9.7	141.4	46.0	30.4	4.3	.5	182.1	101.3	9.4	10.2
1901	636.3	59.4	20.9	66.1	87.6	80.5	20.7	14.1	4.7	194.3	65.9	12.3	9.9
1902	699.9	98.8	16.7	43.1	77.5	90.1	30.9	12.2	7.2	253.0	49.7	8.4	12.7
1903	703.2	84.3	28.0	18.9	69.1	66.6	21.8	9.9	5.7	297.9	68.7	20.3	11.8
1904	723.1	106.9	28.8	16.7	99.5	57.7	18.9	5.1	5.7	280.9	80.7	5.2	16.7
1905	744.8	93.4	24.0	11.3	107.1	83.0	30.7	5.4	3.3	288.4	67.2	8.2	22.7
1906	792.5	112.5	30.8	13.8	110.6	54.5	26.9	7.2	3.5	338.2	60.5	24.6	9.3
1907	724.8	78.2	31.4	16.9	108.9	52.5	15.5	7.0	3.7	340.9	44.5	15.7	9.6
1908	899.1	112.1	29.0	14.9	132.5	54.4	23.5	13.9	4.5	419.5	49.8	19.1	17.4
1909	859.4	92.0	29.3	15.2	85.5	118.0	27.3	8.2	6.7	405.2	43.6	14.8	13.6
1910	839.1	106.0	34.9	13.3	66.0	72.1	19.3	7.4	4.9	388.5	97.5	14.0	15.1
1911	801.3	120.6	31.3	14.3	79.9	80.9	23.0	14.5	2.7	344.7	56.5	28.4	4.5
1912	820.1	108.4	23.8	31.1	91.2	51.0	17.8	10.6	4.3	371.0	62.7	34.1	14.1
1913	879.5	111.1	31.4	20.1	70.4	84.2	23.1	5.7	5.0	445.8	44.2	23.0	15.5
1914	856.3	80.1	27.7	17.8	44.8	87.8	20.8	3.3	5.1	421.7	89.1	35.5	22.5
1915	977.5	55.3	40.0	25.8	42.5	124.8	33.4	7.3	1.9	468.0	105.8	30.9	41.7
1916	882.3	57.1	29.6	28.6	63.9	103.3	26.1	12.0	6.8	407.4	87.6	42.5	17.4
1917	837.6	67.5	30.1	24.8	109.0	77.1	16.6	6.7	8.5	415.3	39.1	22.4	20.6
1918	786.8	70.3	29.5	18.7	176.8	55.4	12.7	7.6	2.2	334.3	40.3	28.7	10.0
1919	871.8	83.1	38.3	22.3	112.3	84.0	19.8	12.4	4.7	397.7	37.4	32.2	27.7
1920	883.8	89.7	32.7	24.6	59.6	103.3	16.1	14.3	1.5	395.6	69.9	37.2	39.2
1921	1157.9	107.3	41.0	23.5	116.1	91.5	34.8	36.2	11.1	503.7	88.2	42.5	62.0
1922	1122.3	110.6	37.5	31.2	105.5	65.7	34.9	26.1	9.1	542.0	98.7	30.9	30.0
1923	1210.7	134.4	31.7	33.0	92.5	78.0	34.1	37.8	5.7	521.2	114.6	37.8	89.1
1924	1177.3	98.4	37.9	38.4	107.8	95.1	39.3	33.9	3.1	477.8	97.2	29.0	119.5
1925	1120.8	104.0	47.8	32.3	78.4	82.8	48.6	28.3	15.2	466.0	72.0	41.1	103.1
1926	1041.9	93.4	46.8	28.3	68.6	91.7	59.8	23.3	16.0	394.1	86.4	19.0	114.6
1927	1159.7	74.8	33.5	42.9	95.4	135.2	47.5	33.0	16.6	435.7	92.7	20.3	132.0
1928	1107.8	94.8	41.2	53.9	100.3	119.1	65.0	24.3	10.1	344.3	97.7	23.3	133.4
1929	1112.3	73.6	57.3	50.9	121.2	100.5	47.6	43.1	14.9	385.2	78.1	18.8	120.9
Arith- metic Mean	758.6	73.6	24.6	21.0	93.4	79.6	24.5	13.2	7.4	290.3	81.5	20.7	27.5

institutions of the family, religion, and recreation. The number of column inches allotted to each of these types of human relationships has approximately trebled within the forty-nine years. Each began the period with an average amount of space approximating one-half to three-fourths of a column and ended with an average of more than two columns per weekly issue. The years denoting tendencies toward marked increases in weekly averages are: family, 1901; religion, 1896 and 1911; recreation, 1893 and 1921.

Judging from their reflection in the local paper, it would seem that the institutions of health and art have played less important roles in the life of the Clinton County seat community for their averages are only 13.2 and 7.4 respectively. "Health," it will be recalled, comprises all news items pertaining to problems of health and well being, such for example as keeping well, health laws and investigations, safety campaigns, sanitation, new methods of treating disease, accidents and injuries, health statistics, and similar matter. Excepting the years, 1881 and 1887, the weekly average amount of news space given to this category seldom approximated three-fourths of a column in length previous to 1921. In that year an increase, ranging from one and one-half to two columns, appears and continues throughout the remainder of the period. The amount of space devoted to art, it should be noted, is the lowest for all institutional relationships. The weekly mean for this category is less than one-fourth of a column for half of the years preceding 1925 and approximately one-half column for the remaining years of that period. After 1925, however, it rises to an average of nearly three-quarters of a column.

The news matter classified under "personal items" includes county correspondence, local personal items, and items concerning persons of

some state and national importance. This type of news material, it will be observed from Table VI, received more of the total absolute amount of news space during the period studied than any other category. In fact, it accounts for slightly more than one-third of the total news space during the forty-nine years. Its general weekly average is 290.3 column inches, or slightly more than two pages per issue, compared to a general weekly average of 93.4 column inches or less than one-third as much given to government, the category with the second highest average. There is little change in the weekly average absolute amount of news space from year to year entered in this column until about 1900. Following the first nineteen years, however, which shows an average of 146 column inches per week, the weekly mean number of column inches increases through the three successive decades to figures of 300, 399, and 446 respectively.

Stories and fiction category includes jokes, "tall stories," stories characterized by clever and witty remarks, stories involving plots and occurring in but a single issue, and serial stories. A general average of 81.5 column inches of space per week, which is the third largest for any category, it will be noted from Table VI, has been given to this type of newspaper matter. Three periods of marked variation in the weekly average absolute amount of space devoted to stories and fiction, Table VI shows, stand out. These periods include the years 1881 to 1897, 1898 to 1919, and 1920 to 1929 with weekly averages in column inches of space of 95.5, 64.9, and 89.5 respectively. These data suggest a decline in the amount of space given to "stories and fiction" in the middle years covered by the study. However, this conclusion can only be tentative until the data are transcribed into percentages which has been done in the following table.

The category, miscellaneous, comprises many short items used to end a column--commonly called "filler"--, items about the weather, calamities, and other material difficult to classify. A general weekly average of 20.5 column inches has been allocated to this heading.

"Pictures and cartoons" includes photographs of human beings, photographs and sketches of animals, and comics and cartoons. The outstanding fact about this category is the continuous increase in the absolute amount of space recorded under it from 1885 to the close of the period covered by the investigation. Its range is from zero in the first four years of the period studied to a weekly average of 133.4 column inches in 1928. It may be interesting to note further that the last seven years of this period show an average of from four and one-half to six and one-half columns per weekly issue. This means that during the last seven years of the 1920's the Clinton County Republican-News, in the process of focusing the attention of its readers on local and more distant problems of common interest, devoted from three-fourths to seven-eighths of a page each week to this type of news matter. The explanation for this vast increase in pictorial material is, doubtless, largely due to technological improvements which make possible pictorial reproductions with greater ease.

In summarizing the data of Table VI, it may be stated, that, with the possible exception of "government" and "education," there is a tendency, in some cases quite marked, toward an increase throughout the forty-nine year period in the total absolute amount of space given to each of the major categories.

NEWS SPACE ANALYZED ON THE BASIS OF PERCENTAGES. Since the data of Table VI are expressed in absolute amounts, the marked increase in the total amount of space given to each of the major categories noted may be

more apparent than real. For instance, it is possible for the absolute amounts of space given to a particular category to increase from year to year and at the same time show a declining percentage of the total news space. That is to say, it is possible for the total news space to increase more rapidly than the space given to any particular category. In order, therefore, to show the true proportional relationship of each category to the total news from year to year, the data of Table VI have been restated in terms of percentages and presented again in Table VII. This table shows the weekly mean percentages that news is of total paper space and that each of the twelve major categories is of the news space in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881 to 1930.

Although the absolute amount of news space shown in Table VII has increased more or less continuously throughout the period under investigation, it is noticeable at once from the data of this table that the percentage of news space to total paper space has steadily declined. In the earlier years of the period studied, the data show, news matter made up approximately three-fifths of the total paper space as compared to two-fifths in the later years. This, of course, means a 50 per cent decline in news matter in proportion to total paper space in the forty-nine years. The percentage range of news to total space, stated inversely, is from 63.3 in 1886 to 37.6 in 1926. Thus, in the later years, advertising, the subject matter making up the remainder of the paper, has approximately reversed positions with the news in amount of total paper space received.

In percentage proportion of total news space, as in absolute amounts, Table VII shows that economics, government, and education still lead other institutions. Their forty-nine year averages are 9.7 per cent, 13.4 per cent, and 11.1 per cent respectively. Roughly speaking, the figures would

TABLE VII

WEEKLY MEAN PERCENTAGES THAT NEWS IS OF TOTAL PAPER SPACE, AND THAT EACH OF THE TWELVE MAJOR CATEGORIES IS OF THE NEWS SPACE, IN THE TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean percentage that news is of total paper space	Weekly mean percentages that each of the twelve major categories is of total news space											
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Fiction and Stories	Miscellaneous	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	62.0	10.9	1.9	3.0	12.3	19.9	2.6	5.4	2.3	24.4	16.3	0.9	
1882	58.4	7.9	1.2	.3	28.0	16.5	2.0	1.2	1.6	21.2	18.0	3.0	
1883	53.6	7.6	2.0	2.7	13.4	16.4	2.0	1.8	1.9	24.7	24.1	3.5	
1884	56.3	9.0	2.0	2.4	22.2	11.2	1.1	1.6	1.9	29.5	16.5	2.3	
1885	59.2	8.3	3.0	1.3	18.3	12.9	1.3	1.6	2.2	30.4	18.8	2.0	.2
1886	63.3	8.4	2.1	2.3	14.4	11.2	2.5	1.3	1.9	31.9	21.5	2.4	.1
1887	61.1	12.0	1.8	1.5	13.1	16.8	2.4	3.3	1.7	29.4	14.6	3.0	.4
1888	62.4	8.6	1.7	1.6	21.1	13.5	1.9	1.1	1.9	28.3	18.3	1.8	.2
1889	56.3	8.2	3.0	.9	16.2	15.5	4.5	1.7	2.5	25.1	18.1	2.8	1.5
1890	53.5	10.0	1.8	2.2	15.9	11.5	4.4	1.3	1.9	30.8	16.6	3.0	.5
1891	58.9	10.7	2.1	2.8	12.5	17.2	2.5	2.0	1.3	26.4	18.6	3.6	.2
1892	54.1	8.3	2.4	2.1	20.2	15.0	3.2	2.3	.6	25.0	16.3	4.3	.7
1893	52.4	8.7	2.1	1.2	19.2	8.5	6.0	1.6	1.9	21.9	23.2	3.4	2.4
1894	60.1	8.4	1.6	1.5	23.2	11.6	2.7	.8	2.2	21.6	22.1	3.7	1.7
1895	58.5	8.7	2.3	1.6	18.6	9.9	4.6	.6	1.3	26.6	20.1	3.2	2.6
1896	59.0	7.9	2.8	2.3	14.6	20.9	4.6	.4	2.4	23.1	13.6	2.6	4.9
1897	58.3	6.6	3.3	6.4	12.2	11.7	4.5	.8	1.1	33.8	16.1	1.8	1.9
1898	52.7	9.0	3.3	4.6	17.4	13.3	3.2	2.2	.8	29.7	12.3	2.1	2.3
1899	51.4	7.2	2.8	2.0	16.1	9.8	3.9	1.6	.5	37.1	13.0	3.4	2.7

1900	54.4	6.4	2.0	1.7	24.7	7.9	5.2	.8	.1	31.1	17.3	1.6	1.7
1901	57.1	9.3	3.3	10.4	13.8	12.7	3.3	2.2	.2	30.5	10.4	1.9	1.6
1902	55.6	14.1	2.4	6.2	11.1	12.9	4.4	1.8	1.0	36.1	7.1	1.2	1.8
1903	55.1	12.0	3.9	2.7	9.9	9.5	3.1	1.4	.8	42.4	9.8	2.9	1.6
1904	53.5	14.8	4.0	2.3	13.8	8.0	3.6	.7	.8	38.8	11.2	.7	2.3
1905	55.1	12.5	3.2	1.5	14.4	11.1	4.1	.7	.5	38.7	9.0	1.1	3.5
1906	53.3	14.2	3.9	1.7	14.0	6.9	3.4	.9	.5	42.7	7.6	3.3	1.2
1907	52.6	10.8	4.4	2.4	15.0	7.3	2.1	1.0	.5	47.0	6.1	2.2	1.3
1908	61.6	12.5	3.2	1.7	14.8	6.1	2.6	1.6	.5	46.7	5.5	2.1	1.9
1909	55.8	10.7	3.4	1.8	10.0	13.7	3.2	1.0	.8	47.1	5.1	1.7	1.6
1910	60.8	12.6	4.1	1.6	7.9	8.6	2.3	.9	.6	46.3	11.6	1.7	1.8
1911	51.2	15.1	3.9	1.8	9.9	10.1	2.9	1.8	.3	43.0	7.1	3.5	.6
1912	50.5	13.2	2.9	3.8	11.2	6.2	2.2	1.3	.5	45.2	7.6	4.1	1.7
1913	58.0	12.6	3.6	2.3	8.0	9.6	2.6	.6	.6	50.7	5.0	2.6	1.8
1914	54.2	9.4	3.2	2.1	5.2	10.3	2.4	.4	.6	49.3	10.4	4.1	2.6
1915	53.1	5.7	4.1	2.6	4.4	12.8	3.4	.8	.2	47.9	10.8	3.2	4.3
1916	44.6	6.7	3.4	3.2	7.2	11.7	3.0	.8	.8	46.2	9.9	4.8	2.0
1917	52.2	8.6	3.6	2.9	13.0	9.2	2.0	.8	1.0	49.6	4.7	2.7	2.5
1918	47.2	8.9	3.8	2.4	22.5	7.0	1.6	1.0	.3	42.5	5.1	3.6	1.3
1919	40.1	9.5	4.4	2.6	12.9	9.6	2.3	1.4	.6	45.6	4.3	3.7	3.2
1920	38.2	10.2	3.7	2.8	6.8	11.7	1.8	1.6	.2	44.8	7.9	4.2	4.4
1921	43.6	9.3	3.5	2.0	10.0	7.9	3.0	3.1	1.0	43.5	7.6	3.7	5.4
1922	45.6	9.9	3.3	2.8	9.4	5.9	3.1	2.4	.8	48.4	8.8	2.7	2.7
1923	45.3	11.1	2.6	2.3	7.6	6.4	2.8	3.1	.5	43.0	9.5	3.1	7.4
1924	41.5	8.4	3.2	3.3	9.2	8.1	3.3	2.9	.3	40.6	8.3	2.5	10.2
1925	42.7	9.3	4.3	2.9	7.0	7.4	4.3	2.5	1.4	41.6	6.4	3.6	9.2
1926	37.6	9.0	4.5	2.7	6.6	8.8	5.7	2.2	1.5	37.8	8.3	1.8	11.0
1927	39.9	6.5	2.9	3.7	8.2	11.7	4.1	2.8	1.4	37.6	8.0	1.8	11.4
1928	38.8	8.6	3.7	4.9	9.7	10.8	5.7	2.2	.9	31.1	8.8	2.1	12.8
1929	38.3	6.6	5.2	4.6	10.9	9.0	4.3	3.9	1.3	34.6	7.0	1.7	10.9
Arith- metic Mean	50.2	9.7	3.1	2.7	13.4	11.1	3.2	1.7	1.1	36.6	11.9	2.7	3.1

seem to indicate, if newspaper space in the Republican-News be a safe criterion, that about one-third of the Clinton County seat community's attention in the last half century has been focused upon these three types of institutional activities.

The weekly mean percentage of news space devoted to economic relationships, it will be observed, shows no particular trend. With the exception of the years 1902 and 1914, when the percentages rise to an average of approximately 13, there is little variation from the average which, as previously stated, is 9.7 per cent. The Clinton County seat community's attention to governmental affairs, however, the data of Table VII would seem to indicate, has declined in later years. The most marked change comes after 1908. Previous to this date, an average of 16.5 per cent of all news in each weekly issue dealt with some phase of government. After 1908 the average for each weekly issue is but 9.3 per cent; moreover only once in the last twenty-nine years covered by this study has the weekly mean percentage of space given to the governmental institution equalled or excelled the average for the previous twenty years. This one exception is the war year, 1918. In that year the weekly average percentage rose to 22.5. The obtrusions of the national presidential campaign years referred to in Table VI are also quite evident in Table VII.

Like "government," "education" received the highest percentage of space in the earlier years of the period investigated. For example, its average for the first twenty-two years is 13.5 as compared to 9 per cent for the remainder of the period. The range for the whole period is from 5.9 per cent to 20.9 per cent. Perhaps the same factors may be offered in explanation of the high percentages noted for both "government" and "education" in the earlier years. That is to say, the community was re-

latively isolated; daily newspapers, magazines, and books were scarce; the absence of the linotype machine limited the amount of community news that could be printed; consequently, through the medium of syndicated matter, the local newspaper tended to emphasize literary matter and state, national, and foreign news to a much greater extent than at the present time. It took the place to some extent of books and magazines and served the purpose of connecting the local community with the outside world. This conclusion will be borne out later by a more detailed analysis of the educational category.

In contrast to "government" and "education" the trend of increase in the "family" institution occurs in the later years. Beginning the period with a weekly average of less than 2 per cent, it ends with more than 5. The range is from 1.2 per cent in 1882 to 5.2 per cent in 1929. The period denoting the most marked increase in percentage occurs after 1900. The average percentage for the twenty year period previous to this date is 2.6 as compared to 3.6 afterwards. This means an increase relative to total news of 65 per cent over the earlier period.

"Religion" like the "family" receives but a small percentage of the total news space in the Clinton County Republican-News. At no time in the forty-nine years has its weekly average exceeded 10.4 per cent, and this case seems to be exceptionally high because the next highest percentage is but 6.4, and the average for the whole period is but 2.7 per cent. A slight trend toward a higher percentage appears in 1912. Following this year, the weekly mean percentages are consistent and average 3.1, while the percentages for the former years show great variation and average but 2.5, or approximately one-fifth less. Perhaps, the small percentages shown in the categories for family and for religion are due to the

fact that the behavior involved in these institutional relationships is rather highly standardized and are more likely to be taken for granted and thus to be omitted from the news.

Several facts are observable in the recreational category. In the first place, like "family" and "religion," its percentages of the total news from year to year are not high. The mean, for instance, is 3.2 per cent, while the range is from 1.1 per cent to 5.7 per cent; furthermore a number of fluctuations in percentages in the forty-nine years are evident. For example, the average percentage for the years preceding 1889 is 2; the average for the period between 1888 and 1907 is approximately 4; that for the fourteen years between 1906 and 1921 is 2.5; and that for the remaining years is 4 again. Thus while a higher percentage of the total news is given to the recreational institution in the earlier years of the period studied, a trend is not consistently evident.

"Health" and "art", as was shown in Table VI, have received little space in the Clinton County Republican-News during the forty-nine years studied. Their means are the lowest for any of the major categories being 1.7 per cent and 1.1 per cent respectively. In both, the percentages show declines of one-half or more in the middle years of the period studied and increase again in the later years. Perhaps the most obvious tendency towards a trend of increasing interest is shown in the health category for the years following 1920. The average for this period is approximately 2.9 per cent which is more than twice the average for the preceding years. The increase in percentage of total news space devoted to health in the last decade may be largely accounted for by the fact that the Republican-News promoted the building of a community hospital during that time.

The "personal items" category, it will be noted from Table VII, stands

out again as it did in Table VI. More than one-third, or a general average of 36.6 per cent to be exact, of all the news space measured in the 588 issues of the Clinton County Republican-News from 1880 to 1930 has been classified under this heading. Stated more concretely, perhaps, this means a general average of at least two full pages of space per weekly issue devoted to items of a personal nature. This amount is approximately three times greater than the amount given to the next nearest category, which is the institution of government with a general average of 13.4 per cent.

Most of the space allocated to "personal items," as it will be shown in Chapter V, consists of county correspondence. The general weekly average for this latter category is approximately 72 per cent. Local personal items account for about 17 per cent more of the total personal items space leaving but slightly less than 11 per cent the source of origin for which is beyond the county.

Another fact of importance to be noted about "personal items" is its marked increase, particularly between the years 1899 to 1920. For instance, the weekly average percentage of the total news space devoted to this type of material was 27.4 per cent for the years before 1900, compared to 37.1 per cent for the first and 46.6 per cent for the second decade of 1900. A slight decline from the weekly average of the previous decade, however, is recorded for the last ten years which includes the years 1920 to 1929. The weekly average for this period is 40.3 per cent. The increase shown for this category after 1899, as it will be explained in Chapter V, occurs largely under "county correspondence."

"Stories and fiction" because of its closer relationship to news matter than to advertising has been included with the former although it

is not, strictly speaking, news. The general weekly average amount of space given to this type of material is 11.9 per cent. This is the third highest among the twelve categories. Like "personal items" "stories and fiction" shows a marked change in percentage about 1900. In contrast to "personal items," however, the trend of change is downward. Previous to 1900, for instance, the weekly average percentage of all news space given to "stories and fiction" was 17.9 as compared to 8.3, or less than half as much, for the thirty years afterwards.

"Miscellaneous" which includes such items as "filler," weather, calamities, and other material difficult to classify presents no facts of importance. Its general weekly average is but 2.7 per cent.

"Pictures and cartoons," as it was pointed out in Table VI, do not appear until 1885 and receive on the average less than 2 per cent of the total news space for more than thirty years thereafter; however, a rapid rise, which brings the weekly average amount of the total news space given to this category up to 7.6 per cent, occurs after 1918.

ADVERTISING

TOTAL ADVERTISING. In a certain sense advertising is news; however, it is news of a limited sort, news, that is to say, to the person interested in the articles advertised;³ and the type of articles advertised in a community's paper, like other news, reveals something of the values held by the community. Likewise, the type of advertising in a community's papers gives some indication of its attitude toward the newspaper as a medium expressing community interests. Surely a community whose paper gave considerable space in its advertising to items more conducive to socially

³Phil. C. Bing, THE COUNTRY WEEKLY, p. 243.

beneficial adjustments or one that portrayed the scientifically determined qualities of the articles it advertised would reflect a different kind of community interest than is now generally found. It is, therefore, because advertising has some value in portraying the changing problems and changing interests of the community that it has been included in this study.

Following the method employed in analyzing the news, total advertising and its distribution between the two major categories for advertising, namely, display and non-display, will be considered first. The data for these phases of the problem are summarized in Table VIII. This table shows the amount of space in column inches and in percentages given to all advertising and to each major type of advertising, in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881 to 1930.

Three facts stand out in this table: In the first place, it reveals the immense growth of advertising during the forty-nine years studied, all advertising having increased approximately 500 per cent; display advertising, 600 per cent; and non-display, 200 per cent. Non-display advertising, however, in contrast to total advertising and to display advertising shows a declining percentage throughout the forty-nine years. To illustrate, it averaged 29.6 per cent during the first eighteen years, 22.4 for the next sixteen years, and 13.5 for the period since the beginning of the World War. A further fact at once apparent in Table VIII is the continuation of the tendency, previously pointed out, for marked changes in amounts of space to take place shortly after 1900. In this case the changes are more evident in the columns which portray the absolute amounts than those which portray percentages. A third fact to be noted is the series of changes occurring in both column inches and in percent-

TABLE VIII

WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES GIVEN TO TOTAL ADVERTISING AND TO EACH OF THE
 MAJOR TYPES OF ADVERTISING, AND WEEKLY MEAN PERCENTAGES THAT
 ADVERTISING IS OF TOTAL PAPER SPACE AND THAT EACH
 MAJOR TYPE IS OF ALL ADVERTISING, IN THE TWELVE
 SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, 1881-1930

Years	Total advertising		Display advertising		Non-display advertising	
	Column inches	Percentage of total space	Column inches	Percentage of all advertising	Column inches	Percentage of all advertising
1881	344.3	38.0	240.7	69.9	103.5	30.1
1882	385.2	41.6	270.0	70.1	115.2	29.9
1883	458.3	46.4	338.7	73.9	119.6	26.1
1884	404.1	43.8	280.8	69.5	123.2	30.5
1885	374.1	40.8	235.9	63.1	138.1	36.9
1886	326.3	36.7	211.7	64.9	114.5	35.1
1887	349.5	38.9	224.6	64.3	124.8	35.7
1888	366.0	37.6	243.9	66.7	122.1	33.4
1889	406.6	43.6	291.3	71.7	115.2	28.3
1890	426.9	46.5	312.4	73.2	114.5	26.8
1891	391.0	41.1	281.2	71.9	109.8	28.1
1892	423.4	45.9	319.6	75.5	103.7	24.5
1893	430.6	47.6	310.7	72.2	119.8	27.8
1894	358.0	39.9	251.7	70.3	106.3	29.7
1895	388.3	41.5	258.3	66.4	129.9	33.7
1896	413.8	41.0	314.1	75.9	99.7	24.1
1897	380.4	41.7	278.8	73.3	101.8	26.8
1898	480.9	47.4	358.0	74.7	122.9	25.4
1899	482.8	48.6	376.2	77.9	106.7	22.1

1900	490.7	45.6	396.3	80.8	94.4	19.3
1901	477.3	42.9	399.8	84.3	74.6	15.7
1902	560.3	44.5	439.4	78.4	120.8	21.6
1903	571.9	44.9	442.1	77.3	129.8	22.7
1904	621.4	46.5	475.1	76.5	146.3	23.5
1905	608.3	45.0	435.7	71.6	172.6	28.4
1906	693.8	46.7	345.4	78.6	148.4	21.4
1907	653.3	47.4	517.8	79.3	135.5	20.8
1908	561.5	38.4	412.5	73.5	149.0	26.5
1909	681.2	44.2	521.8	76.5	159.4	23.5
1910	539.7	39.2	407.9	75.6	131.6	24.4
1911	763.8	48.8	614.5	80.5	149.2	19.6
1912	804.2	49.5	665.3	82.7	138.8	17.3
1913	634.3	42.0	492.4	77.6	141.9	22.4
1914	724.3	45.8	523.1	72.2	201.1	27.8
1915	862.5	46.9	734.4	85.2	128.1	14.9
1916	1095.3	55.4	880.5	80.4	214.9	19.6
1917	766.5	47.8	588.8	81.0	177.7	19.0
1918	879.3	52.8	739.7	84.1	139.6	15.9
1919	1301.6	59.9	1171.8	90.0	129.7	10.0
1920	1430.7	61.8	1278.2	89.3	152.4	10.7
1921	1268.7	56.4	1091.4	86.3	177.2	18.7
1922	1319.8	54.4	1147.5	86.9	172.2	13.1
1923	1207.7	54.7	1040.4	86.1	167.2	13.9
1924	1420.6	58.5	1265.9	89.1	154.7	10.9
1925	1501.8	57.3	1308.8	87.1	193.0	12.9
1926	1727.2	62.4	1562.8	90.5	164.3	9.5
1927	1744.9	60.1	1528.1	87.6	216.8	12.4
1928	1683.5	61.2	1464.8	87.0	218.7	13.0
1929	1789.8	61.7	1560.3	87.2	229.4	12.8
Arith- metic Mean	754.5	49.8	613.3	77.7	141.2	22.3

ages during the World War period. These two series of changes mark off the column inches given to total advertising and to display advertising into three distinct periods: the first of which consists of twenty-one years; the second, seventeen; and the third, eleven. The weekly average of all advertising for each of these successive periods is 388.4, 707.1, and 1498.1 column inches respectively, while for display advertising the figures are 294.7, 555.1, and 1310.9 respectively. In other words, the absolute amount of space given to all advertising and to display advertising almost doubled between 1901 and 1918 and then more than doubled again by 1929. The percentages that advertising is of total paper space and that display advertising is of all advertising show increases after the beginning of the World War. For instance, an average of 57.4 per cent of all newspaper space went to advertising after 1915 as compared to 43.4 per cent for the previous years, and an average of 86.6 per cent of all advertising was display advertising after 1914 in contrast to 73.5 per cent for the years preceding. It is evident that a number of influencing factors coincident, perhaps, with the changing interests and changing character of the community lie back of the immense growth in amount and type of advertising space pointed out here; consequently, a more detailed analysis of this table is called for.

SUMMARY

The material covered in this chapter, it should be pointed out again, includes the entire content of the first issue of the Republican-News in each month for the years 1881 to 1929 inclusive. It totals slightly more than eight hundred ninety thousand column inches of newspaper space divided approximately evenly between news and advertising. Since the em-

phasis has been on the entire content of the paper, no attempt has been made, except in the case of county correspondence, to draw a distinction between that part of the newspaper space which reflects the local community life and the part which mirrors a recognition of interests common to a larger area. In short, the chapter includes an analysis of the whole range of interests upon which the Clinton County seat community's attention has been focused, during the forty-nine years covered in the study, by its leading weekly paper.

In this analysis at least three facts stand out: In the first place, the type of news matter most often found in the Republican-News is "Personal Items." These are the relatively short items which includes local personals, county correspondence, and items concerning state and national people of some importance. Thirty-six and seven-tenths per cent, or more than one hundred sixty-three thousand column inches of newspaper space, was given during the forty-nine years to this type of material. Another fact of importance is the large amount of space devoted to "government," "education," and "economics." Thirty-four and two-tenths per cent, or slightly more than one-third of the total news space, has been allocated to these three institutional categories. In absolute amount this space exceeds one hundred fifty-one thousand column inches. These four categories, "personal items," "government," "education," and "economics," account for 70.8 per cent, or slightly less than three-fourths, of the total news space; and if "stories and fiction" with 11.9 per cent more space be added, the sum of these five categories is 82.7 per cent, or approximately five-sixths, of the total leaving but little more than one-sixth to the remaining seven categories. A third outstanding fact in the present chapter is the tendency noted in almost every table for trends of increase

or decrease in the amounts of various kinds of news and advertising space to occur at the close of the second, third, and fourth periods, namely, 1900, 1910, and 1920. It is interesting to note in this connection that the installation of the first linotype machine in the office of the Republican-News and the introduction of rural free delivery service in Clinton County coincide rather closely with the earlier date;⁴ and, of course, an intensive wave of prosperity followed by the widespread use of the automobile and the introduction of good roads characterize the later one. These data would seem to suggest that the Republican-News' reflection of changing interests in the local community is a part of a larger community process depending upon numerous ecological factors, such as social and technological improvements in the means of transportation and communication.⁵

The problem now remains to isolate and analyze the news and advertising which have their origin within the county in order to determine whether the hypothesis set forth here and the facts upon which it rests can be more definitely established.

⁴The first linotype machine was installed in the office of the Clinton County Republican in 1901, and the first rural free delivery route was established December 4, 1899. Rural free delivery service, however, did not become general throughout the country until March 15, 1903.

⁵L. L. Bernard, AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, Chapter IX, pp. 165-167.

CHAPTER V.

COUNTY NEWS AND ADVERTISING MATTER

Every community, it has been pointed out, has an area more or less well defined and a center around which its various population units tend to converge. Life among the people of such an area, particularly if it is small, is more intimate, common interests more numerous, and contacts and associations more stimulating and personal than they are with people in any outside area. Furthermore, because of the greater ease of contact and communication, the associative process becomes intensified at the center. Thus it is evident that news about the activities of people living within a community is more representative of its common life than news of the activities of people without. It is not to be denied, of course, as it has been stated previously, that news from other communities plays a part in the local life. Such news, however, is generally much less likely to touch the common life at as many points as that which has its origin within the local area. In the present study since the newspaper selected for analysis is a rural county seat weekly and much of its news and advertising emphasis concerns the county, it seemed advisable to distinguish in the news those items which have their origin within the county outside its center from those incidental to the world beyond the borders of the county; and furthermore, because of the intensification of community life at its center, it also seemed advisable in this case in order to determine whether the newspaper selected is more representative of the life of the

county or that of its county seat to consider the news pertaining to the latter separately. These are some of the problems that the present chapter will attempt to elucidate.

NEWS

COUNTY NEWS SPACE ANALYZED ON THE BASIS OF COLUMN INCHES.

The weekly average number of column inches of news space in the twelve selected issues for each year given to county news, and the weekly average number of column inches of county news space given to each of the eight major institutional relationships and to "Personal items" and to "pictures and cartoons" are shown in Table IX.

Several facts of importance to the study of the rural weekly's reflection of the changing character of its community appear in Table IX. Most significant among these, perhaps, is the tremendous increase in the absolute amount of space devoted during the forty-nine years to county news. This is made more apparent by a comparison with the total news space. Thus while the total news space only doubled during the forty-nine years, county news increased approximately 600 per cent. The range is from 115.3 column inches in 1887 to 733.5 column inches in 1923 or, in other words, from less than one page per weekly issue devoted to news within the county to approximately five.

Two periods of marked change in the amount of space given to county news stand out. The first appears at the turn of the century and the second follows the World War. Previous to the first period, that is to say 1900, the amount of space given per weekly issue to county news averages 155.3 column inches; between this date and 1920, the second period of marked change, it rises to an average of 475.6 or more than three times the figure for the earlier period; and

TABLE IX

WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES, IN THE TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, GIVEN
TO CLINTON COUNTY NEWS AND ITS DISTRIBUTION IN TERMS OF WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF
COLUMN INCHES AMONG TEN OF THE MAJOR CATEGORIES, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean number of column inches given to Clinton County news	Weekly mean number of column inches of Clinton County news given to each of ten of the major categories									
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	137.4	15.8	2.7	8.2	13.7	15.6	6.3	.2	2.7	71.9	
1882	123.7	12.4	5.7	1.2	30.3	11.0	3.2	.2	2.4	57.2	
1883	122.5	14.7	3.4	1.8	12.0	7.6	4.1	1.6	2.4	74.9	
1884	119.8	12.1	3.4	7.8	7.5	5.4	3.4		.9	79.2	
1885	121.2	19.2	4.1	.3	7.7	4.9	.8		1.7	82.0	
1886	128.7	10.8	1.7	.5	10.0	6.4	6.2	1.5	.2	91.4	
1887	115.3	10.3	1.9	1.2	7.5	3.6	3.1	.4	4.2	83.1	
1888	138.8	10.7	3.7		10.2	11.9	6.5	.4		95.5	
1889	138.0	16.4	4.1	.8	12.7	13.6	8.7	1.2	2.1	78.5	
1890	162.4	13.7	4.8	1.6	11.7	12.5	13.6	.3	1.0	103.2	
1891	168.8	14.0	5.5	4.0	6.4	15.0	10.1	2.2	.8	110.9	
1892	162.3	13.2	2.9	.6	21.0	13.2	9.0	.2	.8	100.7	
1893	125.9	12.5	5.5	3.7	11.6	6.6	11.1		1.9	73.0	
1894	134.7	15.6	4.7	3.9	9.2	12.3	9.0		3.9	76.1	
1895	189.5	19.0	3.6	5.2	10.4	15.2	13.7	.3	1.8	119.3	
1896	202.7	14.0	6.8	7.6	15.6	14.1	15.9	.1	6.2	110.4	12.1
1897	224.2	13.3	12.4	3.4	11.7	11.0	16.2	1.4	3.2	143.4	8.2
1898	211.5	19.7	8.7	3.8	15.7	11.2	12.2	2.8	1.8	132.1	3.3
1899	233.7	15.5	8.8	10.0	29.7	7.9	13.5	1.3	1.3	144.7	.7

1900	244.3	16.7	7.2	9.4	29.2	8.5	28.7	1.7		140.4	2.2
1901	270.0	20.0	12.8	14.5	29.7	14.2	10.7	6.2	.8	158.7	2.9
1902	350.2	27.3	13.3	12.7	31.7	15.8	20.9	6.3	.8	219.3	1.9
1903	399.3	20.2	21.5	14.0	32.2	24.2	19.8	6.3	1.4	259.2	.5
1904	393.0	20.9	20.8	12.6	33.2	18.7	14.2	3.7	4.0	265.4	.5
1905	403.0	30.5	19.2	7.9	29.1	24.5	18.4	4.0	2.5	275.2	1.2
1906	463.4	31.9	25.3	11.3	32.3	15.7	21.7	3.6	2.5	315.8	3.0
1907	461.3	30.7	23.8	12.5	24.2	19.5	9.7	5.2	1.6	330.2	3.9
1908	571.6	33.4	21.6	9.2	40.5	13.0	16.2	9.9	3.7	413.5	10.5
1909	527.3	27.1	22.5	15.0	22.7	20.2	16.2	4.8	5.7	392.9	.2
1910	525.2	31.8	24.2	11.9	27.4	24.5	13.9	3.1	1.3	384.9	2.0
1911	487.6	40.7	26.7	12.9	20.9	18.0	20.0	5.1	2.2	340.4	.6
1912	493.0	43.4	14.4	28.1	20.7	21.3	14.2	6.4	1.8	340.3	2.4
1913	573.5	43.4	24.9	18.6	18.0	45.4	15.1	5.6	3.5	396.8	2.2
1914	561.0	30.0	21.4	16.2	21.9	48.6	18.4	2.8	3.4	397.4	.8
1915	615.8	38.9	32.3	23.4	14.8	49.0	19.2	4.4	1.2	431.0	1.6
1916	561.2	40.7	22.9	28.0	29.7	26.4	20.2	6.0	4.2	382.8	1.4
1917	545.8	42.4	25.7	22.6	32.1	27.7	14.0	2.6	1.2	377.0	.5
1918	508.7	36.6	24.6	17.4	61.9	24.2	9.1	5.4	1.4	325.6	2.5
1919	545.7	30.8	31.2	20.6	32.9	27.2	17.4	6.6	2.3	375.2	1.5
1920	532.5	41.7	25.2	20.4	20.7	31.7	14.3	5.8	.7	367.2	4.6
1921	706.1	40.2	31.2	20.6	32.9	29.1	31.2	27.7	.6	489.2	2.5
1922	710.3	40.1	30.6	27.7	33.9	34.2	29.1	17.5	2.2	493.7	1.5
1923	733.5	57.7	23.2	28.6	43.7	34.9	28.2	26.2	1.5	489.0	.5
1924	721.1	53.9	23.6	32.7	52.2	58.2	30.2	18.5	2.3	446.8	3.0
1925	732.1	47.9	42.6	26.2	45.6	57.9	40.5	19.6	5.2	448.0	3.7
1926	652.0	39.2	42.7	24.7	46.2	61.3	24.3	17.3	6.4	386.7	3.8
1927	667.4	34.7	28.7	25.0	55.6	50.9	32.2	12.0	3.8	421.7	2.3
1928	631.7	43.1	38.7	37.1	50.9	52.2	38.9	14.5	2.1	340.6	14.1
1929	733.4	34.8	51.8	38.3	84.6	64.0	34.8	27.6	3.3	380.1	14.0
Arith- metic Mean	393.7	27.4	17.7	13.6	26.6	23.7	16.5	6.1	2.3	257.4	2.4

during the last ten years, it rises again to an average of 684 or more than 40 per cent above the previous average. Not only do these marked changes in the percentage of the total county news space occur following the dates mentioned, but they occur with consistency throughout the various subcategories for total county news. In the case of only one of these minor headings, namely, "recreation" in 1894, does the occurrence of the change in percentage deviate more than three years from the 1900 and 1920 dates. Rather marked changes are noticeable also after 1910, as well as 1900 and 1920, for three of the subheadings under total county news. These are "economics", "religion", and "education".

Another fact of importance in the study of the Republican-News' reflection of the changing interests and changing character of its community revealed by Table IX is the shift in emphasis, during the forty-nine years, in the news about several of the institutional relationship. For instance, "health" in the last ten years shows an average twenty-five times greater than its first nineteen year average; "family" for the last five years shows an average eight times greater than its first twenty year average; "religion" for the last fifteen years shows an average eight times greater than its first eighteen year average; and "education" and "recreation", during the last six and nine years respectively, show averages approximately five times greater than their first twenty and fourteen year averages respectively. On the other hand, "economics" and "government", which receive the highest amounts of space of any two institutional categories in the first nineteen years, show lower ratios of increase relative to other categories in the later years. To illustrate: "economics" averages for the last twenty years slightly less than

three times its first nineteen year mean and "government" for the last seven years averages a little more than four times its first eighteen year mean.

Art, the data show, is quite insignificant in the county news. In only one year out of the forty-nine does it average 6 column inches per weekly issue, and its average for the whole period is less than 3 column inches.

"Personal items", which, as previously pointed out, includes county correspondence and local brevities, increases from an average of 96.2 column inches during the first nineteen years to 326.1 for the next twenty and 426.3 for the last ten. The latter average is more than four times that of the first period.

Pictures and cartoons play no part in county news prior to 1896, and after that their amount of space is not high being on the average about 3 column inches per week previous to 1924 and 7 column inches thereafter.

Briefly, the vast increase in the ratio of county news to all news during the three decades following 1899 indicates again the Republica-News' reflection of the changing character of its community. It seems to indicate an expansion of the community's common interests around its county seat. Doubtless, this increase is related to the failure of numerous weeklies within the county outside of the county seat to compete successfully with the metropolitan daily, on the one hand, in supplying national and world news and with the county seat's leading weekly, on the other, in furnishing news of a local character following the appearance of rural free delivery, the linotype machine, and other media of communication. However, the data upon which this

generalization is based are in absolute amounts of space; they do not bring out the proportional relationship from year to year that county news is of all news or that each major category is of all county news. It is possible that such an arrangement of the data might not justify such a broad generalization; therefore, in order to test further the conclusion reached, the data of Table IX have been restated in terms of percentages and presented again in Table X.

COUNTY NEWS SPACE ANALYZED ON THE BASIS OF PERCENTAGES. In specific terms Table X shows the weekly mean percentages that county news is of total news and that each of the ten major categories is of total county news in the twelve selected issues for each year, 1881 to 1930.

The findings in Table X, although less pronounced, substantiate to a large degree those of Table IX. County news, for instance, increases from a mean percentage of 23.1 per cent of all news for the first nine years to 33.1 per cent for the next ten and 60.8 per cent, or more than three-fifths of all news, after 1899. Thus it will be seen that the percentage of the total news space arising within the county is approximately three times greater in the last thirty years than it was in the first nineteen. This points, as previous suggested, to a change in the character of the Clinton County seat community. Marked changes in percentages occur around 1900 and 1910, as was noted for column inches in Table IX.

The shifts in emphasis in the news about some of the institutional relationships are also evident in Table X. Thus "economics" declines from an average of 9.5 per cent of all county news during the first nineteen years to 6.4 per cent for the remaining years. This is a decline of nearly 50 per cent. "Family" and "religion",

TABLE X

WEEKLY MEAN PERCENTAGES THAT COUNTY NEWS IS OF TOTAL NEWS AND THAT EACH
OF TEN OF THE MAJOR CATEGORIES IS OF TOTAL COUNTY NEWS, IN THE
TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean percentage that county news is of total news	Weekly mean percentage that each of ten of the major categories is of total county news									
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	24.4	11.5	2.0	6.0	10.0	11.4	4.6	.1	2.0	52.4	
1882	22.9	10.0	4.6	1.0	24.5	8.9	2.6	.2	2.0	46.3	
1883	23.1	12.0	2.8	1.5	9.8	6.2	3.3	1.3	2.0	61.2	
1884	23.1	10.1	2.9	6.5	6.3	4.5	2.9		.8	66.1	
1885	22.3	15.9	3.4	.3	6.4	4.1	.7		1.4	68.0	
1886	22.9	8.4	1.3	.4	7.8	5.0	4.8	1.2	.2	71.0	
1887	21.0	9.0	1.7	1.0	6.5	3.1	2.7	.4	3.7	72.0	
1888	24.3	7.7	2.7		7.3	8.5	4.7	.3		68.8	
1889	26.3	11.9	3.0	.6	9.2	9.8	6.3	.9	1.5	56.9	
1890	33.1	8.5	3.0	1.0	7.2	7.7	8.4	.2	.6	63.5	
1891	30.1	8.3	3.3	2.4	3.8	8.9	6.0	1.3	.4	65.7	
1892	31.6	8.2	1.8	.4	13.0	8.2	5.6	.2	.5	62.3	
1893	26.5	9.2	4.4	2.9	9.2	5.3	8.8		1.5	58.0	
1894	24.9	11.6	3.5	2.9	6.8	9.2	6.7		2.9	56.5	
1895	34.7	10.0	1.9	2.8	5.9	8.0	7.3	.2	1.0	63.0	6.0
1896	34.0	6.9	3.4	3.7	7.7	7.0	7.9	.1	3.0	54.5	
1897	40.5	6.2	5.8	1.6	5.4	5.1	7.5	.7	1.5	66.4	
1898	39.5	9.3	4.1	1.8	7.5	5.3	5.8	1.3	.9	62.5	1.0
1899	45.8	6.6	3.8	4.3	12.7	3.4	5.8	.6	.6	62.0	.3

1900	41.7	6.7	2.9	3.8	11.9	3.4	11.8	.7	2.2	57.6	.8
1901	42.4	5.2	3.3	3.8	7.8	3.7	5.8	1.6	2.0	64.4	.7
1902	50.0	7.8	3.8	3.6	9.0	4.5	6.0	1.8	.4	62.7	.6
1903	56.8	5.1	5.3	3.5	8.1	6.1	5.0	1.6	1.0	65.0	.1
1904	54.3	5.3	5.3	3.2	8.5	4.5	3.6	.9	.6	67.5	.1
1905	54.3	5.5	4.8	2.0	7.2	6.1	4.6	1.0	.5	68.1	.3
1906	58.5	6.9	5.5	2.5	7.0	3.4	4.7	.8	.3	68.2	.7
1907	63.6	6.7	5.2	2.7	5.2	4.2	2.1	1.1	.6	71.6	.9
1908	63.5	5.9	3.8	1.6	7.1	2.3	2.8	1.7	.3	72.3	1.8
1909	61.2	5.2	4.3	2.5	4.3	3.9	3.1	.9	1.1	74.7	.1
1910	62.6	6.1	4.6	2.3	5.2	4.7	2.7	.6	.3	73.3	.3
1911	60.8	8.4	5.5	2.7	4.3	3.7	4.1	1.0	.4	69.8	.1
1912	60.1	8.8	2.9	5.7	4.2	4.3	2.9	1.3	.4	69.0	.5
1913	65.2	7.6	4.4	3.2	3.1	7.9	2.6	1.0	.6	69.2	.4
1914	65.5	5.4	3.8	2.9	3.9	8.7	3.3	.5	.6	70.8	.2
1915	62.9	6.3	5.3	3.8	2.4	8.0	3.1	.7	.2	70.0	.3
1916	63.6	7.3	4.1	4.8	5.2	4.7	3.6	1.1	.7	68.2	.3
1917	65.1	7.8	4.7	4.1	5.9	5.1	2.6	.5	.2	69.1	.1
1918	64.6	7.2	4.8	3.4	12.2	4.8	1.8	1.1	.3	64.0	.5
1919	62.6	5.7	5.7	3.8	6.0	5.0	3.2	1.2	.4	68.1	.3
1920	60.2	7.8	4.7	3.8	3.9	6.0	2.7	1.1	.1	69.0	.9
1921	60.9	5.7	4.4	2.9	4.7	4.2	4.4	3.9	.1	69.3	.4
1922	63.3	5.6	4.3	3.9	4.8	4.8	4.1	2.6	.3	69.5	.2
1923	59.8	8.0	3.2	3.9	6.0	4.8	3.9	3.6	.2	66.2	.1
1924	61.2	7.5	3.3	4.5	7.2	8.0	4.2	2.6	.3	62.0	.4
1925	65.3	5.9	5.9	3.6	6.2	7.9	5.2	2.7	.7	61.2	.5
1926	62.6	5.8	6.3	3.7	6.8	9.1	7.4	2.6	1.0	56.9	.6
1927	57.6	5.2	4.3	3.7	8.5	7.6	4.8	1.8	.6	63.2	.4
1928	57.2	6.8	6.1	5.9	8.1	8.3	6.1	2.3	.3	53.9	2.2
1929	65.9	4.8	7.1	5.2	11.5	8.7	4.8	3.8	.5	51.8	1.9
Arith- metic Mean	48.1	7.7	4.1	3.0	7.2	6.1	4.7	1.2	.9	64.4	.5

on the other hand, each receives in the latter years of the period investigated twice as much of the total county news space as it received in the earlier years. The figures for the "family" average 3.1 per cent for the first nineteen years, 4.5 per cent for the next twenty years, and 5 per cent for the last ten years; and for "religion" 2.2 per cent for the first nineteen years, 3.3 per cent for the next twenty, and 4.1 per cent for the last ten years. A significant gain is also registered for the health category. During the first thirty-nine years, it averages less than 1 per cent and then in the last decade rises to 2.7 per cent. The gain in this later period is primarily in health campaigns. It was during this time, as previously noted, that the Republican-News sponsored the building of a community hospital in St. Johns.

"Government", "education", and "recreation" each declines in the middle years and rises again within the last decade. Stated in terms of averages for the various periods, the data are for "government" 8.4 per cent for the first twenty-nine years, 5.2 per cent for the next ten years, and 6.8 per cent for the final ten year period; for "education" 6.8 per cent for the first nineteen years, 5 per cent for the next twenty years, and 6 per cent, which is a slight gain over the preceding period, for the last decade; for "recreation" 5.3 per cent for the first twenty-nine years, 3 per cent for the next ten, and 4 per cent for the last ten or 1920 to 1929 period.

Art and pictures and cartoons are quite insignificant in the county news. The mean for the forty-nine years is less than 1 per cent of all county news. "Art" declines from an average of 1.4 per cent before 1900 to 0.6 per cent afterwards. Three-fourths of the

space given to art through-out the forty-nine years is classified under "music" and "drama" with approximately one-fifth more listed as poetry. All of the space under "pictures and cartoons" pertains to photographs.

Perhaps, one of the most outstanding facts to be noted in Table X is the high percentage of space listed under the category, personal items, which includes county correspondence and local brevities. Previous to 1900 the percentage of all county news classified under this heading averages 61.4, from 1899 to 1920 it increases to an average of 68.2 per cent and drops in the last ten years covered by the study to an average of 62.3 which is approximately its first nineteen year average.

Briefly, the data of Table X corroborate those of Table IX. They show a marked increase in the proportional amount of news space as well as in absolute amount given in Clinton County after 1900. Furthermore, they show that such types of institutional behavior as those that come under "family", "religion", "health" and, perhaps, "education" have been pushed to the fore in the county during the last three decades covered by the study, while those that pertain to "economics" and "government" have declined. But before it can be more definitely affirmed that changes in the type of news emphasized and in the proportion of news space given to the county following 1900 reflect changes in the interests and in the character of the Clinton County seat community, it is necessary to determine to what extent county news represents the entire county and to what extent it represents the town of St. Johns, which is the county seat in which the Republican-News is published. This phase of the problem is taken up

in Table XI and Table XII.

LOCAL OR COUNTY SEAT NEWS IN TERMS OF COLUMN INCHES IN THE CLINTON COUNTY SEAT WEEKLY. As in the previous table, two periods of marked change also stand out in the tables for local news. These, Table XI shows, occur around 1900 and 1920. A third period, while somewhat less distinct, also appears about 1910. With the exception of "economics" and "personal items" no major category averages as much as 6 column inches previous to the 1900 period. During the next two decades, averages for all of the categories except "personal items", "art", and "pictures and cartoons" increase from two to five times and within the last decade covered by the study averages for all but "economics", "family", "art", and "personal items" approximately double or treble again. Averages for the final designated period, excepting, of course, "art" and "personal items", the two extremes, range from 5 to 24 column inches per weekly issue. The most space given to any single category goes to "personal items". This category includes short news items which pertain to the "goings" and "comings" of the local folk. Such items are usually classified in the newspaper under the heading, SOCIAL AND PERSONAL. A general average of 49.1 column inches of the local news space per weekly issue is thus classified. "Economics" with a general average of 14.9 column inches per weekly issue comes second in the amount of space received. Then follow "religion" with 10.2 column inches and "recreation" and "education" with 9.4 and 9.1 respectively. These categories account for the major portion of local news space. In fact, slightly more than four-fifths of the total local space is classified under these five headings with less than one-fifth under the re-

TABLE XI

WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES, IN THE TWELVE SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, GIVEN
TO LOCAL NEWS AND ITS DISTRIBUTION IN TERMS OF WEEKLY MEAN NUMBER
OF COLUMN INCHES AMONG TEN OF THE MAJOR CATEGORIES, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean number of column inches given to local news	Weekly mean number of column inches of local news given to each of ten of the major categories									
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	72.5	.5	2.0	7.7	.5	9.3	2.1	.2	2.7	40.8	
1882	52.0	4.6	2.9	1.2	7.2	2.3			2.4	30.8	
1883	56.8	5.4	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.1	2.7	.4	2.4	39.3	
1884	58.2	5.5	1.7	1.5	2.5	3.2	3.4		.9	39.4	
1885	68.7	13.0	3.1	.3	6.6	2.9	.5		1.2	41.2	
1886	58.2	6.4	.2	.5	.8	4.3	4.2	1.5	.7	40.2	
1887	51.8	5.3	.3	.3	.1	4.2	1.7			43.1	
1888	66.9	6.5	.4		.4	1.1	5.1	.4		52.8	
1889	74.4	4.8	.1	.8	6.1	9.8	5.3		1.8	44.8	
1890	72.2	4.6	1.0	.7	1.1	4.9	5.9		1.0	52.9	
1891	82.5	10.2	.3	.7	3.2	8.6	5.7		.7	53.2	
1892	72.0	9.4	.3	.6	4.9	1.2	5.8	.1	.8	48.8	
1893	76.8	11.9	2.1	2.4	6.7		10.6		1.9	38.6	
1894	68.7	11.7	1.2	2.7	1.5	.9	6.2	.3	3.8	40.7	
1895	78.8	15.0	1.6	4.5	2.3	3.1	7.8		1.8	42.4	
1896	90.2	11.3	2.3	6.4	8.8	6.6	10.3	.1	6.2	26.0	12.1
1897	75.0	11.2	4.2	2.7	3.7	3.2	6.9	1.4	2.0	39.6	
1898	68.4	15.3	2.4	2.5	5.1	2.9	4.1	.7	1.8	33.5	
1899	91.3	8.5	2.1	9.2	13.2	3.8	8.3			45.6	.8

1900	91.4	9.6	3.5	8.7	14.8	2.0	15.4	.2	.8	35.5	1.7
1901	87.6	13.8	3.3	13.8	3.6	6.9	5.3	2.1	.7	34.3	2.9
1902	111.0	19.1	4.8	10.6	2.0	4.2	3.7	3.4	1.4	42.4	.5
1903	93.8	14.2	4.4	7.2	8.2	7.6	6.7	2.8	4.0	40.8	.5
1904	111.2	14.1	11.2	9.7	5.7	6.3	3.2	2.6	2.5	54.0	.2
1905	103.1	12.7	4.0	7.1	3.7	7.8	5.3	2.2	1.8	56.6	.8
1906	129.0	21.4	9.6	11.1	13.7	5.3	4.0	1.5	1.6	59.6	3.9
1907	123.5	18.2	6.5	12.5	6.7	6.9	3.9	2.9	3.7	60.3	10.5
1908	145.3	19.8	11.7	18.9	7.6	3.7	7.7	6.7	5.4	65.1	.3
1909	124.8	16.7	9.0	11.3	5.7	6.6	7.3	1.7		60.8	
1910	117.7	20.7	8.6	9.8	3.9	10.7	6.8	.6	.8	53.7	2.0
1911	108.6	21.9	9.0	10.6	7.2	2.8	8.4	2.9	1.0	44.2	.6
1912	122.0	18.7	5.6	17.9	2.9	10.7	8.3	3.3	1.8	52.0	2.3
1913	139.6	17.9	7.2	15.5	5.9	18.8	9.3	1.9	2.9	57.9	2.2
1914	134.0	16.8	13.8	10.7	6.6	15.0	12.7	1.5	3.4	52.7	.8
1915	139.8	20.3	11.1	15.8	3.8	14.0	11.9	1.2	1.2	58.8	1.6
1916	151.0	20.7	9.2	20.2	7.4	10.1	9.7	3.8	4.2	64.2	1.4
1917	125.9	16.9	9.1	13.2	6.8	12.5	11.0	1.7	.9	53.3	.5
1918	106.1	13.7	5.0	14.4	11.9	7.1	6.6	1.3	1.4	42.2	2.5
1919	126.4	12.6	8.6	13.1	9.7	9.8	11.2	1.6	1.8	56.5	1.5
1920	144.8	19.7	4.3	14.2	8.0	14.4	12.9	.7	.7	65.2	4.6
1921	161.2	18.5	6.3	13.6	13.3	15.1	23.5	4.6	.2	63.8	2.5
1922	168.5	23.9	11.7	22.0	16.9	14.7	18.6	1.8	2.2	55.2	1.5
1923	180.5	28.1	3.3	25.2	18.2	15.9	14.0	15.1	1.5	58.7	.5
1924	196.8	23.4	5.5	26.0	17.2	29.3	16.4	9.7	2.3	63.9	3.0
1925	205.7	31.7	12.6	20.9	15.2	24.3	22.5	8.0	2.6	64.2	3.8
1926	183.6	23.2	8.5	18.2	12.0	29.2	22.7	9.8	4.5	54.8	3.8
1927	202.9	22.9	7.3	19.3	32.8	26.8	24.2	8.8	2.9	55.4	2.3
1928	168.0	18.7	17.5	23.5	10.0	19.7	22.0	4.9	1.8	35.7	14.1
1929	163.2	22.6	11.2	20.8	7.1	15.2	17.9	5.3	2.2	51.6	8.9
Arith- metic Mean	112.3	14.9	5.6	10.2	7.6	9.1	9.4	2.4	1.9	49.1	1.9

maining categories.

Perhaps, considered separately, the various major categories throw little light on the problem of change in the Clinton County seat community, but when taken in their entirety and compared with other county news, they become more significant. For instance, for the years before 1900, the general average number of column inches of space devoted to local news was 70.3, for the two decades following, it rose to 119.6 and in the last ten years to 177.5. These figures compare with averages of 85.5, 356, and 506.5 for all other county news for these same periods. Thus while local news space hardly doubled during the third and fourth designated periods and increased to slightly less than two and one-half times its first nineteen year average in the final ten year period, other county news quadrupled and more than quintupled during the same periods. In other words, county news excluding St. Johns, the county seat, increased after 1899 more than twice as rapidly as local news. But, perhaps, a more interesting angle of the problem of the changing character reflecting the expansion is revealed by a comparison, for the various periods, of the number of column inches devoted per thousand people to St. Johns, the county community center, and the number of column inches per thousand people allocated to the rest of the county. These data have been arrived at by dividing the number of column inches of news space for the various periods noted in the table by averages, excepting the last period which includes but one decennium and requires no average, of the United States census figures on population for St. Johns and for Clinton County, exclusive of St. Johns, for the same periods. According to this method of computation,

the city of St. Johns was receiving on the average 22.1 column inches per week per thousand people from 1899 to 1920, and 45.1 column inches per week per thousand people for the 1920 to 1930 period. The remainder of the county, on the other hand, received during the earlier period an average of 4.2 column inches per week per thousand people, 18.7 column inches per week per thousand people during the third and fourth designated periods, that is 1899 to 1920, and 24.9 column inches per week per thousand people for the last period. Thus local news was more than five times greater per thousand people than other county news in the pre-nineteen hundred period and slightly less than twice as great for the years 1900 to 1920 and 1920 to 1930. In other words, following the turn of the century, the county beyond the limits of its county seat was receiving slightly more than one inch of news space per given unit of population to every two received by its center. These facts bear evidence of an increasing dependence of the population of the county area beyond the county seat on the latter center for local news after 1899. Moreover, they point to periods closely coincident with the introduction of rural free delivery service and the installation of the linotype machine in the offices of the Republican-News and also with the widespread use of the automobile and the appearance of good roads at the beginning of this expansion and its later augmentation.

It remains now to see whether the transposition of column inches into percentages produce similarly significant results. This has been done in Table XII.

LOCAL NEWS IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGES OF ALL COUNTY NEWS. It will be observed at the outset from Table XII that the 1900 date of

WEEKLY MEAN PERCENTAGES THAT LOCAL NEWS IS OF TOTAL COUNTY NEWS AND THAT EACH OF
TEN OF THE MAJOR CATEGORIES IS OF TOTAL LOCAL NEWS, IN THE TWELVE
SELECTED ISSUES FOR EACH YEAR, 1881-1930

Years	Weekly mean percentage that local news is of county news	Weekly mean percentage that each of ten of the major categories is of total local news									
		Economic	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Art	Personal Items	Pictures and Cartoons
1881	52.8	9.9	2.8	10.7	.8	12.8	2.9	.3	3.8	56.3	
1882	42.0	8.8	5.6	2.2	13.8	4.5	1.3		4.7	59.1	
1883	46.3	9.5	1.9	2.2	3.7	3.7	4.8	.7	4.3	69.2	
1884	48.6	9.5	2.9	2.6	4.3	5.6	5.9		1.6	67.8	
1885	56.7	18.9	4.5	.5	9.6	4.2	.7		1.7	59.9	
1886	45.2	11.0	.3	.9	1.4	7.5	7.2	2.6		69.2	
1887	44.9	10.3	.5	.6	.2	.8	3.2	.6	1.3	83.1	
1888	48.2	9.7	.6		.6	1.9	7.6			79.0	
1889	53.9	6.5	1.1	1.1	8.2	13.2	7.2		2.5	60.3	
1890	44.4	6.4	1.4	1.0	1.5	6.8	8.2		1.4	73.3	
1891	48.8	12.3	.4	.8	3.8	10.4	6.9		.9	64.5	
1892	44.3	13.1	.4	.8	6.8	1.7	8.1	.1	1.2	67.8	
1893	61.0	15.5	2.7	3.2	8.8	3.3	13.8		2.5	50.3	
1894	51.0	17.1	1.7	3.9	2.2	1.3	9.0		5.6	59.0	
1895	41.6	19.0	2.0	5.7	2.9	3.9	9.9	.4	2.3	53.8	
1896	44.5	12.6	2.6	7.1	9.8	7.3	11.5	.1	6.8	28.8	13.4
1897	34.7	15.0	5.7	3.6	4.9	4.3	9.2	1.9	2.7	52.8	
1898	32.3	22.4	3.5	3.7	7.4	4.3	6.0	1.1		49.0	
1899	39.1	9.3	2.3	10.0	14.4	4.2	9.0		2.7	49.9	.8

1900	47.1	6.8	2.5	6.1	10.5	1.4	10.9	.2		60.6	1.2
1901	41.2	9.5	2.2	9.5	2.5	7.8	3.6	1.4		63.9	2.0
1902	31.7	17.2	4.4	9.5	10.8	3.8	12.3	3.1	.6	38.2	
1903	23.5	15.1	4.7	7.6	8.7	8.1	7.1	3.1	1.5	43.5	.5
1904	28.2	12.7	10.0	8.7	5.2	5.7	2.9	2.3	3.6	48.5	.5
1905	25.5	12.4	3.9	6.9	3.6	7.6	5.1	2.2	2.4	54.9	1.1
1906	27.8	16.6	7.4	8.6	10.7	4.1	3.1	1.2	1.4	46.3	.7
1907	26.8	14.7	5.3	10.1	5.5	5.6	3.2	2.4	1.3	48.9	3.2
1908	25.4	13.7	8.1	6.1	5.2	2.5	5.3	4.6	2.5	44.8	7.2
1909	23.6	13.4	7.2	9.1	4.5	5.3	5.8	1.4	4.3	48.7	.2
1910	22.4	17.6	7.3	8.4	3.3	9.1	5.8	.5	.7	45.6	1.7
1911	22.3	20.2	8.3	9.8	6.6	2.6	7.8	2.7	.9	40.7	.5
1912	24.7	15.1	4.5	14.5	2.4	8.6	6.7	2.7	1.5	42.1	2.0
1913	24.3	12.9	5.1	11.1	4.2	13.5	6.7	1.4	2.1	41.5	1.6
1914	23.9	12.5	10.3	8.0	4.9	11.2	9.5	1.1	2.6	39.3	.6
1915	22.7	14.5	7.9	11.3	2.7	10.0	8.5	.9	.8	42.1	1.1
1916	26.9	13.7	6.1	13.4	4.9	6.7	6.4	2.5	2.8	42.6	.9
1917	23.1	13.4	7.2	10.5	5.4	9.9	8.7	1.3	.7	42.3	.4
1918	20.8	12.9	4.7	13.6	11.2	6.7	6.2	1.3	1.3	39.8	2.4
1919	23.1	10.0	6.8	10.4	7.7	7.8	8.8	1.3	1.5	44.7	1.2
1920	27.2	13.6	3.0	9.8	5.5	10.0	8.9	.5	.5	45.1	3.2
1921	22.8	11.5	3.9	8.4	8.3	9.4	14.5	2.8	1	39.6	1.6
1922	23.7	14.2	6.9	13.1	10.0	8.8	11.0	1.1	1.3	32.7	.9
1923	24.9	15.6	1.9	13.9	10.1	8.8	7.8	8.4	.8	32.5	.3
1924	27.3	11.9	2.8	13.2	8.7	14.9	8.3	5.0	1.2	32.5	1.5
1925	28.1	15.4	6.1	10.2	7.4	11.8	10.9	3.4	1.3	31.2	1.8
1926	28.1	12.4	4.6	9.7	6.4	15.7	12.2	5.3	2.4	29.3	2.1
1927	29.8	11.3	3.6	9.5	16.2	13.2	12.0	4.4	1.4	27.3	1.2
1928	26.6	11.2	10.4	14.0	6.0	11.8	13.1	2.9	1.1	21.2	8.4
1929	22.2	13.8	7.1	12.7	4.3	9.4	11.0	3.3	1.3	31.6	5.5
Arith- metic Mean	34.2	13.1	4.1	7.4	6.3	7.2	7.7	1.7	1.9	48.9	1.4

marked change does not occur in the column of total local space percentages and is much less pronounced in the major categories than in the previous table. Only six out of the ten categories show any tendency toward an increased or decreased percentage near the year 1920. These are "government", "education", "recreation", "health", "personal items", and "pictures and cartoons". The dates of marked change for these categories range between 1917 to 1924, but, as in the previous table, the 1900 period stands out. Prior to 1900, for example, an average of 46.4 per cent of all county news space was local, contrasted with an average of 26.6 per cent after this period. A marked contrast exists also between the percentages of space given to the various major categories in the two major time divisions, namely before and after 1900. This is particularly evident in the personal items column. In the earlier period 60.7 per cent, or slightly more than three-fifths of all local news, was classified under this heading which, it will be recalled, consists of social and personal items most of which are less than one-half an inch in length. "Economics" takes another 12.5 per cent average of the news space prior to 1900 and "government", "education", and "recreation" each approximately half as much more leaving about 10 per cent to the other five categories.

Following 1899, "Personal items" declines to an average of 45.9 per cent of all local news for the first score of years and then to 32.3 per cent for the remaining ten years. Most of the other categories, of course, gain correspondingly in the period after 1899. "Art" which drops from an average of 2.4 per cent to 1.5 per cent is the only exception. "Economics", the general average of which is 13.1

per cent, it will be observed, is also the most popular subject in the longer items of the local news. Four other categories each shows a general average of approximately one-half or more as much space as "economics". These categories are religion, government, education, and recreation with general averages of 7.4, 6.3, 7.2 and 7.7 per cent respectively. With few exceptions they show tendencies to increase throughout succeeding years. In some cases the increase is quite marked. "Religion", for instance, averages 2.7 per cent for the years before 1900 compared to 11.3 per cent for the two decades following 1909. "Government", "education", and "recreation", while less marked in their increases, receive from one-third to two-thirds more space than they did in the pre-nineteen hundred period; and if their last six to twelve years be compared with their pre-nineteen hundred averages, their space percentages for the latter years approximately double. "Health", too makes a great gain in the last few years. For instance, its final seven years average 4.7 per cent which is slightly more than its pre-nineteen hundred average. "Family" like most other categories also increases in percentage after 1900. The figure for the earlier period is 2.5 in contrast to 5.8 afterwards. Pictures and cartoons like art are rather insignificant in the local news. They do not appear previous to 1896; then the data show they average but little more than 1 per cent for the next eighteen years and rise to 2.5 per cent for the last twelve years covered by the study. But, perhaps, the most significant fact brought out in Table XII relative to the role of the Republican-News in reflecting changes in the common life of the Clinton County seat community is the fact, already stated, concerning

the marked decline of local news in proportion to all county news after 1899. Previous to this period, as it was pointed out above, news space was divided approximately evenly between the county seat and its surrounding territory, while following this data, three times as much space was given to the county community lying beyond the borders of its center as was given to the center itself.

ANALYSIS OF MINOR CATEGORIES. It should be kept in mind that the data presented up to this point have dealt with weekly averages for each of the separate years for the major categories only. These categories are complex. They include numerous minor types of human activity which are not shown in their more composite forms. In order, therefore, to make a more careful analysis and to arrive at a more accurate interpretation of the data the figures for each major category have been broken down into minor categories, according to the scheme of classification outlined in Chapter II, and presented in abbreviated form in a series of tables showing the distribution of the space of each major category under each of its minor ones; and to facilitate comparison further, the weekly mean number of column inches given to each major category and its percentage of the total county news space is also included in each table of the series. The data in the tables for the various minor categories have been grouped, with the exception of the first period which includes but nine years, into ten year periods. These five periods include the years 1881-1889, 1890-1899, 1900-1909, 1910-1919, and 1920-1929 and approximates the periods in which marked variations in absolute or proportional amounts of space have been observed. This arrangement has two advantages: In the first place, it simplifies

the tables considerably, and secondly, the years covered in the five periods include the major influences that have affected the content of the paper. For instance, the first period coincides quite accurately with the period of editorship of Fuller and Rowe; the second includes the first decade of editorship under Coleman C. Vaughn and the Spanish American War; the third takes in the installation of the linotype machine in 1902 and the introduction of rural free delivery in 1903; the fourth includes the coming into general use of the automobile and the occurrence of the World War; the fifth includes the after war prosperity "boom" and the union of the Clinton County Republican and the St. Johns News under the editorship of Marshall and Clark.

ECONOMIC NEWS. All county news items given to "economics" and its minor categories are summarized in Table XIII.

The amount of news space given to economic items originating within the county, it will be noted, increases progressively through successive designated periods from 13.6 column inches per weekly issue in the first period to 43.3 in the fifth. While all periods after the first show increases over the preceding one, the most marked rise occurs in the 1900 and the 1910 periods. Previous to the earlier date the average was 14.3 column inches as compared to 25.9 for the years between the two dates and 40.6 afterwards. But while the number of column inches of county news space given to economics rises with the passing years, the percentage that such space is of all county news shows a somewhat opposite tendency. The pre-nineteen hundred percentage of county news space going to "economics", for instance, averages 9.5 as against 6.5 for the years following this date. Perhaps most of the higher percent-

TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO ECONOMICS
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to economic news		Weekly average percentage that each type of economic news is of all economic news							
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Agriculture	Real estate	Industry	Commerce and transportation	Prices of products	Finance and insurance	Merchandising	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	13.6	10.7	8.1	39.4	15.0	25.2	6.6	1.7	3.5	.5
1890-1899	15.1	8.5	5.2	23.1	5.6	43.2	16.1	3.2	2.4	1.2
1900-1909	25.9	6.0	6.9	25.8	9.2	21.0	23.1	6.4	7.4	.2
1910-1919	37.9	7.1	17.5	17.1	7.8	23.3	19.9	2.2	8.7	3.5
1920-1929	43.3	6.3	17.9	9.2	9.0	21.4	17.9	6.3	15.6	2.7
General average	27.4	7.7	11.2	22.6	9.2	26.8	16.9	4.0	7.6	1.6

age in the earlier period is attributable to the high proportion of total economic space given to "real estate" and to "commerce and transportation". These two minor categories account for 65.4 per cent, or about two-thirds, of all economic news space before the beginning of 1900 in contrast to slightly less than 40 per cent afterwards. The highest percentage, namely 43.2, occurring under "commerce and transportation" is recorded for the second period. This is approximately double the average of any other period for this category. This percentage is somewhat difficult to explain, but it may be related to the problem of governmental regulation of railways, the construction of

electric railways, and the severe economic depression which occurred in the 1890's. The years with the highest percentages of space given to "economics" before 1900 coincide quite closely with the years of lowest business activity as indicated by the index of business activity published by the Cleveland Trust Company in March 1932. Excepting for the period noted, "commerce and transportation" shows little variation from period to period from its general average which is 26.8 per cent. This category together with "real estate", "prices of products", and "agriculture" includes 77.5 per cent of all county economic space. The other four minor categories, namely, industry, finance and insurance, merchandising, and miscellaneous receive but 22.4 per cent, or about 6 column inches, per weekly issue for the entire period.

The most marked decline for any category occurs under "real estate" which, with the exception of the third period when a slight rise is recorded, decreases from 39.4 per cent in the first period to 9.2 per cent in the fifth. The real estate category includes not only the buying and selling of land but also land drainage, land leveling, fence construction, and the construction and the improvement of buildings. In the earlier years covered by this study, Clinton County was being settled and improved; land was being more and more cleared of timber and prepared for cultivation; lumber was comparatively cheap thus making extensive building construction and improvement possible. In more recent years, Michigan has become an industrial state. Many young people have left the rural sections and gone to the cities. In this, apparently Clinton County has been no exception. Its population decreased about four thousand between

1880 and 1930. Thus the decline in the percentage of county economic news space given to real estate is, probably, a reflection of a general economic change that has taken place in the county during the forty-nine years studied.

In contrast to most other minor categories under "economics", "agriculture", and "merchandising" show increasing trends in percentage, particularly in later years. "Agriculture", for instance, averages 6.7 per cent for the first three periods and 17.7 per cent for the two final ones, while "merchandising" averages approximately 3 per cent for the first two periods, 8 for the second two, and 15.6 for the fifth. The increased percentage noted in these categories point, probably first, to a slight change in the type of county news matter emphasized in the paper and secondly, perhaps, to a more widespread interest in county agricultural and merchandising activities.

FAMILY NEWS. Family news items originating within the county and their space distribution in terms of column inches under the various minor categories by designated periods are shown in Table XIV.

Perhaps the most significant facts observable in Table XIV are the marked increases in the number of column inches and in the percentage of county news space given to the "family" throughout the forty-nine years. These facts were presented in Table IX but here they stand out more clearly. The periods of most marked increase in the number of column inches occur at the beginning of 1900 and 1920. The average for the years previous to the first date is 5.0, that for the years between these two dates is 21.8, while that for the last ten years is 33.9. This latter figure represents a tenfold increase

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO FAMILY
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to family news		Weekly average percentage that each type of family news is of all family news				
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Family reunions	Births	Weddings	Divorce	Deaths
1881-1889	3.4	2.7	.8	.8	36.8	2.3	58.8
1890-1899	6.4	3.5	.0	2.6	37.2	.0	60.2
1900-1909	18.8	4.4	4.3	3.2	34.3	4.0	54.2
1910-1919	24.8	4.6	7.1	4.1	27.6	1.6	59.6
1920-1929	33.8	5.0	9.2	5.1	23.9	.9	61.0
General average	17.7	4.1	4.5	3.2	31.9	1.8	58.7

over the 1881 to 1889 period. The percentage of county space going to the "family", it will be noted, increases progressively throughout the five successive periods. The increase is from 2.7 per cent in the first period to 5 per cent in the fifth. Thus the proportion of space given to family news items originating in the county approximately doubled in the forty-nine years. This continuous increase may indicate a changing emphasis by the Republican-News on the family institution and a change in the attitudes of the Clinton County seat community towards the family. It, doubtless, also reflects a wider area of local news coverage.

Most of the space given to county family news items goes to "deaths". A general average of 58.7 per cent is so recorded. Moreover, the variation from this figure from period to period is slight not approaching 5 percent but once, namely, in the third period.

In the last period, 61 per cent, which is the highest general average percentage for any period, is given to "deaths". This means that slightly more than 20 column inches, or an average of one column of space per weekly issue, was devoted to such news matter during the last decade.

"Weddings", unlike the deaths category, declines consistently after the beginning of 1900. Its average percentage for the first two periods is 37; for the second two, 30.9; and for the last, 23.9. Of course, fewer people lived in the county during later years and many young people had gone to the cities; consequently it may be that proportionately fewer weddings took place. On the other hand, the decreasing percentage of space going to "weddings" may reflect a declining isolation of the inhabitants of Clinton County. Under more isolated conditions new experiences were few and weddings were news which may have warranted more intimate and detailed exposition than at present.

In contrast to the weddings category, "births" shows a continuous increase throughout successive periods from 0.8 per cent in the first to 5 per cent in the final one. In the light of a declining birth rate, the increasing percentage of space, even though small, given to births may again suggest greater interest in the family institution and more freedom in discussing such events in the news. It, probably, also reflects the inclusion of a larger county area in the local news.

The space given to "family reunions" is wholly negligible before the beginning of 1900 but rises consistently from 4.3 per cent in the third to 7.1 and 9.2 in the fourth and the fifth periods

respectively. Of course, the increasing percentage of space given to this type of family news matter is probably due in large measure to the inter-marriage and expansion of families over a period of two or three generations and also to the automobile and good roads; but when it is realized that family reunions are probably largely held during the summer months and the percentages given here are in terms of weekly averages for the year, the significance of this factor as an index of a growth of more widespread common interests in Clinton County is the more striking.

RELIGIOUS NEWS. The distribution of county news space by designated periods under religion and its minor categories is summarized in Table XV. An analysis of this table shows a marked increase both in the absolute amount and in the percentage of county space given to religion during the forty-nine years. For absolute amount of space or column inches the increase ranges from an average of 2.4 in the first period to 28.1 in the fifth, and for percentages of all county news space the figures are from 1.9 to 4.1 for these same periods. In absolute amount this accretion is approximately twelvefold while for percentage it is more than double. Most of the space, it will be noted further, is given to news about church activities. A general average of 69 per cent is so classified. Marked changes in the percentage of space given to this category occur in both the second and the third periods. The average percentages for these first three periods are 41.6, 60.7, and 77 respectively. Little variation from the latter figure is shown for the two final periods. Marked changes likewise occur under "sermons and Sunday School" and "miscellaneous" for these same periods but in

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO RELIGION
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to religious news		Weekly average percentage that each type of religious news is of all religious news		
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Church	Sermons and Sunday School	Miscel- laneous
1881-1889	2.4	1.9	41.6	43.1	15.3
1890-1899	4.4	2.4	60.7	27.9	11.4
1900-1909	11.9	2.9	77.0	15.4	7.6
1910-1919	20.0	3.8	80.2	12.6	7.2
1920-1929	28.1	4.1	82.7	10.8	6.5
General average	13.6	3.0	69.0	21.5	9.5

the opposite direction. That is to say, that the trend of the averages for these latter categories through succeeding periods is downward. The range for "sermons and Sunday School", for instance, is from 43.1 per cent in the first period to 10.8 per cent in the fifth, while for "miscellaneous" it is from 15.3 in the first to 6.5 in the fifth.

The increase in the total amount of space given to religion and the contrasting trends, represented on the one hand by the growth of news about church activities and on the other by the decline of space given to "sermons and Sunday School" and to "miscellaneous news", probably, have a direct bearing on the problem of the changing character of the Clinton County seat community. In the first place, the increased percentage of county religious news indicates an expansion

of the local news area around St. Johns; furthermore this increase is reflected in church activities, namely activities which, probably, represent an increase in religious tolerance and cooperation. In the second place, the decline of "sermons and Sunday School" and "miscellaneous" represents a decrease in news matter about religious beliefs, dogmas, and discussions, that is to say items which, perhaps, tend towards disagreement; consequently the decline of such controversial news matter would seem to indicate a growth of social unity.

GOVERNMENTAL NEWS. The distribution of governmental news originating within the county is shown in Table XVI. The news space for governmental news, it will be noted from Table XVI, increases in absolute numbers, that is column inches, almost fourfold from the first to the fifth period. The weekly averages for these two periods are 12.4 and 46.6 respectively. It will be noted further that the years which denote the most marked increase occur at the beginning of 1900 and 1920. The weekly averages represented by these three distinct periods, that is before 1900, 1900 to 1920, and 1920 to 1929, are in order 13.4, 29.2 and 46.6. But while governmental news increases in absolute amount, it declines in percentage of all county news. The range is progressively from 8.7 per cent in the first period to 5.2 in the fourth; then a slight rise to 6.8 per cent in the fifth appears. Most of this decrease is attributable to a continuous decline in the amount of space given to "politics". In fact, if the percentage of space going to "politics" had remained as high throughout succeeding periods as it was in the first period, the percentage of all county news given to government would have remained fairly constant. From

TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO GOVERN-
MENT AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to govern- mental news		Weekly average percentage that each type of governmental news is of all governmental news							
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Administration	Politics	Legal news and Civil suits	Crime and graft	Taxation	War and Military	Civic activities and philanthropy	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	12.4	8.7	3.9	54.1	14.8	21.7	2.4	1.1	2.0	.0
1890-1899	14.3	7.9	17.3	49.7	10.9	11.9	1.0	3.5	5.6	.1
1900-1909	30.9	7.6	13.9	36.3	14.0	19.0	3.3	4.4	8.3	.8
1910-1919	28.0	5.2	13.7	20.7	10.6	11.7	1.2	20.6	18.5	3.0
1920-1929	46.6	6.8	17.9	16.9	10.3	22.9	8.5	3.0	20.5	2.5
General average	26.6	7.2	13.5	35.2	12.1	17.4	2.7	6.6	11.2	1.3

a figure of 54.1 per cent in the first period, it will be observed, "politics" declines to 16.9 per cent in the fifth. Thus from more than one-half politics drops to about one-sixth of all governmental news originating within the county.

In attempting to explain these data, it must be remembered that the period covered in the study began sixteen years after the close of the Civil War, that the bitterness of the war and the problems growing out of it were still uppermost in the thoughts of the people,

and that the Republican-News was a partisan paper. Furthermore, St. Johns, in the earlier years included in the study, like other communities of its time, was, in comparison with the many media of communication that characterize modern community life, relatively isolated; consequently politics might be expected to play a larger role in the news of that day. With the coming of new media of communication, such as rural free delivery, the more extensive use of the daily paper, the telephone, the automobile, and the radio, the marginal county weekly could not compete effectively in supplying national and local news and either failed or lost subscribers to the more efficient county seat weekly. The latter, if it were to hold its position, could not afford to antagonize its clientele by the previous emphasis on politics.

"Crime and graft" and "legal news and civil suits" together take a general weekly average of 29.5 per cent, or 6 per cent less than political news. These three categories, then, receive about 65 per cent and, if administration news be added, approximately 80 per cent, or four-fifths of all county governmental news space. "Crime and graft", it will be noted receives its lowest amount of space during the second and the fourth periods. Its weekly percentage for these two periods is 11.8 as against 21.2 for the other three periods. "Legal news and civil suits" also averages low for the same periods. These facts might suggest some connection with the social upheavals, namely, the depression of the 1890's and the World War which characterized these periods.

Of course "war and military" shows the influence of the World War. Its weekly average for the war period, for instance, rises to

20.6 per cent which is approximately seven times higher than its average for the other four periods. Likewise "civics and philanthropy" reflects the war influence. It rises to 19.5 per cent for both the war and post war decades. This is more than three times its pre-war average. This high percentage may represent both a continuation of the interest in philanthropy developed during the war and an interest in local and county improvement.

EDUCATIONAL NEWS. The space given to county editorial news and its minor categories by designated periods is shown in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO EDUCATION
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to educational news		Weekly average percentage that each type of educational news is of all educational news				
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Formal	Non-formal	Agri-culture	His-torical	All others
1881-1889	8.9	6.8	50.3	5.5	22.8	20.6	.8
1890-1899	11.9	6.8	49.8	9.3	33.2	5.9	1.8
1900-1909	17.4	4.2	44.5	8.3	35.4	11.1	.7
1910-1919	31.2	5.7	33.7	17.2	42.7	5.8	.6
1920-1929	47.4	7.0	42.2	19.6	27.0	10.4	.8
General averages	23.6	6.1	44.0	12.1	32.5	10.5	.9

Like other major categories, "education" shows a growth in the absolute amount of space received through successive periods, but the increase recorded is not as pronounced as that for some other categories. In range it varies from an average of 8.9 column inches per weekly issue in the first period to 47.4 in the fifth. This is slightly more than five-fold compared, it will be recalled, to twelvefold for "religion".

The periods indicating the greatest change occur at the beginning of 1910 and 1920 when the weekly average number of column inches classified as educational increases from 17.4 in the third period to 31.2 in the fourth and then from the latter figure to 47.4 in the fifth.

In percentage of all county news, "education" remains constant at 6.8 per cent for the years previous to 1900, then drops to 4.2 per cent in the third period, and rises again in the fourth and the fifth periods to 5.7 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. Thus the last decade finds a greater percentage of county news space going to "education" than for any previous period.

Approximately 77 per cent of the total space devoted to county education, it will be noted further, is classified under "formal" and "agriculture", and all but about 1 per cent of the remainder under "non-formal" and "historical". "Formal education" declines progressively through the first four periods from 50.3 per cent to 33.7 per cent and then rises to 42.2 per cent in the last period, while "agriculture", in contrast, rises continuously through successive periods from 22.8 per cent in the first to 42.7 per cent in the fourth, then drops to 27 per cent in the fifth. Thus a slight shift from county educational news of an agricultural nature to formal education or school news seems evident in the last decade. Another change to be noted is the marked increase in the proportion of space given to non-formal education during the last two decades. For instances, the first three periods for this category average less than 8 per cent as compared to 18.4 per cent for the two final ones.

"Historical" averages high, namely, 20.6 per cent during the

first period but drops to less than half as much for the remaining periods.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out, the news space devoted to agriculture and to non-formal education, particularly during the last two periods has, perhaps, most bearing on the problem of the Republican-News' reflection of the changing character of the Clinton County seat community. The type of news items included under these categories pertain to such subjects as agricultural extension, home demonstration, 4 H Club, county agent, Grange, farmers' clubs, lectures, and chautauquas. In other words the subjects covered by these categories suggest not only an expansion of the local news area but the appearance of new interests which, perhaps, involve a cooperative struggle against some of the community's more important common problems; consequently an increase in news space given to such subjects would seem to imply a growth of the community's common interests.

RECREATIONAL NEWS. The allocation of county news space under recreation by designated periods is summarized in Table XVIII. Observation of this table reveals two dates of marked increase in the absolute amount of space given to recreational news. The first occurs at the beginning of 1890 and the second in 1920. These dates separate the five designated periods into 9, 30, and 10 year periods with weekly column inch averages of 4, 7.15, 4 and 30.4 respectively. The two latter figures represent three and fivefold increases over the former. But in percentage of all county news, "recreation" appears somewhat more erratic. Every period, it will be noted, varies from the preceding or following one. However, it is possible that a more stable percen-

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO RECREA-
TIONAL NEWS AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to recreational news		Weekly average percentage that each type of recreational news is of all recreational news					
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Sports	Community festivities	Fraternal orders	Social events	Amusements and entertainments	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	4.7	3.6	6.5	33.3	29.7	24.3	6.2	.0
1890-1899	12.4	7.0	7.8	37.5	14.8	27.7	12.1	.1
1900-1909	17.7	5.0	12.9	34.9	15.3	26.3	8.0	2.6
1910-1919	16.2	3.0	21.3	33.3	19.8	18.2	6.5	.9
1920-1929	30.4	4.8	28.4	29.4	14.0	18.0	7.6	2.6
General average	16.5	4.7	15.5	33.7	18.5	29.9	8.1	1.8

age might have occurred after 1910 had it not been for the World War, the influence of which is reflected in the low point of 3 per cent in the fourth period. This percentage is about one-third lower than that for either the previous or following period. The general weekly average percentage for "recreation" is 4.7.

"Community festivities" receives most of the space given to recreation. A general weekly average of 33.7 per cent, or approximately one-third, of all county recreational news space has been classified under this heading. Furthermore, the average percentage for each of the five selected periods does not vary as much as 5 per cent from the general average; thus a fairly constant average for this category is recorded

throughout the forty-nine years.

"Fraternal order activities", with one exception, also varies little from its general average which is 18.5 per cent, or slightly more than one-half that for the previous category. The exception, 29.7 per cent occurs in the first period. The slight rise to 19.8 per cent in the fourth period may be a reflection of the World War's influence on fraternal organization activities at that time.

But, perhaps, the two categories which bear most directly on the problem of the changing character of the Clinton County seat community are "sports" and "social events". The latter category includes all social events that are not public in nature such as card parties, dinners, private dances, or other parties. Until 1910, it will be observed, 26.1 per cent of all recreational news space was allocated to this category compared to 18.1 per cent for the following decades. "Sports", on the other hand, shows a progressive increase through each successive period from 6.5 per cent in the first to 28.4 in the fifth. Since "sports" includes all types of athletic games, tournaments, and contests that are of a public nature, the data of these two categories would seem to indicate a shift in emphasis from less to more democratic activities. In other words the change in emphasis in these categories, would seem to imply a broadening of community interests and of community participation.

HEALTH NEWS. Little significance, except possibly in the last ten year period, attaches to county health news as a factor indicative of change in the interest and character of the Clinton county seat community during the forty-nine years covered by the study. This fact is indicated by the small amount of space shown in Table XIX accord-

ed to the county health category in all but the period specified.

TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO HEALTH NEWS AND
ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to health news		Weekly average percentage that each type of health news is of all health news		
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	Health and safety campaigns	Accidents and injuries	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	.6	.5	45.5	40.9	13.6
1890-1899	.8	.5	35.2	55.3	9.5
1900-1909	5.2	1.2	13.2	64.7	22.1
1910-1919	4.8	.9	20.7	65.8	13.5
1920-1929	18.7	2.7	53.2	38.1	8.7
General Average	6.1	1.2	33.3	53.2	13.5

Less than one column inch of space per weekly issue, it will be noted goes to "health" during the two periods prior to the beginning of 1900, 5 column inches between this date and 1920, and 18.7 afterwards. The percentage of county news classified under "health" for each of these same periods is 0.5, 1.1, and 2.7 respectively. The sharp increase represented by this latter figure brings the absolute amount of space given to health news in the last period up to an average of approximately one column per weekly issue. When the total amount of county news space given to "health" during the last ten years of the study is compared with that for the previous thirty-nine years, its weekly average is more than six times greater than that for the former years. Most of the space for this latter period, it will be observed, is listed under "health and safety campaigns". Much of the space thus listed pertains to the agitation carried on by the editors

in behalf of the community hospital which was erected during this time. The successful promotion of such a project through the columns of the local press is, undoubtedly, a reflection of an enhanced realization of mutual and reciprocal interests on the part of an increasing number of the people of Clinton County.

PERSONAL ITEMS. The distribution of news space by designated periods given to County Personal items is shown in Table XX. "Personal items", it will be recalled, includes mostly news items that were too short for a detailed analysis and classification by the method employed. This is particularly true of the personal items data included in Table XX. The space included in this table is largely concerned with personal matters such as the doings, the goings, and the comings of local acquaintance groups either in St. Johns or in outlying parts of the county. Only a glance at the table is necessary to reveal the marked increase which has taken place in this type of news matter with the passing of the years. In the first period an average of 79.3 column inches, or just under four columns, per weekly issue was of this type; but by the time the fifth period is reached the weekly average rises to 426.3, or about three pages per paper. The most marked increase, as usual, occurs after the beginning of 1900 when the second period average of 111.4 rises to 277.1 in the third, or more than double the second period average.

In proportion of all county news space "personal items" shows a general average of 64.4 per cent. Thus approximately two-thirds of all of the space given to county news during the forty-nine years is in the nature of short personal and social items. It is interesting to note also that there is little variation in the means for the various periods from the general average. The range is from 60.4 per cent

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY NEWS SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS
GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO PERSONAL
ITEMS AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to personal items		Weekly average percentage that each type of personal items is of all personal items		
	Column inches	Percentage of all county news	County correspondence	Brevities	All other
1881-1889	79.3	62.5	45.6	54.0	.4
1890-1899	111.4	60.4	61.1	37.9	1.0
1900-1909	277.1	67.2	79.5	19.1	1.4
1910-1919	375.1	69.2	83.7	14.1	2.2
1920-1929	426.3	62.3	85.3	12.9	1.8
General average	257.4	64.4	71.5	27.0	1.4

to 69.2. The three periods with the lowest averages are the first, second, and fifth. They average 62.1 per cent while the third and the fourth periods average 68.2 per cent.

Ninety-eight and five-tenths per cent of the space given to county "personal items", it will be observed, is devoted to county correspondence and brevities, 71.5 per cent to the former and 27.0 per cent to the latter. The source of origin for brevities is St. Johns while that of county correspondence, as its name implies, is the out-lying neighborhoods and villages of the county. These two categories have a significant bearing upon the problem of the Republican-News' reflection of the changing character of the Clinton County seat community. They indicate a very pronounced shift between earlier and later years in the proportion of space accorded to brevities and county cor-

respondence. For example, in the first period 54 per cent, or more than half, of the total space allotted to "county personal items" concerns the people of St. Johns. From this high point a steady decline through each period is recorded until 12.9 per cent is reached in the fifth. On the other hand, "county correspondence" increases through successive periods from 45.6 per cent in the first to 85.3 in the fifth. In short, in the first period the county folk outside of St. Johns were receiving 8.4 per cent less space recognition of their personal and social activities than the people of St. Johns. In the fifth period, however, county residents outside of St. Johns were receiving over six and one-half times more personal items news space than their fellow county-men at the county seat. But this last comparison is even more impressive, perhaps, when transposed into column inches. It is for the county exclusive of the county seat 362.6 as compared to 54.8 for the latter, or 18 columns for the larger area as against 2.7 for the smaller one.

While the contrasting trends observable in "county correspondence" and "brevities" are continuous throughout the five designated periods, they are much less pronounced after the beginning of 1900. For instance, "county correspondence" after this date averages 82.8 per cent of all county personal items compared to 15.4 per cent for local "brevities." In other words, county correspondence during the last twenty-nine years of the period studied averaged slightly more than five times the amount of space given to St. Johns' brevities. This means that more than one-half of all county news space, during these three decades, was of the nature of personal and social items which came from the county beyond the county seat, while only 10 per cent of such news matter came from within the latter center. For the two periods preceding 1900, the corresponding

figures were 28 per cent for St. Johns and 33 per cent for the remainder of the county.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the increase noted in Table XX both in the proportion and in the absolute amount of personal news items from outlying parts of the county beyond St. Johns reflects, as previously pointed out, the increasing dependence of the small communities and neighborhoods in Clinton County on the county seat for local news.

Tables showing the distribution of space among the minor categories for "art" and "pictures and cartoons" have not been included because each of these categories receives less than one per cent of all county news space. Eighty per cent of all space under the former goes to "music" and to "drama" and 96 per cent of the latter to "photographs."

ADVERTISING

COUNTY ADVERTISING. Some further evidence of the change in the character of the Clinton County seat community is brought out by a comparison between the total amount of space given to county advertising and that given to the county outside of St. Johns. Such a comparison shows not only the constantly mounting percentage of all advertising that has its source within the county but also the increasing percentage of space used by advertisers in other parts of the county beyond the county seat. The increasing percentage of all advertising arising within the county is well illustrated in Table XXI below.

From Table XXI, it will be noted, that only 52 per cent, or barely more than one-half, of the total advertising space had its source within the county during the first designated period; but this percentage rises

TABLE XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY
AVERAGES TO COUNTY ADVERTISING AND ITS MAJOR CATEGORIES

Years	Total county advertising		County display advertising		County non-display advertising	
	Column inches	Percentage of total advertising	Column inches	Percentage of county advertising	Column inches	Percentage of county advertising
1881-1899	194.9	52.3	118.2	60.7	76.7	39.3
1890-1899	256.1	61.3	174.7	68.3	81.4	31.7
1900-1909	443.6	75.9	332.5	75.0	111.1	25.0
1910-1919	714.8	85.4	572.4	80.1	142.5	19.9
1920-1929	1381.4	91.7	1201.2	86.9	180.2	13.1
General average	606.3	73.7	487.2	74.5	119.2	25.5

progressively through succeeding periods to 91.7 per cent in the final one. In other words, this means that but little more than 8 per cent of the total advertising space in the Clinton County Republican-News came from outside the county during the last decade covered by the study.

Another significant fact brought out in Table XXI is the continuous rise in the percentage of county advertising that goes to the display column. To illustrate, an average of 60.7 per cent, or about three-fifths of all county advertising, was of the display type during the first designated period; but by the time the fifth period is reached the percentage for this category rises to 86.9, or approximately seven-eighths, of all the county advertising space. Non-display advertising shows a continuous relative decline throughout successive periods. Its average for the first period is 39.3 per cent as against 13.1 per cent for the last period. This means, of course, a decline in county non-display advertising in the final designated period to exactly one-third of its first period average. Another fact pointed

out previously, which also appears in Table XXI, is the marked changes occurring about 1900, 1910, and 1920. This is particularly evident in the categories for column inches of total advertising and for column inches of display advertising. In each case the change marks a rise in the number of column inches ranging from 70 per cent to more than 100 per cent above the previous period.

In summarizing briefly the data of Table XXI, it appears from the marked increase both in the percentage and in the absolute amount of total advertising space arising within the county that the residents of Clinton County are becoming increasingly dependent upon the Republican-News as a common medium of advertising. The marked rise in county display advertising, doubtless, signifies on the part of the county advertisers a greater realization of the more attractive appeal and general efficacy of such advertising in reaching a wider public, while the increase in total county advertising, probably, represents a growing recognition of the county seat as a common center of communication throughout the county. But before this hypothesis can be more definitely affirmed, it is necessary to show whether or not there has been an increase in the advertising space arising from the county area outside of St. Johns, which is the county's largest town. This has been done in Table XXII.

Perhaps, at first glance the data of Table XXII do not appear significant. This impression may be gained from a survey of the column of percentages of county advertising space originating outside of the county seat. The percentage of such advertising, it will be noted, varies little from period to period. The lowest percentage is 21.3 and the highest 27.2. These percentages appear in the first and the third periods respectively. The general average for all periods, of course, lies between these two.

It is 24.6. Thus it would seem that nearly as high a percentage of space was used by advertisers outside of the county seat in the early years as in the later ones, but this condition is only apparent. Its explanation is to be found in the non-display advertising column and the latter, it should be pointed out, consists entirely of legal notices. This is a

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY DISPLAY ADVERTISING SPACE EXCLUSIVE OF ST. JOHNS
AND OF COUNTY NON-DISPLAY ADVERTISING INCLUDING ST. JOHNS BY
DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGES
TO ADVERTISING AND ITS MAJOR CATEGORIES

Years	Total advertising		Display advertising		Non-display advertising	
	Column inches	Percentage of all county advertising	Column inches	Percentage of county advertising exclusive of St. Johns	Column inches	Percentage of county advertising including St. Johns
1881-1889	41.7	21.3	6.7	16.1	35.0	83.9
1890-1899	60.6	23.7	8.8	14.5	51.8	85.5
1900-1909	120.8	27.2	45.8	37.9	75.0	62.1
1910-1919	175.7	24.6	74.7	42.5	101.0	57.5
1920-1929	358.7	26.0	246.6	68.7	112.1	31.2
General average	153.7	24.6	77.9	36.3	75.8	63.6

type of advertising, it will be recalled, which concerns such proceedings as sheriff's sales, mortgage sales, tax sales, road contracts, and other similar notifications the publication of which is required by law. Moreover, because the items under legal notices were short and did not lend themselves easily to a detailed analysis, those pertaining to St. Johns were not excluded from the total; therefore as a result of their inclusion

and lack of detailed analysis and geographic classification, legal notices, or non-display advertising in this table, is of little significance as an indicator of the growth of a more widespread community life around St. Johns. And since non-display advertising accounts for most of the county advertising space outside of St. Johns in the earlier periods, it blots out any evidence of a trend in total county advertising beyond the environs of St. Johns. This is evident from a comparison of the average percentages recorded for this category for various periods. For instance, the first two periods show an average of 84.7 per cent; the second two periods, 59.8 per cent; and the fifth period, 31.2 per cent. County display advertising exclusive of St. Johns, then, must be looked to as the significant factor indicative of a change in the character of the Clinton County seat community.

A glance at Table XXII makes it evident at once that a remarkable increase in display advertising from within the county but outside of St. Johns has taken place within the forty-nine years covered by the study. As an example of this increase, for instance, an average of 15.3 per cent of all display advertising space originating in the county but outside St. Johns occurred during the first two periods. In the third period this percentage rose to 37.9, in the fourth to 42.5, and in the fifth to 68.7, or about four and one-half times its first two period average. In terms of column inches this earlier average was 7.8 compared to 246.6 for the fifth period. In other words, the two earlier periods averaged slightly less than two-fifths of a column then rose through succeeding periods to about 12 columns, or two pages, per weekly issue in the fifth. These data point to the conclusion that the people of the county's smaller towns and villages with their surrounding areas turn

more and more after 1900 to the county seat as a center from which information concerning products which they wish to sell or buy might be disseminated to the rest of the county. Factors affecting this change, as previously pointed out, were, doubtless, rural free delivery, the linotype machine, the widespread use of the metropolitan daily, the automobile, and improved highways.

DISPLAY ADVERTISING. Perhaps the most striking facts portrayed under display advertising relative to the expanding character of the common life around the Clinton County seat pertain to the increase both in the absolute amount of space given to county display advertising and in percentage that such advertising is of all county advertising. This fact becomes clear in Table XXIII.

In the first nine years of the period studied, Table XXIII shows, only 118.3 column inches of space per weekly issue was given to display advertising. This is the lowest figure recorded for any period. Sharp rises occur through succeeding periods, especially after the beginning of 1900, but the most marked change appears after 1919 when the average weekly amount of space rises abruptly from 572.4 column inches in the fourth period to 1201.2 in the fifth. This latter figure is more than ten times greater than that for the first period. Thus while the total paper space increased from an average of 8 pages per weekly issue to 19.3 per issue,¹ or approximately two and one-half times, the amount of space given to county display advertising grew from 118.3 to 1201.2 or more than ten times. Such a striking increase as the latter, doubtless, reflects a larger geographic area of local advertising coverage than existed before the days of such social and technological inventions as rural free delivery, the linotype machine, and the automobile.

¹See Table IV, p.

TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO COUNTY DISPLAY ADVERTISING
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to display advertising		Weekly average percentage that each type of display advertising is of all display advertising											
	Column inches	Percentage of all county advertising	Patent medicine and appliances	Wearing apparel	Food	Household Furnishings	Building materials and equipment	Drug and department store	Transportation	Rural advertising	Banking, insurance, and real estate	Amusements	House copy	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	118.3	60.6	.3	48.4	1.5	9.3	15.0	13.5	1.5	2.4	1.1	2.1	3.6	1.3
1890-1899	174.7	68.3	.2	23.8	2.9	6.5	17.3	31.9	3.1	1.5	3.3	.5	6.7	2.3
1900-1909	332.5	75.0	.5	21.8	7.8	8.1	22.8	16.1	2.5	7.4	2.7	1.8	4.3	4.2
1910-1919	572.4	80.1	.2	19.1	7.1	6.7	13.0	13.6	9.6	10.0	10.9	2.8	4.0	3.0
1920-1929	1201.2	86.9	.6	17.4	9.4	6.5	14.2	5.3	21.1	9.2	8.3	3.4	2.5	2.1
General average	487.2	74.4	.4	25.6	5.8	7.4	16.5	16.1	7.8	6.2	5.3	2.1	4.3	2.6

In percentage of all county advertising, display advertising also shows a marked relative increase. For instance, it begins with an average of 60.6 per cent of all advertising and closes with an average of 86.9 per cent, a gain of from 5 to 8 per cent being recorded for each successive period. In other words, the percentage accorded to display advertising rises from three-fifths to about seven-eighths of all county advertising space during the forty-nine years. Display advertising, as its name implies, is a type of advertising so arranged and displayed as to attract the attention of the buyer more readily. The marked relative in-

crease in such advertising is, therefore, simply another indication of the expanded range of contacts between the people of Clinton County.

Eighty-five and three-tenths per cent, or approximately seven-eighths, of all the space given to display advertising has been classified under eight of its thirteen minor categories. These categories are: wearing apparel, building materials and equipment, transportation, food, household furnishings, drug and department store, rural advertising, and banking, insurance and real estate. Furthermore, 42.1 per cent has been classified under the first two of these categories. "Wearing apparel" makes a sharp drop from 48.4 per cent of all county display advertising, the highest for any category in the first period, to slightly less than half as much for the next four periods. In fact no period after the first varies more than 8 per cent from the general weekly average. Thirty-one and nine-tenths per cent, which is the highest percentage recorded for any category in the second period, occurs under "drug and department store." It is probable that this percentage, which is approximately twice its general average, is a reflection of the severe economic depression of the 1890's. This interpretation seems to be supported by the fact that "house-copy" nearly doubles its general average in this period and that such economic activities as those that come under "amusements," "household furnishings," and "rural advertising" which could more easily be dispensed with or for which there was, perhaps, the least demand during the depression did actually decline. It is, of course, probable, too, that in the second period some space that was formerly given to wearing apparel advertisements has been included in general advertising of the type which is found under department store ads. "Building materials and equipment" presents the highest percentage of all county display space in the third

period. This figure, 22.8 per cent, which is about one-half higher than its general average, may possibly be explained as a sort of boom in the building industry during the period of rising prices that followed the previous period of depression. No marked rise in percentage stands out for the fourth period, but in the fifth "transportation" comes to the fore with 21.1 per cent. In the previous period it averages 9.6 per cent and less than 3 per cent for the three earlier ones. The sharp increase in the later periods, especially the fifth, is unquestionably a reflection of the growth of the automobile industry, the garage, and the filling station all of which are indicative of an expansion of human contacts and are, therefore, intimately related to the concept of an expansion of community life around the county seat. "Banking, insurance, and real estate" also shows a marked increase in the last two periods. For example, the first three period average for this category is 2.3 per cent compared to 9.6 per cent for the two later ones. This increase is, doubtless, due to the great wave of prosperity that swept the country from 1910 to 1930.

Two other categories show increases in later years. These are "food" and "rural advertising." Each presents an average of about 2 per cent before the beginning of 1900 and between 8 and 9 per cent afterwards. This means that more than five columns, or nearly one whole page, of county advertising space per weekly issue was given to each of these categories in the fifth period. These categories reflect, perhaps, both an increased prosperity and a greater specialization of function and consequently a greater interdependence among local groups. The increase in food ads, for instance, may imply a change in food habits and a greater use of factory prepared foods which are purchased through local stores. And since "rural advertising" includes much advertising matter that pertains to the

sale of farm animals, farm crops, and public sales as well as farm machinery, its increase in the later years probably connotes a more extensive use of and confidence in the local paper as a medium for bringing county buyers and sellers together.

NON-DISPLAY ADVERTISING. As its name implies, non-display advertising comprises all advertising that is not attractively arranged and displayed so as to secure the immediate attention of the buyer. In other words, it embraces all other advertising matter not included under display; consequently, since display advertising shows an increased percentage of all county advertising throughout succeeding periods, it is to be expected that non-display advertising would show a decline. Such, of course, is the case. But while there is a relative decline in the percentage of advertising classified as non-display, in absolute amount a slight rise is recorded. The data showing these trends are presented in Table XXIV.

The gain in column inches noted in this table under county non-display advertising rises from 76.7 in the first period to 180.2 in the fifth. The latter figure is one and one-third times greater than the first, however the earlier figure represents 39.4 per cent, or approximately two-fifths, of all county advertising whereas the later one represents but 13.1 per cent, or about one-eighth, of such advertising. The decline portrayed by these figures is simply the reverse of the trend for display advertising; consequently, it should tend to corroborate on the negative side, perhaps, the hypothesis offered in explanation for the rising percentage of the previous category. That is to say, if an increase of the more attractive display advertising reflects an expansion of the area of human contacts and a change of community interests, then a decline in the

TABLE XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO COUNTY NON-DISPLAY ADVERTISING
AND ITS SUBCATEGORIES

Years	Space given to non-display advertising		Weekly average percentage that each type of non-display advertising is of all non-display advertising			
	Column inches	Percentage of all county advertising	Legal notices	Professional cards	Business locals	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	76.7	39.4	55.0	13.6	29.0	2.4
1890-1899	81.1	31.7	64.5	10.0	24.2	1.3
1900-1909	111.1	25.0	73.5	6.7	12.8	7.0
1910-1919	142.5	19.9	73.2	4.4	7.2	15.2
1920-1929	180.2	13.1	63.7	4.0	6.8	25.5
General average	119.2	25.5	66.2	7.6	15.7	10.4

less attractive type of advertising would suggest the same thing.

Most of the space, two-thirds in fact, devoted to county non-display advertising is given to "legal notices," 25 per cent more goes to "business locals" and to "miscellaneous," and 7.6 per cent to "business cards," the remaining category. "Legal notices" shows an increase from 55 per cent in the first period to 73.3 for the third and the fourth periods combined and then declines to 63.7 per cent in the fifth. Thus it fails to keep pace with the growth of the absolute amount of space given to non-display advertising.

"Miscellaneous," it will be noted, increases from about 2 per cent in the first two periods to 25.5 in the fifth. This category includes mainly unclassified advertising matter. Both "business locals" and "pro-

fessional cards" decline markedly throughout the first four periods and then remain fairly constant in the fourth and the fifth. The decline in "professional cards," as suggested in the previous chapter, probably, indicates a tendency for many Clinton County residents to go to other centers, especially Lansing, the state capitol located 22 miles south, for many professional services, and the decline in "business locals" represents a tendency for advertisers to use display advertising which is more effective in making contacts with buyers.

SUMMARY. The data presented in this chapter seem to indicate that the pre-nineteen hundred period was characterized by an intense localism. It was in this period, it will be recalled, that the Clinton and Shiawassee Union of Ovid had its largest circulation, namely about 2500. In the absence of extensive communication facilities during this time, rural life, probably, centered more around the small villages and the neighborhoods with their post offices and stores than around the county seat as a community center; but after the introduction of rural free delivery and the installation of the linotype machine in the office of the Clinton County Republican-News about 1900, the marginal county weeklies found themselves unable to compete successfully with the metropolitan dailies and the more advantageously situated county seat weekly; as a result the smaller towns and villages of Clinton County have become increasingly oriented toward the county seat for local news and advertising services. Moreover, this process seems to have become intensified during the second and especially the third decades of the present century following the introduction of the automobile, good roads, and other technological changes in the means of communication and transportation. Further corroboration of this hypothesis depends upon an analysis of the news and advertising whose

source of origin lies beyond the county. Such an analysis will be made in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

EXTRA-COUNTY NEWS AND ADVERTISING

Horace Greeley, the famous newspaper man, once wrote in the following terms to a friend who was considering the editorship of a country weekly:

Begin with the clear conception that the subject of deepest interest to an average human being is himself; next to that he is most concerned about his neighbors. Asia and the Congo stand a long way after these in his regard.¹

It is the news and advertising matter which has its source of origin within the county that has been considered in the previous chapter, while "Asia and the Congo," figuratively speaking, make up the subject matter of the present chapter. In general, news material from such remote areas, as Greeley has so aptly described, reflects little of the changing problems and the changing interests of the local community. Common contacts and associations and common interests, except those which critically affect or are thought to affect the welfare of the individual, decline as the distance from the county boundary increases; consequently the importance of news and advertising matter as media reflecting the rise or decline of community problems or the changing character of community life tends to decrease as the area of incidence recedes in space. And conversely, the news and advertising space whose source of origin lies nearest to the county is, generally speaking, of greater significance as a factor reflecting change in the functional relationships of the community than that which is farther away. It is for this reason that extra-county news has been analyzed and separated into categories which represent in

¹Quoted by Bing, OP. CIT., pp. 17-18.

a measure their nearness to the county.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTRA-COUNTY NEWS SPACE. The headings chosen for extra-county news, as has been explained in Chapter II are: State, National, Foreign, and Stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter. The latter heading, of course, does not represent any geographic location at all; but since it includes fiction, jokes, magazine material, and miscellaneous news matter, it is, perhaps, less important than the geographic categories in reflecting social change in the Clinton County seat community; consequently it seems to fall logically in the order here accorded it. The distribution of space by designated periods under these headings as well as the total of all extra-county news space is presented in Table XXV.

Both in absolute amount and in percentage of all news, it will be noted, extra-county news space declines throughout the first four periods. In absolute amount, the decline is continuous through successive periods from 411.9 column inches in the first period to 313.5 in the fourth, while for percentage of all news the decline is from 77.1 to 36.6 for the same periods. In the fifth period, however, a sharp rise to 427.4 column inches occurs; but owing to the increased amount of total news space, this is only 2 per cent more of the total news space than was recorded for the previous period. The general trend represented by these two series of figures, particularly the percentages data, is, of course, the reverse of the trend shown in Table X, page for county news; and its significance in portraying the changing interests and changing character of the Clinton County seat community is its continuous decline in news space up to 1910 going to what Greeley designated "Asia and the Congo" or, more specifically, to news matter whose source of origin lies outside of the

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO EXTRA-COUNTY NEWS AND TO ITS
FOUR MAJOR SUBDIVISIONS

Years	Total extra-county news space		Distribution of space to each major subdivision of extra-county news							
			State		National		Foreign		Stories, magazine and miscella- neous matter	
	Column inches	Percent- age of all news	Column inches	Percentage of all extra county news	Column inches	Percentage of all extra county news	Column inches	Percentage of all extra county news	Column inches	Percentage of all extra county news
1881-1889	411.9	77.1	68.7	16.7	134.7	32.7	30.1	7.3	178.3	43.3
1890-1899	348.9	65.9	62.0	17.8	111.3	31.9	26.7	7.6	149.1	42.7
1900-1909	327.5	45.2	68.5	20.9	122.7	37.5	15.2	4.7	121.0	36.9
1910-1919	313.5	36.6	54.7	17.5	114.3	36.5	17.3	5.5	127.0	40.5
1920-1929	427.4	38.6	93.7	21.9	161.5	37.8	8.6	2.0	163.4	38.2
General average	364.9	52.1	69.5	19.0	128.8	35.3	19.4	5.4	147.1	40.0

county. After the beginning of 1910 the percentage of space given to extra-county news remains fairly constant. For instance, after this date only 37.6 per cent of the news space was classified as extra-county as against 77.1 per cent during the eighties and 71.2 per cent during the eighties and nineties combined. Stated conversely, this means that slightly less than 25 per cent of the total news space of the Clinton Republican-News was given to the county during the first period and less than 30 per cent for the two periods which include the years between 1880 and 1900. Contrasted with these figures are 54.8 per cent for the ten years preceding the beginning of 1910 and 62.4 per cent for the twenty years afterwards. These contrasting trends

of county and extra-county news are, of course, simply opposite views of the same social phenomena; and their explanation, as was pointed out in the preceding chapter, is, doubtless, to be found in the changes that have taken place between 1900 and 1930 in the social and technological media of communication and transportation.

The distribution of extra-county news space under its four major subdivisions shows a general average of 147.1 column inches, which is the highest in absolute amount for any heading, classified under "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter." Then follow "national" with 128.8 column inches, "state" with 69.5, and "foreign" with 19.4. Expressed as percentages the figures for these headings are in the order given: 40 per cent, 35.3 per cent, 19 per cent, and 5.4 per cent. Each major heading shows a noticeable change in percentage with the beginning of the 1900 period. Each also shows a slight change during the World War decade. "State" and "national," for instance, decline slightly during this period while "foreign" and "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" show equally slight increases. But with reference to the whole period after the beginning of 1900, "state" and "national" increase, while "foreign" and "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" decline. For example, "state" and "national" average for the earlier period, that is before the beginning of 1900, 17.3 per cent and 32.4 per cent respectively as compared to 20.1 per cent and 37.3 per cent afterwards, while for "foreign" and "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" the respective averages for the earlier period are 7.5 per cent and 43 per cent as against 4.1 and 38.5 for the later periods. Thus it will be observed that "foreign" and "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" took 50.5 per cent of all extra-county news space before 1900 in contrast to 42.6 per cent for the thirty

years afterwards. These figures represent a decline for the later decades of the period studied of approximately 16 per cent in foreign and stories, magazine, and miscellaneous news combined.

In summarizing the data of Table XXV, two facts stand out: first, the marked decline in the amount of space given to extra-county news in the later decades; and, secondly, the decline in the type of extra-county news matter most distant from the Clinton County seat community. These facts reflect indirectly the increasing use and popularity of the daily paper and the weekly news magazine, on the one hand, as sources of national and world news and, on the other, the increasing concentration of attention by the Republican-News on its own local field which is tending more and more, as it was pointed out in the previous chapter, to cover the county. An analysis of the major subdivisions of extra-county news may throw some further light on this interpretation. Such an analysis will be made in the following pages.

DISTRIBUTION OF STATE NEWS. The distribution of space by designated periods given in terms of column inches to state news and to its various major categories is presented in Table XXVI.

An examination of this table shows that a general average for the forty-nine years of 23.3 column inches, or one-third in absolute amount, of all the space allotted to the state of Michigan has been classified under "government." Furthermore, little variation from this figure occurs in the various periods, the range being from 18.9 column inches in the fourth or World War period to 29.7 column inches in the fifth period. Most of the space thus classified under "government" is given to two of its minor categories.² These are "administration" and "politics." These

²Tables for minor categories have been omitted because the space given to most of the major categories under extra-county news is so small as to render further subdivision meaningless.

TABLE XXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGE NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES
TO STATE NEWS

Years	Total column inches	Weekly average number of column inches given to each major category							
		Economics	Family	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Personal items	All others
1881-1889	68.7	3.8	1.4	25.5	4.4	2.1	.8	30.2	0.6
1890-1899	62.0	6.1	3.4	20.5	4.6	1.6	1.7	21.0	3.1
1900-1909	68.5	11.2	3.8	21.9	4.4	4.9	2.6	16.2	3.5
1910-1919	54.7	10.8	4.2	18.9	3.9	4.0	2.0	8.6	2.3
1920-1929	93.7	28.4	4.8	29.7	10.4	5.4	4.6	6.4	4.0
General average	69.5	12.4	3.6	23.3	5.6	3.6	2.4	16.2	2.7

two minor categories receive a general average of 56 per cent of all governmental news space, 26 per cent being classified as administrative and 30 per cent as political. Approximately one-fourth more, or 24.6 per cent, of the space given to "government," is recorded under "litigation," or more specifically, "legal news and civil suits" and "crime and graft" leaving less than 20 per cent to the remaining five minor categories. The three minor categories, politics, legal news and civil suits, and crime and graft, excepting the first period for the latter category, show continuous declines in percentages throughout the five designated periods. The space allotted to "administration," on the other hand, increases through successive periods until the last period when a slight decline is registered. More specifically, "politics" and the two cate-

gories for litigation take 70 per cent of all government space in the first period as compared to 33 per cent in the fifth. "Administration," by way of contrast, receives 21 per cent in the first period and 28 per cent in the fifth. These data represent a shift in emphasis in the type of news matter classified under "government" and they probably reflect a change in the interests of the people of the Clinton County seat community. The interest in politics was, doubtless, less personal and emotional in the later years covered by the study than was true earlier, and it is probable that the expansion of state governmental functions may account for the increased amount of space given to governmental administration.

Following "government" in the amount of news space originating within the state comes "personal items." This category shows a general average of 16.2 column inches per week or about 7 column inches less than that for "government." The space classified under "personal items" was listed in the paper under the heading, BREVITIES, which record the doings, goings, and comings of state folk who, perhaps, are considered of some importance. In contrast to "government," however, "personal items" generally shows rather wide variations in its various periods from its general average. The highest figure, for instance, is 30.2 and the lowest 6.4. These figures, it will be noted, represent the extremes of a continuously declining trend.

Economic news space arising outside the county but within the state averages for the full period studied 12.4 column inches per week. This category, it will be observed, is the third highest in the absolute amount of space received and together with the two preceding categories take about three-fourths of all of the space given to state news. Unlike the previous category, "economics" shows the lowest absolute amount of space in the first

period and the highest in the fifth. In other words, it shows a rising trend the range of which is from 3.8 column inches to 28.4. Also like many other categories in previous tables it shows the most marked change in trend at the beginning of the 1900 and the 1920 periods. Seventy-one per cent of the space classified under "economics" is recorded in approximately equal amounts under "agriculture," "transportation and commerce" and "industry." The percentage for each of these categories is in the order given: 26.2, 23.6, and 21.1.

"Education," the data show, averages 5.6 column inches per week. No very marked variations from this figure occurs previous to 1920. Before this date the general average, which is fairly constant for successive periods, is 4.3. Afterwards, however, the average is 10.4 or more than twice the preceding four period average. A general average of 67.2 per cent, or two-thirds, of all the state educational space is sub-classified under the minor categories, formal and agriculture. In the first period, however, 61.5 per cent of the weekly average went to "historical events" and "travelogue," but in the last two periods approximately 85 per cent was allocated to "agriculture" and "formal" and 50 per cent to "agriculture" alone. The latter, it will be recalled, includes such activities as agricultural extension, home demonstration, 4-H Club, and farm bureau work. It is interesting to note, also, that the minor category, agriculture, under "economics" averages slightly more than 37 per cent for each of the last two periods. This is a threefold increase over the average for the first three periods. It is probable that part of the increase in absolute amount of space noted in these two minor categories, especially the one under "education" in the last period, is influenced by the nearness of Michigan State College of Agriculture, which is located

twenty-five miles south, and also to the policy of the present editors to publish such agricultural information furnished by the college as they consider of especial interest to their readers. Such news matter, if this assumption be correct, undoubtedly, reflects the appearance of new interests and new problems in the community and also as attempt on the part of the editors to aid in their direction and control.

Three other categories, family, recreation, and health, present similar general averages. They are in the order given: 3.6, 3.6, and 2.4 column inches. While each of these categories shows an increase, only "family" and "health" show increases throughout successive periods. Each category also averages more than 4 column inches in the last period. The minor categories receiving most of the space given to these major categories are: "death" with 67 per cent under "family"; "sports," "community festivities," and "fraternal orders" with average percentages ranging from 24 to 32 under "recreation"; and "accidents and injuries" with 60 per cent under "health."

The other categories which include religion, art, miscellaneous, and pictures and cartoons, because of the small amount of space classified under them, have been grouped together under the heading "all others." Their combined average is 2.7 column inches per week.

Thus far only the column inches of space given to state news have been considered. Absolute amounts, as it has been pointed out previously, do not always offer measures that can be transposed into relatively comparable proportions for the different periods and for the various categories; in order, therefore, to show more accurately the distribution of state news space the data of Table XXVI have been restated in terms of percentages and presented in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN
TERMS OF WEEKLY AVERAGE PERCENTAGES
TO STATE NEWS

Years	Percent- age of all extra- county news space	Weekly average percentage of space given to each major category							
		Economics	Family	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Personal items	All others
1881-1889	16.7	5.5	2.0	37.1	6.4	3.1	1.2	43.9	.9
1890-1899	17.8	9.8	5.5	33.1	7.4	2.6	2.7	33.8	5.1
1900-1909	20.9	16.4	5.6	32.0	6.4	7.2	3.8	23.7	4.9
1910-1919	17.5	19.7	7.7	34.6	7.1	7.3	3.6	15.7	4.2
1920-1929	21.9	30.3	5.1	31.7	11.1	5.8	4.9	6.8	4.3
General average	19.0	16.6	5.2	33.6	7.7	5.2	3.3	24.4	3.9

Two factors are observable in Table XXVII. In the first place, most of the changes that take place in the percentages of the various types of news occur, as has been noted in previous tables, in the third and the fifth periods which begin in 1900 and 1920. And secondly, with few exceptions, the same general trends that appear in the various types of news matter in the previous table occur, perhaps, more distinctly in this one. "Economics," for instance, increases more consistently through successive periods while "personal items" declines in a relatively more marked manner also. The former category shows averages for its three periods of most marked change, that is the first two designated periods, the second two, and the fifth, of 7.7 per cent, 18 per cent, and 30.3 per cent respectively, contrasted with an even more consistent decline through

succeeding periods for "personal items" ranging from 43.9 per cent in the first period to 6.8 in the fifth.

"Government" although its range is from 37.1 per cent, which appears in the first period, to 31.7 in the fifth, exhibits no trend. The latter figure while the lowest in percentage is the highest in absolute amount. The three categories, economics, personal items, and government, average in order: 16.6 per cent, 24.4 per cent, and 33.6 per cent and together receive approximately three-fourths of all of the space given to state news. "Education," also, as it was pointed out in the previous table for absolute amounts, shows a marked rise in percentage in the fifth period, the average percentage for the first four periods being approximately 6.6 in contrast to 11.1 for the fifth.

"Family," "recreation," and "health" tend, with some exceptions, to show increases throughout successive periods. The average percentages for these three categories are 5.2, 5.2, and 3.3 respectively. The remaining categories average 3.9 per cent.

NATIONAL NEWS. From the point of view of geographic location, national news follows state news in distance from the Clinton County seat community. The amount and distribution of such space is summarized in Table XXVIII.

The total amount of news space classified as national, as it has been stated previously, averages 128.8 column inches, or about six and one-fourth columns per week. The three middle periods, namely 1890 to 1920, average from about four and one-half to slightly more than five columns per week, while the first and the fifth periods average around six and three-fourths columns and eight columns, respectively.

Almost the entire amount of national news space, it will be noted,

TABLE XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGE NUMBER OF COLUMN INCHES
TO NATIONAL NEWS

Years	Total column inches	Weekly average number of column inches given to each major category							
		Economics	Family	Government	Education	Recreation	Personal items	Pictures and Cartoons	All others
1881-1889	134.7	19.8	3.4	46.7	21.4	3.4	33.2	1.4	5.3
1890-1899	111.3	17.5	2.5	39.8	14.6	4.5	13.4	8.3	10.6
1900-1909	122.7	48.8	1.8	39.3	12.5	1.1	6.2	10.1	3.0
1910-1919	114.3	32.4	1.7	29.1	12.2	1.0	15.2	17.2	5.5
1920-1929	161.5	19.2	1.7	16.9	10.9	3.5	14.1	89.2	5.9
General average	128.8	27.7	2.2	34.1	14.2	2.7	16.1	25.7	6.1

falls under five of the eleven major headings. These are "government" with a general average of 34.1 column inches; "economics," 27.7; "pictures and cartoons," 25.7; "personal items," 16.1; and "education," 14.2. The other six categories combined take but 8.1 column inches or slightly less than one-half column per week. Two categories, government and education, decline in absolute amount through successive periods while one, "pictures and cartoons," increases and two others, "economics" and "personal items" are variable. But, perhaps, the figures for these categories become more significant when they are expressed in percentages of all national news space. This has been done in Table XXIX.

Variations in Table XXIX, it will be noted, are less pronounced than in Table XXVIII but with the exception of the percentage that national news is of all extra-county news space, which shows a slight increase

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGE PERCENTAGES TO NATIONAL NEWS

Years	Percent- age of all extra- county news space	Weekly average percentage of space given to each major category							
		Economics	Family	Government	Education	Recreation	Personal items	Pictures and Cartoons	All others
1881-1889	32.7	14.7	2.5	34.7	15.9	2.5	24.6	1.0	4.0
1890-1899	31.9	15.7	2.2	35.7	13.1	4.0	12.1	7.4	9.6
1900-1909	37.5	39.8	1.5	32.0	10.2	.9	5.1	8.2	2.4
1910-1919	36.5	28.3	1.5	25.5	10.7	.9	13.3	15.0	4.8
1920-1929	37.8	11.9	1.1	10.5	6.7	2.2	8.7	55.2	3.6
General average	35.3	22.2	1.7	27.5	11.2	2.1	12.5	17.7	4.9

after the beginning of 1900, the trends are essentially the same. The five major categories with the highest percentages total 91.1 per cent of all national news space leaving less than 8 per cent to the remaining categories. With the exception of "recreation" which shows an increase in the fifth period, an increase accounted for mainly by national sports, the general tendency for "family" and "recreation" is towards a declining percentage of the total national news space throughout successive periods. Two of the five categories containing the major percentages also show declines throughout successive periods. These categories are government and education; and a third major category, personal items, declines, but somewhat irregularly. In the case of "government" the decline is essentially continuous throughout later periods. The only exception occurs in the second period which averages 35.7 per cent, or one per cent higher than the first

period. From this point on, the decline is continuous to 10.5 per cent in the fifth period. Most of the decrease occurring in this category is due to a decline in news space classified under the subcategories, administration and politics. "Education," the other major category showing a decline, decreases from a weekly average of 15.9 per cent in the first period to 6.7 per cent in the fifth. The subcategories under which most of the decline occurs are "agricultural" and "historical." With the development of communication and the advancement of formal education such a decline is probably what would be expected. "Personal items," the third major category showing a tendency to decline, averages 24.6 per cent for the first period, roughly, 13 per cent each for the second and the fourth periods, and an approximate average of 7 per cent for the third and fifth periods. The exception to an essentially continuous decline in this category is the third period which averages but 5.1 per cent. The marked drop to 5.1 per cent in this sort of news items in the third period is accompanied by an equally marked rise in economic news during this same period. Economic news, it will be observed, shows no definite trend but rises abruptly from an average of 15.2 per cent for the first two periods to 39.8 per cent in the third period, and then declines slightly to 28.3 per cent in the fourth period, and to 11.9 in the fifth. The marked increase in the amount of space noted under this category during the third and the fourth periods consists largely of agricultural news. In fact, slightly more than 80 per cent of the space thus classified during these two decades has been allocated to the subcategory called "agriculture."

It was during the years 1900 to 1915 that the Republican-News ran a weekly column or two which was somewhat of the nature of the service supplied by the agricultural journal. It was this news matter to which at-

tention was called in Chapter IV, page 65 , that accounts for the increase in the amount of space given to total economic news.

"Pictures and cartoons," the remaining major category, in contrast to all other categories of national news space shows an increase through successive periods. But its most striking increase occurs during the last decade, that is to say, during the period 1920 to 1929. In this period the average weekly percentage was 55.2 compared to 15 per cent for the fourth period and less than 6 per cent each for the three previous periods. The space under "pictures and cartoons" for the last period is recorded mostly under the two subcategories, comics and cartoons and photographs, 42.4 per cent being classified under the former and 52.7 per cent under the latter.

Because of the small amount of space classified under them, "religion," "health," "art," and "miscellaneous" have been grouped together under the heading "all others." Their combined weekly average for the 49 years is but 4.9 per cent of all national news.

FOREIGN NEWS. Foreign news, it has been pointed out, is the news the source of origin for which is a foreign country. The scarcity of this type of news matter in the Republican-News renders it less significant to the problem under consideration than either national or state news. Perhaps, its primary importance is to be found in its decline throughout successive periods. The data for foreign news is presented in Table XXX. This table shows the amount of decline in column inches for all foreign news and both the column inches and the percentages of all foreign news classified under those major categories receiving the highest amounts of space for each period.³

³Owing to the fact that only about one-fourth of all foreign news has been given to the eight categories, family, health, recreation, religion, art, pictures and cartoons, personal items, and miscellaneous, they have been grouped together under "all others."

TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO FOREIGN NEWS

Years	Total column inches	Percentage of all extra-county news space	Education		Government		Economics		All others	
			Column inches	Percentage of all foreign news	Column inches	Percentage of all foreign news	Column inches	Percentage of all foreign news	Column inches	Percentage of all foreign news
1881-1889	30.1	7.3	10.8	35.9	5.9	19.6	3.2	10.6	10.2	33.9
1890-1899	26.7	7.6	11.4	42.7	8.2	30.7	2.0	7.5	5.1	19.1
1900-1909	15.2	4.7	5.2	34.2	6.6	43.4	.7	4.6	2.8	18.4
1910-1919	17.3	5.5	5.1	29.5	5.7	32.9	.7	4.0	5.8	33.5
1920-1929	8.6	2.0	3.7	43.0	1.2	14.0	1.1	12.8	2.5	29.1
General average	19.4	5.4	7.2	37.1	5.5	28.3	1.5	7.8	5.1	26.7

Foreign news, it will be observed at the outset, shows a very definite tendency to decline throughout later periods. The only exception is the fourth period, the World War period, when a slight rise from a weekly average of 15.2 column inches in the third period to 17.3 in the fourth takes place. Such an increase is to be expected in view of the unusual world situation at that time. But the periods of most marked change occur at the beginning of 1900 and 1920. In the first instance, that is the years prior to 1900, the weekly average is 28.3 column inches as compared to 16.2 for the following twenty years and to 8.6 for the decade after the war.

Most of the space given to foreign news falls under three major categories. In fact, 65.4 per cent of such news space falls under two major categories, 7.8 per cent under the third, and approximately 27 per cent

under all other categories combined. In the three categories containing the major percentages only "economics" shows any trend. In the case of this category the trend is downward. Changes in percentages from period to period, of course, do occur, but they are irregular. Thirty-seven and one-tenth per cent, or 7.2 column inches per week, which is the highest weekly average found under any single major category, is recorded for education. Almost all of this space is distributed, though unevenly, under two subcategories. These are "historical" and "travelogue." The former receives a general weekly average of 25.6 per cent, or about one-fourth of all foreign educational news space, while the latter receives a general weekly average of 68.8 per cent, or more than two-thirds of such space. Travelogues, in contrast to all other types of foreign news, is, doubtless, of more direct and immediate interest to the residents of Clinton County because many items included under it are articles written by residents, former residents, or relatives of residents of Clinton County who described their travels in foreign countries.

The second category in percentage of foreign news space received is "government" which shows a general average of 28.3 per cent, or 5.5 column inches per week. More than one-half of this total space, 51.7 per cent to be exact, pertains to the war and military operations of foreign governments and 21 per cent additional concerns their administrative activities. Thus approximately three-fourths of all government news space is taken up with these two types of activities.

But few items, the data indicate, occurs under foreign economic news because a general average of only 7.8 per cent, or 1.5 column inches, of space per week has been given this type of news. Rarer still do items occur under other categories as an average of but five column inches of

space per week has been classified under the eight remaining headings. Only one of these, "personal items," averaged as much as one column inch per week.

STORIES, MAGAZINE, AND MISCELLANEOUS MATTER. Attention has been called earlier in this chapter to the nature of the news matter that has been classified under this heading. There it was pointed out that "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" has no specific geographic reference. In fact, little, if any, of the material included under it is news in the literal sense of the term as it was defined in Chapter II. This does not mean, of course, that all other non-advertising matter is in the strictest sense, news. Some items under other general headings, especially national and foreign, doubtless, lack the particular interest quality that would characterize them as news to the people of the Clinton County seat community; but such items did have a geographic location, a characteristic lacking in the case of the items classified under stories, magazine and miscellaneous matter. This material consists mostly of serial and short stories, hints to women about housework, wise sayings called "bits of wisdom," Sunday School lessons, moralizing stories, and other somewhat similar matter such as is found in various types of magazines. In fact it is largely the type of news matter which Willey in his study of Rural Weeklies in Connecticut calls "magazine material." The distribution of this type of newspaper matter under the various major categories⁴ is shown in Table XXXI.

"Stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter," the data of Table

⁴ Because of the small percentage of space classified under "family," "recreation," "health," "art," and "pictures and cartoons" they have been grouped together under "all others."

TABLE XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS OF WEEKLY
AVERAGES TO STORIES, MAGAZINE, AND MISCELLANEOUS MATTER

Years	Total col- umn inches	Per- cent- age of all extra- county news space	Economics		Religion		Govern- ment		Education		Stories & Fiction		Miscella- neous		All others	
			Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage	Column inches	Percentage
1881-1889	178.3	43.3	8.1	4.5	4.3	2.4	4.7	2.6	35.4	19.9	99.7	55.9	9.6	5.3	16.6	9.3
1890-1899	149.1	42.7	3.8	2.5	5.8	3.9	5.1	3.4	27.1	18.2	90.9	61.0	8.5	5.7	8.0	5.4
1900-1909	121.0	36.9	1.9	1.6	6.1	5.0	4.8	4.0	31.0	25.6	63.2	52.2	11.4	9.4	2.7	2.2
1910-1919	127.0	40.5	4.0	3.1	.2	.2	3.9	3.1	29.7	23.4	66.1	52.0	19.3	15.2	3.7	2.9
1920-1929	163.4	38.2	9.6	5.9	5.7	3.5	3.2	2.0	19.7	12.1	89.6	54.8	22.3	13.7	13.2	8.1
General average	147.1	40.0	5.4	3.5	4.4	3.0	4.3	3.0	28.4	19.8	81.5	55.1	14.3	10.0	8.7	5.5

XXXI show, averages for the forty-nine years 147.1 column inches, or slightly more than seven and one-fourth columns per week. Of this space approximately five and one-half columns have been classified under the two categories, stories and fiction and education. The former accounts for 81.5 column inches, slightly over four columns, or 55.1 per cent of all stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter while the latter takes 28.4 column inches or 19.8 per cent. "Stories and fiction" shows a tendency to decrease after 1909. For instance, the two periods previous to this date averaged 95.1 column inches, or 58.6 per cent of all stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter, as compared to 73.0 column inches, or 53.0 per cent for each of the three decades afterwards. It is this category that included the serial story, the short story which is complete in one issue, jokes, humorous and witty stories called "Bits of Wisdom" in the early issues, and other similar newspaper matter.

"Education," the second major category in the amount of news space received, is composed largely of newspaper matter that has been classified under the subcategory called "Domestic Hints." Under this heading are included such items as women's and men's styles, dress patterns, cooking recipes, care of children, and similar material. A general average of 61.5 per cent of all educational news is of this type; and with the exception of the World War decade when a slight decline is recorded, there is a continuous increase in such news matter from 45.3 per cent of all educational news in the first period to 81 per cent in the fifth period. The increase in this type of educational matter, probably, indicates a growing interest in the latest styles and fashions and in new menus and new methods of preparing food. In short, it indicates a declining isolation of the Clinton County seat community and an increase in contacts with

the outside world.

Three other minor categories receive approximately all of the remaining space classified under "education." They are: "non-formal," which includes such items as comments about books, book and magazine reviews, and discussions of literary subjects, with 14.5 per cent; "agriculture" with 11.9 per cent; and "science and invention" with 6.5 per cent. "Non-formal" declines continuously throughout successive periods while the other two minor categories are irregular. The small amount of space given to these three categories, probably, renders them insignificant to the problem under consideration.

Three major categories under "stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter" remain to be analyzed. These are: "economics," "religion," and "government." Their weekly averages show ranges, it will be observed from Table XXXI, from 4.3 column inches to 5.4 column inches which is from 3 per cent to 3.5 per cent of all stories, magazines, and miscellaneous matter. Nearly half, 43.4 per cent to be exact, of the 5.4 column inches of space given to "economics" is classified under one minor category, namely, "agriculture" while the remainder is distributed more evenly under eight other minor categories. No definite trend, it will be noted, is evident for "economics" either in column inches or in percentages. "Religion," on the other hand, increases continuously from 2.4 per cent of all stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter in the first period to 5 per cent in the third, declines to .2 per cent in the fourth or World War period, and then rises again to 3.5 per cent in the fifth period. Of the weekly average of 4.4 column inches allotted to "religion," 97.4 per cent has been classified under the syndicated sermons and Sunday School lessons and miscellaneous subcategories in the approximate proportion of three to two

respectively. Only one subcategory under "government" stands out sufficiently to receive any mention. This category is "politics." It receives 26.5 per cent, or slightly more than one-fourth, of the total weekly average of 4.3 column inches given to its major category. No other minor category under "government" receives more than one-half as much space as "politics."

A general average of 14.3 column inches or 10 per cent of the space given to stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter has been classified under "miscellaneous." This category includes material which was difficult to classify. Much of it consists of items commonly called "filler" which are used to end a column. The miscellaneous or unclassifiable matter, it will be observed from Table XXXI, increases continuously from 5.3 per cent in the first period to 15.2 in the fourth and then declines to 13.7 in the fifth. An increase of such news paper material is, probably, to be expected in view of the fact that the total news space showed a continuous increase after 1909.

The heading in Table XXXI termed "all others," it has been pointed out, includes six major headings. These six categories receive a weekly average of but 8.7 column inches, or 5.5 per cent, of all stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter; consequently, their small amount of space renders them insignificant to the problem being studied and makes a more detailed analysis unnecessary.

EXTRA-COUNTY ADVERTISING. This heading, as its name implies, includes all advertising geographically incident to the area outside Clinton County. More, specifically, it includes all state and nationally advertised goods and services which do not have their source of origin within the county. Because of the small amount of such advertising matter and its minor im-

portance as an index of change in the Clinton County seat community and also because extra-county non-display advertising appears under but two minor categories, namely, "patent medicine and appliances" and "miscellaneous," it has seemed expedient to summarize all extra-county advertising both display and non-display in a single table. This has been done in Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF SPACE BY DESIGNATED PERIODS GIVEN IN TERMS
OF WEEKLY AVERAGES TO EXTRA-COUNTY ADVERTISING

Years	Total column inches	Percentage of all advertising	Percentage that each type of advertising is of all extra-county advertising										
			Patent medicines and appliances	Wearing apparel	Food	Household furnishings	Building material and equipment	Department and drug store	Transportation	Rural advertising	Banking, insurance & real estate	Amusements	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	184.5	47.8	58.0	2.2	3.7	7.6	3.9	3.2	11.7	1.1	1.6	---	7.0
1890-1899	161.4	38.6	54.9	.8	8.8	4.1	3.7	5.2	9.1	1.0	1.7	.3	10.4
1900-1909	148.2	24.2	48.3	2.4	8.5	5.2	4.3	7.2	10.7	1.2	3.4	1.4	7.4
1910-1919	122.0	14.6	19.9	8.7	16.5	3.4	6.0	9.5	6.0	2.2	11.3	2.2	14.3
1920-1929	128.1	8.3	18.6	2.4	7.3	1.6	4.6	5.7	14.7	6.9	24.9	5.2	8.1
General average	148.2	26.2	39.5	3.8	9.1	4.3	4.5	6.2	10.4	2.5	8.6	1.8	9.4

In absolute amount of space and in percentage of all advertising space, Table XXXII, it will be observed, shows the reverse trend of Table XXI, page 118. This table, it will be recalled, presents in increasing amounts the space given to county advertising, while Table XXXII, the present table, shows among other things the decreasing amount of space given to extra-county advertising.

Extra-county advertising, it will be noted from XXXII, decreases in absolute amount from 184.5 column inches in the first period to 122 in the fourth period and then rises slightly to 128.1 in the fifth period. In percentage of all advertising, however, the decline is continuous and quite marked throughout successive periods. For instance, extra-county advertising averages 47.8 per cent of all advertising in the first period, then declines to 38.6 per cent in the second period, to 24.2 per cent in the third, to 14.6 in the fourth, and to 8.3 in the fifth. Stated in fractions this means that approximately one-half of all advertising had its source or origin outside the county in the first period, two-fifths in the second period, one-fourth in the third period, one-sixth in the fourth period, and one-twelfth in the fifth period. Such a marked decline in extra-county advertising corroborates on the negative side the conclusions reached in Chapter V under Tables XXI and XXII, namely, that Clinton County is becoming increasingly aware of the Republican-News as its most common medium of communication and by inference an expansion in the character of the Clinton County seat community.

The most outstanding of the minor categories under extra-county advertising is "patent medicines and appliances." A general average of 39.5 of all extra-county advertising for the forty-nine years is classified under this heading. This is approximately four times that for any other minor category. "Patent medicine and appliances," as its name implies, includes patent medicines, trusses, and other health appliances. In Table XXXII it includes both the display and non-display ads. The non-display ads are those written like a news article but which subtly extol the virtues of a particular remedy. Perhaps, two facts worth noting stand out relative to "patent medicines and appliances." In the first place it

shows a continuous decline throughout successive periods from 58 per cent in the first period to 18.6 in the fifth. In terms of column inches, this is a decline ranging down from 104 to 23. This means that in the first period a weekly average of more than five columns of a six column page or nearly one page of an eight page paper was given over to patent medicine advertising. The second fact to be noted about "patent medicine and appliances" is the large amount of space given to such advertising during the first three periods and the marked decline afterwards. These first three periods, 1881 to 1910, for instance, average 53.7 per cent of all extra-county advertising as compared to 19.2 per cent for the two decades that follow. In column inches again, this is a weekly average for the three earlier periods of approximately 89 as against 24 for the two later ones. This inverse proportion or declining percentage of space given to extra-county patent medicine advertising implies indirectly, perhaps, first, a decline in the fetishistic notions about the healing qualities of such preparations and, secondly, a greater interest in scientific medicine. This last conclusion is corroborated by the marked increase in the amount of health news given in the last designated period to the promotion of the construction of a local hospital.

A few other minor categories are sufficiently important to be mentioned. Among these are "transportation" which shows a general average of 10.4 per cent and stands second in amount of extra-county advertising space received. A variation of less than 2 per cent from its general average is recorded for this category during the first three periods, that is from 1881 to 1910; but during the fourth or World War period, it drops to 6 per cent and then rises in the fifth period to 14.7 per cent. This latter percentage reflects to a large extent the advertising of the new medium of transportation and

communication, namely, the automobile and its accessories, while the three earlier ones represent advertising, particularly excursions, by the railroad companies.

The third minor category in the amount of extra-county advertising space received is "food." It shows a general weekly average of 9.1 per cent per week and varies from this average less than two per cent in only two periods. These periods are the first and the fourth with averages of 3.7 per cent and 16.5 per cent respectively. The high percentage of space given to the latter period may reflect the emphasis that was placed on food in winning the World War. Some of the space included in the food sub-category was concerned with the food served by restaurants and hotels in some of the larger cities, particularly Detroit.

Following "food" comes the category called "banking, insurance, and real estate" with a general average of 8.6 per cent. The high general average percentage for this category, it will be noted in Table XXXII, is largely due to the marked increase in the percentage of such advertising matter in the two final periods. For example, the first three periods, which cover the years 1881 to 1910, average less than 3 per cent per week, while the fourth or World War decade averages 11.3 per cent, and the fifth or post-war decade averages 24.9 per cent. The type of advertising included in this category is confined mostly to insurance and real estate. Some of the advertising space pertaining to real estate was concerned with the sale of Western lands.

The four minor categories, "patent medicines and appliances," "transportation," "food," and "banking, insurance, and real estate" account for two-thirds of all extra-county advertising, while "miscellaneous" which includes both display and non-display matter accounts for 9.4 per cent

more, leaving slightly over 20 per cent to the other seven minor categories combined, none of which averages as much as 6 per cent and most of which average but 3 or 4 per cent of all extra-county advertising. Thus because of their small amount of space, these categories are not sufficiently important to the problem of the rural weekly's reflection of change in the community to justify their detailed analysis.

Summarized briefly, the data of Chapter VI is the inverse of the data of Chapter V. They show, for instance, marked declines in the proportional amounts of news and advertising space given to the territory beyond the county where marked increases were shown for the latter area in the previous chapter. Moreover, they point inversely, with the decline in extra-county news and advertising space, to an increasing emphasis in the Clinton County Republican-News on the county as a social unit and news area and corroborate on the negative side the findings of the previous chapter.

One further problem to be considered is the "Editorials." They reflect the editor's attitudes towards all those incidents and events and particularly those changes and innovations in human behavior which are thought to have a bearing on the common life of the community. An analysis of such news matter should throw some further light on the problem of the rural weekly's reflection of the changing interests and character of its community. Such an analysis will be made in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

EDITORIAL SPACE

The present age, it has been pointed out, is the age of the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the automobile, the radio, the newspaper, and the cinema. It is an age characterized by the swiftness and the diffusion of new ideas, beliefs, and opinions, an age typified by a more enlarged and animated human nature and a more unstable and changing social order. The old dogmatisms and securities of a less mobile world are capitulating before the impact of an expanding communication. Diversity and insecurity have come to take the place of the general optimism and stability that permeated the religious, political, economic, and family life of an earlier generation; and as a consequence old social standard and values are being discarded in the search for new ones. In this process of transition, the newspaper's editor searches out for closer analysis and evaluation those incidents and tendencies which he considers have an important bearing on the common welfare. These items appear under the title of EDITORIALS on the special page by that name. They, of course, include a wide range of human behavior and serve the function of interpreting for the reader the editor's attitude toward the innovations in human conduct and the changing social life of the day. And in the small community where contacts are more intimate and personal, they probably tend to represent the views of a large number of its constituency; consequently a detailed analysis of the editorials of a paper like the Clinton County

Republican-News should supplement and clarify the generalizations, already arrived at through an analysis of its general news and advertising, which indicate numerous changes in the interests and the character of its community life. It is this supplemental aspect of the subject that is the concern of the present chapter.

ANALYSIS OF EDITORIAL SPACE. A separate analysis and classification of all editorial space in the first issue of the Republican-News in each month for the forty-nine years, 1881 to 1929 inclusive, has been made. In this analysis the same scheme of classification has been used that was followed in classifying the total news space.

The total weekly average amount of editorial space in column inches and the percentages of the total given to the various major categories by designated periods is shown in Table XXXIII.

TABLE XXXIII

WEEKLY AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TOTAL EDITORIAL SPACE IN COLUMN INCHES AND THE PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL ALLOTTED TO THE VARIOUS MAJOR CATEGORIES BY DESIGNATED PERIODS

Years	Weekly average column inches	Percentage of the total given to each major category							
		Economics	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	12.3	15.9	3.5	2.0	66.5	7.4	1.4	.8	2.4
1890-1899	12.8	13.4	1.4	---	70.9	11.0	.9	.3	2.0
1900-1909	9.0	17.0	1.9	1.0	68.8	5.2	1.2	1.0	3.9
1910-1919	9.2	13.1	1.9	.3	78.2	2.6	.4	1.6	1.9
1920-1929	31.4	18.4	1.6	2.1	38.1	23.0	5.5	5.4	5.8
General average	15.0	15.5	2.0	1.1	64.4	9.9	1.9	1.8	3.2

From Table XXXIII it will be observed that 15.0 column inches is the general weekly average amount of space devoted to editorials. This, however, is considerably higher than the weekly average shown for any of the first four periods which, of course, include the years 1881 to 1920. In other words, the high general average, when compared to the major portion of the years covered by the study, is due, in large part, to the notable increase in the amount of space given to editorials during the last period, that is from 1919 to 1929 inclusive. This is more evident when the various periods are compared. The first two periods, 1881 to 1900, for instance, average 12.5 column inches per week; the second two periods, 1900 to 1920, average 9.1 column inches; while the fifth period increases to 31.4 column inches, a figure more than three times the average of the two previous periods and more than two and one-half times that of the first two periods. This marked increase in editorial space was due to a change in editorial policy. After the purchase of the Clinton Republican by Schuyler Marshall in April, 1923, and its combination in 1924 with the St. Johns News to form the Clinton County Republican-News, the amount of the editorial space was doubled. The low weekly average of 9.1 column inches for the third and the fourth periods is due, in part, to the fact that during these periods the editor in election years often included in the editorial column before election a list of Republican candidates for the various offices and after election a list of the winners. This type of news matter, when no comment was made about it as was often the case, was not included as editorial space; consequently the total weekly average was lowered.

The most significant fact concerning the distribution of editorial space is the high percentage classified under "government". A general

weekly average of 64.4 per cent or nearly two-thirds of all editorial space has been classified under this heading. The highest percentages given to "government", it will be noted, occur in the first four periods. These periods average 70.9 per cent in contrast to 38.1 for the fifth period. With the exception of the third period, 1900 to 1910, which shows a decline of 2.1 per cent, the general trend for the first four periods is upward from 66.5 per cent in the first period to 78.2 in the fourth. Since "government" receives approximately two-thirds of all editorial space, it has seemed advisable to present the data for this category in a separate table and to analyze them in some detail. This has been done in Table XXXIV which follows the analysis of the other major categories for editorial space.

Next to "government" in the proportion of editorial space received are "economics" with a general average of 15.5 per cent and "education" with 9.9 per cent. "Economics" shows no trend and does not vary in its various designated periods more than 3.2 per cent from its general average. "Education", likewise, evinces no trend but shows more marked variation in percentages from period to period than the former category. Its lowest and highest percentages, 2.6 and 23.0, occur in the fourth and the fifth periods respectively. These three major categories, that is government, economics, and education, account for 89.8 per cent or more than seven-eighths of all the space classified under EDITORIALS. No single remaining category receives a general weekly average of as much as 4 per cent. Two other major categories, however, because of their somewhat marked increases in percentages in the fifth, or 1920 to 1929, period deserve mention. These are: "recreation" and "health" with weekly averages for the fifth period of 5.5 per cent and 5.4 per

cent respectively. The former pertains primarily to national and local sports, community festivities, and amusements and entertainment, while the latter is concerned almost wholly with the county community hospital which was sponsored by the editors of the Republican-News.

"Economics" with a general weekly average of 2.3 column inches, or 15.5 per cent, of all editorial space, it has been pointed out, is the second major category in the amount of total editorial space received. Slightly more than one-half, 52.7 per cent, of this space occurs under three minor categories, namely, commerce and transportation, merchandising, and industry with percentages of 21.1, 16 and 15.6 respectively. Of the remaining space allocated to "economics" 16.1 per cent has been classified under four minor categories, agriculture, real estate, prices of products, and finance and insurance, while 31.2 per cent has been given to miscellaneous economics. This latter category includes such items as those which concern general economic conditions, reviews of business or economic conditions, labor conditions, labor's situation after the World War, changes in cost of living, and similar matter. Commerce and transportation pertains to foreign and domestic trade, transportation companies, their activities, rates, and officials, highways, automobiles and like materials; merchandising comprises editorial items about the buying and selling activities of merchants, biographical matter about merchants and their businesses and their connections with commercial and business organizations; and industry, it will be recalled, covers all editorial items pertaining to non-agricultural products and their production and consumption including statistics and forecasts about such products and their consumption.

Of the space allotted to "miscellaneous" under "economics", 60 per cent is found in the last, or 1920-1929 period. In fact, 44.8 per cent of all the space given to "economics" occurs in the last decade as compared to 55.2 per cent for the previous 39 years. In other words, the proportionate amount of editorial space given to economics during the 1920 to 1929 period more than trebled its previous 39 years average. This, it will be remembered, is the reverse of the proportional amount of space given to government in the last ten-year period.

These contrasting trends in the amount of editorial space given to economics and government in the last period represent a change in editorial policy and, perhaps, also a change in the attitudes of the people of the Clinton County seat community. It was during the 1920 to 1929 period, it will be recalled, that the Clinton County Republican changed hands, combined with the St. Johns News, and adopted a policy of independence in political matters. It was also after the adoption of a non-partisan policy that the amount of editorial space given to government, which was largely concerned with politics as it will be shown in Table XXXIV, declined and the amount given to economics increased. It is possible, too, that as the result of the expansion of human contacts which followed the introduction or more extensive use of such modern media of communication and transportation as rural free delivery, the linotype machine, the daily newspaper, the telephone, and the automobile, and as a result also of the general economic conditions of the 1920's, which were characterized by depression among the farming classes on the one hand and prosperity among certain industrial classes on the other, that the people of the Clinton County seat community were less

interested in politics, especially since many of the earlier political issues had changed and were more concerned with economic problems than had been the case previously.

"Education" with a general weekly average of 1.5 column inches or 9.9 per cent of all editorial space, stands third in the amount of total editorial space received. Of importance with reference to "education" is the fact that 51.5 per cent, or more than one-half of its total space, is given to the subcategory called "non-formal" of which approximately four-fifths occurs in the last ten-year period. Nineteen and four-tenths per cent more of the space allotted to education has been allocated to "travelogue". This means that 70.9 per cent, or slightly more than two-thirds of all editorial space devoted to education, has been classified under these two minor categories. "Non-formal" includes all comments about lectures, chautauquas, discussions of literary subjects, and discussions of books and magazines. It also includes all comments about speeches, lectures, and debates which are of an educational nature; and furthermore it includes all comments, suggestions, and advice to his readers by the editor on subjects which cannot be definitely classified under other headings. "Travelogue", the second minor category under "education", includes letters, articles, and comments about other places, cities, and countries, or the habits and customs of other peoples.

Most of the remaining educational space has been classified under two minor categories. They are: "formal" which pertains to comments about formal school education and its officials with 10.7 per cent, and "agriculture" with 9.7 per cent. The latter category, as previously pointed out, includes comments on agricultural extension, home

demonstrations, 4 H Club work, county agents, and similar material. More than 95 per cent of the space occurring under "agriculture" is found in the 1920 to 1929 period. Perhaps, the most important fact regarding "education" is that 70 per cent of all the editorial space classified under it appears in this last period, thus leaving but 30 per cent for the previous 39 years combined. In other words, the amount of space devoted to education averages eight times more for the fifth or 1920 to 1929 period than it did for the previous 39 years. It is important also to note that 65 per cent or about two-thirds of the space appearing in the fifth period is found under "non-formal".

When the total editorial space given to "education" during the thirty-nine years, 1881 to 1919 inclusive, is compared with "politics", the weekly average percentage for the former is 6.9 per cent as against 61 per cent for the latter. When, however, the amount of space given to these two categories are contrasted for the ten-year period, 1920 to 1929 inclusive, the figures are 23 per cent for "education" and 17.3 per cent for "politics". These facts, like those for "economics" in the previous category, seem to have a bearing on the problem of the rural weekly's reflection of the changing character and the changing interests of its community. They show for the Clinton County seat community an increase in emphasis on interests that are, probably, more conducive to the stimulation of cooperation. This is particularly true of non-formal education; furthermore they show, by way of contrast, a marked decline in emphasis on politics which, especially in the earlier periods, as will be pointed out later in this chapter, tended to arouse conflict and division.

EDITORIAL SPACE GIVEN TO GOVERNMENT. Because approximately two-thirds of the total editorial space, as stated previously, is given to

"government", it has seemed advisable for a fuller comprehension of the editor's attitude toward the various aspects of government to analyze this category separately. This has been done in Table XXXIV. This table shows the distribution of editorial space in column inches given to "government" by designated periods and the percentage of governmental space given to each minor category.

TABLE XXXIV

WEEKLY AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TOTAL EDITORIAL SPACE IN COLUMN INCHES GIVEN TO GOVERNMENT AND THE PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL GIVEN TO THE VARIOUS MINOR CATEGORIES BY DESIGNATED PERIODS

Years	Weekly average column inches	Percentage of total given to each minor category							
		Administration	Politics	Legal News and Civil Suits	Crime and Graft	War and Military	Civics and Philanthropy	Taxation	Miscellaneous
1881-1889	8.2	9.3	81.9	.7	3.3	3.8	1.0	---	---
1890-1899	9.1	11.3	73.2	1.5	2.5	4.1	.3	3.1	3.9
1900-1909	6.2	10.9	73.0	5.0	2.0	5.4	.7	2.9	---
1910-1919	7.1	12.9	59.5	5.6	.4	17.7	2.3	1.0	.6
1920-1929	11.9	15.6	45.3	2.0	16.1	1.1	10.0	9.4	.4
General average	8.5	12.1	66.3	3.0	4.9	6.5	2.9	3.3	1.0

The most significant fact to be observed in Table XXXIV is the high percentage of space given to "politics". "Politics", of course, includes editorials on such topics as political parties, political party activities, campaigns, discussions, plans, policies, platforms, conventions, candidates, and other similar matter. A general weekly average of 5.6 column inches, or 66.3 per cent of all space devoted to government, it will be noted, is of this type. A continuous decline in the percentage

of space given to this sub-category, however, takes place throughout the series of designated periods. The range is from 81.9 per cent in the first period to 45.3 per cent in the fifth. The most marked decline, it will be observed, occurs after 1900 when the percentage of governmental space given to "politics" drops from a general weekly average of 76.2 per cent for the first three periods to 52.4 per cent for the final ones. But when the percentage that "politics" is of all editorial space is considered, the greatest break appears after 1919 or in the fifth period. Thus, for example, when the total editorial space given to politics is computed for the various periods, the following percentages are obtained: first period, 1881-1889, 54.4; second period, 1890-1899, 51.9; third period, 1900-1909, 50.1; fourth period, 1910-1919, 46.6; fifth period, 1920-1929, 17.2. And when the general weekly average for the first four periods combined is computed, the percentage is 50.7 in contrast to 17.2 per cent for the fifth period. In other words, slightly more than one-half of all editorial space in the twelve selected issues for each of the years 1881 to 1920 was concerned with politics as against one-sixth for the years 1920 to 1929, inclusive.

It is also interesting to note that 63.2 per cent of all the space given to politics occurred during the even or campaign years while only 36.3 per cent occurred during the odd or non-campaign years.¹ This means that 67.2 per cent of all editorial space included in the campaign years between 1881 and 1920 pertained to politics.

¹ Since there were 24 campaign years and 25 non-campaign years in the period covered by the study, the first non-campaign year, namely 1881, was omitted in order that the two series of years, campaign and non-campaign years would be equal and comparable.

The editorial data on politics presented thus far is quantitative and objective; but such data do not give any indications of variations or changes in the editors' attitudes or emotional reactions toward the socio-economic and political issues of the day which might throw some light on the affective nature of the changes that have taken place in the common life of the Clinton County seat community. It is necessary, therefore, in order to obtain more complete knowledge of this problem to make a qualitative analysis of the editorial data devoted to politics.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF EDITORIALS ON POLITICS. The 1880's, it will be recalled, was a period but approximately two decades after the Civil War; and much of the suffering and hardships of that internecine struggle and the great social and economic problems arising out of it were, doubtless, still vivid in the imaginations and uppermost in the minds of those who experienced them. The bitterness of feeling created by the war and the differences of opinion relative to the solution of common post-war problems constantly crop out in the editorials of those early years sublimated, perhaps, under the expression of Republican party principles as against those of the Democratic party which, of course, was primarily the political party of the seceding states. The third party, the tariff, and the greenback or cheap money question were major issues around which much of this bitter discussion raged during the first two decades of the period studied. This is illustrated by the following representative excerpts from editorials appearing in the eighties and the nineties. In an editorial of May 4, 1882, for instance, the editor states:

Some long-eared sensationalist writes from Flint to the Chicago Times as follows: 'The contest for the governorship is between Jerome, the present incumbent, and John Palmer of Detroit, and the friends of the two are inclined to make a bitter fight but the chances are in favor of Jerome'. For downright willful stupid lying the above beats anything outside the average greenback editorial on the alleged contraction of the currency.

In similar vein the editor comments in an editorial of February 7, 1884, concerning the third party sentiment and particularly those who supported it as follows:

Merritt Moore of Ionia has told a reporter of the Detroit Times that he is confident that the new Union Prohibition party will carry Michigan next fall. As Mr. Moore has never been charged with being a fool, we can only judge that this is a case of deliberate lying, as neither Mr. Moore nor any other well informed man believes that the new party will carry Michigan next fall. The Greenback party started out with the same idle and lying boast.

The Clinton County Republican, it will be recalled, passed into the hands of Coleman C. Vaughn in 1889, but its attitude towards the opposing party and its principles remained the same. This is brought out in an editorial of August 2, 1891. At that time the Democratic party had won the state election, and after the legislature had been in session for three months the editor summarizes its achievements thus:

The present legislature controlled by the Democratic party, is probably the most worthless aggregation that ever disgraced the state of Michigan. It has been in session three months and the only thing accomplished has been the unseating of two legally elected Republican senators. Instead of a short session, as promised, thousands of dollars have been left undone. Briefly stated the present legislature is notoriously incompetent and dishonest.

On March 2, 1893, two days before Grover Cleveland was inaugurated president of the United States, the editor of the Republican comments in no uncertain terms on the sad plight of the victors of 1865, and some of them he holds responsible for their humiliating situation as the following editorial illustrates:

Probably two hundred Clinton County veterans of the war voted for Grover Cleveland last fall and they undoubtedly will be interested in the fact that Cleveland's cabinet contains three ex-rebels, one of whom will dole out pensions to them. Verily, the solid South has regained by the ballot what it lost by the sword. The victor of 1865 is now a humble suppliant at the feet of a once vanquished foe, asking as a boon from the conquered the pension which he once proudly demanded as a right from the government he saved.

By 1894, the memorable economic depression which had its beginning in 1893 held the country in its grip. This condition of affairs, of course, consumed much of the interest and the attention of the Republican editor; and since the Democratic party was in power it was held largely responsible for the country's distress. Such an attitude is expressed in the following brief extract from an editorial of January 4, 1894.

We look in vain for a fulfillment of the promises of prosperity to follow the entrusting of power to the democracy. We look in vain for editorials in Democratic journals congratulating the country upon the first fruits of a return to 'good old democratic days'. The Republican would be glad to announce to its readers the prospect of immediate improvement in the sad plight which business and labor finds itself at the beginning of the new year; but there is no such prospect in sight. The record of the next few weeks will be one of business disaster. More men will be idle, there will be no improvement until the tariff question is settled. And if the Wilson bill becomes a law, times will be harder still.

More confident, perhaps, in the righteousness of Republican principles but still sarcastic towards the opposing political party is the attitude of the Clinton County Republican expressed in the following editorial of January 4, 1900.

The Democratic party has been shouting for reform ever since the party was inaugurated, with the trifling exception of the years when that party has been entrusted with power. And who would think of expecting the party of Bryan to bring anything but disaster to the country?

Attention has been called in previous chapters to the marked change in the character of the news and advertising following the turn of the

century. A change in the tone of the Republican's editorials is also noticeable after this date. While still partisan in dealing with political issues, editorials were characterized by less bitterness and invective than was the case before 1900. This is evident from extracts of editorials appearing during the third and the fourth periods of the years covered by the study. For instance the editor writes on August 4, 1910:

The primary law was designed to do away with the oft-repeated cry that bosses and rings made the nominations. Under the present system every enrolled voter can take a part in the nomination of his party and have all day to do it in.... The Republicans have three candidates for governor, Messrs. Kelley, Osborn, and Musselman, everyone of them possessing good qualifications for governor.

The change in the tone of the editorials will be noted again in the following editorial under the date of January 2, 1913, after a Democrat had been elected president:

Champ Clark, Democratic speaker of the house, says 1912 was one of the most prosperous years America has ever known. He might have added that it was under a Republican administration and a Republican protective tariff, which he pledged to pull down. Hope as much can be said for the last years of Wilson's administration when he is through.

While the same old issue, the tariff, crops out during the Wilson administration, yet Republican editorials are much more moderate in tone than they were during the eighties and nineties as the following excerpt from an editorial for February 3, 1916, illustrates:

President Wilson has announced that he is in favor of a non-partisan tariff board or commission to collect information on tariff matters.... It will be remembered that we had such a non-partisan tariff board under President Taft, doing good work collecting information for the use of congress and the president, but as soon as a Democratic congress and president were elected, the congress put the board out of business by failing to make any appropriation for expenses.

The tariff question comes up again in the editorials, particularly during the depression of 1921, and is dealt with in a tone similar to

recent previous discussions of the subject. However, after the change in ownership and editorial policy of the Republican in 1923 and 1924, political issues change and editorial opinion seems less harsh and more impersonal than in previous periods as the following editorial of May 7, 1925 illustrates:

Along with the reconstruction period which followed the war, Michigan's political situation has been revamped. The issue is no longer obscure or uncertain. Wayne's disposition to dominate has been too many times evident to leave any doubt as to what the attitude of that county will be in the future. The belief of Wayne citizens, encouraged by the attitude of Detroit newspapers, that Michigan is a minor part of Wayne County is pretty well founded in the metropolis. That future Wayne governors will willingly surrender any of the power built up and enjoyed by Gov. Groesbeck is very unlikely.

But even more impersonal with reference to political matters is an editorial of February 7, 1929 in which the editor states:

On March 4th there is a primary election for the purpose of choosing candidates for district judge. There are three Republicans and one Democratic candidates. Considerable stress is being put on a gentleman's agreement to alternate the judgeship between Gratiot and Clinton Counties by some of the candidates.... What the citizens of Gratiot County and the citizens of Clinton County should be most interested in is procuring the services of the man who is best qualified for the place.

Summarizing the qualitative analysis of editorials on "politics", it may be concluded that three editorial attitudes are expressed by the editors. The first, occurring in the eighties and nineties of the last century, was characterized by a caustic, intolerant, politically partisan opinion about the problems growing out of the Civil War; the second, observable in the third and the fourth periods, while still partisan and moralistic in tone, was less sarcastic and personal in its evaluation of post Civil War and other socio-political and economic problems of the day; and the third, comprising largely the final period covered by the study, is represented by a liberal non-partisan attitude towards new problems

some of which, perhaps, grew out of the World War and the complexities of modern social life and others out of a more definite and well recognized local community life. This will be brought out more clearly later in the topic on "Editorial space given to Clinton County".

"Administration", the second minor category in the amount of governmental space received, shows a general average of 12.1 per cent, or 1.0 column inches. This category includes all editorial matter which pertains to the execution of governmental functions and to the officials of governmental agencies whether they be municipal, county, state, national, or international. The following quotation from an editorial of January 4, 1923 will indicate more clearly, perhaps, some of the items contained under this heading:

The State Administration Board passed upon the tentative budgets of state institutions last week and recommended a budget of some \$34,000,000 for the next two years. This is four millions or more less than the expense for the last two years and shows a responsiveness on the part of the board to the demands for lower taxes.

With the exception of the third period when, it will be noted from Table XXXIV, a decline of less than one-half of one per cent occurs, "administration" shows increasing percentages throughout successive periods. The range is from 9.3 per cent in the first period to 15.6 per cent in the fifth. No other minor category receives more than 6 per cent of all governmental space. But, perhaps, four other minor categories deserve mention because of their marked increase in percentages during later periods. These are: "crime and graft" with a percentage of 16.1 in the fifth period, "war and military" with a percentage of 17.7 in the fourth or World War period, "civics and philanthropy" with 10 per cent in the fifth period, and "taxation" with 9.4 per cent also in the fifth period. Considerable space under "war and military" during the

fourth period, it should be mentioned, was devoted to the cruelty of the Germans in dropping bombs on hospitals, the advances made by one army or another, prisoners taken, and similar material.

EDITORIAL SPACE GIVEN TO CLINTON COUNTY. Up to this point nothing has been said about the distribution of editorial space on a geographic basis. The proportional amount of space given to Clinton County throughout the successive selected periods, for instance, should throw some further light on the changing interests and changing problems in the Clinton County seat community. Such a distribution is presented in Table XXXV.

It should be noted at the outset that no trend is evident in Table XXXV either in the total weekly average number of column inches of editorial space given to Clinton County or in the percentage that county editorial space is of all editorial space throughout successive periods. Furthermore, it should be noted that both in the percentage of total editorial space given to the county and in its weekly average absolute amount the highest figures occur in the first and the last periods, that is to say that during the ninth decade of the last century and the third decade of the present one. For instance, during the eighties of the past century a weekly average of 3.1 column inches of editorial space, which amounted to 24.8 per cent or approximately one-fourth of all editorial space, was devoted to Clinton County; then during the next three successive decades the weekly amount of space in column inches drops to 1.3, 0.3, and 0.4 respectively; and in percentages, to 9.8, 2.7 and 4.9 in order. But during the final, or 1920 to 1929 period, it rises to a weekly average of 10.2 column inches or 32.7 per cent which is approximately one-third of all editorial space. While showing no

TABLE XXXV

WEEKLY AVERAGE AMOUNT OF EDITORIAL SPACE IN COLUMN INCHES
GIVEN TO CLINTON COUNTY, ITS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EDITORIAL
SPACE, AND ITS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION TO
THE VARIOUS MAJOR CATEGORIES BY SELECTED
PERIODS

Years	Weekly aver- age column inches	Percent- age of all editor- ial space	Percentage of space given to each major category							
			Economics	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Miscel- laneous
1881-1889	3.1	24.8	53.4	8.1	6.5	16.9	9.8	2.5	--	2.8
1890-1899	1.3	9.8	27.3	1.3	---	48.7	7.3	4.0	--	11.3
1900-1909	.3	2.7	34.4	27.6	6.9	31.0	---	---	--	--
1910-1919	.4	4.9	54.7	----	5.7	15.1	5.7	1.9	7.5	9.4
1920-1929	10.2	32.7	20.0	3.1	.9	20.0	25.0	10.8	11.4	8.9
General average	3.4	14.8	37.6	8.0	4.0	26.5	9.6	3.9	3.9	6.6

trend and seeming unrelated to the problem of change in the Clinton County seat community, the marked variation in these figures can be, at least partially explained and related to the question under consideration. To illustrate: For the first nine years of the period studied, it will be recalled, the Clinton County Republican was under the editorship of Fuller and Roe. During this period they ran considerable material of a somewhat historical and biographical nature in their editorial columns about various local merchants and business men. The following editorial of July 2, 1885 is an example.

These facts occur to us while looking through the establishment of O. G. Wickes and Sons, on Clinton Avenue, where everything in the way of family supplies is kept. Also corn, oats and feed. The Star Grocery was established 20 years ago by H. N. Griswold opposite the St. Johns House.... In November, 1884, O. G. Wickes and Sons became the

owners. The senior member of the firm- O. G. Wickes- has been identified with the grocery business here during a period of 12 years, and Charles, his son, was employed as a clerk in the store for 12 years before becoming a member of the firm. Frank is also well known in this community. The firm are thoroughly acquainted with the details of the grocery trade. The goods are largely bought in job lots for cash, thereby, saving the profits of middlemen, and the firm offer the same to their customers at correspondingly low prices.

It is this type of editorial matter, which shows no indication of a recognition of common county interests beyond the mere locality of St. Johns, that accounts for the large amount of space given to the county during the eighties. It is also this type of editorial matter which, in large measure, accounts for the high percentage of space, 53.4 per cent, given to "economics" in the same period.

The second period is characterized by a number of changes, chief among which are a change in editorship and the severe economic depression of the nineties. Probably, therefore, the difference in the interests of the new editor, Coleman C. Vaughn, and the social disorganization resulting from the depression of that period account for the marked decline - a decline of approximately 60 per cent over the first period - in the amount of space given to the county or more accurately the county seat. It is a social psychological principle that in times of crises the individual turns to the strongest group or organization within his purview for aid and comfort; and if, in his judgment, such group or organization fails him, it receives his bitterest criticism. The depression of the nineties was such a crisis; and the national government, particularly, was the organization, doubtless, which drew the editor's attention away from local and county affairs.

The third and the fourth periods, as was pointed out above, show smaller amounts of space than any of the other periods both in percentages and in column inches devoted to county editorials. It was

during these years, as previously indicated, that the editor sometimes before elections included in his editorial columns, without comment, lists of Republican candidates for office and after election lists of those who had been successful. This type of editorial matter, because it lacked comment, was not included. It is this fact which partially, at least, explains the small amount of editorial space given to the county during these two periods. Another fact which, doubtless, served to draw the editor's attention away from the local community during the fourth period was the World War to which attention has already been called. Some of the problems discussed in the editorials during the fifth period, it was pointed out above, seemed to reflect a concentration on and a recognition of the county as the local unit of common interests. This is particularly evident from an analysis of the amount and distribution of editorial space given to Clinton County during that period.

To recapitulate, the weekly average amount of space given to county editorials in the fifth period was 32.7 per cent of the total or 10.2 column inches. The major portion of this space occurs under three minor categories, namely, "economics", "government", and "education" in the ratio of an annual average of 20 per cent for each of the two former headings and 25 per cent for the latter. "Education" never in the earlier periods reached a figure as high as 10 per cent which is in marked contrast to the 25 per cent for the final period of the study. Two other categories which stand out in the fifth period above their earlier period averages in the weekly amount of county editorial space received are "recreation" and "health" with percentages of 10.8 and 11.4 respectively. The latter category, it will be observed from

Table XXXV, received no space at all during the first three periods while to the former only a negligible amount was allotted, less in fact than one column inch per annum for all the preceding periods. But more important than a quantitative analysis of the distribution of editorial space as an index of the change that has taken place in the Clinton County seat community is an analysis of the content of the editorials. Such an analysis seems to indicate three types of emphasis in the county editorials: first, that which pertains to the problems that are of interest to the locality of the county seat and its environs; secondly, that which is of primary concern to other villages within the county; and finally, that which stresses the county as a unit of social life. A considerable amount of county editorial space, as might be expected, belongs to the first of these three divisions. This is illustrated by a few brief excerpts from editorials taken from the fifth, or 1919 to 1929 period. For instance, in an editorial of September 6, 1923, classified under "merchandising", a sub-category of "economics", the editor exhorts local residents to show more consideration for the parking conveniences of farmers who trade in St. Johns.

What would you think and how would you feel if you were a farmer living near St. Johns and one who always traded here, to come to this city Saturday evening and to be unable week after week to find a place on or near the business street to park your car. --And then how would you feel if some acquaintance of yours who lives in the city told you that he always hurried home from work Saturdays to bring his car down town and park it on Clinton Avenue so that his family may have a convenient place to sit and watch the crowds.

In both the preceding editorial and the following one, which has been classified under "civics and philanthropy", a sub-heading of "government", there is implied a conscious effort on the part of the

editor to encourage non-county seat residents of the county to participate more freely in the life of the county seat. Such a generalization with reference to the latter editorial can only be made, perhaps, when it is explained that the city park about which the editor speaks has been made available to other county residents for picnics, family reunions, and similar functions. The editor writes under date of February 5, 1925 in the following complimentary manner of the local taxpayers who made the park possible:

Eight years ago this spring there was presented to the taxpayers of St. Johns the proposition of buying a tract of land upon which was growing beautiful trees, the last remaining grove in or near the city.. Those wise to the sentiments of St. Johns taxpayers predicted that the people would turn it down, in spite of the fact that the price was very reasonable. But the people of the city did not turn it down. They voted to buy it and today the city owns this tract and timber.

"Education" like other major categories includes a considerable amount of county editorial space which is concerned with the immediate locality of St. Johns. This is illustrated by an editorial of October 4, 1923 in which the editor points to the need of a new school building in St. Johns.

Each year the number of students in the school has increased. Each year the need for a new building has become more and more acute. Each year it was thought that conditions might be better another year. All of these hopes have proven false. It is no longer advisable that we build a school. It is mandatory.

Formal education in the city of St. Johns is stressed again in an editorial of June 22, 1927. In this editorial the editor mentions the fact that fifty young people were graduating from the St. Johns High School that week. He comments on the personal interest that the community has in their success.

The second emphasis in county editorial news, namely the emphasis on problems that pertain to other villages or localities within Clinton

County is illustrated by an editorial under the date of March 5, 1925. This editorial, which has also been classified under "education", reflects the editor's interest in promoting the welfare of other localities within the county as well as that of the county seat, as the following brief excerpt shows:

While it is not at all likely that neighboring districts would look upon the proposal with favor, right now would be a good time for adjacent country districts to join with the village of Ovid and build a consolidated school. It is only a matter of time when the little district school will be abandoned wherever it is possible. We fully realize that many will scoff at this statement and we are acquainted with all of the arguments against it.

More important to the problem of the Republican-News' reflection of the changing interests and changing character of its community is the third emphasis in the county editorials, namely, that which stresses the county as a social unit. This is brought out in a sub-category, "commerce and transportation" under which occurs approximately 30 per cent of all county editorial space devoted to economics. Some of the material under this sub-heading seemed to indicate a general recognition throughout the county of the county seat as the center of community life within the county, a condition which was not observable in the news and editorials in the eighties and nineties of the past century. For instance, the editor writes in an editorial of August 2, 1923:

The man who lives in Clinton County finds little or no difficulty in getting in and out of St. Johns. He knows from experience which is the best road to get him into town and the best way out. However, this is not true of the thousands of tourists who are travelling the state this time of the year. --- Speeding through the county these people are guided by signs. The state has the trunklines fairly well provided with signs, but St. Johns as a city has few if any signs through the county.

Another editorial dated October 4, 1928, classified under the same heading is entitled: "The M.21 Opening", that is the opening of

Michigan Highway number 21. This item stressed the fact that the opening of M. 21 made possible good all weather highway connections between the northern part of the county and the county seat. Later a special edition featuring the new highway and its relationship to the county seat with pictures of the new concrete pavement and pictures of the old mud holes that preceded it, was issued.

But the fact which stands out as most indicative of an enlargement of the community is a series of editorials sponsoring the Clinton County hospital. These editorials together with news items dealing with the advantages to be obtained from a local hospital were largely responsible for the erection of such an institution in 1927. For this accomplishment the editors of the Republican-News were awarded highest honors by the National Editorial Association of America for achieving the greatest community service of the year. The editors began their campaign by pointing out the benefits to the people of Clinton County to be derived from a hospital. Thus, for instance, in an editorial of June 4, 1925 the editors call attention to the fact that:

Statistics show that from 8% to 12% of the people who are operated upon for appendicitis in homes die. The records also show that between 1% and 2% of the operations for the same ailment in hospitals result fatally. There was a day when hospitals were looked upon with suspicion by a great many people. These institutions were supposed to be the temples of gruesome butchery. People know different today. Clinton County people are awakening to the benefits of a hospital as an instrument in the hands of a competent surgeon or physician.... There is another feature to the hospital question which should interest every man, woman, and child in this county. It can be explained by a statement made by Dr. Cabot, Dean of the Medical Department of the University of Michigan. Dr. Cabot says that today the very brightest and best medical students are refusing to go into communities where hospitals are not available.....

Numerous other editorials in support of the hospital appeared from time to time as the campaign proceeded. Editorial interest in the hospital did not lag even after the project was completed. Then the

emphasis was placed on the careful management and economical administration of the institution in order that it might more successfully serve the needs of the county.

EXTRA-COUNTY EDITORIAL SPACE. The remaining editorial material which includes all editorial matter with a geographic reference beyond the county contributes little, if anything, in addition to what has already been covered under total and county editorials to the problem of the rural weekly as an index of community change; therefore only a brief analysis of this type of editorial matter will be made. The small additional contribution of extra-county editorial space to the problem under consideration is due, of course, to the small amount of editorial space given to the county particularly during the years 1890 to 1920; consequently the data for extra-county editorial space is not significantly different from that for all editorial space which was shown in Table XXXIII. This is evident from an analysis of the distribution of extra-county editorial space which is presented in Table XXXVI.

A glance at Table XXXVI shows that a general weekly average of 85.2 per cent of all editorial space has been given to extra-county editorials. The figures for this type of material rises from a weekly average of 75.1 per cent in the first period to a weekly average of 94.2 for the next three periods and then drops to 67.3 per cent for the final, or 1919 to 1929 period. Further examination of Table XXXVI shows also that the space under "extra county editorials" have, like the data for all editorials, been classified largely under "government". In fact, a weekly average of 76.5 per cent of all extra county editorial space has been so classified for the first four periods as against 46.8 per cent for the final period. When compared with the data for all editorial space, the weekly averages for these same series of years are 70.9 and

TABLE XXXVI

WEEKLY AVERAGE AMOUNT OF EDITORIAL SPACE IN COLUMN INCHES
GIVEN TO EXTRA-COUNTY, ITS PERCENTAGES OF ALL EDITORIAL
SPACE, AND ITS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION TO
THE VARIOUS MAJOR CATEGORIES BY SELECTED
PERIODS

Years	Weekly average column inches	Percent- age of all editor- ial space	Percentage of space given to each major category							
			Economics	Family	Religion	Government	Education	Recreation	Health	Miscel- laneous
1881-1899	9.2	75.1	3.4	1.9	.4	83.0	6.5	1.1	1.0	2.5
1890-1899	11.5	90.2	11.9	1.4	---	73.3	11.4	.6	.4	1.0
1900-1909	8.8	97.3	16.6	1.2	.9	69.7	5.3	1.2	1.0	4.0
1910-1919	8.7	95.1	11.0	2.0	---	81.5	2.4	.3	1.3	1.5
1920-1929	21.1	67.3	17.7	.8	2.7	46.8	22.2	3.0	2.4	4.3
General average	11.9	85.2	12.3	1.4	.8	70.6	9.6	1.2	1.2	2.7

38.1 respectively. The space thus subsumed under "extra-county editorials", with the exception of the fourth or World War period when more space might be expected to be given to "government", shows a tendency to decline. This is indicated by the following percentages which for successive periods are: 83.0, 73.3, 69.7, 81.5, and 46.8 respectively. Like the data for all editorial space again the major portion of the extra-county editorial space given to "government" has been classified under the sub-heading, "politics". The annual average percentage for this category is 59.2 per cent for the first four periods and 28.5 per cent for the last one. Of the remaining space under "government" a weekly average of 10.4 per cent for the first four periods and 7.6 per cent for the final one has been allotted to the sub-heading, administration, which includes such topics as the functioning of national and state laws and governmental agencies.

Illustrations are: The national banking law, the Payne-Aldrich tariff, appropriations made by the state legislature, state game laws, state prison reports, and similar matters. The remaining space under "government" which amounts to but little more than 30 per cent of the total, has been distributed under the following six sub-categories: crime and graft, war and military, civics and philanthropy, legal news and civil suits, taxation, and miscellaneous, the three former ones receiving somewhat more of the remaining space than the three latter ones.

Only two other categories under "extra-county editorials" receive more than a general weekly average of 3 per cent of the total. These are "economics" and "education" with percentages for the various periods ranging from 3.4 to 17.7 and 2.4 to 22.2 respectively. "Economics" and "education" were also the only two categories other than "government", it will be recalled, included in the data for all editorial space with general weekly average percentages of more than 3.2 per cent. "Economics" in Table XXXVI shows some tendency to increase throughout successive periods, the only exception being the fourth or World War period when a decline from 16.6 per cent, the weekly average of the previous period, to 11.0 per cent is recorded. The editorial space under this category has been largely sub-classified under the three following minor headings: industry, commerce and transportation, and miscellaneous, with the largest percentage 34.7 going to the latter category and 76.5 per cent to the three categories combined. The high percentage under "miscellaneous" is accounted for by labor changes after the War, by the railroad shopmen's strike in 1922, and by general economic conditions, particularly during the decade after the War. The latter type of material is illustrated by the following editorial of August 4, 1921.

Our factories expanded to such an extent during the war that they are capable, running with full force and full time, to greatly over supply our home market. The cost of manufactured articles was so high during the war and a year afterwards, that the country is over stocked with high cost goods and buyers have been reluctant to take hold of them even at greatly reduced prices. The great slump in the price of farm products greatly reduced the buying ability of farmers, and while prices are coming down, and in many cases down to pre-war levels, business is not very brisk, throughout the country factories are running very light, and there is much unemployment and there has been labor trouble in the cities, especially in the building trades, because the men in these lines have refused to submit to lower wages.

Because of the small percentage of the total extra-county editorial space occurring under "education" in most of the periods studied only two, perhaps, deserve mention. These are the second and the fifth periods which show annual average percentages of 11.4 and 22.2 respectively. The minor categories to which most of this material has been allocated are non-formal and travelogue, the latter category receiving more than half, 53.8 per cent, of such space during the earlier period compared to 11.3 per cent for the later period while non-formal, the former category receives 33.5 per cent of the total for "education" during the first of the two periods under consideration in contrast to 80 per cent for the fifth or final period. The subject matter under "travelogue", it will be recalled, includes discussion of other places, cities, countries, or the habits and customs of other peoples; while "non-formal" covered such subjects as lectures, discussions of literary subjects, book review, magazine articles and reviews, literary clubs, and good advice on various topics by the editor.

It should be emphasized here again that one of the significant changes which occurs in the type and quantity of editorial matter dealt with takes place in the fifth or final period. This is evident in Table XXXVI from the marked reduction in the amount of total

extra-county editorial space given to "government" and the striking increase in the amount given to "education". The decline for "government", it will be recalled, was from a general weekly average of 76.5 per cent for the first four periods to 46.8 per cent for the final one; while for "education" the percentage increase rises from a general annual of 6.8 for the four previous periods to 22.2 in the fifth. This marked change, to which attention has been called previously, in the type and quantity of editorial matter stressed in the Clinton County Republican-News in the final period is, doubtless, partially due to a change in the ownership of the paper and in the attitudes of its editors, as well as to changes in technology and in social organization. However, it is more probable that the attitudes of the younger owner editors have been more deeply affected by technological and social organizational changes.

In summarizing the data on editorial matter, it should be pointed out that the large amount of space given to "politics" arises from the original purpose and nature of the Clinton County Republican which, as its name implies, was a politically partisan paper until 1923 when it was purchased by Schuyler Marshall and later in 1924 combined with the St. Johns News to form an independent paper, the Clinton County Republican News. As a Republican paper, of course, the Clinton County Republican always kept the banner of Republicanism flying from its editorial masthead.

The qualitative analysis of the data on politics seems to reflect three relatively distinctive editorial attitudes towards political issues which can be directly related to the problem of an expansion of community life around the Clinton County seat community. In the first

expression of opinion, which includes roughly the years from 1881 to 1900, the editors criticized and denounced all those who held opposite political views, whether local or distant residents, with careless abandon. This attitude was, undoubtedly, an outgrowth of the conditions of the time. The bitterness of the Civil War was still vivid in the minds of the older people and the names, Republican and Democrat, still represented to most people the two opposing parties of that war. Furthermore, the Clinton Republican was at that time the primary source of national and world news for its constituency as well as for news incident to the county and the local community; consequently it is logical to expect that the editors of the Republican should be more concerned over state and national political issues than about the problems of their own community or about the need of encouraging cooperation in promoting them.

The second editorial attitude, which characterized the years 1900 to 1919, while still partisan was marked by a milder tone of criticism of those who held opposing views on political issues. This attitude was, probably, the result of a number of changes in social, economic, political, and technological conditions which occurred between 1900 and 1920. Following the introduction of rural free delivery, for instance, the daily newspaper and weekly news magazine, doubtless, became the main source of national and foreign news compelling the Clinton Republican to concentrate on the news arising within the county. At the same time a rising price level brought economic prosperity and a feeling of general optimism while the World War fostered new political issues and a temporary orientation of the United States towards international economic and political problems. Moreover, during these two

decades new media of communication and transportation, such as the telephone and the automobile, were instrumental in increasing human contacts and lengthening the radii of community interactions.

The third editorial attitude is expressed in the editorials of the post-war decade when the Clinton Republican changed ownership and adopted a policy of independence in political matters. It was during this period that items on politics declined from a weekly average of 50.7 per cent for the four previous periods to 17.2 per cent of the total editorial space; and such items as did appear on the subject had lost their caustic tone and become quite impersonal and inoffensive in character. Furthermore, the abrupt rise in the amount of space allotted to county editorials in the final period gives more definite evidence of the concentration of attention on the county as a social unit. This delayed increase in county editorial space until the final period represents a lag in comparison with general news. The latter, it will be recalled, showed a tendency to increase throughout the three periods following 1900, reaching a figure in the 1920 to 1929 period of slightly more than three-fifths of all of the space for which a geographic reference was given. The emphasis, occurring in the final period in both county editorials and in general county news, on the county as a social and ecological unit stresses not only the problems of the county seat but problems of other localities within the county as well as their relation to the seat of county government.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY OF METHOD. It has been attempted in this study to show the role of a rural weekly newspaper in reflecting social change in its community. The hypothesis is that the weekly record kept by a rural newspaper of the incidents and events that take place, both within its community and the world at large, if analyzed over a sufficiently long period of time, will reflect like a moving picture the changing interests and changing character of the community.

Previous attempts at newspaper analysis were reviewed and evaluated. The earlier studies, it was pointed out, were too vague and too subjective to be of any scientific value. Later ones, however, have shown improvement and refinement until a rather generally standardized and accepted methodology has been achieved. This methodology consists of the linear column inch as the unit of measurement of newspaper content and the classification of the material under carefully defined headings depending upon the purpose of the investigator.

Because the purpose of this study differed from those of previous ones, certain deviations from their methodologies were necessary. In the first place, since it was desired to show the extent to which the newspaper reflects social change in its community, only a single paper representing a single community was selected for study; secondly, it was necessary that the period of time covered in the study should include a much greater number of years of the newspaper's history than had been done in

previous studies. It was also necessary to choose a period of time in the newspaper's history long enough to include the effects on the newspaper and on the community of the more important recent physical and social inventions. A period of about fifty years seemed adequate for this purpose. Furthermore, it was necessary to select a paper that was typically a rural weekly and one that represented a community which had remained essentially rural throughout the period to be covered by the study.

Further deviations in methodology concerned the amount and classification of newspaper content. In previous studies only the news was analyzed, while in this study both news and advertising have been included. Furthermore, since the emphasis in this study was placed on the newspaper's reflection of social change in its community, the attempt was made to classify the news, in so far as it was possible to do so, according to the major institutional relationships that make up community life. Some exceptions, however, were made in the case of such newspaper matter as has been classified under "personal items," "miscellaneous," "stories and fiction," and "pictures and cartoons" which either were not analyzed in detail or did not lend themselves readily to classification under the institutional headings. Briefly summarized, the NEWS was classified under the following headings: Economics, Family, Religion, Government, Education, Recreation, Health, Art, Personal Items, Stories and Fiction, Miscellaneous, and Pictures and Cartoons. The news under these major headings was again subclassified under fifty-three minor ones. ADVERTISING was classified under two major categories: Display and Non-display, and the space under these categories was again subdivided under seventeen minor headings. A further classification with reference to the geographic source

of origin of the news and advertising was also made. According to this scheme, the NEWS, with the exception of stories, magazine, and miscellaneous matter, all of which had no geographic reference, was classified under County, State, National, and Foreign; and the ADVERTISING, under County and Extra-County.

A newspaper and a community which met adequately the requirements of the purpose of the study were the Clinton County Republican-News and the Clinton County seat community which it serves. The files of the Clinton County Republican-News are complete and intact from 1880 to the present; moreover, the community which it represents has retained its rural character during this time. It was this paper which was selected for analysis, and the period 1881 to the beginning of the great depression in 1930 decided upon as a period sufficiently adequate for the purpose of the study. The entire space of the first issue of each month for the period 1881 to 1929, inclusive, totalling approximately 890,000 column inches of newspaper space was analyzed, measured, and classified. For purposes of comparing the data, the forty-nine years were divided into five subperiods, consisting of nine years for the first period and ten years for each succeeding one.

In attempting to interpret the findings of this study it is necessary to take into consideration the state of technological development and socio-political and economic conditions which characterized the period covered by the investigation. The data show consistent tendencies for changes in the amount and character of news and advertising to coincide with changes in technological and socio-political and economic conditions. The most marked of these changes occur around the years 1900 and 1920. These dates divided the forty-nine years of the Republican-News' history and of its role in reflecting social change in its community into three periods. These

periods indicate three rather distinctive phases of the life of the community.

COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE PRE-NINETEEN HUNDRED PERIOD AS REFLECTED IN THE REPUBLICAN-NEWS. In the first of these periods the population of Clinton County may be characterized as largely rural and pioneer. It was an era devoid of most of the modern means of communication and transportation. It lacked rural free mail delivery service, the linotype machine, the telephone, electricity, the automobile, the hard-surfaced highway, the aeroplane, the cinema, the radio, the public library, and other means which contribute to the expansion of human contacts and the comforts of living; furthermore, few daily newspapers and weekly and monthly magazines circulated within the community during this period. Lacking in the media of communication and transportation, the Clinton County seat community was relatively isolated and as a consequence compelled to depend upon its local weekly as its primary source of news of the outside world as well as for news of its own locality. At the same time the amount of local news that could be included was limited because the linotype machine, which was invented in 1889, had not yet become a part of the printing equipment of the Republican-News. Thus handicapped, the Republican-News was forced to resort to the services of the news' syndicates which supplied ready print materials or ready set type for most of its national and foreign news and much of its advertising. This conclusion is supported by the fact that a weekly average of 71.2 per cent of the total news space and 43 per cent of the total advertising space of the Republican-News in the pre-nineteen hundred period was classified as extra-county as compared to weekly averages for the thirty years that follow of 40.1 per cent and 15.7 per cent for news and advertising respectively. Much of the news

matter in this early period is of the nature of daily newspaper and magazine material and, doubtless, reflects the paucity of such material in the local community. Such newspaper matter as stories and fiction, which are in the nature of magazine material, received more than twice as much space in this period as for later periods.

Social life within the community, during this period, seemed to center more around each town and village than around the county seat. Moreover, the larger towns within the county published their own weekly papers; consequently they did not have to depend upon the county seat for local news. And, lacking most of the modern media of communication and transportation, each was relatively isolated from the other. This conclusion is substantiated by the small amount of news given to the county outside the county seat. For instance, only slightly more than one-half of the 28.8 per cent of the total news space devoted to the county was given to the county outside the county seat during this period. This situation is to be partially explained by the absence of the telephone, rural mail delivery, and well kept highways which rendered contacts with the area surrounding the community difficult.

Certain mental attitudes reflected in the news and advertising in this period must be interpreted in the light of the relative isolation of the population of the Clinton County seat community. For instance, the character of the advertising in the 1881 to 1899 period seems to reflect an ignorance of scientific medicine and a superstitious faith in the curative powers of patent medicines and appliances, for approximately one-fourth of the total advertising space or nearly three-fifths of all extra-county advertising was devoted to this type of matter.

The relative isolation of the community, together with the socio-

political and economic conditions of the times must be looked to for an explanation of the intense interest in government and particularly for the bitterness which characterized the politics of the day. More than one-half of the total editorial space during this period concerned politics alone.

The pre-nineteen hundred period was a period of social disorganization and readjustment following the Civil War. It was a period characterized by a falling price level and economic depression. Many theories were being advocated for the solution of common problems; furthermore, the intense feeling of the Civil War period, still vivid in the imagination of the older people, furnished a sort of political leaven around which the perennial politician "crying in the wilderness" shaped his argument. Lacking many of the modern media of communication, the number and variety of interests shared within the community were limited; consequently the few that were held in common were felt more intensely. In corroboration of this hypothesis, Coleman C. Vaughn, who for thirty years was editor of the Clinton Republican, makes the following remarks:

Years ago, when fewer daily papers were taken in the country, fewer magazines and weekly papers were circulated, there was no rural mail delivery, roads were poor, automobiles unknown, campaign years were the times when the people made whoopee. Torchlight processions, brass bands, banners of strange devices and political spellbinders made the welkin ring. I recall that during a gathering in the room now used as a dining room by the Episcopal ladies, William H. Castle, a lawyer who was not always discreet in his remarks, was knocked through one of the front windows. But that was an exceptional case and the window suffered most of the damage. Campaigns have changed along with everything else.....

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 1900 TO 1919 PERIOD AS REFLECTED IN THE REPUBLICAN-NEWS. The inception of the 1900 to 1919 period marked the beginning of a distinct change in the history of the Republican-News and in its reflection of social change within its community. It marked the decline

of extra-county news and advertising in the Republican-News and the rise of county news and advertising matter thereafter. Whereas the county was allotted a weekly average of 28.8 per cent of the total news space and 57 per cent of the total advertising space in the pre-nineteen hundred period, it received a weekly average of 58.9 per cent and 80.6 per cent, respectively, for news and advertising in the 1900 to 1919 period. In absolute amount county news increased from slightly more than one page per issue in the pre-nineteen hundred period to approximately four pages for the two decades that followed. This marked increase in the amount of news and advertising space given to the county following the pre-nineteen hundred period seems to be more directly related to rural free delivery and the linotype machine than to other factors, although other factors are involved. The introduction of rural free delivery in Clinton County, which was completed in 1903, enabled the metropolitan daily and the weekly news magazine to take over with greater efficiency the former function of the rural weekly in supplying extra-county news and advertising services for the rural community. The installation of the linotype machine, which also occurred about 1903, made it possible for the Republican-News to concentrate on the county and its own community. Moreover, with the increase in shop set news and advertising made possible by the linotype machine the services of the syndicate concerns, which had previously supplied most of the extra-county news and advertising, were gradually discontinued. This fact accounts for the marked decline in patent medicine advertising after 1910. Meanwhile, the marginal rural weeklies of Clinton County, unable to compete effectively with the city daily, weekly news magazine, and the more advantageously situated county seat weekly, declined in numbers or lost subscribers. As a result, many small towns and villages of the county became

more and more oriented toward the county seat for local news and advertising services. Furthermore, the widespread use of the telephone in the earlier part of the period and the automobile and improved highway after 1910 extended the radii of the Clinton County seat community and brought the smaller towns and villages in closer contact with it. This interpretation is substantiated by a 400 per cent increase in the absolute amount of news space given the county outside the county seat in contrast to an increase of slightly less than 200 per cent for the county seat alone in the 1900 to 1919 period. Expressed in terms of weekly average number of column inches per thousand people, the county area outside the county seat increased during the 1900 to 1919 period 600 per cent over the previous 19-year average, while the county seat increased slightly less than 50 per cent. County correspondence alone in the 1900 to 1919 period approximately quadrupled its pre-nineteen hundred average.

A rising price level, increasing industrialization, and a general optimism which characterized the years following 1899 tended to nullify the political issues which had grown out of a falling price level and the economic stress of the pre-nineteen hundred period. Moreover, the World War brought new interests and new problems which focused and unified the attention of the community around new issues. These factors are, doubtless, responsible for the decline in the amount of news space given to politics and for the milder tone reflected in the editorials concerning political issues, particularly during the latter part of the 1900 to 1919 period.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE POST-WAR DECADE AS REFLECTED IN THE REPUBLICAN-NEWS. In many respects the trends of social change noted in the post-World War decade are a continuation of trends reflected in the 1900 to 1919

period. Thus, for instance, the amount of advertising space given to the county shows a continuous increase from a weekly average of 80.6 per cent for the previous two decades to a weekly average of 91.7 per cent in the post-war decade. However, in absolute amount the increase is much more marked, being a weekly average of 714.5 column inches for the 1900 to 1919 period compared to a weekly average of 1509.5 column inches for the 1920 to 1929 period. Furthermore, like county news outside the county seat in the 1900 to 1919 period, advertising from this same area showed a pronounced increase in the post-war decade. To illustrate, in absolute amount the advertising space given to the county area outside the county seat in the 1920 to 1929 period more than doubled its previous two-decade average. These data indicate a continuation of the trend of orientation of the small county towns and villages with their surrounding areas toward the county seat. However, it reflects a lag of ten or more years between their orientation to the county seat for local news and their orientation for business purposes, but this lag is probably related to the automobile and improved highway which had come into more general use during the later period and made it less difficult to reach the county seat from the surrounding county area.

A significant difference between the 1900 to 1919 period and the 1920 to 1929 period relative to the Republican-News' reflection of social change in its community was a change in editorial policy. This change is reflected in a greater use of pictures and cartoon materials and in a shift in interests from politically partisan issues to county welfare. The space given to pictures and cartoons increased in the last period by more than 400 per cent above its previous twenty-year average. At the same time the amount of space given to both general political news and to

editorials on politics decreased. The greatest decrease occurred, however, under the latter, which declines from more than one-half the total editorial space for the previous thirty-nine years to approximately one-third as much for the last decade and becomes entirely impersonal. The conscious efforts of the editors of the Republican-News in promoting county and community welfare are best illustrated by a trebling of the editorial space devoted to county interests and county problems and by their sponsorship of such projects as the community hospital at the county seat, the extension of the concrete highway from St. Johns to the north county line, and a consolidated school at Ovid, the second largest town in the county.

The explanation for the change in editorial policy in the post-war decade is due, first, to a change in the ownership and editorship of the Republican-News and to all of the factors which, growing out of a more animated and enlightened age, have affected the attitudes of the younger editors; and, secondly, to the social and technological conditions which characterized the times. The Civil War had receded into a memory and had been superseded by the World War and its post-war problems. The expanding industrialization of the nation and the rapidly rising price level were attracting the youth to the urban centers. The continued improvement in the media of communication and transportation had expanded the range of contacts in the local community and at the same time made contacts with the outside world more effective, leaving no other course of action for the local paper but to concentrate on its own community and the county which it served.

The advancement in the technological and social inventions which have contributed most to the changing character of the Republican-News and its community is also characteristic of other rural communities in the United

States; and in so far as these and other conditions in these communities are similar to those of the Clinton County seat community, the same generalization with reference to their newspapers as indices of changes in their communities should hold.

APPENDIX

The various types of major categories for news and for advertising with their subdivisions and the types of news or advertising matter classified under each are listed below:

A. NEWS

I. Economic News.

1. AGRICULTURE. This heading includes items about the production, distribution, and consumption of all farm products both plant and animal. It includes also news about plant and animal diseases and their treatment as well as injuries to animals. Items pertaining to farmers' public sales and the purchase, use, or sale of farm machinery are listed here.
2. REAL ESTATE. Under this category are placed news articles dealing with the purchase or sale of land both rural and urban, land drainage, land leveling, and the construction or improvement of buildings and fences.
3. MERCHANDISING. This category comprises news about the buying and selling activities of merchants and their connections with commercial organizations and business associations. It also includes articles the purpose of which is to encourage the farmers to trade in St. Johns.
4. INDUSTRY. This heading covers the news about the production and consumption of all non-agricultural products, also statistics, forecasts, and statements about such products.
5. COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION. Under this heading is placed news that pertains to foreign or domestic trade, supplies of goods to be shipped or goods in transit, transportation rates, railroads, livery stables, automobiles, electric railways, roads, road signs, and other similar material.
6. PRICES OF PRODUCTS. News about the prices of all agricultural and non-agricultural products including stocks and bonds and public utility rates, such as gas, telephones, and electricity is included under this heading.
7. FINANCE AND INSURANCE. Here are listed all items that pertain to banking, money conditions, interest rates, methods of financing industry, international financial relations and conditions, and all types of insurance.
8. MISCELLANEOUS. This heading covers all news about working conditions, hours of labor, wages, strikes, unemployment, and union activities. Also news about all other economic activities not included in the above headings. Examples are: reviews of general business conditions at the end of the year, the need of keeping books in business, talks on prosperity, and discussion of the high cost of living.

II. Family News

9. FAMILY REUNIONS. News items about family reunions are included under this heading.
10. BIRTHS. This includes news about births and stork showers.
11. WEDDINGS. News about weddings, wedding announcements, wedding showers, wedding anniversaries, and elopements are listed under this category.
12. DIVORCES. Here are placed news items about divorces, desertions, bigamy, alimony settlements, annulments, and marital disagreements.
13. DEATHS. News about deaths, obituary notices, and suicides, are referred to in this category.

III. Religious News

14. CHURCH. Included under this heading are news, notes, or announcements of church activities such as prayer meetings, Sunday School, missionary societies, Ladies Aid, men's and women's religious organizations, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and notes about ministers in their official capacities.
15. SERMONS AND SUNDAY SCHOOL. Under this heading are recorded religious moralizing stories and syndicated sermons and Sunday School lessons.
16. MISCELLANEOUS. This includes religious news of a general nature, religious beliefs and philosophies, religious discussions and controversies, news about noted religious leaders and their activities, and also the broader activities of denominational organizations.

IV. Governmental News

17. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONING. Recorded here are all news items whether local, state, national, or international pertaining to administrative, judicial, or legislative governmental functioning. It includes, of course, news items about official governmental boards, committees, bureaus, departments, and the activities of the officials of such governmental bodies when acting in their official capacities.
18. POLITICS. Here are classified all news items, the underlying purpose of which is political, namely, to secure office for an individual or a party or to retain an office already held. This includes, of course, political campaigns, political party activities, discussions, plans, policies, platforms, conventions, and candidates.

19. **LEGAL NEWS AND CIVIL SUITS.** This category includes all news about litigation which does not involve criminal liability. It includes property suits and property settlements and suits brought against the local, state, or national government. It does not, however, include divorce proceedings. Such proceedings have been included under FAMILY.
20. **CRIME AND GRAFT.** This category includes all news items pertaining to the enforcement of or violation of local, state, or federal laws which involve fines, probations, and jail or penitentiary sentences.
21. **WAR AND MILITARY.** All news items in which the emphasis is on war, preparation for war, the prosecution of war, army and navy activities, stories about war, discussions of battles, and comments about war by military officers are placed under this heading.
22. **CIVIC ACTIVITIES AND PHILANTHROPY.** Under this heading are grouped such items as "Clean and paint up" activities, Red Cross work, social service and charity organization activities, benefit programs, community fund drives, and philanthropic projects.
23. **TAXATION.** This class comprises news items of a non-administrative or non-political nature about taxes and tax rates.
24. **MISCELLANEOUS.** This heading includes governmental news that cannot be clearly classified under any of the above headings. For example, news items which review the accomplishments of the local, state, or national government in such a way that the emphasis cuts across several of the minor headings is placed here.

V. Educational News

25. **FORMAL.** All news that pertains to schools, such as grade school, high school, college, or other schools and news about school officials acting in their official capacity, school policies, school books, school meetings, parent teachers' associations, school boards, and other school organizations and associations are classified under this heading.
26. **NON-FORMAL.** This includes news items about lecture courses, lectures, chautauquas, discussions of literary subjects, magazine articles, reviews of magazine articles and of books, comments about books, and literary clubs.
27. **AGRICULTURE.** Here are classified news articles about agricultural extension, home demonstration and 4-H Club work, county agents, Grange, farmers' clubs, special articles on agricultural methods, care of farm animals, and care of machinery.

28. SCIENCE, INVENTION, AND DISCOVERY. All items dealing with discussions of scientific subjects, scientific findings, inventions, and discoveries are listed here.
29. HISTORICAL INCIDENTS AND EVENTS. Under this heading is included all news of a historical nature, such as articles about the history of the locality, state, nation, and other nations, or items about historical epochs, biographical sketches, and such items as are entitled "Back Through the Years".
30. TRAVELOGUE. All letters or articles describing other places, cities, countries, or the habits and customs of other people are referred to this heading.
31. DOMESTIC HINTS. All items concerned with women's or men's styles, dress patterns, cooking recipes, care of children, beauty hints, and the like are recorded here.

VI. Recreational News.

32. SPORTS. Included under this heading are all types of athletic games, contests, and tournaments, such for example as baseball, football, basket ball, track, boxing, wrestling, golf, etc.
33. COMMUNITY FESTIVITIES. Under this heading are listed news items about holidays, picnics, patriotic and commemorative exercises and celebrations, county fairs, circuses, horse races, public dances, and the like.
34. AMUSEMENTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS. This heading comprises all items which pertain to vaudeville shows, medicine shows, and motion pictures. It also includes items about the personnel or the actors participating in such forms of amusements.
35. SOCIAL EVENTS. This category includes all social events that are not public in nature, such as card parties, dinner parties, private dances or other parties.
36. FRATERNAL ORDERS. Under this heading is placed all news concerning secret and fraternal organizations such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Woodmen, and similar fraternal orders. It also includes items about such organizations as the D.A.R., G.A.R., K.K.K., World War Veterans, and their officers when acting in their official capacities.
37. MISCELLANEOUS. News items pertaining to fishing, hunting, vacations, tourists activities and the like are referred to this category.

VII. Health

38. HEALTH AND SAFETY CAMPAIGNS. Under this heading is classified news about health, keeping well, health investigations, health laws, safety and sanitation, and hospital and safety campaigns. It also includes methods of healing diseases.

39. ACCIDENTS AND INJURIES. Here are tabulated all items emphasizing accidents and injuries.
40. MISCELLANEOUS. News pertaining to disease, epidemics, doctor's calls, dentists' services, and health statistics is placed here.

VIII. Art

41. MUSIC. Under this heading are classified news, announcements, or criticisms of music, musicians, musical recitals or performances.
42. DRAMA. Under this category are placed news, announcements, reviews, or criticisms of readings, plays, dramatic recitals or performances, both amateur and professional, and also news about those participating in such performances.
43. POETRY. Listed here are poems and news or criticism of poems or poets.
44. MISCELLANEOUS. This heading covers news, announcements, or criticisms of painting, sculpturing, or architecture as well as some news of those engaged in such activities.

IX. Personal Items

45. COUNTY SEAT PERSONALS. This category includes many short items, generally of less than one-half inch in length, which have their origin in the county seat. They pertain to the activities of the people in St. Johns.
46. COUNTY CORRESPONDENCE. As its name implies, this heading includes all items sent in by the county correspondents of the Republican-News from various neighborhoods and villages within the county.
47. STATE PERSONALS. Included under this heading are short personal items which pertain to the activities of prominent people living in the State of Michigan outside of Clinton County.
48. NATIONAL PERSONALS. This category includes short personal items which pertain to the activities of prominent people living in the United States outside the State of Michigan.

X. Stories and Fiction.

49. SERIAL STORIES, SHORT STORIES, JOKES, AND BITS OF WISDOM. Referred to this category are syndicated serial stories, short stories, news matters portraying unreal, humorous or ludicrous situations and conditions, and anecdotes.

XI. Miscellaneous

50. FILLER, WEATHER, AND UNCLASSIFIABLE MATERIAL.

XII. Pictures and cartoons.

51. COMICS AND CARTOONS. This heading includes graphic sketches, caricatures, comics and cartoons.

52. PHOTOGRAPHS. The space devoted to photographs of human beings is tabulated under this category.

53. MISCELLANEOUS. This class comprises all other non-news and non-advertising space, such for example as sketches or actual photographs of chickens, hogs, cattle, and the like.

B. ADVERTISING

I. Display Advertising

1. PATENT MEDICINE AND APPLIANCES. This heading includes display advertisements which emphasizes patent medicines, health appliances, or noted doctors.

2. WEARING APPAREL. Here are tabulated advertisements of all kinds of wearing apparel and also cleaning establishment ads.

3. FOOD. This division comprises grocery store, butcher shop, hotel, restaurant, and ice cream and soft drink parlor advertisements.

4. HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS. This category contains all advertisements about furniture, carpets, bedding, musical instruments, pictures, books, dishes, and cooking utensils. In fact, it includes everything used in the home except food, clothing, stoves and furnaces, the last two being listed under HARDWARE.

5. DRUG AND DEPARTMENT STORE. This category includes all general advertising by drug and department stores. Drug and department stores often called attention to all their merchandise in a few general sentences; and since drug stores, particularly in the later years, sold many articles which are also handled by department stores, it seemed advisable to classify such advertising matter under a special heading. However, when a department advertisement emphasized a single article, like food or clothing, or when a drug store advertised a patent medicine, such advertising material was referred to the proper category.

6. BUILDING MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT. Lumber, doors, windows, screens, glass, guns, coal, coke, furnaces, stoves, wall paper, paint, water softeners, coffins, or monument advertisements are brought together under this heading.

7. **TRANSPORTATION.** This heading includes railroads, interurban, livery stable, bus, automobile sales and services, and filling station and oil company advertisements.
8. **RURAL ADVERTISING.** Advertising matter pertaining to farm animals, public sales, auctioneers, trees, vines, grains, insecticides, carriages, wagons, and farm machinery are referred to this category.
9. **BANKING, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE.** This category covers all display advertising space devoted to banks, insurance (including fire, life, health and accident insurance), and real estate sales and transfers.
10. **AMUSEMENTS.** Under this heading are placed advertisements of circuses, cards and card games, pool halls, pool tables, movies, fishing and camping equipment.
11. **"HOUSE COPY".** This section includes the Republican-News own advertising copy.
12. **MISCELLANEOUS.** All display advertising matter which could not be definitely classified under other headings was referred to this category.

II. Non-Display

13. **LEGAL NOTICES.** This heading includes all proceedings which are required by law to be advertised, such for example as sheriff sales, chancery sales, tax sales, mortgage sales, proceedings of common council or board of supervisors, notice of teachers' examinations, city board meetings, and road contracts.
14. **BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL CARDS.** Attorneys' undertakers', physicians', surgeons', and dentists' professional cards giving information as to their location, office hours, etc., are classified under this category.
15. **BUSINESS LOCALS.** In the earlier issues of the Republican-News much advertising by local merchants was run in short items of a few lines under the heading, "Business Locals". This heading had been adopted here to cover such advertising matter. It also includes some items such as notices of local meetings and political announcements which were sometimes run among the "Business Locals".
16. **PATENT MEDICINE AND APPLIANCES.** This heading includes mainly health items written in an interesting and convincing manner as if they were bits of news but ending with a subtle recommendation of some particular cure-all nostrum. Often such items would hardly be recognized as advertising matter if it were not for the closing "adv." designation which is required by law.

17. MISCELLANEOUS. This category, of course, embraces all other advertising matter. It is principally represented, particularly in the later years, by that class of advertising commonly called "Want Ads", "For Sale", "Lost and Found", "For Rent", "Cards of Thanks", "Money to Loan", "Help Wanted", etc. Much of the earlier advertising under this heading consisted of real estate listed for sale or transfer, and excursions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, W. A., "Population Trends in New York State 1900-1930".
Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca,
New York, Bulletin 547.
- Atwood, M. V., THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER. A. C. McClurg, Chicago, 1923.
- _____ THE COUNTRY WEEKLY IN NEW YORK STATE. Cornell Univ-
ersity, Ithaca, N. Y., 1920.
- Barnes, Irene, "Changes in the Content of Minnesota Newspapers".
PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Vol. XXV, 1931.
- Beckman, F. W. and et al, WRITING FOR FARM AND HOME. Journalism
Publishing Co., Ames, Iowa, 1927.
- Bernard, L. L., AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Henry Holt and
Co., 1926.
- Bing, Phil C., THE COUNTRY WEEKLY. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1926.
- Bleyer, W. G., THE PROFESSION OF JOURNALISM. Atlantic Monthly Press,
Boston, 1918.
- _____ MAIN CURRENTS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM.
Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927.
- Boyle, J. E., RURAL PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. A. C. McClurg,
Chicago, 1921.
- Beuick, Marshall D., "The Social Tendency in Newspaper Editorials. I.
The Decline of the Political Editorial". SOCIAL FORCES, Vol. IV,
Sept., 1925, pp. 156-162.
- Cannon, Carl L., JOURNALISM, a bibliography. The New York Public
Library, 1924.
- Carpenter, Niles, SOCIOLOGY OF CITY LIFE. Longmans, Green and Co.,
New York, 1932.
- Cooley, Charles H., SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. Charles Scribner's Sons,
New York, 1920.
- Crawford, Nelson A., AGRICULTURE JOURNALISM. F. S. Crofts & Co.,
New York, 1931.
- Dawson, Carl A. and Gettys, Warne E., INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.
The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1929.
- Dewey, John, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926.

- Doane, Robert, THE MEASUREMENT OF AMERICAN WEALTH. Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1933.
- Ellwood, Charles A., PSYCHOLOGY OF HUMAN SOCIETY. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1926.
- Fenton, Frances, "The Influence of Newspaper Presentation upon Crime", THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. XVI., July 1910 and May 1911.
- Garth, T. R., "Statistical Study of the Contents of Newspapers", SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, Vol. III, January 22, 1916, pp. 140-144.
- Gillette, John M., RURAL SOCIOLOGY (revised edition). The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.
- Groves, Ernest R., SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EDUCATION. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1926.
- Harris, Emerson P., and Hooke, Florence H., THE COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER, ITS PROMISE AND DEVELOPMENT. Appleton and Company, New York, 1923.
- Harris, Frank, "Presentation of Crime in Newspapers". A Study of Methods in Newspaper Research. The Sociological Press, 1932.
- Hayes, Edward C., INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1915.
- Hoffer, C. R., "Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers". Special Bulletin 298, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1939.
- House, Floyd N., THE RANGE OF SOCIAL THEORY. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929.
- Kingsbury, Susan M., Hart, Hornell, and associates, NEWSPAPERS AND THE NEWS. G. P. Putnam's Sons., N. Y., 1927.
- Leven, Maurice, Moulton, Harold G., and Warburton, Clark, AMERICA'S CAPACITY TO CONSUME. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.
- Leupp, F. E., "The Waning Power of the Press". ATLANTIC MONTHLY, Vol. 105, February 1905, p. 145.
- Lippman, Walter P., LIBERTY AND THE NEWS. Harcourt Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.
- Lumley, Frederick E., PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1928.
- Lundburg, George A., "The Newspaper and Public Opinion", SOCIAL FORCES, Vol. 4, June 1926, pp. 709-715.

- Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M., MIDDLETOWN, A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.
- Mathews, B. C., "Study of a New York Daily". THE INDEPENDENT, Vol. 68, January 13, 1910.
- McKenzie, R. D., THE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933.
- _____ "Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community" in R. E. Park, THE CITY.
- Park, Robert E., "The Natural History of the Newspaper". AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 29, November 1923, p. 273.
- _____ "The Yellow Press". SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH, Vol. 12, September-October, 1927, pp. 1-11.
- _____ and Burgess, Ernest W., INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY. The University of Chicago Press, 1924.
- _____ Burgess, Ernest W., and McKenzie, Roderick, D., THE CITY. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925.
- Queen, Stuart Alfred and Thomas, Lewis Francis, THE CITY A STUDY IN URBANISM IN THE UNITED STATES. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1939.
- Radder, Norman J., NEWSPAPERS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE. McGraw-Hill Co., 1926.
- _____ THE SMALL CITY DAILY AND THE COUNTRY WEEKLY. Indiana University Book Store, 1927.
- Reuss, Carl F., "Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers". Bulletin No. 387, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, Feb. 1940.
- Reuter, E. B., and Hart, C. W., INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGY. McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., New York and London, 1933.
- Riley Jr., John Winchell, "The Country Weekly as a Sociological Source". AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 39-46.
- Ross, Edward A., PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. The Century Company, New York, 1930.
- Safley, James C., THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1923.
- Salmon, Lucy Maynard, THE NEWSPAPER AND THE HISTORIAN. Oxford University Press, 35 West 32 Street, New York, 1923.
- Simpson, George E., "Negro News in the White Newspapers of Philadelphia". PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Vol. 25, March 1931, pp. 157-159.

Southerland, Robert L. and Woodward, Julian L., INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY.
J. B. Lippincott Co., Chicago, 1937.

Speed, J. G., "Do Newspapers Give the News?". THE FORUM, Vol. XV,
August, 1893.

Steiner, Jesse F., THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN ACTION. Henry Holt and Co.,
New York, 1928.

_____, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. The Century Company, New York,
1930.

Taylor, C. C., "The Country Newspaper as a Town-Country Agency". Pro-
ceedings of the Fourth National Country Life Conference, 1921.

_____, "The Rural Press as an Educational Agency". Proceedings
of the Fifth National Country Life Conference, 1921.

Tennal, Ralph, MODERN TYPE OF COUNTRY JOURNALISM IN THE COMING NEWSPAPER.
Henry Holt and Co., New York.

Tenney, Alvan A., "Scientific Analysis of the Press." THE INDEPENDENT,
Vol. 73, October 17, 1912, pp. 895-8.

Thaden, John F. "The Lansing Region and its Tributary Town-Country
Communities", Bulletin 302, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan
State College, East Lansing, April, 1940.

Thrasher, Frederick M. THE GANG. The University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

White, William Allen, "The Country Newspaper" HARPERS, May 1916, 132: p. 89.

Wilcox, Delos F., "The American Newspaper", ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY
OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, Vol. XVI, 1900.

Wiley, Malcolm M., THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER. The University of North Car-
olina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926.

_____, "Influence of Cultural Change Upon the American News-
paper", PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1929,
pp. 180-195.

_____, and Weinfeld, "The Country Weekly: Trends in Numbers
and Distribution, 1900-1930". SOCIAL FORCES, 1934, 13, 51-56.

_____, "Quantitative Methods and Research in Journalism",
JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 12, pp. 255-265, 1935.

Wissler, Clark, MAN AND CULTURE, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1923.

_____, SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929.

Wolf, A., ESSENTIALS OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD. The Macmillan Co.,
New York.

Young, Kimball, AN INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. American Book Co.,
New York, 1934.

_____, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, Crofts, New York, 1930.