



Association For
Education in Journalism
and Mass Communication
81st Annual Convention
August 5-8, 1998

JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION
MONOGRAPHS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
LeCONTE COLLEGE, ROOM 121
COLUMBIA, SC 29208-0251

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
COLUMBIA, SC
PERMIT NO. 198

Journalism &
Mass
Communication

Monographs

166 ♦ June 1998

Carolyn Bronstein and Stephen Vaughn

Willard G. Bleyer and the Relevance of Journalism Education

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

Devoted to Research
in Journalism and Mass Communication

Notice: This Material may be protected
by Copyright Law (Title 17, U.S. Code)

Carolyn Bronstein and Stephen Vaughn

Willard G. Bleyer and the Relevance of Journalism Education

© 1998

BY THE ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM
AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Carolyn Bronstein is a doctoral candidate in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Stephen Vaughn is a professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The authors wish to thank the following people for their help with this manuscript: James L. Baughman, Paul S. Boyer, Steven Chaffee, Scott Cutlip, William Hachten, and the late Harold (Bud) Nelson.

A large, stylized, white letter 'W' is set against a solid black square background. The letter is bold and serifed, with a classic, slightly ornate design.

hen Willard G. Bleyer looked at the state of American journalism, he was troubled. During the past four decades, the news media had been transformed by “remarkable” advances in technology, and the world had entered into nothing less than a “Second Industrial Revolution.” It was an age of “monopolistic capitalism,” he believed, and it posed serious dangers for representative government. The news—the “food” necessary for nourishing a healthy public opinion—had become polluted, if not poisoned.¹

Nowhere was this disturbing state of affairs more evident than in the modern newspaper. Bleyer observed that “the monopolistic tendency evident everywhere in the business world” had changed newspapers for the worse. The number of daily papers had declined steadily during the previous decade, leaving many cities with only one paper, while others had but two, both controlled by the same owner. The newspaper business had come to resemble other large chain industries, such as grocery stores, pharmacies, or even shoe stores. As for content, much of what passed for “news” was trivial and sensationalistic. Most appalling, journalists did not seem to know any better. Bleyer’s assessment of the state of American journalism has a contemporary ring, but he offered it more than six decades ago, in 1934.²

Bleyer’s intellectual world and professional accomplishments deserve close examination for many reasons. As the above words suggest, his insights about the problems confronting the news media remain highly relevant. Bleyer’s thoughts about how to improve the quality of news speak directly to some of the most stubborn challenges facing contemporary journalism. While the focus of his attention was on print media—newspapers and periodicals—his ideas about the education and responsibilities of journalists merit consideration from anyone who would work in—or study—any form of mass communication today. For journalism educators and scholars

interested in the origins of mass communication research, Bleyer is also worth revisiting. His Wisconsin curriculum provided a model for journalism schools around the nation, and a number of his students (“Daddy” Bleyer’s “children”) worked with Wilbur Schramm to institutionalize mass communication research within programs of journalism education.³

Bleyer was most responsible for establishing the School of Journalism at the University of Wisconsin, and for setting in motion the first program of graduate study in this field. He was instrumental in creating the first national

In a time when universities are downsizing, and consequently the importance of journalism and mass communication programs comes under question, it is worth recalling Bleyer’s ideas.

organizations to promote research and teaching in journalism and mass communication. As one University of Wisconsin professor described Bleyer’s leadership, he formed “the rock on which everyone rallied.”⁴ In a time when universities are downsizing, and consequently the importance of journalism

and mass communication programs comes under question, it is worth recalling Bleyer’s ideas. As much as Bleyer’s critique of modern news remains relevant, so too does his rationale for media education in this age of new and expanding communication technologies.

To understand Bleyer and his ideas about journalism and society, it is helpful to know something of the historical context in which he worked. Bleyer lived in an age when democracy had fallen into crisis. The study of journalism and mass communication emerged at the University of Wisconsin in a time when the very possibility of democratic government seemed in doubt. Bleyer believed in democracy and believed that journalists had a crucial role to play in the preservation of this form of government. His was also an age of new media, not unlike today. The world’s communication environment was undergoing a radical transformation due to photography and a growing electrical network that made possible the spread of radios, motion pictures, and mass advertising. Well aware of these changes, Bleyer worried about their impact on the news.

For Bleyer, the press was a “quasi-public institution,” indispensable to the well-being of government and society. The American daily newspaper was “more essential for the preservation of democratic government and society than any other business or profession.”⁵ Bleyer maintained that the electorate was dependent upon the press for reliable information and thoughtful analysis, and he identified what he saw as the newspaper’s three major obligations to the public. First, it had to furnish the news as comprehensively and as accurately as possible, because the “food of opinion is the news of the day” (a metaphor he took directly from President Woodrow Wilson). Second, it had to “explain and interpret” current events so that readers could “form intelligent opinions.” Finally, it had to “guide public

opinion,” after presenting issues “impartially...by pointing out to readers what measures seem to promise the greater good for the greater number.”⁶

Bleyer believed that serious problems plagued the news media, especially newspapers, and insisted that major remedies were required if journalists and their publications were to fulfill their responsibilities to the public and to representative government. His campaign for journalism education was a direct result of his appreciation of the importance of a robust press for the well-being of democracy. To ensure training of the highest order, Bleyer advocated expanded cooperation between universities and journalists. Not only would schools of journalism prepare would-be journalists to give citizens essential news and thoughtful analysis, they would also provide a bridge between the research that was conducted in modern institutions of higher learning and the public.

It is worth remembering, though, that Bleyer’s ideas were not shared by everyone. Working professionals often considered university training for journalism unnecessary. Influential people within academe doubted that journalism and mass communication deserved a separate place in the university curriculum. Over the course of a career at the University of Wisconsin spanning more than forty years, Bleyer strove to prove them wrong. In the end, few people did more to establish the place of journalism education in institutions of higher learning.

Early Life

Born into one of Milwaukee’s most prominent newspaper families, Bleyer (1873-1935) grew up surrounded by people who revered journalism. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Willard’s father and uncles, the “Bleyer brothers” as they were known, were closely connected with Milwaukee’s newspapers and played prominent roles in civic life.

The Bleyer family set down roots in Wisconsin in 1836, when Willard’s paternal grandfather, Henry, arrived on a flatboat from Detroit with his wife and the first of seven sons. An émigré from Hanover, Henry was the first German to settle in Milwaukee, then a small village with a population of 1,400. Henry was an expert cabinet maker, but none of his sons showed much interest in learning the trade. Instead, the boys chose to follow their eldest brother, also named Henry, into the newspaper business.⁷

Over the course of their careers, the Bleyer brothers worked in virtually all aspects of the newspaper business for several Milwaukee dailies. In 1849, Henry started out as an apprentice in the office of the *Daily Commercial Advertiser*. He joined the editorial staff of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* in 1862, and remained with the newspaper for fifty years, retiring in 1912. Willard’s father, Albert, spent his entire career in the circulation department of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The twin brothers, Herman and Julius, were both staff members of the *Evening Wisconsin*, and Julius later spent ten years in the research department of the paper’s successor, the *Wisconsin News*. Louis, who died in 1910, was the marine editor of the *Evening Wisconsin*. Clarence

Bleyer, the youngest of the brothers, began his career setting type for the *Evening Wisconsin* and the *Wisconsin News*. As a result of the family's chosen profession, Willard Bleyer spent much of his youth tagging along with his father and uncles to Milwaukee's newspaper offices.⁸

Willard's boyhood home was similarly infused with journalism. Bleyer's father, Albert, and his Uncle Henry married sisters and the four set up house together in Milwaukee. Willard was thus raised by "two mothers and two fathers" as relatives described it, but Henry was the acknowledged leader of the family and likely exerted a considerable influence on Willard's development.⁹ Although Willard was exposed to music and literature at home, and indeed became an accomplished pianist, nothing interested him so much as newspapers. Willard's brother, Addison Bleyer, was also hooked. At the time of Willard's death, Addison was the principal of the printing trade school in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, that trained the majority of the state's newspaper typesetters and press operators.

Bleyer began his undergraduate career at the University of Wisconsin in the midst of an ongoing national debate over the need for journalism education. In his first year at Wisconsin (1892-93), he helped found the student newspaper, *The Daily Cardinal*, and the University Press Club, a student organization that saw itself as "the nucleus of a school of journalism."¹⁰ In addition to working as editor of the *Daily Cardinal* and president of the Press Club, Bleyer served as president of the class of 1896 and editor-in-chief of both the university literary magazine, the *Aegis*, and the *Badger Yearbook*. He earned a Bachelor's degree in English in 1896, and completed the Master's degree in that field in 1898.

Bleyer left Madison at that time, and took a position teaching high school English in Milwaukee, where his love of newspapers was evident in creative attempts to incorporate journalism into the lesson plans. He instructed sophomores to clip news items, and to keep them in "strings" as a method of analyzing style and accuracy. He required the students to keep scrapbooks of stories from different beats, managing to persuade his supervisors that this exercise was relevant because it demonstrated the English language at work in the American press. However imbued with journalism, high school education could not satisfy Bleyer's passion. His enthusiasm for journalism education was lost on boys and girls more interested in wreaking havoc than writing leads. As a former student described it, her classmates loved to give Bleyer "the runaround." He wore galoshes to school if the forecast even hinted at rain, and the students routinely hid them in the wastebasket.¹¹ After two years, Bleyer had had enough. He left his position in Milwaukee and returned to the University of Wisconsin to earn a Ph.D. in English.

Bleyer received his doctorate in 1904 and joined the Wisconsin faculty. He was assigned to teach freshman English in the 1904-05 academic year. Looking back over his lesson plans, it is clear that the young professor was searching for ways to connect journalism to the established curriculum. Preparing to teach forms of discourse, Bleyer pondered the difference

between the scientific and the artistic. Scientific discourse, he observed, was essentially didactic in nature. It offered description for purposes of identification, or a kind of catalogue of details. Settling on a description that pleased him more, Bleyer noted: "The purpose is to give information which may be used."¹² Here he found a hook on which to hang his campaign. Journalism was a form of scientific discourse, an ordered way of presenting useful knowledge to the public. Seen in this light, it was compatible with the progressive spirit that suffused the University of Wisconsin at the turn of the century. If journalism could help accomplish progressive goals, if the shared information in newspapers could tie citizens to one another, maintaining social stability and moral cohesiveness in an urban-industrial mass society, then the university was obligated to train men and women for this type of work.

Bleyer, Progressivism, and the Press Bureau

Bleyer lived during the progressive era when considerable attention was paid to the threats confronting mass society—corporate and governmental corruption, unassimilated immigrants, and the general problems that arose from rapid industrialization and urbanization. Many believed that the solution to these ills lay in publicizing them and by empowering citizens with reliable information from which they could make informed judgments. Bleyer's immersion in progressivism—and its attendant concerns for the quality of public life—was virtually assured by his appointment at the University of Wisconsin. Wisconsin, along with Columbia University and the University of Chicago, were important centers of the new social thought at the turn of the century. These universi-

If journalism could help accomplish progressive goals, if the shared information in newspapers could tie citizens to one another, maintaining social stability and moral cohesiveness in an urban-industrial mass society, the university was obligated to train men and women for this type of work.

ties espoused a service ideal based on the notion that in a complex and increasingly organized society, academic experts could produce research applicable to social, political, and economic problems of the day. Many scholars at Wisconsin concentrated on state-oriented issues, such as the use of scientific methods to improve agriculture. The Madison campus gained national distinction for the Wisconsin Idea, the concept of a partnership between the university and the state to work together to improve conditions of everyday life.¹³

The spread of progressivism at Wisconsin owed a great deal to the creative leadership of university President Charles R. Van Hise. Van Hise believed that science could better social conditions. He stressed the need for research to be oriented toward action, for social scientific theories to be

proven via empirical investigations of actual conditions, and for scholars to act as public citizens. Bleyer's notion of the journalist as an expert who served as interpreter of information and guide to the public dovetailed with Van Hise's vision of the scholar as advisor to government and business. During the 1910-1911 school year, for example, forty-three members of the university's faculty worked in some capacity for the state, most of them performing this service on a volunteer basis.¹⁴

Like many progressives, Bleyer saw a potential for community uplift in a press that informed individuals about the workings of their institutions. He believed that newspapers could improve public life by disseminating information about research, and could make citizens feel connected to the university by keeping them abreast of discoveries in knowledge and their real-world applications. Certainly these ideas dovetailed nicely with the Wisconsin Idea and Bleyer urged Van Hise to foster relationships between journalists and the university.

Finding the president receptive, Bleyer in 1904 proposed that Van Hise establish a news service to keep the press informed of university discoveries, inventions, and innovations. Van Hise approved the plan and named Bleyer head of the University Press Bureau. The bureau had been created in 1896, but had languished until Van Hise and Bleyer revived it as part of the university's Jubilee Celebration. With Bleyer at the helm, the bureau sent a steady flow of news releases to state and national publications.¹⁵ Bleyer also thought it was important for journalists to experience a personal connection to the university. He suggested that Van Hise invite state press associations to hold their meetings on the campus, and in 1905, the Wisconsin Press Association convened in Madison. In an address written by Bleyer, Van Hise emphasized newspapers' vital role in conveying "the higher thoughts and ideas of the world of knowledge irrespective of their present material value."¹⁶

Bleyer expanded his efforts in January 1909, when he introduced a weekly *Press Bulletin*, which brought stories about the university to newspapers nationwide. A typical edition of the *Press Bulletin* ran one page in length and contained brief summaries of ongoing investigative work. A substantial part of the publication was devoted to agriculture, but Bleyer also thought that citizens ought to know about advances in such other fields as engineering, astronomy, political science, and history. He saw to it that reports on the progress of the university's journalism program appeared often. Even news from the athletic department was not neglected. When members of the university's baseball team traveled to Japan in the spring of 1909, carrying with them a letter from President William Howard Taft, the *Press Bulletin* reported on the trip. In addition to publicizing the university through the *Press Bulletin*, Bleyer encouraged editors and reporters from around the state to visit the Madison campus where they could see the institution first hand. He had several goals for the *Press Bulletin*: informing the public about the latest research at Wisconsin; telling potential students

of opportunities for study in important fields; and keeping the state's citizens abreast of the latest decisions by the university's leaders.¹⁷

In his capacity as head of the University Press Bureau, Bleyer demonstrated considerable diplomatic skill in dealing with university faculty, and with newspaper and magazine editors. He persuaded many faculty members to write about their work in a manner that the general public could understand. One enthusiastic reader wrote Van Hise that the *Press Bulletin* was doing "good work in advertising the extension of the services of the university," but could provide more information to improve communication between citizens and academics. He suggested that stories describing research advances should tell readers how to get in touch with individual professors.¹⁸

The University Press Bureau and the *Press Bulletin* were to some extent public relations endeavors that attempted to build the university's reputation and endowment. Indeed, it can be argued that Bleyer was one of the early pioneers of public relations. In just a few short years, his press bureau managed to generate a flood of favorable publicity around Wisconsin and across the nation. By 1913, it was mailing regular press releases to 100 daily papers, 325 weeklies, and more than 150 magazines and agricultural publications. One study found that no less than 13,000 articles on the university appeared in the press during that one year alone.¹⁹ But Bleyer did not conceive of the bureau's work as "advertising in the ordinary sense." The university did "not exist for itself," it was a public servant.²⁰

In his efforts to transform newspapers in ways that could heighten connections between readers and their institutions, including government, Bleyer resembled such contemporaries as Charles Horton Cooley, Robert Park, and John Dewey. These three theorists, like Bleyer, believed in progress and linked the expansion of communication to social growth. They thought, as Cooley wrote in *Social Organization*, that the diffusion of knowledge made possible by mass communication would mean that society could "be organized more and more on the higher faculties of man, on intelligence and sympathy, rather than on authority, caste and routine." They hoped that providing a common base of information to the public would heighten every citizen's ability to participate in democratic government and improve the quality of public opinion. Like Bleyer, they believed that certain changes in the modern newspaper were at odds with these goals. Park, for example, worried about the blurring of fact and fiction in news that had resulted from the rise of sensationalism in the nineteenth century.²¹

Their fascination with the potential of mass media to level social

In his efforts to transform newspapers in ways that could heighten connections between readers and their institutions, including government, Bleyer resembled such contemporaries as Charles Horton Cooley, Robert Park, and John Dewey.

differences among readers was well-illustrated by Dewey's unsuccessful 1892 attempt to start a new kind of newspaper, *Thought News*. This paper, designed by Dewey in collaboration with Franklin Ford, was intended to bring the knowledge of university scholars to newspaper readers everywhere. Dewey described *Thought News* as a newspaper which would:

...set forth the facts themselves;...which shall treat questions of science, letters, state, school and church as parts of the one moving life of man and hence of common interest, and not relegate them to departments of merely technical interest; which shall report new investigations and discoveries...; which shall note new contributions to thought, whether by book or magazine, from the standpoint of the news in them, and not from that of patron or censor.²²

Dewey's "mission statement" revealed a belief in the use of applied science to order knowledge, in the relevance of news about a range of institutions, including the government and universities, for citizens' everyday lives, and in the potential for information to serve as a basis for community-building. *Thought News* was never published, but many of its goals were realized in Bleyer's *Press Bulletin*.

Bleyer's efforts to introduce university research into general newspapers around Wisconsin and the nation relied on the same assumptions about information as did Dewey's project. At the heart of both was a faith in the capacity of communication, especially newspapers, to promote cooperation and social responsibility in the population at large. Their projects reflected a belief in "positive environmentalism," the conviction that environment was a key factor in shaping human behavior. Newspapers that brought the world of knowledge to readers could not help but improve the social environment, uplifting members of the public and encouraging them to set aside selfish or base impulses in favor of ethical, community-based ways of living.²³

The *Press Bulletin* functioned as a public relations tool serving the interests of the University of Wisconsin, but its brand of reporting was in keeping with Bleyer's thinking about journalism's role in society. Bleyer came of age when widespread faith existed in the power of the press to expose corruption and other ills of society; newspapers and magazines turned what he called the "searchlight of publicity" on these evils.²⁴ But Bleyer believed that simply turning on the searchlight was not enough. While his sympathies may have been with the progressives, he was not a muckraker, nor apparently, did he especially admire that style of journalism. Ida Tarbell, for example, did not earn a single mention in his landmark text, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (1927), nor were other muckrakers included in his pantheon of heroes and heroines. Bleyer's opinion of the muckrakers, one may speculate, was similar to that expressed by Theodore

Roosevelt, who had first pinned the label on this kind of journalism in a speech delivered in 1906. "Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal," Roosevelt had told an audience in Washington, D.C., "but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself."²⁵

Instead of muckraking, Bleyer promoted "constructive journalism"—or "sunlight" journalism—and thought it important for papers to go beyond merely exposing the underside of society. "Although occasion may arise from time to time for newspapers to turn the searchlight of publicity on social and political corruption, the feeling is gaining strength," he wrote in 1918, "that newspaper crusades in the interests of institutions and movements making for community uplift are even more important than the continued exposure of evils.... A constructive policy that aims to handle local news...in such a manner" that it "will exert a wholesome, upbuilding influence on the community, is one of the most potent forces making for a better democracy."²⁶

One such movement for community uplift was the campaign to give women the vote. Bleyer was involved in this national effort with his wife, Alice Haskell Bleyer, who was an influential Wisconsin suffragist. Married in 1911, Haskell and Bleyer met when she attended the University of Wisconsin as an exchange student from Barnard College. Bleyer was 38 years old when they married, and the couple had no children.²⁷ Haskell was deeply interested in journalism and she served as chairman of the press committee of the Dane County Equal Suffrage League. Like her husband, she believed that newspapers could foster progressive social change, and in 1912, she spearheaded a successful effort to publish a suffrage issue of the *Wisconsin State Journal*. Mindful of Bleyer's contacts on campus, Haskell rounded up contributions from prominent members of the faculty and administration. In a letter to President Van Hise, she asked for "just a few lines from you ... anything that you feel disposed to offer." Invoking the language of community building so close to the president's heart, she wrote: "We shall be extremely grateful if you help to hold up our hands."²⁸ For Bleyer, proximity to the movement for woman suffrage raised new questions about democracy. Whose voices ought to be included? What role might journalism play in encouraging informed public debate so crucial to traditional democratic theory?

Democracy Under Attack

The preservation of democracy was a key theme in Bleyer's work, largely because democracy came under attack on many different fronts during his lifetime. Progressivism had sought to strengthen democracy by making government more responsive to the public, and the Great War of 1914-18 had riveted Americans' attention on Europe and the struggle "to make the world safe for democracy." But democracy had hardly been made more secure by the war, and in fact democratic theory confronted potentially lethal chal-

lenges in the war's aftermath. For one thing, the war increased doubts about the foundation of traditional democratic theory, the idea that there existed a rational public. Since the turn of the century, the dominant work in psychology by such thinkers as Sigmund Freud, Carl G. Jung, and Jean Piaget rejected the idea that people were rational, one of the central assumptions of democracy. Freud's ideas, for example, had been introduced to Americans before the United States entered World War I. The propaganda and hysteria generated by the First World War further led many thinkers to conclude that irrational motivations dominated human interaction.²⁹

In the years following the Great War, the idea of human irrationality gained wider acceptance. In his seminal work *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann insisted that the public contained numerous people who were "absolutely illiterate,...feeble-minded, grossly neurotic, under-nourished and frustrated individuals...who are mentally children and barbarians....The stream of public opinion is stopped by them in little eddies of misunderstanding, where it is discolored with prejudice and far-fetched analogy." John Dewey described Lippmann's work as "perhaps the most effective indictment of democracy as currently conceived ever penned."³⁰ Like Lippmann, Harold D. Lasswell attempted to apply psychoanalysis to the study of politics, and believed that deep psychological motives, often irrational, lay behind personal action. Such thinking spread into other fields of endeavor. Edward Bernays, Freud's nephew by marriage, took insights about the irrational into the realm of public relations and advertising. By the late 1920s, therefore, the irrational informed much of American thinking about political, social, and economic issues. If these developments were not sufficiently disturbing for democracy's advocates, the Great Depression of the 1930s unleashed worldwide economic hardships and provided fertile ground for the spread of such authoritarian movements as fascism and communism that were built on irrational appeals. The rise of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin confirmed for many people that dictatorship, not the voices of reason and democracy, was the wave of the future.³¹

Bleyer was well versed in the literature that questioned traditional democratic theory. During the 1920s, he introduced his advanced students to influential opinion literature in a seminar that pulled together work from sociology, political science, and related fields to analyze the role of mass media in society. The seminar featured Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, and if the sources used in theses written by graduate students who worked with Bleyer are any indication, it also included such writers as Gabriel Tarde (*The Laws of Imitation*, 1890), and Gustav Le Bon (*The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, 1897). Both authors explored different types of collective behavior, including strikes, crowds, demonstrations, and riots, in an attempt to understand the workings of mass psychology. Other writers used in Bleyer's seminar were likely to have included William Trotter, Everett Dean Martin, Lasswell, and Bernays, the latter who wrote *Crystallizing Public Opinion* in 1923.³²

Lippmann and Lasswell understood the implications of emphasizing the irrational for traditional democratic theory, and they advocated a scientific and administrative elite who would move popular government in a rational direction.³³ Bleyer clearly agreed with Lippmann and Lasswell about the need for expert advice, and in some respects even anticipated their solutions. As early as 1893, while still an undergraduate at Wisconsin, Bleyer expressed a belief that the duty of a journalist was to explain and interpret the news and then to guide readers to intelligent action. Journalism, in his view, provided the professional social analysis necessary for maintenance of a stable, informed electorate.

Commercialization, Sensationalism, and Poorly Trained Reporters

Bleyer viewed journalism, in theory, as providing a solution to problems that plagued the American public. But in practice, he knew that the institution of journalism was deeply flawed. Scholars and critics in this period occasionally pointed to the newspaper itself as an institution that if not corrupted, was in need at least of reform.³⁴ Bleyer was one of those who believed that many forces had conspired to prevent the news media from serving the public interest.

Bleyer thought that many people did not understand the economic, social, and political forces that were transforming the modern press. Large-scale mass production, distribution, and standardization of news for a predominantly urban market characterized these changes, as did an emphasis on speed. News was "edited and published at high speed by men and women in the midst of this whirl of activity, for readers who are living at an equally rapid pace." These developments had been made possible by new communication and transportation technology: "telephones, wireless,...telegraph machines, cameras, photo-mechanical engraving processes, linotypes, stereotyping machines, huge presses—" all "distributed speedily by auto trucks, motor buses, railroads, and even aeroplanes." The news had become "a machine-made product turned out by thousands of copies an hour," Bleyer observed.³⁵

The commercialization of news disturbed Bleyer. As privately owned businesses, the fate of newspapers was "inextricably bound up with the success or failure of modern capitalism," he wrote.³⁶ If private enterprise had made possible expansion and modernization, it also had been responsible for the declining quality of information that papers carried. Commercialization had diminished the influence of great editorial leaders such as Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Charles Dana, James Gordon Bennett,

Bleyer viewed journalism, in theory providing a solution to problems that plagued the American people. But in practice, he knew that the institution of journalism was deeply flawed.

Henry Watterson, and E. L. Godkin. As business concerns overshadowed news and editorial departments, such people had been replaced by business-oriented newspaper publishers.³⁷ Bleyer observed that the newspaper publishers' dependence on advertising revenue, which had begun in the 1890s, had continued apace. He estimated that by the mid-1930s, newspapers depended on advertising for two-thirds to five-sixths of their revenue. Advertisers had gained sufficient leverage to exert great pressure to color the content of news stories and editorials, or even have news suppressed.³⁸

If anything, Bleyer underestimated advertising's pervasiveness by the 1930s. The field had been quick to appropriate the latest work in psychology, and especially since World War I, advertisements had appealed more and more to the irrational side of human nature. The sheer space devoted to advertisements affected the physical appearance of newspapers and magazines. Often advertising appeared in the guise of news, and on occasion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it appeared in the form of an entire newspaper. Moreover, advertising had become a major influence in other media such as radio broadcasting and the motion picture industry.³⁹

Bleyer was not entirely hostile to advertising, so long as it did not exercise undue influence over news content. In 1930, he suggested ways for weekly papers to increase their attractiveness to national advertisers.⁴⁰ He thought it possible that newspapers could accept "advertising of a desirable type" without undue interference with news and editorials. During the early days of the New Deal, he promoted several strategies that he believed could keep advertising in check. His first choice among these was a form of self-regulation—a plan then practiced by such other industries as motion pictures—whereby publishers, editors, and rank and file employees would adopt and enforce codes of fair practices. Failing that, he favored "a press operated on a consumer's cooperative plan with the acceptance by the papers of advertising that is desirable from a social and economic point of view." He also speculated about the possibility that philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie might create "a series of endowed newspapers," in a manner similar to the way in which he had endowed community libraries—with "absolutely no strings...attached."⁴¹

In addition to advertising, Bleyer identified sensationalism as a persistent problem of the modern newspaper. Sensationalism had deep historical roots in America, and he believed that this emotionally charged kind of reporting found an especially eager readership among recent immigrants. It had gained strength during the 1880s in the papers of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, and other newspapers followed their lead in hopes of increased circulation and profits.⁴² Bleyer objected to sensationalism on the grounds that it eroded accuracy, which was at the top of his list of journalistic virtues. He denounced papers for "their inaccuracies, their exploitation of crime and scandal, their triviality, ...their undignified promotion 'stunts',....[their] trashy serial fiction."⁴³ The frequency with which

papers falsified photographs and news appalled him. Deliberately falsifying news "for any purpose, good or bad," he said, "must be regarded as an indefensible violation of the fundamental purpose of the press."⁴⁴ The "character of our democracy," he said, depended greatly on "the accuracy of the newspapers in matters of news."⁴⁵ Bleyer believed that schools of journalism should emphasize this virtue, and that newspapers ought to establish their own "bureaus of accuracy."⁴⁶

Bleyer's distaste for sensationalism did not lead him to oppose news stories about local crime and scandal, his reservations about muckraking and advocacy of "sunshine" journalism notwithstanding. On the contrary, such reports were an "essential part" of newspapers' community responsibility. Newspaper publicity served as a check on corrupt or inefficient authorities, and was a "powerful deterrent" to illegal or antisocial behavior, Bleyer said. Yet Bleyer doubted the value of reporting crimes and scandals that occurred outside a paper's circulation area or that had little or no bearing on the local community. He opposed pandering to morbid curiosity and said that no socially responsible paper would cater to readers who sought the "cheap and 'sexy.'"⁴⁷

Bleyer reserved some of his harshest criticism of the modern newspaper for poorly trained reporters. Here, truly, was the weak link in the chain of democratic government. Journalists were too often unprofessional and their work lacked rigor and insight. Even as an undergraduate, he saw that the status of reporters needed elevation if their field was to attract individuals of quality. He argued on the editorial page of the *Daily Cardinal* that a school of journalism would attract "students of the best class," and that the prestige of formal training might entice those who otherwise would be drawn to such other competitive fields as law and medicine.⁴⁸ Newspapers employed too many "half-baked youngsters" who did not understand the events and people they covered.⁴⁹ "Uneducated or half-educated boys and girls in almost every city...are...serving as purveyors of the food of opinion for hundreds of thousands of citizens and voters," he told the Inland Daily Press Association in 1924. "Immature, untrained, often grossly ignorant of the matters that they are trying to report, they are filling our newspapers... with inaccuracies, half-truths, and absolute falsehoods." No editor could hope to correct all the inaccuracies written by such reporters.⁵⁰ The problem, as Bleyer saw it, was that these individuals "with no education..., with no knowledge of history, economics, psychology, and in every way unprepared for their work," were expected to function in the key journalistic capacity as reporters.⁵¹

It would be difficult to exaggerate the seriousness with which Bleyer viewed the sad state of American journalism. To be fair, he did consider the newspapers of his own time to be far superior to those that had been available in earlier eras. He told a group of high school students in 1928, that if one compared the newspapers of the day with those of the past that they would "inevitably come to the conclusion that our American papers today are the

best the world has ever seen."⁵² But progress aside, good government and a thriving public sphere depended on the press. Yet too many publishers had abandoned their duty to the public, subordinated public service to profit, allowed circulation figures to dictate journalistic standards, and distorted news to protect private interests. How could newspaper owners who engaged in other businesses be impartial in their news coverage? How could reporters who were essentially ignorant be expected to guide the public? Because the press so influenced "the opinions, morals, and actions of readers," some way had to be found to produce better qualified journalists who in turn would publish better news.⁵³

The Debate Over Journalism Education

The solution lay in better education. Throughout his career, Bleyer promoted increased cooperation between universities and journalists. But not everyone agreed that the road to better journalism ran through the university. Efforts to teach journalism in universities met serious resistance from both professional newspaper people and from educational leaders.

The debate over whether to establish programs of university training for journalists had been ongoing several years before Bleyer arrived at the University of Wisconsin. Such opponents of formal education as E. L. Godkin of the *Nation* and Horace White of the *Chicago Tribune*, insisted that the newsroom was the only place to learn reporting.⁵⁴ For them, journalism was a "trade" best taught through an apprenticeship system not unlike that of machinists who learned "by watching and helping the master

But progress aside, good government and a thriving public sphere depended on the press. Yet too many publishers had abandoned their duty to the public, subordinated public service to profit, allowed circulation figures to dictate journalistic standards, and distorted news to protect private interests.

mechanics."⁵⁵

A number of forward-thinking newspaper people considered this approach inadequate for modern times. In 1872, Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune* proposed a college curriculum joining liberal arts with practical journalism.⁵⁶ Soon after, some schools started offering limited instruction in journalism. The University of Missouri began in 1878.⁵⁷ Joseph Pulitzer adopted a position on journalism education similar to Reid's. In 1892, he offered to endow a school of journalism at Columbia University, only to be turned down by the university's president, Seth Low, who worried that such a school might damage Columbia's prestigious academic reputation. A decade later, Pulitzer renewed his offer to Nicholas Murray Butler, then Columbia's president. Butler was interested but nevertheless hesitated. Bleyer observed that in addition to skeptical academics, newspaper editors

"generally...opposed and ridiculed" Pulitzer's proposal.⁵⁸

Pulitzer had predicted in 1904 that by the end of the twentieth century schools of journalism would be as widely accepted in higher education as schools of law or medicine.⁵⁹ Bleyer liked Pulitzer's analogy and he embraced the pro-education views of Reid and Pulitzer from the beginning. Even as an undergraduate, Bleyer had published an editorial in the *Daily Cardinal* urging the Wisconsin faculty to grant course work credit for work on the college newspaper.⁶⁰ Later in his career, he compared society's need for qualified journalists to its need for well-trained lawyers and physicians, and he argued that "adequate preparation" for journalists was as "necessary" as it was for those who intended to become lawyers or doctors.⁶¹ And just as law and medicine had rigorous standards for entrance, Bleyer called for setting standards in journalism so that "only such young men and women as have had adequate preparation will be permitted to take up newspaper work."⁶²

Comparing the need for training in journalism to the need for legal and medical education seemed preposterous to some of Bleyer's contemporaries in academe. If convincing professional journalists of the need for schools of journalism was hard to sell, it was not much easier persuading some educational leaders. One such person was the well-known educational reformer Abraham Flexner, who argued that a separate program for journalism had no place in the modern university curriculum.

Flexner had been influential in establishing the modern curriculum for medical schools, and he felt competent to speak about education in general. In 1928, he attacked the journalism programs at Columbia and the University of Wisconsin, putting them on "a par with university faculties of cookery and clothing." The programs were poorly staffed with "journalists, sometimes retired, sometimes still active as night editors, managing editors, book editors, or theatrical critics." They taught such "dismal" classes as newspaper practice, psychology of news interest, reporting, law of libel, along with graduate courses on reviewing books, dramatic criticism, and Sunday supplement work. He judged these programs to be weak intellectually. They robbed students of time to study philosophy, science, history, and other valuable subjects. They further enfeebled "an already diluted education by the effort to teach under the guise of a profession a few practical tricks and adjustments that an educated or clever youth would rapidly pick up 'on the job.'"⁶³

If convincing professional journalists of the need for schools of journalism was hard to sell, it was not much easier persuading some educational leaders.

Flexner had been influential in establishing the modern curriculum for medical schools, and he felt competent to speak about education in general. In 1928, he attacked the journalism programs at Columbia and the University of Wisconsin, putting them on "a par with university faculties of cookery and clothing." The programs were poorly staffed with "journalists, sometimes retired, sometimes still active as night editors, managing editors, book editors, or theatrical critics." They taught such "dismal" classes as newspaper practice, psychology of news interest, reporting, law of libel, along with graduate courses on reviewing books, dramatic criticism, and Sunday supplement work. He judged these programs to be weak intellectually. They robbed students of time to study philosophy, science, history, and other valuable subjects. They further enfeebled "an already diluted education by the effort to teach under the guise of a profession a few practical tricks and adjustments that an educated or clever youth would rapidly pick up 'on the job.'"⁶³

Developing the Critical Intellect

Flexner had raised an important issue. His opinion of journalism schools

was undoubtedly shared by other university faculty and, one suspects, still echoes in present-day considerations of university curricula. Certainly Bleyer took it seriously enough to respond. It was possible to use Flexner's own words to defend journalism education. In 1923, he had written *A Modern College and a Modern School*, in which he said that the "individual physicians, clergymen, lawyers, journalists, educators, and engineers, who render expert service to the modern world, need to be specially trained for their several tasks. Every one of them must be trained—or organized—with distinct reference to the function that he is to perform." Because the world was "more highly organized than ever before," Flexner wrote, "the special expert service that it requires," involved training that could "be had only in professional schools." He even raised the "question whether the college could not, after careful analysis of the situation, offer a group of studies adapted to the future needs of the prospective ... journalist."⁶⁴

Bleyer built his case for journalism schools on the idea that "no other profession has a more vital relation to the welfare of society or to the success of democratic government than has journalism."⁶⁵ Journalists had important responsibilities and faced enormous challenges. No other profession required "a wider range of knowledge or greater ability to apply such knowledge to current events and problems" than did journalism. The daily paper reported on "every significant human activity," and commented editorially on "every important problem."⁶⁶

To those people who argued that journalism was best taught through an apprenticeship system, Bleyer pointed out that only two or three generations earlier, law and medicine had also operated under a similar system. But as the legal and medical worlds advanced, they became more complicated and the apprenticeship system had utterly failed to provide adequate training. With good reason, these professions had come to require formal academic training, state examinations, and codes of conduct.

Journalism needed to undergo a similar evolution because the stakes, if anything, were much higher than in medicine and law. A poorly trained doctor "could not kill more than a hundred persons in a lifetime," Bleyer reasoned in a 1921 speech at the opening ceremonies for the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. "The incompetent lawyer may lose the client's money, or even his freedom;...or he may be hanged"—a miscarriage of justice to be sure, but not terribly "serious to society." The journalist, however, could personally affect many more people than either the doctor or attorney. **An incompetent journalist who gave "day after day inaccurate information, colored information ... unconsciously" poisoned "public opinion toward the news," and created "false impressions." Nothing less than the "success of our democracy" was at stake.**⁶⁷

The legal and medical professions restricted admission, and had codes in place to punish incompetence and malfeasance. The American Bar Association disbarred ineffectual and unethical lawyers; the American Medical Association published a journal that exposed patent medicines and quack-

ery. Journalism needed similar leverage, Bleyer argued. It needed a code of ethics and a plan that would measure applicants "in regard to education and in regard to morals."⁶⁸

What kind of preparation did the beginning journalist need? This was not an easy question to answer in Bleyer's time, nor has it apparently been explained convincingly to the critics of journalism education in our own time.⁶⁹ Law and medicine, while vast in their scope, were nevertheless finite fields with a body of knowledge that most could agree needed to be known. But the journalist's canvass was as broad as life itself, and how did someone in this profession develop the expertise to cover such immense terrain?

At the heart of Bleyer's plan was the cultivation of an informed and critical intellect, one infused with a sense of social responsibility. His vision involved much more than learning technical skills—or "tricks" of the trade, as Flexner had dubbed them. Clearly, practical training alone was woefully inadequate. The "most essential training which the university can give to a student thinking of journalism," Bleyer wrote in 1905, "is to equip him broadly with the knowledge of the ages and give him such intellectual power that he will be continually fertile in applying that knowledge to present conditions." The journalist should have a "wealth of ideas from the best that the world has thought...in all fields of human knowledge." This "intellectual equipment" should be combined with a strong sense of public responsibility. The qualities needed to be a good journalist were not unlike those needed to be a good teacher.⁷⁰

Bleyer recognized that education for many professions required a high degree of specialization, but for journalism, specialization was not necessarily the first prerequisite. Reporters need "a much broader general education" than did members of almost any other profession. The best ratio of courses, he felt, was one in which the student took from one-fourth to one-third of his or her classes in journalism, and the remaining two-thirds to three-quarters in liberal arts subjects. The "minimum ... preparation for intelligent newspaper and magazine work," he maintained, was four years of university study that included "government and politics, economics, sociology, psychology, history, science, and literature."⁷¹

Learning to think critically was an essential part of every course, including the so-called "skills" courses. The basic course in newswriting and reporting ought to include instruction in writing and news gathering techniques, but also should be "devoted largely to an intensive study of news and its significance." Bleyer believed that such a course should teach students how to analyze the entire community and its activities. A course in copy

The best ratio of courses, he felt, one in which the student took one-fourth to one-third of his or her classes in journalism and the remaining two-thirds to three-quarters in liberal arts subjects.

editing should involve more than learning how to find typos and write headlines. Its main purpose was “to teach students how to evaluate the news...from everywhere.” The same for editorial writing, which should be devoted to “careful, logical analysis” of issues rather than to writing “fluent, superficial comments on current events....”⁷² Journalism courses, therefore, should “teach students how to think straight about what is going on in the world at large and how to apply what they have learned to understanding and interpreting the day’s news.”⁷³

Threats to News Integrity: Propaganda, Entertainment, Advertising, Public Relations

The educated journalist, Bleyer believed, should be capable of separating the truly newsworthy information from the trivial and self-serving material that flooded newsrooms daily. Several sources of information—government propaganda, the entertainment industry, advertising, public relations (press agents)—troubled him. Government propaganda—foreign and domestic—had inundated the press since World War I and the Paris Peace Conference. The U. S. Committee on Public Information had been headed by a journalist, George Creel, who in turn persuaded numerous other reporters to work for his agency. The CPI targeted the news as one of the most effective means of reaching the public, and Creel had been fond of saying that even his harshest critics took “a daily diet of our material” in their morning newspapers. Even before the Creel committee came into operation, though, perhaps forty-five to fifty government bureaus were already giving newspapers mounds of material. By the end of 1917, every newspaper in California, for example, was receiving six pounds of printed material from the government each day, enough to take up more than 1,200 columns.⁷⁴

Another force threatening the integrity of the news was the entertainment industry. Motion pictures and radio made an impact on the newspaper and periodical press during Bleyer’s lifetime. Movies, in particular, depended on newspapers and magazines for publicity, and Bleyer worried that stories advertising new films or promoting Hollywood stars would crowd out or influence the reporting of more newsworthy items. While conceding that entertainment stories had become a staple of newspapers, he offered three caveats: trivial stories or puff pieces should never be allowed to replace important news; entertainment news should not be made so attractive that the reader with limited time would choose it over “news of value”; and significant events should be never treated in a manner that emphasized their entertainment value over their true importance.⁷⁵

Closely joined to the work of propagandists and entertainers was that of advertisers and press agents. As noted, Bleyer worried about advertising’s influence on the news. As early as 1911, Bleyer encouraged students to take a course in the psychological principles of advertising offered through the university’s philosophy department. The course sought to make students

think about the social impact of advertising. Here was an immensely important field, Bleyer wrote in 1931, one that was changing American living standards. “What influence on our standards of living does advertising exert?” he asked. How did one differentiate between “desirable and undesirable advertising?” He urged students to apply what they had learned in psychology and economics.⁷⁶

The growth of press agency and public relations posed yet another problem for newspapers. Press agents employed by theatrical companies, by businesses under attack by reformers—and as he well knew, even by universities—had increased markedly since the 1890s. By the 1920s, publicity releases put out on behalf of politicians, athletes, and movie stars and their films had already created a celebrity culture. Journalists needed to recognize the self-serving nature of this material and treat it discerningly.⁷⁷

As this century comes to a close, journalism programs, which have come to give public relations and advertising prominent places in their curricula, have come under attack for allowing these fields to subvert traditional journalistic values. Were Bleyer still alive, one suspects that he would have been alarmed by such developments and would have seen them as a case of the tail having come to wag the dog. Surely, he would have weighed in heavily on the side of good writing, independent and critical thinking, as well as thoughtful and courageous commentary.

Bleyer’s Curriculum

Bleyer’s conviction that students had to be trained to avoid the pitfalls associated with modern reporting guided the development of Wisconsin’s journalism curriculum. Under Bleyer’s direction, course offerings in journalism developed rapidly. In the 1905-06 academic year, students could register for English 19 and 19a, a two-semester sequence covering basic reporting, copy editing, the history of the American press, and the organization and management of the modern newspaper.⁷⁸ In 1906, Bleyer outlined a junior-senior curriculum designated as the “Courses Preparatory to Journalism,” which combined classes in political science, economics, English, and history, with the reporting sequence. He identified the “Courses” as the first attempt to carry out the proposals made by Pulitzer to join training in the social sciences with practical journalism.⁷⁹ In 1908, the university changed Bleyer’s title to assistant professor of journalism and in the following year, he developed the “Courses” into a complete four-year undergraduate curriculum with a ratio of one journalism class for every three classes taken in liberal arts. By 1910, the journalism program could boast of a new newspaper laboratory, with more than 100 students enrolled in a half dozen courses (another twenty-six students were taking classes in agricultural journalism).⁸⁰ The university formally designated journalism a department affiliated with English in 1912. The following year, Bleyer began requiring journalism students to write a senior thesis. In 1916, the university promoted him to professor. Then in 1927, the faculty and regents approved the School

Journalism, with Bleyer as director.⁸¹

In the years between the introduction of the first journalism class and the establishment of the School of Journalism, Bleyer transformed journalism at Wisconsin into a substantive undergraduate and graduate area of study. He believed that a core of courses was essential to the journalist's education: history of journalism, the sociology of newspapers, law of the press, and fluency of the media.⁸² He expanded the number and kinds of classes offered under journalism's jurisdiction, including a full-scale course in journalism history and ethics (1914), and later, classes on the rural press and analysis of advertising campaigns. Law of the press was separated from the political science department in 1920, and by 1924 students could take courses in newspaper administration. Bleyer taught a course on critical writing, and the program offered a class on writing "special articles" on how to popularize scientific and technical material. Journalism also continued to draw on the expertise of faculty members throughout the university. In addition to psychological principles of advertising offered through the philosophy department, journalism joined with political science and sociology to offer upper level students a joint seminar on public opinion in 1927. Also that year, Spanish newspaper journalism was offered through the department of Romance Languages.⁸³

Bleyer left a lasting impression on many of his students, but by all accounts undergraduates did not find him an exciting classroom teacher. His lectures were dry and sometimes involved little more than reading from drafts of his books. He was a stickler for dates and details. After Bleyer's death, a former student who had gone on to become the managing editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* lamented: "It was ever his academic misfortune that he could not bring to his classroom lectures the informal sparkle which characterized his private conversations." Bleyer, a familiar and welcome figure at the *State Journal* office, was at his best in the newsroom, "smiling, jocular, and talking 'shop' in his crisp, informative fashion."⁸⁴

It was outside of the classroom, in his willingness to take an interest in students' problems and plans, that Bleyer left a mark. He encouraged women to come to campus to enter the ranks of journalism, and served as faculty sponsor to Kappa Sigma Phi, a sorority for female journalism students. In 1909, when Kappa Sigma Phi received its charter, Bleyer was awarded a lifetime membership, the only male to be so honored.⁸⁵ One of his undergraduate students, Ralph O. Nafziger, who later himself would become director of Wisconsin's School of Journalism, noted that students thought of Bleyer as "fundamentally honest, sincere, good-natured, fearless, and never vindictive. His capacity for friendship and the intensity of his loyalties were an essential part of his make-up." His emphasis on social responsibility instilled in students "a desire to be vigilant and firm in purpose."⁸⁶

Whatever Bleyer's shortcomings as a classroom lecturer, his vision for graduate education in journalism was remarkable. He pioneered this area and in 1913 he established the first graduate courses in journalism in the

United States. Three years later Wyatt Rushton and Frank Thayer became the first students to receive master's degrees in this area.⁸⁷ Bleyer's graduate curriculum followed a strongly interdisciplinary approach. In 1927, he helped create a Ph.D. minor in journalism for graduate students in political science, sociology, and history. He especially encouraged postgraduate study in history and law. In addition, he was an early advocate of examining media effects. In his course on principles of journalism, he asked students "to consider what influence the newspaper may exert on the opinions, morals, tastes, and standards of living of readers." He was interested in "the manner in which attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and habits of thought and action" developed in individuals, and what role the media played in such developments. He also encouraged students to study the relationship between "public opinion" and "individual private opinion."⁸⁸ Bleyer was under no illusions about the problems that would be encountered in trying to gauge media influence. "The extreme difficulty of measuring quantitatively the impressions produced upon the minds and hearts of each one of thousands of readers of different social classes by the reading of not one daily paper but of several, not one day but every day in the year, adds so much to the complexity of the problem that a satisfactory solution seems almost impossible," he told an audience in 1916. He feared that it might be "practically impossible to measure the sum total of the effect of a given newspaper or a given policy."⁸⁹

Bleyer's emphasis on research set the Wisconsin program apart from other, more practically oriented programs such as the one built by the former journalist, Walter Williams, at the University of Missouri. Bleyer did not favor sharply separating the worlds of research and professional journalism as is often the case today. Learning the methods of advanced research could enhance the quality of reporting, and would improve the ability of journalists to translate university research to the general public. As noted, Bleyer urged increasing contacts between professional journalists and university faculty.

Professionalism

Bleyer recognized that formal journalism education would accomplish only half the battle in terms of improving national journalistic standards. University training would ensure a certain level of expertise among young reporters, but it could not enhance the status of journalism as a profession without a corresponding increase in pay. Better salaries were needed to

Bleyer did not favor sharply separating the worlds of research and professional journalism as is often the case today. Learning the methods of advanced research could enhance the quality of reporting, and would improve the ability of journalists to translate university research to the general public.

attract and retain good people to the field. Moreover, Bleyer believed that journalists had to adopt and enforce a code of ethics for journalism to be accorded public recognition as a profession. The way to accomplish such objectives was through effective organization, both for journalism educators and practicing journalists.

With regard to professional journalists, Bleyer urged the formation of a national guild for newspaper employees to improve working conditions and to raise journalistic standards. Bleyer was encouraged by the organization of the American Newspaper Guild (ANG) in 1934. But he did not think the ANG should affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. He hoped, instead, that the ANG and other newspaper guilds would develop in the same fashion as had the legal and medical professions. "For twenty-five years," he told Marlen Pew in 1934, "I have urged a national professional organization of newspaper men, with state and local units, like the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association." He also thought that Great Britain's National Union of Journalists offered a good model for American newsmen.⁹⁰

More effective organization by rank-and-file journalists would be a step toward resolving the problem of status, but journalists also needed a set of principles, or code of ethics, to guide their work. Bleyer opposed government regulation of journalism, and thought that journalists would do well to emulate the motion picture industry, which had adopted a form of self-regulation through the Production Code of 1930. Bleyer saw similarities in the profit motives of the movies and newspapers. "The newspaper claims to be a social institution like the non-commercial library," he wrote in 1934, "but as a matter of fact it more nearly approximates the commercial theatre, including the motion picture theatre." Just as the "success" of a motion picture was measured by its box office receipts, the success of a modern newspaper was determined by its advertising revenues.⁹¹ In order to protect newsmen from capricious management decisions made in the name of profits, Bleyer urged self-regulation. He called on editors and publishers "to set up an executive body to formulate and enforce a code of ethics and fair practices for all departments of daily newspapers, as well as to adjust all disputes arising between employers and employees."⁹²

Bleyer also promoted professional organizations for journalism educators, which he hoped would improve journalism education and develop higher journalistic standards. In 1912, Bleyer and thirty other journalism professors met in Chicago to form the American Conference of Teachers of Journalism. Later renamed the American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ), it eventually became the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in 1983. Bleyer was this organization's first president in 1912, and later served a second term in 1921. Bleyer also was president of another organization of journalism educators created in 1917, the Association of American Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ). This group also underwent a series of name changes and eventually became

the Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism. The AATJ and AASDJ cooperated through the Council on Education for Journalism and the Council on Research for Journalism, both started in 1923. Bleyer chaired the research council from 1923 to 1929, and headed the educational council from 1923 until his death.⁹³

Getting professionals and professors to cooperate with one another was no easy task. But Bleyer was heartened in 1931 when representatives from the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the National Editorial Association agreed to join representatives from the AATJ and the AASDJ to establish a joint committee on journalism education. For the first time, he believed, schools of journalism had achieved national recognition of their importance from the professional journalists. Moreover, this agreement to cooperate meant that journalism itself could at last rightfully claim to be a profession.⁹⁴

Bleyer's Legacy

In the winter of 1934, Bleyer fell ill. He traveled from Madison to Baltimore to undergo surgery at the Johns Hopkins University hospital. He was well enough to return home in June, and began preparing for the 1934-35 school year. Several months later, on the night of December 31, 1934, he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. He was pronounced dead at his home near the Madison campus. Bleyer was 62 years old.

The next morning, the flag on Bascom Hall—the academic and administrative heart of the Madison campus—flew at half-staff. Telegrams expressing shock and grief poured in from departments of journalism around the nation. In newspaper offices around Wisconsin, a former Bleyer student and staff writer for the *Milwaukee Journal* recalled that the news of Bleyer's death was all anyone could talk about, and the words were "uttered with a genuine sense of sorrow and regret."⁹⁵

The nation's leading journalism educators, many of whom were former Bleyer students, felt compelled to remember his contributions and reflect on their personal associations. At the University of Illinois, Fred Siebert penned a sad note: "First as one of his students and later as a colleague in the teaching profession, I have grown to admire and sort of revere Dr. Bleyer. There was a certain 'tone' about him which lifted the teachers of journalism just a little higher than they would have been without him."⁹⁶ Frank Luther Mott, then director of the School of Journalism at the University of Iowa, wrote: "It is nothing less than a national loss, for I think that we all looked to Doctor Bleyer as the leader of the forces for education in journalism."⁹⁷ Lawrence Murphy, director of the School of Journalism at the University of Illinois, and a 1921 Wisconsin graduate, pronounced Bleyer "the greatest single influence in journalism that the world has known." He wrote that Bleyer and his students and his students' students touched the lives of hundreds of millions of newspaper readers every day, serving the papers of the Associated Press, the United Press, and International News Service and numerous foreign

news agencies.⁹⁸

But of all the tributes, none spoke so loudly as the steady stream of front-page obituaries for Bleyer that appeared in newspapers all over the state of Wisconsin. In the *Oshkosh Northwestern*, the *Manitowoc Herald-Tribune*, the *Fond du Lac Commonwealth Reporters*, and scores of other local papers, small-town reporters and editors paid their respects. Some were former students, who fondly recalled Bleyer and his trademark phrase: "Accuracy Always!" Some had undergone no formal journalism training, but had read Bleyer's textbooks and appreciated their contents. Some employed Bleyer's students, and grudgingly came to accept the value of journalism education. Others remembered Bleyer from the press association meetings on the Madison campus. Most knew him from his frequent trips around the state, driving from newspaper office to newspaper office, bringing news of the university's program, inquiring how the School of Journalism might better serve the profession, and true to form, just "talking shop."⁹⁹

The obituaries and the letters of condolence from journalists are quite telling. An editor at the *Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer* wrote on behalf of his newspaper staff: "We always felt his presence as a vital force for high ethical and technical standards in the craft." He praised "the helpful ideals which ... Bleyer radiated in his life and work in behalf of a profession which has not had enough such guidance."¹⁰⁰ Professional journalists did not think of Bleyer as an ivory tower academician, nor as a slick public relations agent for the university. They saw him as a colleague and a leader in a national effort to improve the quality of American journalism.

Bleyer came of age as one century came to a close and a new one began. Yet as that once-new century which now seems a world apart from our own wanes and a new millennium approaches, Bleyer's ideas about journalism education and the importance of mass communication study remain sound and relevant to our time. In fact, if one truly believes in democracy and the necessity of an informed citizenry, his ideas are even more compelling today than when he first proposed them. Bleyer feared that a host of forces—commercialization, sensationalism, government propaganda, a pseudo-environment created by advertisers and publicity agents—threatened to corrupt the news and deprive the public of information essential to the formation of intelligent decision making. In our own time, the integrity of the news is threatened by the concentration of ownership of the media by global communication conglomerates, the pervasive spread of advertising, and an inordinate preoccupation with sensational stories to the exclusion of more socially and historically significant events.

Bleyer also recognized during his day that the world had become more complex and that members of the media had to report on a greater range of topics and needed greater expertise than ever before. A way had to be found to attract good people into the field. Better pay was essential, and so too was professional status grounded in high standards of ethics. Since Bleyer's death, the complexity of modern life and the degree of specialization needed

in many fields have grown exponentially, and the challenges confronting modern-day members of the media are even greater than during Bleyer's time. His ideas about education—the need to expose students to a broad, liberal arts education; to instill in them a strong sense of social responsibility; to make them able to translate the world of specialized research to the lay public—remain indispensable. Valid, too, are his thoughts about the importance of enhancing cooperation and respect between university faculty and working professionals.

Bleyer made a convincing case early in the twentieth century for establishing programs of research in mass communication. The rationale for such programs is much stronger today. Bleyer sensed—although perhaps did not fully articulate—that communication often lies at the heart of historical change. Changes in communication can dramatically alter the way people think and act. Empires, no less, rise and fall with such changes. Bleyer lived in a time when a first wave of modern communication innovations—electrification, photography, motion pictures, phonographs, telephones, radios—was drastically altering our media landscape and providing a foundation for twentieth-century life. If developing educated journalists who could provide citizens with reliable news and analysis, and researchers who would study mass communication's effects on society was critical then, how much more so are those things needed in our present era of multiplying media? The spread of televisions, computers, satellites, audio and video cassettes, E-mail, faxes, fiber optics, and other advances promise to make the twenty-first century as radically different from the twentieth, as the twentieth century was from the nineteenth.

Notes

1. Quotations (“remarkable,” “Second,” “monopolistic”), Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, “Freedom of the Press and the New Deal,” *Journalism Quarterly*, 11 (March, 1934), 25; (“food,” Woodrow Wilson quoted), Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, “Does Press Merit Privileged Place?” *Editor and Publisher* (July 21, 1934), 214.
2. Quotation, Bleyer, “Does Press Merit Privileged Place?” 214.
3. Everett Rogers and Steven Chaffee trace the connections between Bleyer and Schramm through the careers of four Bleyer students: Fred Siebert, Ralph Casey, Ralph Nafziger, and Chilton Bush. See Everett M. Rogers and Steven H. Chaffee, “Communication and Journalism from ‘Daddy’ Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm: A Palimpsest,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs*, 148 (1994).
4. Quotation Professor W. A. Sumner, quoted in Donald Keith Ross, “W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education” (Master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1952), 92. Ross’s thesis is valuable because he reproduced lengthy excerpts and sometimes the entire text of Bleyer’s correspondence. Some of these documents apparently no longer exist in their original form.
5. Quotation, Willard G. Bleyer, “The Greatest Weakness,” *Journalism Quarterly*, 4 (January, 1928), 16.
6. Quotations, Bleyer, “Does Press Merit Privileged Place?” 214.
7. See Obituary for Clarence Bleyer, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 16, 1938, clipping in Willard G. Bleyer Papers, Box 1, Series 7/19/9, Archives of the University of Wisconsin, Madison (hereafter cited as AUWM).
8. Obituary for Clarence Bleyer, May 16, 1938. See also Walter Monfred, *Willard Grosvenor Bleyer: Pioneer in Journalism Education* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, School of Journalism, 1955), 6; and Grant Hyde, “Willard Grosvenor Bleyer,” *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1944), Vol. 21, Supplement 1, pp. 87-88.
9. Quotation, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Meyer, Interview by Donald Keith Ross, Madison, WI, December 10, 1951, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
10. Quotation, “Press Club to Reorganize,” *Daily Cardinal*, October 26, 1893, p. 1.
11. Quotation, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Meyer Interview, December 10, 1951, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
12. Quotation, Willard G. Bleyer, “Freshman English Lesson Book, 1905,” Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
13. Thomas Bender, *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 64.
14. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925* (2 vols., Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), II, 87; E. David Cronon and John W. Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1925-1945: Volume III: Politics, Depression, and War* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 10-12; and Donald Charles Bauder, “University of Wisconsin Public Relations Policies Under President Charles Van Hise” (Master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1961), 11.
15. Bauder, “University of Wisconsin Public Relations Policies...,” 28. See also *Journalism Bulletin*, III, (November 1926), 23. On Van Hise’s use of publicity, see also Cronon and Jenkins, *University of Wisconsin Volume III: Politics, Depression, and War*, 81n.
16. Quotation, excerpt from a speech prepared by Willard G. Bleyer for Charles Van Hise, read before the Wisconsin Press Association, February 14, 1905, Box 3, Series 7/19/9, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
17. Volume I of the *Press Bulletin* appeared January 1, 1909. On the baseball team’s trip to Japan, see also Ross, “W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education,” 30; also 28-38.
18. Quoted in Charles Van Hise to Willard Bleyer, October 7, 1912, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
19. See Bauder, “University of Wisconsin Public Relations Policies...,” 36-39, 50-51, 53, 59-60.
20. Quotations from a speech prepared by Bleyer for University of Wisconsin President Van Hise, delivered to the Wisconsin Press Association, February 11, 1905, quoted in Ross, “W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education,” 42; see also *ibid.*, 38. Donald Bauder reveals the extent of Bleyer work in public relations in “University of Wisconsin Public Relations Policies...” On Bleyer and the Press Bureau, see also James L. Baughman, “Willard Grosvenor Bleyer,” *American National Biography* John A. Garraty, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

21. Quotation, Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 61. See also Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 116-17.
22. Quotation, *Michigan Daily*, March 16, 1892, quoted in Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind*, 107. See also, Czitrom, 104-8; Everett M. Rogers, *A History of Communication Study: A Biographical Approach* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 174; and James W. Carey, "Commentary: Communications and the Progressives," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6 (1989), 271-72
23. On "positive environmentalism," see Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in American, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 224-32.
24. Quotation Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *The Profession of Journalism: A Collection of Articles on Newspaper Editing and Publishing, Taken from the Atlantic Monthly* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1918), xviii.
25. Theodore Roosevelt quotation in Lucy E. Rogers, "A Study of Muck-Raking in Four Popular Magazines" (Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1921), Introduction-b. Bleyer directed this Masters thesis, and one may speculate from it and from Bleyer's own writings, that he was in agreement with much of what Roosevelt had to say about muckraking in 1906. One other episode gives insight into Bleyer's political orientation. When Emma Goldman spoke in Madison in 1910, Bleyer and Van Hise issued a press release denying that the university had invited Goldman to speak, or that it had any sympathy for her anarchism. See Bauder, "University of Wisconsin Public Relations Policies..." 90, 95-96, 149.
26. Quotations, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *The Profession of Journalism*, xviii-xix.
27. Mr. and Mrs. John L. Meyer Interview, December 10, 1951, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
28. Quotations, Alice Haskell Bleyer to Charles Van Hise, October 16, 1912, Bleyer Papers, AUWM. For the suffrage issue, see *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 1, 1912.
29. See Edward A. Purcell, Jr., *Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington: University Press of

- Kentucky, 1973), 99; Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Culture since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 120-28; and Nathan G. Hale, *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Walter Lippmann, among others, introduced Freud's ideas to the lay public. See Walter Lippmann, "Freud and the Layman," *New Republic*, 2 (April 17, 1915), 9-10.
30. Quotation, Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922), 75; and John Dewey, "Public Opinion—A Review of Walter Lippmann's Book," *New Republic* (May 3, 1922), 288.
31. See Harold D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Edward L. Bernays, "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (May, 1928), 958-71; and Purcell, *Crisis of Democratic Theory*, 97-99, 102-03, 127.
32. See Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "Journalism," *The Writer: An Author's Monthly Forum*, 41 (January 1928), 89. Course syllabi apparently no longer exist for Bleyer's seminars, but it is possible to determine what Bleyer's graduate students were reading from their theses. See Vicente Albano Pacis, "A Study of the Bases of Public Opinion" (Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1925) (which Bleyer directed); and Ralph Droz Casey, "Propaganda Technique in the 1928 Presidential Campaign" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1929) (this thesis was completed for the Department of Political Science but Bleyer was the second reader). See also Rogers and Chaffee, "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm," 16.
33. Purcell, *Crisis of Democratic Theory*, 103.
34. See Linda Lawson, *Truth in Publishing: Federal Regulation of the Press's Business Practices, 1880-1920* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993); and John J. Pauly, "Interesting the Public: A Brief History of the Newsreading Movement," *Communication*, 12 (1991), 286-87.
35. Quotations, W. G. Bleyer, "The American Newspaper of Tomorrow," address before Iowa High School Press Association, Grinnell (Iowa) College, November 23, 1928, quoted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 112.
36. Quotation ("inextricably"), Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "Journalism in

the United States: 1933," *Journalism Quarterly*, 10 (1933), 296. "Large new buildings have been built...; improved machinery has been necessary to keep pace with the increasing size of the papers and their ever growing circulations; electricity has supplanted steam as the motive power; ever new form of transportation and communication has been used to obtain more news and to distribute papers more widely. Illustrations are now transmitted by wire and wireless from one end of the country to the other, as well as from foreign countries. All these improvements have meant higher costs of production and the investment of more capital...." Quotation ("Large"), Bleyer, "Does Press Merit Privileged Place?" 214.

37. Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 391. On commercialization, see Gerald Baldasty, *Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
38. See Bleyer, "Does Press Merit Privileged Place?" 214; and Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 421.
39. See Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 391, 418-20; Merle Curti, "The Changing Concept of 'Human Nature' in the Literature of Advertising," *Business History Review*, 41 (Winter, 1967), 335-57; Lawson, *Truth in Publishing*; Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); and Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U. S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 30.
40. See address by W. G. Bleyer, "The Country Newspaper in a Changing World," delivered to Newspaper Institute, November 14, 1930, University of South Dakota, excerpts in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education, 81-82."
41. Quotations, Bleyer to Donald F. Caswell, June 1, 1934, reprinted in *ibid.*, 131.
42. Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 352, 386-87.
43. Quotation, Bleyer, "The Greatest Weakness," 16.
44. Quotation, Bleyer, *Profession of Journalism*, xv.
45. Quotation, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 341.

46. Quotation, Bleyer, *Profession of Journalism*, xv.
47. Quotations, W. G. Bleyer, "How a Newspaper Can Best Serve Its Community" (undated), quoted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education." 108-09.
48. Quotations, Editorial, "School of Journalism," *Daily Cardinal*, February 17, 1893, p. 2.
49. Quotation, Bleyer, "Does Press Merit Privileged Place?" 214.
50. Quotation, Bleyer, "The Importance of Higher Editorial Standards," address delivered to the Inland Daily Press Association, Chicago, October 14, 1924, reprinted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 118.
51. Quotation, Address by Bleyer, delivered at Northwestern University, October 26, 1921, p. 5, Box 3, Series 7/19/9, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
52. Quotation, W. G. Bleyer, "The American Newspaper of Tomorrow," address before Iowa High School Press Association, Grinnell (Iowa) College, November 23, 1928, quoted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 111. Bleyer was in a good position to make such pronouncements having just completed *Main Currents*, a work for which he had read numerous newspapers from the colonial era through the early twentieth century.
53. Quotation, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying To Do," *Journalism Quarterly*, 8 (March 1931), 36.
54. See William David Sloan, "In Search of Itself: A History of Journalism Education," in William David Sloan, ed., *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990), 1-22.
55. Quotation, Address by Willard G. Bleyer, delivered at Northwestern University, October 26, 1921, p. 1, Box 3, Series 7/19/9, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
56. Whitelaw Reid, "The School of Journalism," address given at New York University, April 4, 1872, quoted in James Melvin Lee, *Instruction in Journalism in Institutions of Higher Learning*, Bulletin No. 21 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, 1918), 8.

57. The University of Missouri began offering lectures in journalism in 1878, but abandoned them in 1885. Missouri did establish the first School of Journalism in 1908. Journalism instruction appeared at other U.S. universities, including the University of Kansas (1903), University of Illinois (1904), University of Washington (1907), and DePauw (1907). By 1915, at least fourteen other universities had started teaching journalism. See Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "The Rise of Education for Journalism," *National Printer Journalist* (December 1934), 28.
58. Nevertheless, Pulitzer's will did endow a journalism school at Columbia, but it was not established until 1912, after Pulitzer's death. Quotation, *ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, 28. See also Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," *North American Review*, 178 (May 1904), 641-80.
60. Editorial, *Daily Cardinal*, October 10, 1893, p. 2. Bleyer also reprinted an editorial from the *Chicago Evening Journal* that criticized universities for introducing some specialized fields of study while neglecting formal journalism training. The piece praised the University of Pennsylvania for offering a new course that conformed to the Reid-Pulitzer formula by combining lectures on political history with work in newspaper reporting. See Editorial, *Daily Cardinal*, October 16, 1893, p. 2.
61. Quotation, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying To Do," 35. Bleyer quoting from principles and standards for academic preparation for journalists adopted by the Council on Education for Journalism (c1925).
62. Quotation, Bleyer, "The Rise of Education for Journalism," 29.
63. Quotations, Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), 160 ("par," "retired," "dismal"), 161 ("diluted").
64. Quotation, Abraham Flexner, *A Modern College and A Modern School* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923), 6, 27, 34-35 respectively. Bleyer did quote Flexner, who had said that journalism as "a sociological phenomenon of immense interest and importance ...deserves to be studied as such within a modern university." Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 42.
65. Quotation, *ibid.*, 35. Bleyer quoting from principles and standards for academic preparation for journalists adopted by the Council on Educa-

tion for Journalism (c1925). "Since the success of democracy depends not only upon intelligent public opinion but upon political action in accordance with such opinion, it is not too much to say that the future of democratic government in this country depends upon the character of its newspapers." Quotation, Bleyer, *Profession of Journalism*, ix.

66. Quotations, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 37.
67. Quotations, address by Bleyer, delivered at Northwestern University, October 26, 1921, p. 4, Box 3, Series 7/19/9, Bleyer Papers, AUWM. The Republic depended "greatly, almost absolutely on what kind of newspaper we have." *Ibid.*, 5.
68. "The future of the republic to a great extent depends upon the maintenance of a free press, pure and unsullied. It cannot be maintained unless the conduct and the motives of members of our profession are such as to merit the approval of all just men." Quotation, *ibid.*, 8. See also *ibid.*, 7. On Bleyer and examinations required to become a journalist, see Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 97-99.
69. The very question has been raised by a recent critic of journalism programs. See, for example, James Ledbetter, "Bad News: The Slow, Sad Sellout of Journalism," *Rolling Stone*, October 16, 1997, p. 77.
70. Quotations, from a speech prepared by Bleyer for University of Wisconsin President Van Hise, delivered to the Wisconsin Press Association, February 11, 1905, quoted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 41.
71. Quotations, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 38. See also Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "In Behalf of Journalism Schools," *The Quill*, XIX (February 1931), 17.
72. Quotations, Bleyer, "In Behalf of Journalism Schools," 4, 16.
73. Quotation, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 39.
74. Quotation, George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information That Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: 1920), 109. See also Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 194;

and Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 421-22.

75. Quotation, Bleyer, *Profession of Journalism*, xiv. See also Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 390-91.
76. Quotations, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying To Do," 42.
77. See Bleyer, "Does Press Merit Privileged Place?" 216; Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 420-21. See also Bruce J. Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum, and Storytelling in the Jazz Age* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996).
78. *University of Wisconsin General Catalogue*, 1905-06, p. 167, AUWM.
79. Bleyer, "The Rise of Education for Journalism," 28.
80. See *University of Wisconsin Press Bulletin*, 2 (February 28, 1910); and *ibid.*, 2 (May 16, 1910).
81. Faculty Senate Minutes, April 1, 1927, AUWM. See also Rogers and Chaffee, "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm," 12.
82. Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 39.
83. Bleyer, "In Behalf of Journalism Schools," 4; and Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 62, 70-71.
84. Daniel D. Mich, "The Press Roars a Requiem for 'Daddy' Bleyer," *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 1, 1935.
85. See *University of Wisconsin Press Bulletin*, 2 (June 20, 1910); and Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 89-90, 128; and Bleyer, "Financial Rewards of Newspaper Work," *Editor and Publisher* (November 8, 1930), 26. In 1913, UW journalism teachers also approved Sigma Delta Chi as the official journalism fraternity.
86. Quotations, R. O. Nafziger, "Willard G. Bleyer, 1875-1935," *Journalism Quarterly* (December 1935), 378. See also Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 63-64.
87. *Ibid.*, 62. In 1916, Wyatt Rushton and Frank Thayer received the first master's degrees in journalism at the University of Wisconsin.
88. Quotations, Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," 41.

Rogers and Chaffee consider Bleyer to have set out a "mission statement for the doctoral research programs in mass communication" that would come into being in subsequent years. Quotation, Rogers and Chaffee, "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm," 16.

89. Quotations, W. G. Bleyer, "Research Problems in the Sources of Newspaper Influence," paper delivered April 21, 1916, to the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, University of Kansas, excerpts reprinted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 68.
90. Quotation, Bleyer to Marlen E. Pew, November 26, 1934, reprinted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 139. See also *ibid.*, 138.
91. Quotation, Bleyer to M. V. Atwood (Gannett Newspapers), April 1, 1934, reprinted in Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 114-15.
92. Quotation, Bleyer, "Does the Press Merit a Privileged Place?" 309.
93. The American Conference of Teachers in Journalism later took the name American Association of Teachers of Journalism, and then in 1951, it became known as the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ). It retained that name until it was changed to the AEJMC in 1983. In 1917, ten universities organized the Association of American Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ), and Dean Walter Williams of University of Missouri was its first president. The AASDJ later became the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, and then the Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism. See Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 87-88, 92.
94. Bleyer wrote that "this new movement for united action by daily and weekly newspapers in the matter of education for journalism marks the beginning of a new era. Heretofore, cooperation between editors and the schools of journalism had existed only within the states in which some of the schools are located.... Now the cooperation is to be nation-wide." Quotation, W. G. Bleyer, "Schools of Journalism Endorsed," *The Matrix* (June 1931), 13. See also, *ibid.*, 12; and Ross, "W. G. Bleyer and the Development of Journalism Education," 101-04.
95. Monfried, *Willard G. Bleyer: Pioneer in Journalism Education*, 3.

96. Fred Siebert to Grant M. Hyde, November 4, 1935, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
97. Frank Luther Mott to Grant M. Hyde, November 6, 1935, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
98. Lawrence W. Murphy to Grant M. Hyde, November 1, 1935, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.
99. Mich, "The Press Roars a Requiem for 'Daddy' Bleyer."
100. E. R. McIntyre to Grant M. Hyde, November 30, 1935, Bleyer Papers, AUWM.

MISSION STATEMENT

Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs was established, according to founding editor Bruce Westley, to serve the AEJMC membership and scholars and readers in adjacent fields by publishing original, scholarly works which are too long as articles and too short or too specialized for book form. One of the goals of the monograph series from the beginning has been to publish scholarly work from the entire field, whether the methodology was historical, legal, behavioral, or whatever.

In line with these original goals, the editor has adopted the following specific objectives:

1. To publish original, scholarly works which are too long as articles and too short for book form.
2. To publish research that makes a significant contribution to the field.
3. To publish manuscripts that will appeal to a wide audience of AEJMC members.
4. To cover all the various areas of scholarly interest in AEJMC regardless of research method.
5. To make the monographs as readable as possible by using effective layout, as well as relevant photographs, diagrams, tables, and charts.

TO CONTRIBUTORS

Submissions to *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs* should include an original and three copies, double-spaced throughout (including extracts, references, and notes). Preferred length is 30-60 pages. The names of authors should appear only on the title page, and other identifying material should not appear in the manuscript.

Authors must use one of these three style guides: *The Chicago Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press; the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*; or *A Uniform System of Citation*, published by the Harvard Law Review Association. The style chosen should be the one most appropriate to the subject matter of the manuscript submitted. Footnotes and references should be assembled at the end of the manuscript. Tables and figures should be on separate pages, not in the text.

Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs is produced on a Macintosh computer using Pagemaker software. Once a manuscript is accepted, the author must provide the editor with the manuscript on a computer floppy disk. This can be either a Macintosh disk or an IBM or IBM-compatible disk containing a Word or Wordperfect file.

Authors are expected to be candid with the editor in matters pertaining to the origins and previous appearances of manuscripts. Manuscripts under consideration elsewhere should not be submitted to *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs*. It is also policy not to publish a long version of a study published in a shorter version elsewhere.

Manuscripts should be sent to John Soloski, editor, *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242.