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A pioneer of scholarship in the field of U.S. journalism history, Professor Wm. David Sloan of the University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa seats History in a special place among the muses of our culture, with special attention to the history of U.S. media. A founder of the American Journalism Historians Association, Professor Sloan has published, edited and compiled numerous works, including his monumental American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography, The Early American Press, 1690-1783 [with Julie Hedgepeth Williams], and The Media in America [with James D. Sturtz].

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LISA V. DAIGLE
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What makes for good research in media history? The managing editor of our Review shares the insights she imparts to her students. Ms. Daigle has both enthusiasm for her subject and recognized success. Her study of the magazine Analog was named the Best Paper at the 1998 national convention of the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Her study of the Civil War journalism of Samuel Chester Reid, Jr., was presented at the Southeast Colloquium of the AEJMC History Division and was published in the The Civil War and the Press (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, Rutgers University, 1999).
AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

This issue of the Atlanta Review of Journalism History presents a kaleidoscope of media history, philosophy, practice and pedagogy. Our contributors delve into the mnemonic importance of history in our culture and demonstrate in three essays the value of going back in time to take a closer look at the adolescence of our national treasure, journalism. They present a searchlight for those who would follow the muse of history and do their own travels.

We are delighted to welcome Professor Wm. David Sloan to our pages. Professor Sloan, a founder of the American Journalism Historians Association, knows better than anyone the sacrifices of time and talent made to the muse Clio and the possible rewards and joys. His examination of “Why Study History?” settles the most fundamental question concerning why media history should be required in the communication curriculum.

If time travel is one of the benefits of serious historical research, then our three essayists are expert sojourners. Their time machine, a microfilm screen situated in the library, presented the same images that had been presented years ago to readers long dead.

For Mindy Duncan these were images of Native Americans on the frontier as sketched for illustrated magazines by artists back East. Because the artists’ only knowledge of their subjects was from stories and at times photographs, the images of the Native Americans were understandably out of sync with reality.

For Eric Noe, the pages of Chicago newspapers of the Prohibition Era brought gangsters back to life – or death. He was particularly intrigued by a tale which pitted pen against machine gun: How the powerful Chicago Tribune retaliated when one of its reporters was slain.
Murder was also the focus for Jessica Walden as she turned the pages of the microfilm. Reading the three Atlanta newspapers of 1913, she followed events after the murder of Mary Phagan and the trial of Leo Frank just as Atlantans of 1913 had followed them. When she emerged she had found a story of compelling interest, both in the crime itself and in the fierce competition for scoops among the three Atlanta newspapers.

While the three essayists explore different generations in the development of U.S. journalism, their stories merge on at least one point. Unquestionably, the writers capture the drama of cultural conflict portrayed in progress – Native Americans against the settlers, gangland mobsters against the law, police and courts poised to find a young girl’s murderer. The dramas, frozen in the images and texts of journalism, come alive again as testaments not only to American journalism but also to stages in the development of our distinct culture.

Lastly, we offer a ticket, if you will, for time travel. Lisa Daigle does more than unlock the secrets of historical research. She de-mystifies the process and makes it accessible to scholars. This is, as well, Ms. Daigle’s farewell. After a distinguished undergraduate and graduate record of research, teaching and service at Georgia State University – she is currently a Woodruff Scholar – she will be going on for her Ph.D. in media history.

Enjoy!

Leonard Ray Teel
Georgia State University
Spring 2001

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This issue of the Atlanta Review of Journalism History is the work of many minds, hands, and hearts. With the publication at last in our hands, we stand in awe at the donations of time, talent, and treasure that made it possible, and the many people who must be thanked.

First we must thank our contributors. The Georgia State University students whose work is published here continued to be dedicated to their research long, long after the end of the class in which the research was begun. Two of the students, Eric Noe and Jessica Walden, were students in the undergraduate media history course. Mindy Duncan did her research for the master’s degree. All three made the extra effort to present their papers to competitions and wound up being selected to present their papers at professional conferences. In the process, they made some revisions after further editing by journalism historians on the Editorial Board of the Atlanta Review of Journalism History.

We thus also thank those journalism historians on our Board who review manuscripts because of their dedication to the field. For this issue, we particularly thank John M. Coward of the University of Tulsa, William E. Hunzicker of the Minnesota Historical Society, Kittrell Rushing of the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga, Patrick Washburn of Ohio University, Wallace Eberhard of the University of Georgia, and Joseph Mirando of Southeastern Louisiana University.
In our own Department, most of the thanks goes to Lisa Daigle. From start to finish, she did most of the thinking, worrying, corresponding, editing, planning and delegating. She was ably assisted by Adam Vance and by copy editors Esther Sada and Ted Koopersmith. Finishing the project ably was graduate assistant Rachel Ramos, formerly with The Weather Channel and the Atlanta Constitution. Also assisting in the crucial production stage were Stacey Evans and Anne Martinez, journalism undergraduates attending Georgia State University on Presidential Assistantships.

Funding for this issue of the Review came from three sources. The Review derives its basic funding from student activity fees allocated by the College of Arts and Sciences to the student Journalism History Society. But this issue also benefitted from a targeted grant from the Georgia State University Center for Teaching and Learning in the belief that publication of superior undergraduate and graduate student research is a stimulus to teaching and learning. In addition, the Department of Communication offers logistical and supply support.

Finally, we thank the Department of Communication and its chair, Dr. Carol Winkler, and associate chair, Dr. Carolyn Crimmins, for their unflawing support and encouragement.
“Why Study Journalism History?”

Dr. Wm. David Sloan

“What’s the value of studying history?”

That’s the question that both students and professionals in journalism often ask. The answer could be as simple as a suggestion to visit a class in a local city school, where some seventh graders might be asking the same question. The real question we should be asking, then, is not “Why study journalism history” but, “Why is it that among educated individuals in journalism the question of the value of the study of history so often comes up?” An interest in history has permeated Western civilization for generation after generation, and for almost two centuries American historians have been studying journalism. Is there something unique about journalism that makes it difficult for people in this field today to recognize what civilized people generally have recognized for centuries?

Nevertheless, in answer to the question about the value of history, we can give a variety of answers. The study of media history is important for the same reasons that the study of any kind of history is. History has been a major form of study for 2,500 years, ever since Herodotus wrote his History of the Greek and Persian War. In explaining his purpose, he used the Greek word for “research” that came to be used as our designation of history. “This,” he wrote, “is an account of the researches [historical] of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done...” Among the
various disciplines for the study of mass communication, none has
the long tradition that belongs to history. Isaiah Thomas wrote The
History of Printing in America [1810] a century before schools for
education in journalism were established, and ever since the begin-
ing of those schools the study of history has been an integral part of
the curriculum.

Journalism history, as one branch of historical study, offers
the range of benefits common to all areas of history. The past has
intrinsic value in itself and a strong appeal to a large proportion of
human beings living today. Historical study provides the opportunity
to inform later generations about the nature of humankind and
historical truth; it offers an explanation for the complexity of past
thinking and behavior; it contributes to the authentic record of
human experience. Historical study would need no further justifica-
tion than that. Like humankind’s continuing search for knowledge,
history has an innate value.

Still, it is possible to state other values of the study of history.
One is that it provides information important for identity and
background. It helps us to know ourselves both individually and
collectively, and it provides knowledge valuable in helping us to
understand people and the world around us. Conditions and times
may change, communication technologies and publishing and
broadcasting enterprises come and go, but human nature, the human
class, human relationships, and the human spirit endure. Fur-
thermore, although we may assume that particular events that
occurred in the past will never recur in exactly the same way, we
also know that an understanding of them will help us to deal with
similar events in the future. Whether we are considering wars of
social movements of mass media or any other major topic, we can
be certain that the knowledge of them and the answers to the ques-
tions they raised serve a purpose for anyone who hopes to be an
informed and responsible person today.

By way of example, consider topics such as the value of
freedom of expression and the role of the press in a democratic
system. Is it important to understand what the First Amendment
meant to Americans of the generation that adopted it? What can we
learn about the political importance of journalism today by under-
standing the nexus between journalism, public opinion, politics, and
democratic government in the early years of our constitutional
system? How can journalists understand themselves if they do not
know their history? How can we not think that historical knowledge
is indispensable?

History helps us to understand the present through knowl-
gedge of how the present came to be. Its value, however, is not
simply in helping discover the paths by which the present emerged,
but in revealing particulars from the past that may serve as compar-
sions with the present, as lenses through which to assess and evaluate
our own times. That value comes from history’s capacity for sharpening
critical thinking about the operation of media today. Without a
knowledge of the past, we might assume that whatever practices
today’s media engage in are not only acceptable but perhaps the only way
things may be done and we would lose the possibility of ever improving.
History also can help us to avoid repeating mistakes of the past. Certainly our awareness of the history of, for example, sensationalism, confusion of unregulated airwaves, and misleading advertising (such as patent medicine) alerts us to the potential problems of these practices today.

More generally, we can state that at the academic level, the study of history provides an efficacious means of intellectual stimulation and satisfaction. Because historical understanding requires the full range of rigor, critical thinking, mature judgement, analytical ability, and imagination, it is unsurpassed among scholarly disciplines in exercising the mind. Professional communication schools today emphasize courses of study to prepare students for careers, but the true value of education lies in developing a critical intellect. The study of history, requiring as it does rigorous and mature thinking, helps nurture the intellect as few other disciplines can do.

Even though the study of journalism history is recognized as valuable for these general reasons, the distinctive nature of mass communication as a field of study and professional practice also offers reasons for studying its history. In such a field, imbued as it is with vocationalism, practicality, and present-mindedness, questions about the usefulness of history are bound to arise. In such a field, a knowledge of history provides a broader perspective than one gets from studying simply the tools of the trade. For that reason alone, it bears serious study.

Among the panoply of other values that one might recite specifically related to professional aspects of mass communication, here are examples:

- History provides, for the craft-oriented, insight into how professional practices can be done well. Professionally, we can learn from the past to be better practitioners. History helps us to recognize what is beneficial from practical matters such as design of advertisements and writing quality to idealistic ones such as providing information to help citizens make informed political decisions.
- It gives us a broader perspective (because it makes us acquainted with a wide range of people and views).
- Similarly, it makes us more tolerant of ideas.
- Yet, it also reinforces our core beliefs (such as our values about right and wrong) by allowing us to see how they have been of value in the past.
- It provides a sense of continuity and stability within our field.

Indeed, the value that history can bring to the study of journalism should not be underestimated. Just as one seeks to understand a person or people by knowledge of their background, so it is natural to seek understanding of a contemporary institution by knowledge of its origins, ethical foundations, development, and
interaction with the wider culture in which it exists. The perspective gained from such inquiry may or may not have a direct effect on the work of today or tomorrow, but it can enlarge one’s imagination, perspective, and judgment about matters relating to that work. Most important, the study of past achievement, even greatness, and of past failure associated with a human institution is surely a guide to understanding the present and envisioning the future.

Finding Focus in the Early Illustrated Press in the United States: Images of Native Americans in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* and *Harper's Weekly* 1860-1900

Mindy Duncan

The newly established national pictorial press (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated* founded in 1855; *Harper's Weekly*, 1857) documented the Native American nations in the last years of their sovereignty and hegemony, as they lived before being confined to reservation life. Ideologies, political agendas, editorial decisions, technological limitations and the volatile relationship between the races distorted representation in the press. The New York illustrated press, with circulation across the country of more than 100,000 per issue¹, continually portrayed Native Americans as a cultural phenomenon and considered almost every aspect of their lives newsworthy. Editors gave extensive coverage to historical conflicts such as the Sioux uprising in Minnesota in 1862, the “Battle”² of Wounded Knee in 1890 and the reign of famous chiefs, among them Sitting Bull³ and Geronimo. The weeklies also covered the Native Americans’ everyday tasks, from washing clothes to using the toilet. For the first time these images were being circulated widely and rapidly and were accessible to the general public.

The defeat of the South in the Civil War freed the energies of the United States military to deal with the “Indian Problem” which was increasingly aggravated by the acceleration of the Western
movement between the years of 1860 and 1900. These years marked the end of Native American sovereignty and hegemony as well as the birth and success of pictorial reporting in America. With the substantial defeat of the Indians by 1890 and the consolidation of “Manifest Destiny” from coast to coast, the nation and the press increasingly turned its energies toward international challenges, including the martial adventure of the Spanish-American War after which the United States joined European nations as an imperial power.

The construction of the Native American image, and the myths and misconceptions that resulted, began long before the 1860s. In Europe images of the “noble” and “bloodthirsty” savage were portrayed in theatre, literature and lore. In America, images of Native Americans have been a source of fascination since the earliest days of colonial settlement. The press, since its inception, has capitalized on this fact and has shaped and embellished the Native American image to satisfy the public’s curiosity and its own needs. Cynthia Coleman writes, in an essay on ‘news frames’ and the Native American, “Framing may embody a variety of structures that essentially repackage information en route...to news reader or viewer.” This ‘framing’ tactic was used regularly in the early illustrated press, especially when portraying Native Americans. This effect was heightened by the slow moving conditions and the technology in the 19th century press. The study of these early images is important, in part, because of their role in creating the damaging myths and stereotypes, defined by Paul Lester as the “images that injure.” In an essay on Native American stereotypes, Lucy Gajne writes, “Since the first accounts...the media have played a major role in fostering the fear and hatred of Native Americans by Anglo people and inciting public opinion against them. Newspapers often fanned the flames of racial hatred by embellishing and sensationalizing the news of ‘Indian attacks’ in order to sell papers.”

Although a great deal of research has involved isolated events pertaining to Native Americans such as Elmo Scott Watson’s research on the Indian Wars and the press during 1866-1867, and John Coward’s study of how the press portrayed Sitting Bull, few have sought to describe more than a decade and define broad patterns that give meaning. Mary Ann Weston’s study, Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press, is one of the few. Her extensive research into the entire twentieth-century provided a valuable bibliography as well as an overview that will generate a great deal of future research. This paper looks at how primarily Native Americans that resided in the Plains area were portrayed in the illustrated press during the critical period 1860 to 1900 when the pictorial press became a driving force in American journalism and the “Indian Problem” was “solved.”

**Overview of The Early Illustrated Press**

The Illustrated London News, founded in 1842, claimed to be “the first illustrated journal in the world.” The phenomenal success of the British paper prompted the manager of its engraving department, Frank Leslie, to come to America and start a similar publication.
tion. In 1855 he founded *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*

Leslie drew from his practical experience at the *Illustrated London News,* and was keenly aware of the novelty of illustrations to American journalism. He built the paper from the ground up and was involved with every aspect of running the publication. He often fought to stay in business and constantly looked for ways to increase readership. This desperation made him more vulnerable to the impending outside influences, politicians and corporate leaders, and would prompt him to publish highly sensational news articles in order to sell more papers. Many critics felt this discredited his paper at times.

Leslie’s first successful competition began in 1857 when Fletcher Harper founded *Harper’s Weekly.* Unlike Leslie, Harper was already part of a major publishing empire, including his very successful monthly magazine. This gave him the luxury of operating at a loss, and allowed for less sensational reporting. Many factors affected the content of these papers. After the Civil War and rapid industrialization in the East, politicians and business leaders promoted “Manifest Destiny” at the expense of Native Americans; their money and power persuaded editors. Railroad owners, for example, used publicity and paid dearly for “printing prospectuses, advertising in journals and subordinating editors to their cause.” Many editors acknowledged their ties to “monied interests,” but justified it by what they perceived as their responsibility. Richard Slotkin, in his book *The Fatal Environment* analyzed the class consciousness of the editors:

...they saw it as a logical outcome of their professional attainments and as a necessary means to the fulfillment of their classes’ special social duty...
...they envisioned their new relation to the masses as a kind of coercive paternalism—a form of tutelary care and direction, informed by the expectation of resentment.

Both Leslie and Harper, as did many editors and publishers of the 19th century, influenced content by exercising editorial control, selectively assigning stories, censoring and juxtaposing stories and headlines. Slotkin describes the ways newsmen framed content:

The editors’ function can therefore be seen as a nineteenth-century analog of the auteur-movie director—providing a shaping intelligence and overall direction to a complex collective enterprise, shaping without absolutely controlling. We can therefore look at the juxtapositions of stories, the borrowing of language from one sort of story to define a response to another, and the relationship of story content to value-assigning headlines and editorials, and see in these the building blocks by which a newspaper...presents its mythically valued rendering of current events.
Many papers attempted to imitate Leslie’s and Harper’s, but these two remained the preeminent 19th century American illustrated newspapers helping to establish pictures and later photographs as a significant and indispensable tool in news coverage.

Illustrations in the early pictorial press initially relied solely on artist sketches. One of the best known Western artists in this period was Frederic Remington who depicted many powerful scenes for Harper’s in the ’80s and ’90s. Lesser known artists included Theodore Davis, H.F. Farny and A.J. Russell. Ideally, the artists sketched from first-hand experiences. Frequently, however, second-hand accounts given by the pioneers and other eyewitnesses to an event, were interpreted by the artist. The sketch was finally etched into wood by an engraver and inked for press.

The spread of photography after the ’40s gave more credibility to illustrations by taking the place of the artist sketch. This decreased some of the personal interpretation involved. They also increased the demand for more realistic illustrations. Although the first photographs had been made directly into printing plates as early as 1840, the early process was expensive and time consuming. Few papers could find a reason to incorporate the process into their routine. In order for photographs to appear with any regularity and timeliness during the late nineteenth-century the woodcutting step was still required.

An affordable method did not develop until the end of the nineteenth-century but even then newspapers were slow to incorporate the technology fully, in part because engravers considered their job an indispensable craft and editors and owners respected their opinions. By the end of the century Leslie’s and Harper’s printed portraits and still scenes from photographs with some regularity, but action shots, those that could not be captured by the slow shutter speeds, kept sketch artists in business.

**Purpose and Methodology**

The extensive research into primary sources for this project was conducted over a period of two years. It included 1,968 weekly issues each of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated and Harper’s Weekly during the selected time frame of 1860 to 1900, for a total of 3,936 issues of these two publications combined. This time period was chosen because it encompassed the period known as the “Indian Wars” and because it provided the first four complete decades that the illustrated press was published and circulated in America. The coming together of these two events made the choice obvious. In those 40 years 435 entries pertaining to Native Americans were discovered.

The study of these images relied on historical methodology—the development of meaning and the identification of patterns based upon careful analysis of raw material. Through the inductive, descriptive analysis of the images that took into account current events and the ideologies of the dominant culture, this paper makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the place of the press in creating and perpetuating the imagery by which Native Americans are seen and, often, judged. The study also provided an invaluable index of the illustrations for future research. Although
other less significant patterns existed, the ones discussed in this paper were found to be the most dominant and provided numerous examples for study. The initial assumption that the press’ treatment of the Native Americans changed in the pictorial press over this course of time, was found, in varying degrees, to be accurate.

Findings

Portraits

The Native American portrait was a consistent image throughout the time period studied. Portraits depicted famous individuals such as Geronimo and Sitting Bull as well as lesser-known Native Americans. Since most of the portraits were similar and the visual content of the image revealed very little about the individual, the text that accompanied these was particularly important to understanding the motives of the press.

Images of the famous spiritual leader Sitting Bull illustrated how portraits continued throughout the time period studied. Sitting Bull gained recognition initially in the ’70s. A revival of his leadership in the ’90s and his legendary status provided portraits, in the ’70s, ’80s and ’90s. On the front page of an 1877 issue of Harper’s, artist Jerome B. Stillson depicted Sitting Bull in a small bust portrait with a stern, expressionless face. This stoic expression was often attributed to “bad” Indians. His long, untamed hair suggested his wild and savage nature. The text described him as “rude, even for a savage.” In 1883, he was portrayed in Frank Leslie’s. The image, a photograph provided by “Goff,” also showed him with a stern face and long hair. The text reiterated his stubborn and rude ways. In 1890 Frank Leslie’s showed a full body portrait of the Chief in traditional Native American clothing. His facial expression is as before and the text describes him as “a disturbing element.” Harper’s portrayed him in December of that same year. His stoic expression and description as “the source of so much trouble,” echoed the earlier images.

In an unusual image that ran in an 1876 issue of Harper’s, titled, “Sitting Bull, Autobiography of the Famous Sioux Chief,” The Chief created a “self-portrait” by illustrating and writing the article himself. Although the images were more primitive than other artist’s interpretations, he clearly indicated the many aspects of his life, including scalping and killing. These self-reflective images were remarkably similar in content to other artist interpretations. They suggested that Sitting Bull was proud of his ways that the white man considered savage.

The treatment of other, sometimes lesser known Native Americans was also consistent during this period. The earliest one appeared in 1863 in Frank Leslie’s, “Portraits of Indians Connected with the Minnesota Massacre.” Under each portrait was their name. “Mah-po-oke or Cut Nose,” is dressed in traditional Indian clothing with long hair, feathers and headband. He was described in the text as a killer of women and children. “Little Crow, the leader,” also has the long, dark, braided hair, but his clothes are much more “Americanized” than Cut Nose. He was the leader of the uprising but did not kill. “Ampetu Tokes, or Other Day,” has another cespri-
tion under his portrait that said, “the good Indian.” He is dressed the most “civilized” of the three, his hair is short and clean-cut. He was described in the text as a “hero” who helped to save some white men. In an 1871 issue of Harper’s, photographer C. A. Zimmerman portrayed, “Standing Buffalo.”33 Adorned with Indian jewelry, he was described in the text a “killer of women and children” who, at the end of his life, tried to make peace with the white man.

This intentional juxtaposition of images on the front page of an 1870 issue of Frank Leslie’s reminded the viewer of the barbaric qualities present in the stoic Native Americans portrayed in portraits. “Portraits of Red Dog and Other Prominent Indians of the Sioux Nation,”34 showed Native American men dressed in traditional clothing with a stern, expressionless faces, “Red Fox,” “Bear Skin,” “Red Dog,” “Rocky Bear” and “Living Bear.” The portraits were placed on the same page as a band of Sioux Indians attacking a passenger train.

Frank Leslie’s and Harper’s both published portraits of Modoc Indians in 1873. On the front page of Harper’s, “Captain Jack and his Companions”35 sit expressionless despite the murders they are accused of. Individual bust portraits of eleven lesser known Modoc Indians involved in the war were shown in a similar fashion in Frank Leslie’s.36

In 1877 both newspapers also elevated the image of the famous Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces. Harper’s showed him as stoic, with long, braided hair and his mouth drawn down.37 The image and its accompanying text suggested a “love-hate” relationship that the white man had for the Native Americans. Despite the Chief’s known “crimes” and rebellion against the white man’s policies, he was described in the text as, “a man of intelligence and strength of character.” Frank Leslie’s depicted him in a similar fashion.38 The text again suggested a contradiction by describing him as a “fine specimen of the American Indian.”

Editors gave Geronimo similar coverage in 1886. In Harper’s,39 he stands expressionless in smock clothing and knee high moccasin boots. A later issue in the same year also devoted a great deal of coverage to the rebellious yet respected image of Geronimo and his “band.”40 One scene showed a group of Apache Indians with a small white boy that they are holding captive. They show no expression and stand tall despite their obvious crime. The idea that the rebellious savage was proud of his ways was emphasized when the Indian was portrayed directly with the victim of his crime.

Portraits were rare in Harper’s after the 1890s, except for the depictions of Sitting Bull discussed earlier, but they continued in Frank Leslie’s throughout the end of the century. One of the later famous portraits appeared in 1895. “The Kid’, The Renegade Apache Who Is Known as the Terror of the Border,”41 was portrayed with short hair, wearing a button-front shirt, jacket and pants. He stands expressionless, next to three women. The caption under this image read, “Stolen Wives of the Kid.” Similar to the Apache portrait with the captive boy, the direct association of the expressionless Indian with his crime reinforced that he was a “savage.”
Violence and the Savage

The early years of the Indian Wars produced many images of the Native Americans as savage criminals, bloodthirsty and barbaric. These bloodthirsty images were frequently published to convince the American public that the Indians were hindering the United States progress and to serve as justification of the United States’ actions towards the Native Americans. Portrayals included scalping, ambushing, raiding, and killing on the battlefield. The “bloodthirsty savage” is one of the most enduring myths, and contemporary Western films and advertising still boast many of the same images. Although the images were published throughout the four decades studied they gradually decreased in number.

Scalping a victim after the kill was a ritual among Native Americans. The scalp served primarily as a trophy. These grotesque images appeared into the 1880s and were depicted in different ways. In an 1869 issue of Harper’s, for instance, a man is shown lying on his back, arms spread out with no hair or skin on the top of his head. The caption read, “The Scalped Hunter.”

Another common scalping scene portrayed the warriors with the scalps after the kill. One such image was portrayed in an 1873 issue of Harper’s, “Young Bucks on the Warpath—Young Bucks Returning with Spoils.” Young male Native Americans were shown riding into their village where the other members of the tribe welcome them with raised arms to indicate cheers. Some of the young Indians on horseback carry scalps held up high over their heads. Very similar images can be found in 1883 in Frank Leslie’s, “Indian Scouts Bringing in Scalps,” and “Scalp Trophy.”

A “scalp dance” was performed by some tribes to prepare for a battle or to celebrate a victory. This image was portrayed in an 1863 issue of Frank Leslie’s, “The Sioux Dancing the Scalp Dance,” and a similar one, 20 years later, in 1883, “The Tertio-Millennial [sic] Anniversary in Santa Fe-Mescalero Indian Encampment: and Scalp Dance.” Indians were shown dancing wildly around a fire holding up scalps attached to poles like a flag. These examples illustrated how the bloodthirsty savage image remained similar in content well into the 1880s.

This consistency of content was also seen in Harper’s. In 1860, a historical narrative related the story of an Indian raid that occurred in a village, “The Sack of Deerfield, March 1704.” The accompanying illustrations included one where a band of crazed Indians have broken down a door and attacked the family inside. A woman was shown lying on a table on her back. Her head hangs off the end of the table and her dress has been torn from her chest. An Indian stands above her with a knife in one hand and her scalp held high in the other. Later, in 1873, a Native American stands over a white man he has just scalped and again holds up the scalp victoriously over his head, the caption reads, “Modocs Scalping and Torturing Prisoners.” Again, in 1886, this time in a cartoon sketch, a wild Indian stands over a woman who is shown lying on the ground with her wrists and ankles tied with rope to stakes. He holds her scalp up over his head triumphantly while other Indians dance in contorted positions in the background. The caption read, “After
the Mother Country’s Scalp.”

Ambushes and raids were portrayed by the illustrated press as common events, although how often they actually occurred during this period has been disputed. The Indians were depicted in accord with the belief that they were hindering the nation’s progress toward “Manifest Destiny” of establishing a nation from coast to coast. According to Slotkin, “Indians had been represented as insolent in their threats and lacking in respect for the public highways and railroads and the sanctity of white lives and property.” The press published images of Indians attacking railroad workers, traders, telegraph operators and settlers in 1900. These portrayals symbolized the clash of the two cultures. For the corporate state they offered justification for the removal of the race and gave the ideology a graphic dimension.

Harper’s began focusing on these Indian atrocities as early as 1860, with the previously mentioned, “Sack of Deerfield, March 1704.” Leslie’s first example appeared in 1864 in a series of sketches titled “Indian War on Western Frontier.” The Indians were depicted taking over a wagon train. Women are pulled away from their families and some of the white men are shown dead on the ground. Two years later in 1866, Harper’s also showed a large group of Native Americans surrounding and attacking a covered wagon. The caption read, “Indians Attacking Buttefield’s Overland Dispatch Coach.” In 1867 Frank Leslie’s showed an ambush in, “Cheyenne Indians destroying a Telegraph Station and Killing the Operator at Sweetwater Bridge.” During that same year Leslie’s published, “Indian Raid on the Pacific Railroad Employees.” Portrayals of the clash between the progressive and primitive cultures continued through the 1880s, particularly in Frank Leslie’s. In 1870 a dramatic scene was published, “Laborers on a Hand Car of the Pacific Railroad, Attacked by Indians—Running Fight and Repulse of the Assailants.” Later that same year, a similar image ran, “An Incident on the Plains—A Passenger Train on the Pacific Railroad Attacked by a War Party of Indians.” In 1873, the theme was continued in Leslie’s. “Indians Raiding on the Northwestern Frontier—An Attack on a Settler’s House by a War Party,” portrayed a band of Indians breaking down the door to a settler’s cabin. The mother tries to shield the cradle and her child as her husband tries to fight the Indians. The Indians wear face paint and hold tomahawks as weapons. In, “An Apache Raid,” in 1886, Leslie’s showed another family at the mercy of a group of crazed-looking Indians. This time they have been forced outside as their house burns in the distance.

In the 1890s lone victims were portrayed trying to defend themselves against the band of Indians. In 1890 Frank Leslie’s depicted a white man standing alone at the base of a mountain as a group of Indians ride towards him. He shoots at them with a small hand gun. The caption reads, “Life in the Mining Region of the Far West—Selling His Life Dearly.” “An Apache Raid and a Long-Distance Ride,” in Harper’s in 1897, portrayed a very similar image.

Although images that depicted the overall ambush or raid ran consistently into 1900 with Harper’s January 6 portrayal of
"Yaqui Indians attacking a Mexican Freight Outfit," a noticeable change took place. Late in the 1860s, images became more focused on the white man's point of view, his horror and plight, rather than an overall view of the ambush. "Fur Traders on the Missouri Attacked by Indians," in an 1868 issue of Harper's, depicted a band of Indians attacking a group of men in a boat. The Indians dangle from the trees on the banks of the river. Arrows fly through the air. The image closest to the viewer, and the focus of the illustration, is the fur traders in the boat. One is portrayed lying dead with an arrow in his back, the others look panicked and desperate as they try to defend themselves. "Attack on Major Boutelle's Surveying Party Colorado Territory by Cheyenne Indians," in an 1868 issue of Frank Leslie's, showed another ambush on a wagon. The Indians are in the distance and begin to surround the wagon. The main focus of the sketch is the men in the wagon. Their faces also show fear as they frantically try to find ways to fend off the Indians.

The white man's point of view became even more pronounced in the 1880s and 1890s. In the March 1889 Harper's published a Remington drawing that depicted a desperate scene. "The Last Lull in the Fight" portrayed four Texan herders or "cow-men" who have been attacked by Indians. Their horses are used as a "rude barricade," their bodies riddled with arrows. One of the men is also dead, an arrow in his back. An older man sits on top of one of the horses bandaging a wound on his ankle. Another stands erect and seems to be the lookout for his group. A younger boy slumps over with his head in his hand in complete desperation. The Indians are seen in the distance, some appear as small as dots on the page. The text concluded, "The man pierced with an arrow seems the most fortunate, as he lies dead... He has already gone where the others must follow him. Their bones will bleach on the sand-hillock, and other travellers will wonder what their story was."

Frank Leslie's showed a very similar view in 1891. A wagon train, on its way to Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, has been attacked by Indians and has circled to defend against the Indians. Five men are shown and, although they are much more prepared than the men in "The Last-Lull," their desperation and panic are still the central focus. This account does not show the Indians at all.

The press also depicted the moments before the actual attack. Frank Leslie's portrayed an image of an Indian hiding and waiting patiently for his victim on a front page of an 1863 issue; the caption read, "Surprise of Indian Horse Thieves." The almost exact same image was seen in an 1868 issue of Harper's, "Sioux Indians in Ambush Preparing to Attack Settlers." These images portrayed the Native American as crafty and suggested that the Indian's actions were premeditated. They were very different from some of the previously mentioned ambush and raid scenes where the Indians were shown in what appears to be their instinctual savage activity.

Another image that suggested the Indians preplanned their savage acts was shown in an 1891 issue of Frank Leslie's and was repeated in 1898. Two Indians were shown walking away from the rest of the band who dance around a fire. Involved in a deep conversation, their faces are stern and cold as they discuss plans for their...
next attack. The wildly dancing Indians in the background is a visual reminder to the viewer that the calculating savage is also wild and bloodthirsty. The repetition of the exact same image illustrates how the pictorial press used an image in stock, ready made to illustrate a scene.

Adding to the portrayal of the Native American as calculating was an image that ran on the front page of an 1871 issue of Frank Leslie’s, that depicted the moments after a “crime” has taken place. Knowing that if he travels through water his trail will be undetectable, an Indian with a stern expression is shown leading his horse through a stream. The caption reads, “The War Path—Water Leaves No Trail.”

Images on the battlefield, like many of the later ambush scenes, primarily portrayed the white man’s view and suggested the barbaric bloodthirsty nature of the Native American warriors. In an 1864 issue of Frank Leslie’s, a typical depiction of a battle was published, “Indian War on Western Frontier.” The American army is closest to the viewer. Many army men are dead or wounded. The Indians were shown in the distance with painted faces and crazed expressions. They hold their bows and arrows high. No Indian casualties are shown.

Frank Leslie’s and Harper’s gave similar accounts of the Battle at Fort Phillip Kearney in 1867. “Massacre of United States Troops at Fort Phillip Kearny,” in Frank Leslie’s, depicted the Indians with crazed facial expressions, wildly stabbing and scalping the army men. One Indian holds an army man by the neck, in his mouth is a knife dripping with blood. Another was shown holding a scalp over his head. The army men are clearly the victims, either dead or begging for their life. Although less dramatic, the account of the event published in Harper’s, “The Indian Battle and Massacre Near Fort Philip Kearney, Dacotah Territory December 21, 1866,” still primarily showed the victims on the side of the United States Army, which the text reiterated when it referred only to the white men who were wounded.

This one-sided view of the battles continued into the 1890s, with Harper’s coverage of the “The Opening of the Fight at Wounded Knee,” in January of 1891. The Indian’s perspective is repeatedly neglected throughout the time period studied, but as John Coward notes, “given the 19th century ideology, this kind of sympathy or fairness was almost impossible.”

Other powerful bloodthirsty images didn’t show the Indians at all, but rather the results of their savage acts. Some have already been cited in earlier sections such as Remington’s painting, “The Last Lull in the Fight” and Wm. S. Soule’s photograph of “The Scalped Hunter.”

Other similar images included a sketch of a white man, face down with arrows piercing his body, in an 1864 issue of Frank Leslie’s, titled “Indian War on Western Frontier.” Harper’s published one in 1876 titled, “Reality on the Plains,” and another on the front page of an 1867 issue, “Discovering the Remains of Lieutenant Kidder and Ten Men of the Seventh United States Calvary.”
Remington’s sketch, “The Apaches are Coming,” in an 1886 issue of Harper’s, implied the bloodthirsty savage in a slightly different way. A family stands outside their house as a messenger gallops up. He points behind him to show them where the Indians are coming from. The implication is made clear by the fear on their faces.

One of the most moving images was found in an 1886 issue of Frank Leslie’s. A father is portrayed returning home to find his house burnt to the ground and his family gone. He stands outside looking up to the sky in despair, at his feet lies a child’s slipper. The caption read, “The Trail of the Savage—The Little One’s Slipper.”

**Mercy and the White Man**

Indians were often depicted at the mercy of the white man. When the white man acted out violently towards the Native American, he was not portrayed as a “bloodthirsty” savage like the Indian. The white man’s actions were usually justified through the text, and he was often shown as merciful.

The defeat of a tribe was considered a victory and a step towards the progress of the nation, even though the images of the immediate capture and surrender of a chief and his tribe presented a pitiful and tired race. In Harper’s in 1877, Chief Joseph was shown immediately after his capture on horseback accompanied by two soldiers. His head hangs and he looks downward. The caption read, “End of the Nez Perces War—The Surrender of Chief Joseph.” Frank Leslie’s 1873 portrayal of the, “Surrender of the Modocs,” the 1877, “Surrender of Chief Crazy Horse and his Band of Armed Indians” and a similar image in 1881 illustrated “The Surrender of the Hostile Indians Under Chief Gall, of Sitting Bull’s Band,” depict the Indians as they made their way to the Creek agency for their formal surrender. These images typically portrayed the Indians with their faces drawn down and their heads hung low.

After their defeat, the journey a tribe was forced to make to the designated reservation was sometimes long and treacherous. Images of these trips in the early illustrated press presented a profoundly pitiful sight. Two powerful pictures appeared in Harper’s, one in 1868, “Prisoners Captured by General Custer,” and another in 1870, “Population of an Indian Village Moving.” Artist Theodore R. Davis depicted both the images which showed a long trail of tired Indians, most on foot, in one case, through the snow. The wind is fierce and their thin clothing is blown against their bodies. The text attributed blame to the Department of the Interior’s handling of the event, and indicates that the department has corrupt individuals. This diversion tactic of the press took the blame off of the white race as a whole:

His object is to break up the nomadic habits and to destroy the irregular settlements of the hostile Indians. He finds, “them as at Black Kettle village, out of their proper place; he pounces upon them, shows his power by physical conquest, breaks up their village...he has to bag the whole parcel of vanquished savages and bear them off to their proper reservations...The Department of the Interior has made a sad
bungle of this Indian matter; its immense patronage has introduced
corruption and almost criminal negligence, and thus Indian agencies
as well as the Indians themselves have become demoralized.\textsuperscript{990}

The Native American in captivity for a crime also presented
a pitiful image. In an 1863 issue of \textit{Frank Leslie’s} for instance, W. H.
Child’s depicted, “Scene in the Prison, Mankato, Minnesota, where
the Sioux Murderers are Confined, Waiting the Decision of the U.S.
Government.”\textsuperscript{991} The Indians are shown crowded in a small dark
room. The press published a moving quote in conjunction with the
image as one of the condemned Indians admits, to a peaceful mem-
er of his tribe, that he was wrong for rebelling.

In shaking hands with Mazasha and Akipa, Tazoo said:
“Friends, last summer you were opposed to us. You lived in dread of
an attack from those who were determined to exterminate the whites.
You and your family bore many threats, taunts and insults, yet you
stood firm in your friendship for the whites: you counseled the Indi-
ans to abandon their war against the whites...now we see your wis-
dom. You were right. Today you are here at liberty feeding and guard-
ing us 30 men, who will die in two days, because your counsels and
advice were not followed.”\textsuperscript{992}

The admission of the crime justified the white man’s treatment of the
prisoners.

Direct attacks on the Native Americans were also justified. In
an 1866 issue of \textit{Frank Leslie’s} the caption read, “Attack on and De-
struction of the Arrapahoe Village on Tomove River.”\textsuperscript{993} As the village
burns, the Indians wildly attack the white man. Even though the white
men ambushed the Indians, it was the Indians who were portrayed as
bloodthirsty savages, not victims, justifying the white man’s attack.
Another attack on an Indian village was portrayed in 1865 in \textit{Harper’s}.
In “The Attack on the Village,”\textsuperscript{994} artist T. de Thulstrup depicted Indi-
ans cowering as the armed soldiers aim their guns at them, and one
has just been shot. In the text, however, the actions of the white men
were justified:

The chase of hostile Indians, to adopt a nautical phrase, is usually ‘a
stern chase,’ and consequently a long one. Having broken up their
band into parties of four and five, these Indians are still able to rob
and murder. The lesson taught the savage foe when his camp is taken
is generally a lasting one. Fugitives are cut off and ponies captured;
the camp is generally burned. Still mercy is shown. Officers exert them-
selves to restrain their men from inflicting unnecessary punishment.
Women and children, as non-combatants, are never harmed. Cases
have, however, been cited where Indian lads of twelve and fourteen
have fought like tigers. A notable one is on record of an Indian boy,
mounted on a small pony, who with a bow and arrow wounded sev-
eral soldiers. The lad might have been easily killed by an officer with
his pistol, but this gallant man declined shooting.\textsuperscript{995}
The American Army was not only justified in its actions but was depicted as merciful to the Indians.

Even though an Indian was shown being killed by a white man in Harper's in 1867, "The Last Shot," by Currier and Ives, the act was portrayed as self-defense. An Indian was shown racing toward a white settler who has fallen from his horse. The Indian has a tomahawk raised in his hand ready to bring it down on the man. The settler has a hand gun and he shoots the Indian.

A gruesome scene published in 1868 on the front page of Frank Leslie's "Enlightened and Christian Warfare in the 19th Century-Massacre of Indian Women and Children in Idaho by White 'Scouts' and their Red Allies," portrayed four white men standing, leaning on the butts of their guns. At their feet are the dead bodies of Native American men, women and children. One props his foot on one of the bodies. In the background the "red allies" scalp the victims. By depicting Native Americans in this savage act in the background the press diverted some of the blame back to the Indians and, to some degree, justified the actions of the white man. The text, however, after a great deal of hesitation, denounced the act:

We are not among those who admire the aborigines of America as specimens of humanity in its noblest form. They are ...treacherous, indolent, improvident and cruel, with very few of the attributes essential to a serviceable partnership in civilized society. But it may be a question how far civilization is responsible for the seemingly natural antagonism between the white and red races on this continent.

Scenes such as that represented in the illustration on our front page have been too frequently enacted to permit the development of any substantial friendliness of confidence on the part of the red man toward their white aggressors.

One entry found showed a violent attack on the Native Americans and held the white man fully responsible for their actions. In 1868 Frank Leslie's published, "Fiendish Outrage on a Winnebago Squaw, and Murder of her Papoose, in Wisconsin." A Native American woman is shown being beaten by a white man while another chokes her child. The press' point of view was made clear by defining the act as an "outrage" in the caption, and the image itself clearly evoked sympathy for the woman and her child. Although this was a significantly different depiction, no names were given to the woman or her child and it was smaller in comparison to the other.

The victimization of the Native Americans was also eluded to in scenes where the white man was portrayed offering the Indians alcohol. In 1871 Frank Leslie's published, "Trading on the Plains, A Seductive Offer--The Indian In Doubt," an image that clearly shows a white trader tempting the Native American with a bottle of whisky. The text recognizes the white man's crime, but not before it condemns the Indian for accepting the offer:

...and whisky--considered as currency--has the magic power of paying for more things, and at a higher rate, than can ever be remembered
afterward by the poor red-skinned victim...see the latter one hour after, staggering under the load of spirit he carries the butt of the rude campaigners around the Fort--beggared, defrauded and vaguely conscious of the fact--left heavily in debt to the wary trader...see him thus, and you will not be very proud either of our noble aborigine, or of our boasted Caucasian civilization.101

Harper's showed a similar instance in 1873 with an image titled, “Treating with Indians in the Olden Time.”102 A white man sits across from a Native American on a blanket and again offers him a bottle of whisky. The text explains the scene but doesn’t make a judgment on either race.

The lower illustration on this page is reminiscence of the old time method of treating with Indians, when the high officers of the government were not ashamed to ply them with fire-water until they were sufficiently befuddled to part with their lands for next to nothing.103

Coverage of the “Battle” of Wounded Knee in December of 1890 was a turning point. For the first time the loss of a Native American life was depicted as a tragedy and names were attributed to the dead bodies. In January of 1891 Frank Leslie’s published, “Chief Big Foot Lying Dead,”104 and “The Relief Corps Searching for the Dead and Wounded After the Fight with the Hostile Sioux at Wounded Knee-Discovery of a Live Papoose.”105 H.F. Farny depicted a different aspect of the tragedy in the same year in Harper’s.106 In a scene lit by moonlight, the body of an Indian lays on the ground in the snow. A rough, simple structure used by some tribes for ceremonial burials has been constructed around him. A trail of footprints are shown in the snow leading up to and away from the body.

Face-to-Face

Formal meetings and confrontations between the white man and the Indian were often the subject for 19th century illustrators. Criminal Indians were shown being confronted by the white man for their “crimes.” Two nearly identical images appeared in the 1860s and depicted the Native American being confronted by the white man for his “crime.” First, in Harper’s in 1862, a central Native American figure stands to the right, his chin is slightly up and he shows no emotion. One hand is on his hip, the other folded at a right angle in front of his body. Crouched at his feet are two other Indians on all fours. This animal position eluded to the savage qualities present despite the central figures erect stance. A group of white men stand on the left with a young boy in front who points a finger of accusation at the Indian. By placing the groups on opposite sides the division of the races is clear. The caption read, “Identification of Indian Murderers in Minnesota by a Boy Survivor of the Massacre.”107 In 1867, Frank Leslie’s depicted the “Interview Between General Hancock and the Cheyenne Indians at Fort Larnard.”108 General Hancock and his men are to the left and the Cheyenne Indians to the right. In this image a fire separates the two groups enhancing the division. The Indian stands with his head slightly up and faces the men across the fire who are accused of certain crimes.
Peaceful confrontations were also portrayed, but the strong visual separation of the two sides was still present. In an 1867 issue of Harper’s, “Indian Delegations at Washington-Presentation to the President,” showed a large group of white Americans standing to the left while the Native Americans stand to the right. There is a central figure from both sides who meet in the middle and shake hands. Again, a distinct visual line divides the two sides. Harper’s continued this visual separation into the ’90s with, “An Appeal for Justice,” published in 1892. The two sides stand in front of a tent, the tent pole is placed in between them enhancing the division. In Frank Leslie’s in 1867, a full page is devoted to the “Council of the Arapahoe and Comanche Indians on Medicine Lodge Creek, Arkarsas [sic], Saturday, October 19th.” A group of Native Americans sit across from a group of white men. One of the white men stands up to address the crowd. A smaller image showed two white men sitting across the table from two Native Americans, one leans over while signing a piece of paper, the caption reads, “Chiefs of Comanche and Kiowan Signing the Final Peace Treaty Monday, October 21st.”

In a slightly different portrayal, a Native American is shown addressing a seated crowd. In the July 2, 1870, issue of both publications the Sioux chief, Red Cloud, was portrayed speaking at Cooper Institute. The scene was drawn by different artists, but the images were nearly identical. Red Cloud stands with an arm extended out to the crowd and a stern face. The text explained that he was discussing “the wrongs done to his people.”

A later image in Harper’s in 1891 showed, “the Sioux Chiefs Before Secretary Noble.” Again a central Native American figure addresses the crowd. The Native Americans seated in the background were all depicted with the same stoic face that created a clear pattern. This repetition reiterated the strength of the savage.

The official surrender of a tribe also provided an opportunity to show the two races in a formal coming together. In 1877 Frank Leslie’s depicted the, “The Surrender of Chief Joseph and his Principle Warriors at General Mile’s Headquarters, October 5.” Chief Joseph stands face-to-face with General Miles, leader of the American Army during the campaign. He hands over his weapon with his head held high. Harper’s published, “The Apache Surrender,” in 1883 and in an 1898 issue of Frank Leslie’s an image taken from photographs appeared, “May-Dway-We-Wind, a Hostile Chief, Surrendering to Indian Commissioner Jones, on October 15th.” Both depicted official surrenders with the two sides standing face-to-face in the American camp discussing the terms. These official surrender scenes usually depicted the chief in a strong, proud stance with his head held high. They also created the visual separation mentioned earlier, by placing the races on separate sides of the page, with little intermingling.

Civilizing the Savage

Civilizing the “savage” Indian became a concern for the United States government as more tribes were defeated and contained. According to “reform-minded administrators” of the times,
“submission was a precondition to the transformation” and could only occur through the “absolute sacrifice of all existing ‘savage’ forms of tribal reliance, economic activity (hunting) and political control over their own affairs.” Images of Native Americans before, after and during the “civilization” process became prevalent in the 19th century illustrated press and helped support the United States efforts. These portrayals typically showed the Native Americans in “civilized” American clothing and referred to them in the text as “good Indians”... “working for peace.”

One of the earliest images appeared in an 1868 issue of Harper’s. Three white men were shown standing behind a group of Indians. The caption read “Governor W.F.M. Arny’s Indian Expedition.” The white men are described in the text as the “agent” and “interpreters.” The Indians’ dress is somewhere between white American and the traditional Indian clothing. Some have button-front shirts and pants but are still adorned with feathers and beads. Their expressions are softer, some even smile, an expression rarely attributed to the Indian. The text explained that the purpose of the expedition was to “thoroughly explore...with the view of locating the Utahs and Jicarilla Apaches upon reservations.” It went on to say that, “Governor Arny urges that an industrial school should be established...and in the treaty it should be specified that all children between eight and sixteen years of age should be placed in the school to be educated.” These conditions were often required by the government when appropriating funds to reservations or to the missionary societies in charge of establishing them.

The role of Christianity in the civilizing of the Native Americans was suggested numerous times. The conversion to Christianity was seen as a step towards true “civilization,” and although different denominations approached it in various ways according to their creeds and doctrines, the House Committee on Indian Affairs reported in 1824, “they all unite in their wishes that our Indians may become more civilized.” In 1871, Frank Leslie’s depicted a group of Indians on their way to a church service. The caption read, “Indians Converted to the Catholic Faith Going to Mass at the Odeur Daene Mission.” In Harper’s in 1889, Indians are shown kneeling in a field, the caption read, “Mission Indians at Prayer.” A full page in an 1890 issue of Frank Leslie’s was devoted to “A Novel Scene at the Vatican-Buffalo Bills Cowboys and Red Men Blessed by the Pope.”

“Before” and “after” images were often used to show the “successful” civilization of the Native Americans. Sainsbury & Johnson depicted one in an 1894 issue of Frank Leslie’s. In one photograph an Indian boy was shown dressed in traditional Indian clothing and the caption read, “As the Mormons Found Him.” In the next image he was dressed in “American” clothes and the caption reads, “A Ute Indian Citizen,” his transformation attributed to the Mormon faith.

Although Christianity was seen by most as essential to the Native American’s “civilization,” there was question concerning where the initial emphasis should be placed, on civilizing through conversion or through education and practical skills. Some factions, like the Puritans, and the public in general, felt strongly that educa-
tion arid inducements to industrialize would curb the savages’
dangerous individualism and bring them within those restraints of
civil society, ultimately clearing the way for the “Word.” It was this
point of view, along with the belief that the Indian could only
progress if he was away from his tribe and in an environment that
was conducive to progress that prompted Richard Henry Pratt, an
officer of the United States Calvary, to open the Carlisle Indian
School in Carlisle Pennsylvania in 1879. Many images in the press
depicted this school and others across the country, and how they
affected the children.

In an 1884 issue, one of Frank Leslie’s corresponding artists
depicted a “civilized” Native American girl who has gone back to
see her family. She stands in the middle of a group of girls dressed in
Indian clothing, they point and stare, the caption stated, “Educating
the Indians--A Female Pupil of the Government School at Carlisle
Visits her Home at Pine Ridge Agency.” On another page of the
same issue, Joseph Baker portrayed “before” and “after” images of
the other children who attended the government training school at
Carlisle Pennsylvania. In 1882 in Harper’s, illustrations from
photographs by Davidson showed the “civilizable” savage by depict-
ing scenes in an Indian training school. The central image showed
the children as they were first enrolled at the school, the caption
reads, “New Recruits.” They appeared sad and in despair, and they
were clothed in typical Indian dress. The upper left showed the girls
dressed in “American” clothing, dresses with full skirts and aprons
and they are sweeping and sewing, this caption read, “Housekeep-
ing.” The bottom left showed the boys of the group also in “American” clothing, pants and button-front shirts; they are learning the
trade of “shoemaking.” And finally a classroom shot depicted both
boys and girls as well-behaved and cleanly pressed. The “before”
and “after” technique helped to emphasize the contrast of the “savage” with the “civilized” and illustrated the actual process of “civiliz-
ing” the savage.

Another technique used to emphasize this contrast was the
portrayal of the “savage” and “civilized” when they would encoun-
ter each other. “Civilizing the Red Man-The Government School for
the Education of Indian Youth,” in an 1879 issue of Frank Leslie’s,
portrayed a “civilized” Indian boy talking to two traditionally
dressed “non-civilized” Indian boys. The caption read, “Look at me
and I will impart what I have learned.” A final poignant contrast
image appeared in Harper’s in 1899. In “Wards of the Nation-Their
first Vacation from School,” artist, E.L. Blumenschein, depicted
two Native American children, a boy and a girl, dressed in “American” clothes. They walk towards their home, a small hut structure,
where their parents wait outside the door dressed in Indian clothing
to greet them. The text elaborates this visual contrast:

“Mr. Blumenschein’s picture on the front page of this number of the
(Harper’s) Weekly represents the result of the first stage on the effort of
paternal government to make good Indian as by other than the time
honored process of weighting them with lead.” No descriptive text
can convey the good that results from the government’s Indian Schools
Throughout the country so well as a glance at the contrast between the primitive native and the neat tidy children returning to the ancestral palace. Original sin may be ineradicable but education seems in a fair way to remove the aboriginal kind from our first installment of the “white man’s burden.” The Vision of a Macaulay might see several centuries hence, the last of the Filipinos and Sulus abandoning the hostile weapon and the inexpensive tropical wearing apparel for government food, clothes and instruction.135

During the Indian Wars, Native Americans who were deemed “friendly” were often recruited by the army. In 1866 an act was passed to officially allow for 1000 Indian Scouts to be employed by the American Army at an equal level of pay as the white men. Opinions about involving the Indians varied and are reflected in the illustrations.

In earlier depictions the scouts are portrayed with an uncertain and distrustful tone. In an 1862 issue of Frank Leslie’s, a group of scouts sit around a campfire. The caption reads “Indians Acting as Scouts for the National Army in the West.”136 An otherwise typical group portrait took on a different tone by emphasizing that they were merely “acting” as scouts. On the front page of an 1873 issue of Harper’s another group portrait of Native Americans dressed in army clothes was published. The caption was, “Our Indian Allies.”137 The text read, “No reasonable objection can be made to the employment of Indian allies against Indians, provided they can be properly restrained and held under discipline.”

As Indian Scouts became more accepted, the press depicted them much like the white members. Seldom were comments made about their performance. In Frank Leslie’s in 1883, photographer Chas S. Baker depicted white and Native American army men together in, “General Crooks Campaign-Crooks Command of White Mountain Apache Scouts and Calvarymen, Now in Pursuit of the Apaches in Mexico.”139 Another similar image ran in 1885, “U.S. Calvary Officers Enlisting Indian Scouts.”139

Later images became significantly more sympathetic and appreciative towards the scouts. In an 1886 issue of Harper’s is a portrait titled, “Dutchy.”140 He wears American clothing and sits with a rifle between his legs. The once questionable service of the Native Americans was now described in a positive light:

“Dutchy is an Apache. Formerly he was one of Geronimo’s band, and one of its most desperate members.” When the band submitted three years ago, to General Crook, “Dutchy” showed that his peace-making was sincere by entering the service of the United States cavalry as a scout.141

The most moving display of affection towards a scout was depicted by Remington in an 1899 issue of Harper’s. “The Military Search for Belle McKeever,”142 portrayed a Native American scout just bitten by a poisonous snake. He lays dying while officers hold his head and grieve.
The Poor Indian

Towards the end of the century, Native Americans who were stripped of their land and forced to make the “total sacrifice” found it difficult to adapt to the dominant white culture. Images of the poor and dependent Indian became common and suggested a hostility towards poverty. This view was reinforced by E.P. Smith, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his Annual Report of 1875 which read, “The whole spirit of our people and of American institutions revolts against any process that tends to pauperism of taxation for the support of idlers.” Slotkin observed an irony and contradiction in the perceptions of the Native Americans at this time, “the Indian in his wild state was ‘voluptuary and stoic’, a greedy, moody, cruel child whose rages are horrific in their consequences. Tamed, he becomes indistinguishable from the commonplace peasant or be-nighted pauper.” Native Americans were forced to “civilize or die” but, once they gave in, they were frowned upon. The rebellious savages, such as Geronimo and Sitting Bull, on the other hand, who resisted the change were, in many cases, respected.

Native Americans were often depicted as beggars or peddlers on the streets or at tourist locations. In an 1876 issue of Harper’s, an older Native American woman was depicted slumped over from age and leaning on a cane. She walks towards a white man at a frontier station. The caption was, “An Old Squaw Begging for Food--Scene at a Frontier Station.” The text read, “Her people have gone...leaving her to die or subsist by the charity of the white people.” Here the Indians were shown, not only as beggars, but as ingrates towards people within their own race. In 1877 Harper’s published, “Scene at Niagara Falls--Buying Momentos.” The image was of an Indian woman kneeling on blankets. A white couple stops and the woman leans over to see what the Indian woman is selling. The text described the peddlers with disgust and suggested sentiments of hostility and intolerance, “Few tourists leave Niagara without taking away some momento...in the form of...trinkets of Indian workmanship, etc...At every step one is pestered by peddlers of all sorts...there is no way of escaping these pests.” Here the press utilized what Slotkin termed the “pauper analogy.” Editors applied to Indians the characteristics of the inner-city poor, another group looked down upon by society.

This analogy was used again in an 1873 issue of Frank Leslie’s. Artist A. Lemon depicted, “Overland to the Pacific--Shoshone Beggars at the Railway Station,” where a Native American woman, dressed in rags, sits with a child in her lap and holds out her hand to receive the change from a well-dressed white woman passing by. A Native American man stands, leaning on a cane, next to the woman and child and also holds out his hand. Onlookers scowl at the sight. The text used the “pauper analogy” again to describe the scene:

If a trip over the Overland Railroad to California has its advantages in the glimpses which one gets of magnificent scenery, it also has its drawbacks. One of these is the scene that so frequently presents itself along the road... namely the group of dirty Indian beggars who solicit alms at the station.
Similar sentiments were portrayed as late as 1890 in Harper’s with, “Sketches on a Journey to California in the Overland Train.”

On occasion, depictions of the Native American peddling were portrayed and described in an exotic way rather than in negative terms. In an 1866 issue of Harper’s A.R. Waud depicted, “Sunday in New Orleans—The French Market.” In the foreground three Native Americans, much like the “Niagara Scene,” are selling herbs. This time however, the scene was described in the text as, “...the most picturesque subject found, namely the Indian dealers in herbs and baskets.” Frank Leslie’s published a very similar view of this same scene in 1891, “The Old French Market in New Orleans.” Again the text described the scene as “picturesque.”

Part of the government’s policy towards the Native Americans, after they were put onto reservations, was to provide them with needed supplies. Some images that portrayed the distribution of these rations depicted the system as successful. In an 1869 issue of Harper’s, Theodore Davis depicted, “Distribution of Rations to the Indians at Medicine Bluff Creek.” Native Americans are lined up in a seemingly never-ending line waiting to receive blankets and food from a white man who distributes items at the front of the line. In 1879 W.P. Hooper depicted for Harper’s, “Issuing Rations at the Sisseton Indian Agency, Dakota.” Indians were shown moving from one station to another picking up their supplies.

When images depicted a failed system where Indians were deprived, the blame was usually attributed to an isolated corrupt official, a “black sheep,” not on the whole white race. The rest of the blame was placed on the Indian race and their bad habits. This was illustrated in “Muster-Day on an Indian Reservation,” by P. Frenzeny in an 1880 issue of Harper’s. Four white men in suits stand, looking at books and discussing the content. Sitting at their feet are the tired, thin Indians dressed in rags. The text further described the scene and attributed the blame:

The Indians have come from far and near to meet the agent, and state their wants, and be looked after generally. Many of them are in a state of great destitution, partly owing to their own improvident habits, and partly to the deliberate manner in which many of the agents defraud them of supplies provided by the government.

As late as 1891 in Frank Leslie’s, “Indians Dividing their Rations,” a corrupted system was implied as a group of Indians huddle together to split up their meager supplies.

Native Americans were also depicted as ingrates. Once given the supplies they were depicted squandering the goods or using them against the white man. A cartoon image was published in Frank Leslie’s in 1878 which illustrated this view. An Indian sits surrounded by his supplies marked, “for the poor Indian.” The caption read, “Chief Joseph: ‘White Father treat Big Injun Well! Next spring be hearty enough to wipe out mean little army.’” The image suggested that the Indians took the supplies and then turned around and used them against the white man.
Groups or individuals who were sympathetic or philanthropic towards the Native Americans were often portrayed as “deluded or fanatical characters, who put the interest and welfare of aliens and savages ahead of the concerns of their own race and its civilization.” Mormons were alluded to as a prime example of these “deluded characters.” In a cartoon in an 1882 issue of Harper’s they were portrayed siding with the Indians. It was titled, “When The Spring Time Comes, Gentle–Indian.” The text helped clarify the situation. It read, “Mormons are furnishing the Indians with arms, ammunition, provisions, and whisky, and that there is a prospect of a general uprising in the spring.” A more realistic image with the same implication ran in 1878 in Frank Leslie’s. Indians were shown receiving clothes and guns from American soldiers. The caption read, “The New Indian War-Indians Receiving Their Annual Supplies at the Government Agency Before Going on the Warpath.”

**Attempts to Document the Culture**

Throughout the four decades studied, the press often published sensational accounts of the ritual life of the Native Americans, including war dances and the burial ceremony. Mundane accounts of simple, everyday tasks were also portrayed. All the images suggested the exotic and mystical quality often attributed to Native Americans.

Fishing scenes appeared in both publications. In Frank Leslie’s an overall view of “Indians Fishing in the Alleghany River,” was depicted in 1867. The text explained how a temporary dam was built by the Indians to trap the fish. Another image in 1871 showed, “Indians Catching White-Fish Among the Rapids of the Columbian River.” Here the Indians were, “furnished with stout gill-nets.” In that same year Harper’s portrayed the Indians fishing with long lances in “Indians Fishing For Salmon in Oregon.” Others in Harper’s included, “Indian Spearing Salmon on the McCloud River,” taken from photographs by the United States Fish Commission in 1888, and Remington’s drawing of, “Big Fishing--Hauling Nets on Lake Nepigon,” in 1891.

Other daily activities were also depicted and explained, such as, “Indian Squaws Weaving a Blanket,” in an 1866 issue of Harper’s, and “Mandan Women Going on a Berrying Expedition with their Bull Boats,” in Frank Leslie’s in 1875. “Indian Wash Women,” in an 1881 issue of Frank Leslie’s depicted women over wash tubs cleaning their clothes and in 1890 in Harper’s, Pueblo farmers were portrayed simply sitting, as they patiently watch over their crops to make sure no animals or other trespassers harm them. Each scene gave insight into the way Indians lived on a daily basis.

Indians were also portrayed in private activities such as bathing, dressing and primping. “Indian Women and Children at their Toilets,” an image taken from a photograph, was published on a front page of Frank Leslie’s in 1870. The text emphasized the difference between the white man and the Indian by describing in detail the unconventional way the Indians executed a task also common to the white man.
Our illustration represents the toilet of a family party of Indians near the Pacific Railway. The gentlemen of the household have gone to the aboriginal Wall street of Maiden Lane, leaving the ladies to dress themselves and the children for breakfast. Water is not always attainable on the Plains, and when the supply is limited or altogether cut off, a substitute is found in the grass or sand. aboriginal matron strips her darlings without regard to visitors or weather. Soap is not in favor with the Indians, and combs have not attained a high degree of popularity. But looking-glasses are at a premium, and one who will present a genuine savage of the Plains with a well-shaped hand-mirror can make him a friend forever— or until some one else bestows a greater gift.176

This technique of comparison transformed the mundane into the exotic.

Another toilet scene was seen in an 1876 issue of Harper’s. A Native American man was shown applying his face paint while a Native American woman plaits his long hair, the caption read, “An Indian Toilet.”177

In a unique private moment, “The Sick Indian Girl,”178 was shown on a cover in an 1870 issue of Frank Leslie’s. The image, taken from a photograph by A.J. Russell, showed a young Native American girl lying in a tent while a Native American man stands guard. The text explained why the sick girl was in the tent by herself:

It is a custom with many Indian tribes—doubtless for sanitary reasons—whenever any of their number falls sick, to place the invalid at some distance from the village, on the open prairie, always near water, where, sheltered from the rains, the cold winds and the rays of the summer sun, attended by the medicine man, he is left to get well or die.179

The ceremony of burying the dead was depicted most often in Harper’s. In 1868 a series of sketches, by James Kidd, described the burial process. The first image was, “Leading the Pony to the Grave,” the next, “Digging the grave,” the next “Strangling the Pony,” and finally, “The Mourners.”180 The text explained, “The body is first carried to the place of interment by the friends of the deceased. The chief mourners then make their appearance leading the horse, which is, according to custom, to be strangled on the grave.” In an 1869 issue of Harper’s, A. Gardner depicted in a photograph, “Indian Burial Place on Deer Creek.”181 Three Native Americans sit on horses underneath a tree where a body rest. The ritual was explained in the text:

The body of the departed is covered with different wrapping, the first usually a blanket, and the last a mat of small willows strung together by means of buffalo sinews, and is then deposited among the branches of the cotton-wood or other trees... The scaffold was constructed of small saplings, the body was placed on the top, where it was carefully covered from the weather with canvas cover of a captured wagon. The Indians left with the body what they consider the necessary outfit for a trip to the ‘Happy Hunting Ground,’... the Indians always place the feet of the dead to the south... to the Indians the Great Spirit resides
in the south, and thitherward they direct their prayers and the faces of their dead.\textsuperscript{182}

Another burial scene, drawn by P. Frenzeny, was shown in 1884 in \textit{Harper’s}. A large procession of Native Americans was portrayed and the caption read, “An Indian Funeral--Off for the Happy Hunting Grounds.”\textsuperscript{183}

Some illustrations portrayed seemingly inhumane, barbaric customs, such as “Indians Gambling for the Possession of a Captive,”\textsuperscript{184} in an 1870 issue of \textit{Harper’s}. After overtaking a covered wagon, shown in the background, a woman sits on the ground while two male Indians concentrate on a game. The text explained that the winner will take the woman. Another similar scene was shown in that year. Two men stand face-to-face with a woman at each of their sides. They discuss the possibility of trading their wives. The caption read, “Indians Swapping Wives--Our Barbarian Brethren.”\textsuperscript{185} Again there was an emphasis in the text on the difference between the white man’s convention and the Indian’s lifestyle:

Our Indian fellow-citizens, it is well known, entertain very lax notions respecting the sanctity of the marriage tie--which, in fact, they consider anything but a tie. The noble red man not only regards his wives as inferiors, but in the light of goods and chattels, and when tired of them trades them off in barter, or swaps them for another’s.\textsuperscript{186}

This time the comparison suggested the barbaric more than the exotic, and suggested that the Indian had broken a universal moral code.

As reservation life became more common and as the white man’s efforts to “civilize” the Indians became more evident, rituals were less of a natural occurrence and more of a staged performance. “War Dance,”\textsuperscript{187} in an 1864 issue of \textit{Harper’s} and “Buffalo Dance,”\textsuperscript{188} in 1887 recalled the depictions of the early “bloodthirsty savage” as the Indians were shown dancing wildly with weapons raised. The viewer felt he had just come across a tribe in their primitive state. In \textit{Frank Leslie’s} in 1891, however, “The Devil’s Dance,”\textsuperscript{189} was depicted in staged setting, showing still portraits of the dancers. Images in \textit{Harper’s} in the 1890’s such as “The Indian tablet dance,”\textsuperscript{190} and “The Harvest Dance,”\textsuperscript{191} also created a staged image, as opposed to the earlier free and wild depictions.

The Scalp Dance, discussed earlier, was seen on the front page of the an 1863 issue of \textit{Frank Leslie’s}, “Sioux Dancing the Scalp Dance,”\textsuperscript{192} and later in 1883, “Millennial Anniversary Celebration at Santa Fe--Mesquitero Indian Encampment and Scalp Dance.”\textsuperscript{193} Although the images were similar, the change from an authentic dance in a natural environment to a performance on a reservation was obvious.

This comparison was also seen in \textit{Harper’s}. In 1875, “Indian Sun Dance,”\textsuperscript{194} the text explained, “Strangers are rarely allowed to witness the rites to which it was the good fortune of our enterprising artists to be admitted.” The scene depicted the last day of the cer-
emony when the young warriors of the tribe inflicted self-torture to prove their endurance. The text emphasized the strange and torturous ritual aspects of the scene, “such as piercing the skin and sticking into the wounds pieces of wood to which...cords running from the central pole are attached. The whole weight of the body is suspended on these cords.” In 1890 Frederic Remington depicted another image of the Sun Dance. The caption read, “The Ordeal of the Blackfeet Indians.”195 The text described how, this time, a crowd watched with “eager and sympathetic interest,” and then went on to describe the reservation of the Blackfeet Indians where the dance was being performed.

By the 1890s tribes were more accessible to photographers and sketch artists, as suggested in previous images, and they were willing to demonstrate their rituals and “unconventional” daily routines to audiences, particularly at carnivals and festivals. This provided Harper’s and Leslie’s with documentary opportunities they had not had before.

Harper’s published multiple page articles, primarily in the late ’80s and ’90s, documenting the different tribes. In Harper’s in 1894, four pages were given to “The Iroquois of the Grand River.”196 It included still images of “A pagan woman pounding corn,” and a Native American man “making axe-handles.” In 1896, a six page article, “Among the Moki Indians,”197 was portrayed. It devoted most of the focus to their Snake Dance ritual. The Native Americans were depicted in an exotic and strange way as they handled and prepared the snakes. Other articles of this nature included, “The Sisseton Indians,”198 “In the Lodges of the Blackfeet Indians,”199 and “The Navajo Indians.”200 Remington, famous for his action images, provided the sketches for many of these articles, but the majority were portrayals documenting the responsibilities and daily lives of the tribes. Occasionally, as in the “Moki Indian” article, a sensational tone was attributed and some action was suggested, but for the most part they were portrayed in a more factual way than before.

Frank Leslie’s coverage of the Native American culture during the late ’80s and ’90s was more focused on carnivals and festivals. In 1890 C.D. Kirckland photographed “The Recent Mardi Gras Carnival at Ogden, Utah,”201 which included the image of “An Indian Pow-Wow or Council.” In 1894 Taber photographed “Indians at the California Midwinter Fair,”202 which depicted portraits of the Indians in traditional clothing. These images tended to be more mundane, due to the fact that they were staged photographs and action shots were unattainable with the slow shutter speeds at the time. Other images of this nature included, “Spanish Fiesta at Coronado Beach,”203 The Festival of San Geronimo,”204 and “The Flower Carnival at Santa Barbara, California.”205

Conclusions

The portrayal of the Native American in the early 19th century illustrated press was above all a contradictory one. Frank Goodyear writes:
Over the years, a large number of often contradictory myths have emerged from the dominant culture concerning the Indians and their society. In the American public’s imagination, the Indian has represented such positive virtues as simplicity, beauty and freedom. At the same time, this ‘noble savage’ has also been portrayed as the epitome of barbarianism, poverty and dependence. Forever being constructed, destroyed, and then resurrected, the popular image of the Indian fluctuates to meet the needs of the dominant culture and to justify its treatment of the native. During the late 19th century Great Plains conflicts, the images that were used to bring home the news of this struggle reflected society’s belief in the righteousness of the conflict.²⁰⁶

It is clear, after this research, that the press consistently “framed” images to justify the treatment of Native Americans and support the United States’ agenda towards “Manifest Destiny.” Some positive changes were noted, however, such as a decrease in violent and “bloodthirsty” scenes, the increased documentation of the Indians cultural and everyday life and the sensitive coverage of the victims of the “Battle” of Wounded Knee. Causes for these changes included cultural and societal shifts as well as the evolution of the medium by which the images were portrayed.

As the Indian Wars came to a close there was an obvious move away from the violent, “bloodthirsty” scenes. Almost all Native Americans, towards the end of the century, had been vanquished and moved onto reservations where they were governed and controlled by the American government. This fact made them more accessible and, therefore, easier to document on a day-to-day basis. It also decreased highly sensational illustrations. Unfortunately, however, it eliminated much of the natural settings captured in earlier images. The increased demand and use of photography, because of its limitations at the time, also contributed to a more static, less sensational imaging.

Although the images became less sensational, an “exotic” theme remained consistent in almost every image. Even seemingly mundane images, such as the “Indian Women and Children at their Toilet,” were “framed” by the press in a mystical way that made them newsworthy and helped sell papers.

These images are important, in part, because they affected so many people. The public’s appetite for visuals, especially of the West, was demonstrated during the 19th century not only by the popularity of the illustrated newspapers, but also by the incredible success of the dime novels. Stories of the West were by far the most popular. Three-fourths of the dime novels dealt with life on the frontier.²⁰⁷ One of the first Westerns published, Seth Jones, or, The Captives of the Frontier, sold out of its first printing of 60,000 copies almost immediately and eventually sold more than 600,000 copies.²⁰⁸ Another successful venture of the time that capitalized on the public’s obsession with Indians and the West was the Wild West Show. Over a period of more than fifty years, untold millions of people attended the shows.²⁰⁹ These performances of roping and riding, and Indian reenactments, like the pictorial weeklies, presented themselves as the “truth” and were said to be authentic.²¹⁰
These early portrayals inevitably played a critical role in shaping the myths that are still present in today’s culture. Slotkin explains the shaping of the “Frontier Myth” and its relationship to these early popular images:

It is not Western history itself that shapes our senses of these terms, because we have not experienced that history—we know it second or third hand, through the medium of our literary and historigraphical traditions. Rather, our “memory” of the historical significance of these terms derives from the history of the language of the Frontier Myth—a history whose events are acts of imagination embodied in prose or pictures and set before the public.211

**Future Research**

Given the scope and extensive nature of this research it is clear that more in-depth studies should follow. Specific studies should include, but not be limited to: the portrayal of the Native Americans in their culture; the portrayal of Native American women and children; comparison studies of coverage between the two papers; a comparison of these papers’ illustrations with other images circulating at the time (dime novel and advertisements), as well as with images not published; and the comparison of these images, created by a white society, with ones created by the Native Americans of themselves (an idea touched on with Sitting Bull’s autobiography, published in *Harper’s* in 1876). Other studies could focus on: the artists and photographers of the press (many cited for the first time in the endnotes), the concept of a “natural” setting versus a “staged” setting, and a content analysis based on Slotkin’s ideas about the editor’s ability to “shape” the news through strategic placement of articles.
Endnotes


2. The term “Battle” is disputed by scholars who consider the event as a massacre of the Native Americans.

3. Sitting Bull was more specifically a spiritual leader associated with the Ghost Dance Movement, although he was referred to as a chief at times in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated and Harper’s Weekly.


6. Pearson, p. 80-111


12. Illustrations of Native Americans from all regions were included in the study, but the majority of the images were of tribes located in the plains.

13. Pearson, p.82.


18. Slotkin


28. [no first name] Goff [from a photograph], "Dakota—Sitting Bull, the Sioux Chief as he Appeared at the Recent Capital Celebration in Bismark," *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated*, September 22, 1883, p.77.


32. [no first name] Whitney [from photographs], "Portraits of Indians Connected with the Minnesota Massacre," *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated*, January 31, 1863.


41. "The Kid", the Renegade Apache Who is Known as the Terror of the Boarders" [from photographs], *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated*, April 25, 1895, p.273.


44. S. Etinge [drawn by, from sketches by Theo. R. Davis], "Young Bucks on the War Path—Young Bucks Returning with Spoils," *Harper’s Weekly*, May 17, 1873, p.413


47. Geo. Ellsbye [from a sketch], "Our Indian War—Sioux Dancing the Scalp Dance," *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated*, November 14, 1863, p. Front Cover

Andrew McCullem, "Indian War on the Western Frontier," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, September 24, 1864


John Coward, Interview October 18, 1997.

Andrew McCullem [from sketch], "Indian War on Western Frontier," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, September 24, 1864.


"Indian Raid on the Pacific Railroad Employees," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, September 7, 1867, p. 397-398.

Special Artist [from sketch], "Laborers on a Hand Car of the Pacific Railroad—Running Fight and Repulse of the Assailants," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, March 26, 1870, p. 25-26.


"Life in the Mining Region of the Far West—Selling his Life Dearly," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, June 7, 1890, p. Front Cover.


"Yaqui Indians Attacking a Mexican Freight Outfit," Harper's Weekly, January 6, 1900, p. 16.


"Attack on Major Boutelle's Surveying Party Colorado Territory by Cheyenne Indians," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, December 9, 1868, p. 221.


"Wagon Train on its way to Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota is attacked by Indians," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, January 17, 1891, p. 461.

W.H. Illegible, "Surprise of Indian Horse Thieves," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, September 5, 1863, Front Cover.


"The Bloody Indian Outbreak at Bear Island, Minnesota, October 5th," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, November 3, 1898, pp. 344-345.


"Fiendish Outrage on a Winnebago Squaw, and Murder of her Papoose, In Wisconsin," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, August 29, 1868, p. 381.


"The Recent Fight Between United States Troops and Big Foot's Band of Hostile Sioux at Wounded Knee Creek—Chief Big Foot Lying Dead" [from photos taken exclusively for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper] Harper's Weekly, January 24, 1891, pp. 476, 479 & 484.

"Belief Corps Searching for the Dead and Wounded After the Fight with the Hostile Sioux at Wounded Knee" [photo expressly taken for our "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper"], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, January 31, 1891, p. Front Cover.

H.F. Farley [drawn by], "The Last Scene of the Last Act of the Sioux War," Harper's Weekly, February 14, 1891, p. 120.


"Interview Between General Hancock and the Cheyenne Indians at Fort Larnard," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, May 11, 1867, p. Front Cover.


Jas. E. Taylor [from sketch], "Council of the Arapahoe and Comanche Indians on Medicine Lodge Creek, Arkansas, Saturday October 19th," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, pp. 133 & 135.


C.S. Reinhart [drawn by], "Red Cloud at Cooper Institute," Harper's Weekly, July 2, 1870, p. 420 and "New York City—The Sioux Chief Red Cloud, In the Great Hall of the Cooper Institute, Surrounded by the Indian Delegations of Braves and Squaws Addressing a New York Audience on the Wrongs Done to His People" [from a sketch by our special artist, Frank Leslie's Illustrated, July 2, 1870, p. Front Cover & 247.


G.M. Holland [from sketches], "The Late Nizh Perches War—Surrender of Chief Joseph and his Principal Warriors at General Miles Headquarters, October 5th," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, November 3, 1877, pp. 139 & 141.


"Our Latest War, The Bloody Uprising of the Chipewa Pillager Indians in Minnesota—May-Dlay-We-Wind, a Hostile Chief, Surrendering to Indian Commissioner Jones" [from photographs by a special war correepondent], Harper's Weekly, November 17, 1893, pp. 391-392.

Slootkin, 313.


Dippie, p.12.

Dippie, p.9.


"Novel Scene at the Vatican—Buffalo Bill's Cowboys and Red Men Blessed by th Pope" [Cantagall illegible signature], Harper's Weekly, April 12, 1890, p. 215.

Sainsbury & Johnson [photograph by], "Faces and Phases of the Mormon Metropolis—A Ute Citizen—As the Mormons Found Him," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, January 11, 1894, pp. 21, 26 & 27.

Dippie, p.9.

Dippie, p.113.


"Virginia—Civilizing the Red Man—The Government School for the Education of Indian Youth at Hampton" [from photographs], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, March 1, 1879, p. 468.


Blumenschein later founded the Taos school of painters.


"Delaware Indians, Acting as Scouts for the National Army in the West" [from a sketch by our special artist], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, December 6, 1862, p. 168.


Chas S. Baker [from photograph], "General Crooks Campaign—Crooks Command of White Mountain Apache Scouts and Calvarymen, Now in Pursuit of the Apaches in Mexico," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, June 2, 1883, p. 233.

"Indian Territory—Scenes and Incidents of General Sheridan's recent Visit to Fort Reno—Indian Camp and Scouts—U.S. Calvary Officers Enlisting
Indian Scouts," [from photographs], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, August 22, 1885, pp.367 & 368.


Frederic Remington [illustrated by], "The Military Search for Belle McKeever—'In Half an Hour he was Senseless; by Three O'clock he was Dead,'" Harper's Weekly, December 16, 1899, pp.17-22.

Slotkin, p. 313.

Slotkin, p. 311.

Slotkin, p. 311.

Slotkin, p. 310.


Slotkin, p. 339.

A. Leman [sketch by], "Overland to the Pacific—Shoshone Beggars at the Railway Station, Carlin, Nevada," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, November 8, 1873, pp. Front cover & 139.

"Overland to the Pacific," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, p.139.


"The Old French Market in New Orleans," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, April 4, 1891, pp. 154 & 156.

Theo. R. Davis [sketch by], "Distribution of the Rations to the Indians at Medicine Bluff Creek," Harper's Weekly, March 27, 1869, pp. 204-205.


"The Recent Fight Between United States Troops and Big Foot's Band of Hostile Sioux at Wounded Knee Creek—Indians Dividing Their Rations," [from photos taken exclusively for Frank "Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper"], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, January 24, 1891, pp. 476, 479 & 484.

"Chief Joseph: 'White Father Treat Big Injun Well!'" [cartoon], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, January 12, 1878, p.332.

Slotkin, p. 341.


John Coward, interview, October 18, 1997.

"Indians Fishing in the Alleghany River near Complatter, Pa.," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, December 21, 1867, pp. 216-217.


V.H. Carey [sketch by], "Mandan Woman Going on a Berrying expedition with their Bull Boats," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, February 27, 1875, p. 413.

H.A. Ogden [sketch by], "Indian Wash Women in Mexico," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, April 9, 1881, p. 95-96.


"On the Plains—Indian Women and Children at their Toilets" [from a picture by our special photographer], Frank Leslie's Illustrated, June 18, 1870, pp. Front Cover & 211.

"On the Plains," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, June 18, 1870, p. 211.


James Kidd [sketch by], "Ceremony of Burial as Observed Among the Kaw Indians," Harper's Weekly, November 14, 1868, p. 727.

A. Gardner [from a photograph], "Indian Burial Place on Deer Creek, Near Fort Laramie," Harper's Weekly, March 6, 1869, pp. 152 & 157.


Geo. Ellsberry [from a sketch], "Our Indian War—Sioux Dancing the Scalp Dance," Frank Leslie's Illustrated, November 14, 1863, p. Front Cover

Power of the press: When Gangland Killings Triggered the Chicago Tribune, 1931

Eric Noe

Between 1929 and 1931, as the nation debated Prohibition, the city of Chicago was at the center of national attention. Chicago’s gang wars resulting from illegal bootlegging of liquor exemplified the debate over Prohibition’s validity in its most violent forum. While congressmen debated the pros and cons of a liquorless nation, city thugs eliminated competition through intimidation and violence in Chicago’s streets. Society’s tolerance for this violence reached its breaking point in 1929. The result was an all out war against gangs and bootlegging in Chicago. Covering these events were the nation’s newspapers, and none had a better perspective than those in Chicago, specifically the Chicago Daily Tribune, led by its publisher Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick. McCormick made the downfall of gangs the mission of his newspaper and covered the story with a zeal not found outside Chicago. After what he considered a personal attack on a member of the Tribune staff by Chicago gangs, McCormick was instrumental in bringing the gang wars to an end and bringing their biggest culprit, Al Capone, to justice.

Prohibition, enacted through the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution, went into effect in the United States at midnight, January 16, 1920.1 Resulting from a large national movement, this Amendment was met with mixed emotions from the American public. Through the 1920s, nationwide opposition to Prohibition...
became common. This led many, including politicians and police, to generally disregard the observance and enforcement of the amendment. In gauging the public opinion of Prohibition in 1929, ex-assistant attorney general Mabel Walker Willebrandt stated, "No one who is intellectually honest will deny that there has not yet been effective, nation-wide enforcement. Nor will it be denied that prohibition enforcement remains the chief and in fact the only real political issue of the whole nation." Prohibition was an issue at the heart of American political and social controversy.

In time, the illegal distribution and sale of liquor became the economic backbone for many organized crime groups, especially in Chicago. Gang wars over control of the underground Chicago liquor market were common. Newspapers across the nation featured daily coverage of the Chicago gang wars. Coverage peaked in the years 1929 to 1931, when local and federal authorities investigated and eventually jailed Al Capone. The *Tribune* was the center of the coverage at this time, and Robert McCormick's personal determination was a large reason why his newspaper led the way in the war against gangs and, more specifically, Capone.

An eccentric man, and a radical Republican, McCormick's anti-Prohibition beliefs were well known and often presented in the *Tribune*. From the inception of Prohibition, McCormick recognized the ineffectual policing of bootlegging and took up the fight against it. An Army veteran with service in World War I, McCormick's military experience taught him to attack issues head on, and fighting against Capone and Prohibition was no exception.

Under McCormick, the *Tribune* was more than just an influential newspaper. Capone biographer Laurence Bergreen wrote, "The McCormick Tribune...was a major power broker in the city's public life, almost a shadow government, whose imperial, eccentric publisher, Robert R. McCormick, had designs on changing the course of national and even international affairs." With such grand ambitions, McCormick made sure that the paper reflected the thoughts of its publisher, even going so far as to make writers heed his idiosyncratic notions of grammar (no s "in island," only one z in "jazz").

Although unusual in method, McCormick did have pure journalistic intentions. In stating his opinion on the place of the newspaper in society, he was quoted as saying, "The newspaper is an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry through widely circulated advertisements, and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide." His understanding of the role of journalism is both altruistic and bold, and his newspaper's coverage of important issues was often a direct reflection of this.

By most accounts, three separate incidents in 1929 and 1930 led McCormick and the *Tribune* to become involved in the prosecution of Capone. The Newsboys' paper strike, the St. Valentine's Day Massacre, and, most importantly, the murder of the *Tribune* reporter Alfred "Jake" Lingle forced McCormick and the *Tribune* to assume a major role in the war against organized crime. These incidents
forced Capone into personal contact with both McCormick and his paper, and forced the city and the press to answer threats against the media community.

The dispute between the Tribune and the Newsboys’ Union, which was connected to Capone’s organization, produced the first meeting between McCormick and Capone. This meeting produced different accounts from those who were present, resulting in differing views about what transpired between the two. McCormick claimed to have immediately thrown Capone out of the office, stating, “I ordered Capone to leave and take his plug-uglies with him... Capone got out. He didn’t muscle in on the newspapers. We continued to expose him.” However, Daniel A. Seritella, President of the Newsboys’ Union, who was present at the meeting, recalled, “McCormick thanked Capone for calling off the strike and said, ‘...We can’t help printing things about you, but I will see that the Tribune gives you a square deal.’” However the scene truly did play out, the meeting between the two was significant.

Gang violence finally crossed the line on February 14, 1929, when four members of Capone’s North Side gang, masquerading as police officers, gunned down seven unarmed members of George “Bugs” Moran’s South Side gang from behind. The controversy between Moran and Capone, leaders of the two most powerful Chicago gangs, was well known and dated back to the early years of Prohibition. The bloody murders of Moran’s men, which became known as the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, enraged the public, city officials, and the media.

Accounts of the event varied greatly. Many newspapers were non-committal in placing blame, willing only to suggest that gang violence based on liquor traffic was to blame. The New York Times account of the massacre stated: “...while tonight there was no solution, the one outstanding cause was illicit liquor traffic.” Whether such vague accounts resulted from fear of Capone or ignorance of the facts is unclear, but many dailies were less than comprehensive in their reporting.

The Tribune, however, was not. In its coverage of the bloody scene, the Tribune had a comprehensive understanding of the history of Chicago’s gang wars. And outside of just reporting the gruesome facts, the Tribune even speculated on the source of the attack. On February 15, the Tribune suggested Capone as the probable culprit, stating, “...The gangsters who were killed paid the penalty for being followers of George Moran (whose antagonist)...is Al Capone.” Along with the story, a diagram cutaway graphically depicted the scene, including the prone position which the victims were forced to assume and uniforms worn by their masquerading killers. This blunt suggestion of Capone’s involvement coupled with the graphic display of the bloody scene only heightened public outrage and set the precedent for the Tribune’s comprehensive coverage of the events to follow.

The story also reported the probable cause for the violence, citing Moran’s attempt to take over Chicago’s Twentieth Ward, Capone’s booze territory. In the trafficking and distribution of liquor through the United States, Chicago was thought by many to
be a major gateway from the Midwest to the Pacific coast.\textsuperscript{14} Moran made a challenge to take over Capone’s territory, which was extremely profitable, and Capone’s retaliation was swift and violent. \textit{Tribune} reporters had the insight and knowledge to realize this.

In the ensuing weeks, the \textit{Tribune} proved the most reliable source of information on the Massacre investigation. While other dailies were errant in their reporting, the \textit{Tribune} continued to present the most up-to-date factual accounts. On February 16, the \textit{New York Times} reported that the district Prohibition Administrator Fred D. Silloway believed that the killers were city policemen.\textsuperscript{15} However, the tribune reported on the same day that this report stemmed from the misunderstanding of a public statement by Silloway, who was actually still suspected of gang involvement.\textsuperscript{16}

This most violent of gang actions left Chicago’s citizens feeling a combination of anger and fear. Public officials expressed outrage. State’s attorney John A. Swenson ordered the immediate closing of all speakeasies and beer flats, basically ordering Prohibition into effect ten years late.\textsuperscript{17} Chicago police, led by Commissioner William F. Russell, declared war on all gang-related activity and vowed to present a united front in the war against liquor bootlegging.

Being closer to the events than most of the nation’s other major daily newspapers gave the \textit{Tribune} a ringside seat to witness the gang war – a vantage point which allowed local access to the events as they unfolded, which was especially useful in trying to gauge the public’s emotional response. Private citizens wondered about the safety of their streets. In an editorial, the \textit{Tribune} articulated the widespread belief that the violence resulted from political corruption. The editorial implicated politicians’ dependence on gang money by stating, “This is the culmination of the use of criminals by politicians and of politicians by criminals...and profit made twins of politics and crime.”\textsuperscript{18} The question seemed to be whether this longstanding interdependence, which was for so long tolerated, could be destroyed.

Through no mere coincidence, the situation in Chicago led to the examination of Prohibition on a national scale. On February 18, just days after the murders, the U.S. Senate witnessed a lengthy debate on the merits of Prohibition. At the same time, religious leaders asked for stiffer penalties from Prohibition violators, citing increasing leniency in several different states.\textsuperscript{19} Senator John Reed of Missouri even favored repealing the law, stating “Let us repeal this obnoxious, this hideous amendment.”\textsuperscript{20} The events in Chicago led to this national political stand-off.

As the murder investigation wore on, many clues of varying importance began surfacing. The \textit{Chicago Daily News} named a mysterious “Mr. X”, a Moran follower, who was supposedly the intended target of the killing.\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{Tribune} discounted this.\textsuperscript{22} The possible involvement of bootlegging gangs from Detroit\textsuperscript{23} and rivals in Chicago’s cleaning and dyeing industry\textsuperscript{24} were similarly dispatched by policy and media. The \textit{Tribune}’s initial stated suspicion of Capone involvement remained the most plausible.

On February 21, the first in a series of clues was discovered which eventually pointed to Capone, cementing his position at the
The forefront of Chicago's self-proclaimed war on crime. The automobile used in the Moran massacre was found burned and nearly destroyed in a garage. Examination of its contents led police to Claude Maddox, the leader of a group called the Circus gang, a subsidiary of the Capone syndicate. Maddox's ties to Capone and his gang were well-known, and this served as the first in a chain of clues leading authorities to Capone. With police, public, and gang suspicion now pointed directly at Capone, his face came to represent what was evil about Chicago's bootlegging activity, and both public officials and private citizens had their target. McCormick's direct involvement in this war on Capone did not come until a year later, but the events leading to his involvement were quick and tragic.

Indirectly, McCormick influenced the creation of several federal investigations of Capone. Capone biographer Laurence Beegreen speculated that McCormick first brought Capone to the attention of President Herbert Hoover. Beegreen wrote that during a trip to the White House McCormick suggested to Hoover that the Department of Justice should concentrate its efforts on principal bootleggers rather than ordinary drinkers. He explained that any attempt to convict Capone for bootlegging would be futile. Led by his belief that Prohibition agents had been ineffectual, McCormick convinced the president that principal bootleggers, most notably Capone, were the main source of corruption. McCormick relayed his personal opinion that Capone's financial affairs offered the most realistic chance of indicting him.

By 1930, The United States government had designed a two-pronged attack aimed at taking down Capone and his followers. The most publicized part of this plan was the actions of the Department of Justice led by Eliot Ness, who was determined to destroy Capone financially. However, the more discreet, and eventually more effective plan, involved the actions of the Internal Revenue Service. Capone had never filed an income tax return, leaving him open to the charge of income tax evasion.

Leading the team of IRS agents investigating Capone was Frank J. Wilson. His extensive investigation led to Frankie Pope, a Chicago Smoke Shop manager known to have conducted business with Capone. Pope suggested that Wilson meet with Tribune reporter Alfred Lingle, known to most as "Jake" Lingle. Lingle, Pope suggested, not only knew a great deal about gang activities in Chicago, but also had a close relationship with Capone. Following this lead, Wilson spoke with Colonel McCormick and set up a meeting with Lingle in his Tribune office for June 10. Unfortunately, the meeting never took place. Jake Lingle was murdered on the afternoon of June 9, 1930.

Lingle was gunned down in an Illinois Central underpass and identified by Tribune reporter John Boettiger, who was one of the first to arrive on the scene. Witnesses reported that a man walking beside him had pulled a gun and fired point blank into the back of Lingle's head. Others noticed another man walking at Lingle's side and several more waiting in a car at the curb nearby. The style of the killing was obviously a gang hit, and word of this brutal slaying spread quickly.
McCormick was enraged that gangs had actually killed one of his reporters. In his mind, this action was an attack on the Tribune. He came down from his twenty-fourth floor Tribune office to the fourth floor newsroom, and took personal control over the handling of the story. He set about making an immediate response. His military experience led him to feel that immediate retaliation was necessary. He quickly went about offering a $25,000 reward from the Tribune for information leading to the arrest of the culprit and asked other newspapers to cooperate in this venture. The next day’s Tribune headline offered $30,000 for information after the Chicago Evening Post upped the ante by an additional $5,000.

McCormick continued to solicit the cooperation of other Chicago publishers, citing a need to confront this blind-sided attack by the gangs. The Chicago journalism community began to unite against gang violence which they had been covering for so long. The Chicago Herald Examiner had offered $25,000 in response to McCormick’s pleas. By Wednesday, June 11, the reward had risen to $55,000 for information leading to Lingle’s killer. In a June 11 front page article, the Tribune, under McCormick’s direction, boldly stated that Lingle’s murder was “...an assault upon the press generally and upon the public.”

Around the country, many papers mirrored McCormick’s sentiment that this attack on the press should be dealt with quickly and severely. The New York Times wrote, “Entirely conscious of the menace possible offered by this crime, Chicago does well to be serious and determined in its search for the perpetrators.” The Kansas City Star defended the rights of the press, stating, “It is a newspaper’s obligation to fight the enemies of society... the murder of Jake Lingle is a tribute to the achievements of the Chicago Tribune and the members of its staff in the warfare against crime.” Nationwide, dailies in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles commented on the severity of this act and uniformly insisted on public response. In the war against gangs, the journalism community had identified its martyr in Jake Lingle, and consequently looked toward McCormick and the Tribune for a response.

The Tribune made every attempt to glorify Lingle and presented him to the public as the first true, uninvolved martyr in Chicago’s Prohibition gang wars. In the days following the murder, the Tribune highlighted the career and contributions of Lingle to Chicago’s community. Reports cited his connections to gang figures and his unwillingness to manipulate friendships with politicians and public officials, specifically Police Commissioner Russell, to serve the needs of these underworld connections. His twenty-year relationship with Russell was often referred to illustrating his lawful and noble characteristics. Lingle was depicted as the ultimate reporter, sacrificing personal relationships and personal safety to report the truth in an effort to stop gang activity.

Realizing the public’s perception of Lingle and the Tribune, McCormick did everything to make his paper the center of attention after this “attack on the press.” His campaign against gang violence was not limited to merely the offer of a reward and glorifying Lingle. A June 12 cartoon on the front page of the Tribune depicted a well
built giant man standing atop the Chicago skyline and saying, “We’ve got to do something.” Cowering in the alleys of the city were a group of men labeled “Chicago’s Ganster’s,” and in the distance were another group of men labeled, “The Rest of the Country,” with eyes aimed through binoculars at Chicago.  

Not wanting to disappoint the onlooking “Rest of the Country,” the Tribune issued a challenge June 11 in an editorial that described Lingle’s murder as “...an attempt at intimidation,” and added, “The Tribune accepts this challenge.” It was war.

As had been the case with the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, increased police activity led to numerous arrests in the next few days. As many as 664 men, with possible gang connections, were arrested within one 24-hour period that week. The Tribune reported that because of this crackdown and the Tribune’s public challenge, many gang leaders fled the city to avoid arrest. The public watched as police retaliated for Lingle’s murder. During these days, the Tribune received sympathy for the death of a reporter and admiration for its courageous stance in the face of adversity. Unfortunately, this sympathetic admiration was very short lived.

Curiously, Russell resigned his post as police commissioner shortly after the murder. The man who had so often been referred to as Lingle’s close friend turned over his power to acting Police Commissioner John Alcock on June 17. Alluding to heavy internal pressure from the police force, Russell said he was stepping down “...so as not to impede a thorough investigation of the Lingle murder and the police department itself.” Questions arose and the consensus of the public seemed to be that the timing of the resignation was strange. In retrospect, this event was the beginning of the end for the web of lies which had falsely glorified Lingle’s career.

The next day, the Tribune reported that Lingle’s personal finances would be investigated in conjunction with the murder investigation. The basis for this stemmed from the discovery that Lingle carried large amounts of cash and spent a great deal of money gambling on horses and investing in the stock market. Considering his relatively low wage as a city crime reporter and his known dealings with organized crime, authorities became suspicious of Lingle’s lavish lifestyle.

While McCormick continued the defense of Lingle in the Tribune, many other publishers in Chicago and around the country began to question his character. In a June 18 editorial, the Tribune even suggested that these rumors arose out of negative sentiment toward the newspaper. “These rumors have been accepted by those wishing ill of the Tribune in its fight for decency and have been propagated by those who have neither the disposition nor the courage to make the fight themselves.”

Despite attempts to repudiate them, the rumors continued. John T. Rogers, who had received information from Frank Wilson, the IRS agent, wrote in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, “It was not Lingle’s career as a reporter on which the searchlight of investigation has been focused. It was his life of ease, enjoyment and plenty, and the power he wielded in police affairs that has aroused curiosity not only of the new police commissioner but of the Tribune itself, and
turned the inquiry for the moment on the man and the mysterious sources of the large sums of money that passed with regularity through his bank account.\textsuperscript{54}

Finally, on June 29, all of Lingle’s financial records became public. It was revealed that Lingle had somehow managed to gain and lose about $85,000 in the stock market in 1925. His gambling activities were of similar amounts, and a study of his bank account revealed deposits of amounts ranging from $100 to $5,000.\textsuperscript{55} Clearly, his $65 per week reporter’s salary was not fueling these economic activities. With the uncovering of this information, few doubted that Lingle’s involvement with the Chicago gang world was solely as a reporter.

McCormick, reeling from embarrassment, publicly denounced Lingle’s activities. On June 30, 1929, the Tribune ran an editorial intended to distance the paper from Lingle’s gang involvement and redirect public attention back to the Tribune’s challenge to organized crime. Lingle was vilified: “(Lingle) was not, and he could not have been a great reporter. His ability did not contain these possibilities.”\textsuperscript{56} In an attempt to show how others had also been misled, the involvement of the Chicago Evening Post and the Herald Examiner in the posting of rewards was mentioned.\textsuperscript{57} In keeping with the Tribune’s stance on organized crime and the repeal of Prohibition, the column concluded, “The crime and the criminals remain and they are the concern of the Tribune as they are of the decent elements in Chicago.”\textsuperscript{58}

McCormick’s previous knowledge of Lingle’s connections may never be known, but many have speculated on this subject. Laurence Bergreen wrote, “...McCormick knew that Lingle maintained close contact with the Capone organization...But it wouldn’t do for the publisher of the Chicago Tribune to admit that he knowingly employed a reporter closely connected to the Capone organization, not when the paper had been crusading against Capone with ferocious headlines and damning editorials.”\textsuperscript{59} In contrast, Joseph Gies, a McCormick biographer, suggested McCormick had no knowledge of Lingle’s activities: “Colonel McCormick may not have been informed (of Lingle’s connections), he took little interest in crime news.”\textsuperscript{60}

Whatever McCormick’s knowledge of Lingle’s activities, the murder contributed greatly to McCormick’s personal involvement in Chicago’s war on crime. Exemplifying his commitment against gang crimes, McCormick added this commitment to the Tribune’s “Platform for Chicagoland.” Over the editorial section, the platform’s five parts, which changed from time to time, were printed every day. They read:

1. Make Chicago the First City in the World.
2. Start the Subway.
3. Electrify the Railroads.
4. Abolish the Smoke Pall.
5. Separate Grades of Boulevards and of Through Streets.
The end result of the Lingle situation was McCormick’s addition of a sixth section of the platform, which read:

6. End the Reign of Gangdom.61

Whether out of embarrassment or anger, McCormick’s involvement was a given for the rest of the Capone investigation. Although the exact motive for Lingle’s murder was not discovered, McCormick made sure his paper continued its intense, opinionated examination of the war on gangs. Through this examination, McCormick often used the Tribune to air his anti-Prohibition sentiments, blaming the events in Chicago on the Eighteenth Amendment.

With scathing editorials and comprehensive news reports, the Tribune followed the Capone story until his indictment for income tax evasion on June 15, 1931.62 Capone was accused of non-payment of taxes totaling $215,080, and turned himself in to authorities.63 Many of his assets, including his mansion in Miami, were seized and held until after the trial.64 In an attempt to ensure that Capone surrendered all of his holdings, the U.S. government began searching for money that Capone may have hidden.65 With Capone facing a possible thirty-two year prison sentence, federal authorities intended to make certain that all his holdings were accounted for.66

The Tribune reported his indictment with factual accounts and followed with an editorial column on June 10. The column traced Capone’s rise to prominence and suggested Prohibition was a major reason he was able to attain so much power.67 In looking toward the future, the column was not optimistic about the government’s ability to prevent another from following in his footsteps, stating, “...the conditions which produced Capone can produce another like him.”68 The suggestion seemed to be that with the Eighteenth Amendment as law, the desires and appetites which support the illicit sale of liquor allow organized crime to continue to flourish.69 This anti-Prohibition stance, which had long been held by the Tribune, was gaining momentum nationwide.

On October 17, 1931, Alphonse Capone was found guilty of five counts of income tax evasion.70 This was followed on October 25 by his sentencing to eleven years in jail and a $50,000 fine, which was the stiffest sentence ever for violation of income tax laws.71 An October 26 Tribune editorial column focused on what the future would hold:

There may be gratification for law in the sentence given Capone, but there is not complete satisfaction for the community. The conditions which made him remain and no one knows what they will make next.

There may not be many such gangsters but he and his associates, and enemies, dead or alive, in the future, but (Prohibition) breeds crime and corruption and we still have that.72

The shocking brutality of the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre made Al Capone a public symbol for Chicago gang violence. The
brutal murder of *Chicago Tribune* Jake Lingle further outraged the public, and facilitated the inclusion of Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick in the city’s war on gang violence. From 1929 through 1931, McCormick and his *Tribune* proved to be one of the most persistent and opinionated members of the press in the attack on organized crime.

While his actions were sometimes misguided, and his recollection of events, particularly in the Newsboy’s Union meeting, seem to rival that of others from the time period, McCormick thrust his ideals into the center of this issue. His willingness to build up the image of Lingle and then later denounce him with equal ease suggest that McCormick was more concerned with public opinion than the facts of the situation. His only goal was to rid the city of crime, start a campaign against Prohibition and make the *Tribune* look good doing it.

From his position of power, McCormick was able to accomplish most of his goals, but his personal image suffered from the historical accounts of the Lingle incident. While McCormick’s ego drove him to assume a great deal of responsibility in the coverage of the event, his ambition caused him to act without assessing all the facts. The fact remains, however, that while information was occasionally distorted, the *Tribune* played a major role in the coverage of this period.

McCormick’s intention for the *Tribune* was to use the paper’s influence to end gangs and Prohibition. While the nation’s eyes were on Chicago, McCormick led his newspaper to be a force in the exposing of gangs and the education of the nation about the negative activities fostered under Prohibition. He declared a personal war on Al Capone and watched as federal authorities followed his lead. With ringside perspective and the drive of a possibly ego-driven, but definitely motivated journalist, the *Chicago Tribune* provided readers with an insight that no other paper offered about these events.
Endnotes

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4. Ibid., 76.
5. Ibid., 378.
7. Dennis E. Hoffman, Scarface Al and the Crime Crusaders [Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1993], 17.
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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
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32. Ibid.
33. Gies, 93.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 94.
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39. “$25,000 Added To Reward For Lingle Slayer,” Chicago Tribune, June 11, 1930.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
44. Bergreen, 92.
47. Ibid.
49. “Sharpshooter Squads Carry War to Killers,” Chicago Tribune, June 12, 1930, 2.
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53. Bergreen, 382.
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Prelude To Lynching: Atlanta Newspapers’ Coverage of the Leo Frank Trial, 1913

Jessica Walden

Thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan was murdered on April 26, 1913. It was Confederate Memorial Day in Atlanta. Businesses closed and police blocked streets for Saturday’s parade and picnic. Mary ate her lunch of cabbage and bread, told her mother good-bye, then left her home on Lindsay Street and took a trolley car downtown. Wearing a lace-trimmed lavender dress her aunt made for her and carrying a mesh bag of German silver, a handkerchief, and a new parasol, Mary had plans to see the parade after picking up her wages of $1.20 from the National Pencil Company located at 37-39 Forsyth Street. Mary never saw the parade. At three o’clock on Sunday morning, April 27, the night watchman, Newt Lee, discovered her body. Two years later, a group of unknown men lynched Leo Frank, factory superintendent of the National Pencil Company, convicted of Mary’s murder, in a field in Marietta. The murder of this young girl and the events that followed were covered intensively in Atlanta’s three newspapers. The newspapers played an important role in influencing public opinion about the murder and the main suspect, Leo Frank, through sensationalism and yellow journalism.

Atlanta’s three daily newspapers were the Atlanta Constitution, the Atlanta Journal, both locally owned, and the Atlanta Georgian, part of the chain of publications owned by William Randolph Hearst. The newspapers were valued during Atlanta’s industrializa-
tion period because “the rural Georgians who flocked to Atlanta at
the beginning of the century expected the daily newspapers to
provide them with the information that they needed to comprehend
their strange new environment.” The three papers were involved
in a circulation war and “none of the three had achieved su-
premacy.” The Constitution monopolized the morning field and the
Journal and the Georgian competed with each other for the afternoon.
Of the three, the Journal had the largest circulation until 1912 when
Hearst purchased the Georgian. The paper was only a year old, but
Hearst “attempted to give Atlantans the show that his audiences in
San Francisco, New York, and Chicago had come to expect.” He
wanted his newspapers to make his readers “recoil in shock.” He
sent editor, Keats Speed, from the New York Journal, to the Georgian.
When the news of Mary’s murder broke, Speed knew it would sell
newspapers. In four months, from the end of April through August,
17, 103 of 686 column inches were devoted to the case. The Georgian
tripled its normal sales of approximately 40,000 papers a day
and it had the largest circulation of any Southern daily through
1913. The Journal and the Constitution were forced to keep up with
Hearst’s paper by expanding their coverage of the murder. The
result was “the newspapers of Atlanta exploited the sensational
nature of Mary Phagan’s death and helped to stir public excitement
about it.”

The news of Mary Phagan’s murder broke on Monday
morning, April 28. The Constitution and the Georgian were first with
the story. The Journal updated the initial headlines that evening.

These papers covered the first day’s news in similar manner. The
Georgian, the boldest of the three, printed headlines in red ink, an
expensive, sensational feature. The paper used “screaming stream-
ers and banner headlines. . . as the factory girl’s death received the
full Hearst treatment.” A comparison of the three Atlanta newspa-
pers throughout the pretrial period reveals that the difference in
their coverage “extended far and beyond the quantity of words
expended, the size of the banner headlines, or the number of extras
put out.” However, the three newspapers shared some qualities
“characterized by innuendo, misrepresentation, and distortion,”
and led to a common effect: “The yellow journals’ account of Mary
Phagan’s death aroused an anxious city, and within a few days, a
shocked state.”

The news first focused on identifying the body. The front
page of the Constitution published a large photograph of Mary’s face,
smiling, and holding her parasol, taken a few months before the
murder. Beside it was a picture of the National Pencil Company and
a diagram of the factory’s floor plan indicating the placement of the
body. The caption for the illustrations read as a headline, “Pretty
Young Victim of Sunday’s Atrocious Crime and the Building In
Which She Met Her Death.” The pictures, their size, and the
descriptive caption emphasized the impact and importance of this
story and introduced its readers to the beginning of a story that
would continue making headlines for years to come. The main
headline, spreading across the front page, localized the story to Atlanta
residents, “Girl is Assaulted and Then Murdered in Heart of Town.”
The newspapers gave a biographical sketch of Mary Phagan based on information from family, friends and neighbors. The Constitution reported “She was adjudged the most beautiful girl of the neighborhood, and was a favorite among friends.” The Constitution described Mary as a “model girl, bright, eager, and cheerful.” The papers focused on her family life and their reaction to the murder. The Constitution reported that Mary’s parents “had never allowed her to have sweethearts or to receive callers.” The Constitution, the Journal, and the Georgian described Fannie Phagan Coleman, Mary’s mother as, “prostrated with grief.” The Georgian quoted Mrs. Coleman in a “warning to all Atlanta mothers to guard the welfare of their own daughters forced to work for a living.” The story reported that Mrs. Coleman said “No working girl is safe.” The Journal used a quote from Mary’s grandfather as a headline, “‘God’s Vengeance will Strike the Brute who Killed Her,’ Says Grandfather of Mary Phagan.”

Included in Mary’s background information was when her parents last saw her and when they began to worry when she did not return home because “she was never known to stay away at night.” A headline in the Constitution read, “Mother and Father Stay up All Night Waiting Her Return.” The Journal reported of Mary’s parents worrying about her “unexplained absence.”

The papers also introduced the story by reporting when police were led to the body. The papers reported it was around 3 a.m., Sunday. The time the police believed the murder occurred remained undetermined. It was logically estimated that the murder occurred sometime on Saturday. The Journal reported the body was identified at 6 a.m., Sunday, by factory employee Grace Hicks. It reported she “was brought to the scene, immediately fainted, ‘It’s Mary Phagan, she sobbed, ‘Poor Mary.’” The Constitution also reported how Grace Hicks fainted. However, her quote when identifying the body differed from the Journal, “‘She is Mary Phagan, and she lives at 146 Lindsay Street,’ she said, ‘She and I have been working together at the same machine. She was the best girl I ever knew, and a purer child never lived.’”

The papers detailed the murder scene. Recreating the crime, reporters elaborated upon the few facts discovered in the basement of the National Pencil Factory. A Journal reporter described a photograph of the basement’s dirt floor in a elaborate caption, “The death chamber, a dismal hole reeking with the smell of damp earth that appears never to be dry.” The newspapers reported the few clues discovered around her body, leading to speculation about how Mary died. Mary’s hat and parasol were found in the elevator shaft. The Journal mentioned a man’s handkerchief found near her body and Mary’s handkerchief “found forty feet away, saturated with blood.” Also, there were “two crudely written and badly composed notes which were found near the corpse of the murdered girl.” Being crucial evidence, the Journal called attention to them with an engrossing headline, “Two Meandering Notes Add Mystery to Crime.” The Journal described a “bloody thumb print” found on the basement door which suggested the killer escaped through that door. It also reported how police discovered a “sleeping com-
partment,” which led them to believe “the girl was lured there, assaulted, then murdered, and body dragged to the spot outside.” The police speculated that the compartment “has been used as a place of rendezvous,” and believed Newt Lee knew of it. Two reporters received credit for discovering two small footprints “believed to be of a woman,” near the compartment. Another clue discovered by a Georgian reporter was “distinct finger prints stamped in blood on the sleeve of the dead girl’s jacket.” A Journal reporter found “a single drop of congealed blood... and further investigation revealed more.” The investigation led to finding a strand of hair on a lathe in the machine room. The Georgian reported “A new turn was given the mystery today when strands of blood-matted hair were found in a lathing machine on the second floor of the factory.” The Georgian was the only paper to describe the hair as “bloody.” The other two mentioned the hair, but acknowledged that it might not have been Mary’s. The Georgian was also the only paper to print a picture of what Mary was wearing when her body was discovered. It labeled the picture of her dress, shoes, hat, stockings, hair ribbons, and twine noose as “Evidence!”

The fourth aspect covered by the news was how Mary died. The condition in which the body was found, led a Journal reporter to speculate how she was killed, “With inhuman ferocity she was attacked, beaten into unconsciousness, and her murder completed by the hempen rope tied about her throat.” The Georgian’s story was similar, “A length of heavy cord or wrapping twine, which had been used by the slayer to strangle the child after he had beaten her to insensibility, was looped around the neck, and a clumsy bandage of cloth torn from her petticoat as if to conceal the horrible method of murder which swathed the face.” The Journal reported that Mary’s body was “dragged across the oozy, slimy floor of the cellar to the corner where it was found lying face upward between three and four o’clock Sunday morning.” The Georgian also reported that Mary’s body was dragged across the floor because “fine black particles were ground into the neck and shoulder indicating her body was bumped along the floor dangling and twisting at the end of the garroting cord.”

The New York Times gave the story national significance on April 29. It ran the headlines “Slain Girl’s Body Found: Discovery in Atlanta.” It described the death with more scientific explanation than the Journal, “A handkerchief knotted about the neck caused death by strangulation, according to physicians, though there was an open wound in the back of the head as well as bruises and lacerations elsewhere on the body.” The two papers seem to disagree about the object that strangled Mary, being a rope or a handkerchief, but the Times, without access to the crime scene, proved to be more factual. The hempen rope was later mentioned, “A rope tied to a handkerchief had served, the police think to lower the body through a trap door in the floor above.” Though this was a speculation by the police, the rope was tied to a handkerchief which was around Mary’s neck, not beside the body as the Journal reported. The Journal also mentioned that Mary had been assaulted. This had not yet been determined. It was suspected at the
time, and a suspicion even today, but was never medically determined because of differences in coroners’ conclusions upon examination. Not yet determined, the Times did not mention it as a contributing factor; however, all three Atlanta newspapers claimed Mary was assaulted.

Atlanta’s papers circulated rumors within the first few days. The rumors affected the entire city because “the newspapers needed but to hint at some new item of discovery or outlandish conclusion, and within hours the account, greatly embroidered, would circulate throughout the city.” On the first day, the Constitution published articles about suspects, “Detectives are Searching for a Trio of Men Said to Have Been Seen with Mary Phagan Saturday Night about Ten.” The article said “witnesses had seen a girl of description, ‘reeling slightly, as though affected by drugs or narcotics, and was weeping.’” The Constitution reported another rumor that Mary was the victim of white slavery under the headline “White Slavery Theory Advanced.” The article said the theory was “equipped with evidence indicating that Mary Phagan was the victim of a white slavery plot that was foiled only by her brutal murder.” The evidence was a witness who claimed to have seen a woman, two youths, and a “reeling, weeping girl,” the night of the murder. Another rumor posed by a question in the article was titled, “Was Victim of Murder Lured Off in a Joy Ride Before She Met Her Death?” This led to speculation that Mary was “lured away by her murderers Saturday afternoon by the pleasures of a joy ride, during which she was drugged or made drunk with whiskey.” A Georgian extra edition featured a rumor in the headline “Three Youths Seen Leading Along a Reeling Girl.” Mary’s mother believed one of the rumors in the Georgian. She read that Mary was seen crying on the street corner at 12 o’clock with a man and was approached by police. Mrs. Coleman commented, “I guess the reason she didn’t say anything was because she was afraid the man would kill her and, in fact, just didn’t know what to do. She was too young.” The Journal reported its own rumor in the article titled “Witnesses Positive Murdered Girl was Same Who Created Scene at the Terminal Station on Friday.” The article said “Gateman T.R. Malone and H.P. Sibley, after viewing corpse, declare Mary Phagan, sobbing loudly and displaying vehement feelings, prevented strange man from boarding train for Washington.” The Journal questioned another rumor, “Was Mary Phagan seen at five p.m., J.L. Watkins says he saw her near his home.”

The last aspect common to the breaking news stories was speculation about a suspect. Newt Lee, the National Pencil Company night watchman who discovered Mary’s body and notified the police, became an immediate target for headlines. “Negro found Body” was a bold subtitle in the Journal. The Constitution reported “Negro’s Manner Arouses Suspicion.” He was reported as being “irritable.” Headlines of a Georgian article read “Negro Watchman is Accused by Slain Girl’s Stepfather.” The Journal also reported Mary’s stepfather believed Lee was the murderer. The article said he “believes that Newt Lee bound and gagged, then murdered Mary Phagan.” Quickly labeled by the Georgian papers as the “Negro
Watchman," Lee became an important figure in the news as well as a suspicious, sensationalized suspect.

Another initial suspect was Arthur Mullinax, a trolley conductor, rumored to be seen with Mary the night of her murder. One report noted that he knew her from a church play, in which Mary played Sleeping Beauty. The Constitution reported Mullinax saying, "I couldn’t keep my eyes off of her." By Monday afternoon, Mullinax established an alibi. The Journal headline read, "Police Have Little Evidence to Connect Him With the Crime." His alibi, 16-year-old Pearl Robinson, was sensationalized by the Constitution, "Pretty Young Sweetheart Comes to Aid of Arthur Mullinax."

Monday afternoon, police rounded up two suspects. J.M. Gantt, ex-bookkeeper at the National Pencil Company, and Gordon Bailey, "the negro elevator boy at pencil factory," were arrested. Gantt's arrest made headlines in all three of the papers. The Journal said "J.M. Gantt is Arrested on his Arrival in Marietta; He Visited Factory Sunday." The Georgian reported "John M. Gantt Accused of Crime; Former Bookkeeper Taken by Police." The Constitution displayed a large photograph on the front page with the caption "Held on Murder Charge in Mary Phagan Case." The police released all of the suspects, except Newt Lee, on May 2. A new arrest was made on Leo M. Frank, the factory superintendent. The headlines in the Constitution read "Frank and Lee Held in Tower, Others Released." Below the headline was a snapshot of Frank entering the Fulton County Tower.

Newspapers reported society's reaction to the murder. While they covered the sentiments of a tragic death the newspapers "encouraged the mood, exploited it, and played upon the murder everyday to please their readers." The Journal reported an estimated 6,000 people visited the undertaking parlor, P.J. Bloomfield's, to view Mary's body. The paper claimed "it was the largest crowd, police say, that have ever viewed a murder victim's body in Atlanta." The article reported an estimated 600 people gathered outside the inquest hearing. The Georgian reported an estimated 10,000 visited the morgue. It also described the crowd's significance, "No such gathering of the morbidly curious has ever been seen in Atlanta. More people were attracted than by any crime in the history of Atlanta." The Constitution reported that a potential mob was forming outside the Fulton County Tower where Lee was being held, "Reports that a Mob of White Men Was Being Formed." The article stated there were "fears felt for the safety of the negro watchman" and that Chief of Police James Beavers was to hold "a reserve of half hundred mounted police in headquarters until late at night."

Besides competing for headlines, the newspapers vied in offering reward money. In a box at the bottom of the front page of the April 29 Constitution, the publisher made a bold offer, "$1,000 REWARD, The Constitution offers a reward of $1,000 for the exclusive information that will justify the arrest and lead to the conviction of the murderer or murderers of Mary Phagan." The reward doubled the next day when it compounded with the amount the city
offered, making the total $2,200.86 As well as the reward money, the Constitution started a fund to “bring one of the world’s most prominent sleuths to Atlanta to solve the murder- William J. Burns.”87 The Journal mentioned the city and state’s reward, “State Offers $200 Reward; City Will Follow with $1,000 for Mary Phagan’s Murderer.”88 The Georgian offered $500 of its own money, but by April 30, the amount was raised by the city, state, and private individual’s money, to $2,700.89

A new suspect was arrested on April 29. Before the police took Frank into custody, the Georgian already announced an arrest in huge headlines across the front page, “Sensational Arrest Soon.”90 The article reported:

Factory employee may be taken any moment. . . They (detectives) are confident that the author of the terrible deed was a person who is not under arrest at the present time. They know his name. They have talked with him. They have his story of what he declares is all he knows of the happenings Saturday night in the building of tragedy on Forsyth Street. But they are not satisfied with his tale. It is known that they will have him behind bars within a few hours.

A Georgian extra after the arrest proclaimed, “Police Have Strangler.”91 Chief of Detectives Newport Lanford was quoted in an “important statement to a Georgian reporter: ‘In my opinion the crime lies between two men, the negro watchman, Newt Lee and Frank.”92 The Journal was less sensational when reporting the arrest, “Detectives Building Case on Theory that Frank and Negro Can Clear Mystery.”93 There is no direct statement from Lanford. Instead the article explained, “At 1:35 o’clock Tuesday afternoon Chief of Detectives, N.A. Lanford, announced that Leo M. Frank, would be detained by the police until after the coroner’s inquest.”94 The Constitution did not release the headline until April 30, and it had the least sensational treatment of the three newspapers, “Held on Suspicion in Murder Case,”95 was printed above a large picture of Frank. In the fifth extra of the day, the Georgian’s tone changed, “Frank to be Kept Under Guard.”96 This headline was more accurate than the previous ones of the day. The article said, “It was learned late this afternoon that Frank will be held on technical charges of ‘suspicion’.”97 The Georgian went on to report “the police say that Frank is not under arrest, that he was put on police guard for his own personal safety, and that there are no charges against him.”98 The Georgian questioned this by making an assumption, “There must be some reason other than the man’s personal safety, under consideration.”99 These articles launched the enormous publicity and fascination with Frank.

Attacks on Frank’s character began immediately. Many stories published rumors collected from people who were not personally acquainted with Frank. There were so many rumors about Frank at the time of his arrest that “it would be impossible to enumerate all the rumors that traveled through Atlanta and the state of Georgia after Frank’s imprisonment, many of them printed in the newspapers.”100 The most damaging rumors alleged perversion,
though "the newspapers never clearly explained what was considered perverse about Frank, and the word meant different things to different people." On May 1, the Constitution headlined "Frank Tried to Flirt with Murdered Girl" Says her Boy Chum. This was based on a statement made by 15-year-old George Epps who claimed to have "had an engagement to meet her Saturday but she did not come." The paper reported Epps told the coroner's jury at the inquest that "Mary Phagan was growing afraid of advances made to her by superintendent of the factory." At least one scholar believed that Epps' statement "convincing the Constitution which forthwith accused Frank, and the Constitution convinced Atlanta." Frank's refusal to comment on the accusations was reported in a small box on the bottom of the first page, "Leo Frank Refuses to Discuss Evidence." The article claimed Frank learned of the accusation through a Constitution reporter, "When a Constitution reporter saw Leo M. Frank early this morning and told him of the testimony to the effect that he had annoyed Mary Phagan by an attempted flirtation, the prisoner said that he has not heard of this accusation before, but he did not want to talk." On May 2, the Journal published a statement made for Frank by one of his lawyers, Milton Klein. The statement read:

After magnificent work he has done in his adopted home, shall we without consideration, emphasize every little bit with this awful tragedy? No one seeks more fervently to discover the real perpetrator of this atrocious crime than Mr. Frank.

The next day Frank spoke to a Constitution reporter and the statement made headlines: "Not Guilty, Say Both Prisoners." Frank was quoted as saying, "I swear I am not guilty... I could not conceive of such a hideous murder, much less commit it. I am accused unjustly."

Newt Lee also asserted his innocence. On May 3 the Constitution wrote, "White folks' he said in his characteristic dialect, 'I ain't guilty.' A Georgian extra quoted Lee saying, "Looks like Frank is trying to put the crime on me." The same article described Lee as "a dark mulatto with a bullet-shaped head in the back, thick lips, thick neck, broad nose, and an appearance of slow-wittedness."

The Journal conducted its own investigation of the murder notes found beside Mary's body. The reason for the investigation was "the reporters were competing with the cops, uncovering stories before detectives, hoarding 'scoops', improving on them for their readers. The reporters were no longer in the first row of the audience, they were the stage managers." The Journal concluded through their "three handwriting experts" that Lee wrote the notes. In a bold subtitle, it said "ALL AGREE THAT NEGRO WROTE BOTH." Because of this, the Journal assumed Lee's guilt:

Through its own investigations, The Atlanta Journal has proven conclusively that Newt Lee, the negro night watchman for the National Pencil Company, either himself murdered pretty Mary Phagan, or that he knows who committed the crime and is assisting the perpetrators to conceal his identity.
The Journal added, “Locked in the negro’s breast is the key to the murder mystery which has shocked the entire South.” The Georgian also reported that Lee was guilty. In an extra on April 29 it headlined, “Lee’s Guilt Proved’ Detectives Assert.” The article quoted a Pinkerton Detective saying, “We have sufficient evidence now to convict negro night watchman of killing Mary Phagan.” This quote was later declared a rumor, but in the meantime carried the power of fact.

The rumored evidence was reported by the afternoon papers, the Journal and the Georgian. The Journal stated that “the detectives intimate that Lee has given new information which will materially help them in solving the mystery of the Mary Phagan murder.” In another extra edition of the Georgian on April 29, the headlines read, “Phagan Mystery Solved!” This article quoted Detective Lanford saying at two p.m., “We have evidence in hand which will clear the mystery in the next few hours and satisfy the public.” When Lanford learned about his rumored statement he, “issued instructions to his men to talk with no one about the case, and to make direct reports to him.” The Constitution reported “he declared that his orders were issued because of the few statements made by himself and his officers have been repeatedly exaggerated, and in many circumstances he and his men have been mis-quoted.”

Other rumors of confession caused police and detective officials to make statements in the papers. After four days of “newspaper hysteria following the discovery of the body,” the mayor encouraged the police to refrain from releasing too much information. His actions resulted after he received “numerous complaints about the sensational newspaper extras with their distortions and exaggerations and had been warned that these newspaper excesses were calculated to inflame the people and might possibly result in grave danger.” In an article in the Journal the detectives stated:

The rumors of a confession, which have spread over the entire city, as idle gossip, which they say does a great injustice not only to Leo M. Frank, the superintendent of the factory, and Newt Lee, the night watchman, but to the men working on the case as well.

Deputy Sheriff Plennie Miner, in a Constitution article, addressed the rumors:

I would as respectfully asked that the daily newspapers refrain from printing anything calculated to unduly inflame the public mind; and from using such headlines as are calculated to arouse indignation. And you may rest assured if faithful and preserving counts for anything, justice will be served.

The statements made by officials, caused the newspapers to defend themselves. The Journal issued a statement to its readers in boxed article:

The Atlanta Journal has published every fact and development in connection with the mysterious murder of Mary Phagan: The Journal will
continue to print news of further developments and additional evidence as the investigation proceeds. No fact has been suppressed nor will any news relating to the hunt for the solution of the crime be withheld from the public. Many silly reports about a confession having been made by one or both of the prisoners held on suspicion in the case have been circulated, but they are without the slightest foundation.130

The *Georgian* also printed a statement in a box titled “The Supremacy of the Law!”131 In its defense the statement said:

These trite remarks are published that the public may understand that trials by newspapers, by experts, so-called, and by other persons who have no judicial functions are valueless and no cognizance should be taken of them by anybody anywhere. No trials by newspapers—the court will attend to all judicial matters in an orderly and legal way, as usual.132

The *Constitution* defended itself in a full-page article titled “The Case of Mary Phagan.”133 The article issued the newspaper’s defense by saying:

This is not the story of Mary Phagan. It is the story about the story of Mary Phagan. All of the story of little Mary Phagan that can be learned has been told simply without further sensation than the facts themselves afforded in the columns of the *Atlanta Constitution* from the time of the paper’s exclusive story of the gruesome discovery of the girl’s body last Sunday morning.134

These statements indicated the impact and influence they had on public opinion.

The sixth arrest in the Phagan case was announced without sensation. James Conley, later known as Jim, was arrested on May 1. The *Journal* did not include the arrest in its front page headlines, but mentioned the arrest within a front page article. The *Georgian* mentioned the arrest in a front page headline, though it lacked the paper’s signature flare, “New Arrest Made in Phagan Case; Lee Gives New Clues.”135 Both articles mentioned Conley’s arrest was made because he was seen washing a shirt with suspicious stains. Conley was allowed to defend himself in both articles, saying the stains were rust marks. The *Journal* said, “His statement is believed by the police.”136 By May 2, the *Georgian’s* headlines had already changed the subject, “Police Still Puzzled by Mystery of Phagan Case.”137 To newspapers, Jim Conley was another suspicious “negro” employee at the National Pencil Company. They were as yet unaware of his significance to the case.

Jim Conley became a key part of the case on May 24. Conley claimed Frank made him write the notes found beside Mary, and he helped Frank dispose her body in the basement. His confession was used to indict Frank with charges of the murder. Conley’s story made headlines, but “Conley’s sensational revelation failed to impress the editors of the *Georgian*, who considered the Negro’s statement exceedingly peculiar.”138 The front page of the *Georgian* read “Negro Sweeper Owns Writing Notes Found By Dead Girl’s Body.”139 The *Journal’s* headline contained multiple stories, including a
controversy surrounding the police and detective departments. Its headline was, “Leo M. Frank Indicted for Murder of Girl, No Action Against Lee; Negro Swears Frank Asked Him to Write Certain Notes on Friday; Woodward Sought Against Both Chiefs, Says Dictograph.” Conley’s story came as a surprise, even “members of the Grand Jury, like almost everyone else, found out about Conley’s revelations from the newspapers.”141 When the jury announced the formal charges, the Constitution headlined with “Frank Indicted in Phagan Case.”142 The following day, the Constitution mentioned Frank’s arrest on the second page and suggested his guilt, “Frank is Guilty,’ Says Pinkerton.”143 The article said, “Harry Scott, assistant superintendent of the Pinkertons, said to a reporter from the Constitution Sunday night that it was his intention to help prosecute the suspected superintendent.”144

The trial began on July 28. To this day, “no trial in Georgia’s history rivaled Leo Frank’s for public interest.”145 The Journal began its coverage with a picture of Frank with a caption underneath, “His Trial Under Way.”146 The Georgian also pictured Frank with a similar caption, “On Trial for His Life Today.”147

By July 29, the papers reported on the trial’s atmosphere. The Constitution elaborately described the crowd surrounding the courtroom, “They hugged the hot walls of the building like lethargic leeches, vainly trying to gain admission to the building, or buzzed about like bees, gossiping idly of the case.”148 Lee testified at the trial’s opening and received similar attention from the Journal and the Georgian. The Journal described Lee’s appearance on the stand, “He looks like a negro, he talks like a negro, and has the wit and the manner of darkies in old-time slavery days—was on the stand three hours Tuesday morning.”149 The Georgian described Lee’s testimony, “Newt Lee, black, ignorant, cornfield, pot-licker fed, darkly by the homeliness of words proved beyond peradventure that Leo M. Frank is getting a fair and impartial trial.”150

An important issue in the trial was the speculation of Mary’s time of death. The only evidence for this was her stomach’s contents. Mary had a lunch of cabbage and bread before she left her home the day she was murdered. The examination of the extracted cabbage made headlines on August 2. The Georgian and the Constitution’s headlines were contradictory. The Georgian reported “Dr. Hurt Says Food in Stomach Fails to Show Time of Death.”151 The Constitution reported “Mary Phagan Murdered Within Hour After Dinner.”152 These headlines were based on testimonies of two doctors with different conclusions after an autopsy of Mary’s body. The Georgian also contained an article based on the cabbage’s significance headlined “Will Five Ounces Of Cabbage Help Convict Leo M. Frank?”153 This article exemplified how little evidence was needed to convict Frank with Mary’s murder.

The Georgian was almost responsible for a mistrial. The jurors saw a first edition extra of the newspaper lying on the judge’s bench. The headlines, printed in red ink, read “State Adding Links to Chain.”154 After the incident, the Georgian featured its own sensationalism, being the first to publish the story. The article said:
A genuine sensation was sprung at the trial of Leo M. Frank Saturday morning when Luther Rosser and Reuben Arnold, attorneys for the defense asked the State to consent a new trial on the ground that Judge Roan had allowed the jury to catch a glimpse of a headline in the first extra of the Georgian.155

The same story made the front page of the Journal and Constitution. The Constitution’s headline read “Mistrial Near When Judge Saw Newspaper in Judge’s Hand.”156 The Journal’s headline read “Defense Claims Members of Jury Saw Newspaper Headline.”157 This article reported what was said to the jury after the incident:

In his address to the jury, Judge Roan declared that they must not be influenced by anything they have read in the newspapers, but must form their opinion solely on the evidence that was developed in court.158

Luther Rossen, one of Frank’s lawyers, did not condemn the press, but stated how the press could be misleading:

These red box car letters don’t always convey the real facts. These boys over at the press table do their best to get accruable facts. They write their articles and send them to their officers and someone else writes the headlines.159

This statement indicated that the media coverage was viewed as affecting the trial.

The Leo Frank trial gave journalists an unusual opportunity to be appreciated and recognized in Atlanta. The August 3 Constitution contained an article about the job of the reporter during the trial. The article titled “I’m a Reporter, Now the Universal Cry with the Morbidly Curious at Frank Trial,”160 said the job of the newspaper reporter “is the most popular pastime there is in the city of Atlanta just now.”161 Below this article was the first, and possibly only, mention of the reporter’s names and their picture during the trial. On the same page was also a rare picture of the cameramen and their names. The reporters’ picture carried the caption, “Covering Frank Trial for Atlanta Newspapers.”162 The camera men’s picture was titled “Camera Squad Ready for Action.”163 The article referred to people claiming to be reporters so they could be permitted into the packed courtroom. The article explained how the press worked in the courtroom. Inside the court was a table designated for the press. The article said “the press table has been the busiest place in all the courtroom during the Frank trial.”164 Around the table were various reporters from different papers designated to write the “running story, the actual happenings of the day.”165 The afternoon papers, like the Journal and the late edition of the Georgian, had the most men at the press table partly because their deadlines came sooner.166 While some reporters wrote, others were designated to telephone the trial’s occurrences to the newspaper office. Whoever received the call typed the story and sent it to the printer.
However, the lead of the story was written by a reporter “who had digested the day’s proceedings, but who has taken down little of the running story.” The lead was usually telephoned in with the rest of the courtroom’s proceedings. Also present at the press table were feature writers who were there “for the impressions, not the facts.” The course which the reporters took to get the story printed gave opportunities for facts to be misconstrued.

Jim Conley’s testimony made headlines when he took the witness stand on August 4. He was in the newspapers the previous month when the *Georgian* printed a statement by W.M. Mincey, an insurance agent, that said Conley confessed to him that he was the one who murdered Mary. The headline of the story was “[Georgian’s Story Stirs Officials.” The newspaper credited itself for initiating further investigation of Conley because of its article on the rumored confession. It also showed how the authorities sometimes relied on the newspapers for information leading to further investigation.

When Conley took the witness stand he was used as the most incriminating witness of Leo Frank. Conley testified that Frank murdered Mary because he was used an accomplice. The papers used sensational headlines about Conley’s testimony. The newspapers were confident of his testimony. The *Georgian*’s headline was “Crowd Spellbound as Negro Recites His Details of Tragedy.”

Across the top of the *Journal* was “Jim Conley tells an Amazing Story.” Conley was on the witness stand for three days. By the final day of his testimony he was still making headlines. The *Georgian* declared in large bold print “CONLEY’S STORY STANDS.”

The *Constitution*’s headline was similar, “Conley’s Main Story Remains Unshaken.” The *Constitution* said Conley was “one of the most remarkable Negroes that has ever been seen in this section of the country. His nerve seems unshakable. His wit is ever ready. As hour by hour the attorneys for the defense hammered away and failed to entrap the Negro, the enormity of evidence became apparent.”

The papers praised the testimony of a man who “cheerfully admitted to having lied on numerous occasions, including those statements submitted to the police prior to his full confession in late May,” and who also admitted “to a number of arrests that had resulted in fines of nominal amounts for drunkenness or disorderly conduct.”

The *Journal* and the *Georgian* shared a fascination with the women involved in the case. The July 29 *Journal* contained a story about the women at the trial. Present in the courtroom were 200 men and only seven women. The article was titled “He Will be Freed, Says Mrs. Frank of Husband: Few Women Hear Trial.” This article carried the final public statement of Mrs. Coleman, “I would rather not talk about it (the trial). I don’t want to express an opinion.” The *Georgian* printed twice a large picture of the women at the trial. On August 11, Frank’s mother and wife and Mary’s mother and sister were pictured with the caption, “Women on Whom Interest Centers at Trial of Frank.” On August 11 there was a picture of Mary, her mother, Frank’s wife and mother, and witness Monteen Stover with the caption, “Mary Phagan and Women to Whom Trial is Pitiful Ordeal.”

Frank’s mother, Mrs.
Rea Frank, made headlines on August 13 when she denounced the prosecution as they accused Frank of improper conduct with the women workers at the factory. The headline was “Frank’s Mother Stirs Court.” Frank’s wife, Lucille, was also observed by the papers. A *Georgian* article said “once she discovered the reporters eyeing her, she smiled mischievously and immediately whispered the information to Frank.” Women from the opposite sides of the case shared a *Georgian* headline on the final day of the trial. It was “Slain Girl’s Mother and Prisoner’s Wife Break Down in Court.” The article referred to the women’s reactions to the prosecution’s closing argument.

Throughout the trial, the newspapers suggested Frank’s guilt. The *Georgian* insinuated this with its bold printed headline on August 12, “FRANK PLANNED CRIME, STATE’S THEORY.” They often implied guilt through observations of the defendant’s mannerisms. The *Georgian* printed six times that Frank was “Extremely nervous following the slaying.” This was contrary to a later observation of Frank during the trial when the newspaper printed a caption above his picture that said “Calm and Cool While his Life is at Stake.” The *Journal* wrote that “Frank is described as a Jeffkyl and Hyde.”

The newspapers especially focused on the possibility of Frank’s perverse behavior. The *Journal* suggested this on August 16, “Miss Irene Jackson declares Frank looked into the dressing room on several occasions.” The *Constitution* mentioned the same incident, “Miss Irene Jackson testifies that superintendent stood in door while girls were partially disrobed,” but the article went on to say “Frank’s visits to the dressing room, which had windows on Forsyth Street, were made because he had heard of the girl’s flirting with men on the street.” Frank’s alleged perversion was mentioned early in the case by the *Georgian* regarding pictures on the wall of his office. One article, titled “Suggestive Pictures on Walls,” said there were “pictures of Saleme dancers in scanty raiment and of chorus girls in different postures.” The article also said “that temptations probably were laid across the path of girls who worked in the plant was not denied by Superintendent Leo Frank. Instead he admitted it was highly probable.” Another article in the same issue titled “Nude Dancers’ Pictures Upon Factory Walls,” said there were “suggestive illustrations clipped from magazines and pasted up about the scene of tragedy.” Both articles referred to a calendar in Frank’s office with a line of chorus dancers in a kick line. The articles were exaggerated to suggest possible perversions.

Solicitor Hugh Dorsey, the prosecuting attorney, had many admirers. He “received the most extravagant praise from the newspapers.” An issue of the *Journal* recorded that “Solicitor Dorsey is Applauded When Court Sustains Him.” Once, the *Georgian* headlined with “Dorsey Cheered By Crowd.” The *Constitution* printed “As Bell Towed, Dorsey Closed Magnificent Argument Which Fastened Crime on Frank.” The newspapers created Dorsey into a local hero.

The jury found Frank guilty of the murder on August 25. Most of Atlanta heard before the papers printed the news. When
the verdict was announced “trolley car conductors left their stations and joined in the rejoicing throngs...the local ballpark posted the news on the scoreboard and fans in the grandstands cheered wildly.”

The *Constitution* described the scene in the courtroom, “There was a hustle and bustle of reporters and strident voices calling out ‘guilty’ over telephones to Atlanta’s three newspapers.”

The *Journal* said “Frank received his verdict like a stoic, asserting his innocence of the crime.” The headlines were simple that day. Across the *Journal*, in large print, was “FRANK GULITY.” The *Georgian* simply said “GULITY!”

On October 10, the judge sentenced Frank to hang. Frank appealed the conviction several times until Governor George Slanton commuted his sentence and condemned him to life at a prison camp in Milledgeville. On August 17, 1915, a group of unknown men kidnapped Frank from the prison and lynched him in Marietta. According to Leonard Dinnerstein, an author and scholar of Leo Frank’s case, years later, when the American Jewish Committee addressed the case, “the general opinion seemed to be that Frank’s conviction resulted both from an outburst of anti-Semitism in Atlanta and a newspaper campaign which forced the police to find a victim quickly.”

In 1986, the State Board of Pardons and Paroles pardoned Frank.

When a comparison is made of the three papers, the *Journal* and the *Georgian* were not as strong with their convictions of Frank’s guilt. The *Constitution*, however, seemed convinced of Frank’s guilt form the beginning of his arrest, “one reason for the *Constitution’s* attitude might have been that it had friends in the police department, and therefore accepted the official version more easily. Whenever the police wished to publicize materials incriminating to Frank, the *Constitution* usually got the exclusive story.”

The *Journal*’s handling of the case was credited to its chief reporter on the case, Harold Ross, who in 1926 became founder and editor of the *New Yorker Magazine*. Ross later wrote “without making the assertion that Frank is innocent, it may be said that his conduct from the outset was that of an innocent man.”

The *Georgian*’s staff was credited for the way it handled the case. After purchasing the *Georgian* in 1912, Hearst sent top reporters from his other papers to Atlanta and sent even more after the murder. These reporters “were carefully selected on the basis of their journalistic skills. It is possible that they were perhaps more sophisticated and learned from their experiences in other cities that the authorities, like everyone else could make mistakes.” Competing newspapers accused Hearst of buying the *Georgian* to defend Frank because the paper “questioned the nature of the prosecution’s evidence so frequently.”

Despite the *Georgian*’s sensationalism, it “presented a more judicious view of the affair than did the morning *Constitution*, which seemed to assume Frank’s guilt.”

There was no glaring evidence of anti-Semitism in the three Atlanta papers, but it is suggested by Atlanta historians that the case was so sensational because of racism towards the Jewish community in the “New South.” There were already existing prejudices of Northerners and Jews in Atlanta and Leo Frank’s arrest reinforced
negative stereotypes. The newspapers took advantage of the already established negativity toward Frank and further exploited him with sensational and subjective reporting. The result was a combination of established anti-Semitic attitudes and negative publicity that influenced the outcome of the trial.

The three papers did not comment editorially until after the trial. The Journal and the Georgian later commented “about the public hysteria in Atlanta during the course of the judicial proceedings, and each would suggest the necessity for re-examining the evidence against the defendant.” The Constitution never commented.

The coverage of Mary Phagan’s murder caused an uproar in Georgia journalism. Atlanta’s three newspapers covered the story from the beginning, and they were the few sources of information available to the public. The newspapers created the excitement surrounding the murder, as evident by this Constitution article, “When the newspapers spread word of the tragedy to every inch of ground that represents Atlanta, and its horror began to ferment in the public mind, clues seemed to spring up from everywhere.” Because the murder occurred in Atlanta, the city’s newspapers seized the responsibility to cover the story with local intensity. A reporter for the Constitution said if the murder had occurred elsewhere, like New York City, it would have received the same attention by its newspapers and gained national significance. His article said:

Frank case happened in New York, the Associated Press wires would be red hot with the story each morning.

In Atlanta, sensationalism took over journalism when Mary Phagan’s body was discovered on April 27, 1913. The murder story flooded the newspapers for years. The trial revealed “how weak were the safeguards of our judicial system against police loquacity, journalistic license, and politically ambitious prosecutors.” Regardless, the newspapers thrived off the death of a little girl and “for more than four months featured the crime above all other subjects,” using sensationalism and yellow journalism as their means of reporting. The citizens of Atlanta did not condemn this, but became enthralled, “The interest is intense. The trial begins. It is the most sensational of the state’s history. The newspapers are full of it.”

Because it is not in New York, the papers of that fickle metropolis have not, in all, carried more than a column of the entire case. If the
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4. Dinnerstein, p.11.

5. Ibid., p.13.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p.11.


10. Ibid., p.29.


12. Ibid.


17. Ibid.


20. Ibid.


25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.


31. Ibid.


34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. “Factory Employee’s Arrest as Slayer Near, as Result of ‘Seating Watchman’,” *Atlanta Georgian*, April 29, 1913, p.2.


40. “Evidence!” *Atlanta Georgian*, April 30, 1913, p.3.


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.


49. Dinnerstein, p.18.


51. Ibid.


53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.


56. Ibid.


58. “Mrs. Coleman Prostrated,” the *Georgian*, April 28, 1913, p.3.

59. “Witnesses Positive Murdered Girl was Same Who Created Scene at the Terminal Station on Friday,” *Atlanta Journal*, April 28, 1913, p.1.

60. Ibid.


64. Ibid.


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**You Want Me To Do What?**

**A Student’s Guide to Historical Research**

Lisa V. Daigle

Each semester, college students are required to write research papers, regardless of the academic field they pursue. In media studies, students often have the opportunity to create a historical work, one based on research in both primary and secondary sources. There are many different ways to approach a large research project; what is offered here is one approach, often used both by my students and myself. It offers one answer to that inevitable question students ask every semester, “You want me to do what?”

**Where do I start?: The First Step, Your Topic**

Forget about the final product. Forget about the page requirements. Forget, for the time being, that you are going to write a research paper. And forget for the moment, the word, “masterpiece.”

A topic is one of the most difficult aspects of the historical research project. You should try to choose a topic in which you are interested. Keep in mind you will focus on your topic for an entire semester. If you are not interested in your topic you will not enjoy the research process. Your interest is also a key to the writing process. Before you dismiss the idea that you even could be interested in a historical topic, ask yourself how much you know about Ameri-
can media history. Is there anything, any person, place, event, or issue that interests you? Keep in mind, if you just choose a topic that looks easy because it is popular, you may find you have chosen a topic that will make you miserable for the next semester. At least if you are partially interested in the topic, it will not be as hard to research and write about. If you are interested, that interest will show through later in your writing.

Glance through your text book and think about the current issues of your assigned focus era. If you find nothing of interest there, stop and think again. Are there any stories, issues or events in today’s media that interest you? Appropriate historical topics do not have to center on political figures, wars, propaganda, or a well-known personality. Many topics have not yet been researched. Any current topic or idea can be found in history, all you have to do is look.

For example, are you interested in natural disasters, such as tornadoes, earthquakes, or hurricanes? How do you think the media covered such events in centuries past? Were they covered at all? Perhaps environmental issues interest you. You may discover that newspapers in the nineteenth century covered environmental concerns in interesting ways.

Perhaps you are interested in the Civil War, but not necessarily interested in all those battles. New technologies were used during this war, that altered reporting styles, such as the telegraph and photography. How were these new inventions first used? Other items of interest, aside from the battle accounts, were reported in the papers during this era. Social issues were discussed in editorials and reports “from the front.” Also, you could investigate other issues, such as women’s and Native American’s roles before, during and after the war.

Remember that a historical topic does not necessarily have to focus on words. If you are interested in images, perhaps you would find advertising technique interesting. You may want to research the use of political cartoons, illustrations, or comics. Images are just as powerful as the printed word. These are only brief examples of what awaits you in history. If you still cannot think of a topic idea, go to the source, the library. Go up to the microfilm room and grab an issue of a newspaper. Read it. Look at the advertisements, if there were any; look at the top stories of the day. Look at the back pages. There is something there. If you look, you will find something, it’s inevitable. The hardest part of writing a paper is choosing the topic. Once you have the topic, you’re set!

The Second Step: Preliminary Research

Now that you have your topic, you must research it. First, make a list of possible sources. This is your Working Bibliography. This list should include primary and secondary sources. It is best to make this list as soon as possible, for you may find that either an important secondary source, or a primary source, must be borrowed from another library. Inter-library loan is a wonderful system, but it can be time consuming. Order early! The sooner you order, the sooner
you receive your sources (and the lesser the danger becomes of being caught at the end of the term without sources). ¹

Turning to secondary sources gives you a grasp of what was going on in the era. What was life like during this time period? Whatever your topic is, you need to discover what it would be like to actually walk around there, in that time period. How did people entertain themselves? What political issues were being debated? What was the economic climate of the country? What were people striving for during this time? What made them happy? What made them miserable? If you grasp a sense of what life was like in your era, it will make reading and digesting your primary sources much easier.

The Third Step: Primary Research

Now, with an understanding of your topic and era, you are ready to access your primary sources. It is here you will find the focus of your masterpiece. Every person has their own opinions, ideas, beliefs and eyes. You take these with you when you read these old works. Just because many (or possibly only few) sets of eyes have read this material before does not mean what you discover will not be important or different.

Read through the primary sources. What is your opinion? What is being said in the text?; what are the writers trying to say?; what is not being said? Read your primary sources actively. Question them, and question them often.

The Fourth Step: Writing

What you find in these primary sources is what you will write about. Writing the paper is the final phase of creating a masterpiece. Writing takes time, much like researching takes time. The best papers are written in pieces, and written more than once.

Please do not attempt to write out the entire paper at once, and definitely not in one sitting. Write it in pieces. During the semester, you may find yourself writing the first three pages of your paper before you have completely read all of your sources. That is not unusual. Your paper can be altered as you discover new information, and it should change before the final draft is submitted. The key is to begin writing early. Try to write ideas out as you think of them when you are reading your materials. Write notes about sources on notecards.

In Any Case, Just Don’t Wait

People write in various ways. They also have their own system by which they research. No one system is better than another. However, anyone who has ever written a research paper can tell you, there is only one thing you can do wrong, and that is to postpone the process.

At times, we all procrastinate. It is natural to look at a project, decide it is just too big, and stop. Fear is a powerful emotion. However, a research paper can become a masterpiece with time, effort, and care.
You may be thinking, I can't create a masterpiece! Perhaps you lack the confidence within your abilities as a writer or a researcher. I am quite confident you are wrong. You can create a masterpiece; I believe anyone can, but only if you allow it. You must work for it, that is true. However, it is a rewarding experience, even if right now to you it sounds dreadful.

As in all things, you have a choice. You may choose to put this down and get to work, or you may choose to leave it and turn on the TV. I challenge you to take a chance. Allow yourself to try it. Above all else, trust the process. And remember, the semester will end.

-LVD Ivarisco@earthlink.net

\[1\] Just to note, **secondary sources** are books and articles that tell you information about your topic and time period. Secondary sources are usually recent scholarly work. **Primary sources** are the actual sources you evaluate. Primary sources are written during the time period you are researching. For example, a person’s diary or journal from 1879 or a newspaper article from 1863 are primary sources. One newspaper from 1862 has many primary sources within it!