INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

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

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9208822

The history of the journalism program at Michigan State University

Morton, Jerry Lee, Ph.D.

Michigan State University, 1991

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE HISTORY OF THE JOURNALISM PROGRAM AT MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

By

Jerry Lee Morton

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Administration

1991

ABSTRACT

THE HISTORY OF THE JOURNALISM PROGRAM AT MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

By

Jerry Lee Morton

The study explores the history of the Michigan State University journalism program from the offering of the first journalism course in 1910 to the establishment of the College of Communication Arts in 1955. The work is based on interviews with journalism educators and former students and documentation found largely in the Michigan State University archives and the State Library of Michigan, including the letters and memoranda of University officials and a variety of University and general periodicals. The narrative describes the two major traditions in the development of journalism education in the United States and the place of Michigan State's program within those traditions. The study discovered that there were two currents in the history of journalism education in America. The first, based on the Joseph Pulitzer model, stressed the traditional role of the press as a social and political force and viewed the institution as reporter, interpreter and societal critic. The second, the one that influenced Michigan State, was the philosophy of the agricultural colleges, that held that journalism education should teach students to apply their skills to assist farmers. Over time, the study found, the Michigan State program shifted its focus from the farmer to the rural and small town population more generally, by adopting an emphasis on rural journalism, the journalism of the small town. Following World War II, Michigan State again changed its program to align it more closely with schools offering a metropolitan approach

to journalism education. This change in emphasis resulted in the University's making journalism a part of a new College of Communication Arts, reflecting University administrators' interest in mass communication theory.

FOR TOM AND TAFFY COFFEY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BEGINNINGS

There were two major currents in the early history of journalism education. The first viewed the press as primarily a social and political force. According to that approach, the purpose of journalism education was to teach future practitioners how best to understand those forces and, by applying their skills, to describe, interpret or influence the events that those forces shaped. That theme may be traced from the founding of a certificate program at Cornell University through the establishment of courses at the University of Pennsylvania and several Midwestern schools to the opening of the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia, the school which epitomized that approach. The second, the one that shaped MAC, was the philosophy of the agricultural colleges. Underlying that current was the idea that journalism education could teach students to apply their skills in a more narrowly-defined way -- toward the understanding of agriculture -- and, in so doing, aid the schools in their major mission of assisting farmers .

When the Michigan Agricultural College offered its first class in journalism in April 1910, the question of whether such a course belonged in a university had already been answered. By then, the issue had been debated for more than 40 years and, by one account, instruction in journalism was being offered in 18 other colleges and universities when MAC established its first course.[1] Most of those programs and classes, however, had developed with very different purposes from the course at the Michigan Agricultural College. Indeed, they had flowed from a traditional understanding of the role of the American press and, therefore, of the approach best suited to educating its future practitioners.

The issue of whether journalism should be taught in college had been debated among the leading professors and practitioners of the day. Journalism was a trade, one argument went, and, as such, it should be taught where it had always been taught: on the job. Among the advocates on the other side were Harvard University President Charles Eliot and New York World publisher Joseph Pulitzer, who "realized that journalism had become a major social force"[2] and, in embracing the idea of college training for journalists, sought to determine how colleges and universities might best prepare future journalists to enter an occupation "recognized in every quarter as of the highest importance in the political, social, and material progress of the country."[3] The fact that this view of the press was held by leading college presidents and publishers, who represented well-established schools and metropolitan newspapers, has greatly influenced the writing of journalism history. The names of Eliot and Pulitzer, for example, are prominent in any comprehensive story of journalism education and, in fact, their contributions cannot be ignored.

At the same time, the new course at the Michigan Agricultural College, as at a few similar schools before then, had been created not because the press was viewed as a national social force but because there was a need for providing information about MAC's reason for being -- agriculture -- to the people the school was trying to reach -- the farmers. Under that interpretation, and consistent with the mission of the college, students who learned to gather and report information could one day prepare reports for the College's agricultural experiment station, edit a farm magazine or publish a weekly newspaper in a rural community, each reflective of the school's land-grant philosophy of turning out "educated farmers, educated gardeners, and educated mechanics, and to create and disseminate a taste for improved agriculture"[4] and the precept that "knowledge itself was regarded as having little value unless applied to the immediate concerns and problems of the workaday world."[5] Like Pulitzer and Eliot, professors at the agricultural schools were aware that journalism had the capacity to perform a social good -- to help farmers, for example. At the same time, the definition of journalism at MAC lacked a significant element implicit to the understanding of journalism as defined by Pulitzer and Eliot -- that the role of the newspaper was not merely to provide information but to serve as a social critic, to recognize and take a critical stance against societal wrongdoing.

Younger than the earliest schools offering journalism education, holding a narrowly-defined purpose and removed, geographically, from the metropolitan editors who might take up their cause, the agricultural colleges remained outside the national debate on the value of classroom training for journalists.

While the early courses at Cornell and Pennsylvania, for example, showed that journalism classes belonged in a university, the programs at Iowa State

and the Michigan Agricultural College proved that the subject could be redefined to meet a somewhat different purpose. To understand the history of the journalism program at Michigan State University, then, is to understand both the events leading to the establishment of journalism courses in American higher education and, from there, the special currents that led to the first class in journalism instruction at MAC.

Traditionally, the history of journalism education in the United States begins with Gen. Robert E. Lee's creation of fifty journalism and printing scholarships at Washington College in 1869.[6] The course itself was meager. Its purpose was to train youth in helping rebuild the post-Civil War South.[7] Its significance to journalism education is largely in its being the first, a way of marking the beginnings of both an educational approach and the debates that would follow. General Lee, the college president, had asked the board of trustees that 50 scholarships be established "for young men intending to make printing or journalism their profession." Although the board approved the request and notices of instruction in journalism appeared in the Washington College catalog until 1878, there is no evidence that any of the scholarships were ever awarded.[8] Because no courses were ever taught, and because the project was geared to fit only a specific time and place, the Lee proposal should be remembered as merely having posed the idea of college training for journalists, rather than establishing a model for others to follow.

The debate that followed in the 1870s, however, is worth noting, both in content and because those entering the debate represented editors of major newspapers of general circulation who viewed their papers, above all, as the "major social force" described by Pulitzer. The most telling insights into the views of those editors were gathered in the book Views and Interviews on

Journalism by Charles F. Wingate, a New York newspaperman, published in 1875. In it, he interviewed 27 writers and editors on the subject of the work of news reporters and editors and the matter of collegiate journalism training. The responses give insight into the thinking of the day.

For example, when asked his opinion on the best method of newspaper training, Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal replied: "There is but one school of journalism and that is a well-educated newspaper office. To be sure, this may be preceded by a certain special course of study in political economy and belles-lettres. But versatility of talent and accomplishment -- which, as a rule, is a drawback -- is in journalism a prime necessity, and this cannot be acquired within the narrow compass of an editorial college. I don't believe a journalist can be made to order. I have tried it under favorable conditions and failed; whilst, on the other hand, I have seen some most unpromising beginners come out amazingly."[9]

Wingate asked Horace White, a former editor of the Chicago Tribune, what he considered the proper training for a journalist. His answer: "I think that journalists must train themselves by practice in the several departments of the profession. It is the province of the superintending editor mainly to point out the errors of his subordinates. This is all the necessary or useful training which a young journalist can secure from his superior. The rest must be acquired through his own observation and experience. A superintending editor will, of course, give general, but seldom detailed or minute, instructions to his subordinates. The chief editors would come up through the forecastle. It is not impossible that a successful chief editor should take his place from another walk of life, without previous training in subordinate places, but I should always think that his usefulness and success would have been much greater for such

training." As to whether a school of journalism was possible, White said: "I do not think that there is room for a distinctive school of journalism, though such a school is possible, just as a swimming school is possible. The ordinary curriculum of colleges might be better adapted to the requirement of journalism by adding to it the study of commerce and international law and, enlarging the course of political economy."[10]

Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune, was one of the few metropolitan editors who favored professional education for journalists. The education level of journalists entering the New York field, he said, had improved during the 1870s over the previous decade. "I know the Tribune, about which there has been a popular idea, once falsely attributed to its editor, that 'of all horned cattle he least like to see a college graduate in his office,' there is scarcely a writer who is not a college graduate," he said, "while, indeed, two-thirds or more of its reporters are, to use the vague phrase, men of liberal education." Newspapers, he said, gave young reporters good journalistic training, "but we shall see the time when the strictly professional education of journalists will be far better than it is now."[11]

More important than an editorial endorsement, the support of journalism education by Cornell University President Andrew Dickson White gave the movement credibility at a time when it needed the backing of a national figure. White said that his own "natural inclination should have been toward journalism" but that, at that time, "men did not prepare for it; they drifted into it."[12] Instead of merely advocating courses, he oversaw creation of a two-year "certificate in journalism," the nation's first.[13] Although records show that only one such certificate was granted (in 1876), the idea created "a minor phenomenon,"[14] somewhat as Lee's had, among practitioners and professors.

Because the program produced a graduate, and because its content reflected the prevalent attitude of the day -- journalism as a social and political force whose study should require an understanding of those forces -- the Cornell program marked the beginning of journalism education in the United States. The Cornell certificate program, while offering no "special course" in journalism, required students to learn "the art of printing" under "the Director of the University Press to such an extent that they will be able to take charge of an office and do book and job work by themselves."[15] The program, however small, was a building block in the history of journalism education.

As other journalism courses began to take shape, in a variety of universities and within a variety of departments, they shared the Cornell idea. That is, journalism, while taught as a "practical" subject, belonged in an academic setting among courses that would help future journalists understand newspapers, society and the relationship between the two. Further, former newspaper reporters and editors developed those courses, often preceded by the public support of a college or university president.

David Russell McAnally, for example, an English professor who had written for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, taught a History of Journalism course at the University of Missouri, the first attempt at "a systematic presentation of the growth and development in that field."[16]

The first journalism course at the University of Michigan, though taught by a rhetorician, had the support of a former newspaper editor, President James B. Angell. "If I have had any success in life," Angell said, "it is due to my experiences while editing, for several years, a daily newspaper. It makes a man a hard worker. It makes a man a minute man -- always ready. It teaches him simplicity, directness and compactness, all very very useful in his after

life."[17]

Fred Newton Scott, a former reporter for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, taught Rapid Writing in the Department of Rhetoric in 1890, a course "open only to such as receive special permission."[18] By 1910, the university offered "general" and "special" courses in newspaper training and, using terminology similar to that of Cornell, awarded "a special certificate" to any student who, while meeting the requirements for the bachelor's degree, completed one of those courses.[19]

The first curriculum in journalism, at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, was created through the efforts of two newspaper editors, Eugene Camp and Joseph French Johnson. Camp, a member of the editorial staff of the Philadelphia Times, inspired the series of courses through an address, "Journalists, Born or Made?" delivered to the Alumni Association of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance . In it, Camp outlined attempts to give instruction in journalism in the colleges and questioned whether such efforts could be beneficial, asking: "Granting ability and aptitude, can oral and written instruction accomplish as much for the future journalist, as for the future lawyer, doctor or divine? If the learner knows ideas when he sees them, can he as well be taught the selection of those that will combine in the making of a good newspaper or magazine, as those that will argue well to a jury, act well on the sick, or preach well to a congregation?"[20]

Camp's presentation, and his request that such a program be adopted at the Wharton School of Finance, led to the establishment of the curriculum and to the "convincing evidence of the value of the undertaking."[21] To implement the plan, the university hired Joseph French Johnson, an editor with the Chicago Tribune. Camp's approach was not one of training students fully for newspaper

work but to give training that would be useful in newspaper offices. He preferred to call his program "courses for journalism," saying that, although he favored the idea, neither the University of Pennsylvania nor the press was ready for a "school" of journalism.[22]

The placement of journalism within a business school was due to Camp's call for "the professionalization of journalism." Wharton was a professional school. Further, the university authorities "had very little in the form of concrete curricula in journalism" to determine where several journalism courses might best be placed.[23] Though part of a business program, the curriculum followed the traditional theme of newspapers as a social and political force. That is, Camp chose a former editor of a major newspaper, rather than a publisher or business manager, to conduct the program. Furthermore, the University of Pennsylvania, through its "practice" course, was the first school to utilize a city, Philadelphia, as a news laboratory in which students handled assignments regarding university functions and city politics.[24]

During that same period, the 1890s, the movement for journalism education gained momentum elsewhere as the universities of Iowa, Indiana and Nebraska offered news writing through their English Departments.[25] Like most previous courses at other schools, the new ones were single offerings lodged within established departments.

As yet, there had been no serious talk of a journalism "school." That changed in 1903, however, when Joseph Pulitzer not only talked about a school of journalism but announced his plans to contribute two million dollars to establish one at Columbia University.[26]

Specific plans for a new school aside, the names "Pulitzer" and "Columbia" symbolized a combination of power and prestige in the newspaper

and academic worlds of the early 1900s. At a time when newspapers were, indeed, among the strongest social and political forces of the era -- as reporters, interpreters and critics -- Pulitzer had learned to read and direct those forces in building his publishing empire. And at a time when study in a diverse and respected university curriculum, in concert with newly-created journalism courses, had emerged as the way for future journalists to better comprehend those forces, Columbia, an Ivy League school located in America's largest city, was an ideal setting to do just that.

Pulitzer, in fact, made that point in announcing that the school would provide new courses in journalism techniques in addition to classes already being offered by the university.

"If the undergraduate and graduate courses in literature, in history, in political and economic science, and in other subjects which are of especial importance to journalists, shall be coordinated and developed with the special purpose of training men for journalism," he said, "and if these courses shall be supplemented, as is proposed, by such technical instruction in purely professional matters as may wisely be undertaken by the University, there is no reason to doubt that the new school will amply justify itself."[27]

His concern about the proper academic direction of the school became immediately apparent with the naming of an advisory board. Those appointed to that eight-member board included Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot and former Cornell University President Andrew Dickson White who had overseen creation of journalism's first "certificate" program nearly three decades before.[28]

Eliot had long advocated college training for those in the "intellectual professions." In his view, most people "engaged in the intellectual professions

-- law, medicine, journalism, science, public service, industrial leadership -- were not liberally educated."[29] Part of the reason, he believed, was "the antiquated state" of the school and college curricula. "When institutions of learning cut themselves off from the sympathy and support of large numbers of men whose lives are intellectual," he said, "but refusing to recognize as liberal arts and disciplinary studies languages, literatures, and sciences which seem to these men as important as any which the institutions cultivate, they inflict a gratuitous injury both on themselves and on the country which they should serve."[30]

Despite Eliot's interest in journalism education, no journalism curriculum emerged at Harvard. After studying the Pulitzer plan for training newspaper workers, just prior to the establishment of the school at Columbia, Eliot informed a Pulitzer associate that Harvard would make "profitable use" of any endowment offered for the creation of a journalism program. "If the sum would be used here at Harvard University," he said, "the project would have the advantage of numerous courses appropriate for young men who mean to be journalists which are already given at the University every year -- such for instance, as courses on recent history, on the history of English, on government, jurisprudence, diplomacy, sociology, finance, statistics, economics, ethics, psychology, the history of art, and the principles of design." When the Pulitzer gift was announced four months later, Eliot said that it seemed to him that "Mr. Pulitzer came to the right conclusion, under the circumstances, when he decided to give his great endowment to Columbia University."[31]

The journalism courses listed for the Pulitzer School included Newspaper Administration, Newspaper Manufacture, The Law of Journalism, Ethics of

Journalism, History of Journalism and The Literary Form of Newspapers. Significant, too, were the courses Pulitzer chose not to include in the proposed curriculum. Missing were classes in advertising, business management or circulation. One of the leading newspaper financiers of the day, Pulitzer nevertheless believed that a journalism school was a place for idealism and, as such, should be restricted to the theory and practice of the newsroom.[32]

Pulitzer's idea that journalism education should include study of the press and society, rather than merely offering technical training, received both high praise and criticism from the nation's editors. An editorial in the Outlook a week after Pulitzer's announcement called the proposed undertaking "one of the most interesting educational experiments of our time." Further, the magazine stated, "that the Columbia School of Journalism will in time have a perceptible influence on the press of the country as regards dignity, breadth of view, and thoroughness of method can hardly be doubted."[33]

Some critics used the announcement to refuel long-held beliefs against journalism education of any kind. Others who had generally opposed such education, however, endorsed the move, largely out of respect for the man and the university.

In the North American Review for March 1904 Horace White, editor of the Chicago Tribune, said: "In reply to questions addressed to me by the editors of the World some months ago, I said that I could see no need of a School of Journalism. I am, nevertheless, glad that Columbia University has been supplied with the means to establish one." [34]

Pulitzer responded to his critics in the article "The College of Journalism" which was published in the North American Review in May 1904. The teaching of journalism, he said, was not merely a matter of teaching methods but of how

those methods could be best applied. Here, again, Pulitzer spoke of the newsroom as a place for idealism. "Not to teach typesetting, not to explain the methods of business management, not to reproduce with trivial variations the course of a commercial college," he said. "This is not university work. It needs no endowment. It is the idea of and for the community, not commerce, not for one's self, but primarily for the public, that needs to be taught. The School of Journalism is to be, in my conception, not only not commercial, but anti-commercial. It is to exalt principle, knowledge, culture, at the expense of business if need be. It is to set up ideals, to keep the counting-room in its proper place, and to make the soul of the editor the soul of the paper."[35]

Although the School of Journalism did not open until the fall of 1912, a year after Pulitzer's death, the Pulitzer plan's ambition and attempt to prove the value of journalism education to editors and educators -- provided impetus for journalism programs elsewhere. Between 1903 and 1912, in fact, 19 schools initiated journalism instruction, compared with nine in the previous 34 years since General Lee had proposed the printing scholarships at Washington College.[36]

Among them were several in the Middle West that taught journalistic skills while requiring students to acquire a broad background through coursework in many departments.

That principle was evident in the nation's first four-year journalism curriculum, offered in 1904 under the direction of Frank W. Scott, a former newspaper editor, at the University of Illinois. In setting up the course of study, Scott organized the offerings of his department and "correlated them effectively with the educational opportunities afforded by the entire university."[37]

A year later, journalism was introduced at the University of Wisconsin

where "the ideas outlined by Pulitzer in 1903 had steadily influenced developments." The plan, established by Willard G. Bleyer, of the English Department, went beyond the Pulitzer plan in the commitment to university courses outside journalism. That is, Bleyer saw journalism education "not merely in terms of the techniques of writing -- though at first this was quite naturally the main approach -- but increasingly in terms of historical, social, and economic forces affecting the newspaper and magazine world."[38] For that reason, the curriculum stressed the basic social sciences as well as psychology, languages and literature.

The course at Missouri, which opened the nation's first journalism school in 1909, bore similarities to the programs at Illinois and Wisconsin. Though far removed from Joseph Pulitzer and the metropolitan setting of which the New York World and Columbia University were a part, the school established by Dean Walter Williams, a former newspaper editor, shared with Pulitzer the idea that a good journalist must understand not only the craft of journalism but the society in which it is to be applied. The distinctive feature of the school was its use of the laboratory method, an approach that attempted to simulate the newsroom in the classroom while offering courses in news reporting and news editing."[39]

At the University of Michigan, meanwhile, students and alumni, aware of the Pulitzer plan and the school at Missouri, called for an expansion of the journalism program which, over the years, had consisted of a single course supplemented by credit received for work on the student newspaper. The Michigan Alumnus, in supporting a program, said that "there is no doubt but that the whole field of journalism can be improved and the best way, of course, is to give the man, entering upon this career, better training, a broader

education and higher ideals -- the legitimate function of the University."

The Michigan Board of Regents approved a "special course designed to fit students for work in journalism" with the understanding that the move would not cause additional expense. Instead of creating a school or journalism department, the Board had allowed for a "co-ordination of courses" within the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts that would include eight hours of "practical newspaper work" within curricula already being offered by the Department.[40] It answered critics who said the University had done nothing new: [the University of Michigan News-Letter] "A chance is afforded to pursue those university courses which will give the prospective newspaper man some idea of the perplexing questions of the time, and their foundation in history if they happen to be questions of long standing."[41]

By the time journalism education had arrived at the Michigan Agricultural College, then, many other programs had already been attempted or established. They ranged from the short-lived certificate program at Cornell University to journalism schools at Missouri and Columbia. They included Illinois and Wisconsin, which sought to integrate journalism courses with other offerings while creating journalism departments, and the University of Michigan which acknowledged the need for some journalism training while believing that such a "special course" should remain within the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts.

What these programs shared was the belief that journalism skills -- reporting, writing, editing -- could be taught in the classroom as well as in the newsroom, a topic of nationwide debate a few decades earlier. The schools differed on how best to teach those skills -- from eight hours of "practical newspaper work" at Michigan to the introduction of a "laboratory" approach at

Missouri. At the same time, almost all programs established by 1910 shared the view that those skills would one day be used to describe, interpret and influence events to provide critical analysis for readers living in a complex society and that, to be prepared, the future journalist would benefit most from courses that would examine, as the Michigan News-Letter had said, "the perplexing questions of the time."

Against that background, it is not surprising that journalism historians have emphasized the roles of Pulitzer and Pennsylvania and Missouri in journalism education while overlooking the contributions of the agricultural colleges -- and not merely because Pulitzer, Pennsylvania and Missouri accounted for "firsts." That is, in contrast to Columbia and Pennsylvania, MAC, a small school established outside the "frontier village"[42] of Lansing and remote from metropolitan newspapers, had no benefactors of nationwide reputation to build, develop and publicize a program as Pulitzer had done in New York or Camp had done in Philadelphia. More significant, to many, agricultural journalism was merely a specialty outside the "major social force" of metropolitan journalism whose practitioners focused upon a small slice of society and whose work appeared on farm pages hidden inside a newspaper or in magazines of interest to a relatively small number of readers.

To take that view, however, is to overlook another journalistic "social force" of the nineteenth century -- the agricultural press -- and how its presence, intertwined with the growth of the agricultural colleges, encouraged the birth of several journalism programs which, in the twentieth century, would become among the nation's largest.

To begin, agricultural newspapers and magazines were more much than specialty publications to the people of Michigan in the mid-nineteen century.

Community newspapers were devoted largely to political opinion and news about internal improvements, such as new roads and post offices. "And then the readers usually looked for a story each week, a poem, and a column on agriculture."[43]

In 1840, Detroit, Michigan's largest city, had a population of only 9,102.[44] The vast majority of the state's 212,267 residents lived in rural areas with 86.6 percent of those employed working in agriculture.[45] For that reason, a single column on agriculture, or even several columns, in a community newspaper was hardly enough for Michigan farm families. So they turned to the newspapers and magazines of the agricultural press.

An early textbook on agricultural journalism stated that agriculture is comprised not merely of "the application of scientific practices to the tillage of the soil and to the raising of livestock" but to economic matters and the social and ethical problems of establishing a sound rural community and to the adjustment of agriculture and related activities to modern civilization. "To present all these things to all interested persons through newspapers and periodicals constitutes the field of agricultural journalism."[46]

The birthdate of that field is usually given as April 2, 1819, when John S. Skinner established the American Farmer in Baltimore.[47] By the middle of the century, farm journals had begun to flourish. In 1850, more than thirty farm periodicals were being published, having about 100,000 readers. Ten years later, the publications had grown to between fifty and sixty, the circulation more than a quarter of a million.[48] The papers and magazines had succeeded because they offered information and advice that farmers could not obtain elsewhere. On a deeper level, they represented a specialty journalism, speaking, as they did, to and for a rural population distant from the people and

papers of the city. In describing the special quality of the farm newspaper, a Massachusetts agriculture official said: "There is in its pages a common ground where all conflict ends; a platform upon which all can stand; a creed which all can believe. And who does not know the inward peace and satisfaction with which the unhappy voyager across the stormy surface of a partisan press finds repose in these columns, which remind him of the calm and steady and luxuriant promises of nature, of growing crops and of animals devoted to the 'service of man?' And more: Who does not know that whatever progress has been made in agriculture has received its stimulus and direction from these same columns?"[49]

The Michigan Farmer, established at Jackson in 1843, was typical of the early farm journals. In it, the editor vowed to "traverse the State, and find out what sort of farmers we have got here in Michigan" and "how they are getting along under the difficulties and hardships and privations of a new country."[50] In addition to presenting the news, the magazine supported farm interests through its editorials. Among the first was an editorial advocating, by "hook or crook," the establishment of an agricultural warehouse and seed store at Detroit to accommodate farmers throughout the state.[51]

By 1850, the significance of the Michigan Farmer could be judged through its number of readers. With a circulation of 4,000, the magazine enjoyed a readership greater than the Detroit Tribune and the Detroit Free Press, the state's only daily newspapers, combined.[52]

The mix of farm news and editorials might be considered merely as good journalism, a way of writing for an audience not adequately served by newspapers of general circulation. At the same time, the agricultural press, given the era and its audience, was something more than a sound journalistic

enterprise. For underlying the philosophy of the farm periodicals was a commitment to scientific agriculture, to the "book farming" that farmers had so often scorned.

The publications, significantly, invited reader participation that went far beyond the traditional "Letters to the Editor" columns in metropolitan newspapers and, in so doing, fulfilled an educational and social purpose unique to the agricultural press.

The easiest way for farmers to obtain, and relay, information about agricultural practices was by talking with neighbors, a method that often helped perpetuate long-held superstitions. The columns of the farm press, meanwhile, served as a much larger neighborhood. For there, readers were invited, through their letters, to tell a larger audience about techniques that had best served them on the farm. The approach led to a variety of opinions which, in turn, led to lively debates. Those debates, combined with staff-written articles on pertinent topics, introduced farmers to new ideas, made them aware of new developments in agriculture and helped break down old superstitions.[53]

One of the most prevalent superstitions addressed in farm journals was the wide-spread belief in the influence of the moon upon agriculture. The moon, many farmers believed, had to be "right" to carry out successful activities from the planting and harvesting of crops to the weaning of children. "Times without number, farmers prepared the soil with utmost care, then ignored a favorable season for planting, because it was 'not the right time of the moon.'" Debates between moon-believers and nonbelievers were carried on in the press with several writers citing extensive experiments to refute the old belief. Such superstitions did not die easily, but when they did, the case for scientific agriculture, and the credibility of the agricultural press, had taken a step

forward.[54]

Before agricultural schools were established, then, reading the farm newspapers, and considering what they had to say, was, in itself, a form of schooling. Before the farm press, "old farmers would not be convinced that there was any value in book or newspaper farming. They believed in the old dung-hill; they were ignorant of the compost heap."[55]

Farm journalists stressed the importance of agricultural education. They supported agricultural instruction in secondary schools and the creation of a national school of agriculture. When the latter failed, the journals revived their campaign for individual agricultural colleges in each state, of which the Michigan Agricultural College, in 1855, was the first to be established.[56]

The term "scientific agriculture," as presented in farm journals and by others advocating schooling for farmers, was rather precisely defined. Agriculture was to be based on science, and science was identified as "knowledge duly classified and arranged" or as "systematized knowledge, systematized truth." Scientific farming, then, was "the science of understanding nature in her varied forms" and the application of that knowledge to agriculture.[57]

The agricultural press had supported that approach by urging farmers to accept the principles advocated by agricultural leaders and by publicizing individual experiments. In the early 1850s, the journals were joined in that support by state agricultural societies, organized by state legislatures "for the purpose of promoting the improvement of agriculture and its kindred arts."[58]

Resistance to scientific agriculture was based on the belief that farming could best be taught as it always had been, by practical farmers who had, themselves, been successful on the land. The old saying that, 'Books and

learning never made farmers,' was often voiced by agriculturists who sneered at the idea of regarding agriculture as a science.[59] "He who undertakes to teach it," it was said, "ought to have acquired his qualifications by absolute practice." Those who favored schooling considered farming a profession like medicine or law, though one "far more difficult to master, without a special training for that work."[60]

The idea of schooling for farmers, even after MAC was established in 1855, was slow to gain acceptance -- by both the public at large and by the farmers themselves -- because of the nature and the newness of the land-grant philosophy and the way it differed from previous ideas of what a college education should accomplish.

"The land-grant institutions originated out of the conviction that the lot of the common people could be improved by seeking and applying knowledge to the immediate and essential aspects of living. The classics and religion that had previously dominated in the founding of colleges in the United States offered little of relevance or of immediate benefit to this group."

"The clientele that was to be served by the new institutions did not demand colleges dedicated to their needs; many resisted the idea that the efforts of an educational institution could be beneficial to farmers and the rural population. In fact, the land-grant college experiment stations and extension activities could immediately benefit only those who accepted and used them. And that group was but a fraction of the total. Not infrequently, however, the changes made by the progressive farmer were later adopted by others. Successful examples of new practices attract attention and emulation."[61]

Although a course in the subject was not part of the curriculum, the significance of journalism in the college's early years should not be

overlooked. Indeed, MAC officials understood the social and political roles of the press at least as well as the presidents and professors of the more well-established colleges who, in debating the merits of journalism education, would often describe those roles in idealized terms. More than that, MAC presidents knew the value of having the press as an ally and, while they seldom spoke of journalistic principles and aims, they clearly understood, in practical ways, how to direct the influence of newspapers and magazines to support the aims of their college.

An understanding of the agricultural press -- which supported education for farmers and was read by the people the college was trying to reach -- was, in fact, vital to the early presidents of MAC. That the school's first president, Joseph Williams, possessed that understanding, and an appreciation for journalism, is evident from his background. Earlier in his career, Williams had founded and edited the Toledo Blade and, in 1853, in a letter reflecting upon his years with the newspaper, he had looked to the future, saying: "I think editorialism will become a profession."[62]

Williams, knowing the importance of editorial support for what would lead to the Morrill Act of 1862, and the granting of land to agricultural colleges, "composed a circular, hundreds of which were addressed and mailed by students, asking editors to support the Morrill bill and pointing to the success of agricultural colleges in Europe, in Michigan, and to the plans in eight other states. Many responded with editorials and lengthy extracts. When Justin S. Morrill delivered his one address in support of the bill, he reminded his colleagues of what they perhaps knew as well as he: "that there was an agricultural college in 'Michigan, liberally supported by the State, in the full tide of successful experiment."[63]

Since no journalism courses were being offered in any college or university in the early 1880s, there were no models to suggest what a college journalism program might or should be. That the Michigan Agricultural College chose the direction it did was not due to the events at other schools, or within MAC itself, but to the passage of state and federal laws.

The first, passed by the Michigan Legislature in May 1885, required MAC professors to share results of their experiments with farmers of the state and, in so doing, helped encourage the cause of journalism at the College. The law authorized the State Board of Agriculture, the governing body of the Michigan Agricultural College, "to provide from time to time in bulletin form, for dissemination among the people of this State, and through the medium of the public press the results of experiments made in any of the different departments of the agricultural college, and such other information that they may deem of sufficient importance to require it to come to the immediate knowledge of the farmers and horticulturists of the State."[64]

The first publication issued under that act, written by R.E. Kedzie of the Chemical Department, told of the planting of early amber sorghum in plots throughout the state "to test the sugar producing and forage properties."[65] Earlier experiments at MAC had sought a sugar or sweetening crop that could be grown in Michigan, in response to a state sugar shortage during the Civil War.

In a sense, those bulletins were an extension of the articles the farmers had written years before for the agricultural press, articles that had provided forums on the best methods for planting crops or raising livestock. This time, however, instead of offering sometimes conflicting anecdotal evidence as the farmers had done, the articles were based upon scientific experiments, and as

their results assisted the citizens of Michigan, they assisted, too, the reputation of the College that produced them. In requiring the College to report through the "public press," the law, as well, forged an official link between MAC and the newspapers of the state. Although the law did not lead directly to classroom journalism, it made College officials aware of the practical value of journalists who might prepare those bulletins for distribution and, at the other end, who might place and interpret them in newspapers to the best advantage of the College.

The process was accelerated at MAC, and at other agricultural schools, two years later with the passage of The Hatch Act, a federal law that granted funds to establish agricultural experiment stations in each state and required "that bulletins or reports of progress shall be published at said stations at least once in three months, one copy of which shall be sent to each newspaper in the States or Territories in which they are respectively located."[66] The infusion of additional money into the MAC budget meant the expansion of experimental programs that had been carried out for twenty years and the publishing of increasing numbers of bulletins. By 1889, College station bulletins had a circulation of 4,500 copies. Further, the school's annual report to the State Board of Agriculture stated, "some of the leading newspapers of Michigan and other states reprint the most important parts of our bulletins, and so give them a very wide circulation."[67]

The mere printing of bulletins, however, was not sufficient if MAC hoped to reach out to Michigan farmers. For rural American life in the late 1800s was a difficult life with problems often described in dramatic or graphic terms.

Some commentators pointed to the "scores of abandoned farms" and "hundreds of dilapidated houses" while others complained that farmhouses

had become "too often nurseries of morbid thoughts and brooding, monotonous sentiment that distort and often madden the mind."[68]

"Indeed, the high incidence of dissatisfaction, even insanity, among farm families; the abundance of abandoned farms; the difficulty in keeping children from going to the city; and the lack of esteem accorded tillers of the soil, as well as the inability of many farmers to earn an adequate income, were each offered frequently as testimony to the distressing state of America's yeomen."[69]

Field work was difficult, the methods primitive. Into the 1880s the "greater part of the grain raised in Michigan" was "harvested with a cradle, and grass was cut largely with the scythe."[70]

For a college trying to educate farmers throughout Michigan, the challenge was to relay the information that would help ease the "distressing state" which those farmers faced in their daily lives. To do so, MAC had to first pierce the isolation that set rural communities apart from the cities, from each other and, most significantly, from the school that was attempting to help. That the Michigan Agricultural College was aware of the challenge was evident in the words of President Theophilus Abbot.

"Farmers are isolated," he said. "There is not that sharp action of mind upon mind which disciplines to quick perception and logical thought the artisans of a major city. Information, improvements, reach them more slowly than other industrial classes."[71]

That isolation could be measured, in part, in the number, and nature, of Michigan's roads. During the 1880s, the "usual means of locomotion besides the rail" was the horse team and wagon. "Ox teams were still common on farms and highways" and, in general, travel was "confined to a limited area."[72] As late as 1905, in fact, while the state had approximately 68,000 miles of

public wagon roads -- simply dirt roads -- only 245 miles were listed as macadam roads, the most advanced surfaced road of the day. And despite the diligence of local officials, "the roads throughout the state generally became impassable during the rainy and wet periods in the fall and the spring."[73]

Communication was slowed, too, by limited postal service. Before rural free delivery, for example, the farmer received mail only by calling at the closest post office, often several miles distant. When rural free delivery was started in Michigan in 1896, the village of Climax in Kalamazoo County was the departure point for the two carriers, one with horse and buggy, the other a bicycle.[74] Even then, it took the farmers a while to use the service. Some mornings either carrier could "stuff all the mail for his route in his coat pocket." "Sometimes there were less than a dozen letters. Hardly a farmer took a daily paper."[75]

In the late nineteenth century, then, it had become clear that MAC needed to develop new approaches if it was to become a major force in agricultural change and improvement. "Classroom instruction offered to the relatively few farm boys who came to the campuses would not by itself give the [agricultural] colleges the role that they wanted. The schools needed to establish a close, functional relationship with adult farmers."[76]

The farmers' institute provided a means of doing so. MAC was, in fact, the first land-grant school to develop a system of institutes in essentially the form that would continue into the twentieth century. The institutes brought together farmers and faculty in Michigan communities for speeches, discussions and exhibits aimed at furthering the cause of agriculture.

During the first institute week, held in six communities in January, 1876, Allegan farmers were invited to travel to town with fruit and grain to exhibit and

were promised "gratuitous accommodations for as many as possible in private homes, and reduced rates at the hotels for the overflow." Events included a talk about "swamp muck" and speeches entitled "Shall Farmers Keep Bees?" and "Long-wooled Sheep."[77]

Significantly, the sessions featured, too, a talk by Dr. Frank Kedzie on lightning rods, a topic that illustrated how isolation and a lack of information had made the farmers vulnerable to " humbuggery." For "the greatest of all forms of humbuggery that the rural dwellers ever experienced...was that connected with the lightning rod."[78] Lightning frightened farmers since they did not understand it, and losses to property and life had been numerous and heavy. If the door-to-door peddler were allowed to tell his story "he would surely convince most farmers that they lived in imminent danger, and even though the buildings had safely stood for years without the lightning rods, that fact in itself would make the whole area a harvest field for the rodders." Once they persuaded the farmers to have them installed, their next move was to sell an expensive kind, usually selected from a display featuring several types of highly ornamented forms "with fancy points, glass insulators, and rods that were square, twisted or triangular in shape."[79]

Dr. Kedzie, in his address at the institute, exhibited a collection of such rods, saying that "a blacksmith could make a rod that would be more effective and much less expensive than the patent ones which confidence men foisted upon unsuspecting farmers."[80] An editor called Kedzie's presentation "a sprightly talk on his crooked subject."[81]

Through the years, the institute became an increasingly important way for MAC to establish and maintain close contact with farmers. Although faculty members were essentially providing information, much as they did through the

experiment station bulletins, they approached the task with a missionary zeal, as reflected in a report on the 1896 institutes.

That year, as in others, institutes were held in January during MAC's three-month winter break. As the students took their vacations, which for most meant doing farm work or teaching in rural schools, the College faculty traveled to institutes throughout Michigan, "like a well-trained army at the signal for battle, without a balk and without a murmur" ready to meet "the duties of the hour with readiness, tact, and effect."

"The college walks are deserted and the halls are silent," The MAC Record said, "but all over this broad state our men are at work and the cause of agricultural education is advancing with great strides. It is a great Agricultural College extension movement -- this institute work -- and as such our hearts are in it."[82]

Overall, however, the MAC information effort was not geared to the farmers alone. Although the results of faculty experiments, as reported in bulletins, helped the Michigan Agricultural College strengthen its ties with the press, school officials were concerned that editors in the state's largest cities still did not understand the purpose and value of the College. And a better understanding, it was believed, would lead to more stories about MAC and more favorable editorials in the state's largest, most influential newspapers. Further, that understanding was becoming increasingly important to a college that had begun offering a non-agricultural major -- mechanics -- in a state that was becoming increasingly urban. By 1890, for example, Detroit's population had risen to 205,876, more than 20 times what it had been a half century earlier. The need to build better relations with newspapers in Michigan was, in fact, reflected in the recommendations of a faculty committee established in

1895 "to carefully inquire into the causes which have contributed to the seeming lack of popularity of our College, with the class of people in whose special interest it was organized by the State."[83]

While the MAC enrollment had more than doubled in the decade since 1885, from 173 to 398, the committee pointed out that most of that increase was due to the newly-created mechanics course while the numbers of students in the agriculture course had remained about the same.

One of several reasons given by the committee for the failure of that course to grow was "antagonism of the press," particularly by "some of the influential papers of the State."[84] The committee blamed the matter on "ignorance of what the College is and what it is doing," saying "the cases where an editor has visited the College and become acquainted with the spirit here, and afterwards attacked the institution are rare indeed."[85] As a remedy, members suggested that the College advertise extensively as part of its effort to "carry the school to the people, tell them where we are, what our equipment is, and what we can do for the farmer and mechanic."[86]

The committee submitted its report to the State Board of Agriculture in September 1895 at the beginning of the presidency of Jonathan L. Snyder. Because it occurred when MAC officials, through the success of station bulletins and the perceived harm of "antagonistic" stories, had become more fully aware of the power of the press, and because it led to the recruitment of Thomas C. Blaisdell, who taught the first journalism course, the hiring of Snyder marked the beginning of journalism education at the Michigan Agricultural College.

Although his previous teaching and administrative experience had been limited to grade schools and high schools, Snyder took quickly to his role of

promoting the College. Snyder realized that the explanation of College programs and purposes could not be entrusted merely to MAC presidents who might not know the most effective way to present information to the press. Nor could MAC officials assume that, given the uniqueness and growing diversity of the school, journalists on Michigan community newspapers would necessarily understand the nature of the College or the substance of the disciplines -- in particular, agriculture -- it was attempting to teach. Instead, he sought to put together several initiatives into a program that helped promote the College over a period of several administrations. It was an effort that included creation of a promotional newspaper, attempts to build strong and lasting relationships with the Michigan press -- both the agricultural and the community publications -- and, finally, establishment of the school's first journalism course.

A biweekly newspaper, the MAC Record, which began publication in 1896, reported on the activities of MAC students, faculty and alumni. More important, the paper published stories and editorials that spoke of the advantages of attending the school. It thus served as a way to recruit future students from Michigan farms. One such article, for example, stated that the agricultural course, "while giving a splendid knowledge of scientific and practical agriculture, at the same time gives a broad, general training."[87] An 1898 article, "What Have the Agricultural Colleges Done for the Farmers?" mentioned journalism when it told of MAC men who had "greatly improved the quality of agricultural journals by acting as editors, contributors or making bulletins for the papers to use."[88] At times, special issues, highlighting each department, were printed and sent to as many as "5,000 young people throughout the state, many of whom are high school seniors."[89] Another successful promotional item was the annual MAC calendar, giving "views of

buildings, landscapes, laboratories, interior views of laboratories, etc." which was distributed "to all the high schools of the State, alumni, newspapers, State officers, country ministers, and the leading agriculturists of the State." The results from that "source of advertising" were "very satisfactory."[90]

During the Snyder administration MAC grew. When journalism was offered for the first time, the College had evolved into four divisions: agriculture, engineering, home economics and science and letters. The home economics division had emerged from the women's course, created in 1896. That course, in fact, included the first graphic arts class at MAC, an offering in "reproductive processes in the arts" which featured instruction in "all kinds of process engraving such as half-tone, zinc etching, photogravure, chalk engraving (for rapid newspaper work.)"[91]

At the same time, student enrollment continued to grow, in 1904 passing 1,000 and by 1910 numbering 1,497.[92]

Though still an agricultural college in name, MAC, by the end of the century, widened its appeal beyond the sons of farmers. The creation of the women's course, President Snyder said, was "but another step in the recognition of the truth that henceforward the Michigan Agricultural College must stand for the education of the whole mass of people." A decrease in the rural population in many areas of Michigan and an increasing population in the cities showed MAC administrators that "there is a growing industrial or mechanical class, while the class upon which the College had heretofore placed its entire dependence for moral support is actually decreasing in numbers."[93]

Recruitment relied on a more general approach, one that was reflected in Snyder's article in an 1896 issue of the MAC Record. "The education which

perhaps served your fathers and mothers to good purpose will fall far short in meeting your needs," he told prospective students. "You are living under different conditions and in a different age. You can readily see that the time is fast approaching in this country when the person who can simply work with his hands will have a very poor show, but for the educated farmer and the educated mechanic there never were such bright prospects as there are at present."[94]

The college, with the addition of new courses, had not changed the plan "mapped out at its foundation, viz., the fostering of industrial education."[95] Such education, though, was considered to cover a variety of occupations, as evidenced through the creation of the engineering and home economics programs.

The topic of journalism, too, appeared with greater frequency in College publications as the years progressed. The MAC Record, for example, noted campus visits of journalists as when "the class in stock breeding listened to two very interesting talks by Mr. H.H. Mack, market reporter for the Detroit Free Press and the Michigan Farmer."[96] College administrators also appreciated, and acknowledged, favorable publicity by the Michigan Farmer. On one occasion, following the publication of several articles about the school, The MAC Record noted: "Since June 12, the Michigan Farmer has devoted considerable of its valuable space to the friendly discussion of topics connected with the agricultural college and to the presentation of articles by professors and graduates of the college. This friendly relationship between the farmer and the college should be fostered. Both are working for the advancement of the same class of people and they should work together in harmony."[97]

The enduring relationship between the College and the agricultural press, and the school's continuing commitment to "the farmer," was a strong signal that a college journalism course, when offered, would focus upon farm journalism. Still, of growing concern to a school seeking to widen its scope, and increase its enrollment, was its relationship with "the city press," a term the MAC Record employed when referring to newspapers in large towns, like Lansing or Detroit. A series on the College by the State Republican, of Lansing, for example, drew special praise. "We note with pleasure a plan of the State Republican to make the people of our home city better acquainted with the College and its departments," the article stated. Pointing out that relations between the school and the newspaper had improved, it continued: "We heartily welcome any effort to draw the College and city into closer sympathy, truer appreciation the one of the other, and we know of no influence more potent and more direct to such an end than that of the city press. It is an influence equally powerful both to attract and to repel; and the College community, in the days that are happily past, has keenly felt an antagonism and readiness to criticise harshly sometimes apparent in our home papers -- all the more keenly, indeed, because they were our home papers. More recently we have had to thank our city press for many courtesies and for practical evidences of kindly consideration."[98]

Universities like Pennsylvania, Columbia or Michigan did not need to court the "city press." They were located in or near metropolitan areas where the schools were well-known. Jonathan Snyder, though, promoted MAC to newspaper editors by inviting them to campus to, in the words of the faculty committee, remove their "ignorance of the college and what it is doing." Significantly, he reached many editors, particularly those in smaller

communities, where the farmers lived, through the Michigan Press Association, an organization that represented primarily the state's weekly newspapers.

Although MAC officials acknowledged occasional problems with the city press, and recognized that the school also served an urban constituency, a strong tie to the rural press was of greater importance to the College.

President Snyder, in fact, viewed the weekly papers as an extension of the agricultural press, representing, as they did, the communities the College was attempting to reach through its experiment station bulletins and where it was likely to recruit students for its courses. A prominent industrial journalist, too, had called the weekly newspaper "a co-ordinate educational force to the agricultural school," adding: "The newspaper goes to the homes, speaks its lesson to every member of the families on the farm, every day or every week. It is a friendly home visitor, bearing messages of all means of improvement, as well as of the doings and attainments of friends and neighbors, and deals with all the daily affairs of life. If it be a worthy newspaper, its mission and ever present and accomplished service is to inform, instruct, please, encourage and inspire. In brief, its mission is to give the news."[99]

The most important campus visit by editors during the Snyder years, then, was a March 1901 tour by members of the MPA, one that had not been on the agenda of the editors' annual convention.

Formed at Adrian in 1869, the Association had become the largest organization of newspaper editors and publishers in the state. Although there are no records to indicate that the Association promoted the idea of a college course in journalism, one of its goals was to work to upgrade the profession. As its statement of purpose said, "from this Association may and should result

that esprit de corps which will make us a brotherhood in fact, purge the "Fourth Estate" -- so-called -- its somewhat Bohemian reputation, raise it to the full rank of an honorable and honored profession, and make it in very deed a social, as it is now a political, power in the State."[100] While news accounts of the MAC visit do not indicate that journalism education was discussed, it may well have been. For Association members were familiar with the teaching of journalism in college, specifically, the course offered at the University of Michigan. The Association meeting in Ann Arbor in 1891, in fact, included presentation of a paper entitled "The printer-editor or collegiate-editor -- which is the most successful as a country publisher, and why?" [101]

In setting up the tour of MAC, Snyder, according to a story in the State Republican, visited the state Supreme Court, where the Association was conducting a session, and invited members to visit the College. "It was agreed to adjourn at 3:30, and the president left to arrange for an extra [street] car to carry the cargo of wit and wisdom to his institution," the article said. The next day, under the headline "State Press at MAC," the paper reported: "The Michigan Press Association and the MAC came together yesterday afternoon, and the sound of the collision will reverberate for days throughout the newspapers of Michigan."[102]

Editor J.E. Beal, of the Ann Arbor Courier, one of thirty-nine editors who took the MAC tour, "spoke of the surprise and profit that had come to him and to others as they began to realize the magnitude of the College and the work it is doing for the state."[103] The MAC Record, which devoted three of its columns to the event, quoted from a letter signed by Association officers which said, in part: "All could not but be impressed with the magnitude of the institution, the thoroughness of the various courses of instruction, and its great value to the

agricultural and educational interests of the state; and we urge upon the farmers of Michigan the importance of giving this admirable institution their hearty support and co-operation."[104]

Ties between press associations and colleges, especially those seeking to build journalism programs, were not unusual. "A close working-relationship between newspaper organizations and schools of journalism" was frequent in the early history of journalism instruction, "and a feeling of mutual responsibility strengthened as the work became firmly established."[105]

As journalism education developed at other colleges over the next decade, the discussion focused upon the Pulitzer program and upon similar efforts at Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri. Although Jonathan Snyder, a college president, was probably aware of such developments, newspaper articles make clear that journalism education at the Michigan Agricultural College was headed another way -- in the direction the Michigan Press Association had indirectly endorsed by stressing the connection between the school and "the farmers of Michigan."

As the decade continued, the MAC Record published other articles on journalism, and on MAC graduates who had become journalists, The MSC Alumni Catalogue (1857-1930) and the MAC Record (1896-1915), in fact, point out that most MAC graduates who worked in journalism were fulfilling the roles of agricultural journalists, as opposed to "city press" journalists, even before the first course was taught. Those records show that of 77 graduates listed as holding journalism positions through the class of 1909, 46 had at one time been employed by farm journals or Michigan weekly newspapers. Nineteen others served as reporters or editors on daily newspapers, including those in Chicago, Detroit and Boston, six worked for weeklies outside

Michigan and six for non-agricultural trade publications.

Regarding references to the type of journalism the school would eventually offer, a Record story on an address to the Farmers' Club by Professor Thomas Shaw in 1906 on "Agricultural Journalism" was most notable. More than giving a speech stressing the importance of farm papers, Shaw also noted their weaknesses, placing "the lack of men of practical experience as heads of the departments, first; then their power to select strong assistants, second; and third that the paper be well written." He also spoke "strongly against the fact that nearly all of the papers always lack space, and so good, but lengthy articles are sadly mangled in an attempt to make them meaty."[106]

But other agricultural colleges had already taken the lead. Iowa State College, in 1905, was the first school to offer a course in agricultural journalism after it had received a one thousand dollar grant from Chicago livestock commissioner John Clay for "a course in the teaching of writing for the agricultural press."[107] The University of Wisconsin, in 1909, divided its College of Agriculture into eight departments, including a Department of Agricultural Journalism.[108] A year later, the Kansas Agricultural College initiated a curriculum in agricultural journalism with courses in Gathering the News, Journalism Practice, Copy Reading and Writing for Farm and City Papers.[109]

Just as the beginnings of journalism education had drawn support from editors and publishers of metropolitan newspapers, a proposal for agricultural journalism at the Michigan Agricultural College had its editorial supporters, too. At MAC, the support came from editors of the agricultural press, mostly notably those with the Orange Judd Farmer and the American Agriculturist. As to purpose, the publication did not speak of journalism in abstract or idealized terms but of a need for "practical" courses that would provide students with

"actual experience."

In April 1909, the MAC Record acknowledged the trend toward courses in agricultural journalism by reprinting an editorial that had appeared in the Orange Judd Farmer, of which a 1903 MAC graduate was associate editor. "The rapid development of the Agricultural press is giving rise to an increased demand for men trained along journalistic lines, and at the same time with a practical and theoretic knowledge of agriculture," it said. "Now there are more than 400 recognized agricultural papers, with a combined circulation of several million. To furnish material for these journals requires a large quota of trained writers and thinkers which the agricultural colleges should aim to supply." While pointing out that "so far MAC has made no special effort at teaching journalism," the article said that "many of its graduates are making good on the editorial staffs of several of the leading agricultural papers" and "have done much to raise the standard of agricultural journalism in this country."[10]

In its editorial stating that "Orange Judd Farmer would like to see the (agricultural) college take up this work with vigor and give it a thorough tryout the coming fall and winter," the farm journal addressed many of the arguments that the editors of metropolitan papers had met three decades earlier.

Specifically, the editorial said: "Another drawback has been the feeling of many publishers that agricultural journalism cannot be taught in college, that the office is the only place where an agricultural editor can be made. While this is partly true, the colleges need not be discouraged. Engineers, lawyers, preachers, doctors, are not made in college. They are simply given a start, merely taught the general principles of their professions. Proficiency comes only with experience."

"Let the colleges put a competent man in charge of the course, let them

invite a few experienced newspaper men to lecture to the students. Give them actual assignments, take them into a newspaper office and give them some actual experience in the mechanical department. Agricultural journalism can be taught in college. Orange Judd Farmer believes this."

M.G. Kains, an 1895 MAC graduate and editor of the American Agriculturist, also supported the teaching of agricultural journalism, saying in a letter to the MAC Record: "My chief regrets in connection with my college work, both at MAC and at Cornell University, are that I had no training in journalism of any kind. What I learned was by tedious experience and a dreary series of blunders. Doubtless had a course in journalism been given at the college I might have taken it, because I had my nose pointed toward experiment station and college work."[111]

Kains said "a good course in agricultural journalism" was a "long step" toward a job with a farm newspaper or magazine. "Doubtless the course in journalism at MAC will furnish at least some of these opportunities, and whether the student actually follows journalism as a profession or not, the experience he should gain should be of considerable service to him, and a thing much appreciated by any editor to whom he may send articles."

The call for "practical" training was not unique to agricultural journalism. Indeed, from Robert E. Lee to Joseph Pulitzer, the supporters of journalism education called for the teaching of skills that would be useful to the practitioners, whether in the print shop or the editorial room. The Pulitzer idea, though, had struck a balance between two conflicting philosophies: "one which called for a very 'practical' type of training, and another which emphasized the need for broad cultural programs including a minimum of technical subjects."[112] The MAC approach, while calling for practical subjects, combined journalistic

skills with the "knowledge of agriculture" mentioned in the Orange Judd Farmer article.

That approach was stressed in a January 13, 1910, editorial in the Holcad, the student newspaper. The editorial, which encompassed engineering as well, may have prompted the establishment of the College's first course in agricultural journalism. Like the MAC administrators, the student journalists viewed journalism as a practical way of helping farmers, rather than, using the Pulitzer approach, as a social force to be harnessed and understood.

"Agricultural and engineering journals have become a necessary part of our education," it said. "This is more true after our graduation than now. Then, the technical journals will be our only means of keeping in touch with the advancements in science. And then, we will be in touch with these periodicals from another standpoint. We will be called upon to contribute to their columns."

"How many of us will be in position to write clearly and interestingly about some phase of our work? Will we feel the need of training along these lines? A prominent man of our faculty who is an authority in this line declared that it takes him five times as long to write an article for a magazine as it ought. He also said that the hardest part of writing a scientific bulletin was to secure men who could write well. Is there not room in our curriculum for a course in technical journalism?"[113]

When "English 2k -- Agricultural Journalism" was offered in April, it met standards that the Orange Judd Farmer had set for such a course. That is, the class included a lecture by an experienced editor and provided students with "actual assignments."

The course was described in the College catalog as: "Daily theme work

for a limited number of selected men especially interested in learning to express in simple, effective English their idea concerning technical subjects. Elective only after consultation with head of English department, juniors and seniors, Agricultural course, two hours per week, spring term."[114]

The instructor, Thomas C. Blaisdell, 42, chairman of the Department of English and Modern Languages, had come to the Michigan Agricultural College in 1906 from the Pittsburgh Normal School where he had taught English. His friendship with President Snyder, whom he had met while he taught high school and Snyder was an elementary school principal in Allegheny, Pa.,[115] had prompted an 1896 visit to the MAC campus during which he gave a poetry reading.[116]

Blaisdell earned bachelor's and master's degrees from Syracuse University and, in 1904, received his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh. Prior to coming to the Michigan Agricultural College, Blaisdell taught nine years at the Pittsburgh Normal School. By 1910, he had authored five books on English Composition.[117]

According to press and College reports, Blaisdell, in setting up the journalism course, "outlined a plan of action" that offered "great practical experience in all phases of the work."[118] The experience included production of "a type-written agricultural paper" -- called the Michigan Agriculturist -- by the class each week. Later in the term, the class had "the opportunity of editing the department of horticulture for one of the issues of the American Cultivator which is one of the leading agricultural journals in the country."[119] The course also included a study of farm journals and a lecture by I.R. Waterbury, editor of the Michigan Farmer. The Waterbury talk focused upon "some of the fundamental principles that govern writing for agricultural papers."[120]

In announcing the introduction of the course, the Holcad called the move "another indication that MAC keeps up with the times," adding: "It must be realized that editors or writers cannot be made in a classroom, but the principle which governs this line of work can be learned. One can learn how to write correctly and entertainingly. That there is a demand for this kind of training was manifested in the large number of applicants for this course. We are to be congratulated upon the fact that our college is among the first to realize the need of such training."[121]

The MAC Record predicted that the class would "become in another year or two one of the most practical courses in the college."[122]

The 1909-10 report of the English Department, written by Blaisdell and filed as part of the College's annual report to the State Board of Agriculture, was more limited in its praise, saying: "A course in agricultural journalism was presented during the spring term. This is the first time that such a course has been given in this institution. While the results obtained are far less satisfactory than they will be another year, every member of the class felt that he had received from the 2 hours per week given to the work as great a return as for any other 2 hour course taken."[123]

Blaisdell taught agricultural journalism for two more years. In 1912, the English Department purchased two typewriters for the journalism students, and Blaisdell called the course "the most successful" course in agricultural journalism "the department has yet presented." Practical experience continued to be stressed, and "almost every student in the class" sold "at good prices to agricultural papers some of the work prepared for the class room."[124]

Later that same year, the Holcad printed an "Announcement," written by a journalism student: "This issue has been edited by Dr. Blaisdell's class in

agricultural journalism. The primary object has been to obtain practical experience in the compiling of copy, and herewith we submit the results of our first trial. The substance of this paper dwells mainly on agriculture, as our daily experience is along that line, but we have tried to use all available news representing the entire student body. The experience in editing this number has been valuable. We hope that other classes will take advantage of the same opportunity and try their luck in editing our student paper."[125]

In addition to teaching the course each year, Blaisdell helped promote journalism in another way by establishing the Penman Club, a student organization "which rapidly sprang into prominence and which has a bright future before it from the standpoint of obtaining brilliant speakers to come to the college at frequent intervals, and of accomplishing great good for MAC through its policies of boosting rather than knocking."[126] In arranging for leading editors and public officials to speak at MAC, those activities, far from attracting only journalism students, often became campus-wide events.

In one instance, Governor Chase Osborn, who, as publisher of the Sault Ste. Marie Times had visited the campus with the Michigan Press Association in 1901, was a guest of the club in what was described as "the greatest Mass Meeting ever in the history of the institution."[127] During a reception at the Blaisdell residence after the speech, Osborn told the members that "no field offers greater returns, both as to satisfaction of work accomplished and in a financial way, than does the newspaper." "The man who enters the field, however," he said, "must be a fighter, a teacher, a moralist, a leader, in order to succeed."[128]

Another time, the Penman invited Detroit News editor James Schermerhorn, who addressed students in a "well filled" assembly room of the

agricultural building.[129]

While the purpose of other journalism programs was to help students understand the social and political forces in society and, when appropriate, report critically upon that society, a goal of agricultural journalism courses at MAC was best expressed in an article on the Penman in the student yearbook that said: "One policy laid down by the Penmen [sic] is to take advantage of every opportunity to boost the oldest agricultural college in America -- and the best -- and, when absolutely necessary to print disparaging news, to write stories in such a manner as to reflect minimum discredit upon the college."[130]

By the time the Pulitzer School at Columbia University opened in 1912, then, the Michigan Agricultural College had already joined a few dozen other colleges and universities, large and small, in establishing a course in journalism.

For the most part, the work of Pulitzer, Andrew Dickson White at Cornell and Eugene Camp at Pennsylvania, among that of others, must be credited with taking journalism education from the realm of debate in the mid-1870s to the reality of the classroom four decades later. Using well-established programs of liberal arts and social sciences as a base, the schools had found ways to add courses teaching newspaper skills so that the future practitioners would understand the complex institution -- the press -- and the society in which those skills were to be applied.

Journalism at Iowa State, Kansas State and Michigan State did not spring from the same roots as that at Cornell, Pennsylvania and Columbia. MAC and the other agricultural schools found in journalism another way to serve the needs of the farmers -- by training writers well-versed in agriculture -- and, in so doing, in carrying out the colleges' land-grant missions. Journalism had

appeared at the agricultural schools after the debate on the value of agricultural education, and the need for such colleges, had been resolved. "Concession to the validity of agricultural education," then, "was eventually extended to the mechanic arts, to home and family living, and to other aspects of human activity"[131] -- including the teaching of journalism.

One philosophy took a broad view of journalism, the other a specialized approach. One was primarily the journalism of the city, the other of the small town. Despite those differences, though, by 1912 each shared a commitment to one of the nation's newest academic fields. If the movement toward classroom journalism had taken decades to reach that point, it would take many more years to determine something more: whether the Columbias and the MACs -- as their colleges and commitments might change -- would travel paths that would bring them closer together or draw them even further apart.

A DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

Between 1910 and 1935 the journalism program grew from a single course to a Department of Journalism and Publications. The program continued to serve the citizens of rural Michigan even while it redefined its role. The first course, a class in agricultural journalism, was intended to educate agricultural students who would, in turn, educate the farmer. From there, journalism education at MAC evolved from being merely journalism for the farmer to journalism for the small town. Most significant in that development was the building of formal ties with the rural weekly press. A convention of rural editors called on MAC to open a department of rural journalism (in 1918). The establishment of an on-campus office in 1931 for the Michigan Press Association, the representative of rural newspapers, made the commitment formal and helped assure that it would last. College administrators encouraged the arrangement as part of their effort to gather support in rural Michigan through newspaper publicity for MAC's expanding programs and mission. Faced with the need to hire a new department chairman when department chairman Albert H. Nelson died in 1935, the college confirmed Michigan State's rural journalism emphasis and promised its continuation by selecting Albert A. Applegate from South Dakota State College, where the bulk of his experience had been as a teacher of journalism, publicist for the school and adviser to small-town editors in South Dakota.

During the four years following the departure of Thomas Blaisdell to Alma College in 1912, the course he had taught -- agricultural journalism -- remained the only journalism class at the Michigan Agricultural College. That MAC continued to offer farm journalism, even as the Pulitzer School at Columbia became a model for programs elsewhere, was due to its continuing, primary role as an agricultural school.

It was a role reflected not only in the curriculum but in campus life as well. For the 1,371 students enrolled in the fall of 1912, "recreational activities were generally confined to lectures given by local ministers or faculty members and to weekly debates." "These were augmented at times by a musical recital or a literary reading. Students were invited occasionally to the homes of faculty members. Picnics, husking bees, and the like were other forms of planned recreation. The rural influence was evident."[132]

The following spring, 83 of the school's 165 graduates earned degrees from the College's agricultural division, as opposed to 51 from the engineering division.[133] In 1914, President Jonathan Snyder stressed that "in this institution the agricultural students very much outnumber the engineering students," adding that "the opposite is true in the land-grant colleges in our neighboring states -- Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana."[134]

The 1914 entering class of 605 students included 233 (38.5 percent) who listed their father's occupation as "farmer" with "merchant" second at 69. Three

students listed "editor" and three others "printer."[135]

As journalism education entered the agricultural colleges, the demand for additional courses in agricultural journalism soon followed. By 1914, the curriculum at Iowa State College, the birthplace of agricultural journalism, listed courses in agricultural advertising, newspaper management, home economics journalism, journalism practice and engineering journalism practice.[136] It is not surprising, then, that editorials in the MAC student newspaper called for more courses even as the first journalism class ever offered at the school was still being taught. In an editorial in the spring of 1910, the editors of the Holcad, while praising the new course in agricultural journalism, called for a writing class where "all technical subjects are taught," with emphasis on engineering. "Engineering journalism," the editorial said, "while not of such a broad and popular scope is nevertheless as important as agricultural journalism. The graduates of the engineering course will be called upon to express opinions in writing as often as will the graduates of the agricultural courses."[137]

That fall, an editorial in the Holcad offered a "personal query" as to whether it might be "both expedient and beneficial to establish a course in printing at MAC." The editorial pointed out that "each year thousands of bulletins are issued by the College, two papers are issued weekly and hundreds of dollars' worth of other printing has to be sent outside." Such a course, it said, would fill a paramount need.[138] There is no evidence to suggest how, or whether, College officials responded to The Holcad call for an expanded journalism program.

Through its one course, the MAC program was following the strategy set by other agricultural colleges. That is, the class in agricultural journalism was attempting to demonstrate that it added "to the effectiveness of training in

English" in the agricultural schools, as similar courses at Iowa State College had done, while proving that "writing for the press" may be taught in a classroom."[139]

MAC's lone journalism course grew in popularity. An article in the MAC Record in the spring of 1915, stated that the course, offered annually to a maximum of ten students, would, beginning the next autumn, be taught each term. The same article mentioned that "the best farm papers in the U.S." were accepting stories produced in the class "with seeming delight" and that students who have taken the course think that it is one of the best minor courses offered in the junior and senior years."[140] By then, the course description had been broadened slightly. Mention of writing on technical subjects was gone, replaced by objectives that suggested the course was moving toward general newswriting: "To inspire a keen interest in clean and attractive journalism, to develop the faculties of observation and discrimination in journalistic value and to afford by extensive practice a rather wide field for practical writing according to the special tastes and qualifications of each student."[141]

A report by the Department of English and Modern Languages, meanwhile, said the department was making "no attempt to make the course a broad training" in the various phases of agricultural journalism but a class limited "to the preparation of special articles for the agricultural press." That is, the department was prepared to continue doing what it did best -- to teach writing -- but was not yet prepared to offer, either in a course or a curriculum, topics like publicity or newspaper management that were being taught at Iowa State. The MAC course was intended to lead students "to better thinking, to better writing and to a sane and wholesome attitude toward the English language and the

principles of composition as the tools of expression." While noting that the time allotted to the class, even if taught three times a year, was still "much below that given to similar work in several other agricultural colleges," the department looked to a time when it might "employ an instructor whose training and experience have given him very exceptional qualifications for the teaching of agricultural journalism."[142]

Those statements point out that the course -- in leading to "better thinking, better writing" -- had met standards applied to all English courses. Though part of a new academic field, the offering in agricultural journalism, the report assured college administrators, required students to respect "the English language and the principles of composition" as other department courses were required to do. That the department looked ahead to a time when it might hire a person of "very exceptional qualifications" to teach the course is evidence that it considered agricultural journalism a part of its standard offerings. The department's cautious approach to finding a proper instructor for agricultural journalism merely reflected its practice in hiring any instructor for the department. "As it is necessary that nearly all teachers of English be drawn from institutions whose ideals are much different from those of a land-grant college," a Department report said, "changes in the staff of the English Department are of serious consequence. When new teachers are employed, they must be assimilated to the purpose, the method and the ideals of the institution."[143] In the same way, the department would be best served by hiring a journalism instructor who was aware of the differences between a program in agricultural journalism, with its primary purpose of serving the farmer, and the programs at Columbia, Michigan and other schools that took the broader, more general view of newspapers and magazines as critics and shapers of social

and political forces.

Such a person would one day help MAC emulate the expanded offerings of "several other agricultural colleges," a reference to schools such as the Iowa State College, which had created a Department of Agricultural Journalism in 1906[144] or the University of Wisconsin which established a similar department in 1909.[145]

Although journalism at MAC was about to change, the approach was not dictated by suggestions for new courses from the Holcad editorial writers nor even through the initiative of the Department of English and Modern Languages. Rather, change came with the hiring of the school's first publicity officer in 1917.

The importance of supplying information to the people of rural Michigan on a regular basis through their community newspapers was hardly a new idea. Indeed, President Snyder showed he knew the potential value of the rural press to MAC when he invited members of the Michigan Press Association to tour the campus in 1901.

The hiring of Earl R. Trangmar, a 1917 MAC graduate, as publicity officer, though, created the first formal link between the College and the small town press, a link forged for a single agricultural purpose related to World War I: "The need of publicity in the crop production and food conservation campaign in Michigan and the great service which the MAC is capable of rendering." At the same time, the MAC Record reported, it was "believed that after the present campaign has been completed, the publicity work" would become "a definite part of the College's extension program."[146] Using the suggestion of the United States Food Administration, the college instructed Michigan families in "the saving of wheat, meat, fats, and sugar, and the preservation of perishable

foods." "We have presented the work," a college report stated, "from three viewpoints -- causes of the present food situation, and the responsibility of the household regarding it; the necessity of the housewife's having a sound knowledge of food principles; and practical methods of canning and drying and of the cooking of the substitute foods to which the average housewife was little accustomed."[147] To help provide that knowledge, Trangmar produced thirteen bulletins and "mimeographed literature" on subjects that included canning and drying, thrift, meat substitutes and war breads.[148]

Within two years after the College publicity bureau began operating, it "supplied five distinct news services to the newspapers and periodicals of Michigan." Those services included daily and weekly newsletters to daily newspapers, a news syndicate for rural and weekly publications, an agricultural news service for all publications and the providing of special articles, upon request, to newspapers and farm journals. To make certain the service would reflect the work of the entire college, the office encouraged all faculty members to contribute information, with the result that "the departments of the college making use of the publicity service reported an increase in their correspondence on every occasion that copy was sent out."[149]

Trangmar's most significant achievement, however, was his bringing about, in August 1918, the first conference of rural editors and publishers of Michigan, a gathering "which he conceived, planned, carried out."[150] A letter to those journalists promised that the meeting would be "both educational and inspirational in its aims -- will furnish you with a broad-gauge vision of what it is possible for the country press of the state to do for itself and for rural Michigan."[151] More than that, the conference was intended to "effect an organization among editors themselves" and to "get them in line with the

college and the work the college is accomplishing."[152] The three-day conference drew "140 men representing 90 of Michigan's best country publishers" to hear journalists, government officials and representatives of other agricultural colleges speak of the continuing importance of the rural press. "There need never be any fear that the country press will be driven out of existence," H.J. Waters, managing editor of the Kansas City Star and former president of the Kansas Agricultural College, told the conference. "It fills a place the urban newspaper can never fill, and I believe I speak the truth when I say that it wields collectively a greater influence than the city press. This is so because the country paper reaches into the homes and hearts of the reader. It is, we might say, a member of the family."[153]

In a sense, Waters' remarks were aimed simply toward providing the "inspirational" note that Trangmar had promised in his invitation to the journalists. For that reason alone the comments are worth noting, presenting, as they do, a highly-idealized view of the small-town newspaper -- "a member of the family" -- by a speaker who was both an editor and the former president of an agricultural college. Such remarks, in fact, were typical of rhetoric often used by practitioners and advocates -- and at least one chairman of the Michigan State journalism program -- to describe the rural press. William Allen White, the nation's best-known small-town editor, said that "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 reverent hands."[154]

Such rhetoric, even if understood as just that, provided some sense of mission for journalism instructors at the agricultural colleges just as the comments of Pulitzer, and others, offered a rallying cry for teachers in larger,

more diversified journalism programs.

The comments of Waters and other boosters of small town papers symbolized the fears of a rural society that, more than at any time before, felt threatened by forces it could neither dominate nor fully comprehend. The census of 1920 would show, for the first time, that over half of the population lived in cities and towns. "Between 1915 and 1920 the old rural majority living on the producing land, or close to it in small towns and villages, had become a minority."[155] As a result, "the older America of the Protestant, old-stock culture felt deeply threatened by the values of the burgeoning city..." The census figures, perhaps confirming what rural Americans thought they already knew, proved a "frightening statistic for those on the farms and in small towns whose way of life had prevailed for three centuries." "They attributed to the metropolis all that was perverse in American society: the revolution in morals, the corner saloon, the control of municipal government by urban immigrants, and the modernist skepticism of the literal interpretation of the Bible."[156] Proponents of the small-town paper, then, using words like "homes" and "hearts," championed the values of the small town itself, an institution that fought the perceived evil of the cities by affirming the perceived virtue of rural life.

The presidential election of 1920, in fact, "gave confidence to those who feared that political as well as cultural dominance in the United States was slipping away from the Protestant middle class."[157] The winner of that election, Warren Harding, was a newspaper publisher in Marion, Ohio, whose own view of the small-town newspaper reflected rural American values.

During the presidential campaign, one of the editors of his newspaper, The Star, compressed unspoken and informal office rules into a code "which, for campaign purposes, was given out as having been formally written out and

signed by Harding and as having hung on the office wall." Although exaggerated, the code was "harmless and did not violate essential truth." Further, it was printed and talked about all over the country and, as late as 1934, was quoted in a discussion of newspaper ethics: "If it can be avoided, never bring ignominy on an innocent man or child, in telling of the misdeeds or misfortunes of a relative. Don't wait to be asked, but do it without the asking...Never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody. Be decent; be fair; be generous. I want this paper to be so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of any child."[158]

The conference of editors at MAC in 1918 -- a celebration of rural life as well as a planning session -- was called "one of the biggest things that has been undertaken by the college staff insofar as expected results are concerned and one which will have most far-reaching effect." In the view of the MAC Record, it had "been apparent for some time that the college was not in as close touch with Michigan farmers and rural communities as they should be and that its influence was not exerted thoroughly or as strongly as that of like institutions in neighboring states." An analysis, it said, "has indicated that what we seem to lack more than anything else is a means of reaching farmers and rural communities with a news service of some sort, one which would keep farmers in constant touch with the activities of the college and help in organizing agricultural interests.[159]

To bring the College and rural journalists closer together, participants created the Michigan Rural Publishers Association and passed a resolution calling for an annual conference at the college, since they were "convinced that a closer co-operation between MAC and the rural press is desirable."[160] Of potentially greater significance to the course of journalism education, though,

was the passage of a separate resolution which received secondary mention in articles on the conference appearing in the Record and the Lansing State Journal, a resolution endorsing "establishment at MAC of a department of rural journalism."[161] Further, the MAC Record stated, the rural editors "have already taken steps to accomplish this by legislative means."[162] In commenting upon the idea of a department of rural journalism, the Record added: "The linking up of the rural press to the support of the college is a big step in the right direction. It will bring a closer connection between the college and its community. We sincerely hope that their proposal of the establishment of a department of rural journalism is put through here."[163] The Journal story said the editors "went on record as in favor of rural journalism at MAC to meet country newspaper needs."[164]

Despite the reference to "legislative means," no bill relating to the creation of a department of rural journalism was introduced in the 1917 or 1919 sessions of the Michigan Legislature, according to House and Senate journals. Nor was such a department mentioned in the College's annual reports to the Board of Agriculture, future issues of the MAC Record or the correspondence of President Frank S. Kedzie.

Although a department was not established, journalism at the Michigan Agricultural College would never be the same. For the conference, in serving as a rallying cry for rural journalism, had symbolized a change in direction that had been slowly occurring both in the journalism course and in the college itself. No longer could it be said that journalism at MAC was strictly agricultural journalism. In 1917, the agricultural journalism course was renamed "Writing for the Press,"[165] denoting a shift from writing for agricultural newspapers and magazines to writing for publications of general circulation. Nor could it be said

that the Michigan Agricultural College was strictly an agricultural school. Over a period of thirteen years -- between the presidencies of Jonathan Snyder who resigned in 1915 and Robert Sidey Shaw who took over in 1928 -- the school "created new divisions of applied science and liberal arts, revived graduate study, founded a music school, developed curricula in medical biology, physical education, business administration and hotel management."[166] Against that background, the Michigan Agricultural College, in 1925, became Michigan State College.

Although the journalism program no longer emphasized agriculture, it had not abandoned the farmer. Rather, journalism at MAC, as reflected in the conference of 1918, had evolved from "agricultural journalism" to "rural journalism," including both farm fields and Main Street. As such, students were no longer concerned with the interests of the farmer alone but with all the people and institutions of the small town -- and, as the gathering had shown, with the editor and the weekly newspaper most of all.

That the small town had replaced the farm as the focus of MAC journalism was apparent in the program's relationship with the Michigan Agriculturist, the student agricultural magazine. Founded in 1922, and published until 1934, the publication was "devoted entirely to the advancement of our [agricultural] department" and served as "a journalistic workshop for those who are not too timid to enter."[167] At many agricultural colleges, such magazines, as laboratories for student journalists, were published in close cooperation with journalism departments. At Iowa State University, for example, the Iowa Agriculturist, founded in 1902, continues to publish with the help of student staff members and faculty advisers.[168] At MAC, however, no such cooperation ever existed. Writing or editing for the Agriculturist, Gottfried Graff, a 1934

graduate and associate editor of the magazine during its final year of publication, said, was similar to working for any student newspaper. "None of us had a writing background, except possibly from high school," he said, in a 1991 interview. "The purpose was to get as many people involved as possible, people who liked agriculture and who had a desire to write." Few, if any, staff members during Graff's years at MSC took courses in the Department of Journalism and Publications. "We were agricultural students," he said, "with no connection with the people who taught journalism. We were like any journalists in the sense that we wanted to write, thought it was important to write about what we liked -- agriculture -- and felt that we would benefit from our experience later on."[169]

As the Michigan Agricultural College moved from agricultural journalism and service to the farmer to the broader perspective of rural journalism and service to the small town, it continued to stand apart from journalism programs that viewed the newspaper as a societal critic and analyst . In addition, it began to stand apart from several of those programs in another way. For, just as MAC sought to serve weekly newspapers in small communities, Northwestern University, in 1921, established a program with an opposite purpose -- to serve large newspapers in large cities -- and called its Medill School of Journalism "the only metropolitan newspaper training institution west of the Alleghenies."[170]

In one sense, MAC differed from Medill in the way it had always differed from schools who viewed newspapers as a social force. In announcing plans for Medill, Northwestern President Walter Dill Scott set forth the aim of the school by saying "the profession of journalism" was "of vital importance in its influences upon public opinion and upon the minds and character of mankind." To that end, the goal of the school would be to "make better journalists" who

would, in turn, "produce better newspapers and periodicals."[171]

The belief that the newspaper was primarily a social and political force -- and, as such, a potential social critic -- was offered, as well, by several speakers at the Medill dedication ceremony. The remarks, presented by editors of Chicago newspapers, differed from those that would have been presented at a gathering of rural journalists, like the one at MAC in 1918. To the metropolitan editors, the newspaper was not a family member, but, in the view of Joseph Medill Patterson, a voice that, at any time, might be called upon to report, explain, interpret or criticize.

"The newspaper is to the nation what the voice is to the individual," he said. "The individual without a voice is nothing, and the nation without a voice is a chaotic mix, at the mercy of any conspiracy, of any cleverness, of any cunning. The newspaper is the public square. The news is simply the voice of the nation, and the newspaper men are the syllables or sounds."[172]

Other remarks by Patterson, however, showed that the Michigan Agricultural College journalism course differed from the program at Northwestern in another way. For Patterson, co-editor of the Chicago Tribune, which funded Medill, drew a distinction in journalism education that had seldom been made before. To him, programs differed not merely by what was taught but by the very location of the colleges. And to Patterson, those differences were best drawn between the rural and the urban schools.

"The advantages of a school in a great newspaper city like Chicago are obvious," he said, "because the student instead of studying the theory is studying the practice of the newspaper game. He will make a close study of what is being done today in the newspaper offices and from these studies he will draw his conclusions as to what he ought to do. In schools situated in small

towns it is necessary to use the deductive method of instruction. In other words, a student is given his premises as to the best newspaper practices and from these premises by a system of reasoning he draws his own conclusions. The Joseph Medill School intends to avail itself continuously of the offers to generously made by the newspapers of Chicago to give students of the school access to their plants." The nearness of the school to a big city, he said, would be useful to the students and to the newspapers because much newspaper training in Chicago was spent "in rubbing off the rough edges of a boy who has perhaps come from a country paper or in waiting for a young man to learn his city."[173]

In the years following World War I, then, journalism at the Michigan Agricultural College was essentially rural journalism. In that regard, the newspaper was still viewed not as a potential critic but as a way of providing information about the College and its mission and as an important institution in the community the school was trying to reach -- the small town.

For that reason, the role of the MAC publicity agent, created with the hiring of Earl Trangmar in 1917, became increasingly important. For such a person, especially one who understood the rural press and rural communities, could promote the College in several small-town newspapers through the creation of a single, well-crafted news release. Following the resignation of Trangmar in 1919, James B. Hassleman accepted that role and, under him, the publicity office became known as the Office of Publications. Because there was no other "information man" on campus, Hassleman said, the Office was "expected to carry out whatever service could be furnished in connection with athletics, student recruiting, general college activities, and any other 'public relations' activities which seemed in order." As Hassleman put it: "Thus the original news

service was established and its success made it feasible to continue various but consistently scheduled news services."[174]

A graduate of Wesleyan College in Connecticut, and with newspaper experience in Indianapolis, Hasselman came to MAC in 1915 as an English instructor. In 1917, the agricultural journalism course, which he taught, was renamed "Writing for the Press." During that year, Hasselman also worked out a "cooperative agreement" with the editor of the MAC Record "in which Record news assignments will be turned over to different members of the class to cover in news style." In addition, the course showed MAC journalism students another phase of journalism. That is, students were to take their stories "to the printers to help in the 'make up' of the type matter" where they would learn "something of the printing and mechanical side of journalism."[175] The emphasis on news style and the introduction to the mechanical side -- both important to the small-town editor -- were other indications that the course at MAC had become journalism for the small town.

Although appointed director of publications in the spring of 1919, Hasselman retained his connection with the English Department so that he could continue to teach the newswriting course. Later that year, due to "the growing responsibilities and duties of his new position,"[176] he relinquished those ties.

His successor in teaching Writing for the Press was Albert H. Nelson, an assistant professor in the English Department who joined the MAC faculty in 1919, and taught a growing number of journalism courses in the next decade. Born in Wolcott, Indiana, Nelson earned bachelor's and master's degrees at Wabash College and taught English at Oklahoma A and M before serving with the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I.[177]

Under his guidance, the department, in 1920, while offering the standard Writing for the Press, added a section for seniors "majoring in food or textiles" which was "adapted to the aims and interests of students specializing in home economics."[178] That section was an option in a newly-organized technical home economics course. While the general home economics course was intended to train students primarily as home economics teachers, social service workers or home makers, the technical course offered its students a larger number of possibilities: "for the professions of teaching, dietitian, institutional manager, cafeteria director, visiting housekeeper, director of nutrition clinics, hospital dietitian, demonstrator for commercial firms, expert buyer for merchants, expert in commercial laboratories, special editorial work on women's magazines and publications."[179] Students in the technical course were required to take more courses in science, English and public speaking than those in the general curriculum which, for example, did "not require chemistry beyond organic."[180]

Although the journalism program and the Office of Publications did not merge for several years, the influence of an expanded publicity program -- and of Hasselman -- was evident in the creation of journalism courses in the 1920s. A course in Agricultural Publicity, for example, was added to the English Department in 1924-25 for prospective agricultural teachers, county agents and extension workers.[181] The course included a study of the farm page and of farm columns in the newspaper and afforded "practice in conducting such means of farm publicity."[182]

The addition of Agricultural Advertising to the curriculum that year also showed Hasselman's and Nelson's interest in the expanding field of advertising. Nelson, in an article for the Michigan Agriculturist, wrote that "for years manufacturers and business men have known that 'it pays to advertise',

but the farm has only recently realized that the old saying applies to agricultural products as well."[183] Hasselman helped organize the MAC Advertising Club in 1920.[184] Following a club proposal, the Record said it believed "that there is a distinct need for a course in advertising at MAC."[185]

Other new courses followed. Writing for Farm Journals and Writing and Editing Farm Bulletins were added in 1924-25.[186] The following year, Reporting and Correspondence, Editing, Editorial Writing and Critical Writing entered the curriculum.[187]

The expanding Michigan State College journalism curriculum in the 1920s continued to address the interests of the small town. Courses in agricultural publicity and advertising -- as opposed to those focusing only upon the writing of technical bulletins -- recognized the farmer not merely as a field worker but as a small-town business person who must learn to market products to nearby communities and beyond.

The addition of journalism courses, in fact, paralleled the growth of what had become Michigan State College. From 1920 to 1928, enrollment rose from 1,411 to 2,813. An expanding College created a need for expanding publicity, and to meet that need W.W. Johnston's English Department made a cooperative arrangement with Hasselman's publicity bureau. Through that agreement, student journalists could earn practical experience while working for the bureau under Hasselman's guidance.

One of the first students to work for Hasselman was Merideth Clark, a resident of Vicksburg, Mich., south of Kalamazoo, who entered MSC in the fall of 1925. As a high school student, Clark had learned the printing trade at the Vicksburg Commercial, a semi-weekly newspaper. At MSC, Clark majored in

English, took journalism courses and said he learned the most by working for Hasselman and as a reporter and printer for the State News.[188]

"Jimmy (Hasselman) and I became great friends," Clark said. "He gave me a job in the publicity department at 45 cents an hour. It involved writing news releases for the newspapers, sometimes helping in production -- maybe even running the presses -- or just anything that needed to be done."

The journalism courses, he said, gave him little insight into the practical side of publishing. "All the professor (Nelson) was interested in was English, naturally," he said. "He had no idea what made a newspaper operate."[189]

Writing a press release under Hasselman, whether about the research of an agriculture professor or the activities of a student, Clark said, helped him sharpen the skills he had acquired while working at the Vicksburg Commercial. "Like all those old editors," he said, "Hasselman had his notions about what it took to write a good story. An ideal sentence was twelve words, an ideal paragraph forty."

That journalism at Michigan State College, whatever the orientation, acquired its own department was logical, given the trends in courses and the College. By 1929, MSC offered twelve course in journalism, as opposed to one a decade earlier. Also, during the presidency of Robert S. Shaw, from 1928 to 1941, 15 new departments were created, usually to give autonomy to a subordinate area. On July 1, 1929, the State Board of Agriculture established the Department of Journalism and Publications so that "related activities in the fields of publications, journalism and public information might be coordinated."[190]

The new department was responsible for: (1) Instruction in all courses in journalism. (2) Editing, publishing and distributing bulletins for the Agricultural

Experiment Station. (3) The news service for the Extension Division. (4) The news service for the College, including athletics. (5) The publication of pamphlets and booklets relating to the academic work of the College and the supervision of all College printing. (6) Photo services for College departments. (7) Supervision of programs for College radio station WKAR. (8) The mimeograph and multigraph service for all College departments. (9) The compiling, editing and printing of all official College reports. (10) The general supervision of students publications: State News, Wolverine, Michigan Agriculturist. [191]

When the change was announced, Hasselman said the department had been formed "to act as the foundation of a stronger and more complete curriculum in this subject when the demand justifies it."[192] A State News editorial called the move "an important step for the future of journalism" at Michigan State College. "Little will be done for a time as far as expansion in this field in concerned," it said, "but a foundation can be built for a greater journalism department than would be possible under present conditions." Equating the growth of the journalism program with the growth of the State News, it said that "a greater journalism department, from the standpoint of enrollment and courses, will be necessary before this campus can manage a daily newspaper," a possibility considered to be "rather far in the future, of course."[193]

Under the new arrangement, Hasselman was named chairman and extension editor in the new department which included Nelson and assistant extension editor A.J. Patch, radio program director Keith Himebaugh and photographer James H. Pratt.[194]

The naming of Hasselman as chairman and the establishment of a

Department of Journalism and Publications -- rather than separate departments of journalism and publications -- further demonstrated MSC's commitment to rural journalism. While Albert Nelson had taught three or four journalism courses per semester in the 1920s, James Hasselman had directed the college's publicity program. As such, Hasselman was well-acquainted with the newspaper editors of Michigan, particularly those in rural areas, and with the types of stories that would most likely appear on their pages. So, compared with Nelson, Hasselman had the greater influence outside the classroom, the place where journalism was of immediate use to the College. Furthermore, the creation of the department showed that journalism at MSC was still considered a means of providing information favorable to the school and its aims that was, at the same time, consistent with the ideals of the small town. The new department, then, supplied such information to rural communities while training the journalists who would one day control the newspapers in those communities. Indeed, when it came to journalism and publicity, as the department name suggested, College administrators did not distinguish between the two.

During its first year, the new department offered ten classes including Business Writing, a course transferred from the English Department which eventually became the most popular offered by the Journalism Department. The 1929-30 catalog described Business Writing as being "a course in the general principles of business correspondence with training in the composition of effective business letters." Courses in Writing for Farm Journals and Agricultural Publicity were not listed, but agricultural writing was mentioned in course descriptions for Technical Writing and Special Feature Articles.

Under its new department status, journalism was part of the Division of

Liberal Arts. To earn a journalism degree, students must have completed nine credits of English composition, nine credits of laboratory science and two years of a foreign language.[195]

In addition to their classroom and publication duties, the staff, the first annual department report stated, conducted "a number of one-day 'news schools' planned primarily for co-operative workers in the extension field...at various points in the state." It also stressed the department's publication efforts which included the news service "centered mainly around the agricultural and home economics information material furnished regularly to Michigan's 365 weekly and 70 daily papers."

Then, the following year, through the guidance of Hasselman, the department made an arrangement with the Michigan Press Association that further strengthened college ties with the state's small-town newspapers. Since the conference of rural editors and publishers in 1918, college administrators had sought ways to expand publicity efforts to reach readers in Michigan's farm communities. Earl Trangmar, in fact, had suggested that the college hire "three young men with newspaper experience" to act under him as reporters to tell the press of Michigan of the work of the college.[196] That idea later evolved with the hiring of students, like Merideth Clark, who worked under Hasselman's close supervision. Under the 1931 arrangement with the press association, the college took a further step by providing an on-campus office for the association's executive officer (the secretary) and employed him on a half-time basis, at an annual salary of $400, as extension specialist for the rural press. The first Michigan Press Association officer to hold the job was James Haskins, the publisher of the Howard City Record.[197] With Haskins in his on-campus office, the links between Michigan State College and the rural

journalists of Michigan -- and between the MSC journalism program and the concept of rural journalism -- were complete.

"The press association had been virtually inactive for some years," Hasselman said, "and Jim Haskins' job was really two-fold: to help build up active participation by rural papers in the Association, and to find out the kind of news service they could use -- both state-wide from the College and locally from the county agricultural agents."[198]

The 1931-32 annual report, meanwhile, stated that 323 students had been enrolled in the 15 courses, or sections of courses, offered that year. Of those, 263 were listed as students in News Writing or Business Writing.[199]

The following year's annual report stated that on Dec. 1, 1932, Hasselman severed connections with the college. Albert H. Nelson was appointed acting head.[200] Those statements provided only a brief description of College events leading to the forced resignation of Hasselman, historian and former President Frank S. Kedzie and Joseph F. Cox, dean of the school's agricultural division.

The process had begun in August 1932, when five citizens of Ingham County asked that "a grand jury scrutinize alleged financial irregularities in the College." Among charges were ones that salaries were paid as deposits in the local bank in which College men were officers; that the Secretary had attempted to sell a horse to the College, which would have been an illegal act, that a faculty group had offered a farm to the College at an excessive price; that campus planning was performed at a high fee by a Detroit landscape architect rather than by the College department; and that the Michigan State Institute of Music and Allied Arts used campus buildings, received fees from the College for student lessons and profited in other ways from its connection with the music department. Investigations by a one-man grand jury, Circuit Judge

Leland W. Carr, and by the state's assistant attorney general, Joseph Baldwin, failed to discover any misconduct.[201] Carr, in fact, indicated that the charges had not arisen out of misconduct but in "critical remarks, magnified and distorted by repetition."[202] Acting upon that implication, the Board forced the resignations of Hasselman, Cox and Kedzie who were viewed as leaders in compiling evidence against their colleagues.

Newspaper reports indicate that the Board had acted to "quiet politics" on the campus.[203] In brief, "the charge was that Kedzie, Cox and Hasselman had criticized the administration of President Robert S. Shaw and Secretary Herman H. Halladay."[204] George Alderton, a former Lansing State Journal sports editor, who free-lanced as sports publicist for the College beginning in 1923, agrees with that assessment. "Jimmy Hasselman was a very affable guy, a kind of one-man band who did a little of everything and seemed to know everything," he said. Regarding the events leading to his dismissal, Alderton said Hasselman was simply a member of a group that tried to topple the MSC administration -- and lost. "President Shaw was simply a crafty old boy who beat 'em all to the punch."[205]

President Shaw's papers show, in fact, that college officials had been gathering evidence against Hasselman, Kedzie and Cox for several months. Unsigned comments among those papers include one stating: "several weeks ago Hasselman told Mr. Weddell, Secretary in the President's office, that he was sorry that he had not written the controversy [that is, his view of the alleged irregularities] up and called the boys all in. By the boys, he meant prominent members of the Weekly Press Association." Further, "so far as it can be determined through inquiry for quite a long period, it is evident that Mr. Hasselman spends three hours or less on the average in his office daily. He is

absent from town a great deal unbeknown to the administrative officers of the institution."[206]

The Michigan Press Association, housed in its campus office for two years when the story broke, appeared to balance its position, backing Hasselman while promoting the "good of the college." A confidential MPA memo sent to weekly newspaper editors during the investigation pointed out that "so far the only comment in the weekly papers has been of a friendly sort of non-committal attitude," a position the Association directors favored. "For the good of the college and everyone involved," the memo continued, "we are merely suggesting that it might be advisable to await the various reports before printing anything, one way or the other. The MPA has had too long and too friendly an association with the college to do what might be an unintended injury. This suggestion is passed along simply as an idea for your consideration."

In addition, nine "individual representatives of numerous rural newspaper of Michigan" wrote Shaw and the State Board of Agriculture to demand that "before any dismissals of any person, or group of persons, are made, that full open public hearings be accorded to all persons interested."[207] Although no open meetings were held, "a committee of weekly newspaper publishers" was allowed to be present when Hasselman appeared before the Board of Agriculture during its inquiry of the matter."[208] While discussions during that appearance were not made public, President Shaw's papers contain two pages listing several questions that may have been asked of Hasselman. Although the answers to the questions are not known -- or whether, in fact, the questions were even asked -- they give insight into Shaw's concern regarding Hasselman's conduct of the publications office. Those questions included the

following:

> Did you suggest to students working in your department that they turn in more hours than they actually worked or did you increase the number of hours turned in so that students might thus receive a higher rate of pay than the college allowed?
>
> Did you do everything you could to prevent the Detroit Times attack on the college administration?
>
> Did you see any of the articles before they were printed and announce in the publications office in the presence of students what they were going to be and joke about how they would make some people squirm?

What Hasselman hoped to gain is not known. If nothing else, his role as publicity director at the College may have conflicted with his instincts as a journalism instructor and former newspaper man. The simple explanation is that, privy to information about a matter involving several MSC officials, he felt strongly enough to support the anti-administration side of the argument -- a position also taken by Frank S. Kedzie, who had spent fifty-two years at the school and appointed him publicity director in 1919 -- and lost.

From MSC, Hasselman went to Washington as an editor for cooperative extension programs in the Department of Agriculture where, the Michigan Press Association bulletin editorialized, he was "beyond the reach of greedy, grasping self-promoters and where trickery and deceit have nothing to do with one's work."[209] By itself, such a comment is hardly worth noting. Indeed, Hasselman was as likely to find "trickery and deceit" in Washington as in rural Michigan. The remark does, however, indicate that, after 18 years with the college, Hasselman had gathered strong support from within the ranks of Michigan small-town newspaper editors. Significant, too, is the fact that the

Michigan Press Association was able to publicly avoid taking sides in the dispute. Both the memo suggesting the newspapers avoid "unintended injury" to the college and the one mentioning Hasselman's new job were released only to the small-town editors. Amid the investigations and resignations, with their potential for negative publicity, the ties between Michigan State College and the Press Association had remained strong .

The departure of Hasselman, in fact, had little immediate impact upon the journalism program. Albert Nelson, who was named permanent chairman the following year, continued teaching all the journalism courses, as he had in previous years. Patch and Himebaugh continued in their assignments, and three other staff members, including a photographer, were added to the growing publications office. In a joint venture with the office, Nelson organized the Press Club to reach the high school papers of Michigan with stories of the college and its students. Classes in journalism were given "definite assignments in sending stories about student activities to many of the weeklies" and received "actual practice in newspaper correspondence."[210] Thus, under Albert Nelson, the journalism classroom became an adjunct to the publications program as the department served the interests of rural Michigan by sending stories to weekly newspapers.

Nelson was remembered by students as being "alert, efficient, factual." "Yet despite his businesslike manner, Nelson was human. His journalism students, who invariably thought him austere at the beginning, always discovered that before they finished his courses."[211]

Although he studied journalism during the summer of 1921 at the University of Wisconsin, Nelson's only newspaper experience had come five summers later as a copy editor and rewrite man for the Worcester

(Massachusetts) Telegram, an experience he sometimes drew upon in class.

Gregg Smith, who entered Michigan State College in 1932, remembered that "there was something of the stoic about Albert" but that his "reserve would completely vanish if a neophyte writer or editor displayed a flash of ingenuity, a clever lead, an eye-catching headline." Nelson, he said, helped students "fit beautifully into the requirements of the newspapers at that time." "He would simply say: 'Here are the facts. See what you can do.' Any extra adjective would be washed out."[212]

"One day," Smith said, "he brought a news story about a squabble between some deep sea divers who were racing to recover treasure from a shipwreck off the Carolinas. Everyone was ordered to the blackboards to write an appropriate headline for the story. Most of the headlines were informative and in good taste. Then he came to mine, which by a stroke of luck, was right on for that day. It read: CAPTAINS FIGHT FOR GOLD AND JEWELS; TREASURE HUNTERS RESORT TO ARMS. By the time he was finished extolling the merits of that headline, I was blushed with pride. But probably the most important result was that from then on, Albert Nelson began to express more interest in my writing activities and the courses I was taking. The stoicism, the cold exterior impression, the aloof attitude melted away once a student displayed the interest and energy to apply themselves."

Nelson, in personality and manner, was the opposite of James Hasselman, usually referred to in news articles as "Jimmy."

"Slender, ramrod back, blonde, cold, blue eyes, thin lipped," Smith said. "That was Albert Nelson, a rather awesome character to us freshmen just out of the cornfields. In retrospect, I think that was good. We knew that he meant business when he strode into the classroom, right to the minute. A gray-three-

piecer was his standard uniform. The gold watch he flicked from a vest pocket and laid on the desk told you that the class period was underway and would be concluded in exactly 50 minutes."

If the class was newswriting, he came well-prepared. He'd open a file folder with comparative samples of leads and sequence structures of how the Detroit Free Press, the Times or the News had handled the same story, the previous day. If the class was editing, he had headline samples from any one of a dozen state dailies. He was strictly newspaper. You never heard mention of radio."

"He seldom cited any of his personal experiences in the news world beyond telling the class he had been in rewrite and editing on the Worcester paper. A few of the more irreverent class members would gear up their sarcasm with pithy references: 'Better do it like they did on the Worcester Telegram.' I did my share of that, too."[213]

After a long bout with cancer, Nelson, 43, died on October 18, 1935. By then, journalism enrollment -- with a total of 338 students for all courses -- had more than doubled in the previous ten years. At the same time, annual reports stated that the department's publicity production was increasing, too. One such report, for example, said that weekly papers had devoted "16,470 more column inches of space" to college news than in any previous year. In that same report, in fact, Nelson had said that "it is my hope that two phases of publicity -- general college and sports -- may be greatly strengthened."[214]

In the search for a new chairman for the Department of Journalism and Publications, it was natural for the College to seek a man with "very exceptional qualifications" in rural journalism, as the Department of English had sought two decades before. It was unlikely, for example, that the school

would seek a director through journalism programs at Columbia or Michigan, unless, of course, that person had been willing to adapt to the philosophy of the program at Michigan State, the philosophy of rural journalism and its service to the small town. Guided by that philosophy, the new director would prepare MSC journalists to staff the rural papers that chronicled life in small towns and the expanding work of Michigan State College which sought to recruit students from those communities. Further, that person would be required to retain, and strengthen, ties with the Michigan Press Association -- a strong link to rural Michigan -- and direct a publicity bureau that would, almost by definition, grow along with the College.

Within a month, the school discovered, and hired, Albert A. Applegate, who took over on Jan. 1, 1936. Although details of Applegate's hiring are unavailable, he was the ideal candidate for the job. That is, he had been chairman of the Department of Printing and Rural Journalism at South Dakota State College, in Brookings, where his duties were similar to those he was expected to perform at MSC. Applegate's decision to leave South Dakota was due, in part, to the continuing depression in the state which had caused the faculty to take 20 percent pay cuts earlier in the year. "The state educational institutions are being drained of their best men because the salary scale is so low," a newspaper editorial said. "Professor Applegate joins a long list of recent losses, and goes principally because his new offer gives him a much better scale."[215]

A graduate of the University of Illinois, he earned an M.A. in journalism from the University of Montana in 1923, while an instructor in that university's school of journalism. Applegate had also worked as a reporter and editor for several newspapers including the Butte (Montana) Anaconda and the Boise

(Idaho) Statesman.

At South Dakota State he had been extension editor, experiment station editor, public relations director and sports information director. In addition, he strengthened relations with the state's newspaper editors, much as Michigan State was attempting to do. "When he arrived in Brookings," his daughter, Roberta, said, "the university (Vermillion) had the journalism reputation." I recall that he said some of the newspaper editors began to 'complain' about the news releases -- 'we used to be able to throw them away. Now they are so newsworthy and well-written we have to print them.' He traveled the state -- north, south, east and west -- making it a point to become personally acquainted with each editor and publisher. Often he served as an unpaid consultant -- not just promoting SDSC but helping these editors and publishers upgrade their papers, solve problems."[216]

Applegate's stated goal as chairman of the department at South Dakota State was the aim of all agricultural schools of the day: to provide "adequate training in the rural newspaper field, training which will not just make good printers or good news writers or good advertising men, but will make them all-around newspaper men, filling a place in the lives of the people of South Dakota or of other states where they may go."[217]

George Phillips, a 1929 South Dakota State College graduate, who worked as a publicity assistant under Applegate and later served as department chairman, said Applegate took a "practical" approach to journalism, whether building ties with the state's editors or teaching students the skills they would need later on.

One such approach, he said, was Applegate's role in helping establish the South Dakota Newspaper Hall of Fame, housed in the journalism department.

"The object was to honor newspaper people who had contributed to the profession and the state," Phillips said, "and, in that way, the school was keeping good ties with the editors and publishers, too. It was indicative of his relationship with the press. He not only wanted to help out. He wanted to give editors a place to be remembered, to build them up."

One of the specialized aspects of the South Dakota State program was its printing curriculum. As chairman, Applegate oversaw those courses and, as such, he knew printers and the sometimes highly-technical field of printing literally inside and out. One instructor, for example, would not lecture unless he had a slug casting machine, with spare parts, before the class at all times. Yet, Applegate, Phillips remembered, was apparently more dedicated to the subject of writing.

"His philosophy of journalism, his creed," Phillips said, "was that the most important thing was the writing of proper English." "Reporting and investigative ability were important, but if you couldn't write in an interesting way, you weren't destined to be a top-notch journalist."[218]

When Applegate left South Dakota, newspapers throughout the state printed editorials praising his work. He was viewed as "a live wire" who had "put the Department of Journalism on the map" and had "endeared himself to every publisher in the state."[219] In addition, he had "not only conducted an efficient department dedicated to the job of training printers and journalists, but kept South Dakota accurately informed on all agricultural problems affecting its welfare through press releases furnished weekly and daily publications throughout the state."[220]

When Albert Applegate was appointed chairman at MSC, the college was one of 532 U.S. institutions listing at least one course in journalism.[221] In 1911,

a year after the Michigan Agricultural College had offered its first class, 33 schools were teaching the subject, though "there were only five schools with a series of professional courses reasonably well developed."[222]

By the mid-1930s, however, journalism programs could still be divided into two general categories, much as they had been two decades before.

If the view of Pulitzer -- that journalism education stress the newspaper's roles both as reporter, interpreter and critic -- typified the traditional approach in 1910, Eric W. Allen, journalism dean at the University of Oregon, among others, represented that outlook years later.

"The competent journalist," he said, "must understand the scientific basis of current life, the complex of established principles that underlies any modern, objective civilized discussion of politics, government, economics, psychology -- in general, the art of living." In his view, schools of journalism would "utterly fail of their deeper purpose if they do not attempt and succeed in producing as graduate who is thoroughly grounded not only in the separate social sciences, but also in the habit of keeping up with the authentic progress of the best current thought and actually applying the most enlightening conception of social science to his work as a reporter and as an editor."[223]

Willard Bleyer, who had integrated journalism into a social science curriculum at the University of Wisconsin earlier in the century, continued to believe that courses in writing and editing were a way to help a student "think logically" and "to apply intelligently what he has learned" in other courses to future work as a reporter or editor. "Therefore, it seems to me," he said, "that the function of most of the courses in journalism is to teach students how to think straight about what is going on in the world at large and how to apply what they have learned to understanding and interpreting the day's news."[224]

At Michigan State, and at other agricultural colleges, meanwhile, the approach remained much as it had in 1910, though the agricultural mission had been expanded to include other departments -- home economics, for example -- and agricultural journalism had long been redefined as rural journalism, the journalism of the small town. While the goal of the MSC Department of Journalism and Publications, then, seemed less lofty than the words of Allen and Bleyer, that mission was no less important to the students in the classroom or the residents of the state.

The purpose of journalism education at MSC, according to the department, was to combine "instruction in theory with actual practice" and to provide "the student with an opportunity to observe the functioning of the principles taught in the classroom."[225] The course names, in fact, reflect editorial practice: Business Writing, Bulletin Writing, Advertising Copy. As yet, Michigan State College, given its purpose, had no room for courses in journalism history or ethics of the press that were present at Oregon, Wisconsin and similar schools.

Journalism at Michigan State, and at other agricultural colleges, had grown greatly in 25 years, from a single course to a single department. It must be noted, though, that other journalism schools were growing, too, and in directions that most agricultural colleges had yet to take.

For even as schools were developing four-year programs, the movement toward graduate work and research in journalism had already begun. As early as 1925, The American Society of Newspaper Editors, in a resolution on journalism education, stated that , in its view, the ultimate goal of schools of journalism should be "their development into graduate schools to the end that their educational standards shall be on a par with those maintained at the best

schools of law or medicine."[226] In 1935, the School of Journalism, Columbia University, became exclusively a graduate school with entrance restricted to students holding bachelor's degrees. The plan confined work in journalism to a single graduate year with all classes grouped under three heads: Reporting and copy reading; editorial writing, policies and research; and research in publishing policies.[227] By then, other schools, including the Universities of Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, Stanford and Emory, had made provisions for a year of graduate work beyond their requirements for the bachelor's degree.

Journalism research topics, as reflected in graduate theses, meanwhile, covered a wide range. At Wisconsin, in 1935, topics of doctoral dissertations combining journalism and social science included "The Attitude of Some Newspapers on Law Breaking and Enforcement" and "American Public Opinion and European Armaments, 1912-1914." M.A. topics in journalism concerned "Ethiopian and Italian Propaganda in American Newspapers" and "History and Development of News Pictures, With Special Regard to Propaganda Uses."[228]

The titles of those theses -- indeed, the existence of graduate programs -- indicate how much journalism education at the University of Wisconsin, typical of the large universities, differed from that of Michigan State, typical of the agricultural colleges. Consideration of international journalism or research into social problems such as crime, for example, were not mentioned in available records of the first 25 years of MSC journalism. In fact, through 1935, the only research listed by a Michigan State College professor in The Journalism Quarterly was "Fifty Years of a Rural County Newspaper" by sociologist Ernest M. Banzet.[229]

A requirement that faculty members produce research, to any degree,

then, might be another way of separating the journalism program at Michigan State College, as a land-grant school, from the programs at other schools. Albert Applegate, for example, was not hired to produce articles for the Journalism Quarterly, journalism education's leading research publication, or to judge the quality of a graduate thesis. Indeed, his hiring says as much about the mission of the land-grant school in the 1930s as the statements of Allen and Bleyer reveal about the large state universities.

"The early success of the public service mission -- embracing both extension and problem-oriented research -- of the land-grant college and the clientele to which that mission was directed made the land-grant college a distinctive institution. Its effectiveness was not to be measured by the scholarly characteristics of its faculty or by their research and writing. More important was the impact of its programs developed to meet specific needs of its designated clientele. These needs underwent continued change in a rapidly expanding nation. In addition, the land-grant college continually expanded its clientele as its early public service ventures confirmed that national well-being and development depended ultimately and directly on individuals and their collective actions and values in a democratic society."[230]

In Albert Applegate, Michigan State College had found a journalism instructor who had proven, at another land-grant school, that he could meet the need of the "designated clientele" -- students, farmers and small-town newspaper editors in his role as teacher and director of publications.

More than that, the mission of the land-grant college "initially required involvement in the same activities as those to whom its services were directed." If the college was to assist the farm family to increase production, for example, the faculty "must not only be able to offer realistic advice but also demonstrate

that the advice was based upon experience and validated by it. Faculty members had to model in college facilities and on college grounds what they undertook to demonstrate to others."[231]

As a former newspaper reporter and editor, Applegate might be able to offer such "realistic advice" to the editors of Michigan's small-town papers and, in so doing, serve those communities as well. Further, the journalism program, by offering courses of special value to small-town editors, might become a campus "model" of what those newspapers, both in form and in content, could best become, the rural equivalent of what the Chicago Tribune had tried to establish for metropolitan journalism at Northwestern.

Moreover, performing the service mission required a faculty member with special qualities. "Pragmatism, practicality, and technological competency were at least as important as scholarship."[232]

Albert Applegate, then, after demonstrating those qualities in South Dakota, came to the Michigan State College well-acquainted with what his mission for the journalism program might be. Future years would best determine how the man would match the mission and, in a department that would see its third chairman in five years, for how long.

APPLEGATE AT MSC

The journalism program at Michigan State College from 1936 to 1949 was marked by the leadership of Albert A. Applegate. Under his guidance, that program, which became the Department of Journalism in 1943, expanded in students, faculty and courses. As it grew, the department continued to promote the interests of rural journalism, a commitment which began at MAC in 1918 and which Applegate had previously followed at South Dakota State College. Evidence of that direction was the department's strengthening ties with the Michigan Press Association, the representative of the state's small-town newspapers. The orientation toward the small town remained strong throughout the mid-1940s. As the college enrollment nearly doubled following World War II and as the journalism curriculum evolved in size and diversity, however, that direction began to change. In 1949, the department, with a faculty that had increased during the Applegate years from three to 18, was accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism for its news-editorial sequence. As the 1940s ended, questions arose as to whether, and how, the program's role in serving the state and serving the college would change even further in the upcoming decade

When Albert Angelo Applegate arrived at Michigan State College in January 1936 to head the journalism department, he seemed just the man to

APPLEGATE AT MSC

The journalism program at Michigan State College from 1936 to 1949 was marked by the leadership of Albert A. Applegate. Under his guidance, that program, which became the Department of Journalism in 1943, expanded in students, faculty and courses. As it grew, the department continued to promote the interests of rural journalism, a commitment which began at MAC in 1918 and which Applegate had previously followed at South Dakota State College. Evidence of that direction was the department's strengthening ties with the Michigan Press Association, the representative of the state's small-town newspapers. The orientation toward the small town remained strong throughout the mid-1940s. As the college enrollment nearly doubled following World War II and as the journalism curriculum evolved in size and diversity, however, that direction began to change. In 1949, the department, with a faculty that had increased during the Applegate years from three to 18, was accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism for its news-editorial sequence. As the 1940s ended, questions arose as to whether, and how, the program's role in serving the state and serving the college would change even further in the upcoming decade

When Albert Angelo Applegate arrived at Michigan State College in January 1936 to head the journalism department, he seemed just the man to

how, the program's role in serving the state and serving the college would change even further in the upcoming decade.

When Albert Angelo Applegate arrived at Michigan State College in January 1936 to head the journalism department, he seemed just the man to keep the program on a course that had been evolving for nearly a decade.

Through the creation of the Department of Journalism and Publications in 1929, the College had built a program which, in its dual role, trained future reporters and editors while providing the publicity to promote the school in newspapers throughout the state, particularly in small towns. The instructional role, begun by Thomas Blaisdell in 1910, had been carried on by James Hasselman and Albert Nelson. The promotional aspect, long advocated by President Snyder, had been directed primarily by Earl Trangmar and Hasselman. If the 1929 move had solidified the two roles, the hiring of Applegate -- a journalist, teacher and publications director -- had placed them under the direction of a man who, more than either of his predecessors, was qualified to perform them both. While both Trangmar and Hasselman had assumed their duties at MSC shortly after graduating from college, Applegate came to Michigan State at 36 with 15 years of journalism and teaching experience behind him.

Further, Applegate, given his work in South Dakota, was especially suited to strengthen College ties with the Michigan Press Association, a representative of the state's rural newspapers. And that connection, more than any other single factor, symbolized the department's ongoing commitment to the journalism of the small town.

Applegate's inclination toward those papers, in fact, was reflected in a

speech delivered before the South Dakota Press Association four months after his arrival at Michigan State College. In it he pointed out that, despite the influence of the large daily papers, the weekly press of the nation predominated "numerically, in circulation, and in individual attention getting."

"Despite the dominance of the large cities in commerce and finance," he said, "the metropolitan newspapers do not maintain the highest ideals and traditions of American life." "They do not mirror the life of the cities in which they are published, where people are really common, ordinary, friendly, simple. It is left to the papers in the small cities, the towns and rural areas to carry those standards of American tradition."

The editorials of small newspapers, Applegate said, have a high percentage of readers "and therefore a greater influence, than the editorials of the combined efforts of writers on metropolitan papers." "Indeed," he said, "it is no secret that one Chicago daily elects the men it attacks, and that a seeker of a presidential nomination is hampered by the support of a chain of newspapers." "But the home editor is one of the folks; he talks in his column as he does on the street corner. He is taken for what he is. It is to the credit of the weekly press that the editorial judgment is unusually sound."

Applegate said he did not think it was possible for small-town publishers to "neglect our job printing." "But we can be newspapermen first and job printers afterward, instead of having the newspaper tag along after the job department. It is as newspaper men we shall be judged." [233]

More than an endorsement of small-town papers, Applegate's comments were an endorsement of small-town life. In content and in spirit, the remarks were similar to the speech H.J. Waters had delivered to the rural journalists at MAC in 1918. To Waters, the goal of the country paper was to be "a member of the family." To Applegate, its purpose was to "carry those standards of American tradition" -- of common, ordinary, friendly, simple people -- that the metropolitan newspapers had overlooked. Further, it was the purpose Applegate had followed at South Dakota State and was committed to follow, through the classroom and through Michigan's rural editors, as he began his career at Michigan State.

Speeches praising small-town journalism and small-town life were incomplete, in fact, without an attack on their urban counterparts which did not "maintain the highest ideals and traditions of American life."

Against that background, it is possible to understand how the emotional attachments to either small-town or city life helped account for differences in journalism schools which, like the editors and reporters themselves, sided with either the "rural" or the "metropolitan" press. In a broader sense, though, any "country-city" division within journalism education merely pointed out the divisions within the nation at large.

Those divisions were clarified in 1928 when the Democrats "decided to ride with the forces of urbanism" by nominating Alfred E. Smith, the governor of New York and a Roman Catholic, for president. Bigots said the election of Smith would be "a religious affront to rural Protestants." More than anti-Catholicism, objection to Smith was based on "a pervasive anti-urbanism that embraced antagonism to his religion, his views on liquor, his tie to Tammany Hall, his identification with the new immigrants, and his association with the city

itself."[234]

The campaign rhetoric of Herbert Hoover, who grew up in Iowa, on the other hand, might have been crafted by the editor of a small-town newspaper: "He wrote of boyhood memories of gathering walnuts in the fall, carrying grain to the mill, fishing for catfish and sunnies, and finding 'gems of agate and fossil coral on the Burlington track. His family, he recalled, had woven its own carpets, made its own soap, preserved 'meat and fruit and vegetables, got its sweetness from sorghum and honey."[235]

Hoover, and his "image of a pristine America," won decisively, and the words of a Minnesota newspaper following the election might have been used to describe the attitude of many small-town editors both then and for years to come. "America is not yet dominated by the great cities," it said. "Main Street is still the principal thoroughfare of the nation."[236] Significantly, the term "Main Street," as the symbol of small-town supremacy in American life, remained popular in rural newspapers for decades beyond 1920, the year the census showed, for the first time, that more Americans lived in urban areas than in the country.

At Michigan State College in September of 1936, meanwhile, Applegate began his first fall term as chairman with a curriculum that included Advertising Copy, News Writing, Editorial Writing, Business Writing, Feature Writing, Editing, Special Feature Articles and Bulletin Writing.[237] At the same time, while the journalism program, with its eight offerings, possessed course quantity and variety, other schools had established curricula that were much broader. A 1936-1937 survey of 32 journalism programs showed that 93 percent of the schools listed courses in the History of Journalism, 87 percent in Journalism Law and 81 percent in Typography. Further, 16 schools offered

classes in current events or contemporary affairs, 14 in public opinion and ten in interpretation of foreign news, foreign news sources or international journalism.[238]

In time, the MSC program would provide similar courses. Even as that program expanded, though, to Applegate, as professor and publicist, fostering ties with the small-town papers and their communities remained a major mission during his 19 years at the College.

"What Applegate did that was terribly important to MSU," said Elmer White, a 1940 MSC journalism graduate and director of the Michigan Press Association from 1953 to 1976, "is that he visited every publication in the state." "He wanted every student to have a newspaper internship during college. After a while, every editor and publisher who needed a reporter would give a call. If Applegate knew him and could help, he would."[239]

Although Albert Nelson had been "well known among the Michigan (newspaper) fraternity by his cooperative activity with the Michigan Press Association through the College publicity department,"[240] Applegate took that activity further. During his first year at MSC he organized what was to become an annual statewide contest for Michigan weekly newspapers with winners announced at the MPA meeting in January.[241] "The contest won immediate favor with the newspapers," Applegate reported, "and will be continued."[242]

"The Michigan Press Association was already on campus," White pointed out, "but Applegate embraced the relationship and developed it." "The MPA annual meeting was attended by outstate publishers. It was more of a factor in Michigan journalism than it is now. MSU became known as a place to send kids, many of them publishers' kids, to learn the business."

In a 1980 memoir on his years at Michigan State University, former

President John Hannah mentioned the significance of having the MPA at the College. "This was a great asset in our dealings with rural communities," he said, "and as rapport improved between the weekly press and the Michigan dailies, the association became a much more comprehensive organization." "Their annual week-long meetings were held at Michigan State, and over the years a friendly and cooperative relationship developed between the association and the university. In the early days, the Michigan State Journalism Department was oriented toward training people for weekly papers and small dailies."[243]

Such an orientation was as important to the life of the small town as the orientation of the larger, more broadly-based journalism school was to the life of the city. That is, despite the statements about small-town papers that often reflected myth more than reality, those papers did play a significant role in the life of the small town -- a role, Hannah and Applegate believed, the MSC journalism program would help future editors and reporters to understand.

A study by Michigan State College sociologist Ernest M. Banzet pointed out that that the metropolitan paper is confined to a place "where life is less intimate and more impersonal than in the small towns." Further, the paper 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." Because it serves a large number of people, "it cannot hope to include much detail about the incidents, the interests, and the lives of its constituents."[244]

In contrast, the rural weekly is "essentially the paper of the small community," a community in which the residents are in "close proximity" and of "essential homogeneity." Those conditions 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."

To be successful in a small community, then, an editor must be aware of that closeness and intimacy. The editor should know that "he cannot hide behind the anonymity which is often prevalent in the news and editorials" of the large city daily. For that reason, the small-town editor is required "to guard the accuracy of his statements more carefully than the city editor."[245]

While the Banzet study defined the role of the small-town paper, a Special Bulletin issued by Michigan State College showed that its significance had not been diminished by either the Depression of the 1930s or the continuing population shift from country to city.

That bulletin disputed a view by "some persons" that the weekly newspaper "was becoming increasingly unimportant as a disseminator of news." "The disappearance of the weekly newspaper in certain communities too small in population to support a paper independently, as well as the increase in circulation of daily papers," the bulletin said, "have contributed to this view." In fact, it said, Michigan weekly newspapers numbered 335 in 1936, just as in 1933. "In view of the financial depression since 1930 the continuance of 335 papers would seem to indicate that they were an essential service agency in the community and might be expected to continue."[248]

The Banzet study and the Special Bulletin, then, demonstrated the importance of the newspaper as a small-town institution and assured that the institution was being continued. With that in mind, a college serving rural Michigan was correct in believing that the newspaper was a primary way to

reach the residents of the small town. And a close relationship between the journalism program, with its publicity bureau, and the representatives of the rural press was a way to assure that messages from college to potential student or college to farmer were being properly sent and received.

The orientation toward rural newspapers was demonstrated, in part, in Newspaper Management, one of three new courses offered in the fall of 1937. Taught by MPA Field Secretary Gene Alleman,[247] the class was similar in content to "the old type of community weekly course" that, at many other schools, had been taken over by business management courses.[248] The course was described as covering "the principles of newspaper management for news, retail advertising, general advertising, classified advertising, circulation, business administration and cost accounting. It is supplemented with field trips to weekly and daily newspaper plants and with lectures by newspaper publishers." The other additions were courses in Radio Writing and Present Day Practices in Advertising.[249]

By the late 1930s, courses in newspaper management were taught in most journalism programs. By 1937, 80 percent of journalism schools offered at least one course in business management, 66 percent a course in community newspaper and 31 percent a course in circulation and promotion.[250]

In general, the nature of such courses tended to reflect the orientation and diversity of the journalism programs. While MSC offered a course in newspaper management taught by the secretary of the Michigan Press Association, for example, Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism conducted a course in Metropolitan Newspaper Practice under the supervision of the night editor of the Chicago Daily Times.[251] A course in Newspaper Management, offered in Chicago, featured "training of news

executives with particular reference to circulation, advertising and promotion problems of papers."[252]

The difference between the management courses at Michigan State and those at Northwestern was not to be found in courses descriptions. Indeed, each school stressed the teaching of newspaper management, advertising and circulation skills. Rather, the difference was a matter of location, a prime example of the difference between "rural" and "urban" journalism programs. While the Michigan State courses were taught by a representative of the rural press, the Northwestern classes were offered by an editor of a Chicago newspaper. While students at MSC might visit a newspaper employing a few people and with a circulation in the hundreds, students at Northwestern would routinely study newspapers that employed hundreds of people and with circulations in the hundreds of thousands.

"Applegate was a pragmatist," Elmer White said of the management and advertising courses. "He knew the degree meant more if you had business along the way." "In the old days, you had to know something about advertising, circulation and typography. When you went to work at Bad Axe or Colon, that was important."[253]

MPA publications, in fact, often helped introduce editors and publishers to college journalists. The Association's "confidential bulletin," for example, printed the following ad and others like it: "Professor Albert A. Applegate, head of the MSC Journalism and Publications Department, recommends a young man, age 23, who is looking for editorial or advertising work on a Michigan newspaper. If you have such an opportunity for a beginner, notify Mr. Applegate in East Lansing."[254]

The expansion of the journalism program, though, was not due to the

influence of the Michigan Press Association alone. Rather, the change can be attributed to at least two other factors. One was the growth of a College that by 1940 had an enrollment of 7,052 . Another was Applegate's ability to take programs that had worked at South Dakota State and transplant them to Michigan State. And in making them work, he helped tighten the bond between college and community.

In 1938 and 1939, for example, he took steps to forge a link between the Department of Journalism and Publications and Michigan high schools, much as he had done in South Dakota. There, Applegate initiated high school workshop programs and worked closely with the high school journalism teachers and newspaper and yearbook advisers. "At that time -- far more than today -- they too often had no journalism training, had been drafted for the jobs. As a former high school teacher, he had an understanding of their problems and their needs."[255]

Norman Rumple, a South Dakota State College journalism graduate who later became editor of the Midland Daily News, was an assistant in Applegate's "High School All-State Staff" program in South Dakota. "It was a typical Applegate approach to things," he said. "He was teaching journalism while trying to get people to come to his school. And it worked." That approach, he said, meant selecting high school journalism students from throughout the state to produce an edition of the Huron (South Dakota) Daily Plainsman under the direction of Applegate and his students. "Being a journalist," he said, "Applegate made sure we knew what we were doing." "The point was to help the students produce a decent newspaper. From the public relations viewpoint, his orders to us were to get to know every kid by name, plus the name of the parents, hometown paper and the publisher. After that, you could follow up

with press releases on what a good job each high school journalist had done."[256]

At MSC, Applegate established a course in Supervising High School Publications which entered the curriculum in 1938.[257] The course, available to juniors, seniors and high school teachers, was required for "students who plan to teach with a major or minor in journalism." Not listed by the college's Department of Education, the course was likely initiated by Applegate because of his own background as a high school teacher early in his career and by the success of his high school journalism programs in South Dakota.

By the time Applegate established that course, high school journalism in Michigan was rather well-established. In 1921, for example, schools in metropolitan Detroit had announced formation of an organization for Michigan high school and junior high school publications, The Michigan Interscholastic Press Association. About 100 student journalists, members of the new organization, met for a three-day "high school editors' conference" the following year at the University of Michigan and, in 1927, the U of M's Department of Journalism assumed sponsorship of the Association.[258] The Association was still under the supervision of the University of Michigan during Applegate's time at MSC. (It did not move to Michigan State University until 1982.)

The MSC plan to attract high school journalists and their advisers included creation, in 1938, of High School Journalism Day, an event which drew about 900 participants its first year and attracted nearly 2,000 students from 750 schools ten years later.[259] As part of that day, the MSC staff evaluated, judged and offered suggestions on high school publications.[260] In addition, the department, in its role as publicist, issued a booklet on the college that was

sent to Michigan high schools as part of a "campaign of information" carried on under the direction of Secretary John A. Hannah.[261] Attracting 900 high school journalists -- a number greater than 10 percent of the college's enrollment -- to MSC for a single day was a notable achievement. In fact, there is no evidence that an attempt to assist, and recruit, high school reporters and editors in such numbers had previously been made at Michigan State. Efforts to attract students through campus visits were not new. In the late 1890s, President Jonathan Snyder, in addition to his mail and advertising campaigns, organized excursion trips by train that brought "literally thousands of people to the campus," including "3,000 during one day in 1899 and 8,000 during an excursion week each August" at a time when the enrollment was less than 700.[262]

Despite his success, Applegate understood the limitations of recruiting high school journalists for Michigan State College. "Although the number ... coming into the field is increasing slowly," he said, "somebody -- a lot of somebodies -- will have to do a job of selling while students are still in high school. Special days on journalism at Michigan State, the University of Michigan, and Wayne help, but encouragement by men they know at home will have greater influence than that by any body else. Once we get them, we think we do a pretty good job of persuasion and training. But you can't train 'em unless you see 'em."[263]

Besides the course in Supervising High School Publications, the fall, 1938, catalog showed new offerings in Farm and Home Writing -- "designed to aid the prospective teacher or extension worker in planning and writing newspaper articles concerning his vocation and community activities" -- and in Advanced Reporting.[264] As courses were added, the department hired a second full-time

journalism instructor, Ralph Norman, and appointed MPA Secretary Gene Alleman as a part-time instructor. By the 1938-1939 school year, the number of students enrolled in all journalism courses had risen to 1,015, causing the department "to limit enrollment in several courses, because of a limited personnel and thus deny training to many who desired it."[265] At the start of the 1939 school year, in fact, 69 students were listed as journalism majors at Michigan State College. That same fall, eleven schools reported enrollments of at least 100 including New York University (410), Missouri (384), Iowa (180), Illinois (149) and Wisconsin (141).[266]

The role of the Department's news service, an aid to recruiting students, received prominent mention in Applegate's annual reports to the president. Those reports revealed the chairman's approach in promoting the program and the college. "During the year the head of the department addressed 32 Rotary club, four Kiwanis clubs, and several meetings of Parent-Teacher associations," he wrote. "On each occasion he visited publishers along the way, and made an attempt to make stronger their friendship to the college and to the department. The popularity of the college is seen in the fact that practically all the journalism graduates were placed soon after their graduation. The work of creating goodwill needs to be continued, but cannot be hurried. It is individual, and often is based on personal friendship, and on service."[267] The references to "goodwill" and "service" were further confirmations that the direction of the Michigan State program in the late 1930s was the same as it had been in 1910. That is, the newspaper was viewed not primarily a social force or potential critic but as a way of providing information and, as such, as serving the farmer, the citizens and the institutions of the small town.

As the numbers of journalism students increased at MSC and elsewhere,

the debate over journalism education continued. Such education ranged from a single course at one school to a journalism graduate program at another. By 1938, in fact, the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, had announced creation of a five-year program leading to a master of science in journalism degree. Medill Dean Kenneth Olson believed such an approach brought journalism education "close to that ideal of a graduate professional school on the same level as schools of law and medicine."[268] "I am not sure but that in some respects we are as far along toward the final answer as are the schools of law and medicine," he said, "for we have to the best of our ability been insisting upon a cultural and social ingredient in our education and have devoted ourselves largely to the application of social sciences to the field of public affairs." "At Northwestern our school is organized on the same basis as the law school, we require three years of college work for admission. Just as do law students, our students carry a joint-degree program with the college of liberal arts and receive their first degree from this college. Just as does the law school, we grant only the professional degree on the completion of a professional program superimposed on a liberal education. We differ from the law school in that our program is not so professionally narrow but provides opportunity for advanced work in social sciences."[269]

Despite that approach, journalism educators continued to categorize most programs much as they had years before.

"There is still no unanimity," Arthur T. Robb, editor of Editor and Publisher magazine said in a 1940 speech, "on the question of whether a school should attempt to give its students a solid academic and cultural background, or concentrate on the technical areas."[270] The former, he said, were attempting to leave students with "fundamental ideas which will bud and flower as the years

bring them into contact with changes in political thought, with new discoveries in the scientific laboratories, with changing concepts of industrial and social relationships, with the currents of racial conflicts in the old and new worlds." Regarding the teaching of journalistic skills, he said, "these educators take it as a matter of routine that their graduates will understand the mechanics of writing, the editing of copy, the generality of headline style, the fundamentals of a good editorial, the ethics and history of their chosen profession."[271]

The opposing view was held by many small-city publishers who believed that their newspapers did not need, nor could afford to pay, men and women with broad qualifications that might include advanced degrees. "They want bright young men and women who can take news stories over the telephone, get names, addresses and ages straight, report a meeting of a lodge or a women's club without getting the paper messed up in personal quarrels, write a headline if necessary, ride the copy desk on relief, solicit and write an ad for the butcher, the baker or the plumber, and know what to do with a subscription if it is handed to them."

Wesley Mauer, a member of the University of Michigan journalism faculty for 42 years and department chairman from 1948 to 1966, while agreeing that most schools would tend to fit either of Robb's definitions, said he thinks all programs, in the late 1930s, faced a common challenge that had lingered from journalism education's earliest days.

"Applegate and I were attempting to prove that journalism belonged in the classroom," he said. "Journalism wasn't accepted in many schools and universities at that time. In many, it's still not accepted. If you taught even a few courses in journalistic skills, you were said to be running a trade school. By the time we arrived, both of our universities had accepted the subject, but we

had to keep making our point, both inside and outside the campus. The question of how it should be taught, too, became an issue."[272]

The Michigan program stressed what Robb had called a "solid academic and cultural background" for journalists. "We taught that journalism grew from, and drew upon, a shared culture in general," Maurer said. "I believed that all academic connections important to journalists were more closely associated with the subject matter of other departments, rather than simply technique. At Michigan State, the program had emerged from agriculture, from extension work. The orientation, from the beginning, was occupational, so it was logical that journalism would stress technical skills."

Another way of defining the programs, then, is that Michigan followed the urban model for journalism education, Michigan State the rural. At the same time, the journalism program at MSC was not so simple to define. The product of an agricultural curriculum, journalism at MSC had strayed from that base, at least when judged against programs at other agricultural colleges. Iowa State College, the first school to offer a course in farm journalism in 1905, for example, listed a four-year curriculum in agricultural journalism in 1920, two years after such a curriculum was advocated by a conference of rural editors, but never acted upon, at the Michigan Agricultural College. Then, in 1927, when the MAC program was still under the English Department, Iowa State expanded its offerings to include a major in journalism for home economists. Since "the Iowa State Journalism Department concentrated on teaching writing allied with various scientific fields," in fact, the department, in 1927, changed its name to "The Department of Technical Journalism."[273]

When the Department of Journalism and Publications was established at Michigan State College in 1929, degree requirements reflected the fact that the

journalism program had previously been part of the English Department. Those requirements included completion of 24 credits in composition in addition to the three-term freshman course. Required within those 24 credits were two terms of expository writing or two quarters of news writing. Beyond that, journalism students were to complete 25 credits in literature including three terms of Survey of English Literature, a course in Greek Literature in Translation or Greek Myths and The English Old Testament as Literature or Old Testament Stories.[274] Even when "composition" was dropped from the journalism degree in 1939, requirements regarding composition and literature remained the same.[275]

Required journalism courses in 1938-1939 included three terms of Newspaper Management and a new course in Reporting of Public Affairs, a course dealing "with reporting of federal, state, and municipal government activities."[276]

A journalism student entering Michigan State College in the fall of 1938 was enrolled in the Division of Liberal Arts. As such, he or she was required to complete 200 credits to earn a degree. The information in the 1938 College catalog indicates that a typical four-year program for a student wishing to pursue newspaper work might have looked like this:

Fall Term Freshman Year

Composition (2 credits)
Elementary French (5 credits)
Algebra (3 credits)
General Botany (3 credits)
Elements of Geography (3 credits)
Military Science -- Freshman Training (1.5 credits)

Winter Term Freshman Year

Composition (2 credits)
French (5 credits)
General Botany (3 credits)
The Geography of Europe (3 credits)
Military Science -- Freshman Training (1.5 credits)
Physical Education -- Swimming (1 credit)
Total Credits: 15.5

Spring Term Freshman Year

Composition (2 credits)
General Chemistry (3 credits)
Greek Myths (3 credits)
Introduction to Rural Sociology (3 credits)
History of Art (3 credits)
Military Science -- Freshman Training (1.5 credits)
Physical Education -- Calisthenics, Apparatus and Games (1 credit)
Total Credits: 16.5

Fall Term Sophomore Year

Survey of English Literature (3 credits)
General Chemistry (3 credits)
American History from 1763 to the Jacksonian Era, 1829 (3 credits)
Expository Writing (2 credits)
Introduction to Philosophy (3 credits)

Military Science -- Sophomore Training (1.5 credits)
Physical Education -- Handball (1 credit)
Total Credits: 16.5

Winter Term Sophomore Year

Survey of English Literature (3 credits)
News Writing (2 credits)

American History from 1829 through the Civil War (3 credits)
Principles of Economics (4 credits)
History of Philosophy (3 credits)
Military Science -- Sophomore Training (1.5 credits)
Total Credits: 16.5

Spring Term Sophomore Year

Survey of English Literature (3 credits)
Principles of Economics (4 credits)
American History Since the Civil War (3 credits)
English Old Testament as Literature (3 credits)
Military Science -- Sophomore Training (1.5 credits)
Total credits: 14.5

Fall Term Junior Year

National Government (4 credits)
Shakespeare (3 credits)
News Writing (2 credits)
Survey of American Literature (3 credits)
Principles of Advertising (2 credits)
General Psychology (4 credits)

Total Credits: 18

Winter Term Junior Year

State Government (3 credits)
Shakespeare (3 credits)
News Writing (2 credits)
Advertising Copy (2 credits)
Political Parties (3 credits)
Urban Sociology (3 credits)
Total Credits: 16

Spring Term Junior Year

Municipal Government (3 credits)
Milton (3 credits)
Editing (2 credits)
Business Writing (3 credits)
History of Agriculture (3 credits)
Total Credits: 14

Summer Term

Newspaper Field Training (6 credits)

"The student shall work at least six weeks during the summer between his junior and senior years on a newspaper approved by the department."

Fall Term Senior Year

Newspaper Management (2 credits)
Radio Writing (2 credits)
History of Foreign Relations of the United States (3 credits)

History of Art (3 credits)
Ethics (3 credits)
General Psychology (4 credits)
Total Credits: 17

Winter Term Senior Year

Newspaper Management (2 credits)
Editorial Writing (2 credits)
Special Feature Articles (2 credits)
Industrial Psychology (3 credits)
History of American Art (3 credits)
History of the American Frontier (3 credits)
Concepts of Sociology (3 credits)
Total Credits: 18

Spring Term Senior Year

Newspaper Management (2 credits)
Reporting of Public Affairs (3 credits)
Special Feature Articles (2 credits)
History of the American Frontier (3 credits)
Banking and Monetary Policies (4 credits)
Total Credits for Term: 14
Total Credits for Four Years: 200

In contrast, that same year, journalism students in the general curriculum at the University of Michigan were required to take only about one-third the English and literature credits required at MSC, 18, but were to complete 60

credits, or a third of the degree requirements, in economics, history, sociology and political science. Michigan State students were required to complete a minimum of only 15 credits in social science. In addition, the University of Michigan offered three special curricula for journalism majors. Under those arrangements, journalism students could specialize in an area with additional courses in Government and Politics, Economics and Sociology or Reviewing and Dramatic Criticism.[277]

Significantly, it was possible, in 1938, to major in journalism at Michigan State College without taking a course in agricultural journalism. For then, the continuing commitment of the Department of Journalism and Publications -- as symbolized by the commitment of Albert Applegate -- was not merely to the farmer but the small town. As such, despite its inclusion within the Division of Liberal Arts, the program was still more closely aligned with the former agricultural colleges than with those with the broader orientation of Northwestern or Michigan. That is, while Kenneth Olson was building a five-year program leading to a master's degree at Northwestern, Albert Applegate was traveling the Michigan roads to meet the editors of small-town papers, as if creating his own "fifth-year" program -- a job for each student following four years at MSC. And while the rhetoric of Wesley Mauer stressed the cultural roots of the Michigan program, the rhetoric of Albert Applegate was more attuned to the ideals of the small town, as reflected in his speech to the South Dakota editors in 1936.

Journalism textbooks of the late 1930s and 1940s were varied, often focusing upon a specialty such as editing, editorial writing or feature writing. An example of a more general text in wide use was Technical Journalism by F.W. Beckman, Harry R. O'Brien and Blair Converse, who, at one time, had

taught at Iowa State College. Although it is not known if the book was used at Michigan State College, Technical Journalism gives insights into how classroom instructors may have approached the teaching of journalism, particularly at the land-grant schools.

To the authors, journalists were regarded as "interpreters" who could put into words, clearly and effectively, "the day by day story" of accomplishments or problems within an occupation, such as agriculture, or a community. "Fundamentally, the press, whether it be agricultural, newspaper, trade or magazine," they said, "has its economic and social excuse as an element, and a most important one, in the educative process. The press is because it serves. And it serves primarily in two ways: first, in the conveying to the rank and file of an industry, a class or a profession, the ideas, the discoveries, the advances of the leaders in industry, class or profession; second, in providing a mechanism by which the isolation of individual industries, classes or professions can be broken down and ideas of common interest exchanged."[278]

Consistent with the philosophy of the agricultural schools, that view described the press more as an educator than a social critic. As interpreters, journalists were responsible for conveying any ideas that might be exchanged beyond boundaries of profession or class.

In examining the textbook Interpretative Reporting by Northwestern Professor Curtis D. MacDougall, published in 1938, one finds a different view of journalism and the meaning of interpretation. A look at the MacDougall text, complete with its own brand of idealism, gives further insight into how the orientation of small-town journalism, and the schools which sought to serve it, differed from those which saw the press as interpreter and critic, as well as reporter of events, and were committed to a metropolitan approach.

In discussing the future of journalism, MacDougall said that "the improvement in the quality of the personnel engaged in journalism will continue to be both a business necessity and an essential to the future existence of democratic society." "Only a competent and responsible journalism," he said, "can provide the knowledge and understanding the masses of mankind need in order to maintain government of the people, by the people and for the people."[279]

To properly interpret events, MacDougall said, a journalist should appreciate both the psychoanalyst and the philosopher.

"The interpretative reporter of the future should be as shock-proof as a psychoanalyst and a practical philosopher in his general outlook on life," he said. "He cannot succeed if he is hampered by prejudices and stereotyped attitudes which would bias his perception of human affairs. Hence, the newsgatherer should have a firm understanding how men think and why, both to avoid pitfalls in his own search for so-called truth and to understand the behavior of those whose actions it is his responsibility to report."[280]

In statements that reflected an understanding of the press as social and political force, and the need for journalism students to understand those forces, he asked: "What is this thing called public opinion which the newspaperman may think he is influencing? How explain a new political movement in terms of economic tendencies which give rise to such symptoms? What about the power which the demagogue of the moment seems to be able to exert? The interpreter of the news must see reasons where ordinary individuals observe overt happenings. And he must study them as the scientist scrutinizes the specimen in his microscope, scientifically."[281]

Technical Journalism, meanwhile, devoted about half of its 339 pages to

journalistic techniques within chapters entitled The News Gatherer and His Methods, News Story Structure, The News Story Lead, The Body of the News Story, Writing the News Story and Meeting and Interview Stories. Chapters emphasizing the writing of feature stories included Writing the Feature Story, Feature Article Beginnings and Titles and Feature Story Style. One chapter was devoted to Publicity and Publicity Relationships, another to Ethical and Legal Aspects of Technical Writing. Examples of what the authors considered to be well-written stories were included in a section on Illustrative Stories.

"A news story consists roughly of a lead, or opening section," a chapter on techniques in the news story lead pointed out, "and of a development or body (the headline is not part of the news story as written by the reporter). News story leads are of two general sorts, one used normally on what we call straight news, and the other, borrowed and adapted from fictional forms, used normally upon feature material. The first is called the summary news lead and the second the suspended interest lead."[282] A chapter, typically, ended with a list of "assignments" to challenge the student's understanding of the material and his or her ability to master a technique. Following the discussion of leads, students were asked to "clip 10 summary news leads from papers or magazines. Analyze the completeness with which they answer the questions who, what, where, why, when and how. Discuss briefly the feature of the story and whether or not you think the writer chose his feature rightly."[283] Another assignment called for students to "write a news story beginning with a summary lead." "Be able to explain why you chose the feature as you did."[284]

A journalism course at Michigan State College during the Applegate years included similar assignments and an emphasis on the importance of gathering news quickly and accurately.

"The focus back then was on news reporting and writing with not quite so much emphasis on craftsmanship," Geraldine King, a former journalism instructor at Wayne State University and 1949 journalism graduate of Michigan State College, said. "One has to remember that, to most people teaching in the 1940s, 'news' meant the news appearing in newspapers. At that time, Detroit had three newspapers, Grand Rapids, and many other towns, two. Papers seemed almost unchallenged as the primary source of news, but they did compete fiercely among themselves."[285]

The significance of providing information quickly and accurately to newspaper readers i;n the pre-television news days, King recalled, was pointed out in the final exam in a news writing course she took at MSC. "The instructor set up a story involving a plane crash in San Francisco," she said, "and gave us additional, sometimes conflicting, information every few minutes. We were supposed to be working for a paper in Chicago, so we had to know time zones. You have to keep in mind that newspapers had several editions in those days. That meant being very quick, being correct and adjusting copy to appear in those editions. To succeed, a student had to understand time element and tenses. In other words, there was a lot happening at once. I can't say the standards were any more or less exacting than they are today. There was just a different emphasis. One assumed that newspapers were the first place people would get their news. Alternate lead styles weren't stressed until television entered the scene. Then writers and editors had to find new ways to get their stories read."

In addition to textbooks, King said, the newspapers themselves served as course material. "Many courses -- news writing, reporting, feature writing -- were taught on the basis of articles that appeared in the paper," she said. "A

teacher would take facts in the newspaper stories and read them to the class. Your job, as a student, was to spiel it back -- organized and in an interesting manner."[286]

Dorothy Anderson, who graduated in 1938, said an Applegate course sometimes taught students the importance of observation and recall in stressful situations.

"We did more than learn just by the book," she said. "One day a student stood up, then 'dropped dead' in front of the class -- just like Applegate had told him to do. Everyone was a bit startled. A couple of people went to get help. What Applegate really wanted us to do was to take notes and write a good story. The class wound up writing several different versions of what had happened."[287]

Earl Brigham, a 1942 graduate of Michigan State College who later taught at MSC under Applegate, said Applegate struck a balance between course substance and techniques.

"When it came to writing," he said, "Applegate stressed the Associated Press, or summary, lead: who, what, where, when, why, how. Pretty straightforward. Nothing fancy. That was a good news lead for its day. Even now. Mostly, he thought journalists should be well-rounded in many other subjects so they could display depth in their writing. I remember him advising students to get as much background as they could -- in literature, history, political science, just about anything. Spelling and grammar were vital, of course, but you were expected to know that when you came to class."[288]

An Applegate course, Brigham said, was also likely to include a discussion on ethics. "He emphasized integrity and responsibility," he said. "Case histories were part of his approach. The question was: 'What would you do if---

?' The case might involve whether to use of names in certain stories or might consider the issue of invasion of privacy. He would give us something worth thinking about, something that would come in handy out there on the job."[289]

In the late 1940s, Brigham joined the MSC faculty part-time to teach Business Writing. The class had first been taught by Albert Nelson in 1929, but Applegate expanded the course and, as he did so, stressed the importance of writing both to students and to other departments within the college. Applegate felt that the course "helped build the department more than any other one course, by showing students what they could do with writing skills."[290] The demand for the course among business students led to the employment of an additional journalism instructor, Dean W. Kuykendall, who taught four sections during the spring of 1940. That same term, the Division of Engineering requested that a section be reserved for engineering students the following year.[291] By 1950, the course, renamed Business Letter Writing and required of students majoring in general business, was offered in 54 sections, with 25 to 30 students per section, over the four academic quarters .[292] Business Letter Writing was endorsed by the chairman of the Business Administration Department, F.K. Hardy, who said a 1947 survey of business alumni had shown "the value of knowing how to write and speak was indicated by a vote of 168 to one in favor of courses in business writing and speech."[293]

The three-hour course was described as presenting "the general principles of business writing, with practice in writing various types of letters, among them, the letter of application, the sales letter, the credit and collection letter, the adjustment letter, inquiry and order letters, and business reports."[294]

Business Letter Writing, Brigham said, met twice a week, once in lecture and once in a writing laboratory. "I used basic journalistic principles in teaching the

course," he said. "The idea was to be practical, to show students how to make a business letter right. I'd emphasize sentence construction and taught by rules that would apply to any other journalistic writing: gather your facts, present them in an organized way, stress your central point. When it came to editing, I'd go through and chew up the letters terribly. But, in the end, the student knew how to create something worthwhile, like a job application letter or a resume."[295]

The expansion of the Business Letter Writing course had been due, in part, to events that had occurred at Michigan State College during World War II, a period of generally declining enrollment within the Department of Journalism. In his 1944-1945 departmental report, in fact, Applegate said that "during the year just ended, the Department of Journalism" had perhaps "reached its lowest ebb, but it has again begun to make progress."[296] There were 30 junior and senior journalism majors in the fall of 1944,[297] and the following year there were eight graduates, all women. The senior class for 1946, Applegate reported, numbered 21.[298]

Low enrollments had been of concern to educators since the beginning of the war. A committee on journalism education and the war, comprised of college journalism educators, had stated that schools and departments of journalism had "an obligation to keep their programs going throughout the war if for no other reason than the opportunity to be of service to the press."[299]

Another committee of journalism instructors considered how the "standard journalism curriculum" at their colleges would help fulfill "important requirements for training for the services." Those requirements, the committee concluded, included "discipline, which is acquired by the necessity of meeting deadlines, taking definite assignments, covering regular beats, and skills in

interviewing and the concise writing of reports, which are of inestimable value in the work of the various intelligence units (and in the FBI)."[300]

A survey conducted by Charles E. Rogers, journalism professor at Iowa State College, pointed out that several programs -- Michigan State College not listed among them -- offered "new war courses" or modified "existing courses, to give emphasis to new problems, opportunities or needs of the press occasioned by the war." The University of Wisconsin, for example, established a course in Army Public Relations, Marquette offerings in Radio in the War Effort and History of the Press in Wartime and Pennsylvania State College a course in War News, Advertising and Publicity in Their Application to the War.[301]

The curriculum at MSC, however, showed no war induced changes. The changes that did occur during the war years were brought about by college decisions that created a Department of Journalism and gave it a new academic home. The first action, taken at a Board of Trustees meeting on Dec. 17, 1942, established the departments of journalism and publications as two separate units with the Publications Department responsible for "agricultural news releases, editing of the college publications and the institution's press relations."[302] The Publications Department was headed by Lloyd H. Geil, who had come to Michigan State College in 1935 from an Aurora, Illinois, high school where he was a journalism instructor and who had taught the Supervising High School Publications and advertising courses under Applegate.[303]

The second, in 1944, was the result of a "general reorganization" of an MSC "administrative structure which had grown by accretion as much as by design."[304] As part of that reorganization, college divisions were renamed schools "because they were in fact constituent parts of a university" and would

appear to be "more professional in character" to students entering their programs after the freshman or sophomore year. Under the new arrangement, the Department of Journalism joined "a number of vocational curricula" to form the School of Business and Public Service which also included the departments of Business Administration; Physical Education, Health and Education for Men; Physical Education, Health and Education for Women; Police Administration; Hotel Administration, Public Administration; and Social Work. Colonel Dorsey Reed Rodney, a former commandant of the college R.O.T.C. program, was appointed dean to "organize and head" the new school.[305] "With the return of the veterans after the war," Rodney said, "many young men felt the need for selecting areas of specialization which would prepare them for work in the contact fields of business and public service. The grouping of certain departments under one administrative head was felt to be desirable."[306]

Meanwhile, as the new School of Business and Public Service was being created, members of all college departments prepared for what was expected to be a dramatic increase in student enrollment following World War II.

"Michigan State College is using the best brains at its disposal to think through and try to analyze what the problems are going to be when this war is over in order that it may be in position to meet them most effectively," President John A. Hannah told the Michigan Press Association during its convention in 1944. ""We know that we are going to be called upon to handle more students than ever before in the history of the institution."[307]

The increase, Hannah said, would be due, to some degree, to a trend in Michigan high schools. "A larger percentage of our young men and young

women finishing the high schools each year go on to college," he said, "and a larger percentage of that number are attending our. . .state-supported colleges and universities." Of greater significance, however, was a federal government plan for "a program that will send a million or more of the members of the armed services to our colleges to pick up and complete their interrupted educations on the campuses of the nation." To Michigan State College, he said, that would mean having "5,000 of these men at one time join each of the second and the third years after the war comes to an end -- imposed on top of the largest civilian student body in the history of the institution."

To assist journalism departments in planning for the post-war years, Frederic E. Merwin, president of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, created nine committees to deal with "Journalism Teaching in the postwar Period" and named Albert Applegate general chairman and coordinator of all committees. The committees were expected "to collect and analyze data pertinent to college instruction in journalism in light of changes which are likely to be of decisive importance once peace returns."[308]

In a letter to the members of the committees, Merwin urged consideration of the questions: "What will be the role of formal education for journalism in terms of the evolving newspaper, pictorial journalism, the new administrative law, advanced production technologies and radio news? What must we teach men and women who will deal as journalists with the vast educational program which seems so necessary for an alert citizenry in the world of tomorrow? What past practices must we retain or discard and what procedures and disciplines must be introduce?"[309]

The announcement of Applegate's appointment appeared in the April 1944 issue of the Journalism Quarterly, the same month Applegate offered, in an

article for the Michigan Publisher, the magazine of the Michigan Press Association, his own appraisal of post-war journalism education at MSC. In that article, Applegate outlined a modified approach to allow for the changing nature of students and of technology.

"Journalism courses at Michigan State College heretofore have been held to a minimum," he said, "and in those courses offered, we have emphasized practical values. We have placed special attention on general cultural background, in an attempt to graduate young men and women educated for newspaper work rather than trained technically for one particular job. We believe we can best serve news and advertising and students, too, by providing our graduates with a general education and the immediate tools with which to work; sending them out prepared to complete their training in the field."[310]

With the ending of the war, he said, would come a change in that philosophy. "Following the declaration of peace or perhaps even before then, when soldiers will be returned to us on medical discharge, we shall be forced to a slight modification in aim, because of the demands of students," he said. "These returned soldiers, as I found at the close of the last war, will be impatient with backgrounds, and will be demanding courses that are more technical. They will have their eyes upon an immediate job and courses leading to such jobs."

To meet those expectations, Applegate anticipated a change in classroom approach. "We shall, however, continue our selection to provide a continuation of general cultural background studies, but we shall place somewhat greater emphasis upon practical training. As an illustration: in news writing and reporting, we shall probably break our classes up into small laboratory groups,

each student working under the direct supervision of a man whom we shall call the city editor. In copy reading, too, students will be in small laboratory groups working under normal newspaper conditions, working against a deadline. We shall, of course, continue to require one summer of practical experience, preferably between the junior and senior year. "

"We shall introduce a course in elementary typography, not so much to make typographers of students as to teach them the possibilities and limitations of type. A course in photography is also on the schedule."

At the same time, Applegate acknowledged a need for additional instruction in radio.

"With the close of the war," he said, "frequency modulation in radio is expected to be more common. To the newspaper it carries possibilities of great harm or great good. I shall not be surprised if fifty Michigan daily newspapers will have their own FM radio. Radio writing, therefore, will receive added impetus. Writing news for use on the radio is an art in itself, and so we probably shall break down our radio writing into three courses, placing greatest emphasis upon writing news for broadcasting, but also stressing writing of advertisements and continuity."

Courses in public affairs reporting, newspaper management and advertising were to be reorganized, too.

"One of the courses we have always offered at the end of the journalism sequence is Reporting of Public Affairs," he said. "We expect to continue this practice. We shall, however, include field work in that course so that every student, under the direction of a capable instructor, will have an opportunity to visit offices of state, county, and city and become acquainted with general governmental and court practice and terminology. We are ideally located to

teach such a course."

"Gene Alleman's course in newspaper management, we expect to break up into three courses. They will be devoted to editorial and promotion management, advertising management, and circulation management. We expect to enlarge our courses in advertising slightly, placing more emphasis upon retail advertising copy."[311]

With the war's end in 1945, the changes anticipated by Hannah, Applegate and others began to occur. In the winter of 1946 "the College enrolled over two thousand and in the spring nearly four thousand men and women who had served in the armed forces."[312] The total fall term enrollment rose to 15,000 in 1947 and to 16,000 in 1949. Michigan State, which before the war had been twenty-second among the nation's schools in the number of full-time students, was ninth in 1949.[313]

For the journalism program, those years brought corresponding increases in courses, students and faculty. In the fall of 1945, a Survey of Journalism course, "designed to give students a background of journalistic reading," was added to the curriculum along with offerings in Advertising Copy and Research, Newspaper Advertising Management and Radio Continuity Writing. An increasing number of business students called for more sections in Business Writing, and, as a service to another department within the School of Business and Public Service, journalism offered a class in Sports News Writing. "This course is for Physical Education Majors only," the course description said, "to give them training in writing general and specific news about sports and physical education programs. So far as possible the special interests of each student are considered in making assignments.[314] Journalism majors numbered 171 in the fall of 1947 and 295 in the fall of 1948.[315] Nationally,

enrollment of journalism students in 73 schools and departments of journalism for the fall term 1949-1950 declined slightly more than eleven percent from 1948 to a total of 10,367 students. At the same time, MSC majors increased to 312, placing the Department fifth in size behind Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota and Northwestern.[316]

The growth in student numbers had been accompanied by an increase in courses. The 1947 College catalog listed 24 journalism courses, and 34 were listed the following year. New courses included Newspaper Circulation Management, House Organ Editing, Newspaper Promotion Management, Typography, Radio Advertising, Fine Arts Writing, Radio Continuity Writing, Editorial Writing, Direct Mail Advertising, Retail Advertising and Advertising Campaigns.

The additional advertising courses had, in fact, led the College, in 1948, to add a full sequence in advertising to the journalism curriculum. Under that plan, students could earn a maximum of 27 credits in advertising. In so doing, they were required to take 24 credits in economics instead of a language, a requirement for editorial majors. The economics requirement was "based upon the advice of practicing advertising men in Michigan."[317]

To teach the expanded curriculum, the Department of Journalism expanded its faculty. During the war, courses were taught by a faculty of three: Professor Applegate, Assistant Professor Dean Kuykendall and the MPA's Gene Alleman, a lecturer. In the fall of 1945, the college added a fourth member. He was Assistant Professor Alan Scott who had earned bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Missouri and had worked on newspapers in Missouri and had taught one year at the University of California.[318]

The following January three more former newspapermen joined the teaching staff.

Assistant Professor Joseph A. Del Porto was a 1935 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and received his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1936. He had worked on the staff of the New York American, the Chicago Daily News, the Chicago Tribune, the City News Bureau of Chicago and the Erie (Pennsylvania) Dispatch-Herald-Sun.

Instructor Don J. Gemmel, a 1935 graduate of the University of Iowa, joined the faculty from a public relations job with World Airways. Previously, he had worked with the Tri-City Star of Davenport, Iowa, and the Moline (Illinois) Daily Dispatch.

Instructor Vernon B. Bowen, a graduate of Evansville College in 1939, had done graduate work at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the University of Missouri School of Journalism. He had worked for the Evansville (Indiana) Courier and The Stars and Stripes.[319]

That fall, reflecting the need for instructors in the department's new advertising sequence, five more teachers were added to the faculty.

Assistant Professor Edward Buttgen, who held a master's degree from the University of Illinois, had spent six years in advertising with the St. Louis Packing Company. Fred Maguire, appointed as assistant professor, was a Dartmouth graduate and former newspaperman who had studied at Harvard as a Nieman Fellow and was the winner of the Sigma Delta Chi award for courage in journalism in 1943. Assistant Professor Richard Spong was a Dartmouth graduate with a master's degree from the Pulitzer School of Journalism and six years of newspaper and public relations work.

Instructor Charles Blagdon, a Kalamazoo College graduate, had 14 years

in industrial advertising and selling. Instructor Paul Sutton, a University of Wisconsin graduate, had done 13 years of newspaper, advertising and radio work.[320]

In January 1948, three more instructors were hired.

Melvin Lostutter, appointed an assistant professor, was a graduate of the University of New Mexico and had done graduate work at Indiana University. He was for 16 years editor of the Columbus (Indiana) Evening Republican and had worked for other newspapers in Indiana and Kentucky. Lostutter had published several short stories and a novel, High Fever.

Instructor Edwin Wintermute was a magna cum laude graduate of Brown University and had done graduate work at Teachers College, Columbia University, and in the Yale School of Fine Arts. He had taught a year at Brown and three years in the School of Journalism at the University of Washington. Prior to coming to MSC, Wintermute had served on the copy desk of the Providence Journal.

Earl McIntyre, appointed an instructor, was graduated in advertising from the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri and had worked as editor of the Shadwick (Illinois) Review and city editor and associate editor of the Harvard (Illinois) Herald.[321]

The fall of 1948 saw the hiring of Instructor Elwin McCray to teach typography. A graduate of Muskingum College, McCray had been on the staff of the Fort Wayne (Indiana) News Sentinel and later was the owner and publisher of his own weekly newspaper.[322]

Four additional teachers were added to the faculty in the fall of 1949, including the first MSC journalism instructor to hold a doctorate.

Professor Harold R. Jolliffe came to the College from Ohio State University

where he held the rank of associate professor. The holder of a Ph.D. in classical languages from the University of Chicago, Jolliffe spent many years in newspaper work and had, for five years, worked on the copy desk of the Detroit Free Press.

William Cumming, Kenneth Johnson and James Murphy came to MSC on their first teaching assignments as instructors, Cumming and Johnson in the editorial sequence and Murphy in advertising.

Cumming was a graduate of the University of Maryland with a master's degree from the Medill School of Journalism. Murphy, a graduate of the University of Missouri, also had a master's from Medill. Johnson held bachelor's and master's degree in journalism from the University of Wisconsin.[323]

As the fall quarter of 1949 began, then, the Department of Journalism faculty, following earlier resignations of Kuykendall and Sutton, numbered 18 members including one with a Ph.D. and seven with master's degrees. As significant, the development of the program had, that summer, earned the department accreditation by the American Council on Education for Journalism.[324]

Discussion of setting standards for schools and departments of journalism began decades earlier with the founding of the earliest programs. By 1924, more than 200 schools were advertising courses in journalism, a matter which concerned the editors of the Journalism Bulletin. "If more than half of these develop professional courses," an editorial stated, "there will be a period of oversupply and low standards in the profession of journalism." Such a situation, the editorial continued, need not occur. "This experience can be avoided," the editors believed, "in the case of institutions which are interested

in teaching journalism if they will adopt one of two courses: prepare to accept the standards of the first class school of journalism, or prepare to offer a limited amount of work of Class A standard. Just as there are Class A schools of medicine which offer only the first two years of medical work, so there can be Class A schools of journalism which offer only a part of the full professional course. If schools of limited resources and limited size will concentrate on a limited amount of work of high standard that will prepare the students to take the last years of their courses at institutions with full Class A rating, the character of the journalism graduates will be improved and both the schools and profession will have raised their standing."[325]

Although that plan was never carried out, the term "Class A rating" appeared over the next 25 years in the literature of journalism education. That classification, in effect, became synonymous with membership in the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism and, hence, with accreditation.

The AASDJ was formed in 1916 through a proposal by Dean Walter Williams of the University of Missouri. In 1912 Williams had completed a survey of journalism offerings in colleges and universities and had appended his own evaluation of a small group of what he deemed "reasonably effective schools and departments." Those leading schools, he proposed, should form the new association.[326]

The first organization of college journalism instructors, the American Association of Journalism Teachers, had taken root in 1912 at the University of Wisconsin with the gathering of 24 teachers from 17 institutions. Since many of the early journalism units were on agricultural campuses, an early discussion session focused on agricultural journalism. The Michigan Agricultural College

was not represented at that meeting.[327]

All journalism instructors were eligible to join the American Association of Journalism Teachers. At the same time, only certain schools could gain membership in the Association of American Schools and Departments of Journalism. An early reference to the accreditation of programs appeared in the November 1926 issue of the Journalism Bulletin in which it was reported that "the 18 schools reporting membership in the Association of American Schools and Departments of Journalism may be regarded as the nearest approach to Class A schools of any grouping made at the present time."[328]

The article said, though, that "schools which are not members of the association should not be considered inferior because of their failure to seek election." "There is no generally accepted basis for making distinctions among them," it said. "Some of them are better than others and not all of them should be listed as being in a class below that of the members of the association. In general they should be regarded as institutions of high character offering acceptable professional instruction in journalism. Whether or not they may be acceptable as members of the association has been left for the Council on Education for Journalism to determine."[329]

In reality, some of the standards of the Council, established jointly by the two associations to draft standards and classify schools and chosen from among the memberships, often became "bones of contention" when the AASDJ refused entry to some schools.[330] The "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" prepared by the Council in 1924 was to serve as the standards for membership and classification for the next 17 years.

The General Principles outlined by the Council stated that "adequate preparation is as necessary for all persons who desire to engage in journalism

as it is for those who intend to practice law or medicine." The document also addressed the nature of that preparation. "Adequate preparation for journalism, therefore, must be sufficiently broad in scope to familiarize the future journalist with the important fields of knowledge, and sufficiently practical to show the application of the knowledge to the practice of journalism." This could best be achieved, the Council believed, through "a four-year course of study in a college or university, including such subjects as history, economics, government and politics, sociology, literature, natural science, and psychology or philosophy." "Not merely acquisition of knowledge," it said, "but encouragement to independent thinking and fearless search for truth should be the purpose of all courses in preparation for the professional of journalism."[331]

There is no evidence that Michigan State College applied for membership in the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. A 1945 survey of journalism schools and departments lists MSC as a Class B program. The College was said to be among 71 such schools "offering substantial programs of journalism leading to degrees or majors." A few of those schools, it was said, "are offering sound programs that could meet -- at least in some respects -- the requirements set up for schools holding membership in the AASDJ."[332]

Until 1948, classification as an A,B,C or D program was based upon the Standards of Education for Journalism established by the Council on Education for Journalism in 1924 as revised in 1941. Judging the MSC program against a few standards for a Class A ranking, one can understand why the Department did not hold that ranking and how it compared with those schools which had been accepted for AASDJ membership.

Among the requirements "considered essential" for membership, for

example, was one stating "that instruction in preparation for journalism shall be organized as a separate academic unit -- department, course, or school of journalism -- with a dean, director, or professor at its head."[333] The Michigan State College program did not achieve department status until 1929 and then as part of a Department of Journalism and Publications.

The requirements also said that "the form of the bachelor's degree granted shall indicate that the student upon whom it is conferred has successfully completed the requirements for a degree in journalism: bachelor of arts in journalism, bachelor of science, course in journalism, bachelor of journalism." The MSC program offered an English degree until 1929 and, until 1938, awarded a degree in English Composition and Journalism.

Standards also dictated "that the courses offered in journalism shall afford instruction and practice in reporting, copy editing, editorial writing, and the writing of special articles; and instruction in the history of journalism, and the principles, or ethics, of journalism (with particular reference to the duties and responsibilities of the journalist to society), and the law of the press." The first general reporting course, Writing for the Press, had been offered at the Michigan Agricultural College in 1917, editing and special articles courses in 1925 and editorial writing in 1938. History and Ethics of Journalism, however, was not taught until 1944, and the first Law of the Press course did not appear until 1948.

Regarding the faculty, the "number of instructors in journalism" was to be "sufficient to insure careful attention to the individual needs of the students in the instructors' courses" and "the amount of class and laboratory work required of each instructor" was not to exceed that of instructors in similar departments, such as that of English composition. Although the number of instructors

considered "sufficient" might vary with the size of each journalism program, it is clear that Michigan State College, although one of the nation's larger programs in terms of students, through the end of World War II, had a smaller staff than schools holding membership in the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. In 1939-1940, for example, MSC employed three journalism teachers, one of whom shared teaching duties with his work as secretary of the Michigan Press Association. In contrast, that year only one of 32 Group A schools had as few as three staff members. The average number was eight.[334]

In 1941, the AASDJ revised its standards for membership, tightening several former requirements and adding five others. Under the new standards, each academic unit in journalism was to have a minimum faculty of three full-time teachers of professional rank -- defined as "the ranks of assistant professor, associate professor, and professor."[335] In addition, "sufficient laboratory equipment" must have been available "in the school or department to train students in the production methods of various forms of journalism under study." Libraries, too, were to be "comparable with those available in other professional disciplines" for the use of students. "These facilities shall include adequate contemporary and historical files of newspapers and periodicals, documentary materials, and a wide range of books and treatises in the various fields of journalism."

The change in the accreditation of journalism programs, however, came about not through revised standards but through the adoption of a new accrediting policy.

"The present system of accrediting schools and departments of journalism has, in my opinion, several inherent defects," Fred S. Siebert, University of

Illinois professor, AASDJ president and a future chairman of the MSU School of Journalism, told the Association's convention in 1945. "Briefly these are: The present system does not provide for any periodic evaluation of the educational programs of member institutions. No machinery is provided for withdrawing the name of an institution from the accredited list. The schools and departments accredit each other without outside guidance or assistance."[336]

The impetus for a re-evaluation of the accrediting system and standards, Siebert said, had come from professional organizations of newspaper editors and publishers. "These organizations have indicated an interest in our problems and have offered help," he said. "The American Newspaper Publishers Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association have expressed a desire to assist the schools and departments of journalism in solving their accrediting problems."

Professor Kenneth E. Olson, of Northwestern, said the newspaper associations were "concerned in eventually obtaining a professional status for newspaper editorial employees." "They feel that, by developing a sound accrediting system which will gain our schools recognition as professional schools," he said, "a great step forward will have been taken in bringing about a closer collaboration between the press and the schools."[337]

The AASDJ, at that convention, adopted a resolution favoring "the appointment of a committee on accreditation of schools and departments of journalism." A formal Statement of Policy was adopted by that committee in December 1947. In that statement, the purposes of the American Council Education for Journalism in accrediting schools and departments of

journalism were as follows:

* To describe the characteristics of schools or departments of journalism worthy of public recognition as professional schools.

* To guide prospective students in journalism and allied fields in choosing a school or department of journalism that adequately will meet their educational needs.

* To serve as a guide to newspapermen, magazine editors and publishers, radio station executives, advertising agency officials, and other interested employers in the mass communication field as to which schools and departments of journalism are recognized as presenting professional programs worthy of approval.

* To assist secondary school guidance personnel and college and university administrators, especially in the field of guidance, in advising prospective journalism students as to the schools or departments which best meet their potential needs.

* To stimulate the constant improvement of education for journalism through continuing application of the principles of accreditation.

* To provide accredited schools and departments with detailed information as to the success of their graduates in the various fields in which they serve.[338]

Unlike the AASDJ standards which applied equally to all schools, the new basis of accreditation took institutional goals into account. "A school or department will be judged for accreditation on the basis of the objective of the institution of which it is a part," the statement said. "Wide variations will appear in programs and in objectives. The objective of a school or department in a small traditional arts college may be far removed from that of one in a large state university or a well-endowed private institution."

"The primary objective of a school or department is to train candidates for the practice of journalism, but it is recognized that some schools and departments may elect to confine that training to one field or area of journalism

while others may offer training in several fields such as news and editorial, business management, advertising, radio, magazine production, community journalism, or news photography."

The school or department was to be judged "on factual data which in the opinion of the Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism reflects the resources available for journalism education." "These items," the statement said, "include the readily measurable aspects of faculty, library, curricula, laboratory facilities, number of students, financial support, and employers' appraisals of graduates." The data would be complemented by a "system of visitation whereby members of the committee and regional representatives chosen by them will visit each school or department applying for accreditation and evaluate such intangibles as student morale, teaching effectiveness, school prestige, regional validity, student-faculty relations, personality and achievement of faculty, effectiveness of administrative set-up and other items of a qualitative nature."[339]

The accrediting was to be done by a seven-member committee with four selected by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism and three chosen from among five newspaper organizations: American Newspaper Publishers Association, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Inland Daily Press Association, National Editorial Association and Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.[340]

The first list of ACEJ accredited schools, announced in June 1948, contained the names of 35 schools and departments of journalism. To be accredited, a school need be approved for one or more sequences, defined by the Accrediting Committee as "a group of related courses intended to prepare a student for specialization in a particular area."[341] Thirty-one schools received

approval in the news-editorial sequence, thirteen in radio journalism, twelve in advertising, eight in community journalism, seven in advertising-management, six in agricultural journalism, five in magazine journalism, four in newspaper management , two in pictorial journalism and one in each of the specialized areas of science journalism, communications and public opinion and informative writing.[342]

Michigan State College was among seven schools applying for membership for the 1949-1950 academic year.[343] Following an April visit by a five-member committee, headed by Missouri Professor Earl English, the school was accredited in the news-editorial sequence. In endorsing the MSC program, the committee rated the Department in 21 categories, giving a "high" and "medium high" rating in 14, "medium" in three, "medium low" in three, and "low" in one.[344]

Further information on the accreditation of the MSC program in 1949, according to a spokesperson for the Accrediting Council, located at the University of Kansas, is not available.

With the endorsement of the committee, the Michigan State College program was among 38 to have been approved during the ACEJ's first two years of accrediting. More than providing a list of schools that met committee standards, accreditation had taught journalism educators something more.

"These are some of the things we have learned from the program so far," Ohio State Professor Norval Neil Luxon said. "First, that having to gather and record reliable data about their schools has helped the school administrators; second, that in 11 schools only one sequence was strong enough to be accredited; third, that there is no standardization of courses in accredited schools; fourth, that there is no 'perfect' school of journalism; fifth, that there is no absolute 'right' way to teach journalism; sixth, that the report of the visitation

committee has proved to be very important because it weighs intangibles which recorded data cannot show and because the qualitative aspects of school's work are important. Nearly a hundred news, advertising, and radio executives have helped with the visitations, and the experience has given them a better understanding of the problems of the schools."[345]

At the same time, Luxon mentioned situations that needed correcting: " (1) Some schools let students elect too high a percentage of journalism courses. (2) No really good aptitude tests in the field have been devised. (3) Some schools afford too little opportunity for student-faculty contacts outside of class. (4) Too many school directors do not keep their administrative superiors fully informed about the objectives and progress of the schools. (5) Too many schools keep poor records of alumni and of job placements.[346]

The classification of journalism programs, then, had evolved from a list of one hundred schools categorized as State Universities, State Colleges and Schools, and Endowed Colleges and Universities by James Mervin Lee in a Department of Interior Bulletin in 1918 to a list of 38 programs who met the standards of a committee of professors and professional journalists 30 years later. To Norval Neil Luxon, in fact, "announcement of the accredited list in June 1948 marked the most significant event in journalism education since the University of Missouri set up its school of journalism in 1908."[347]

To Michigan State College, accreditation had brought national recognition to a program that, under Applegate, had focused largely upon training journalists for Michigan newspapers. Significantly, accreditation had been awarded neither for agricultural journalism nor community journalism -- a term synonymous with rural journalism -- but for the news-editorial sequence, a course of study common to, though not limited to, programs of urban

journalism.

By the late 1940s, in fact, the journalism program was no longer oriented toward the small town. The accreditation of the general news-editorial sequence was an indication of that change. The instructors hired following World War II were another. Most had come to Michigan State following journalism careers in large cities, not small towns. Their varied academic backgrounds included degrees from Northwestern, Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth and the University of Chicago, rather than the former agricultural schools like Iowa State or South Dakota State. Further, Applegate broadened the direction of courses in public affairs to place added emphasis on the coverage of state and city government. In the classroom, an MSC journalism instructor was as likely to stress the deadline considerations of a metropolitan newspaper as of a small-town weekly.

As the 1950s approached, then, the journalism program, like the College itself, faced the question of how best to capitalize on its new-found national recognition and "wealth" of faculty and students.

Just as the Department of Journalism and Publications had divided into separate units in 1943, expanded offerings in advertising and radio, not to mention the coming of television, might dictate the further division of those specialties into their own departments.

Further, as MSC continued to expand in size and in scope, it remained to be seen whether Albert Applegate's vision of journalism education -- one of service and of the small town -- was large enough to match the widening vision of the College. That is, in the quest for prominence, the question might arise as to whether the approval of newspaper editors would mean as much to MSC as the approval of the presidents and scholars of other universities

whose judgments were based largely on the quality of research and graduate programs.

In short, a growing field, and a growing department, would at least require a re-evaluation of what journalism should mean in a classroom of the 1950s in a College that was about to become a University.

A COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATION ARTS

The year 1955 saw creation of the College of Communication Arts and the upgrading of the Department of Journalism to a School of Journalism within the College. Establishment of the College was due, in part, to the influence of the Michigan Press Association which called for a building to house the growing journalism program. A second influence was the introduction of the concept of "communication" and academicians' search to define the term, a quest that was altering journalism education at other universities. During the early 1950s, then, the journalism faculty, other faculty members and College administrators re-evaluated the Department at MSC, partly to determine the role journalism and communication might play in a larger, integrated program. The re-evaluation, too, weighed the value of a Department still tied largely to serving the newspapers of rural Michigan against the possible benefits of a broader program that would strive for national prominence in communications research. The most significant re-evaluation occurred when President John Hannah took the future of the communications program out of the hands of the faculty and placed it with a five-member committee of senior MSC administrators. In writing a grant application to the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the committee outlined plans for a communications college and a building to house it. Although denied, the proposal gave impetus to establishment of the

College of Communication Arts and, despite continued misgivings by the journalism faculty toward communication theorists and their potential role in the future of the proghram, led to the placing of journalism within that College. In the spring of 1955, Albert Applegate retired from the Department of Journalism after 19 years as chairman. He was replaced by Gordon Sabine who assumed the roles of chairman of the School of Journalism and dean of the College July 1 upon the creation of both.

Despite years of expansion in students, faculty and courses, the Michigan State College Journalism Department, by the early 1950s, had not found a permanent home. The Department had been housed in five locations since the early days of World War II -- from the Student Union, to post-war quonset huts to the Union Lit Club building, which would later become the site of the College library.

The lack of a building, or at least several classrooms devoted to the teaching of journalism, was not critical in the first 40 years of journalism instruction. Early courses in writing and editing could be offered within ordinary classrooms. During that time, there was little need for the additional space required to equip and instruct courses in typography, photography, copy editing and layout.

More students and more courses had created a need for more space, a situation that was typical in journalism schools following World War II. The lack of adequate facilities for journalism programs had been of concern to members

of accrediting committees that had evaluated 46 college and university programs in 1948 and 1949. Journalism instruction did not "fare well in the general character and suitability of the building or space occupied" by the programs, Earl English, executive secretary of the Accrediting Committee, said. "Too often, the instruction is centered, it seems, in a temporary structure or in the oldest and most beaten-up building on the campus."[348]

"Leaders in mass communications have not progressed to the point where they take pride in substantial physical facilities for professional training in their fields. This is not easy to understand in view of the important help the newspapers, particularly, have given in working for adequate educational housing for law, medicine, agriculture, and education in general." The problem for the "poor showing," English said, was centered "chiefly on our reticence to work for our own interests. Certainly any school which hopes to retain the accredited status of its journalism program should have plans for adequate housing in the future building program of its institution." News organizations, not entirely sold on the importance of journalism classroom training, were slow to support building programs. As graduates grew in numbers and quality, and as editors, participants in the accreditation process, learned the significance of strong classroom programs to their own organizations, news people and academicians worked together to improve the quarters in which college journalism programs were housed.

In reaction to those statements, and facing a growing need for space, several journalism programs, in the early 1950s, moved into new or remodeled facilities. In 1951 alone, according to reports in the Journalism Quarterly, the University of Iowa began construction of a $525,000 Communications Center to house all teaching, research and publications efforts; South Dakota State

dedicated a $250,000 journalism building; the University of Wisconsin journalism building underwent a $50,000 remodeling program to accommodate radio and television studios and a new typography laboratory; and the University of Kansas expanded the William Allen White Journalism Building to include the university press and the student newspaper, the Daily Kansan.

When Albert Applegate needed help in acquiring a journalism building at MSC, it was logical that he turned to the small- town newspaper editors of Michigan, through the monthly publication of the Michigan Press Association. By then, the formal relationship between the College and the MPA was nearly 30 years old, and Applegate, since his arrival at MSC, had worked to strengthen those bonds, most recently by proposing a Michigan Journalism Hall of Fame to honor men and women who had "rendered conspicuous newspaper service."[349] Applegate was following the path pioneered by other disciplines. Just prior to World War II, the Michigan Hotel Association had asked MSC to "erect an inn which would serve as a hotel management laboratory and would accommodate campus visitors." With the aid of a $100,000 grant from the association -- and a $1.4 million gift from the Kellogg Foundation years later -- Kellogg Center opened in 1951.[350]

Further, despite a continuing decline in rural population and the continuing encroachment of big-city papers, radio and television, weekly newspaper editors continued to see their publications as a way of selling small-town pride and values -- and thereby selling their newspapers -- as they had decades before.

"The voice of the country editor is one of the most powerful voices in America today," an editorial in the American Press, a national publication for

weekly editors, said. "Upon his shoulders, to a great extent, rests the future of our country. Admitting their own uncertainty over the desires of the people, and over finding the right answers to the complicated problems of the present day, the leaders of our national government often turn to the unimpassioned, simply-worded 'horse sense' in weekly newspaper editorials to find the answers to their questions."[351]

In 1951, the Michigan Press Association listed a membership of 312 weekly and 54 daily newspapers, up from 247 weeklies during Albert Applegate's first years at Michigan State College.[352]

Applegate approached the editors of those newspapers through a February 1951 article in the Michigan Publisher in which he pointed out the need for a journalism building. In stressing that need, Applegate cited a student survey of department equipment. "When students in the journalism department of Michigan State College returned to school last fall they decided they could be of greatest service to the college and their department by starting a campaign for a new journalism building," he said.[353] "They made their decision on the grounds that their department ranks second only to the University of Missouri in enrollment of undergraduates, and on the belief that the department housing and physical facilities were inadequate." The department, Applegate said, was "staffed with men well experienced in newspaper and advertising work -- 104 cumulative years of successful experience." Office space for faculty and classrooms for news reporting and news writing courses were adequate.

At the same time, Applegate said, students found that space for copy editing, typography and photography was inadequate. The copy editing laboratory had only a horse-shoe table and 18 chairs. "It should be equipped

with teletype and means of projecting heads and make-up for study and demonstration." Photography was being taught in the physics building, a half mile across the campus, in a laboratory on loan from the Physics Department. Classes were held in buildings throughout the campus, making it difficult for instructors to make use of department projection and recording equipment. "The greatest handicap, the students believe, and they are backed in that opinion by the department staff and the administration of the college, is the lack of campus facilities for printing the college daily, the State News, which has a circulation of 13,500 copies," he said. "Above all, the students see a great advantage in having a unified center for the various activities of the department."

In bringing the problem to the attention of the editors, Applegate said he would "not for an instant give the impression the college is unsympathetic to the students or the department." The drawback, he said, was that the college had grown "so rapidly the administration has had to put its attention first on basic housing and other physical needs." Stopping short of asking MPA newspapers to contribute to the construction of a new building, or to lobby the College administration to provide one, Applegate ended by asking: "Does anybody have an answer?"[354]

The short answer was that the Michigan Press Association did, in fact, solve an immediate problem facing the journalism program at Michigan State College. That is, nine months after Applegate's article was published, representatives of the MPA appeared before the State Board of Agriculture to propose that a "journalism-publications building" be constructed on the campus. The following summer the Journalism Department was granted its own building, the remodeled Botany Building which had been built in 1892.

The call for a journalism building at MSC was put forth by a committee established by the MPA to study the "state's journalism schools in an attempt to improve them."[355] The committee, consisting of five newspaper editors and publishers, was set up in September 1951 to "define, extend and strengthen the courses and weed out incompetent students." There is no evidence that, despite the close ties between MSC and the MPA, the committee was concerned only with the program at Michigan State College. The Michigan Press Association did, in fact, develop a printing program at Ferris Institute in Big Rapids. Further, MPA publications frequently included news items on the departments at the University of Michigan and Wayne University in Detroit.

The Association's recommendation appears to have been one step in a longer process to influence the nature of journalism education in Michigan and, most important to preserve the dominant role of newspaper journalism in a curriculum it had come to share with public relations, radio and the growling medium of television.

The committee had been formed at the suggestion of Association Vice-president Meredith Clark, publisher of the Vicksburg Commercial, a weekly in a town of 2,000 south of Kalamazoo. In a June 1990 interview, Clark said that he had been concerned with the quality of students graduating from the journalism programs in Michigan universities. As a 1929 MSC graduate, who had worked in the College publicity department under James Hasselman, he said he was especially aware of the problems facing Albert Applegate, particularly the need to find a home for the Journalism Department.[356]

The MPA promotion of a "journalism-publications building" influenced the course of journalism education at Michigan State far beyond the call for a single building. Clark said that he had asked for more than that in a

conversation with John Hannah months before the MPA committee met with the Board of Agriculture. " Louis Berman, the publisher at Whitehall and I, went to President John Hannah of MSC and suggested the college form a school of communication, a college of communication arts, " he said. "This suggested the college bring journalism, advertising, radio and the budding television training into one school with one head. President Hannah liked the idea immediately and scheduled us to present the plan to the college board of directors."[357]

In an MPA confidential memo to editors shortly after the College of Communication Arts was established in 1955, the Association took credit for offering the idea for such a college. Although the MPA gave early public support to centralizing journalism efforts at MSC, and eventually supported the the communications college, the Association was not alone in suggesting that journalism might be divided into several departments under a single director. President Hannah, for example, established a "Communications Committee" in 1953 to determine how best to organize the instruction and production -- the College radio and television stations and the student newspaper -- of journalism at MSC. Further, the term "communication arts" had been employed by Denver University in creating a "school of communication arts" to house print, radio and television journalism and a theatre program in 1953.[358] A year earlier the University of Detroit had become the first Michigan school to offer a communication arts degree, embracing "journalism, radio, tv, speech and theater".[359]

Although journalism would comprise only one unit in a communications school, it is not surprising that the press association favored such a plan. With the Journalism Department defined, in effect, as print journalism, and set apart

from radio and television departments, the MPA might more easily influence the direction of journalism instruction at MSC -- that is, toward the weeklies and small dailies. In addition, press association members, Clark said in the 1990 interview, were aware that the next director of the journalism program might not be as receptive to the concerns of small newspapers as Applegate had been. By 1953, four members of the MSC journalism faculty had Ph.Ds, and the Michigan Press Association correctly read that figure as part of a trend. In the post-war years, "a policy of appointing persons who were at least well along toward the doctorate...became institution-wide."[360] In a statement that could have referred to journalism, it was said that "even in departments where a man with a Ph.D had been considered somewhat eccentric, it was discovered that several such men could be a source of strength rather than of weakness."[361] Against that background, when the time came, Clark said, the MPA might be able to influence the selection of a person with a strong newspaper background, minus a Ph.D, to head the Journalism Department while conceding the dean's position in the new school to a person with a doctorate. "We didn't mind having the whole operation headed by someone who didn't know how to put a paper out," Clark said, "as long as that person had the management ability to run it -- and was sympathetic to what the newspaper journalists were trying to accomplish."[362]

From the perspective of 40 years, the statements of Meredith Clark regarding a communications school, and the conclusions to be drawn from those statements, present a plausible explanation of events surrounding the MSC Journalism Department in the early 1950s. At the same time, materials revealing the nature of the MPA committee presentation to the Board of Agriculture on Nov. 29, 1951, suggest that the editors focused their remarks

upon a general criticism of journalism graduates, a reaffirmation of the importance of community journalism and the specific need for a journalism building. Exactly what transpired between the MPA committee and the Board of Agriculture -- that is, any significant exchanges among members on those, or other, topics -- cannot be known. During that time, meetings of the MSC board were closed to the public.

Minutes of the Aug. 9, 1951, meeting of the Board of Agriculture stated that "Meredith G. Clark of Vicksburg, as chairman of a committee of the Michigan Press Association, would like an opportunity to visit with the board to discuss the long-term requirements of the publishing industry for cooperation from Michigan State College. The other members of the committee are Louis Berman, of Whitehall, Frank Worthington of Wyandotte, Carl Saunders of Jackson, H.F. Bailey of Adrian, and Jack Bedient of Albion, President of the Michigan Press Association."[363] The minutes of Nov. 29, 1951, said that "the Educational Committee of the Michigan Press Association ... met with the Board and presented a series of suggestions for improvements of the facilities and program of the Department of Journalism and other areas in the field of communications."[364] Whether "other areas in the field of communications" included the concept of a college of communication is not clear.

The MPA committee presentation was based upon a statement prepared by The Committee on Journalism Schools, released to Association members and quoted directly in a story in the Michigan Publisher about the meeting.

"We are worried about the young people you are sending into our profession," the statement said. "Thirty years ago, some of us remember, we considered it good judgment, in applying for a news job, to forget to mention that we were from schools of journalism. Gradually, that attitude has changed

until now the majority of all our employees in editorial rooms are from schools of journalism, and the trend is growing to place journalism graduates in our business departments as well."[365] The schools, the committee said, served the MPA by providing students with "rudimentary training which saves us months of in-service training" and by attempting to "weed out many people outfit for newspapering." The committee directed its criticism at the students' lack of understanding of government, business and economics. "We meet journalism graduates ignorant of practical business economics or the place of management and capital and labor in an industrial scheme of things, unable to tell the difference between a stock and a bond or to read and interpret a financial statement."

Recognizing that "new forms of communication and transmission are forcing fundamental changes," the statement said that "many of us wonder, for instance, if one of the changes may be newspaper emphasis from 'what' is happening to 'why' it's happening." For journalism schools, the changes would mean "intense experimentation and change" with the "most modern facilities as an aid because they and their graduates must play a vital role in world thinking and communication."[366] In this regard, the editors were following the philosophy of Joseph Pulitzer, that journalism students must understand the power of the press and, when the time came, how to harness and direct that power.

Because the world was changing so fast, the editors believed, small- town journalism was as "vital" as it had ever been. "This country field is so vital that many of us believe that more direct attention should be given by the schools of journalism," they said. "These little papers have tremendous political influence because they live in such intimate contact with their readers. The country field

needs the very best editors we can give it, the finest young people from the best schools we can evolve. To provide editorial thinking that will be a bulwark for American ideals and American education and that will help keep aloft the torch of individual freedom."

Regarding the need for a journalism building, the committee pointed out that classes were being held in 10 buildings and that, because of a lack of space, "some of the most modern equipment is standing idle."[367] Further, the building housing the faculty offices and several of the classrooms -- the Union Lit Building -- was to be razed to build the College library.

The solution, the committee said, was to construct a building that would serve several purposes.

First, that building should be "suitable to house a printing plant and entire Department of Journalism and pay for it out of profits." (Although details of that proposal were not offered in the Committee report, the Michigan Publisher reported that the building would be "financed by revenues from a college printing department. Revenue bonds to finance the combination classroom and printing plant building would be paid from earnings of the campus daily newspaper and a printing plant housed in the basement of the structure." The University of Michigan, the article said "will move into a $4,785,000 addition to Angell Hall while the MSC Journalism Building is scheduled to be razed for the library." College printing, it pointed out, was being handled by six private plants.[368])

In addition, the building would "provide printing and typography work for students in journalism, valuable for the weekly field" and a "working laboratory to teach the business economics of papers." Finally, the building would "place the (College) paper under the Department of Journalism" so that students

could "test first-hand advertising and circulation and editorial ideas."

The statement finished with a pledge of support for the Journalism Department and a reminder of the direction, in the committee's view, the Department must take.

"We want to help you in any way we can," it said. "We believe that if you really want to make an outstanding school of journalism, you will have to house its offices, classrooms, labs and printing in a single building where there can be complete intercommunication and coordination among everyone connected with the department."

"It's not enough that we get out of journalism schools young people with pat formulas to news writing. We need young people with the Albert Applegate training that will enable them to be leaders in the tough weekly field, as well as the city field; young people aflame with ideals of independence, of justice, conscious of the need to preach constantly the meaning of true democracy."[369]

In its statement, the Committee on Journalism Schools showed that it was not merely concerned with the future of the Michigan State College journalism program but with the MPA's future influence upon that program. The criticism of recent journalism graduates was an example of that concern. When calling for added study in government and economics, the MPA representatives had sided with the view of Arthur T. Robb who, a decade before, had written that "outstanding successes in the small city fields" had been achieved "by newspapers which understand the life of their communities and their relationship with the rest of the world," not those that had concerned themselves "principally with backshop problems."[370]

Emphasizing the "why" of events, as the committee had put it, was vital to newspapers if they were to compete with radio and television, media which

could provide the "what" of those events instantaneously. Although courses in television news writing were not part of the journalism program, members of the Michigan Press Association had reason to believe they one day would be. In 1952, the Council on Radio-Television Journalism had concluded that "schools of journalism with sound radio news departments should give serious consideration to offering basic training in television news." "Fundamental education in news gathering, writing, editing, and administration lies at the base of such training," the Council said.[371] While no courses in television were being taught at MSC, an administrative Committee on Television had concluded that "the development of television as a medium of mass communication confronts Michigan State College with the obligation to train students for employment in the field, and with interesting opportunities to improve its educational services to students and to the people of Michigan as well."[372] That the Michigan Press Association felt threatened by the challenge of electronic journalism had been apparent to President John Hannah. "I found in frequent meetings with the officials of the Michigan Press Association that they were much concerned with radio as potential competition for the press," he wrote. "The appearance of television intensified their concern. Some editors and publishers believed TV news bulletins, for example, might make newspapers unnecessary. Of course, nothing of this sort happened."[373]

The MPA reference to the "tremendous political influence" of "these little papers" reminded the College board members that the newspapers had an influence in community affairs, particularly in towns without radio or television stations, though "tremendous" is probably too strong a word too describe that influence.

The idea of placing print instruction and a printing plant under one roof,

put forth by Albert Applegate in the Michigan Publisher, may have been borrowed from his former school, South Dakota State College, which was carrying out such a program in its Department of Printing and Rural Journalism.[374]

In mentioning "Albert Applegate training," the committee was urging continuation of the approach that had provided "rudimentary training" for journalism students under a man who understood the needs of rural editors. Carl Saunders, a member of the MPA committee, helped define that term a few years later when he said that the success of Michigan State journalism graduates was "to be expected, because Bert Applegate himself is a practical, sound newspaper man." "He has been able to instill into his students not only a knowledge of journalism, but something of the spark which when fanned into flame produces good reporters and editors."[375]

The reference, too, was probably MPA's first show of concern about what might happen to the MSC Journalism Department upon the eventual retirement of Applegate, then 63. As Meredith Clark said, the Association was concerned that his replacement be "sympathetic to what the newspaper journalists were trying to accomplishment."

The committee's recommendation, while not resulting in a new building, encouraged the relocation of the journalism program in the fall of 1952. Regarding construction of a journalism-publication building, a Department report said "careful analysis indicated that worthy as the project was, the cost of building has increased so much that the project should be postponed. The modernized Botany Building is the present answer. However, there is still strong demand for an addition to this building to house a printing plant for the State News and other college printing which would serve as a laboratory for

journalism students."[376]

Following announcement of the move, the Journalism Department called upon the Michigan Press Association for further assistance. "When the Michigan State College Department of Journalism moves this summer to a larger, more centrally located building on the campus," Professor E.E. McCray wrote, "an opportunity will be afforded Michigan publishers to cooperate in a practical way." The cooperation, he said, "would take the form of donations to the typography laboratory of usable equipment no longer needed in the publishers' plants." A willingness to make such contributions, he added, "was expressed recently by some publishers attending a meeting of the Michigan Press Association at East Lansing."[377] The article included a "complete list of items" including "cut-storage cabinet with 20 or 25 drawers, preferably steel, makeup table with steel surface and overhead lead and slug rack and steel type cabinets with California job cases and working tops."

The arrangement pleased the Michigan Press Association which, in an article on the Botany building, said "the journalism boys and girls have quarters fitting the importance of their training."[378] As McCray had urged, the editors had helped equip the facility and, according to the article, were impressed that the building would encourage a "practical" approach to journalism. "Special desks, or tables, with adjustable tops gives students practical equipment similar to that which they will use if they decide to follow this phase of the work (advertising) after graduation," it said. "Equipment in the editorial room is not complete but in a few weeks will take on the look and atmosphere of a typical daily newspaper city room."[379]

The transfer of the journalism program to the Botany building, whose remodeling was funded through a Legislature appropriation, showed that the

Michigan Press Association retained a measure of influence with the College board. Further, the donation of equipment pointed out the continuing cooperation between the Journalism Department and the MPA. At the same time, the article describing and praising the new set-up also signaled Association challenges that would reach beyond the building itself. In it, Professor Earl A. McIntyre said that, while 60 percent of freshmen entering journalism classes indicated a preference for newspaper work, "when they become seniors, two-thirds of them have changed their minds and plan to enter related or allied careers such as public relations work, advertising specialties with agencies, or any one of the many fields offered by industry or other types of publications." One reason for the change, he said, was "that these youngsters have become thoroughly imbued with something that has been very much emphasized in the past 20 years, namely 'SECURITY.' They are attracted by the liberal pay offered by industry and other types of publications. They are fascinated by the more glamorous products of advertising where color and liberal illustrations are used." More than that, public relations work was regarded by the students as "more attractive than the everyday grind of newspaper work."[380]

The story also pointed out that the College "has operated radio station WKAR" and "sometime in the near future will operate a television station and install a complementary course of study." Despite the remodeling of the Botany building, it added, "the plans for the future might conceivably result in the establishment of a School of Communications which would, in one center and under one general supervision, embrace the newspaper plant, the radio and the television stations, with the complementary training courses." "Admitting that this last falls somewhat into the field of conjecture, don't write it off

completely. Any Michigan citizen who has followed the aggressively forward-looking policies of President John Hannah must recognize that he has been found in very few ruts, and, if in one, he has not stayed there very long."[381]

The story marked the first public reference to a "School of Communication" at Michigan State and, while it went beyond the MPA's statement to the Board, it supported the view Meredith Clark had offered President Hannah, that such a school should include radio and television, as well as print journalism.

It is not surprising that Hannah's vision for communications at MSC encompassed more than a single element. "In fact, the concern that brought about the School of Communication Arts was directly related to John Hannah's long-time intent to interrelate and thereby reinforce the obligations of the college to provide educational services to the state not only through the existing extension program but through a much broadened program using the full resources of the institution. His vision included such a school and placement in it of the various publication and communication facilities of the institution. He emphasized the advantages of involving both faculty and students in the operation of educational services, research, and instruction. These views had been formed over his many years of association with Michigan State."[382]

Journalism's role in helping " provide educational services to the state" could be traced to the school's early days when farm bulletins, often produced by MAC graduates, reported on the work of the College's experiment station. By the mid-1950s, the College could send its messages by both radio and television as well as the printed page and, through an expanding list of courses that included advertising and public relations, was capable of teaching students how any message might be presented.

By then, too, the College catalogue was offering a broad definition of journalism as if the subject was already part of a "communications" program. "The Journalism curriculum," it said, "is designed for those students who intend to enter the communications field." "It seeks to provide them with a cultural background and an understanding of the social and economic significance of communications. In addition, it affords training and practice in communications operations."[383]

Journalism students entering MSC in 1952 were required to complete one year of American history; 12 credits in literature, including Old Testament Literature; and two courses in political science and to obtain "one summer's experience in their selected field before entering their final year of college."[384] In addition, they were to take 34 credits in journalism with requirements determined by their choice of concentration in a specific sequence: Newspaper Editorial Practice, Advertising, Agricultural Journalism, Teaching or Industrial Journalism.

The sequence in agricultural journalism was "set up in response to an ever-increasing demand for personnel from agricultural publications, advertising agencies, agricultural colleges, newspapers and radio stations." The program allowed students to take courses in agriculture and journalism with a major and minor in the subject of their choice. Educators, it was said, had been "gravely concerned over the shortage of personnel in this important field, and placement officials report that they can fill only a fraction of the available positions."[385]

Although the Michigan Press Association might have been concerned with Earl McIntyre's report that many students were leaving the newspaper field for opportunities with other publications, it might have noted that the Newspaper

Editorial Practice sequence was committed to a series of "practical" courses still geared to the needs of MPA editors. Courses in news writing, reporting, advanced reporting, public affairs reporting and copy editing were required as well as newspaper management, a class first taught by Gene Alleman nearly two decades before and geared to the operation of small- town newspapers. In addition, the Department of Journalism and the Association continued to promote projects of interest to the editors and their readers. An Editors' Country Life Conference, held in 1952 and jointly sponsored by the Department and the MPA, was "devoted exclusively to problems of Michigan rural residents as related to Michigan daily and weekly newspapers."[386] Ironically, too, the Journalism Department, during a time of media advances and new courses, had established a sequence in agricultural journalism, 34 years after a gathering of Michigan editors had called for creation of a Department of Rural Journalism.

The most telling view of the MSC Journalism program in the mid-1950s, however, was from the inside, as revealed through a statement "Journalism at Michigan State College" submitted to Herman J. Wyngarden, dean of the Department of Business and Public Service, in December 1953. Although its purpose was not revealed in the document, the statement was likely written to provide Wyngarden with information to prepare him for his role as a member of a five-man Communications Committee established by President Hannah to study the future of communications at Michigan State College. The 11-page statement was written by Journalism Professor Harold Jolliffe who accurately represented the balance between academic and professional interests in the Department. With a doctorate in classical languages from the University of Chicago, Jolliffe spoke with authority about the journalism student's need for a

strong "cultural background," as outlined in the course catalogue. At the same time, as a former reporter who spent his summers as a copy editor for the Detroit Free Press, he also knew the importance of the "training and practice" a journalism program might offer its students. Though his reporting experience had come on large newspapers, including the Toronto Star, Jolliffe was aware, too, of the concerns of the Michigan Press Association, whom he had served as a panelist at the MPA's annual convention.

In defining the "Job of Journalism," Jolliffe described journalism as important because "we need to know in what kind of world we are living." "And that need spells out the job for mass communications, or 'journalism.'"[387] Journalism, he said, may be divided into two arts: the art of presentation and the art of inquiry. "Both arts require a broad, general foundation quite outside the specific skills and arts of journalism itself."

The job of journalism education, then, was to guide students "into those studies which will lay the best foundation for their future (and not in any too narrow 'vocational' sense)." "Teach them the history, responsibilities, functions, media and arts of journalism. Inspire the kind of hard thinking, ethics, and courage that mark the great as opposed to petty journalism. Be practical and 'vocational' without sacrificing these higher duties. (Colleges have fallen heir to the apprenticeship function. We have the job not merely of inspiring greatness but also of training 'the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.')"

The "professional field of journalism" should be served "in the measure and manner to be expected of a university." That meant the Department should: "Maintain active contact (and not through the department head alone) with the working field. Supply it with trained and suitable workers. Be sensitive to its demands. Be helpful with its problems. Be kindly critical of its

shortcomings. Join it in common efforts for improvement. Maintain an active center of research. Amend this list, if it is faulty, but at least have some sound framework of action."

The journalism staff at Michigan State College, he said, "is just about as able as the present market affords." Against that background, the dean was urged to "have some confidence in that staff, give it free access to facts and consult it on problems, encourage it to mingle freely with the practitioners and critics of journalism, let it meet often, heed its collective advice, relieve it of some of the constricting load of paper work -- do these things and the results will quickly soar from mediocre or average to one of the best programs in the country."

Regarding "New Fields," Jolliffe pointed out that "there is a trend toward renaming or expanding journalism schools into schools of mass communications." "This has much to commend it. But such a structure should not be put in the hands of an opportunist or a visionary theorist."

"Radio and television," he said, "are partly entertainment media and partly parallel outlets to newspapers and magazines in the dissemination of news. But they are not to any great degree news-gathering media. For example: Michigan newspaper, radio, and TV members of the Associated Press are pledged to supply AP with any significant news they gather. Many of the broadcasting stations never contribute anything. The most aggressive ones supply only a trivial fraction. The fact is that news gathering, except for pictorial news, is fundamentally the same thing, regardless of outlet. An actor who tells the news over the air is not to be confused with the man who gathers or writes it."

"This is not meant to exclude the new media from journalism. But we must

avoid the example of those schools which oversold [broadcast] journalism (a glamorous attraction to kids) and then found themselves unable to market most of their graduates." (A hand-written note beside the latter statement said: "Above was written in fear that department would be put under a TV man.")

Jolliffe suggested that the advertising courses "should probably stay with journalism" and said that "business writing is probably attached as happily to journalism as it could be to any department." "Its personnel might be better integrated with journalism if it were allowed to develop a course in direct-mail advertising. Its inclusion in a school of communications would be logical."

In the matter of the student newspaper, The State News, the statement said "it is questionable whether the conflicting elements of press freedom, aggressive reporting, administrative caution, and youthful irresponsibility can ever be completely integrated. A faculty member who teaches aggressive reporting and enforces censorship is bound to appear hypocritical to his students." There were alternatives to the long-time arrangement that had put the student paper under the direction of a faculty adviser -- "one being a complete separation" of the newspaper and the Journalism Department.

"It need hardly be added that the impact of the College on the people is to a great extent through the press," the document concluded. "Newsmen may judge the College somewhat by its product in their own field. It can do the College no harm if a fair share of its graduates achieve high positions in the fields of mass communication. Much can be achieved, and much depends on the kind of man chosen to head the new venture."[388]

The statement, both in content and in the fact it had been written, was another indication of change within both the Journalism Department and the College communications programs . Another reference to a "school of

communications" and mention of a "new man" helped illustrated that point. If the document itself was a signal that change might occur, its message favored the status quo. Although the statement warned against an approach to journalism education that might be too "narrow" or "vocational," it clearly supported a "practical" program, a view which the Michigan Press Association would agree. A goal, for example, was to supply the professional field with "trained and suitable" workers. That these workers would be oriented to print, rather than electronic, journalism is evident in the statement's criticism of the "new media" of radio and television, categorized as being more concerned with entertainment than news. That statement, while recognizing the need for the Department to teach a variety of courses, still favored what the MPA committee had called the "Albert Applegate" type of training, a position that is hardly surprising since Applegate still headed the Department, Jolliffe was a former newspaper reporter and the MPA had recently assisted the program in acquiring and equipping a new building. Regarding the student newspaper, it would appear that the Department was attempting to drop its role as official adviser to the State News, a responsibility it had held since the Department of Journalism and Publications had been established in 1929. That role, as Jolliffe implied, had sometimes put student editors at odds with Department faculty members and, by implication, had placed the journalism program in the middle of disputes between the students and the College administration. Such a position would seem politically unsound, particularly as the Department sought to make its way in a new communications program and attempted to sell students on careers in newspaper journalism.

In the statement, Jolliffe made "mass communications" synonymous with "journalism," a definition with which growing numbers of journalism educators

had begun to disagree. Indeed, on one measure, at least, the Michigan State College program was behind other schools in an evolutionary cycle.

"The first period in the evolution of the schools," Ralph D. Casey, director of the University of Minnesota School of Journalism had written in 1945, "was one of groping and trial and error, but the pioneer teachers established a solid core of largely technical courses for the training of collegians eager to embark on journalistic careers."[389] The second stage, Casey said, was one of "growth and development," marked by "accent courses in the history of journalism and the institutional nature of the newspaper." While Casey's term "accent courses" is a bit puzzling, he is probably referring to those courses other than writing and editing -- journalism history, law of the press, journalism ethics, newspaper management. Finally, in the third period of their life cycle, the schools recognized that "today's journalism is no longer the journalism of the press alone." "The forward-looking teachers acknowledge that today's school of journalism is properly a school of communications; indeed, if 'communications' meant alone the conveyance of information and ideas, and did not also connote the movement of human beings and things, universities could recognize this in the designation of departments where symbol practitioners are trained."[390] In an era when newspapers competed with radio, and would soon compete with television, the statement that "today's journalism is no longer the journalism of the press alone" could hardly be debated. Casey's comment that "today's school of journalism is properly a school of communications" was a bit ahead of its time. When Casey published his article, creation of the MSU School of Communication Arts and Sciences, the nation's first, was still 10 years away. Regarding his definition of communications and his talk of "symbol practitioners," Casey was using a

jargon foreign to journalism instructors of the 1940s, but common to communications professors who joined journalism faculties a decade later. To Casey, the term "communications" referred to a discipline that had become fashionable following World War II and had its base in the social sciences. Harold D. Lasswell, one of the leaders in the field, for example, had published one of the earliest communications studies in political science. In the future, Casey said, "content, not course labels, will be important in viewing the program of a school of journalism." Regarding community journalism, Casey said that "the student who specializes in the rural newspaper must have support work in rural sociology, rural institutions and, above all else, in agricultural economics. Weekly newspaper courses often suffer from a sterility which is due in part to the failure to relate the weekly newspaper to its own peculiar environment."[391]

Years later, Casey wrote that "journalism teachers need to hold their own with the brilliant group of social scientists who have moved, and will continue to advance, into an area in which media, symbols, audiences and effects are commingled; and who appreciate the increasing social importance of communication."[392] More than that, "journalism instruction can no longer depend alone on the intuitive guesses of former journalism craftsmen, who upon entering teaching ranks rely too heavily on past personal experience in the use of technical tools and skills. It is good sense to recognize that the instructor has an obligation to plow back into his teaching some synthesis of the important findings developed in the past decade from systematic and disciplined communications investigations."

Those investigations, Casey said, had drawn "heavily on the work of other disciplines. Psychologists, sociologists, statisticians, area study specialists in

economics, foreign affairs and government, and their kinsmen have given us a wealth of insights into the problems that face the communicator and his audience, and the effects of the communicated symbols on attitude and behavior. It is fair to emphasize that the best work of trained journalism school investigators will now stand comparison with the output in communications research of those specializing in the behavioral sciences."[393]

Comparing the position paper of the Journalism Department with the statements of Casey, one would judge that the MSC program, in 1953, was in only the second stage of development. That is, the Department continued to be print-oriented, stressing "accent courses" in journalism history and newspaper management while barely acknowledging the existence of, much less the importance of, other media. As significant, perhaps, the Department simply defined "communications" as the means used -- words on a printed page, for example -- to convey information. To Jolliffe, a school of communications would literally mean putting those means -- newspaper, radio and television with their accompanying staff and equipment -- under a bigger roof, much as the MPA had proposed for newspaper education in its plan for placing journalism classrooms and a printing plant in one building.

Others, like Casey, meanwhile, were grappling with the definition of communication itself, one that would go beyond any single medium. Ironically, differing viewpoints on what "communication" meant helped signal the end of one era in journalism at Michigan State and the beginning of another. A Department that urged it be allowed "to mingle freely with the practitioners and critics of journalism" would be different from one that might request time to evaluate "systematic and disciplined communications investigations." The orientation of a professor who saw words at the top of a

story as a "headline" -- and pondered a better one -- would differ from that of a colleague who saw those same words as "communicated symbols" and pondered their effect on "attitude and behavior."

Most significant, perhaps, a primary objective of the MSC approach had been to "serve the professional field of journalism in the measure and manner to be expected of a university." A key element in that approach was the Department's long-standing relationship with the Michigan Press Association, an arrangement in which each group often advised, and sought the approval of, the other. Future journalism educators, Casey suggested, would not be so concerned with the standards set by editors but would, instead, "need to hold their own with the brilliant group of social scientists" who appreciated "the increasing social importance of communications." Journalism school instructors would not be judged on whether their writings were accepted by news professionals but whether they would "stand comparison with the output in communications research of those specializing in the behavioral sciences."

This shift in focus would become institution-wide as MSC, like the communications programs, expanded. In the early land-grant college, Paul A. Dressel said in College To University: The Hannah Years At Michigan State, the loyalties of the administrators and faculty were "to the people of the state, and they viewed the institution as existing to serve the people's needs."

"Departments were small. Interactions, and even interchange, among departments and disciplines by individuals were commonplace. The prevailing concern was with identification and solution of problems and with the education of the people involved. Activities were diverse, but there was a unity in them which gradually faded as strong degree programs were developed in the arts, social sciences, and natural sciences."[394]

Vocational programs -- journalism, social work, nursing, hotel administration -- also took on a national orientation. "As faculty members entered these vocational areas," Dressel said, "they continued to view the university as an agency to serve society, but many also gradually came to regard it as an organization to promote career, departmental, and ultimately professorial reputations." "The shift in emphasis from practical problem solving to organized knowledge and theory became even more evident. The faculty now viewed itself as part of a worldwide learning community -- a collection of scholars -- rather than as a group of people devoted to helping others."[395]

Meanwhile, the matter of how, or whether, to accommodate all communications programs within one department was working its way toward a solution.

"In the process of reviewing all our programs at Michigan State," President John Hannah said, "we took a long hard look not only at the Department of Journalism but at the entire field of mass communication." "Instead of establishing a program in radio or television, competitive with journalism, we decided to organize a college of communications, or communication arts, to include journalism, television, radio, public speaking, dramatics, and allied subjects. This seemed a radical idea to many of the academics in the field around the country."[396]

The future of communications programs at Michigan State College was determined, in part, through the creation of a Communications Committee by President Hannah in 1953.

Members of the committee were Milton Muelder, director of research development and former dean of arts and sciences; James Denison, administrative assistant to President Hannah in charge of public relations;

Herman J. Wyngarden, dean of the School of Business and Public service; Floyd W. Reeves, who had developed MSC's Basic College which integrated liberal arts and technical courses for all freshmen and sophomores; and Thomas Cowden, dean of the School of Agriculture.[397] It is significant that this was a committee of administrators, not faculty.

The committee's work was reflected in a 31-page "Proposal For Communication Arts," completed in 1954, which served as both a blueprint for communications at MSC and as a request for funding from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.[398] That the foundation was asked to provide $6 million for construction of a communications building and $25,000 per year for five years "in order to staff properly as well as to develop, the program of research which is needed to give guidance and assistance to this total enterprise" was not surprising. "We had an understanding with (foundation president) Dr. Morris and the Kellogg Foundation that whenever the University had a good project that we had reviewed thoroughly," President Hannah said, "the foundation would examine it carefully, which meant that in most instances they would finance it."[399]

The evidence suggests that John Hannah's optimism over potential Kellogg Foundation funding gave far more impetus to the establishment of a school of communication than the prodding of any individual department or organization, like the Department of Journalism or the Michigan Press Association. More than that, one member of the Communication Committee said that the College of Communication Arts would not have been founded when it was, or perhaps as it was, had it not been for the strong possibility of foundation assistance.

Milton Muelder, in a 1991 interview, said the concept of "communication,"

as outlined in the proposal, was "a level higher" than what journalism educators, or others concerned with largely vocational interests, had in mind. Of the Kellogg proposal itself, Muelder said that the reasons for seeking a grant ranged from the "almost Biblical" to the "crass and mundane."[400]

"The idea to approach the Kellogg Foundation came from Floyd Reeves, an adviser to President Hannah," Muelder said. "Reeves told Hannah: 'I have a good friend at the Kellogg Foundation (Morris Seay), an education man. I know that W.K. is ripe for a big grant, and I know my friend can help us.' With the greatest confidence, Reeves said we could land $4 million to $5 million. All we needed was the right kind of proposal. And, of course, we had a man inside the foundation who would be an advocate for it. Imagine what beautiful music that was to our ears."

In outlining a proposal for a communications college, Muelder said, the committee brought together the best elements of what he called "major buzz words" of the late 1940s and early 1950s: "Control" and "communication."

"The word 'control' was popular throughout the military," he said, "and much of its popularity was transferred to college administration following the war. Not 'control' in the sense of stifling, but in the sense of bringing about the most effective coordination of execution and policy. The communications college -- with its several operations and purposes -- would provide a perfect example of congruence of policy and execution."

To members of the Communications Committee meeting in 1953 and 1954, he said, the term "communication" went "far beyond the media aspect." "The belief was that communication is a two-way street," he said. "You could send a message, and that required clear articulation. Communication, however, required a response, an echo of understanding. There must be a desire to

understand. I could be accurate, lucid and still not have communicated. Communication wasn't something stale or frozen. That understanding, that way of using the concept as it had not been used before, took on an excitement and potential in the total university that had meaning."

In calling for a communications college that would lead to a better understanding among faculty and students throughout the university, he said, the proposal spelled out a quest that was idealistic, "almost Biblical" in nature. At the same time, the proposal, in calling for a building, had a practical side as well.

"In addition to our intellectual language about communication and learning," he said, "we were striving to fill a need that was crass and mundane. The most pressing problem at Michigan State in the early 1950s was a lack of space. The school was growing beyond its breeches. The fight for space was severe. To illustrate, when I was dean of science and arts, it was imperative that I get research started, but there was simply no space for research. Finally, I took a classroom and divided it in half, an action that wasn't popular with many of my colleagues. In part, the proposal for a communications building documents the drive for space, any space."[401]

To write the first section of the proposal, the committee called upon Russel Nye, Pulitzer Prize winning biographer who had served as director of the division of language and literature while Muelder was dean of the school of science and arts. "We needed an intellectual statement that expressed eloquently the thinking of the committee," he said. "Nye was a superb candidate to take our ideas and give them intellectual substance and meaning."

The Statement of Needs and Purposes read, in part, as follows:

> Our democratic system is predicated on the principle that its citizens must constantly choose among values and alternatives in social, political, economic, and moral relationships in every area of daily life. American democracy is in essence the wise exercise of free choice, based on full objective information. The problem of communicating that information -- all of it -- to a growing and widely dispersed people is therefore one of prime importance. Unless our citizens possess a thorough grasp of both the information and processes by which decisions are reached, our democratic system, as well as the intellectual and spiritual forces which sustain it, is severely prejudiced
>
> Our institutions of higher education have assumed both informative and research functions, charged by our society with a responsibility for discovering, refining, and transmitting knowledge to the people. Our universities have fulfilled their obligations reasonably well. In earlier periods of our national development, it was sufficient that their graduates carried the influence of the educational institutions with them to their own localities, there to communicate directly with the people through press, pulpit, public office, and other positions of responsibility.

Nye offered an idealized view of what Michigan State had been and what it might become. To him, communication, originally, had merely meant providing information to people who would apply it to better their lives, much as the Michigan Agricultural College had done through its experiment station reports to the farmers and in its training of agricultural and small-town journalists. At the same time, Nye, taking note of rapid changes in technology, spoke of a world in which communication process was as important as technique and, as others had said, a world in which communication needed to be redefined. Continuing, he wrote:

> In the twentieth century, however, the technological revolution in the field of mass communication has radically altered this situation. It is now possible to communicate simultaneously with millions of citizens who, by reason of the increasing demands of mass media for their attention, find it more and more difficult to sort, sift, assimilate, and evaluate the information transmitted to them from a multitude of sources.

> Contemporary America faces a double problem; First, to acquire knowledge and information about ourselves and the world around us, and second, to distribute that knowledge and information quickly, effectively, and widely within our society, so that its citizens may have available to them in times of decision both the means and the ability to act wisely.
>
> Some institutions of higher learning in the United States have long been aware of the educational implications of these recent developments in mass communication media. They have recognized that through them the educational process may be hastened, strengthened, and extended far beyond the campus. They know that proper use of these media offers an unequaled opportunity for the educational institution to communicate, far more swiftly and authoritatively than before, with all segments of society. Radio, television, cinema, new audio-visual techniques, and an expanded and more effective press are all instruments by which universities may better realize their purposes. Because these media have intimate relevance to education, the task of measuring, studying, and utilizing their effects now belongs peculiarly to educational institutions.

In speaking of measuring, studying and utilizing the effects of the media, Nye acknowledged the role of communications research and its place within the university. Regarding the role of Michigan State, he said:

> It is particularly appropriate that MSC, first of the land-grant colleges, should be deeply concerned with this problem. For nearly 100 years MSC has devoted itself to the task of discovering and refining knowledge, of communicating it to citizens young and old, and of teaching them how to employ it in their lives and their communities. As society has become increasingly complex, so too has education widened its objectives and accelerated its processes.
>
> Yet a century of progress must not obscure the fact that, in the light of an even swifter expansion in the means of communication, education is finding it difficult to maintain its position of leadership in certain areas of knowledge and endeavor where public opinion is formed. If institutions of higher education are to retain their initiative, if they are to continue to honor their traditional obligations to society, they must use fully -- and not be used by -- these great new instruments for the transmission of knowledge. There is critical need for a unified attack on the problem of

> communication, concentrating on it the total skills and resources of the educational institutions.
>
> This proposal calls for the creation of a center designed to deal with the practice of teaching of modern media of mass communication, and to assist and encourage useful study of that field.continued and developed.[402]

While the language of the committee, as Muelder said and as Nye illustrated, went "a level higher" than the spelling out of mere vocational needs, the document addressed the practical needs of the Department of Journalism, as expressed by the Michigan Press Association in its meeting with the College board. For example, journalism classrooms, along with faculty offices, would be housed in the new communications building. The "Department of Journalism, except for Business Letter Writing," the proposal said, was to be transferred from the "School of Business and Public Service to the School of Communication Arts." The building would also house "printing facilities" for the student newspaper, which was to be under the direction of the Department of Journalism, and the College press. Pointing out that "the College has long enjoyed a cordial relationship with the press of Michigan," the committee recommended that the building also accommodate the offices of the Michigan Press Association.[403]

The building would, in fact, contain both instructional and service facilities for several departments. In addition to journalism, the new Communication Arts School would include the Department of Speech and new departments of Audio-Visual Communication and Public Relations. The latter department was to "provide courses in Public Relations" and "assist in the development of curricula in Public Relations with both major and minor sequences." The communications building, in addition to housing printing facilities, would be

home to the College Information Services program, the College radio and television stations. Besides the MPA, the building would include offices for the National Project on Agricultural Communications and the Michigan Association of Broadcasters.

The proposal for a School of Communication Arts, then, both as an academic concept and as a center of activities, was consistent with the MPA editors who had said they believed that "if you really want to make an outstanding school of journalism, you will have to house its offices, classroom, laboratories and printing in a single building where there can be complete intercommunication and coordination among everyone connected with the department."[404]

At the same time, as the Nye statement had shown, the members of the Communications Committee had viewed the role of communications at MSC in a much broader sense than had the print journalists or representatives of any other single unit. "The whole structure of the building" was to be designed not merely to house departments but "to stimulate and encourage a unified approach to communication art." To that end, the structure was "not to be considered as a classroom building." In fact, only 15,000 square feet in the 324,000-square-foot building had been allotted for classrooms. Simply, the "operations to be housed" in the building would be "of such a nature that they require much space." "Television rooms, practice rooms, rehearsal stages, printing facilities and storage space are some of the necessities. The proposed structure would have two auditoriums and also two television rooms with seats for spectators. It would contain about ten offices where research teams from other departments could be housed while working on research projects in communications."

While the need for research, and the space needed to perform it, was important to all members of the Communications Committee, the issue probably had most significance to Muelder who, as director of research development in 1951, had conducted a survey on the state of research at Michigan State College.

"The first step toward building a research program," he said, "was to flush out all the talent locally. The idea was to develop the most sophisticated research staff possible by building upon the talent that was already there."

To do that, Muelder surveyed all faculty members at MSC, asking them to define their research interests and reveal information on foundation, government or other sources of funding.

"Other than just a handful of responses," Muelder said. "The survey resulted in nothing. It was devastating that the College was so naked in its research efforts."[105]

That research was to play a role in a new communications program was was evidenced by a statement that such research was to be administered by the "Head of the [University] Office of Research and Development." "The purview of research problems in the Communication Arts," the proposal stated, "extends over the wide vista of extension programs as well as over most of the academic disciplines, and impinges directly on many phases of the operation and production of the media employed in communications. Studies in technological processes, sociological processes, psychological factors, historical and cultural factors, semantics, interpersonal relations, and many human behavior phenomena as they relate to communications are suggestive of the spectrum of research required in a Communication Arts research program."

The Research Development Office was to be "relatively small" and "should give both encouragement and assistance to communication research throughout the entire institution." "The holding and organization of many types of institutes and seminars in the Communication Arts on a local, regional, national and international basis; the development of diversified research projects in communication which may be submitted for private and public grants; the development of an information center and a continuing up-to-date bibliography on communication; and the transmittal to appropriate departments of important findings in communications research and studies are important aspects of the functions of this office. Under the general supervision of this office would be at least one large demonstration conference room and about ten smaller rooms which could be used by interested departments for conferences, seminars, special research projects, and demonstration purposes."

Under a section entitled "The Instructional Program," the proposal stated that "the curricula in Communication Arts are based on two concepts: (a) that both content communicated and the communication process are important, and (b) that the expenditure of time and energy necessary to acquire important ideas and knowledge or skills in artistic rendition is greater than that necessary to acquire skill in the use of mass communication or ability to determine which medium or media to employ to accomplish particular purposes most effectively. Based upon these concepts, these curricula place greater stress upon content than upon communication skills. All draw much of their content from the humanities, the fine arts, the sciences or the social sciences. All are designed to provide a broad, liberal education. In most of them particular attention is given to the social sciences. In all of them, subject-matter content is

supplemented by training in communication skills."

To carry out those concepts, the Communications Committee mapped out an undergraduate program that would include "a general introductory course or sequence of two or three courses in the communication arts" that would be "developed and offered each term as optional for all students." "This course or course sequence will cover all media of communication arts, supplanting the present survey courses in journalism, radio and television. It will be offered by the new Department of Public Relations which is to be established."

In addition, "one or more optional curricula will be established in each of several schools, including Agriculture, Business and Public Service, Education, Home Economics, and Science and Arts. Such curricula will be administered jointly by the respective School and the School of Communication Arts." That approach was similar to ongoing Journalism Department programs in agricultural journalism and journalism education that allowed students to specialize in subjects outside their own department.

Each curriculum would also include: "A major concentration in one or more of the regular subject-matter departments, with a cognate consisting of one or more courses in one or more of the departments of the School of Communication Arts, or A major concentration in one or more of the departments of the School of Communication Arts, with a cognate consisting of one or more courses in one or more of other schools, or A double major in the School of Communication Arts and one or more of the departments in other schools."

"The curricula provided," the proposal said, "will be designed to prepare the student to communicate effectively in his primary field of specialization and to enable him to acquire a deeper understanding of the communication process

in society."

The proposal also called for a graduate program that would be "extremely flexible to meet the needs of students of diverse professional interests and backgrounds." The "general curricula for a graduate program leading to the Master's or Doctor's degree, with a major or minor sequence in Communication Arts" would be "developed for the general guidance of students and advisors" with content dependent "upon the needs and professional objectives of the individual students."

The document was significant in that it gave clear insight into how MSC administrators -- advisers to President Hannah among them -- viewed the future of communication education at MSC. As important as requesting a building, the committee had spelled out a possible orientation for communication courses at Michigan State -- "place greater stress upon content than upon communication skills" -- and that tendency would resurface in plans for research, curricula and graduate programs throughout the proposal.

In the communications program, too, Muelder said, the Committee saw the potential for improving all parts of MSC.

"The thought was that if we approached communications right," he said, "we could become the best teaching institution in the country. The quality of teaching throughout the College would improve, and we would accelerate the whole educational process."[406]

Although "subject-matter content" would be supplemented by "training in communication skills," the attention to skills -- reporting, editing, writing -- was secondary, the emphasis on "practical journalism" far less than Harold Jolliffe had advocated in his statement on the future of the Department of Journalism.

Since the beginning of journalism education, teachers and administrators had stressed a need for students to take courses from throughout the college or university. The argument had focused on the nature and number of those courses with all sides agreeing that offerings in liberal arts or specialty areas would assist the journalist in applying skills by providing a deeper understanding of the subject at hand. To the Communication Committee, "content" meant not merely the substance of other courses, but the content of messages. Further, future students within the communication college should not assume that their particular interests -- newspapers, television, magazines -- were necessarily the best way to convey certain messages but should, in part, consider research that could reveal "the best mode or combination of modes as related to content and as related to the particular audience for which information is intended."

If articles in scholarly journals, by writers like Ralph Casey, had indicated a shift in direction of journalism education, the proposal by the Communications Committee was a call for that new approach at Michigan State College. With its broad definition of communication education, its plans to revise curricula and its quest for a Research Development Office, the committee proposal seemed almost written in another language when compared with the statement put forth by the Department of Journalism. Indeed, as MSC set forth to create another "school" -- on the eve of becoming a university -- the development of research and graduate programs seemed logical steps in that process.

Against that background, a Department of Journalism that prided itself on its annual participation in a conference for small- town newspaper editors would find itself out of step in a school of communication whose administrators sought to bring together researchers who could discuss and develop

"diversified research projects in communication" and might transmit "important findings in communications research" to "appropriate departments."

Research, at least in the scholarly context defined by the committee proposal, had not played a significant role in the journalism program of Albert Applegate as the results of Milton Muelder's research survey in 1951 had shown. The word "research" had not, in fact, appeared in the statement by Harold Jolliffe. Rather than citing the publication of articles in academic journals, the statement described faculty members through professional accomplishments, as "men who have written novels and short stories, produced TV programs, prepared news broadcasts, owned and operated country weeklies, managed small dailies, managed news bureaus, or written and edited for large metropolitan dailies." Indeed, the first article written by an MSC journalism faculty member for the Journalism Quarterly, the scholarly journal of journalism education, did not appear until 1953. At that, it was an article stressing "practical" journalism: "Typography in the Curriculum: How Many Graduates Use It?"[407]

Regarding graduate programs, the Department of Journalism response to such a possibility was only lukewarm. "The journalism profession itself largely considers a Ph.D degree in 'journalism' as ridiculous," it had said, "although one or two schools offer it. As one works toward the research fringe of journalism, he is inevitably in some other discipline -- political science, economics, sociology, or linguistics." While Jolliffe acknowledged that a master's degree in journalism may have some value, he said "a more constructive program might be one, something like the Nieman Fellowships, in which outstanding newspapermen could return for a year to pursue those studies in any field for which they had developed a need." The department's

conclusion about graduate work in journalism was that "the whole question deserves a thorough review from all angles."

The MSC Department of Journalism statement had ended by saying: "Much can be achieved, and much depends on the kind of man chosen to head the new venture." Although Applegate's intentions were probably known when the document was written late in 1953, the fact that a change was near became official the following spring with the announcement that the long-time chairman would retire, effective June 30, 1954. (Following a round of farewell tributes, Applegate announced on July 1, 1954, that he would stay on, at the request of the Board of Agriculture, until a suitable replacement could be found -- "perhaps until July 1, 1956."[408])

At a testimonial dinner sponsored by the State News, attended by more than 300 present and former students and representatives of the Michigan press, Applegate's accomplishments were enumerated as including creation of "the annual high school journalism day, annual photographic conferences, daily operation of the State News, annual classified advertising conference, two student chapters of national journalism honoraries."[409]

At the gathering, Applegate said he had come to Michigan State with "the vision of making the MSC Journalism Department the best in the country." "It is your job to make what was my vision -- and now is my dream -- come true," he said.[410]

In its willingness to wait as long as two years for a successor to Albert Applegate, the Board of Agriculture was awaiting the outcome of planning for the school of communications -- and the probable granting of Kellogg Foundation money -- whose direction might influence the selection of the new director of journalism.

Regarding the selection of Applegate's replacement, there is little evidence to suggest how many candidates were considered before the choice was made. The only name listed in University or Michigan Press Association archives, other than that of the man chosen, was Charles L. Allen who was mentioned in an MPA memo in April, 1954. Noting that Applegate had been asked to stay on at MSC, the memo said that Allen, "associate dean of the Medill School of Journalism has expressed interest in the position." "Dean Herman Wyngarden informed me," the memo from the MPA secretary said, "that Allen be invited to East Lansing for an interview. He said President John Hannah was personally interested in getting a good man for the MSC post. It goes without saying that the association is not sponsoring any candidate, though individual members are free to express opinions."[411] Although Allen's name did not appear again, his academic background, which included a doctorate, might have made him an acceptable candidate to the College board. At the same time, his background as associate dean at Northwestern's Medill School of Journalism -- a school with a strong newspaper orientation -- should have been acceptable, perhaps ideal, to members of the MPA. More than that, Allen had addressed the 1942 Michigan Press Association convention where he had spoken on "Newspaper Trends and War Problems" in his role as chief of rural press section of the Office of War Information.[412]

Applegate's announcement had come as the Communication Committee continued to draft, and redraft, its proposal. "Morris Seay came to campus for a hearing on our proposal, to see how things were working out," Muelder said. "All of us had our speeches ready. We thought we had a strong proposal. We'd pulled all the resources of the media together, had an overriding philosophy to guide us and had begun to identify people we'd hire to

implement the new operation."

A few months later, Muelder said, the committee was informed of a possible setback in its planning for a College of Communication Arts. "The Kellogg Foundation wondered how it could give money to something that did not exist," he said. "That is, there was a proposal to fund a building for a College of Communication Arts, but, at the time, there was no such college." To meet that obstacle, Muelder said, President Hannah received "informal assurance" from the MSC Board that it would establish the College of Communications Arts, a message passed on to the Kellogg Foundation.

Then, on March 25, 1955, Kellogg Foundation President Morris Emory informed Hannah that the request for funding had been denied.

"It is apparent that your people have done a great deal of good thinking relative to this proposal," he wrote. "They have done a good job, especially on changing the administrative organization. However, I am still concerned about the tremendous reliance apparently put on a building. The building is a routine thing in my thinking. We in the Foundation are interested in financing the things that will touch a program with fire, the extra push that will get a snowball started down hill. I do not think the creation of a tremendous building will do this."[413]

The decision, Muelder said, left members of the Communications Committee "aghast." "We were so certain that the program would be funded," he said, "that we barely considered what would happen if it were not. Although there had been no public word, people in the College assumed that a new communications school would be put in place soon. At that point, backing out entirely would have been very difficult."

At a Communications Committee meeting of April 19, 1955, "the members

of the committee who were present felt" that it should "continue to develop a program of communications." "This perhaps should be a reduced program," a committee report said. "We should take some steps in this direction by July 1."[414]

Then, on May 12, the Communications Committee recommended, in a letter to President Hannah, "That we set up a school or college (depending on the nomenclature adopted by the rest of the institution) with a dean responsible directly to the President. For the time being this new dean should also serve as Acting Head of the Journalism Department." In reality, there had been no hiring process for the post of dean. Rather, as the letter further indicated, "candidates for this position were approached in light of becoming Head of the Journalism Department."[415]

The man interviewed as a replacement for Albert Applegate, and who, in the process, would become dean of the new college, was Gordon Sabine, 38, dean of the journalism program at the University of Oregon. In Sabine, Michigan State would hire a former journalist who was well-versed, as well, in the field of mass communication. A reporter for several newspapers, Sabine earned journalism degrees from the University of Wisconsin. After that, he studied under Ralph Casey at the University of Minnesota where he received his Ph.D in 1949. "Under his leadership at the University of Oregon, a new building, Eric W. Allen Hall, was built to house the School of Journalism and related courses."[416]

Sabine's theory of journalism education, as expressed in a 1991 letter, followed the Pulitzer approach, rather than the model for agricultural or rural journalism that had guided the program throughout most of its history.

"There are, it always has seemed to me," he said, "two kinds of journalism

education: Education IN journalism, which consists of the technique courses we teach -- newswriting, reporting, copyediting and the like. And education FOR journalism, in which we have the knowledge about which journalists must gather and report -- the history, political silence, economics, literature, science, the rest of the world geographically and intellectually. If we have only the education IN, we have little to write about. If we have excellent education FOR, we are able to investigate and report the news at the depth the serious reader deserves. It was strengthening the education FOR that I sought to accomplish at Michigan State."[417]

The same week the Communications Committee recommendation had been presented to Hannah, members of the Michigan Press Association requested a meeting the president in which they sought reassurance about the future of newspaper education in the new school and about the man who would lead the program. The representatives had sought the meeting after learning "the many-yeared leadership of Albert A. Applegate would be replaced by someone new, someone perhaps not interested in MPA and its problems." "In this environment," a membership bulletin reported, "the journalism course would be subverted into a fingerling of a 'communications school' dominated by TV and radio. Early in May, President John Hannah of MSU evinced an interest in hearing MPA size-up the problem and on Tuesday, May 10, a delegation of the Association directors and officers, led by president Granger Weil, met with Hannah and his board."

"Since Sabine is a journalism professor with undergraduate and graduate work at recognized schools of journalism, holds a Ph.D, and has been dean of journalism at Oregon, our committee believes that any attempts to submerge our particular interests to TV and radio will be vigorously rebuffed," a Special

Member Service Bulletin of the MPA said.[418]

A week following the Communications Committee recommendation, the Board of Trustees approved a School of Communication Arts. "After a study continuing over several years," the Board minutes said, " the whole field of mass communications including journalism, radio skills, television skills, audio-visual aids, etc., it is recommended that effective July 1, 1955, there be created a School of Communication Arts. The Department of Journalism now in the School of Business and Public Service and the Department of Speech now in the School of Science and Arts are transferred to this school. It is contemplated that continuing study will result in eventually transferring certain other activities related to communication arts to this school."[419]

With the the upgrading of Michigan State "College" to Michigan State University that same summer, the School of Communication Arts became a college, the Department of Journalism the "School" of Journalism. The "scaled-down" version of the College of Communication Arts did not include several items that had been envisioned by the Communications Committee -- a department of public relations, for example. Most important, perhaps, the new College still lacked a building, a centralized location, a need which had spurred communications school idea, via the Michigan Press Association, in 1951. Indeed, the several departments that would eventually make up the College of Communication Arts would remain scattered throughout the campus until the opening of the Communication Arts and Sciences Building in the fall of 1981, 26 years after the creation of the College.

Although the School of Journalism had become part of a new College, with a concept of communication that differed from that of Albert Applegate and those he had hired, the journalism program, in its first years as a "school,"

maintained a degree of independence. While the College was more than two decades away from acquiring a building, for example, the journalism program had, at least, obtained the Botany Building where it could conduct all classroom and laboratory courses and house offices for faculty and staff. Further, despite College attempts to alter journalism courses or require general communication theory courses for journalism majors, such attempts were generally short-lived. In 1957, for example, Sabine said that "no one yet has squeezed very much intellectual activity into or out of a course in Typography," adding that he would "seek some way" to reduce its part in the journalism program. In fact, the course remained a requirement until the retirement of E.E. McCray in 1967 and, as if a reminder of when the program was more closely aligned with the small town, the class continued to include sessions on hand-setting type and the arrangement of type in the printer's case. In addition, the College, in 1956, instituted a requirement that all Communication Arts students take a three-course core of general communication arts courses. By 1963, that requrement had been reduced to a one-term introductory course, and even that was eventually dropped. The long-term future of the journalism program within the College of Communication Arts awaited a new generation of journalism faculty and College administrators.

It is not surprising that the new College, given its view of communication, would, in the short run, have only a limited impact on the journalism program. That program had, in fact, been evolving for nearly five decades and, in that time, had learned to live within other departments and divlisions with interests other than its own. The College, too, would need time to evolve as it moved from language in a grant proposal to a functioning academic unit that would accommodate faculty and students. More than that , if the College had no clear

definition of itself, it was because it was the product of several diverse influlences: the request by the MPA to meet the practical needs of a growing program -- a building to house the Journalism Department; the idealism of Russell Nye and the committee of MSC administrators who saw an expanded communications program as enhancing the quality of all departments at Michigan State; and the mass communication theorists who offered journalism educators ways of doing academic research.

Regarding the Michigan Press Association, the four-year period from the day Meredith Clark and his colleagues had appeared before the College Board to the establishment of the communications college had left the membership with most of what it had hoped for. Although there was to be no new building, the Association had succeeded, at least, in securing a renovated building well-equipped to teach newspaper journalism. Further, in an era when an expansion in radio and television news organizations threatened their livelihood, and communication theorists challenged any emphasis on "practical" courses, the MPA could feel it had retained some influence within the MSC journalism program. "MSC credits the Michigan Press Association with initiating the idea for a School of Communication Arts," an MPA memo said.[420] In addition, the new acting chairman of the School of Journalism was a former newspaper reporter. "The dean is anxious to attract staff members who have actual newspaper experience as well as necessary academic backgrounds," the Press Association informed its membership. To strengthen relations with the press, in fact, Sabine announced an "open house each Saturday of a home game at the Journalism Building" for "all newspaper people and former journalism students."[421] In addition, from mid-July to Thanksgiving, Sabine "paid a call upon each of the state's 351 daily and

weekly newspaper publishers in his home office. These visits were intended as general MSU (not merely journalism) public relations."[422]

Despite the apparent harmony between the editors of Michigan's weekly newspapers and the new dean of the new College of Communication Arts, the orientation of the journalism programs under the direction of Gordon Sabine and Albert Applegate were likely, though it may take many years, to be as different as the men themselves.

Sabine, with his doctorate in mass communications, was a product of an academic era when, as Milton Muelder suggested, "communication," not weekly journalism, was a major buzz word, not merely in journalism schools but throughout entire universities. If Sabine had a vision for the new college, it was probably best expressed in a brief history that appeared in the first annual report of the College of Communication Arts. "One dream" of the MSC communications committees, he said, "was to fashion an integrated communications education program." "These committees had known that something was stirring in communications, and even though they didn't completely agree on just what it was, or precisely what should be done about it, they correctly figured that Michigan State must be a part of this new ferment. Another dream was that of communications thinkers the nation over -- the academicians and theorists, the practitioners and professionals. Many of them had been groping for a gathering-together of communications thinking and education. The fact of communication, the method of communication, the content of communication, the impact of communication -- all these they knew deserved more study and research than yet had been concentrated at any educational institution in the world. Cautiously but hopefully, they applauded the MSU move."[423]

Applegate's "vision" and "dream," as expressed at his retirement dinner, had been to make the MSC Department of Journalism, the "best in the country," a goal with which Sabine would have agreed. Applegate, however, had been a product of another journalistic time and place, of a master's program at the University of Montana in the mid-1920s and of small towns -- including his birthplace of Atlanta, Illinois -- where the newspaper editor served as community booster, watchdog and storyteller -- and set those stories in type. If Applegate had not "been groping for a gathering-together of communications thinking and education," he had his own mission, as expressed in his 1936 address to the South Dakota Press Association: "It is as newspaper men we shall be judged."

"Bringing in Sabine to the School of Journalism was like putting a skyrocket on a covered wagon," Elmer White, a former Applegate student and secretary of the Michigan Press Association said. "Applegate was like the girl next door: plain, wholesome, down to earth. Sabine was like the girl you'd meet on summer vacation: all flash and sparkle. Gordon came into meetings with organization charts, scheduled eight o'clock classes, and when he talked about a new communications building, he mentioned hanging a mammoth globe, complete with emeralds, in the lobby. He seemed in a hurry to do everything -- and with lots of style, too."[424]

Jack Bain, who joined the Speech faculty in 1954 and served as College dean from 1967 to 1972, said the departure of Applegate and the arrival of Sabine marked the beginning of a long-standing battle between the "bean counters" (mass communications theorists with little practical experience in journalism) and "the green eye shades" (former newspaper reporters and editors) in the College of Communication Arts at Michigan State.

"I think Applegate was viewed as a nice old guy who had created a lot of good will for the school by working with Michigan newspapers," he said, "but, once the door was closed behind him, he was a non-person in the communications college here."

"The difference was that Applegate might call the editor of the Vermontville Echo and see how the new printing press was working. If it wasn't, Applegate would tell him how to fix it. If Sabine called someone, it was more a matter of public relations."[425]

Milton Muelder, a long-time friend of Albert Applegate, said Applegate had "given wonderful service to Michigan State through his concern with students and his work with the weekly newspapers of Michigan." The concept for a College of Communication Arts, Muelder said, "was probably not his cup of tea." "There was much talk of communication theory, and Applegate was a practical man."[426]

The new orientation of the journalism program became apparent in the fall when Sabine hired Paul Deutschmann to teach journalism and head a newly-created Communications Research Center.[427] Deutschmann, one of the first students to earn a doctorate in Stanford University's mass communication research program, would become the acting director of the School of Journalism in 1956. Under Deutschmann, the College would attempt to remedy a situation that Sabine had mentioned in his first annual report: "No one on the entire College faculty is engaged in any very significant research."[428]

By then, research of all types proved a significant way for universities to acquire money from the federal government. In 1940, for example, the federal government had allocated only $15 million in grants and contacts to

universities and colleges with a major portion going to Agricultural Experiment Stations of land-grant institutions. By 1960, federal agencies provided $462 million (over thirty times as much) for research to be conducted by colleges and universities, exclusive of agricultural experiment stations and federal contract research centers administered by universities.[429]

That Michigan State University might select communications researchers to guide the School of Journalism is not surprising. That is, the journalism program had, once again, tailored its needs to those of the university. In the days of the Michigan Agricultural College, agricultural journalists had explained the work of MAC experiment stations through farm bulletins or articles in newspapers. Later, when MSC land-grant mission expanded to include many vocations other than farming, the school built close ties with the Michigan Press Association as a way of helping train and secure employment for future journalists who would, presumably, promote the interests of the College.

The reason for journalism's many roles is easy to understand. Although the journalism program at Michigan State had an enrollment of 283 students in a College of 21,295 during Albert Applegate's final year, its percentage of the entire student population -- a little more than 1 percent -- was roughly the same as when Thomas Blaisdell's first class in agricultural journalism met in 1910. For that reason, the history of the Michigan State journalism program is the story of a subject seeking both identity and survival within departments, divisions and, finally, a college much larger, and with different interests, than itself.

That journalism instruction had survived for nearly five decades as part of agricultural, English, publicity and business programs was a testament to its

ability to adjust to changing times. Whether journalism, most recently wed to the interests of weekly newspapers, could thrive in its newest environment -- a college seeking a national reputation for communications research -- would provide perhaps the strongest test of its adaptability as the university entered its second century.

****

There were two major currents in the early history of journalism education. The first viewed the press as primarily a social and political force. According to that approach, the purpose of journalism education was to teach future practitioners how best to understand those forces and, by applying their skills, to describe, interpret or influence the events that those forces shaped. That theme may be traced from the founding of a certificate program at Cornell University through the establishment of courses at the University of Pennsylvania and several Midwestern schools to the opening of the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia, the school which epitomized that approach. The second, the one that shaped MAC, was the philosophy of the agricultural colleges. Underlying that current was the idea that journalism education could teach students to apply their skills in a more narrowly-defined way -- toward the understanding of agriculture -- and, in so doing, aid the schools in their major mission of assisting farmers. According to that philosophy, the role of the press

was not to serve so much as a critic but as a community booster, particularly of the small town.

MAC offered its first journalism course in 1910. During the next 25 years the journalism program grew from that single course to a Department of Journalism and Publications. As it grew, the program continued to serve the citizens of rural Michigan even while it redefined its role. The first course, a class in agricultural journalilsm, was intended to educate agricultural students who would, in turn, educate the farmer. From there, journalism education at MAC evolved from being merely journalism for the farmer to journalism for the small town. Most significant in that development was the building of formal ties with the rural weekly press. A convention of rural edlitors called on MAC to open a department of rural journalism (in 1918). The establishment of an on-campus office in 1931 for the Michigan Press Association, the representative of rural newspapers, made the commitment formal and helped assure that it would last. College administrators encouraged the arrangement as part of their effort to gather support in rural Michigan through newspaper publicity for MAC's expanding programs and mission. Faced with the need to hire a new department chairman when department chairman Albert H. Nelson died in 1935, the college confimed Michigan State's rural journalism emphasis and promised its continuation by selecting Albert A. Applegate from South Dakota State College, where the bulk of his experience had been as a teacher of journalism, publicist for the school and adviser to small-town editors in South Dakota.

The leadership of Albert A. Applegate marked the journalism program at Michigan State College from 1936 to 1949. Under his guidance, that program, which became the Department of Journalism in 1943, expanded in students,

faculty and courses. As it grew, the department continued to promote the intestests of rural journalism, a commitment which can be traced from the conference of weekly editors in 1918 and which Applegate had previously followed at South Dakota State College. The Department strengthened its ties with the Michigan Press Association, the representative of the state's small-town newspapers. The orientation toward the small town remained strong through the mlid-1940s. As the college enrollment nearly doubled following World War II and as the journalism curriculum evolved in size and diversity, however, that direction began to change. The trend away from small-town journalism became apparent in the hiring of faculty members with backgrounds on metropolitan newspapers and magazines. In 1949, the department, with a faculty that had increased during the Applegate years from three to 18, was accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism for its news-editorial sequence. As the 1940s ended, questions arose as to whether, and how, the program's role in serving the state and serving the college would continue to change in the upcoming decade.

That the program's role did change during the 1950s was laregly due to influences outside the Department of Journalism. The culmination came in 1955 with the creation of the College of Communication Arts and the upgrading of the Department to a School of Journalism within the College. The earliest of those influences was the Michigan Press Association which called for a building to house the growing journalism program. A second was the introduction of the concept of "communication" and academicians' search to define the term, a quest that was altering journalism education at other universities. During the early 1950s, then, the journalism faculty, other faculty members and MSC administrators re-evaluated the Department at MSC, partly

to determine the role journalism and communication might play in a larger, intergrated program. The re-evaluation, too, weighed the value of a Department still tied largely to serving the newspapers of rural Michigan against a broader program that would strive for national prominence in communications research. The most significant re-evalulation occurred when President John Hannah took the future of the communications program out of the hands of the faculty and placed it in the hands of a five-member committee of MSC administrators. In writing a grant application to the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the committee outlined plans for a communications college and a building for that college. Although denied, the proposal gave impfetus to the establishment of the College of Communication Arts and, despite continued misgivings by the journalism faculty toward the communication theorists and their potential roles in the future of the program, the placing of the journalism program within the College. Prior to the creaton of the College, in spring 1955, Albert Applegate retired from the Department after 19 years as chairman. He was replaced by Gordon Sabine who assumed the roles of chairman of the School of Journalism and dean of the College July 1 upon the creation of both.

The history of journalism education at Michigan State University, then, points out a number of themes to which the historian of higher education should be alert.

This history illustrates several issues about how professional education emerged in an American institution of higher education more typical than the Harvard's or Stanford's. Future historians need to investigatge whether these issues appear in similar institutions and in other professions:

1. Conflicts within professional education are often understood as emerging between "academic" and "practical" interests. This work suggests that those terms are really stand-ins for conflicting interests more correctly defined as "cosmopolitan" and "local." The Michigan Press Association's call for practical courses in journalism was a request that the College teach skills that would prepare students for careers on small-town newspapers. In so doing, the Association was urging that professional education be adapted to meet specialized "local" needs and values. That approach stood in contrast to "cosmopolitan" interests as reflected by the needs of metropolitan newspapers and the corresponding values of urban communities.

2. This study points out that there is much to learn about the competition for control over professional education in a field with no licensing or ability to restrict access. Too much of the vision of professional education rests on the medical school model. More study is needed on the lesser professions that better typify the growth of American higher education. Historians should be alert to the role trade organizations, like press associations, play in professional education. Events leading to the College of Communication Arts suggest that the way competing professional and academic interests reach accommodation in the formation of new programs is also worthy of study.

3. This history suggests further study on the the way in which a professional curriculum may thrive in relation to its contribution to the university. Journalism at Michigan State survived, in part, because of its public relations value to the school. In its early days, and later as a Department of Journalism and Publlications, the program nutured the image of the university through

chairmen who directed the school's publicity efforts and by building a curriculum geared to the needs of Michigan's small towns. It is crucial that future studies recognize the dual role of professional education within the university.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

[1] Albert Sutton, Education for Journalism (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1945), 39, 90.

[2] De Forest O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1935), 86.

[3] S.N.D. North, The Newspaper and Periodical Press, Department of the Interior, Office of the Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 27.

[4] Theophilus Abbot, "Agricultural Education," 1875, Abbot Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[5] Paul L. Dressel, College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State, 1935-1969 (East Lansing, Michigan: University Publications, 1987), 21.

[6] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 5.

[7] Ibid., 60.

[8] Ibid., 95.

[9] Charles F. Wingate, Views and Interviews in Journalism (New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875), 15.

[10] Ibid., 77.

[11] Ibid., 130-131.

[12] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 22-23.

[13] Ibid., 25.

[14] Morris Bishop, A History of Cornell (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), 166.

[15] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 25.

[16] Ibid., 36.

[17] "Evening Session," Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Press Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1892, 8, Library of the State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan.

[18] Calendar of the University of Michigan, 1890-91, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 54.

[19] Proceedings of the Board of Regents, 1906-1910, The University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1911), 673.

[20] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 41.

[21] Report of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from October 1892 to June 1894 (Philadelphia: Avil Printing Co.), 24.

[22] James Melvin Lee, "Instruction in Journalism in Institutions of Higher Education," Bulletin No. 21, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office: 1918), 10.

[23] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 47.

[24] Ibid., 10-11.

[25] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 50.

[26] Ibid., 60.

[27] "A University School of Journalism," Columbia University Quarterly, 5 (September 1903): 446.

[28] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 60.

[29] Henry James, Charles William Eliot, vol. 1 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), 362.

[30] Ibid.

[31] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 82.

[32] Ibid., 93-94.

[33] Outlook, 34 (22 August 1903): 968-969.

[34] Horace White, "The School of Journalism," North American Review 178 (March 1904): 25.

[35] "The College of Journalism," North American Review 178 (May 1904): 655.

[36] Sutton, Education for Journalism, 19.

[37] O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States, 69.

[38] Merle Curti and Vernon Cartensen, The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925 (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 327.

[39] Walter Williams, "The College of Journalism," The World To-Day, December 1908, 1232-1233.

[40] Proceedings of the Board of Regents, 1906-1910, The University of Michigan, 673-675.

[41] "College Journalism Travels from West Eastward," University of Michigan News-Letter, 18 April 1910, 36.

[42] Madison Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State University Press, 1955), 45.

[43] S.B. McCracken, "The Press of Michigan -- A Fifty Years' View," Michigan Historical Collections Vol. XVIII (Lansing, Michigan: Robert Smith and Co., 1892), 385.

[44] Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States (Washington: Thomas Allen Printer, 1841), 94.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Nelson Antrim Crawford and Charles Elkins Rogers, Agricultural Journalism (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1931), 16-17.

[47] Albert Lowther Demaree, The American Agricultural Press 1819-1860 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 13.

[48] Ibid., 17.

[49] Michigan Agricultural College, Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co., 1870), 64.

[50] Demaree, The Agricultural Press, 382.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Catalogue of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States Compiled from U.S. Census Statistics of 1850 (New York: Livingston, 1852), 21.

[53] Alan I. Marcus, Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1985), 16

[54] Demaree, The American Agricultural Press, 49.

[55] Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873), 333.

[56] Demaree, The American Agricultural Press, 51-54.

[57] Marcus, Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy, 18.

[58] Lew Allen Chase, Rural Michigan (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), 332.

[59] Demaree, The American Agricultural Press, 113.

[60] Marcus, Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy, 16.

[61] Dressel, College to University, 391.

[62] Joseph Williams, Toledo, Ohio, to C.S. May, Battle Creek, Michigan, 10 May 1853, Williams Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[63] Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years, 50.

[64] Michigan Agricultural College, Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Thorp and Godfrey, 1885), 47.

[65] Michigan Agricultural College, Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing: W.S. George and Co., 1884), 307.

[66] Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, 47.

[67] Michigan Agricultural College, Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Darius Thorp, 1889), 68.

[68] Marcus, Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy, 7.

[69] Ibid., 8.

[70] William W. Potter, "Fifty Years of Michigan Progress," Michigan History 8 (October 1924), 432.

[71] Abbot, "Agricultural Education."

[72] J.H. Brown, "How We Got the RFD," Michigan History 6 (October 1922): 442.

[73] Willis F. Dunbar and George S. May, Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980), 568.

[74] Ibid., 574.

[75] Brown, "How We Got the RFD," 442.

[76] Roy V. Scott, The Reluctant Farmer: The Rise of Agricultural Extension To 1914 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 138.

[77] Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years, 138.

[78] Earl W. Hayter, "Mechanical Humbuggery Among Western Farmers, 1860-90," Michigan History 34 (March 1950),13.

[79] Ibid., 14.

[80] Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years, 139.

[81] Ibid.

[82] MAC Record, 28 January 1896, 2.

[83] Michigan Agricultural College, Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co., 1896), 57.

[84] Ibid., 62.

[85] Ibid., 62-63.

[86] Ibid., 68.

[87] MAC Record, 11 June 1901, 2.

[88] W.J. Beal, "What Have the Agricultural Colleges Done for the Farmer?" MAC Record, 20 September 1898, 2.

[89] MAC Record, 22 May 1906, 2.

[90] Jonathan Snyder, "What Can and Should Be Done To Increase the Interest and Appreciation for the Agricultural Side of Technical Education," 1902, Snyder Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[91] MAC Record, 4 August 1896, 4.

[92] Michigan Agricultural College, Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1910), 104.

[93] MAC Record, 26 June 1900, 4.

[94] MAC Record, 26 July 1896, 4.

[95] MAC Record, 1 October 1907, 2.

[96] "About Campus," MAC Record, 26 February 1901, 4.

[97] "The Michigan Farmer and the College," MAC Record, 27 July 1897, 2.

[98] Howard Edwards, MAC Record, 13 October 1901, 2.

[99] "Farmers' Club," MAC Record, 16 October 1906, 2.

[100] "Historical Sketch of the Michigan Press Association," Report of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan 1881, 4, Library of the State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan.

[101]"The Business Meetings," Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Press Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1892, 78, Library of the State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan.

[102] "State Press at the MAC," Lansing State Republican, 15 March 1901, 3.

[103] "State Press Association Entertained," MAC Record, 19 March 1901, 2.

[104] Ibid., 2-3.

[105] "The Weekly," Editor and Publisher, 11 (18 February 1911): 7.

[106] "Farmers' Club," MAC Record, 16 October 1906, 2.

[107] F.W. Beckman, Harry O'Brien and Blair Converse, Technical Writing of Home and Farm (Ames, Iowa: Journalism Publishing Company, 1927), ix.

[108] W.H. Glover, Farm and College: The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin. A History (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), 270.

[109] Harry D. Smith, "Teaching Industrial Journalism," The Writer, 25 (July 1911): 97-99.

[110] "Making Agricultural Editors," MAC Record, 6 April 1909, 3.

[111] M.G. Kains, "Agricultural Journalism," MAC Record, 2 January 1912, 1.

[112] O'Dell, Education for Journalism, 34-35.

[113] Holcad, 10 June 1910, 8.

[114] Michigan Agricultural College, Catalogue of the Michigan Agriculture College of Agriculture and Applied Science (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1909), 130.

[115] Thomas Blaisdell, unpublished biography of Jonathan Lemoyne Snyder, 1946, 23, Snyder Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[116] MAC Record, 11 August 1896, 2.

[117] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1912), 153.

[118] "Students Will Become Editors," Lansing State Republican, 9 April 1910, 6.

[119] Holcad, 10 June 1910, 8.

[120] "The Agricultural Press," MAC Record, 14 June 1910, 2.

[121] Holcad, 14 April 1910, 8.

[122] MAC Record, 14 June 1910, 2.

[123] Michigan Agricultural College, Forty-Ninth Annual Report, 104.

[124] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-First Annual Report, 90.

[125] "Announcement," Holcad, 26 February 1912, 6.

[126] "The Penman Club," Wolverine, 1911, 192.

[127] "The Penman's Guest," MAC Record, 11 February 1911, 1.

[128] Ibid., 2.

[129] "Penman," MAC Record, 18 April 1911, 3.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Dressel, College to University, 21.

Chapter 2

[132] Paul L. Dressel, College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State, 1935-1969 (East Lansing, Michigan: University Publications, 1987), 305.

[133] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1913), 32.

[134] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1914), 41.

[135] Ibid., 150.

[136] Loretta Goodwin, "The Origin and Development of Journalism Education at Iowa State University (Master of Science thesis, Iowa State University, 1984), 36.

[137] Editorial, Holcad, 14 April 1910, 8.

[138] "Is It Practical?" Holcad, 3 October 1910, 5.

[139] Iowa State College Catalogue 1912 to 1913 (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1912), 131.

[140] "News and Comment," MAC Record, 27 April 1915, 5.

[141] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1915), 128-129.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, 94.

[144] Goodwin, "The Origin and Development of Journalism Education at Iowa State University," 12.

[145] W.H. Glover, Farm and College: The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin, A History (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), 270.

[146] "Earl R. Trangmar," MAC Record, 24 April 1917, 4.

[147] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Fort Wayne Printing Company,1918), 163-164.

[148] Ibid.,165.

[149] Ibid., 181-182.

[150] "Support from the Country Editor," 30 August 1918, 4.

[151] Earl R. Trangmar to Michigan rural editors and publishers, 6 July 1918, Kedzie Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[152] "Conference of Rural Editors Aug. 1-3," MAC Record, 8 July 1918.

[153] "Crisis of War is at Council Table," Lansing State Journal, 2 August 1918, 12.

[154] William Allen White, "The Country Newspaper," Harper's Magazine 132 (May 1916): 891.

[155] George E. Mowry and Blaine A. Brownell, The Urban Nation, 1920-1980. 2d ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 3.

[156] Samuel Eliot Morrison, Henry Steele Commager, William E. Leuchtenburg, A Concise History of The American Republic. 2d ed. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1983), 588.

[157] Mowry and Brownell, The Urban Nation, 1920-1980, 275.

[158] Mark Sullivan, Our Times: The Twenties (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 94.

[159] "Support from the Country Editor," 4.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] "Crisis of War is at Council Table," 12.

[165] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1917), 126.

[166] Madison Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State University Press, 1955), 260.

[167] "The Michigan Agriculturist," Michigan Agriculturist 6 (October 1927): 6.

[168] Goodwin, "The Origin and Development of Journalism Education at Iowa State University," 60.

[169] Gottfried C. Graff, interview with author, by telephone, 13 March 1991.

[170] "Medill School of Journalism Is Started," news release by Greater Northwestern University News Service, October 1920, Medill School of Journalism Papers, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

[171] Ibid.

[172] "Dedicatory Exercises of the Joseph Medill School of Northwestern University," official program, 8 February 1921, Medill School of Journalism Papers, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

[173] Ibid.

[174] James B. Hassleman to Earl C. Richardson, 14 May 1959, excerpts printed in "Agricultural Information Service Programs at Michigan State University," Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[175] "Farm Journalists Join Record Staff," MAC Record, 30 November 1917, 1-2.

[176] Michigan Agricultural College, Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1920), 97.

[177] White County Historical Society, Standard History of White County, Vol. II (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), 847.

[178] Catalog of the Michigan Agricultural College, 1920 to 1921 (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1920), 102.

[179] "Home Economics Divided Into General and Technical," MAC Record, 15 April 1921, 8.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Catalog of the Michigan Agricultural College, 1924 to 1925 (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co., 1924), 24.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Albert H. Nelson, "Advertising Agricultural Products," Michigan Agriculturist 5 (April 1926): 6.

[184] MAC Record, 16 April 1920, 1.

[185] "A Course in Advertising," MAC Record, 7 May 1920, 6.

[186] Catalog of the Michigan Agricultural College, 1924 to 1925,150-151.

[187] Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1925 to 1926 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1925), 168-169.

[188] Merideth Clark, Interview by author, Vicksburg, Michigan, 6 June 1990.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Michigan State College, Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1930), 89.

[191] Ibid.

[192] "Hasselman is Made Professor," State News, 22 February 1929, 1.

[193] "A Start," State News, 22 February 1929, 2.

[194] Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, 89.

[195] Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1929 to 1930 (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1929), 97.

[196] Frank S. Kedzie to Earl Trangmar, 20 December 1918, Kedzie Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[197] Michigan State College, Seventieth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan, (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1931), 133.

[198] James B. Hasselman to Earl C. Richardson, 14 May 1959.

[199] Michigan State College, Seventy-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1932), 64.

[200] Michigan State College, Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1933), 41.

[201] Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years, 341.

[202] Leland W. Carr, "Judge Carr's Report," The Grand Jury Investigation (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1933), 11.

[203] "Dean at MSC and Two Others Forced to Quit," Detroit Free Press, 26 November 1932, 1.

[204] Peter Fagan, "Out 3 MSC Teachers for Criticisms," Detroit Times, 26 November 1932, 1.

[205] George Alderton, interview with author, by telephone, 31 October 1989.

[206] Notes from the papers of President Robert H. Shaw, undated, Shaw Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[207] Newspaper editors to President R.H. Shaw and The Board of Agriculture, 18 November 1932, Shaw Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[208] "State Renews MSC Inquiry," Detroit Free Press, 25 November 1932, 3.

[209] "Craft Chatter," Michigan Bulletin 50 (April 1933): 3.

[210] Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, 41.

[211] "30," State News, 18 October 1935, 2.

[212] Gregg Smith, interview by author, Boyne City, Michigan, 6 October 1989.

[213] Ibid.

[214] Michigan State College, Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1934), 71.

[215] "A.A. Applegate Resigns," Milbank (South Dakota) Herald Advance, 19 December 1935, 4.

[216] Roberta Applegate to Ruth B. Laird, 10 September 1976, South Dakota State University Journalism Department Records, Brookings, South Dakota.

[217] George Phillips, unpublished history of the South Dakota State University journalism program, 1989, p. 5, South Dakota State University Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Brookings, South Dakota.

[218] Ibid.

[219] The Highmore (South Dakota) Herald, 19 December 1935, 4.

[220] The Aberdeen (South Dakota) American, 13 December 1935, 6.

[221] "Directory of Teachers of Journalism in Colleges and Universities in the United States," Journalism Quarterly 13 (June 1936): 226.

[222] Lawrence W. Murphy, "Professional and Nonprofessional Teaching of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 9 (March 1932): 47.

[223] Eric Allen, "Journalism as Applied Social Science," Journalism Bulletin 4 (November 1927), 59.

[224] Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism are Trying to Do," Journalism Quarterly 8 (March 1931): 39.

[225] Report of the President, 1929-30 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1930), 10.

[226] Kenneth E. Olson, "Schools of Journalism and the Press," Journalism Quarterly 16 (March 1939): 32.

[227] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 12 (June 1935): 235.

[228] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 13 (March 1936): 119.

[229] Eric Allen, "Research in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly (March 1931),159.

[230] Dressel, College to University, 410.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Ibid.

Chapter 3

[233] "Says Weekly Predominates Newspaper Field Today," Michigan Bulletin 58 (June 1936): 5.

[234] Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr. and Nelson Manfred Blake, Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), 592.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1936 to 1937 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1936), 158-159.

[238] Norval Neil Luxon, "Trends in Curricula in A.A.S.D.J. Schools," Journalism Quarterly 13 (September 1936): 353-360.

[239] Elmer White, interview by author, 21 July 1989, East Lansing, Michigan.

[240] Michigan Bulletin 41 (August 1934): 4.

[241] "Plans Contest for Michigan Weeklies," Michigan Bulletin 43 (September 1936): 5.

[242] Michigan State College, Seventy-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan, 1936-1937 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1936), 77.

[243] John A. Hannah, A Memoir (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press,1980), 127.

[244] Ernest M. Banzet, "Social Change in a Rural Community as Reflected in a Weekly Newspaper" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State College, 1941), 9-10.

[245] Ibid., 10.

[246] C.R. Hoffer, "Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers," Special Bulletin 298, Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, February 1939, 5.

[247] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 14 (September 1937): 318.

[248] Luxon, Journalism Quarterly, 359.

[249] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1937 to 1938 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1937), 158-159.

[250] Norval Neil Luxon, "Trends in Curricula in A.A.S.D.J. Schools," Journalism Quarterly 14 (September 1937): 353.

[251] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 11 (June 1934): 227.

[252] "Proposals for a Department of Journalism," undated, Medill School of Journalism Papers, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

[253] Interview with Elmer White.

[254] Confidential Bulletin of the Michigan Press Association, 16 February 1937, 14, Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[255] Roberta Applegate to Ruth B. Laird, 10 September 1976, South Dakota State University Journalism Department Records, Brookings, South Dakota.

[256] Norman Rumple, interview by author, by telephone, 15 November 1990.

[257] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1938 to 1939 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1938), 168-169.

[258] David Braendle, "A Brief History of The Michigan Interscholastic Press Association," Fiftieth Anniversary Program of The Michigan Interscholastic Press Association, May 1971, 18.

[259] "Nearly 2,000 Attend Journalism Day," Michigan State College Record, November 1948, 6.

[260] Albert A. Applegate, interview by J.E. Yantis, 1959, School of Journalism Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[261] Seventy-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan, 1936-1937, 76.

[262] Paul L. Dressel, College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State, 1935-1959 (East Lansing, Michigan: University Publications,1987), 25.

[263] "Graduate Shortage -- Problem for Publishers," Michigan Publisher 62 (April 1955): 3.

[264] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1938 to 1939, 168-169..

[265] Michigan State College, Seventy-Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1938), 88.

[266] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 16 (September 1939): 425.

[267] Seventy-Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan, 1938-1939, 90.

[268] Kenneth E. Olson, "Schools of Journalism and the Press," Journalism Quarterly 16 (Winter 1939): 35.

[269] Ibid., 36.

[270] Arthur T. Robb, "Education for Journalism -- One of Its Problems," Journalism Quarterly 18 (March 1941): 35.

[271] Ibid., 36.

[272] Wesley Maurer, interview by author, 10 August 1990, St. Ignace, Michigan.

[273] Loretta Goodwin, "The Origin and Development of Journalism Education at Iowa State University" (M.S. thesis, 1984), 12.

[274] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1929 to 1930 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1929), 181.

[275] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1938 to 1939, 186.

[276] Ibid., 187.

[277] Catalog of the University of Michigan, 1938 to 1939 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1938),163-164.

[278] F.W. Beckman, Harry R. O'Brien and Blair Converse, Technical Journalism (Ames, Iowa: The Collegiate Press, 1937), 8.

[279] Curtis D. MacDougall, Interpretative Reporting, Fourth Edition (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), 5.

[280] Ibid., 14.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid., 84.

[283] Ibid., 96.

[284] Ibid.

[285] Geraldine King, interview by author, 19 November 1990, East Lansing, Michigan.

[286] Ibid.

[287] Dorothy Anderson, interview by author, 4 December 1990, East Lansing, Michigan.

[288] Earl Brigham, interview by author, 22 July 1989, Lansing, Michigan.

[289] Ibid.

[290] Albert A. Applegate, interview by J.E. Yantis.

[291] Michigan State College, Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1939), 116.

[292] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1949 to 1951 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1949), 347-350.

[293] "Business Administration Graduates are Making Good Money," Michigan State College Record, December 1947, 4.

[294] Catalog of Michigan State College 1946 to 1947 (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1946), 299.

[295] Interview with Earl Brigham.

[296] Michigan State College, Eighty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan 1944-1945 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1944), 92.

[297] Douglass Miller, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 21 (September 1944): 353.

[298] Ibid.

[299] "War and Education for Journalism -- An AATJ Committee Report," Journalism Quarterly 20 (Winter 1943): 107.

[300] "Suggestions to College Teachers of Journalism On Adjusting Instruction to Wartime Needs," Journalism Quarterly 19 (September 1942): 307.

[301] "Impact of the War on Curricula Of Schools and Departments of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 20 (March 1943): 99.

[302] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 17 December 1942, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[303] "M.S.C. Changes," Michigan Publisher 50 (January 1943): 9.

[304] Madison Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years (East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State University Press, 1955), 424-425.

[305] "Reminiscences of Colonel Dorsey Reed Rodney," unpublished memoirs recorded in 1954, Colonel Dorsey Reed Rodney Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[306] Dorsey Reed Rodney, "A Letter from the Dean," Michigan State College Record, January 1949, 2.

[307] John A. Hannah, speech to the Michigan Press Association, 28 January 1944, Hannah Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[308] Douglass Miller, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 51 (June 1944): 178.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Albert A. Applegate, "Pictures, Radio," Michigan Publisher 51 (April 1944): 1.

[311] Ibid.

[312] Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years, 443.

[313] Ibid., 444.

[314] Catalog of Michigan State College 1945 to 1946 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1945), 265.

[315] Warren C. Price, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 25 (Fall 1948): 466.

[316] Warren C. Price, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 26 (September 1949): 517-519.

[317] Warren C. Price, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 25 (September 1948): 473.

[318] Elmer F. Beth, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 22 (September 1945): 302.

[319] Douglass W. Miller, "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 23 (March 1946): 91.

[320] "Journalism Schools Announce Faculty Appointments," Journalism Quarterly 25 (March 1948): 107.

[321] "Join Staff at MSC," Michigan Publisher 24 (January 1947): 13.

[322] "69 Additions to Faculties Are Reported in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 25 (September 1948): 471.

[323] "Four Newcomers," Michigan Publisher 56 (November 1949): 10.

[324] "MSC Wins Rating," Michigan Publisher 56 (September 1949): 7.

[325] "Too Many Schools?" Journalism Bulletin 1 (June 1924): 61.

[326] Edwin Emery and Joseph P. McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," Journalism Monographs, Number 104, November 1987, 13.

[327] Ibid., 11.

[328] "Journalistic Education in the United States," Journalism Bulletin 3 (November 1926): 5.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Emery and McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," 19.

[331] Ibid., 20.

[332] Albert A. Sutton, Education for Journalism (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1945), 57.

[333] "Emery and McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," 20.

[334] Sutton, Education for Journalism, 51.

[335] Ibid., 28.

[336] "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," Journalism Quarterly 23 (March 1946): 34.

[337] Ibid., 40.

[338] "Statement of Policy of the Accrediting Committee, American Council on Education for Journalism, Journalism Quarterly 25 (March 1948): 88.

[339] Ibid., 90.

[340] Ibid., 88.

[341] "First List of Accredited Schools of Journalism Issued by ACEJ," Journalism Quarterly 25 (September 1948): 317.

[342] Ibid., 317-318.

[343] "Seven Schools Apply for ACEJ Accrediting," Journalism Quarterly 26 (March 1949): 116.

[344] "Journalism Department Gets National Recognition," Michigan State College Record, September 1949, 3.

[345] "Summary of Joint Sessions," Journalism Quarterly 26 (September 1949): 508.

[346] Ibid.

[347] Norval Neil Luxon, "Views on Professional Education for Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 25 (September 1948): 380.

Chapter 4

[348] Earl English, "What We Have Learned from The Accrediting Program," Journalism Quarterly 26 (September 1949): 436.

[349] "Hall of Fame," Michigan Publisher 58 (June 1951): 1.

[350] Madison Kuhn, Michigan State College: The First Hundred Years (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1955), 441-442.

[351] "Backbone of America," American Press, August 1952, 20.

[352] Statement by the Michigan Press Association Committee on Journalism Schools, 1951, The Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[353] Professor A.A. Applegate, "Journalism Building Sought at M.S.C.," Michigan Publisher 58 (February 1951): 7.

[354] Ibid.

[355] "School Committee," Michigan Publisher 58 (September 1951): 1.

[356] Meredith Clark, interview by the author, 6 June 1990, Vicksburg, Michigan.

[357] Ibid.

[358] "News Notes," Journalism Quarterly 30 (March 1953):120.

[359] Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association, 29 December 1952, 3.

[360] Kuhn, Michigan State College: The First Hundred Years, 442.

[361] Ibid., 443.

[362] Interview with Meredith Clark.

[363] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 9 August 1951, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[364] Minutes of the Board of Agriculture, 29 November, 1951, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[365] Statement by the Michigan Press Association Committee on Journalism Schools, 1951, The Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[366] Ibid., 2.

[367] Ibid., 3.

[368] "J Building Proposed for MSC," Michigan Publisher 59 (January 1952): 3.

[369] Statement on Journalism Schools," 4.

[370] Arthur T. Robb, "Education for Journalism -- One of Its Problems," Journalism Quarterly 18 (March 1941): 38.

[371] Mitchell V. Charnley, "Requirements for a Basic Course in Television News," Journalism Quarterly 29 (June 1952): 331.

[372] Television Report, James H. Denison to Prof. Baccus and Dr. Paul, 2 May 1950, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[373] John A. Hannah, A Memoir (East Lansing, Michigan: Michiganversity Press, 1980), 127.

[374] George Phillips, interview by author, Brookings, South Dakota, Aug. 28, 1989.

[375] "Friends Praise Applegate at Recognition Dinner," Michigan Publisher 62 (June 1955):10.

[376] Michigan State College, Ninety-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer, 1952), 144.

[377] E.E. McCray, "State J-School Gets News Quarters," Michigan Publisher 59 (July 1952): 11.

[378] "Journalism Students Look to Security," Michigan Publisher 60 (January 1953): 6.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Ibid.

[381] Ibid.,7.

[382] Paul L. Dressel, College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State (East Lansing, Michigan: University Publications, 1987), 87.

[383] Catalog of Michigan State College, 1952 to 1953 (East Lansing, Michigan,: College Press, 1952), 113.

[384] Ibid.

[385] Michigan State College Record, 15 September 1952, 6.

[386] "Editor's Program," Michigan Publisher 69 (March 1952): 1

[387] H.R. Jolliffe, "Journalism at Michigan State College," December 1953, Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[388] Ibid.

[389] Ralph D. Casey, "What Lies Ahead In Education for Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 22 (March 1945): 55.

[390] Ibid., 56.

[391] Ibid., 60.

[392] Ralph D. Casey, "The Challenge to Journalism Education," Journalism Quarterly 32 (March 1955): 40.

[393] Ibid., 41.

[394] Dressel, College To University, 412.

[395] Ibid.

[396] Hannah, A Memoir, 127.

[397] T.K. Cowden letter to John Hannah, 30 December 1954, Hannah Presidential Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[398] "Proposal For Communication Arts," Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[399] Hannah, A Memoir, 103.

[400] Milton Muelder, interview by author, East Lansing, Michigan, 30 January 1991, East Lansing, Michigan.

[401] Ibid.

[402] "Proposal For Communication Arts," unpaged.

[403] Ibid.

[404] "Statement on Journalism Schools," 4.

[405] Interview with Milton Muelder.

[406] Ibid.

[407] Elwin E. McCray, "Typography in the Curriculum: How Many Graduates Use It?" Journalism Quarterly 30 (March 1953): 221.

[408] "Friends Praise Applegate at Recognition Dinner," Michigan Publisher 71 (June 1954): 10.

[409] Audrey Llewellyn, "Testimonial Dinner Honors Applegate," State News, 1 June 1954, 2.

[410] Ibid

[411] Memo to Michigan Press Association Board, 30 April 1954, The Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[412] Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association, 9 January 1942, 1.

[413] Emory W. Morris letter to John Hannah, 25 March 1955, Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[414] Report of the Communications Committee Meeting, 19 April 1955, Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[415] T.K. Cowden letter to President J.A. Hannah, 12 May 1955, Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[416] "MSC Journalism Course Under New Dean," Michigan Publisher 72 (July 6 1955): 1-2.

[417] Gordon Sabine letter to author, 29 April 1991.

[418] Special Member Service Bulletin, 23 June 1955, Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[419]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 20 May 1955, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[420] Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association, 26 May 1955, 1.

[421] Minutes of Michigan Press Association Board of Directors meeting, 16 September 1955, Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan.

[422] Annual Report of Communication Arts, 1955-1956, Madison Kuhn Papers, Michigan State University Archives, East Lansing, Michigan.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Elmer White, interview by author, 21 July 1989, East Lansing, Michigan.

[425] Jack Bain, interview by author, 24 January 1991, East Lansing, Michigan.

[426] Milton Muelder interview.

[427] Annual Report of Communication Arts, 1955-1956.

[428] Ibid.

[429] Milton Muelder, notes of Speech to College of Communication Arts, 31 January 1974.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co. [1870].

Barck, Oscar Theodore, Jr., and Nelson Manfred Blake. Since 1900: A History of the United States. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965.

Beckman, F.W., Harry O'Brien, and Blair Converse. Technical Journalism. Ames, Iowa: The Collegiate Press, 1937.

Beckman, F.W., Harry O'Brien, and Blair Converse. Technical Writing of Home and Farm. Ames, Iowa: Journalism Publishing Company, 1927.

Bishop, Morris. A History of Cornell. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962.

Calendar of the University of Michigan, 1890-1891. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press [1890].

Catalogue of the Michigan Agricultural College of Agriculture and Applied Science. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1909].

Catalog of the Michigan Agricultural College, 1920 to 1921. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1920].

Catalog of the Michigan Agricultural College, 1924 to 1925. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1924].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1925 to 1926. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1925].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1929 to 1930. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1929].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1936 to 1937. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1936].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1937 to 1938. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1937].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1938 to 1939. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1938].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1945 to 1946. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1945].

Catalog of the Michigan State College, 1949 to 1951. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1949].

Catalog of Michigan State College, 1952 to 1953. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1952].

Catalogue of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States Compiled from U.S. Census Statistics of 1850. New York: Livingston [1852].

Catalog of the University of Michigan, 1938 to 1939. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press [1938].

Chase, Lew Allen. Rural Michigan. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922.

Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States. Washington: Thomas Allen Printer [1841].

Crawford, Nelson Antrim and Charles Elkins Rogers. Agricultural Journalism. New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1931.

Curti, Merle and Vernon Cartensen. The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949.

Demaree, Albert Lowther. The American Agricultural Press 1819-1860. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

Dressel, Paul L. College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State, 1935-1969. East Lansing, Michigan: University Publications, 1987.

Dunbar, Willis F. and George S. May. Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980.

Eighty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1944].

Fifty-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1912].

Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1913].

Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1914].

Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1915].

Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Fort Wayne, Indiana: Fort Wayne Printing Company [1918].

Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1920].

Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1910].

Glover, W.H. Farm and College: The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin, A History. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.

Hudson, Frederic. Journalism in the United States. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873.

Iowa State College Catalogue, 1912 to 1913. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press [1912].

James, Henry. Charles William Eliot. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Kuhn, Madison. Michigan State: The First Hundred Years. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1955.

MacDougall, Curtis D. Interpretative Reporting. 4th ed. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963.

Marcus, Alan I. Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1985.

Morrison, Samuel Eliot, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg. A Concise History of The American Republic. 2d ed. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Mowry, George E. and Blaine A. Brownell. The Urban Nation, 1920-1980. 2d ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.

Ninety-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1952].

Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co. [1870].

North, S.N.D. The Newspaper and Periodical Press. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884.

O'Dell, DeForest. The History of Journalism Education in the United States. New York: Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1935.

Proceedings of the Board of Regents, 1906-1910. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press [1911].

Report of the President, 1929-30. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1930].

Report of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from October 1892 to June 1894. Philadelphia: Avil Printing Co. [1894].

Scott, Roy V. The Reluctant Farmer: The Rise of Agricultural Extension To 1914. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

Seventieth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer [1931].

Seventy-First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer [1932].

Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer [1933].

Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer [1934].

Seventy-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1937].

Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press [1940].

Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Printer [1930].

Sullivan, Mark. Our Times: The Twenties. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

Sutton, Albert. Education for Journalism. Evanston: Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1945.

Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co. [1896].

Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: W.S. George & Co. [1884].

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Thorp and Godfrey [1885].

Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Darius Thorp [1889].

White County Historical Society. Standard History of White County, Vol. II. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915.

Wingate, Charles F. Views and Interviews in Journalism. New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875.

NEWSPAPERS

"A Start." State News. 22 February 1929, 2.

"Dean at MSC and Two Others Forced to Quit." Detroit Free Press. 26 November 1932, 1.

Holcad. 10 June 1910-26 February 1912.

Llewellyln, Audrey. "Testimonial Dinner Honors Applegate." State News, 1 June 1954, 2.

MAC Record. 28 January 1896-15 April 1921.

Michigan State College Record. November 1948-15 September 1952.

"State Press at the MAC." Lansing State Republican. 15 March 1901, 3.

"State Renews MSC Inquiry." Detroit Free Press. 25 November 1932, 3.

"Students Will Become Editors." Lansing State Republican. 9 April 1910, 6.

"30." State News. 18 October 1935, 2.

JOURNALS

"A University School of Journalism." Columbia University Quarterly 5 (September 1903): 446.

Allen, Eric. "Journalism as Applied Social Science." Journalism Bulletin 4 (November 1927): 57-61.

"Journalistic Education in the United States. Journalism Bulletin 3 (November 1926): 4-7.

Journalism Quarterly. March 1931. March 1932. June 1934. June 1935. March, June, September 1936. September 1937. March, September 1939. March 1941. March 1943. March, September 1945. March 1946. June, September 1944. March, September 1948. March, September 1949. June 1952. March, June 1953. March 1955.

Pulitzer, Joseph. "The College of Journalism." North American Review 178 (May 1904): 641-680.

"Too Many Schools?" Journalism Bulletin 1 (June 1924): 61.

White, Horace. "The School of Journalism." North American Review 178 (March 1904): 7-32.

MAGAZINES

"Backbone of America." American Press, August 1952, 20.

Brown, J.H. "How We Got the RFD." Michigan History, October 22, 422.

"College Journalism Travels from West Eastward." University of Michigan News-Letter, 18 April 1910, 63.

"Craft Chatter." Michigan Bulletin, April 1933, 3.

Hayter, Earl W. "Mechanical Humbuggery Among Western Farmers, 1860-90." Michigan History, March 1950, 13.

Michigan Publisher. January 1943. April 1944. January 1947. September, November, 1949. June, February, September 1951. January, March, July 1952. January 1953. June 1954. June, July 1955.

Nelson, Albert H. "Advertising Agricultural Products." Michigan Agriculturist, April 26, 6.

"News Notes." Michigan Bulletin, August 1934, 4.

Outlook, 22 August 1903, 968.

"Plans Contest for Michigan Weeklies." Michigan Bulletin, September 1936, 5.

Potter, William W. "Fifty Years of Michigan Progress." Michigan History, October 1924, 432.

"Says Weekly Predominates Newspaper Field Today." Michigan Bulletin, June 1936, 5.

Smith, Harry D. "Teaching Industrial Journalism." Writer, July 1911, 97-99.

"The Weekly." Editor and Publisher, 18 February 1911, 7.

White, William Allen. "The Country Newspaper." Harper's, May 1916, 891.

Williams, Walter. "The College of Journalism." World To-Day, December 1908, 1232.

INTERVIEWS

Anderson, Dorothy. Interview by author, 4 December 1990, East Lansing, Michigan.

Alderton, George. Interview by author, 31 October 1989, by telephone.

Bain, Jack. Interview by author, 24 January 1991, East Lansing, Michigan.

Brigham, Earl. Interview by author, 22 July 1989, Lansing, Michigan.

Clark, Merideth. Interview by author, 6 June 1990, Vicksburg, Michigan.

Graff, Gottfried C. Interview by author, 13 March 1991, by telephone.

King, Geraldine. Interview by author, 19 November 1990, East Lansing, Michigan.

Maurer, Wesley. Interview by author, 10 August 1990, St. Ignace, Michigan.

Muelder, Milton. Interview by author, 30 January 1991, East Lansing, Michigan.

Phillips, George. Interview by author, 28 August 1989, Brookings, South Dakota.

Rumple, Norman. Interview by author, 15 November 1990, by telephone.

Smith, Gregg. Interview by author, 6 October 1989, Boyne City, Michigan.

White, Elmer. Interview by author, 21 July 1989, East Lansing, Michigan.

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

MICHIGAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

Confidential Bulletin of the Michigan Press Association. 16 February, 1937.

Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association. 9 January 1942.

Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association. 29 December 1952.

Confidential Memo of the Michigan Press Association. 26 May 1955.

Minutes of Michigan Press Association Board of Directors meeting, 16 September 1955.

Memo to Michigan Press Association Board, 30 April 1954.

Special Member Service Bulletin. 23 June 1955.

Statement by the Michigan Press Association Committee on Journalism Schools. 1951.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

"Agricultural Education." Speech delivered by Theophilus Abbot to the Michigan House of Representatives, 4 March, 1875, Theophilus Abbot Papers.

Annual Report of College of Communication Arts, 1955-1956, College of Communication Arts Papers.

Applegate, Albert A. Interview by J.E. Yantis, 1959, School of Journalism Papers.

Blaisdell, Thomas C. Unpublished biography of Jonathan Lemoyne Snyder, 1946, Jonathan Snyder Papers.

Carr, Leland W. "Judge Carr's Report." The Grand Jury Investigation (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1933), Robert S. Shaw Papers.

Earl R. Trangmar to Michigan rural editors and publishers, 6 July 1918, Frank S. Kedzie Papers.

Emory W. Morris to John Hannah, 25 March 1955, John A. Hannah Papers.

Frank S. Kedzie to Earl Trangmar, 20 December 1918, Frank S. Kedzie Papers.

James B. Hasselman to Earl C. Richardson, 14 May 1959, Madison Kuhn Papers.

Joseph Williams to C.S. May, 10 May 1853, Joseph Williams Papers.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 17 December 1942.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 9 August 1951.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 29 November 1951.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 20 May 1955.

Newspaper editors to R.H. Shaw and the Board of Agriculture, 18 November 1932, Robert S. Shaw Papers.

Notes, undated, from the Robert S.Shaw Papers.

"Reminiscences of Colonel Dorsey Reed Rodney." Unpublished memoirs recorded in 1954, Colonel Dorsey Reed Rodney Papers.

Report of the Communications Committee Meeting, 19 April 1955, Madison Kuhn Papers.

Snyder, Jonathan. "What Can and Should Be Done To Increase the Interest and Appreciation for the Agricultural Side of Technical Education." Speech delivered to the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, 1902, Jonathan Snyder Papers.

Speech to the Michigan Press Association. Delivered by John A. Hannah, 28 January 1944, John A. Hannah Papers.

T.K. Cowden to John Hannah, 12 May 1955, John Hannah Papers.

The Wolverine. Lansing, Michigan: The Model Press [1911].

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

"Dedicatory Exercises of the Joseph Medill School of Northwestern University." Official program, 8 February 1921, Medill School of Journalism Papers.

"Medill School of Journalism Is Started." News release by Greater Northwestern University News Service, October 1920, Medill School of Journalism Papers.

STATE OF MICHIGAN

Report of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan, 1881.

Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Michigan Press Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1892.

McCracken, S.B., "The Press of Michigan -- A Fifty Years' View." Michigan Historical Collections Vol. XVIII (Lansing, Michigan: Robert Smith and Co., 1892).

OTHER SOURCES

Applegate, Roberta to Ruth B. Laird, 10 September 1976, South Dakota State University Journalism Department Records, Brookings, South Dakota.

Emery, Edwin and Joseph P. McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making." Journalism Monographs, Number 104, November 1987.

Goodwin, Loretta, "The Origin and Development of Journalism Education at Iowa State University" (Master of Science thesis, Iowa State University, 1984).

Gordon Sabine to author, 29 April 1991.

Lee, James Melvin, Instruction in Journalism in Institutions of Higher Education, Bulletin 21. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918.)

Phillips, George. Unpublished history of the South Dakota State University journalism program, 1989, South Dakota State University Journalism Department Records, Brookings, South Dakota.

General References

Bailey, Liberty Hyde. Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, Vol. 4. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

Beal, W.J. History of the Michigan Agricultural College and Biographical Sketches of Trustees and Professors. East Lansing, Michigan: The Agricultural College, 1915.

Blaisdell, Thomas C. Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Michigan Agricultural College. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908.

Bradshaw, James Stanford. "Mrs. Rayne's School of Journalism." Journalism Quarterly 60. (Autumn 1983): 513-517, 579-580.

Braendle, David. "A Brief History of The Michigan Interscholastic Press Association." Fiftieth Anniversary Program of The Michigan Interscholastic Press Association, May 1971, 18.

Collingwood, Herbert Winslow. "My Autobiography." Bulletin 6. Department of Agricultural Journalism, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin (1935).

"Convention of Association of American Agricultural College and Experiment Stations, 1912." Experiment Station Record (1913): 11-16.

Crawford, N.A. "Preparation for Editorial Work on Farm Papers." Bulletin 1. Kansas State Agricultural College (1917).

Crenshaw, Ollinger. General Lee's College. New York: Random House, 1969.

George, W.S. "Our Schools and Colleges." A response delivered at the Northwestern Michigan Press Association meeting, Big Rapids, Michigan, 14-15 July 1879, Library of the State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan.

Gershanek, S. and M.N. Ask. Who's Who in Journalism: A Biographical Directory and Reference Book of the Journalistic Profession. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

Hannah, John A. President Hannah's Messages Over WKAR, Nos. 1-12. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1945.

Harrison, John M. The Blade of Toledo. Toledo, Ohio: Toledo Blade Co., 1985.

"Helpful Hints to Young Writers." The Literary Century, May 1893, 425.

Hope, Arthur J. Notre Dame, One Hundred Years. Notre Dame, Indiana: University Press, 1948.

Johnstone, R.F. "Congress and Agricultural Schools." Michigan Farmer, January 1858, 128.

"Journalism at U-M Marks 62nd Birthday." The Michigan Journalist, 24 May 1952, 1.

Kains, Maurice Grenville. Fifty Years Out of College: A Composite Memoir of the Class of 1895, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. New York: Greenberg Publishing, 1944.

Ludmerer, Kenneth M. Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Michigan Agricultural College, Catalog of Officers and Graduates, 1857-1916. Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford Co. [1916].

Michigan State College Alumni Catalogue, 1857-1930. Lansing, Michigan: Hallenbeck Printing Company [1930].

Mott, Frank Luther. American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 250 Years, 1690-1940. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

Niehoff, Richard O. John A. Hannah: Versatile Administrator and Distinct Public Servant. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1989.

Payne, George Henry. History of Journalism in the United States. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920.

Peckham, Howard Henry. The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

Pollard, James Edward. History of the Ohio State University. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1952.

"Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors." 15-17 April 1937, National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

Rossiter, Margaret W. The Emergence of Agricultural Science: Justus Liebig and the Americans, 1840-1880. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1975.

Schimmel, John. Fourth Estate, Lordsburg Style. Lordsburg, New Mexico: Lordsburg Publishing, 1987.

Sin, John Cameron. The Grass Roots Press: America's Community Newspapers. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Stabley, Fred W. The Spartans: The History of Michigan State Football. Tomball, Texas: Strode Publishers, 1988.

Steffens, Lincoln. "The New School of Journalism." The Bookman, October 1903, 173.

Sumner, William A. and Rensselaer Sill. "Research in Agricultural Journalism." Bulletin 3. Department of Agricultural Journalism, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin (1930).

Van Dyke, Henry. Literature--Vocations, Vol. VII. Boston: Hall and Locke Co., 1911.

Waggoner, Clark. History of Toledo and Lucas County. Toledo, Ohio: Blade Printing and Paper Company, 1888.

Will, Allen Sinclair. Education for Newspaper Life. Newark, New Jersey: The Essex Press, 1931.

Willard, Julius. History of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State College Press, 1940.

Williams, Sara Lawrence Lockwood. Twenty Years of Education for Journalism; A History of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. Columbia, Missouri: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1929.

Woodburn, James Albert. History of Indiana University. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1940.